

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

BOOKS

- 2016: O Futuro da União Europeia. Lisbon: Fundação Francisco Manuel dos Santos.
- 2011: Negotiating Trade Liberalization at the WTO: Domestic Politics and Bargaining Dynamics, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 2004: The Common Fisheries Policy of the European Union: A Study in Integrative and Distributive Bargaining, New York & London: Routledge.
- 1998: Dezentralisierungstendenzen in westeuropäischen Ländern. Territorialreformen Belgiens, Spaniens und Italiens im Vergleich, Berlin: Berlin Verlag A. Spitz.

EDITED VOLUMES

- 2015: *Speaking with a Single Voice: The EU as an Effective Actor in Global Governance*. London/New York: Routledge (with Sophie Meunier).
- 2015: Internationale Organisationen: Autonomie, Politisierung, Koordination und Wandel, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift Sonderheft 49*, Baden-Baden: Nomos (with Andrea Liese und Martin Koch).
- 2014: 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) (with Sophie Meunier).

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

- 2020: The (self-)empowerment of the European Central Bank during the sovereign debt crisis, *Journal of European Integration*, doi:10.1080/07036337.2020.1729145 (with Tony Mueller).
- 2019: Legacies and innovations in global economic governance since Bretton Woods, *Review of International Political Economy* 26 (6): 1089-1111 (with Orfeo Fioretos).
- 2019: Explaining coherence in international regime complexes: How the World Bank shapes the field of multilateral development finance, *Review of International Political Economy* 26 (6): 1160-1186 (with Henning Schmidtke).
- 2019: Global Democracy in Decline? How Rising Authoritarianism Limits Democratic Control over International Institutions, *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, 25(2): 231-254 (with Henning Schmidtke).

2019: Reforming International Organizations: How Partisanship and Ministerial Control Shape States Preferences towards the World Bank, *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* (forthcoming) (with Laura C. Mahrenbach).

2019: Contested EU trade governance: transparency conundrums in TTIP negotiations, *Comparative European Politics*, 1-18, doi.org/10.1057/s41295-019-00183-4.

2018: Rising Powers in Global Economic Governance: Mapping the Flexibility-Empowerment Nexus, *Global Policy* 10(1): 19-28 (with Laura C. Mahrenbach).

2018: Lost in Internal Evaluation? Accountability and Insulation at the World Bank, *Contemporary Politics* 24(5): 568-587.

2017: Shaping Global Trade Governance Rules: New Powers' Hard and Soft Strategies of Influence at the WTO, *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 22: 19-36, Special Issue *EU and US Regulatory Power under Strain? Emerging Countries and the Limits of External Governance* (edited by Sandra Lavenex et al.).

2017: Regaining Control of Errant Agents? Agency Slack at the European Commission and the World Health Organization, *Cooperation and Conflict* 52(4): 469-484.

2017: Measuring the Empowerment of International Organizations: The Evolution of Financial and Staff Capabilities, *Global Policy* 8(S5): 51-61 (with Henning Schmidtke). (Amongst articles published between January 2017 and December 2018, this paper received some of the most downloads in the 12 months following online publication.)

2016: 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.

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

2014: 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 (with Sophie Meunier).

2014: 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.

2013: 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.

2011: 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.

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

2008: 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.

2006: 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.

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2016: 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.

2015: 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. (with Martin Koch und Andrea Liese).

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

BOOK CHAPTERS - EDITED VOLUMES

2019: Time in Multilateral Negotiations and International Organizations in Time, in: Klaus H. Goetz (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Time and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

2018: Two-Level Games in Foreign Policy Analysis, in: Cameron Thies (ed.) *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/97801902228637.013.496 (with Patrick Mello).

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, 203-226.

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

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2012: 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.

2010: 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.

2007: 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.

BOOK REVIEWS

2011: 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.

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

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

The European Central Bank during the sovereign debt crisis: Revisiting the independence-accountability nexus, paper presented at EUSA Biennial Conference, Denver, 9-11 May, 2019 (with Tony Mueller).

The systematic study of Commission discretion using principal-agent theory: lessons from the EU's development cooperation policy, paper presented at EUSA Biennial Conference, Denver, 9-11 May, 2019.

The Complex Relationship between Independence and Accountability: Mission Impossible for the European Central Bank?, paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research 2019 Joint Sessions, UCL Mons, Belgium, April 08-12, 2019 (with Tony Mueller).

How Organizational Structure Affects Agency Slack: A Fuzzy-Set Ideal-Type Analysis of International Bureaucracies, paper presented at the European Consortium for Political Research 2019 Joint Sessions, UCL Mons, Belgium, April 08-12, 2019 (with Patrick Mello, Omar Serrano, Anna Novoselova).

Privatization of Development Governance: Adaptation Strategies of the World Bank in Turbulent Times, paper presented at the International Studies Association 2019, Toronto, March 25-30, 2019 (with Thomas Doerfler).

Back to Bretton Woods: How Institutional Proliferation Has Increased the Resilience of the World Bank, paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Boston, August 30-September 2, 2018. (with Henning Schmidtke).

European Policy Failure during the Refugee Crisis: Partial Empowerment, Reluctant Agents, a Cacophony of Voices, and Unilateral Action, EUI Working Papers RSCAS 2018/36, 2018.

Independence, Accountability, and Legitimacy: Mission Impossible for the European Central Bank?, paper presented at the 25th International Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, March 28-30, 2018 and at the ECPR Standing Groups Sciences Po, June 13-15, 2018 (with Tony Müller).

European Policy Failure during the Refugee Crisis: Partial Empowerment, Reluctant Agents, a Cacophony of Voices, and Unilateral Action, paper presented at the 25th International Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, March 28-30, 2018 and at the ECPR Standing Groups Sciences Po, June 13-15, 2018.

The EU Performance During the Refugee Crisis, paper presented at the 25th International Conference of Europeanists, Chicago, March 28-30, 2018 (with Vittoria Meissner).

Global Democracy in Decline? How Rising Authoritarianism limits Democratic Control over Multilateral Development Banks, paper presented at the International Studies Association Annual Convention, San Francisco, April 4-7, 2018 (with Henning Schmidtke).

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Contested Multilateralism and the World Bank: Explaining the Establishment of the New Development Bank, paper presented at the ECPR General Conference, September 6 - 9, 2017 and at the DVPW IP-Sektionstagung, October 4-6, 2017.

Power without Control? Explaining variety of accountability mechanisms across troika institutions, paper presented at the European Workshops in International Studies, Accountability in Global Governance, Cardiff, June 07-10, 2017.

The Systematic Study of Commission Discretion using Principal-Agent Theory: Lessons from the EU's Development Cooperation Policy, paper presented at the EUSA Biennial Conference, Miami, 4-6 May, 2017 (with Markus Gastinger).

Disintegration Dynamics in Europe? Mass Migration, Cacophony of Voices, and External Spill-Back Processes, paper presented at the EUSA Biennial Conference, Miami, 4-6 May, 2017.

The Silent Empowerment of the ECB During the Euro Crisis, paper presented at the EUSA Biennial Conference, Miami, 4-6 May, 2017 (with Tony Müller).

Explaining the Empowerment of International Organizations" ISA Annual Convention, Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017 (with Henning Schmidtke).

Rise and Decline of Old Bretton Woods Institutions: Dys functionality and Insulation at the World Bank ISA Annual Convention, Baltimore, February 22-25, 2017.

Exploring the Paradox of Increasing Transparency in TTIP Negotiations, paper presented at the Council for European Studies 23rd International Conference for Europeanists, Philadelphia, April 14-16 and at the Interdisciplinary Conference on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) at the University of Gothenburg March 14-15, 2016.

Empowering International Organizations, paper presented at the 57th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016 and University of Munich Workshop on "Resourcing International Organizations" 2016 (with Henning Schmidtke).

Partisan Orientation of Old and New Power Governments towards Empowerment at the World Bank, paper presented at the 57th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016 (with Laura Mahrenbach).

Variation Without Influence? (In)formal Policy-making in EU Development Cooperation, paper presented at the Council for European Studies 23rd International Conference for Europeanists, Philadelphia, April 14-16 (with Markus Gastinger).

How Effective are Informal Coalitions in Global Governance? Rising Powers as shapers of global health rules, paper presented at the 57th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016 (with André Isidro).

The World Health Organization's adaptive capacity in a complex inter-organizational environment" paper presented at the 57th Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta, March 16-19, 2016 (with André Isidro).

Lost in Internal Evaluation: Accountability and Insulation at the World Bank, Paper presented at the workshop, "The Transformative Power of Regulatory Governance", Copenhagen Business School, February 4-5, 2016.

Negotiating Styles of Rising Powers in Global Economic Governance, paper presented at the Workshop "From Rule-Takers to Rule-Makers: Emerging Powers in the Regulation of International Trade", University of Geneva February 9-10, 2016.

Emerging Power Preferences towards Institutional Empowerment of International Organizations, paper presented at the ISA 2015 Annual Convention, New Orleans, February 18-21, 2015 (with Laura Mahrenbach).

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.