LIST OF PUBLICATIONS – PROF. DR. KAI OPPERMANN

Refereed Journal Articles

1. Great Power Competition for Global Leadership in Artificial Intelligence (AI): Reconstructing AI Narratives of the United States, China, and the European Union (Co-authored with Jakob Landwehr-Matlé and Daniel Lambach), *Review of International Studies*, Online First (2026), DOI: 10.1017/S0260210526101776.
2. Conceptualising Transnational Politicisation in International Affairs: The Turkish Diaspora in Germany and the Politicisation of German–Turkish Relations (Co-authored with Ebru Turhan), *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 29 (11) (2026), DOI: 10.1057/s41268-026-00375-y.
3. Contradictions, Delays, Pushback: The Politicisation of the Zeitenwende (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), *German Politics*, Online First (2026), DOI: 10.1080/09644008.2026.2741867.
4. Dynamics of Politicisation and De-politicisation in Foreign Policy: The Case of German Military Support for Ukraine, *Journal of European Integration*, Online First (2026), DOI: 10.1080/07036337.2026.2616656.
5. (Re-)Setting the World Stage: Role Theory and Transitional Orders (Co-authored with Ryan Beasley and Juliet Kaarbo), *Global Studies Quarterly*, 6 (1) (2026), ksaf115.
6. Laughing at Failure or Failing to Laugh: Humour as a Strategy for Dealing with Foreign Policy Failure? (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), *Alternatives*, 50 (1) (2025), 94-109.
7. Unpacking Altercasting in Role Theory: The Biden Administration's Policy of Altercasting Germany into a Faithful Ally Role in Relations with China, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 20 (2) (2024), orae003.
8. Visualising State Biographical Narratives: A Rhetorical Analysis of Chinese and North Korean Propaganda Photographs (Co-authored with Olli Hellmann), in: *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, Online First (2023), doi: 10.1177/13691481231204
9. German Foreign Policy Under the Merkel IV Government: The Role of Party Political Contestation Within the 'Grand Coalition' (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), *German Politics*, 33 (2) (2024).
10. What if? Counterfactual Trump and the Western Response to the War in Ukraine (Co-authored with Juliet Kaarbo and Ryan Beasley), in: *International Affairs*, 99 (2) (2023), 605-624.
11. Narratives of Digital Sovereignty in German Political Discourse (Co-authored with Daniel Lambach), in: *Governance*, 36 (3) (2023), 693-709.
12. Mapping Party Support for EU Referendums after Brexit: Results from an Expert Survey, in: *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, 31 (2) (2023), 409-424.
13. Drivers of Consensus: Responses to Brexit in Germany, France, Ireland and Poland (Co-authored with Paul Taggart, Neil Dooley, Aleks Szczerbiak and Susan Collard), in: *German Politics*, Online First (2023), doi: 10.1080/09644008.2022.2159943.
14. Propaganda Photographs as a Tool of North Korean Public Diplomacy: An Experimental Analysis of the Kim Jong-un Effect (Co-authored with Olli Hellmann), in: *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, Online First (2022), doi: 10.1080/09557571.2022.2065460.
15. Photographs as Instruments of Public Diplomacy: China's Visual Storytelling during the Covid-19 Pandemic (Co-authored with Olli Hellmann), in: *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 17 (2) (2022), 177-215.
16. Role Theory, Foreign Policy, and the Social Construction of Sovereignty: Brexit Stage Right (Co-authored with Ryan Beasley and Juliet Kaarbo), in: *Global Studies Quarterly*, 1 (1) (2021), 1-14.

17. Clashing Traditions: German Foreign Policy in a New Era (Co-authored with Jamie Gaskarth), in: *International Studies Perspectives*, 22 (1) (2021), 84-105.
18. Poliheuristic Theory and Germany's (Non-)Participation in Multinational Military Interventions. The Non-compensatory Principle, Coalition Politics and Political Survival (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: *German Politics*, 30 (1) (2021), 106-121.
19. Narrative Genres of Brexit: The Leave Campaign and the Success of Romance (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27 (5) (2020), 666-684.
20. Who Gets What in Foreign Affairs? Explaining the Allocation of Foreign Ministries in Coalition Governments (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: *Government and Opposition*, 55 (2) (2020), 241-259.
21. The Party Politics of Learning from Failure: The German Greens and the Lessons Drawn from the 2013 General Election (Co-authored with Alexaner Bürgin), in: *Environmental Politics*, 29 (4) (2020), 609-627.
22. British Foreign Policy after Brexit: Losing Europe and Finding a Role (Co-authored with Ryan Beasley and Juliet Kaarbo), in: *International Relations*, 34 (2) (2020), 133-156.
23. The Ontological Security of Special Relationships: The Case of Germany's Relations with Israel (Co-authored with Mischa Hansel), in: *European Journal of International Security*, 4 (1) (2019), 79-100.
24. Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Navigating Domestic and International Expectations on German Foreign Policy, in: *German Politics*, 28 (3) (2019), 482-498.
25. Narrating Success and Failure: Congressional Debates on the 'Iran Nuclear Deal' (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *European Journal of International Relations*, 24 (2) (2018), 268-292.
26. Coalition Governance and Foreign Policy Decision Making (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer and Niels van Willigen), in: *European Political Science*, 16 (4) (2017), 489-501.
27. Telling Stories of Failure: Narrative Constructions of Foreign Policy Fiascos (co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 23 (5) (2016), 685-701.
28. Counterfactual Reasoning in Foreign Policy Analysis: The Case of German Non-participation in the Libya Intervention of 2011 (Co-authored with Mischa Hansel), in: *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 12 (2) (2016), 109-127.
29. The Media Salience of Germany's Bilateral Relations to the United States, France and Britain (Co-authored with Henrike Viehrig), in: *German Politics*, 25 (4) (2016), 439-456.
30. Once Upon a Time There Was a Mistake…Narratives and the Construction of Foreign Policy Fiascos (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *Zeitschrift für Politik*, 63 (2) (2016), 156-169 (in German).
31. Patterns of Junior Partner Influence on the Foreign Policy of Coalition Governments (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: *British Journal of Politics and International Relations*, 16 (4) (2014), 555-571.
32. Delineating the Scope Conditions of the Poliheuristic Theory of Foreign Policy Decision Making: The Noncompensatory Principle and the Domestic Salience of Foreign Policy, in: *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 10 (1) (2014), 23-41.
33. The Politics of Discretionary Government Commitments to European Integration Referendums, in: *Journal of European Public Policy*, 20 (5) (2013), 684-701.
34. The Politics of Avoiding Referendums on the Treaty of Lisbon, in: *Journal of European Integration*, 35 (1) (2013), 73-89.
35. Thinking Alike? Salience and Metaphor Analysis as Cognitive Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9 (1) (2013), 39-56.

36. National Role Conceptions, Domestic Constraints and the New 'Normalcy' in German Foreign Policy: the Eurozone Crisis, Libya and Beyond, in: *German Politics*, 21 (4) (2012), 502-519.
37. The Public Images of Britain, Germany, and France in the United States, in: *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 9 (4) (2011), 305-325.
38. NGOs as Catalysts for International Arms Control? The Ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention and the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in the United States (Co-authored with Dagmar Röttsches), in: *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 13 (3) (2010), 239-267.
39. The Public Salience of Foreign and Security Policy in Britain, Germany and France (Co-authored with Henrike Viehrig), in: *West European Politics*, 32 (5) (2009), 925-942.
40. The Salience of Foreign Affairs Issues in the German Bundestag (Co-authored with Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Henrike Viehrig), in: *Parliamentary Affairs*, 62 (3) (2009).
41. The Blair Government and Europe: The Policy of Containing the Salience of European Integration, in: *British Politics*, 3 (2) (2008), 156-182.
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43. Issue Salience and the Domestic Legitimacy Demands of European Integration. The Cases of Britain and Germany (Co-authored with Henrike Viehrig), in: *European Integration online Papers*, 12 (2) (2008).
44. Transatlantic Conflict and Cooperation: What Role for Public Opinion? (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: *Journal of Transatlantic Studies*, 5 (1) (2007), 43-61.
45. Public Opinion and the Development of the European Security and Defence Policy (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 12 (2) (2007), 149-167.

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1. Foreign Policy Analysis, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024 (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer).
2. Foreign Policy Analysis, München: Oldenbourg, 2019 (2nd edition) (in German) (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer).
3. Principals and Agents in Two-level Games. The Domestic Constraints of British European Policy under the Blair Government, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2008 (in German).

Special Issues and Edited Volumes

1. Foreign Policy as Public Policy? Promise and Pitfalls, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2019 (Co-edited with Klaus Brummer, Sebastian Harnisch and Diana Panke).
2. EU-Induced Policy Change in Turkey's Environment and Energy Policy, *Turkish Studies*, Special Issue, 20 (4) (2019) (Co-edited with Alexander Bürgin).
3. Political Mistakes and Policy Failures in International Relations, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2018 (Co-edited with Andreas Kruck and Alexander Spencer).
4. Fiascos in Public Policy and Foreign Policy, *Journal of European Public Policy,* Special Issue, 23 (5) (2016) (Co-edited with Alexander Spencer).
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6. Special Relationships as Nexus between Foreign Policy and International Politics, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015 (in German) (Co-edited with Sebastian Harnisch and Klaus Brummer).
7. British Foreign and Security Policy. Historical Legacies and Current Challenges, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2012 (Edited).
8. Issue Salience in International Politics, London: Routledge, 2011 (Co-edited with Henrike Viehrig).
9. German Foreign Policy. Security, Welfare, Institutions and Norms, 2nd edition, completely revised and updated, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2011 (in German) (Co-edited with Thomas Jäger and Alexander Höse).
10. German Foreign Policy. Security, Welfare, Institutions and Norms, 2007 (in German) (Co-edited with Thomas Jäger and Alexander Höse).
11. Transatlantic Relations, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2005 (in German) (Co-edited with Thomas Jäger and Alexander Höse).
12. The Security Strategies of the EU and the US, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005 (in German) (Co-edited with Thomas Jäger and Alexander Höse).

Book Chapters

1. Foreign Policy as Public Policy (Co-authored with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Cameron Thies (ed.): *Handbook of International Relations*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2025, 420-434.
2. Democratic Institutions and Actors and Foreign Policy, in: Juliet Kaarbo and Cameron Thies (eds): *The Oxford Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2024, 267-284.
3. Germany: Supportive in Times of Crisis (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: Klaus Brummer and Sumit Ganguly (eds): *States and their Nationals Abroad: Support, Co-Opt, Repress*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024, 230-255.
4. Foreign Policy Analysis in International Relations (in German), in: Frank Sauer, Carlo Masala and Luba von Hauff (eds): *Handbuch Internationale Beziehungen*, 3rd edition, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2024.
5. The Politics of Fear in International Relations: Aims and Effects of Frightening Communication (with Aaron Gebler), in: Jens Lanfer and Martin W. Schnell (eds): Angst und Angstpolitik. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2024, 251-265.
6. Narrative Analysis (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: Patrick Mello and Falk Ostermann (eds): *Routledge Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis Methods*, London and New York: Routledge, 2023.
7. Foreign Policy Failure: A Narrative Analysis (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: Adriana Mica, Mikołaj Pawlak, Anna Horolets and Paweł Kubicki (eds): *Routledge International Handbook of Failure*, London and New York: Routledge, 2023.
8. German Foreign Policy on the Eve of the 2021 Federal Elections: Between International Demands and Domestic Politics, in: Ross Campbell and Louise K. Davidson-Schmich (eds): *The 2021 German Federal Elections*, Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023, 199-208.
9. German Foreign Policy at the End of the Merkel Era: Looking for Orientation in a Changing International and Domestic Environment (in German), in: Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Fabian Engler

(eds): *Das Ende der Merkel-Jahre: Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2018-2021*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2022, 449-474.

10. Foreign Policy Analysis (in German) (Co-authored with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Georg Wenzelburger and Reimut Zohlnhöfer (eds): *Handbuch Policy-Forschung*, 2nd edition, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2022, online first, doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-05678-0_32-1.
11. Conclusion: Grasping Foreign Policy Change (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: Jeroen K. Joly and Tim Haesebrouck (eds): *Foreign Policy Change in Europe Since 1991, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan*, 2021, 311-331.*
12. Transatlantic Relations (in German), in: Werner Weidenfeld, Wolfgang Wessels and Funda Tekin (eds): *Europa von A bis Z*, Springer VS: Wiesbaden, 2020, 565-569.
13. Coalition Politics and National Role Conceptions: Navigating the Tensions between Multilateralism and Antimilitarism in Germany's Civilian Power Role (in German), in: Klaus Brummer and Friedrich Kießling (eds): *Civilian Power Germany? The Foreign Policy Roles of the Federal Republic before and after 1989 from Political Science and Historical Perspectives*, Nomos: Baden-Baden, 2019, 258-278.*
14. Veto Player Approaches in Public Policy and Foreign Policy (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: Klaus Brummer, Sebastian Harnisch, Kai Oppermann and Diana Panke (eds): *Public Policy as Foreign Policy? Promise and Pitfalls*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2019, 91-113.*
15. 'Brexit' and the Politics of Resilience in the U.S.-UK Special Relationship, in: Gordon Friedrichs, Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron G. Thies (eds): *The Politics of Resilience and Transatlantic Order. Enduring Crisis?* London: Routledge, 2019, 186-202.*
16. The United Kingdom in World Politics (in German), in Roland Sturm (ed.): *Länderbericht Großbritannien*, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2019, 488-506.
17. Veto Player Approaches in Foreign Policy Analysis (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: Thies, Cameron (ed.): *Oxford Encyclopedia of Foreign Policy Analysis*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018, 807-824.*
18. German Foreign Policy During the Third Merkel Government: Crisis Management between International Expectations and Domestic Reservations (in German), in: Reimut Zohlnhöfer and Thomas Saalfeld (eds): *Zwischen Stillstand, Politikwandel und Krisenmanagement. Eine Bilanz der Regierung Merkel 2013-2017*, Wiesbaden: Springer VS, 2018, 619-642.
19. Poliheuristic Theory of Decision-Making, in: Patrick James (ed.): *Oxford Bibliographies in International Relations*, Oxford University Press, 2018, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199743292-0238.*
20. Derailing the Process of European Integration? EU Referendums and the Politics of Euroscepticism, in: Leruth, Benjamin, Startin, Nick and Usherwood Simon (eds): *The Routledge Handbook of Euroscepticism*, London: Routledge, 2018, 243-255.
21. Mistakes and Failures in International Relations (Co-authored with Andreas Kruck and Alexander Spencer), in: Andreas Kruck, Kai Oppermann and Alexander Spencer (eds): *Political Mistakes and Policy Failures in International Relations*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, 1-29.

22. Germany's Foreign Policy after the End of the Cold War: "Becoming Normal"? (Co-authored with Klaus Brummer), in: *Oxford Handbooks Online*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, 1-30, DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/ 9780199935307.013.1.*

23. 9/11 and the Normalisation of German Foreign Policy (in German), in: Till Karmann, Simon Wendt, Tobias Endler and Martin Thunert (eds): Historical Turning point 9/11? A Transatlantic Balance Sheet, Opladen: Verlag Barbara Budrich, 2016, 115-142.*

24. Asymmetric Special Relationships and Foreign Policy Fiascos of the Junior Partner: The United Kingdom and its Special Relations to the United States (in German), in: Sebastian Harnisch, Klaus Brummer and Kai Oppermann (eds): *Special Relationships as Nexus between Foreign Policy and International Politics*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2015, 237-260.

25. Analyzing Issue Salience in International Politics: Theoretical Foundations and Methodological Approaches (Co-authored with Catherine de Vries), in: Kai Oppermann and Henrike Viehrig (eds): *Issue Salience in International Politics*, London: Routledge, 2011, 3-19.*

26. The Cognitive Dimension of Parliamentary Influence. Trends in the Salience of Foreign Affairs Issues in the German Bundestag, 2005-10 (Co-authored with Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Henrike Viehrig), in: Kai Oppermann and Henrike Viehrig (eds): *Issue Salience in International Politics*, London: Routledge, 2011, 191-209.*

27. Analyzing Issue Salience in International Politics. Preliminary Findings and Open Questions (Co-authored with Henrike Viehrig), in: Kai Oppermann and Henrike Viehrig (eds): *Issue Salience in International Politics*, London: Routledge, 2011, 261-276.*

28. Blair and the European Union (Co-authored with Scott James), in: Terrence Casey (ed.): *The Blair Legacy. Politics, Policy, Governance, and Foreign Affairs*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, 285-298.*

29. The Transnational Spillovers from Pledging EU Referendums: The Case of the European Constitution, in: Wilfried Marxer (ed.): *Direct Democracy and Minorities*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2012, 215-229.

30. The Domestic Constraints of German Foreign Policy (in German) (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Kai Oppermann (eds): *German Foreign Policy. Security, Welfare, Institutions and Norms*, 2nd edition, completely revised and updated, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2011, 44-72.

31. Flexibilisation and Depoliticisation: Reform Options for Improving the Efficiency of European Governance (in German), in: Erich Reiter (ed.): *Legal and Security Policy Challenges of the EU*, Sozialwissenschaftliche Schriftenreihe, Vol. 33, Vienna: Internationales Institut für Liberale Politik, 2010, 41-56.

32. Between Constitution and Enlargement: Public Opinion as a Constraint of European Integration (in Spanish), in: Alberto Rocha Valencia and Jaime Preciado Coronado (eds): *Proyectos y Estrategias de Integración. América Latina y el Caribe en el contexto de América del Norte y Europa*, Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2008, 611-619.

33. The Domestic Constraints of German Foreign Policy (in German) (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Kai Oppermann (eds): *German Foreign Policy. Security, Welfare, Institutions and Norms*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2007, 40-68.
34. Bureaucratic Politics and Organisational Process Perspectives on Security Policy: From 9/11 to the Iraq War (in German) (Co-authored with Thomas Jäger), in: Alexander Siedschlag (ed.): *Methodological Approaches in Security Studies*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2006, 105-134.
35. Public Opinion as a Catalyst of Transatlantic Cooperation and Conflict (in German) (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Kai Oppermann (eds): *Transatlantic Relations*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag, 2005, 375-396.

Non-Refereed Journal Articles and Working Papers

1. The Divided Kingdom: Making Sense of the "Brexit"-Referendum, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, 57 (4) (2016), 516-533.
2. After the General Elections, Before the EU-Referendum: British European Policy at a Crossroads (in German), in: *Integration*, 38 (4) (2015), 275-291.
3. Debating the Crisis in the Eurozone. An Analysis of the Merkel Government's Discourse in the German Bundestag 2009-2012 (in German), in: *Integration*, 37 (3) (2014), 262-274.
4. German Foreign Policy and Leadership of the EU – 'You Can't Always Get What You Want … But You Sometimes Get What You Need' (Co-authored with Alan Mayhew and Dan Hough), Working Paper 119, Sussex European Institute, University of Sussex, 2011.
5. Don't Mention the War or the World Cup. A Report on a British-German IR Conference (Co-authored with Alexander Spencer), in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen*, 15 (2) (2008), 303-314.
6. German Foreign Policy Between Domestic and International Constraints (Co-authored with Alexander Höse), in: Economag, 6/2008, 1-9 (in German).
7. The 2005 British Presidency of the EU: Between European Expectations and Domestic Constraints (in German), in: *Integration*, 29 (1) (2006), 23-37.
8. The Salience of Foreign Affairs Issues in the Bundestag. Results from a Survey among the Members of the 16th German Bundestag (in German) (Co-authored with Thomas Jäger, Alexander Höse and Henrike Viehrig), Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik und Außenpolitik (AIPA) 4/2006, Cologne.
9. The British General Elections of 2005 (in German), in: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 6/2005, 671-673.
10. Blair's U-Turn – The British Commitment to a Referendum on the European Constitution (in German), in: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, 6/2004, 656-660.
11. The British Referendum on the European Constitutional Treaty (in German), Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik und Außenpolitik (AIPA) 1/2004, Cologne.
12. New Labour and the Euro – The Imperatives of Domestic Politics (in German), Arbeitspapiere zur internationalen Politik und Außenpolitik (AIPA) 2/2003, Cologne.