

Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt

List of Publications

March 2017

Books

O Futuro da União Europeia. Lisbon: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos, 2016.

Negotiating Trade Liberalization at the WTO: Domestic Politics and Bargaining Dynamics, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.

The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Union: A Study in Integrative and Distributive Bargaining, New York & London: Routledge, 2004.

Dezentralisierungstendenzen in westeuropäischen Ländern. Territorialreformen Belgiens, Spaniens und Italiens im Vergleich, Berlin: Berlin Verlag A. Spitz, 1998.

Edited Volumes

Speaking with a Single Voice: The EU as an Effective Actor in Global Governance, Special Issue of the Journal of European Public Policy, 21:7, 2014. (with Sophie Meunier).

Speaking with a Single Voice: The EU as an Effective Actor in Global Governance. London/New York: Routledge, 2015. (with Sophie Meunier).

Internationale Organisationen: Autonomie, Politisierung, Koordination und Wandel, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderheft 49*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015. (with Andrea Liese und Martin Koch).

Peer-reviewed Journal Articles

Measuring the Empowerment of International Organizations: The Evolution of Financial and Staff Capabilities, *Global Policy*, 2017, forthcoming. (with Henning Schmidtke).

Verantwortungszurechnung im EU-Mehrebenensystem während der Eurokrise: Wer kontrollierte die Troika-Institutionen?, *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Sonderheft Gewaltenteilung und Demokratie in der EU 26(1): 115-29, 2016.

Autonomiekonzeptionen internationaler Organisationen im Vergleich, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderheft 2014 Internationale Organisationen*, Band 49: 28-53, 2015. (with Michael W. Bauer und Jörn Ege).

Speaking with a Single Voice: Internal Cohesiveness and External Effectiveness of the EU in Global Governance, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(7): 961-979, 2014. (with Sophie Meunier).

When Speaking with a Single Voice Isn't Enough: Bargaining Power (A)symmetry and EU External Effectiveness in Global Trade Governance, *Journal of European Public Policy* 21(7): 980-995, 2014.

Do Agents "Run Amok"? Agency Slack in the EU and US Trade Policy in the Doha Round, *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis*, 15(1): 21-36, 2013.

Two-Level Games and Trade Cooperation: What Do We Now Know?, *International Politics*, 50(4): 579-599, 2013.

The Domestic Sources of Multilateral Trade Negotiations: Explaining Brazil's Negotiating Position in the Doha Round, *The International Trade Journal*, 27(2), 173-194, 2013.

The Clash of Negotiations: The Impact of Outside Options on Multilateral Trade Negotiations, *International Negotiation Special Issue on Bilateral and Regional Economic Negotiations*, 18 (1), 111-130, 2013.

Emerging Powers in WTO Negotiations: The Domestic Sources of Trade Policy Preferences, *The International Trade Journal Special Issue on the WTO*, 27(5): 431-449, 2013.

Australian Trade Policy under the Howard Government: the Impact of Organized Interest Groups, *Global Society*, 25 (4): 515-531, 2011.

Variation in EU Member States' Preferences and the Commission's Discretion in the Doha Round, *Journal of European Public Policy*, 18 (3): 402-418, 2011.

Who Controls Whom? Dynamics of Power Delegation and Agency Losses in EU Trade Politics, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 48 (5): 1107-1126, 2010.

Assessing the Impact of Issue Linkage in the Common Fisheries Policy, *International Negotiation*, 13 (2), 285-300, 2008.

Pension Reforms in France: The Role of Trade Unions and the Timing of the Electoral Cycle, *Policy Studies*, 29 (1): 19-34, 2008.

Verhandlungssituationen in der EU: Eine theoriegeleitete Analyse der Gemeinsamen Fischereipolitik, *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Politische Wissenschaft*, 12 (1): 73-103, 2006.

Integrative and Distributive Bargaining in the EU: What Difference Does it Make?, *Negotiation Journal*, 22 (2): 145-165, 2006.

Taking Actors' Preferences and the Institutional Setting Seriously: the EU Common Fisheries Policy, *Journal of Public Policy*, 26 (3), 279-299, 2006.

Journal Articles without peer-review

Why the European Commission is not the “unexpected winner” of the euro crisis? A comment on Bauer and Becker, *Journal of European Integration* 38 (1): 95-100, 2016.

Machtverschiebung in internationalen Organisationen? Schwellenländer als Gestaltungs- und Verweigerungsmächte, *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, Heft 4, S. 101-108, 2015.

Internationale Organisationen als Forschungsgegenstand. Oder „Über Blinde und die Gestalt des Elefanten“, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderheft 2014 Internationale Organisationen*, Band 49: 4-27, 2015. (with Martin Koch und Andrea Liese)

Internationale Organisationen in einer komplexen Welt – Grenzen und Mehrwert einer pluralistischen Forschung, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderheft 2014 Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Band 49: 478-493, 2015. (with Martin Koch und Andrea Liese)

Book Chapters – Edited Volumes

(2017) Multiple Principals' preferences, Types of Control Mechanisms, and Agent's Discretion in Trade Negotiations, in: Tom Delreux and Johan Adriaensen (eds.) *The Principal Agent Model and the European Union*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (forthcoming).

Two-Level Games in Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Cameron Thies (ed.) *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017 (forthcoming). (with Patrick Mello).

The European Agricultural Fortress under Attack, in: Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (eds.), *Key Controversies in European Integration*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming 2016.

Adaptation and Change in EU Trade Governance: The EU's Paradigm Shift from Multilateralism to Regionalism and Bilateralism, in: Manuela Moschella and Catherine Weaver (eds.) *Handbook of Global Economic Governance*, London: Routledge, 57-69, 2013.

EU Agricultural and Fisheries Policies: An Economic and Environmental Disaster!, in: Hubert Zimmermann and Andreas Dür (eds.), *Key Controversies in European Integration*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 35-244, 2012.

Portugal: An Active and Influential Parliament?, in: Bjørn Eric Rasch and George Tsebelis (eds.): *The Role of Governments in Legislative Agenda Setting*, New York & London: Routledge, 2010.

France: the Importance of the Electoral Cycle, in: Ellen M. Immergut, Karen Anderson and , / Isabelle Schulze (eds.): *The Handbook of West European Pension Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 150-199, 2007.

Book Reviews

Zimmermann, Hubert *Drachenzähmung: Die EU und die USA in den Verhandlungen um die Integration Chinas in den Welthandel*, in: *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 52(1): 149-150, 2011.

Dür, Andreas *Protection for Exporters. Power and Discrimination in Transatlantic Trade Relations, 1930-2010*, in: *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 53(3): 555-557, 2012.

Blogs

2016: The European Commission Experienced a “Subtle” Disempowerment During the Eurozone Crisis, in: blog Ise europa: <http://bit.ly/1okdbwE>.

2016: O Futuro da Europa: Crise, Transformação e Resiliência, in blog ffms: <https://ffms.pt/blog/artigo/11/o-futuro-da-europa-crise-transformacao-e-resiliencia>.

2016: O Brexit e o Fim das Ilusões, in: blog ffms: <https://ffms.pt/blog/artigo/31/o-brexit-e-o-fim-das-ilusoes>.

Conference and *Working Papers*

Accountable to Whom and How? Logics of Accountability in EU Governance during the Sovereign Debt Crisis, paper presented at the AKI-DVPW and Comparative Politics joint conference „Gewaltenteilung und Demokratie im Mehrebenensystem der EU – neu, anders – oder weniger legitim?, FU Berlin, 9-10 October 2014 and updated version to be presented at the *European Union Studies Association*, Boston 5-7 March 2015.

Internationale Organisationen als Forschungsgegenstand. Oder “Über Blinde und die Gestalt des Elefanten”, paper presented at the International Relations Session of the *Deutsche Vereinigung für Politikwissenschaft*, Magdeburg 25-27 September 2014.

Acting on Behalf of Collective and Multiple Principals: The European’s Commission Discretion after Lisbon, paper presented at the Workshop The EU in International Negotiations, Global Governance Program, *European University Institute (EUI)*, 23-24 Juni 2014 and updated version to be presented at the *European Union Studies Association*, Boston 5-7 March 2015.

The Perils of Delegation: Using Oversight Mechanisms to Minimize Agency Slack, paper presented at the *Eurofort Workshop on European Integration*, Princeton University and HU Berlin joint conference, July 21, 2014.

Controlling International Organizations after Delegation of Power: The Use of Oversight Mechanisms to Minimize Agency Losses, paper to be presented at the *European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions*, Salamanca, 11-14 April 2014.

Internal Cohesiveness and External Effectiveness of the EU in World Politics, paper presented at the *Conference for European Studies*, Washington D.C., 14-16 March 2014.

A Cacophony of Voices? The EU's Cohesiveness in the Negotiation of Bilateral and Multilateral Trade Agreements, paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, San Francisco, 3-6 April 2013 and at the *European Union Studies Association*, Baltimore, 9-11 May 2013.

Delegation of Power to International Organizations and Institutional Empowerment over Time: A Research Design, paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, San Francisco, 3-6 April 2013.

Delegation of Power to International Organizations and Institutional Empowerment over Time, paper presented at the *European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions*, Mainz, 12-15 March 2013.

The EU as a Global Actor: The Impact of Asymmetrical Bargaining Power and BATNAS on Trade Agreements, paper presented at the *Conference for European Studies*, Boston, 22-24 March 2012.

The EU as an Actor in the Negotiation of Trade Agreements: Asymmetrical Bargaining Power and Best Alternatives to a Negotiated Agreement, paper presented at the *Workshop "Regional Organizations as Global Players: Active=Influential?"*, Zeuthen, 28-29 October 2011.

Do Agents Run Amok? Explaining Different Forms of Delegation of Power to International Organizations and Agency Slack over Time, paper presented at the *Workshop "Public Administration in the Multilevel System"*, Humboldt University Berlin, 23-24 June 2011.

Embedding International Institutions in Time: the Impact of Time Rules on Multilateral Trade Negotiations, paper presented at the *Workshop "Institutional Dynamics in World Politics: Explaining Variation in Scope, Pace, and Direction of International Institutional Change"* at the *Social Science Research Center (Wissenschaftszentrum [WZB])*, Berlin, 7-8 April 2011.

Delegation of Power to International Organizations: Control Gaps, Agents' Discretion and Autonomy in the Principal-Agent Relationship over Time, paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, Montréal, 15-19 March 2011.

Embedding International Negotiations in Time: Stages of Negotiation, Time Pressure, BATNA, and Time Horizons Effects on Bargaining Outcomes, paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, Montréal, 15-19 March 2011.

The WTO at the Crossroads? Negotiating under the Shadow of Time and Domestic Political Constraints, paper presented at the conference *"Myth or Reality? The Promise of Economic Multilateralism"* at the *Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 20-21 December 2010.

Delegation of Power to International Organizations: Agency Losses and Unintended Consequences over Time, paper presented at the *SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference*, Stockholm, 9-11 September 2010.

Explaining the Doha Impasse: The Impact of Domestic Political Institutions on the EU, U.S., Brazilian and Australian Negotiating Positions, paper presented at the *SGIR 7th Pan-European International Relations Conference*, Stockholm, 9-11 September 2010.

The Commission-as-Agent at the Interface between Internal EU Decision-Making and External WTO Negotiations: An Analysis of Tactical Opportunities and Agency Losses, paper presented at the *International Studies Association Annual Convention*, New Orleans, 17-21 February 2010.

Delegation and Agency Losses in EU Trade Politics, EUI Working Paper, San Domenico, Fiesole: RSCAS 2009/18.

Who Controls Whom? Dynamics of Power Delegation and Agency Losses in EU Trade Politics, paper presented at the *Second Conference on the Political Economy of International Organizations*, Geneva, 29-31 January 2009.

On the Time Dimension of International Trade Negotiations, paper presented at the *Workshop Political Science and Political Time*, University of Potsdam, 2-3 April 2009.

Agricultural Trade Liberalization and the Doha Round: A Two-level Game Analysis of the EU Negotiating Position, paper presented at the *European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions*, Lisbon, 14-19 April 2009.

Delegation of Power to International Organizations: Agency Losses and Unintended Consequences, paper presented at the *8ste Nederlands-Belgisch PoliticologenEetmaal*, Nijmegen, 28-29 May 2009.

Delegation of Power to Supranational Institutions: Agency Shirking or Agency Slippage?, paper presented at the *European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions*, Rennes, 11-16 April 2008.

Die Interaktion von Innen- und Außenpolitik in den internationalen Beziehungen: eine historisch-institutionalistische Analyse der WTO-Agrarverhandlungen 1995-2005, paper presented at the *International Relations Session of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Politikwissenschaft*, Mannheim, 6-7 October 2005.

Executive Supremacy in the French Legislature: the Impact of Institutional Procedures in the Reform of the French Welfare State, paper presented at the *European Consortium for Political Research Joint Sessions*, Granada, 14-19 April 2005.

Die Interaktion zwischen Akteurspräferenzen und dem institutionellen Rahmen in EU-Verhandlungen am Beispiel der Gemeinsamen Fischereipolitik, paper presented at the conference „Forschungslogik und Methoden der Internationalen Beziehungen und der Europaforschung“, Hofgeismar, 2-4 April 2003.

Die Reform der Gemeinsamen Agrarpolitik: Anpassungsbedarf und Reformvorschläge. Berlin: Institut für Europäische Politik, 2003.

France: Some Failed and Successful Attempts to Reform the French Pensions System, paper presented at the *Workshop on Pension Politics*, Humboldt-University, 7-8 December 2003.

The EU Negotiation Process: Interests, Institutions, Decision Rules, and Iterated Bargaining, paper presented at the *BP Transatlantic Programme Workshop for Advanced Ph.D. Students on EU Politics*, European University Institute, 7-8 June 2002.

A Micro-model of the EU Negotiation Process: Interests, Institutional Rules and Iterated Bargaining – The Case of Fisheries, *European Consortium for Political Research, Standing Group on Analytical Politics and Public Choice*, Working Paper 26, 2001.

The Reform of European Government Structures: The Territorial Reforms in Belgium, Spain and Italy, paper presented at the *Ionian Conference II: Integrating the New Europe*, Corfu 13-16 Mai 1999.

Konvergenz und Kohäsion in Südeuropa: Eine Analyse der Auswirkungen der Strukturfondsförderung in Portugal und Spanien. Berlin: FU, Magisterarbeit, 1999.