

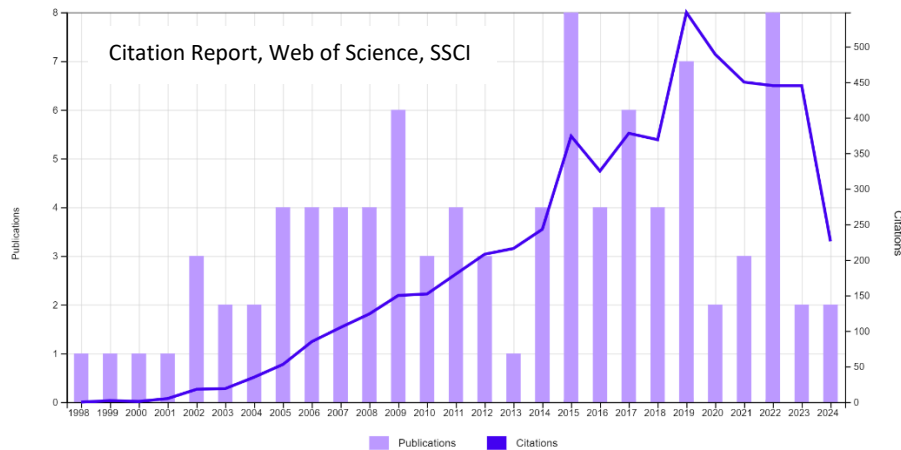
# PUBLICATIONS

Frank Schimmelfennig

OrcID: 0000-0002-1638-1819

5 September 2024

*Social Science Citation Index (SSCI): 94 publications, 5646 citations, h-index: 35*



*Google Scholar: 372 items, 31343 citations, h-index: 77*

## Most cited publications (156 - 47 citations per year in *Google Scholar*)

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier (eds.) *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. 2005. Cornell University Press.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 'Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe'. 2004. *JEPP*.

'The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union'. 2001. *IO*.

Dirk Leuffen, Berthold Rittberger and Frank Schimmelfennig. *Differentiated Integration/Integration and Differentiation in the European Union*. 2013/2022. Palgrave Macmillan.

Sandra Lavenex and Frank Schimmelfennig. 'EU Rules beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics'. 2009. *JEPP*.

'Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Euro Area Crisis'. 2015. *JEPP*.

'European Integration (Theory) in Times of Crisis. A Comparison of the Euro and Schengen Crises.' 2018. *JEPP*.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Ulrich Sedelmeier. 'The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the External Incentives Model Revisited'. 2020. *JEPP*.

'Brexit: Differentiated Disintegration in the European Union'. 2018. *JEPP*.

Frank Schimmelfennig, Dirk Leuffen and Berthold Rittberger. 'The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization, and Differentiation'. 2015. *JEPP*.

*The EU, NATO, and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. 2003. Cambridge University Press.

Andrew Moravcsik and Frank Schimmelfennig. 'Liberal Intergovernmentalism', in *European Integration Theory*. 2004-2019. Oxford University Press.

Frank Schimmelfennig and Thomas Winzen. *Ever Looser Union?* 2020. Oxford University Press.

## Awards for publications

Best Book Award (2003/04) of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA) for *The EU, NATO, and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

JEPP Special Issue Prize (2007) for *External Governance in the European Union*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 11:4, 2004.

International Geneva Award (2011) of the Swiss Network of International Studies (SNIS) for "Democracy Promotion through Functional Cooperation? The Case of the European Neighbourhood Policy", *Democratization* 18:4, 2011.

JEPP Prize (2011) for most downloaded special issue article in 2008 for "EU Political Conditionality After the 2004 Enlargement: Consistency and Effectiveness", in *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:6.

Best Paper Award (2012) of the American Political Science Association (APSA), European Politics and Society Section, APSA Convention 2011, for "Bringing Codecision to Agriculture: a Hard Case of Parliamentarization", published in *Journal of European Public Policy* 19: 7, 2012.

JEPP Special Issue Prize (2012) for *EU External Governance*, *Journal of European Public Policy* 16:6, 2009.

JEPP Prize (2012) for most downloaded special issue article in 2009 for "EU Rules beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics", *Journal of European Public Policy* 16:6.

Emerald Citation of Excellence Award (2016) for "The Case for Democracy in the European Union", *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51:2, 2013.

International Geneva Award (2018) of the Swiss Network of International Studies (SNIS) for "The Rise of International Parliamentary Institutions: Purpose and Legitimation", *Review of International Organizations* 2019.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### Monographs

*Integration and Differentiation in the European Union: Theory and Policies*. London: Palgrave 2022 (with Dirk Leuffen and Berthold Rittberger, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of *Differentiated Integration. Explaining Variation in the European Union*).

*Internationale Politik*. Paderborn: Schöningh (UTB), 6<sup>th</sup> ed. 2021 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2008, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2010, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2013, 4<sup>th</sup> 2015, 5<sup>th</sup> 2017).

*The Rise of International Parliaments. Strategic Legitimation in International Organizations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2020 (with Thomas Winzen, Tobias Lenz, Jofre Rocabert, Lorian Crasnic, Cristina Gherasimov, Jana Lipps and Densua Mumford).

*Ever Looser Union? Differentiated European Integration*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2020 (with Thomas Winzen).

*Democracy Promotion by Functional Cooperation. The European Union and its Neighbourhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2015 (with Tina Freyburg, Sandra Lavenex, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel).

*Differentiated Integration. Explaining Variation in the European Union*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2013 (with Dirk Leuffen and Berthold Rittberger).

*International Socialization in Europe: European Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Change*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2006 (with Stefan Engert and Heiko Knobel).

*The EU, NATO, and the Integration of Europe: Rules and Rhetoric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003.

*Debatten zwischen Staaten. Eine Argumentationstheorie internationaler Systemkonflikte.* Opladen: Leske + Budrich 1995.

## Edited volumes and special issues

*Differentiated Integration: Institutional and Public Opinion Effects.* European Union Politics 24: 1, 2023 (co-edited with Catherine de Vries and Dirk Leuffen).

*War, Political Development, and European Integration: A Debate on Kelemen and McNamara's 'State-building and the European Union'.* Journal of European Public Policy 29: 12, 2022 (co-edited with Philipp Genschel).

*Rebordering Europe? Europe's Crises and EU Boundary Formation.* Journal of European Public Policy 28: 3, 2021.

*Europeanization Revisited: Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union.* European University Institute 2018 (e-book), available at <http://cadmus.eui.eu//handle/1814/59573> (co-edited with Michał Matlak and Tomasz P. Woźniakowski).

*European Union Enlargement and Integration Capacity.* Journal of European Public Policy 24: 2, 2017 (co-edited with Tanja Börzel and Antoaneta Dimitrova), also published as an edited volume by Routledge in 2018.

*Wandel oder Kontinuität? Die Bearbeitung der Krise durch die Europaforschung.* Politische Vierteljahresschrift 56: 3, 2015 (co-edited with Berthold Rittberger).

*Democracy in the European Union.* Journal of European Public Policy 22: 1, 2015 (co-edited with Francis Cheneval and Sandra Lavenex), also published as an edited volume under the title *European Democracy as Democracy* by Routledge in 2016 (paperback edition 2017).

*Civil Society and Democracy Promotion.* Basingstoke: Palgrave 2014 (with Timm Beichelt, Irene Hahn-Fuhr, and Susann Worschech).

*EU External Governance and Conditionality.* Journal of European Public Policy, Virtual Special Issue 2012, available at <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/access/rjpp-EU-External-Governance-Conditionality.pdf>.

*Democracy Promotion in the EU's Neighborhood; From Leverage to Governance?* Democratization 18: 4, 2011 (co-edited with Sandra Lavenex), also published as an edited volume by Routledge in 2012.

*The European Union and Post-Communist Eastern Europe: Conditionality, Legacies, and Europeanisation,* Europe-Asia Studies 62: 3, 2010 (special section co-edited with Arista Maria Cirtautas).

*Post-accession Compliance in the EU's New Member States,* European Integration Online Papers, Special Issue 2, 13, 2009 (co-edited with Florian Trauner), available at <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/index.php/eiop/issue/view/22>.

*EU External Governance,* Journal of European Public Policy 16:6, 2009 (special issue co-edited with Sandra Lavenex), also published as an edited volume by Routledge in 2010 (paperback edition in 2012).

*Research Design in Political Science. How to Practice What They Preach,* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2007 (co-edited with Thomas Gschwend, paperback edition 2011).

*Forschungsdesign in der Politikwissenschaft. Probleme – Strategien – Anwendungen,* Frankfurt: Campus 2007 (co-edited with Thomas Gschwend).

*Die EU auf dem Weg zum Verfassungsstaat,* Frankfurt: Campus 2006 (co-edited with Berthold Rittberger).

*The Constitutionalization of the European Union,* Journal of European Public Policy 13: 8, 2006 (special issue co-edited with Berthold Rittberger), also published as an edited volume by Routledge (paperback edition 2009).

*Die Europäische Union: Theorien und Analysekonzepte (Studienschwerpunkte Politikwissenschaft).* Paderborn: Schöningh (UTB) 2005 (with Katharina Holzinger, Christoph Knill, Dirk Peters, Berthold Rittberger und Wolfgang Wagner).

*The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press 2005 (co-edited with Ulrich Sedelmeier) – Ukrainian edition 2010.

*The Politics of European Union Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches*. London: Routledge 2005, paperback edition 2009 (co-edited with Ulrich Sedelmeier).

*External Governance in the European Union*. *Journal of European Public Policy* 11: 4, 2004 (symposium co-edited with Wolfgang Wagner).

*European Union Enlargement. Theoretical and Comparative Approaches*. *Journal of European Public Policy* 9: 4, 2002 (special issue co-edited with Ulrich Sedelmeier).

## Journal Articles

Crisis and Polity Formation in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 31: 10, 2024, 3396-3420.

Pandemic bordering: domestic politicization, European coordination, and national border closures in the Covid-19 crisis. *Journal of European Public Policy* 31: 10, 2024, 3151-3175 (with Christian Freudsperger, Jana Lipps, Mohamed Nasr, Elizabeth Schilpp and Aydin Yildirim).

Different Yet the Same? Differentiated Integration and Flexibility in Implementation in the European Union. *West European Politics* 47: 3, 2024, 466-490 (with Sebastiaan Princen, Ronja Sczepanski, Hubert Smekal and Robert Zbiral).

The Brexit Puzzle: Polity Attack and External Rebordering. *West European Politics* 47: 5, 2024, 1021-1044.

National Differentiation Experience and Citizen Support for Differentiated Integration. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 61: 5, 2023, 1235-1260 (with Thomas Winzen).

Die differenzierte Integration und die Zukunft der europäischen Integration: Konsolidierung, Krisen und Erweiterung. *Integration* 46: 2, 2023, 94-114 (with Funda Tekin).

Differentiated Integration in the European Union: Institutional Effects, Public Opinion, and Alternative Flexibility Arrangements. *European Union Politics* 24: 1, 2023, 3-20 (with Dirk Leuffen and Catherine De Vries).

Cascading opt-outs? The effect of the Euro and migration crises on differentiated integration in the European Union. *European Union Politics* 24: 1, 2023, 21-41 (with Thomas Winzen).

Rebordering Europe in the Ukraine War: Community Building Without Capacity Building. *West European Politics* 46: 5, 2023, 843-871 (with Christian Freudsperger).

War, Political Development, and European Integration: a Debate on Kelemen and McNamara's 'State-building and the European Union'. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26: 12, 2022, 1867-1870 (with Philipp Genschel).

Transboundary Crises and Political Development: Why War is Not Necessary for European State-building. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26: 12, 2022, 1871-1884 (with Christian Freudsperger).

Differentiated Integration in the European Union: Trends and Patterns. *EuZ Zeitschrift für Europarecht* 11/2022, [EuZ Digital \(eizpublishing.ch\)](https://www.euzpublishing.ch) (reprinted in Baumgartner, Tobias, Andreas Kellerhals and Wesselina Uebe, eds., *EuZ Zeitschrift für Europarecht Jahrbuch 2022*, Zürich).

Do Social Media Promote Civic Activism? A Field Experiment with a Civic Campaign. *Political Science Research and Methods* 9: 3, 2021: 500-518 (with Florian Foos, Lyubomir Kostadinov and Nikolay Marinov).

Rebordering Europe: External Boundaries and Integration in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 28: 3, 2021, 311-330.

Politicization and Rebordering in EU Enlargement: Membership Discourses in European Parliaments. *Journal of European Public Policy* 28: 3, 2021, 407-426 (with Marie-Eve Bélanger).

The Conference on the Future of Europe and EU Reform: Limits of Differentiated Integration. *European Papers* 5: 2, 2020, <https://www.europeanpapers.eu/en/e-journal/conference-future-europe-limits-differentiated-integration>.

Does Differentiated Integration Strengthen the Democratic Legitimacy of the EU? Evidence from the 2015 Danish Opt-out Referendum. *European Union Politics* 21: 4, 2020, 590-611 (with Dominik Schraff).

- Migration: a Step Too Far for the Contemporary Global Order? *Journal of European Public Policy* 27: 7, 2020, 1103-1113 (with Sara Wallace Goodman).
- The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the External Incentives Model Revisited. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27: 6, 2020, 814-833 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- Politicisation Management in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 27: 3, 2020, 342-361.
- The Rise of International Parliamentary Institutions: Purpose and Legitimation. *Review of International Organizations* 14: 4, 2019, 607-631 (with Jofre Rocabert, Lorian Crasnic and Thomas Winzen).
- Von der Entgrenzung zur Eingrenzung: Krise und Wandel der europäischen Integration. *Integration* 42: 4, 2019, 247-261.
- Eurozone Bailouts and National Democracy: Detachment or Resilience? *European Union Politics* 20: 3, 2019, 361-383 (with Dominik Schraff).
- Grand Theory, Differentiated Integration. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26: 8, 2019, 1172-1192 (with Thomas Winzen).
- Getting around No: How Governments React to Negative EU Referendums. *Journal of European Public Policy* 26: 7, 2019, 1056-1074.
- The Choice for Differentiated Europe: An Intergovernmentalist Theoretical Framework. *Comparative European Politics* 17: 2, 2019, 176-191.
- Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Crises of the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 56: 7, 2018, 1578-1594.
- Brexit: Differentiated Disintegration in the European Union. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25: 8, 2018, 1154-1173.
- European Integration (Theory) in Times of Crisis. A Comparison of the Euro and Schengen Crises. *Journal of European Public Policy* 25: 7, 2018, 969-989.
- Just an Illusion? Democratization in the International Realm. *Swiss Political Science Review* 23: 3, 2017, 246-252 (with Tina Freyburg and Sandra Lavenex).
- EU Enlargement and Integration Capacity: Concepts, Findings, and Implications. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24: 2, 2017, 157-176 (with Tanja Börzel and Antoaneta Dimitrova).
- Coming Together or Drifting Apart? The EU's Political Integration Capacity in Eastern Europe. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24: 2, 2017, 278-296 (with Tanja Börzel).
- Eastern Enlargement and Differentiated Integration: Towards Normalization. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24: 2, 2017, 239-258 (with Thomas Winzen).
- Opting Out from European Union Legislation: the Differentiation of Secondary Law. *Journal of European Public Policy* 24: 3, 2017, 406-428 (with Thomas Duttler, Katharina Holzinger, Thomas Malang, Thomas Schäubli and Thomas Winzen).
- Explaining Differentiation in European Union Treaties. *European Union Politics* 17: 4, 2016, 616-637 (with Thomas Winzen).
- Good Governance and Differentiated Integration: Graded Membership in the European Union. *European Journal of Political Research* 55: 4, 2016, 789-810.
- A Differentiated Leap Forward: Spillover, Path-dependency, and Graded Membership in European Banking Regulation. *West European Politics* 39: 3, 2016, 483-502.
- Europeanization beyond Europe, *Living Reviews in European Governance* 10: 1, 2015, <http://europeangovernance-livingreviews.org/Articles/lreg-2015-1/>.
- Eurokrise und differenzierte Integration. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 56: 3, 2015, 457-478 (with Katharina Holzinger).
- Kontinuität und Divergenz: Die Eurokrise und die Entwicklung europäischer Integration in der Europaforschung. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 56: 3, 2015, 389-405 (with Berthold Rittberger).
- Die Eurokrise: Testfall für Integration und Integrationstheorie. *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 25: 2, 2015, 249-256.
- What's the News in the "New Intergovernmentalism"? A Critique of Bickerton, Hodson, and Puetter. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 53: 4, 2015, 723-730.

- The European Union as a System of Differentiated Integration: Interdependence, Politicization, and Differentiation. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22: 6, 2015, 764-782 (with Dirk Leuffen and Berthold Rittberger).
- Liberal Intergovernmentalism and the Euro Area Crisis. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22: 2, 2015, 177-195.
- Demoi-cracy in the European Union: Principles, Institutions, Policies. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22: 1, 2015, 1-18 (with Francis Cheneval and Sandra Lavenex).
- Parliamentary Co-Evolution: National Parliamentary Reactions to the Empowerment of the European Parliament. *Journal of European Public Policy* 22: 1, 2015, 75-93 (with Thomas Winzen and Christilla Roederer-Rynning).
- European Integration in the Euro Crisis: the Limits of Postfunctionalism. *Journal of European Integration* 36: 3, 2014, 317-337.
- EU Enlargement and Differentiated Integration: Discrimination or Equal Treatment? *Journal of European Public Policy* 21: 5, 2014, 681-698.
- Instrumental and Constitutional Differentiation in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 52: 2, 2014, 354-370 (with Thomas Winzen).
- Switzerland's Differentiated European Integration – What can we Learn from the Study of Europeanization? *Swiss Political Science Review* 20: 2, 2014, 255-258.
- Vertragsentwicklung und Differenzierung in der europäischen Integration. Nationale Identität, staatliche Autonomie und die Entstehung einer Kern-Peripherie-Struktur in der EU. *Integration* 37(2), 2014, 138-151 (with Thomas Winzen).
- The Case for Democracy in the European Union. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 51: 2, 2013, 334-350 (with Francis Cheneval).
- Zwischen Neo- und Postfunktionalismus: die Integrationstheorien und die Eurokrise. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 53: 3, 2012, 394-413.
- Bringing Codecision to Agriculture: a Hard Case of Parliamentarization. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19: 7, 2012, 951-968 (with Christilla Roederer-Rynning, also included in Editors' Choice collection of Routledge journals in 2011 and in *JEPP* Virtual Special Issue on *The Parliamentarisation of EU Governance* 2014, available at <http://explore.tandfonline.com/content/pgas/rjpp-eu-governance>).
- Differentiated Integration in the European Union. Many Concepts, Sparse Theory, Few Data. *Journal of European Public Policy* 19: 2, 2012, 292-305 (with Katharina Holzinger).
- Europeanization beyond Europe, *Living Reviews in European Governance* 7: 1, 2012, <http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2012-1>.
- EU Democracy Promotion in the Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance? *Democratization* 18: 4, 2011, 885-909 (with Sandra Lavenex).
- Democracy Promotion through Functional Cooperation? The Case of the European Neighbourhood Policy, *Democratization* 18: 4, 2011, 1026-1054 (with Tina Freyburg, Sandra Lavenex, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel).
- How Substantial Is Substance? Concluding Reflections on the Study of Substance in EU Democracy Promotion, *European Foreign Affairs Review* 16, 2011, 727-734.
- Europeanisation Beyond the Member States, *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften* 8: 3, 2010, 319-339.
- The Normative Origins of Democracy in the European Union: Towards a Transformationalist Theory of Democratization, *European Political Science Review* 2: 2, 2010, 211-233.
- Europeanisation Before and After Accession: Conditionality, Legacies, and Compliance, *Europe-Asia Studies* 62: 3, 2010, 421-441 (with Arista Maria Cirtautas).
- Legacies and Leverage: EU Political Conditionality and Democracy Promotion in Historical Perspective, *Europe-Asia Studies* 62: 3, 2010, 443-460 (with Hanno Scholtz).
- Europeanization beyond Europe, *Living Reviews in European Governance* 4: 3, 2009, online article (<http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2009-3>).

Introduction: Post-accession Compliance in the EU's New Member States, *European Integration Online Papers*, Special Issue 2, 13, 2009 (with Florian Trauner), available at [http://www.eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2009-Speclssue-2\\_Introduction.pdf](http://www.eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2009-Speclssue-2_Introduction.pdf).

EU Rules beyond EU Borders: Theorizing External Governance in European Politics, *Journal of European Public Policy* 16:6, 2009, 791-812 (with Sandra Lavenex).

EU Promotion of Democratic Governance in the Neighborhood, *Journal of European Public Policy* 16:6, 2009, 917-936 (with Tina Freyburg, Sandra Lavenex, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel).

Entrapped Again: The Way to EU Membership Negotiations with Turkey, *International Politics* 46:4, 2009, 413-431.

Normative Institutionalism and EU Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective, *International Politics* 46:4, 2009, 491-504 (with Daniel C. Thomas).

EU Political Conditionality after the 2004 Enlargement: Consistency and Effectiveness, *Journal of European Public Policy* 15:6, 2008, 918-937.

EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighborhood. Political Conditionality, Economic Development and Transnational Exchange, *European Union Politics* 9:2, 2008, 187-215 (with Hanno Scholtz). Reprinted in Tonra, Ben, Richard Whitman and Alasdair Young (Eds.) *Foreign Policy of the European Union*, London: Sage 2016.

Relations with the Wider Europe, *Journal of Common Market Studies* 46, 2008, Annual Review of the European Union in 2007, 145-164 (with Sandra Lavenex).

Europeanization beyond Europe, in *Living Reviews in European Governance* 2:1, 2007, online article (<http://www.livingreviews.org/lreg-2007-1>).

Relations with the Wider Europe. *Journal of Common Market Studies* 45, 2007, Annual Review of the European Union in 2006, 143-162 (with Sandra Lavenex).

Wer wird Prof – und wann? Berufungsdeterminanten in der deutschen Politikwissenschaft, in *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 48:1, 2007, 97-117 (with Thomas Plümpner).

Ohne Substanz. Eine Antwort auf Gross/Jungbauer-Gans. *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 48:3, 2007, 559-563 (with Thomas Plümpner).

European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe. *East European Politics and Societies* 21:1, 2007, 126-141.

Explaining the Constitutionalization of the European Union, in *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:8, 2006, 1148-1167 (with Berthold Rittberger).

Conditions for EU Constitutionalization: a Qualitative Comparative Analysis, in *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:8, 2006, 1168-1189 (with Berthold Rittberger, Alexander Bürgin and Guido Schwelling).

Competition and Community: Constitutional Courts, Rhetorical Action, and the Institutionalization of Human Rights in the European Union, in *Journal of European Public Policy* 13:8, 2006, 1247-1264.

Relations with the Wider Europe, in *Journal of Common Market Studies* 44, 2006, Annual Review of the European Union in 2005, 137-154 (with Sandra Lavenex).

Obsolete Theorie oder obsoletes Referendum?, in *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 11: 2, 2005, 339-344.

Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe, in *International Organization* 59: 4, 2005, 827-860 (reprinted in: Checkel, Jeffrey T., ed.: *International Institutions and Socialization in Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, 31-62).

Lost in Translation? 10 Jahre ZIB und die Europaforschung, in *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 11: 2, 2004, 341-346.

Die Osterweiterung der Europäischen Union: Politiken, Prozesse, Ergebnisse, in *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften* 2: 3, 2004, 465-491.

Starke Anreize, ambivalente Wirkungen: Die Europäisierung Mittel- und Osteuropas, in: *Leviathan* 32: 2, 2004, 250-268.

Preface: External Governance in the European Union, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 11: 4, 2004, 665-668 (with Wolfgang Wagner).

- Governance by Conditionality: EU Rule Transfer to the Candidate Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 11: 4, 2004, 669-687 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier, also included in *JEPP Virtual Special Issue on Europeanization 2010*, available at <http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/access/rjpp-Europeanization.pdf> and in *JEPP Virtual Special Issue on Twenty Years of JEPP 2014*, available at <http://explore.tandfonline.com/page/pgas/rjpp-20-anniversary>).
- Europäisierung in Osteuropa: Reaktionen auf die demokratische Konditionalität, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 32: 3, 2003, 321-337 (with Stefan Engert and Heiko Knobel).
- Costs, Commitment, and Compliance. The Impact of EU Democratic Conditionality on Latvia, Slovakia, and Turkey, in: *Journal of Common Market Studies* 41: 3, 2003, 495-517 (with Stefan Engert and Heiko Knobel).
- Strategic Action in a Community Environment. The Decision to Enlarge the European Union to the East, in: *Comparative Political Studies* 36: 1/2, 2003 (special issue "Integrating Institutions"), 156-183.
- Theorizing EU Enlargement: Research Focus, Hypotheses and the State of Research, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4, 2002, 500-528 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- Liberal Community and Enlargement: An Event History Analysis, in: *Journal of European Public Policy* 9:4, 2002, 598-626 (reprinted in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, eds.: *The Politics of European Union Enlargement. Theoretical Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2005, 172-197).
- Goffman Meets IR: Dramaturgical Action in International Community, in: *International Review of Sociology* 12: 3, 2002 (special issue "Sociology Meets IR"), 417-438.
- The Community Trap: Liberal Norms, Rhetorical Action, and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, in: *International Organization* 55:1, 2001, 47-80 (reprinted in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich, eds.: *The Politics of European Union Enlargement. Theoretical Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2005, 142-171).
- International Socialization in the New Europe. Rational Action in an Institutional Environment, in: *European Journal of International Relations* 6:1, 2000, 109-139.
- NATO Enlargement: A Constructivist Explanation, in: *Security Studies* 8:2-3, 1999, 198-234 (reprinted in: Chafetz, Glenn; Spirtas, Michael; Frankel, Benjamin, eds.: *The Origins of National Interests*. London: Frank Cass 1999, 198-234).
- Liberal Norms and the Eastern Enlargement of the European Union: A Case for Sociological Institutionalism, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 27:4, 1998, 459-472.
- Rhetorisches Handeln in der internationalen Politik, in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 4:2, 1997, 219-254.
- Die Internationalisierung der Menschenrechte. Bestimmungsfaktoren internationaler Menschenrechtsinstitutionen, in: *SOWI. Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen* 25:3, 1996, 165-173.
- New States, Old Regimes, Short Time: A Rejoinder, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 30:3, 1995, 299-303.
- Wie ist mehr Sicherheit im neuen Europa zu gewinnen? Optionen einer gesamteuropäischen Sicherheitsorganisation angesichts ethnonationalistischer Konflikte, in: *Der Bürger im Staat* 45:1, 1995, 20-24 (reprinted in: Wehling, Hans-Georg, ed.: *Sicherheitspolitik unter geänderten weltpolitischen Rahmenbedingungen*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 1995, 62-77).
- Arms Control Regimes and the Dissolution of the Soviet Union. Realism, Institutionalism and Regime Robustness, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 29:2, 1994, 115-148.
- Internationale Sozialisation neuer Staaten. Heuristische Überlegungen zu einem Forschungsdesiderat, in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 1:2, 1994, 335-355.



State Characteristics and Foreign Policy. Industrialized Countries and the UNESCO Crisis, in: *Cooperation and Conflict* 28:2, 1993, 143-180 (with Peter Billing, Gabriele Kittel, and Volker Rittberger).

## Articles in Edited Volumes

Deutschland in der Europäischen Union: Theoretische Annäherungen, in: Deutsche Europapolitik, in: Jopp, Mathias and Tekin, Funda (eds.) *Handbuch für Wissenschaft und Praxis*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2024, 521-535.

War and Boundary Formation: The Russo-Ukrainian War and European Integration, in: Rabinovych, Marina and Pintsch, Anne (eds.): *Ukraine's Thorny Path to the EU. From 'Integration without Membership' to 'Integration through War'*. Palgrave, 2024 (with Christian Freudlsperger).

Switzerland: Not a Candidate but a Partner in EU Enlargement, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (eds.): *Enlargement and the Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Cham: Springer, 2023, 164-167.

Fit through Flexibility? Differentiated Integration and Geopolitical EU Enlargement, in: von Sydow, Göran and Kreilinger, Valentin (eds.): *Fit for 35? Reforming the Politics and Institutions of the EU for an Enlarged Union*, Report 2/2023, Stockholm: Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, 14-26.

European Integration Theory and Crises, in: Rhinard, Mark, Nugent, Neill and Paterson, William E. (eds.): *Crises and Challenges for the European Union*, London: Bloomsbury, 2023, 18-37.

Polity Attacks and Policy Failures: The EU Polycrisis and Integration Theory, in: Schade, Daniel and Roos, Mechthild (eds.): *The EU under Strain? Current Crises Shaping European Union Politics*, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2023, 27-50.

The Advent of Geopolitical Enlargement and Its Credibility Dilemma, in: Dzankic, Jelena, Simonida Kacarska and Soeren Keil (eds.): *A Year Later. War in Ukraine and Western Balkan (Geo)Politics*, Florence: EUI, 2023, 185-193, available at <https://hdl.handle.net/1814/75524>.

Switzerland's Climate Policy: Caught Between EU-Compatible Goals and Referendum Constraints, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (eds.): *Climate Change and the Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Cham: Springer, 2023, 159-161.

Overcoming Crisis in the European Union. The Limits of Differentiated Integration, in: Dawson, Mark and Markus Jachtenfuchs (eds.): *Autonomy Without Collapse in a Better European Union*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022, 43-62.

Switzerland: The Tedious Art of Bridging a Widening Gap, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (eds.): *Russia and the Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Cham: Springer, 2022, 157-159.

(Post-)Brexit. Negotiating differentiated disintegration in the European Union, in: Leruth, Benjamin, Gänzle, Stefan and Jarle Trondal (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Differentiation in the European Union*, London: Routledge, 2022, 619-632.

Switzerland: Solidarity Taken Hostage, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (eds.): *European Solidarity in Action and the Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Cham: Springer, 2022, 161-163.

Rhetorical Entrapment in EU-Turkey Relations, in: Reiners, Wulf and Ebru Turhan (eds.): *EU-Turkey Relations: Theories, Institutions and Policies*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, 139-156

EU External Governance and Europeanization, in: Gstöhl, Sieglinde and Simon Schunz (eds.) *The External Action of the European Union: Concepts, Approaches, Theories*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, 109-125.

Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Riddervold, Marianne, Jarle Trondal and Akasemi Newsome (eds.): *The Palgrave Handbook of EU Crises*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, 61-78.

Deutschland in der Europäischen Union: Hegemonie, Intergouvernementalismus, Status-quo Macht, in: Böttger, Katrin and Mathias Jopp (eds.) *Handbuch zur deutschen Europapolitik*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2021, 563-577.

Switzerland: A Vital Relationship in the Stranglehold of Euroscepticism, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (eds.): *Euroscepticism and the Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020, 149-151.

- Internationale Politik, in: Lauth, Hans-Joachim and Christian Wagner (eds.): *Politikwissenschaft: Eine Einführung*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020, 10th ed., 143-169.
- Light at the End of the Tunnel? Eurozone Bailouts and Satisfaction with Democracy, in: Careja, Romana, Patrick Emmenegger and Nathalie Giger (eds.): *The European Social Model under Pressure? Liber Amicorum in Honour of Klaus Armingeon*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2020, 555-566 (with Dominik Schraff).
- Negotiating Differentiated Disintegration in the European Union, in: Gänzle, Stefan, Benjamin Leruth and Jarle Trondal (eds.): *Differentiated Integration and Disintegration in a Post-Brexit Era*, London: Routledge, 2020, 19-35.
- Is Differentiation the Future of European Integration?, in: Fägersten, Björn and Göran von Sydow (eds.): *Perspectives on the Future of the EU*, Stockholm: Swedish Institute of International Affairs and Swedish Institute for European Policy Studies, 2019, 99-121.
- Differentiated Integration and European Union Politics. In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2019, <https://oxfordre.com/politics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-1142>.
- Differentiation and Self-Determination in European Integration, in: Jordana, Jacint, Michael Keating, Axel Marx and Jan Wouters (eds.): *Changing Borders in Europe. Exploring the Dynamics of Integration, Differentiation and Self-Determination in the European Union*, London: Routledge, 2019, 23-38.
- Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Wiener, Antje, Tanja A. Börzel and Thomas Risse (eds.): *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed., 2019, 64-84 (with Andrew Moravcsik).
- Internationale Politik, in: Lauth, Hans-Joachim and Christian Wagner (eds.): *Politikwissenschaft: Eine Einführung*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2019, 9th ed., 137-163.
- Toward a 'Reset' of EU-Swiss Relations?, in: Kaeding, Michael, Johannes Pollak and Paul Schmidt (Eds.): *The Future of Europe. Views from the Capitals*. Palgrave Macmillan 2019, 117-119.
- Europeanization Revisited: an Introduction, in: Matlak, Michał, Frank Schimmelfennig and Tomasz P. Woźniakowski (eds.): *Europeanization Revisited: Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union*. European University Institute 2018, 6-18, E-book available at <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/59573> (with Michał Matlak and Tomasz P. Woźniakowski).
- The Europeanization of Eastern Europe: the External Incentives Model Revisited, Matlak, Michał, Frank Schimmelfennig and Tomasz P. Woźniakowski (eds.): *Europeanization Revisited: Central and Eastern Europe in the European Union*. European University Institute 2018, 19-37, E-book available at <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/59573> (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- European Union Conditionality in the Western Balkans: External Incentives and Europeanisation, in: Dzankic, Jelena, Soeren Keil and Marko Kmezcic (eds.): *The Europeanisation of the Western Balkans. A Failure of EU Conditionality?* Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018, 15-37 (with Asya Zhelyazkova, Ivan Damjanovski and Zoran Nechev).
- Theorien der europäischen Integration, in: Becker, Peter and Lippert, Barbara (eds.): *Handbuch Europäische Union*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2018, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-17436-1\\_7-1](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-17436-1_7-1) (Print edition 2020, 1-23).
- Europäische Ordnung und Neue Staatsräson, in: Albert, Mathias, Nicole Deitelhoff und Gunther Hellmann (eds.): *Ordnung und Regieren in der Weltgesellschaft*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2018, 353-379.
- Regional Integration Theory. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press, 2018, <http://politics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.001.0001/acrefore-9780190228637-e-599>.
- Beyond Enlargement: Conceptualizing the Study of the European Neighbourhood Policy, in: Schumacher, Tobias, Marchetti, Andreas and Demmelhuber, Thomas (eds.): *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2018, 17-27.
- Theorising Crisis in European Integration, in: Dinan, Desmond, Neill Nugent, and William E. Paterson (eds.): *The European Union in Crisis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 316-336.
- Economic Relations and Integration, in: Cogan, Jacob Katz, Ian Hurd, and Ian Johnstone (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 384-404.

- NATO and Institutional Theories of International Relations, in: Webber, Mark and Hyde-Price, Adrian (eds.): *Theorising NATO: New Perspectives on the Atlantic Alliance*, London: Routledge, 2016, 93-115
- Europe, in: Börzel, Tanja A. and Thomas Risse (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Regionalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 178-201.
- Internationale Politik, in: Lauth, Hans-Joachim and Christian Wagner (eds.): *Politikwissenschaft: Eine Einführung*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 2016, 8th ed., 135-161.
- Internationale Beziehungen/Politik, in: Dieter Nohlen und Florian Grotz (eds.): *Kleines Lexikon der Politik*. München: C.H. Beck, 6th Ed., 2015, 290-294.
- Eurokrise und differenzierte Integration, in: Peter Brandt (ed.): *Verfassung und Krise*. Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2015, 129-146.
- Variable Geometrien. Differenzierung, Integration und Demokratie, in: Stefan Kadelbach (ed.): *Die Europäische Union am Scheideweg: mehr oder weniger Europa?* Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015, 107-123.
- The EU as a System of Differentiated Integration. A Challenge for Theories of European Integration, in: Jeremy Richardson and Sonia Mazey (eds.): *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. London: Routledge, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed., 2015, 33-61 (with Berthold Rittberger).
- EU Enlargement, in: Jeremy Richardson and Sonia Mazey (eds.): *European Union: Power and Policy-Making*. London: Routledge, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed., 2015, 261-282.
- Efficient Process Tracing: Analyzing the Causal Mechanisms of European Integration, in: Andrew Bennett and Jeffrey T. Checkel (eds.): *Process Tracing. From Metaphor to Analytical Tool*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, 98-125. (Reprinted in: Blatter, Joachim, Markus Haverland and Melijn van Hulst (eds.): *Qualitative Research in Political Science*. London: Sage 2016).
- Differentiated Integration Before and After the Crisis, in: Olaf Cramme and Sara B. Hobolt (eds.): *Democratic Politics in a European Union under Stress*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 120-134.
- Democratization in the EU and Switzerland: a Comparison, in: Daniel Kübler and Nenad Stojanovic (eds.): *Demokratie in der Europäischen Union. Ein Schweizer Beitrag zur Debatte* (Democracy in the European Union. A Contribution from the Swiss Perspective). Zürich: Schulthess, 2014, 87-100.
- Differentiated Integration of Core State Powers, in: Philipp Genschel and Markus Jachtenfuchs (eds.): *Beyond the Regulatory Polity? The European Integration of Core State Powers*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, 189-210 (with Berthold Rittberger and Dirk Leuffen).
- The Prerequisites for Democracy. The State and the People – What Else?, in: NCCR Democracy, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Lars Müller (eds.): *Democracy: An Ongoing Challenge*, Zürich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2013, 153-181 (with Manuel Vogt), also published in German edition as “Voraussetzungen der Demokratie: Staat und Volk – was sonst?” in *Herausforderung Demokratie*.
- Voraussetzungen der Demokratie: Staat und Volk – was sonst?, in: *Herausforderung Demokratie* (mit Manuel Vogt). Zürich: Lars Müller, 2013.
- Liberal Theory and European Integration, in: Rebekka Friedman, Kevork Oskanian, and Ramon Pacheco Pardo (eds.): *After Liberalism? The Future of Liberalism in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 253-269.
- Internationale Politik, in: Lauth, Hans-Joachim and Christian Wagner (eds.): *Politikwissenschaft: Eine Einführung*, Paderborn: Schöningh 2012, 7th ed., 135-161.
- EU External Governance and Europeanization Beyond the EU, in: David Levi-Faur (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Governance*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 656-669.
- Constructivist Perspectives, in: Erik Jones, Anand Menon, and Stephen Weatherill (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, 34-47.
- A Comparison of the Rule of Law Promotion Policies of Major Western Powers, in: Noellkämper, André and Michael Zürn (eds.): *Rule of Law Dynamics. In an Era of International and Transnational Governance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, 111-132.
- EU Membership Negotiations with Turkey: Entrapped Again, in: Daniel Thomas (ed.): *Making EU Foreign Policy. National Preferences, European Norms and Common Policies*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011, 111-130.

- Normative Institutionalism and EU Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective, in: Daniel Thomas (ed.): *Making EU Foreign Policy. National Preferences, European Norms and Common Policies*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2011, 177-191 (with Daniel C. Thomas).
- Die supranationale Ebene: innenpolitische Konsequenzen des EU-Beitritts, in: Florian Grotz and Ferdinand Müller-Rommel (eds.): *Regierungssysteme in Mittel- und Osteuropa. Die neuen EU-Staaten im Vergleich*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag 2011, 281-299 (with Guido Schweltnus).
- The Normative Origins of Democracy in the European Union, in: David Tréfás and Jens Lucht (eds.): *Europe on Trial: Shortcomings of the EU with Regard to Democracy, Public Sphere, and Identity*, Innsbruck: Studienverlag 2010, 125-139.
- Integration Theory, in: Michelle Egan, Neill Nugent, and William E. Paterson (eds.): *Research Agendas in EU Studies. Stalking the Elephant*, Basingstoke: Palgrave 2010, 37-59.
- Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Antje Wiener and Thomas Diez (eds.): *European Integration Theory*, Oxford: Oxford University Press 2009, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 67-87 (with Andrew Moravcsik).
- Internationale Politik, in: Lauth, Hans-Joachim and Christian Wagner (eds.): *Politikwissenschaft: Eine Einführung*, Paderborn: Schöningh 2009, 6th ed., 135-161.
- Zur theoretischen Integration von Europäisierungs- und Transformationsforschung: Kommentar, in: Bönker, Frank and Jan Wielgohs (eds.): *Postsozialistische Transformation und europäische (Des-)Integration*, Marburg: Metropolis 2008, 195-198.
- Neue Wege der externen Demokratieförderung: Demokratisches Regieren in der Europäischen Nachbarschaftspolitik, in: Erdmann, Gero and Marianne Kneuer (eds.): *Externe Faktoren der Demokratisierung*, Baden-Baden: Nomos 2008, 169-193 (with Tina Freyburg, Sandra Lavenex, Hanno Scholtz, Tatiana Skripka, and Anne Wetzel), 2. Auflage 2014.
- Transatlantic Relations, Multilateralism, and the Transformation of NATO, in: Bourantonis, Dimitris, Kostas Ifantis, and Panayotis Tsakonas (eds.): *Multilateralism and Security Institutions in an Era of Globalization*, London: Routledge 2008, 183-201.
- Shared Values: Democracy and Human Rights, in: Weber, Katja, Michael E. Smith, and Michael Baun (eds.): *Governing Europe's Neighbourhood. Partners or Periphery?*, Manchester: Manchester University Press 2007, 39-57 (with Sylvia Maier).
- Functional Form, Identity-Driven Cooperation: Institutional Designs and Effects in Post-Cold War NATO, in: Acharya, Amitav and Johnston, Alistair Iain (eds.): *Crafting Cooperation: Regional International Institutions in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007, 145-179.
- Introduction: Designing Research in Political Science – A Dialogue between Theory and Data, in: Gschwend, Thomas and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Research Design in Political Science. How to Practice What They Preach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2007, 1-18 (with Thomas Gschwend).
- Conclusion: Lessons for the Dialogue between Theory and Data, in: Gschwend, Thomas and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Research Design in Political Science. How to Practice What They Preach*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2007, 216-225 (with Thomas Gschwend).
- Forschungsdesign in der Politikwissenschaft: Ein Dialog zwischen Theorie und Daten, in: Gschwend, Thomas and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Forschungsdesign in der Politikwissenschaft. Probleme – Strategien – Anwendungen*, Frankfurt: Campus, 2007, 13-35 (with Thomas Gschwend).
- Lehren für den Dialog zwischen Theorie und Daten, in: Gschwend, Thomas and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Forschungsdesign in der Politikwissenschaft. Probleme – Strategien – Anwendungen*, Frankfurt: Campus, 2007, 327-340 (with Thomas Gschwend).
- Politiktransfer durch politische Konditionalität. Der Einfluss der EU auf die Nichtdiskriminierungs- und Minderheitenschutzgesetzgebung in Mittel- und Osteuropa, in: Holzinger, Katharina et al. (eds.): *Transfer, Diffusion und Konvergenz von Politiken (PVS-Sonderheft 38)*, Wiesbaden: VS-Verlag, 2007, 271-296 (with Guido Schweltnus).
- Candidate Countries and Conditionality, in: Graziano, Paolo and Vink, Maarten (eds.): *Europeanization: New Research Agendas*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 88-101 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).

- The Constitutionalization of the European Union: Explaining the Parliamentarization and Institutionalization of Human Rights, in: Meunier, Sophie and McNamara, Kathleen R. (eds.): *Making History. European Integration and Institutional Change at Fifty (The State of the European Union 8)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, 213-229 (with Berthold Rittberger).
- Prozessanalyse, in: Behnke, Joachim et al. (eds.): *Methoden der Politikwissenschaft. Neuere qualitative und quantitative Analyseverfahren*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2006, 263-271.
- Das Rätsel der Konstitutionalisierung: Wie aus der Europäischen Union ein Verfassungsstaat wurde, in: Rittberger, Berthold and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Die Europäische Union auf dem Weg in den Verfassungsstaat*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 15-39 (with Berthold Rittberger).
- Die Konstitutionalisierung der Europäischen Union. Eine qualitativ-vergleichende Analyse, in: Rittberger, Berthold and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Die Europäische Union auf dem Weg in den Verfassungsstaat*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 41-69 (with Berthold Rittberger, Alexander Bürgin and Guido Schwellnus).
- Konkurrenz und Gemeinschaft. Verfassungsgerichte, rhetorisches Handeln und die Institutionalisierung von Menschenrechten in der Europäischen Union, in: Rittberger, Berthold and Schimmelfennig, Frank (eds.): *Die Europäische Union auf dem Weg in den Verfassungsstaat*, Frankfurt and New York: Campus, 195-220.
- Debatten zwischen Staaten: Rhetorisches Handeln in internationalen Gemeinschaften, in: Beetz, Manfred et al. (eds.): *Jahrbuch Rhetorik 25*, Tübingen: Niemeyer, 83-97.
- Theories of European Integration: Assumptions and Hypotheses, in: Richardson, Jeremy (ed.): *European Union: Power and Policy-making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London: Routledge 2006, 73-95 (with Berthold Rittberger).
- The Process of Enlargement: Problems, Interests, Norms, in: Richardson, Jeremy (ed.): *European Union: Power and Policy-making*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London: Routledge 2006, 207-224.
- EU Enlargement and International Socialization, in: Carr, Fergus and Massey, Andrew (eds.): *Public Policy and the New European Agendas*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar 2006, 81-98.
- Enlargement and the Promotion of Liberal Norms in Europe, in: Domínguez, Roberto and Roy, Joaquín (eds.): *Towards the Completion of Europe. Analysis and Perspectives of the New European Union Enlargement*, Miami: Florida European Union Center 2006, 29-38.
- Politisches Gestalten im erweiterten Europa: Ordnungsmodelle der Regional Governance, in: Stiftung Entwicklung und Frieden (ed.): *Global Governance für Entwicklung und Frieden. Perspektiven nach einem Jahrzehnt*. Bonn: Dietz 2006, 154-172.
- The Study of EU Enlargement: Theoretical Approaches and Empirical Findings, in: Cini, Michelle and Bourne, Angela K. (Eds.): *Palgrave Advances to European Union Studies*. Palgrave Macmillan 2005, 96-116 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- Introduction: Conceptualizing the Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe, in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.): *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2005, 1-28 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- Conclusions: the Impact of the EU on the Accession Countries, in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.): *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2005, 210-228 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).
- The Impact of EU Political Conditionality, in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.): *The Europeanization of Central and Eastern Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press 2005, 29-50 (with Stefan Engert und Heiko Knobel).
- The EU: Promoting Liberal Democracy through Membership Conditionality, in: Flockhart, Trine (ed.): *Socializing Democratic Norms. The Role of International Organizations for the Construction of Europe*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2005, 106-126.
- Transnational Socialization. Community-Building in an Integrated Europe, in: Kaiser, Wolfram and Starie, Peter (eds.): *Transnational EU*. London: Routledge 2005, 61-82.
- The Politics of EU Enlargement: Theoretical and Comparative Perspectives, in: Schimmelfennig, Frank and Sedelmeier, Ulrich (eds.): *The Politics of European Union Enlargement. Theoretical Approaches*. London: Routledge, 3-29 (with Ulrich Sedelmeier).

- Liberal Intergovernmentalism, in: Wiener, Antje and Diez, Thomas (eds.): *European Integration Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, 75-94.
- Internationale Sozialisation: Von einem „erschöpften“ zu einem produktiven Forschungsprogramm?, in: Hellmann, Gunter, Wolf, Klaus Dieter and Zürn, Michael (eds.): *Die neuen Internationalen Beziehungen. Forschungsstand und Perspektiven in Deutschland*. Baden-Baden: Nomos 2003, 401-427.
- Klub oder Gemeinschaft? Eine Kritik der klubtheoretischen Analyse der Erweiterung europäischer Regionalorganisationen, in: Plümper, Thomas (ed.): *Politische Integration*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 2003, 171-199.
- Osterweiterung: Strategisches Handeln und kollektive Ideen, in: Jachtenfuchs, Markus and Kohler-Koch, Beate (eds.): *Europäische Integration*, 2nd ed., Opladen: Leske + Budrich (UTB) 2003, 541-568.
- Introduction: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and East European States - Conceptual and Theoretical Issues, in: Ronald H. Linden (ed.): *Norms and Nannies: The Impact of International Organizations on the Central and Eastern European States*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield 2002, 1-29.
- Liberal Identity and Post-Nationalist Inclusion: The Eastern Enlargement of the European Union, in: Lars-Erik Cederman (ed.): *Constructing Europe's Identity. The External Dimension*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner 2001, 165-186.
- Macht und Herrschaft in Theorien der Internationalen Beziehungen, in: Imbusch, Peter (ed.): *Macht und Herrschaft. Sozialwissenschaftliche Konzeptionen und Theorien*. Opladen: Leske + Budrich, 1998, 317-331.
- International Relations and Political Culture: International Debate and Transition to Democracy in Poland, in: Jablonski, Andrzej W. and Meyer, Gerd (eds.): *The Political Culture of Poland in Transition*, Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego 1996, 65-81.
- Organizacija sistemy bezopasnosti v novoj Evrope, in: Parchalina, T.G. (Red.): *Sozdanie novoj sistemy evropejskoj bezopasnosti i rol' mezhdunarodnyh organizacij*. Problemno-tematicheskij sbornik, Moskva: INION RAN 1996, 9-29.
- Staatenmerkmale und Außenpolitik: Untersuchungsdesign und Hypothesen; Macht oder Ideologie: Vergleichende Auswertung und Erklärung, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.): *Anpassung oder Austritt: Industriestaaten in der UNESCO-Krise. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Außenpolitikforschung*. Berlin: edition sigma 1995, 53-124 (with Gabriele Kittel, Volker Rittberger).
- Die sowjetische Außenpolitik in der UNESCO-Krise, in: Rittberger, Volker (ed.): *Anpassung oder Austritt: Industriestaaten in der UNESCO-Krise. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Außenpolitikforschung*, Berlin: edition sigma 1995, 127-155.
- Raspad Sovetskogo Sojuza i zapadnaja strategija obespechenija bezopasnosti cherez reintegraciju. Naskol'ko prochnymi okazalis' mezhdunarodnye rezhymi kontrolja nad vooruzhenijami i razoruzheniem?, in: Strany byvshego SSSR i evropejskaja bezopasnost'. *Materialy mezhdunarodnoj konferencii*. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnye Otnoshenija 1994, 222-240.
- The CSCE as a Model for the Third World? The Middle East and African Cases, in: Michael R. Lucas (ed.): *The CSCE in the 1990s: The Helsinki Meeting and the Evolution of a Pan-European Order of Security and Cooperation*. Baden-Baden: Nomos 1993, 319-334.
- The Dissolution of the Soviet Union and the Western Strategy of Security Through Reintegration. How Robust Have International Arms Control and Disarmament Regimes Proved?, in: Hans-Georg Ehrhart, Anna Kreikemeyer, Andrei V. Zagorski (eds.): *The Former Soviet Union and European Security: Between Integration and Re-Nationalization*. Baden-Baden: Nomos 1993, 205-218.

Golf-Krieg: Regionale Ursachen und Folgen, in: Friedensgutachten 1991. Münster/Hamburg: Lit 1991, 82-96 (with Claudia Schmid).

## Published Working Papers

*Public Opinion and Differentiated Integration* (Working Paper, EUI RSC 2022/16, Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU), Florence 2022, with Thomas Winzen).

*Differentiated Integration and Flexible Implementation* (Working Paper, EUI RSC 2022/17, Integrating Diversity in the European Union (InDivEU), Florence 2022 (available at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/74407>) (with Sebastiaan Princen, Ronja Szczepanski, Hubert Smekal and Robert Zbiral).

*Differentiated Integration and the Future of Europe – Potentials and Pitfalls* (InDivEU Policy Brief 2021/62), Florence: European University Institute (available at [QM-AX-21-062-EN-N.pdf \(eui.eu\)](https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/74407)).

*Report on the Dynamics of Differentiated Integration* (Working Paper, EUI RSCAS, 2020/85, European Governance and Politics Programme), Florence 2020 (available at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/69142>) (with Thomas Winzen).

*EU Crisis and Reform: Is Differentiated Integration the Answer?* (Working Paper 4, Groupe d'études géopolitiques, June 2020), Paris 2020 (available at <https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2020/06/16/eu-crisis-and-reform-is-differentiated-integration-the-answer/>), also available in French as *Crise et réforme de l'Union européenne. L'intégration différenciée est-elle la réponse?* at <https://legrandcontinent.eu/fr/2020/06/16/crise-et-reforme-de-lunion-europeenne-lintegration-differenciee-est-elle-la-reponse/>.

*Differentiated EU Integration: Maps and Modes* (Working Paper, EUI RSCAS, 2020/24, European Governance and Politics Programme), Florence 2020 (available at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/66880>) (with Thomas Winzen).

*Does Differentiated Integration Strengthen the Democratic Legitimacy of the EU? Evidence from the 2015 Danish Opt-out Referendum* (Working Paper, EUI RSCAS, 2020/11, European Governance and Politics Programme), Florence 2020 (available at <https://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/66164>) (with Dominik Schraff).

*Differentiation and Self-Determination in European Integration* (EUBorders Working Paper Series 01), Barcelona 2017 (available at [http://www.euborders.com/download/WorkingPaper\\_01\\_Schimmelfennig.pdf](http://www.euborders.com/download/WorkingPaper_01_Schimmelfennig.pdf)).

*Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Governments, Raison d'Etat and European Integration*. 2017. Available at SSRN: <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3056520>.

*Graded Membership in the European Union: Good Governance and Differentiated Integration* (KFG The Transformation of Europe, Working Paper 73), Berlin 2016 (available at [http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/publications/working\\_paper/wp/wp73/index.html](http://www.polsoz.fu-berlin.de/en/v/transformeurope/publications/working_paper/wp/wp73/index.html)).

*Beyond Uniform Integration? Researching the Effects of Enlargement on the EU's Legal System* (MAXCAP Working Paper 8), Berlin 2015 (available at [www.maxcap-project.eu](http://www.maxcap-project.eu)) (with Asya Zhelyazokova, Tanja Börzel, and Ulrich Sedelmeier).

*Enlargement and Integration Capacity. A Framework for Analysis* (MAXCAP Working Paper 1), Berlin 2014 (available at [www.maxcap-project.eu](http://www.maxcap-project.eu)).

*The Normative Origins of Democracy in the European Union: Towards a Transformationalist Theory of Democratization* (NCCR Democracy Working Paper 39), Zurich 2009 (available at <http://www.nccr-democracy.unizh.ch/publications/workingpaper/pdf/WP39.pdf>).

*Entrapped Again: The Way to EU Membership Negotiations with Turkey* (UCD DEI Working Paper 08-2008), Dublin 2008 (available at [http://www.ucd.ie/dei/wp/WP\\_08-8\\_Schimmelfennig.pdf](http://www.ucd.ie/dei/wp/WP_08-8_Schimmelfennig.pdf)).

- EU Democracy Promotion in the European Neighborhood: Political Conditionality, Economic Development, and Transnational Exchange* (NCCR Democracy Working Paper 9), Zurich 2007 (available at <http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch/nccr/publications/workingpaper/pdf/WP9.pdf>, with Hanno Scholtz).
- Building Europe's Constitution. The Parliamentarisation and Institutionalization of Human Rights* (ARENA Working Papers 07/2006), Oslo: ARENA 2006 (available at <http://www.nccr-democracy.uzh.ch/nccr/publications/workingpaper/pdf/WP9.pdf>, with Berthold Rittberger).
- European Regional Organizations, Political Conditionality, and Democratic Transformation in Eastern Europe*, Club of Madrid, IV General Assembly, Prague, November 2005 (available at [http://www.clubmadrid.org/cmadrid/fileadmin/Nov05\\_WG3\\_Frank\\_Schimmelfennig.pdf](http://www.clubmadrid.org/cmadrid/fileadmin/Nov05_WG3_Frank_Schimmelfennig.pdf)).
- The Constitutionalization of the European Union: Explaining the Parliamentarization and Institutionalization of Human Rights*, IHS Political Science Series 104, Wien: Institute for Advanced Studies 2005 (with Berthold Rittberger; available at [http://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw\\_104.pdf](http://www.ihs.ac.at/publications/pol/pw_104.pdf)).
- The International Promotion of Political Norms in Central and Eastern Europe: a Qualitative Comparative Analysis*, Central and Eastern Europe Working Paper 61, Cambridge: Harvard University, Center for European Studies 2005 (available at <http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/publications/Schimmelfennig.pdf>).
- Costs, Commitments, and Compliance. The Impact of EU Democratic Conditionality in European Non-Member States*, EUI Working Paper, RSC No. 2002/29, San Domenico 2002 (with Stefan Engert and Heiko Knobel).
- NATO's Eastern Enlargement: an Analysis of Collective Decision-making*. NATO-EAPC Individual Fellowship Report 2000, available at <http://www.nato.int/acad/fellow/98-00/schimmelfennig.pdf>.
- The Double Puzzle of EU Enlargement* (ARENA Working Papers 99/15). Oslo: University of Oslo/ARENA, 1999.
- Deutsche Außenpolitik nach der Vereinigung*. Realistische Prognosen auf dem Prüfstand - Ein Tübinger Projekt. (Tübinger Arbeitspapiere zur Internationalen Politik und Friedensforschung 28). Tübingen: Attempto 1997 (with Volker Rittberger).
- German Foreign Policy After Unification*. On the Applicability of Theoretical Models of Foreign Policy (Center for German and European Studies Working Paper). Washington: Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University, 1997 (with Volker Rittberger).
- Legitimate Rule in the European Union* (Working Paper 1.45), Berkeley: University of California, Center for German and European Studies 1996.
- The Future of Sovereignty - Rethinking a Key Concept of International Relations*, in: *Sovereignty, Democracy and the United Nations* (Tübinger Arbeitspapiere zur Internationalen Politik und Friedensforschung 26), Tübingen: Attempto 1996, 1-17 (with Andreas Hasenclever, Peter Mayer, Volker Rittberger, Christina Schrade).
- KSZVO als regionale Friedensstrategie*. Lässt sich das KSZE-Modell auf den Vorderen Orient übertragen? (Hamburger Beiträge zur Friedensforschung und Sicherheitspolitik 60). Hamburg: IFSH 1991.
- Interventionistische Friedenspolitik in den West-Ost-Beziehungen*. Annäherungen an eine Strategie zur Förderung von Demokratisierungs- und Entmilitarisierungsprozessen in Osteuropa. Tübingen 1989 (Tübinger Arbeitspapiere zur Internationalen Politik und Friedensforschung 10)

## Commentary

- Accelerating enlargement through differentiated membership, TEPSA European Council Experts Debrief, Ninth Issue, November 23 (available at <https://tepsa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/EUCO-Debrief-November-2023.pdf>).
- The Spanish Presidency should maintain momentum in EU enlargement. Recommendations from members of the TEPSA network to the incoming Spanish presidency, July-December 2023, 5-7 (available at <http://www.tepsa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/TEPSA-Recommendations-Spain-2023-1.pdf>).
- [Ukraine is an E.U. candidate. Full membership is an obstacle course. - The Washington Post](#), The Monkey Cage, 30 June 2022.
- Harnessing the EU Accession Perspective for Consolidating Democracy in Accession Countries, TEPSA Experts' Debrief, Special Issue (available at [Special-Issue-Democracy-in-the-Association-Trio.pdf \(tepsa.eu\)](https://tepsa.eu/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Special-Issue-Democracy-in-the-Association-Trio.pdf), 16 June 2022.



«Frank Schimmelfennig: Vorbei mit der Geschlossenheit der EU? - Tagesgespräch - SRF, 31 May 2022.

«Die EU wird kein Verteidigungsbündnis à la Nato» | ETH Zürich, 29 April 2022.

*Die Verteidigung der Neutralität bedarf der Verteidigung des Völkerrechts*, in: *stratos digital* #12, 22 March 2022 (available at [https://www.vtg.admin.ch/content/vtg-internet/de/organisation/kdo-ausb/hka/milak/mehr-zur-milak/stratos/Forum.detail.news.html/vtg-internet/verwaltung/2022/22-03/220321\\_Die\\_Verteidigung\\_der\\_Neutralitaet\\_bedarf\\_der\\_Verteidigung\\_des\\_Voelkerrechts.html](https://www.vtg.admin.ch/content/vtg-internet/de/organisation/kdo-ausb/hka/milak/mehr-zur-milak/stratos/Forum.detail.news.html/vtg-internet/verwaltung/2022/22-03/220321_Die_Verteidigung_der_Neutralitaet_bedarf_der_Verteidigung_des_Voelkerrechts.html)).

Politicisation and rebordering: How the discourse surrounding EU enlargement has changed in European parliaments since 2004. *EUROPP*, 4 March 2021. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2021/03/04/politicisation-and-rebordering-how-the-discourse-surrounding-eu-enlargement-has-changed-in-european-parliaments-since-2004/> (with Marie-Eve Bélanger).

Does differentiated integration improve the democratic legitimacy of the European Union? Evidence from the 2015 Danish opt-out referendum. *EUROPP*, 23 March 2020. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2020/03/23/does-differentiated-integration-improve-the-democratic-legitimacy-of-the-european-union-evidence-from-the-2015-danish-opt-out-referendum/> (with Dominik Schraff).

Does Differentiated Integration Improve Citizens' Assessment of the European Union? *InDivEU Newsletter* 2, Winter 2020. <http://indiveu.eui.eu/indiveu-editorials> (with Dominik Schraff).

Why the EU should open accession negotiations with Albania and North Macedonia. *EUROPP*, 15 October 2019. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2019/10/15/why-the-eu-should-open-accession-negotiations-with-albania-and-north-macedonia/> (with Ulrich Sedelmeier)

Which future for the EU-Turkey relationship? Domestic politics and external differentiation. *VIADUCT Newsletter* 7, June 2019, <https://mailchi.mp/686cccb626a1/viaduct-newsletter-december-415977>.

After the Vote: Does the Parliament Still Come First? How the Spitzenkandidaten process can be saved – and Manfred Weber become Commission President after all. *Bertelsmann Foundation eupinions blog*, 6 June 2019, <https://eupinions.eu/de/blog/after-the-vote-does-the-parliament-still-come-first/>.

Ever Looser Union? Differentiated Integration in the European Union, in: European Commission (Ed.): Jean Monnet Seminar “EU à la Carte?”, Malmö, Sweden, 19-21 June 2016, 7-14.

Consolidating and Revitalizing Enlargement: Further Insights from MAXCAP. Policy Brief. *MAXCAP Policy Briefs* 4. Berlin 2016 (available at [www.maxcap-project.eu](http://www.maxcap-project.eu)).

Mehr Europa – oder weniger? Die Eurokrise und die europäische Integration. *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte* 65: 52, 2015, 28-34. <http://www.bpb.de/apuz/217298/europaeische-integration-in-der-krise>

Juncker's Enlargement Standstill Threatens the EU's Credibility. *Europe's World*, No. 31, Autumn 2015, 32-35. <http://europesworld.org/2015/11/12/junckers-enlargement-standstill-threatens-eus-credibility/#.Vkmw0XYveUk>

Von Krise zu Krise: Versagt die EU in der Flüchtlingspolitik? *Wirtschaftsdienst* 95(10): 650-651, 2015, <http://wirtschaftsdienst.eu/archiv/jahr/2015/10/von-krise-zu-krise-versagt-die-eu-in-der-fluechtlingspolitik/>. Also published in *Ökonomenstimme*, <http://www.oekonomenstimme.org/artikel/2015/10/von-krise-zu-krise-versagt-die-eu-in-der-fluechtlingspolitik/>.

Ein Parlament für die Eurozone. *ZEIT Online*, 21.7.2015, <http://www.zeit.de/politik/2015-07/waehrungsunion-euro-laender-institutionen>.

„Auch Deutschland musste Kompromisse eingehen“. *SRF News*, 15.7.2015, <http://www.srf.ch/news/international/auch-deutschland-musste-kompromisse-eingehen>.

Konditionalität in der Wirtschafts- und Währungsunion. Was können wir von der EU-Beitrittskonditionalität lernen? (Internationale Politikanalyse). Berlin: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung 2015.

Claims of a “new intergovernmentalism” in European integration have been overstated. *EUROPP*, 22 April 2015.  
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2015/04/22/claims-of-a-new-intergovernmentalism-in-european-integration-have-been-overstated/>.

Mit Kandidaten an die Spitze. Wie das Europäische Parlament seinen Einfluss ausbaut. *Berliner Republik* 15(3+4), 2014, 84-86.

The *Spitzenkandidaten* Plot: the European Parliament as a Strategic Competence-Maximizer. *Europedebate.ie*, June 2, 2014, <http://europedebate.ie/spitzenkandidaten-plot-european-parliament-strategic-competence-maximizer/>.

Beyond the Golden Carrot of Conditionality. How the EU Influences Countries Across Its Borders, in: *Idee* 34(6), December 2013, 14-19.

The Bar Moves Higher for EU Membership, in: *Annual Perspectives* 2013. Zürich: Wellershoff & Partners, 64-67.

The EU is not fundamentally undemocratic; it simply needs to be judged by a different democratic standard than nation-states. *EUROPP*, 10 September 2012.  
<http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2012/09/10/democracy-nation-state/>.

Is There a Widening-Loosening Trade-off in European Integration?, *EUSA Review* 25(2), Summer 2012, 2-3.

Krisenbewältigung. Warum die EU an der Eurorettung nicht zerbricht. Zugpferde wie „Merkozy“ sind nötig, in: *Tages-Anzeiger* (Zürich), 24.11.2011.

EPSA – a New Association for Political Scientists in Europe.

<http://poliscizurich.wordpress.com/2010/09/12/epsa-%e2%80%93-a-new-association-for-political-scientists-in-europe/>

Bern. Switzerland’s ambiguous EU relationship is now a source of growing political tension, *Europe’s World*, No. 15, Summer 2010, 134-135.

Democracy Promotion and Civil Society. Impressions from Field Trips to Eastern Europe.  
<http://poliscizurich.wordpress.com/2010/06/27/democracy-promotion-and-civil-society-%e2%80%93-impressions-from-field-trips-to-eastern-europe/>

Swiss EU Policy: From Sonderweg to Impasse. <http://poliscizurich.wordpress.com/2010/04/12/swiss-eu-policy-from-sonderweg-to-impasse/>

„Die Veränderungen haben keine Auswirkungen.“ Der Politologe Frank Schimmelfennig sieht durch den neuen EU-Vertrag kaum Nachteile auf die Schweiz zukommen, in: *Tages-Anzeiger* (Zürich), 20.11.2009.

„Das Parlament entscheidet nicht über das, was den Leuten jetzt wichtig ist.“ Der Zürcher EU-Experte Frank Schimmelfennig sieht in der tiefen Wahlbeteiligung eine durchaus vernünftige Reaktion, in: *Tages-Anzeiger* (Zürich), 09.06.2009.

„Schweizer Kritiker werden bestärkt“. Für den Zürcher Experten Frank Schimmelfennig steckt die EU in einem echten demokratischen Dilemma, in: *Tages-Anzeiger* (Zürich), 14.06. 2008.

Geschlecht und Karriere: Gender-Aspekte der Berufungen in der deutschen Politikwissenschaft, in: *Femina Politica. Zeitschrift für Feministische Politikwissenschaft* 15:1, 2007, 118-123 (with Thomas Plümper).  
“Die EU muss sich immer wieder rechtfertigen”. Im Brennpunkt: 50 Jahre Römer Verträge, Interview, in: *Tages-Anzeiger* (Zürich), 24.03.2007.

Democracy and European Integration: How Democratic Norms Affect the Widening and Deepening of the EU, in: *Newsletter Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna* 12: 4, 2004, 6-7.

Auswärtiges Regieren in der Europäischen Union: ein Tagungsbericht, in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 11:1, 2004, 147-154 (with Wolfgang Wagner and Michèle Knodt).

Jenseits von Gleichgewichtspolitik und Anpassung: Chancen und Grenzen transatlantischen sozialen Einflusses, in: *Welttrends* 11: 40, 2003, 76-81.

Bundesrepublik ohne Armee oder Bundeswehr ohne Grenzen? Die Friedensforschung ist in der Frage zukünftiger Einsätze der Bundeswehr gespalten. *wub – was uns betrifft* 22: 4, 1992, 18-19.

Der Vordere Orient nach dem Golfkrieg, in: *S+F. Vierteljahresschrift für Sicherheit und Frieden* 9:3, 1991, 139-142 (with Claudia Schmid).

Europa als pluralistische Sicherheitsgemeinschaft. Auf dem Weg zu einer europäischen Friedensordnung, in: *Vorgänge* 29:4, 1990, 21-30.

Versöhnung für das Bonner Protokoll. Anmerkungen zum Projekt einer Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätte, in: *Informationsdienst Wissenschaft und Frieden* 4: 3/4, 1986, 17-21.

## Book Reviews

Crises of European Integration. Joining Together or Falling Apart? (by Lucas Schramm), *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 2024, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2024.2368982>.

Die Zukunft der Eurozone. Wie wir den Euro retten und Europa zusammenhalten (edited by Alexander Schellinger und Philipp Steinberg), *Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 59: 1, 2018, 185-186.

Russia vs. the EU: The Competition for Influence in Post-Soviet States (by Jakob Tolstrup), *Slavic Review* 75: 1, 2015, 219-220.

Europe as the Would-Be World Power (by Giandomenico Majone), *Perspectives on Politics* 9: 4, 2011, 975-977.

Political Theory of the European Union (edited by Jürgen Neyer and Antje Wiener), *West European Politics* 34: 6, 2011, 1319-1320.

The Invisible Constitution of Politics. Contested Norms and International Encounters (by Antje Wiener), *Perspectives on Politics* 7: 3, 2009, 725-726.

EU Enlargement, Region Building and Shifting Borders of Inclusion and Exclusion, *Slavic Review* 67: 1, 2008, 216-217.

Europe's Eastward Expansion: The End of Depression?, *Swiss Political Science Review* 13: 1, 2008, 135-138.

The Enlargement of the European Union and NATO: Ordering from the Menu in Central and Eastern Europe (by Wade Jacoby), *Slavic Review* 64: 4, 2005, 877-878.

European Union Enlargement. A Comparative History, *West European Politics* 28: 5, 2005, 1125-1126.