

PUBLICATIONS

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Social Science Citation Index (SSCI): 95 publications, 5898 citations, h-index: 35

Google Scholar: 377 items, 32231 citations, h-index: 77

Most cited publications (150 - 43 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*.

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

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

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

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

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.

Best Conference Paper Award, Honorable Mention (2025) of the European Union Studies Association (EUSA), EUSA Biennial Conference 2023, for "Rebordering and Political Development: The European Reconfiguration of Boundaries for the Movement of Persons", unpublished ms.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Monographs

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

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

Demoi-cracy 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 Demoi-cracy* 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

Rhetorical action in a liberal international order in crisis: theorising EU and NATO enlargements post-2022. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 2024 (with Dirk Leuffen, Antoaneta Dimitrova, Ulrich Sedelmeier, Sandra Lavenex, and Thomas Risse), <https://doi.org/10.1080/13501763.2024.2413461>.

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).

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

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- 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.
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- 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).
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- Goffman Meets IR: Dramaturgical Action in International Community, in: *International Review of Sociology* 12: 3, 2002 (special issue "Sociology Meets IR"), 417-438.
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