

List of Publications

Books

Forthcoming: *The Geopolitics of Negotiated Corporate Justice*.

2014: *The Power of Inaction: Bank Bailouts in Comparison*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

2008: *Firm Interests: How Governments Shape Business Lobbying on Global Trade*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

- French translation by Isabelle Menneson : *Le lobbying à rebours : L'influence du politique sur la stratégie des grandes entreprises*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 2011.

Edited Volumes

Under review: "The Political Economy of Law Enforcement," *Comparative Political Studies*, (edited with Matias Dewey and Lucas Ronconi).

2013: *Economic Patriotism in Open Economies*, London: Routledge (edited with Ben Clift).

- *Reprinted from special issue:*
"Economic Patriotism: Political Intervention in Open Economies," *Journal of European Public Policy*, special issue, Vol. 19, No. 3, 2012 (with Ben Clift).

2004: *Les usages de l'Europe : acteurs et transformations européennes*. Paris: L'Harmattan (edited with Sophie Jacquot).

Journal Articles (peer reviewed)

2016: "Politics in the Interest of Capital: A Not-So-Organized Combat," *Politics and Society*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 373-91.

2016: "A Symposium on Financial Power" and "A Rejoinder by the Author," *Accounting, Economics and the Law – A Convivium*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 1-4 and 85-92.

2014: "Bank Rescue Schemes in Continental Europe: The Power of Collective Inaction," *Government and Opposition*, Vol. 49, No. 3, pp. 426-451.

2014: "Saving the Banks: The Political Economy of Bailouts," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 4, p. 574-600 (with Emiliano Grossman).

2013: "The Future of International Political Economy: Introduction to the 20th Anniversary Issue of RIPE," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 20, No. 5, p. 1009-1023 (with Juliet Johnson, Daniel Mügge, Len Seabrooke, Ilene Gabel, and Kevin Gallagher).

2013: "Moral Categories in the Financial Crisis," Discussion Forum with Marion Fourcade, Philippe Steiner and Wolfgang Streeck, *Socio-Economic Review*, Vol. 11, No. 3, p. 601-627, available at:

2013: "Lobbying under Pressure: The Effect of Salience on European Hedge Fund Regulation," *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 3, p. 555-572.

- 2012: "Open Skies, Closed Markets: Future Games in the Negotiation of Air Transport," *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 19, No. 5, p. 918-941.
- 2012: "The Brash and the Soft-Spoken: Lobbying Styles in a Transatlantic Comparison," *Interest Groups and Advocacy*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 193–214.
- 2012: "Economic Patriotism: Reinventing Control Over Open Markets," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 307-323 (with Ben Clift).
- 2011: "The French Debate over the Bolkestein Directive," *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 3, p.344-366 (with Emiliano Grossman).
- 2010: "Using Europe: Strategic Action in Multi-Level Politics," *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 1, p.110-126 (with Sophie Jacquot).
- 2008: " Action publique européenne : les acteurs stratégiques face à l'Europe," *Politique européenne*, No. 25, p. 161-192 (with Sophie Jacquot).
- 2007: "When Trade Liberalization Turns into Regulatory Reform: The Impact on Business-Government Relations in International Trade Politics," *Regulation and Governance*, Vol. 1, No. 2, p. 121-138 (with Alvaro Artigas).
- 2007: "From National Champions to Global Players? Lobbying by Dominant Providers during the WTO's Basic Telecom Negotiations," *Business and Society*, Vol. 46, No. 2, p. 229-252.
- 2007: "Leading the Dance? Power and Political Resources of Business Lobbyists" *Journal of Public Policy*, Vol. 27, No. 1, p. 57-78.
- 2006: "National Business Associations under Stress: Lessons from the French Case," *West European Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, p. 489-512.
- 2006: "Research Agenda: Lobbying in the European Union: From *Sui Generis* to a Comparative Perspective," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 3, p. 456-470.
- 2006 : "La réforme du Medef : chronique des difficultés de l'action collective patronale," *Revue française de sciences politiques*, Vol. 56, No. 2, p. 255-279.
- 2006: "The Road to External Representation: the Commission's Activism in International Air Transport," *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 13 No. 1, p. 52-69.
- 2005 : "Vers des compétences externes : l'activisme de la Commission en matière d'aviation internationale," *Politique européenne*, No. 17, p. 137-158.
- 2005: "Europe and the Transformation of French Policy-Making: A Cross-sectoral Approach," *Zeitschrift für Staats- und Europawissenschaften*, Vol. 3 No. 3, p. 388-409. (with Richard Balme).
- *Chinese translation*: "从议程设置到弹性：适应欧洲的法国政策决策 [From Agenda-Setting to Resilience: French Policy-Making Adaptation to Europe]", *China Public Administration Review*, Vol. 8, No. 1, 2009 pp.50-64.

2003: "Usage of European Integration – Europeanisation from a Sociological Perspective," *European Integration online Papers* (EIoP) Vol. 7 No. 12, available at <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/2003-012a.htm> (with Sophie Jacquot).

- *Romanian translation*: "Implementarea conceptului de integrare europeana sau europenizarea din perspectiva sociologica," *Studii de securitate* Vol. 2 No. 3, 2004.

Book Contributions

2017: "State Action in Financial Times," in Patrick Le Galès and Desmond King (eds.) *Reconfiguring European States in Crisis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.201-2014.

2016: "Evolutionary Dynamics in Internal Market Regulation in the European Union," in Orfeo Fioretos, Tullia G. Falletti, and Adam Sheingate (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.504-516 (with Mark Thatcher).

2013: "The State: The Bête Noire of Neo-Liberalism or its Greatest Conquest?" in Vivien Schmidt and Mark Thatcher (eds.) *Resilient Liberalism in Europe's Political Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.112-141 (with Vivien Schmidt).

2013: "Global Companies as Agenda-Setters in the World Trade Organization," in John Mikler (ed.) *Handbook of Global Policy: Global Companies*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 257-271.

2012: "EU Foreign Economic Policy: How Much Power for the Lobbyists? The Autonomy of EU Institutions," in Andreas Dür and Hubert Zimmermann (eds.) *Key Controversies in European Integration*. London: Palgrave.

2012: "The Revival of Economic Patriotism," in Glenn Morgan and Richard Whitley (eds.), *Capitalisms and Capitalism in the 21st Century*. Oxford University Press, p. 70-90 (with Ben Clift).

2012: "The Defense of Economic Interests in the European Union: A Strategic Analysis of Hedge Fund Regulation," in Renate Mayntz (ed.) *Crisis and Control: Institutional Change in Financial Market Regulation*. Frankfurt a.M.: Campus, p. 195-209.

2011: "Who Scripts European Trade Policies? Business-Government Relations in the EU-Canada Partnership Negotiations," in Kurt Hübner (ed.) *Europe, Canada and the Comprehensive Economic Partnership*, London: Routledge, p.41-58.

2010: "Firm Interests in Uncertain Times: Business Lobbying in Multilateral Service Liberalization," in Rawi Abdelal, Mark Blyth und Craig Parsons (eds.) *Constructing the Political Economy*, Cornell University Press, p. 137-154.

2009: "La politique de la concurrence," in Renaud Dehousse (ed.) *Politiques européennes*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, p.173-188.

2009: "Who Captures Whom? Trade Policy Lobbying in the European Union," in David Coen and Jeremy Richardson (eds.), *Lobbying in the European Union: Institutions, Actors and Issues*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 268-288.

2008: "The Demise of Statism? Associations and the Transformation of Interest Intermediation in France," in Andrew Appellon, Sylvain Brouard, Amy Mazur (eds.) *Beyond Stereotypes: The French Fifth Republic at Fifty*. Palgrave, p. 226-244.

2008: "Les stratégies des pays émergents à l'Organisation mondiale du commerce," in Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.) *L'enjeu mondial : Les pays émergents*. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, « Annuel du CERI », p. 273-286.

- *English version*: "Strategies of the Emerging Countries in the World Trade Organization," in Christophe Jaffrelot (ed.) *Emerging States: The Wellspring of a New World Order*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po.

2008: "Les groupes d'intérêt: l'action collective en Europe," in Céline Belot, Paul Magnette et Sabine Saurugger (eds.), *Science politique de l'Union européenne*, Paris: Economica, p. 223-248 (with Sabine Saurugger).

2008: "Service Trade Liberalization and Corporate Lobbying in the US and the EU," in William Genieys and Marc Smyrl (eds.), *Elites, Ideas and the Evolution of Public Policy*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 54-66.

2007: "Regulation," in Mark Bevir (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Governance*, Vol. II, London: Sage Publications, p. 813-816.

2007: "L'eupéanisation et les acteurs non étatiques," in Bruno Palier, Yves Surel, et al., *L'Europe en action : analyses de l'eupéanisation*, Paris : L'Harmattan, p. 145-191.

2006: "Lobbying und Interessenvertretung," in Werner Weidenfeld and Wolfgang Wessels (eds.), *Jahrbuch der europäischen Integration*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, p. 173-177.

2005: "France: Between Integration and National Sovereignty," in Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne (eds.), *Member States and the European Union*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 97-118 (with Richard Balme).

- *Romanian translation*: "Franța: între integrare și suveranitate națională," in Simon Bulmer and Christian Lequesne (eds.), *Statele membre ale Uniunii Europene*, Bucarest: Editura Cartier, 2009, p. 136-161.

2004: "Régulation," in Laurie Boussaguet, Sophie Jacquot and Pauline Ravinet (dir.), *Dictionnaire des politiques publiques*, Paris : Presses de Sciences Po, p. 377-384.

2004: "Usages et travail politiques : une sociologie compréhensive de l'intégration européenne," 1-27, and « Conclusion », 293-296, in *Les usages de l'Europe : acteurs et transformations européennes*. Paris: L'Harmattan (with Sophie Jacquot).

Working Papers

2021: "The Political Economy of Law Enforcement" MaxPo Discussion Paper, No. 21/1, available at http://www.maxpo.eu/pub/maxpo_dp/maxpodp21-1.pdf (with Matias Dewey and Lucas Ronconi).

2020: "European Strategic Autonomy in 2020," Groupe d'études géopolitiques, Working Paper 10 (December), <https://geopolitique.eu/en/2020/12/29/european-strategic-autonomy-in-2020/> (with Alberto Alemanno et al.).

2018: „On the Role of the Social Sciences: What Crisis Are We Facing?“ in Jenny Andersson and Olivier Godechot (eds.) *Destabilizing Orders: Understanding the Consequences of Neoliberalism. Proceedings of the MaxPo Fifth-Anniversary Conference*, MaxPo Discussion Paper No. 18/1, www.maxpo.eu/pub/maxpo_dp/maxpodp18-1.pdf.

2015: "Politics in the Interest of Capital: A Not-So-Organized Combat," MaxPo Discussion Paper, No. 15/2, available at www.maxpo.eu/pub/maxpo_dp/dp15-2.pdf

2013: "Moral Categories in the Financial Crisis" MaxPo Discussion Papers Vol. 13, No. 1, available at www.maxpo.eu/pub/maxpo_dp/dp13-1.pdf (with Marion Fourcade, Philippe Steiner, and Wolfgang Streeck).

2012: "Saving the Banks: The Political Economy of Bailouts," Open Forum Paper Series, No. 7, Center for European Studies, Harvard University (with Emiliano Grossman), available at http://www.ces.fas.harvard.edu/publications/Open_Forum/CES_OFWP_8.pdf

2011: "Beyond Ideological Battles: A Strategic Analysis of Hedge Fund Regulation in Europe," *Les Cahiers européens de Sciences Po*, 02/2011, available at: www.cee.sciences-po.fr/fr/publications/les-cahiers-europeens/2011.html

2006: "Trade Policy Lobbying in the European Union: Who Captures Whom?" MPIfG Working Paper, 06/7, available at <http://www.mpifg.de/pu/workpap/wp06-7/wp06-7.html>.

2005: "The Difficult Organisation of Business Interests: MEDEF and the Political Representation of French Firms," MPIfG Discussion Paper, 05/12, available at http://www.mpi-fg-koeln.mpg.de/pu/mpifg_dp/dp05-12.pdf.

2005: "Learning to Act on World Trade: Preference Formation of Large Firms in the United States and the European Union" MPIfG Discussion Paper, 05/01, available at http://www.mpi-fg-koeln.mpg.de/pu/mpifg_dp/dp05-1.pdf.

2003: "Transatlantic Relations as a Catalyst to European Integration: The Activism of the European Commission in the Case of International Aviation," AICGS Policy Paper, Washington D.C., 11 June, available at www.aicgs.org/publications/PDF/woll.pdf.

Essays and Other Texts

2019: (Guest editor) "Governing Finance" *Cogito - Le Magazine de la Recherche de Sciences Po*, no. 8, November 15: www.sciencespo.fr/recherche/en/content/governing-finance-dossier.html

- Introduction „Finance: A Political and Social Challenge“ www.sciencespo.fr/research/cogito/home/finance-a-political-and-social-challenge/?lang=en

2019: "Corporate Tax Justice" *G7 Magazine: Global Briefing Report*, Biarritz, France 24-26 August, <https://digital.thecatcompanyinc.com/g7magazine/france-2019/corporate-tax-justice/>

2019: "Corporate Power Beyond Lobbying" *American Affairs Journal*, Vol. III, No. 3, Fall 2019, p.38-55, <https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2019/08/corporate-power-beyond-lobbying/>

2014: "Myths and Realities of the Banking Lobby," *World Politics Review*, July 1, p. 1-5, www.worldpoliticsreview.com/articles/13893/myths-and-realities-of-the-banking-lobby

2014: „Curtailling Capture through European Banking Union: A Note of Caution“ SAFE Policy Center, Policy Letter No. 27, http://safe-frankfurt.de/uploads/media/Woll_Curtailling_Capture.pdf

2013: « Lobbies et groupes d'intérêt » *Question internationales*, no. 63 (septembre), Paris : La Documentation française, p. 53-55.

2013: „The Power of Banks“ SPERI Comment, 25 July, <http://speri.dept.shef.ac.uk/2013/07/25/power-banks/>

2011: "Wer rettet die Banken? Staatliche Nothilfe im internationalen Vergleich" *Jahrbuch des Max-Planck-Instituts für Gesellschaftsforschung*, Köln: MPIfG, p.19-26.

2006: "Herrschaft der Lobbyisten in der Europäischen Union?" *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte (APuZ)*, No. 15-16, p. 33-38.

2005: "Lobbying in Brüssel: amerikanische Verhältnisse?" *Jahrbuch des Max-Planck-Instituts für Gesellschaftsforschung*, Köln: MPIfG, p. 57-62.

Book Reviews

2014: "Giorgio Riello - Cotton : The Fabric that Made the Modern World," RIPE Reads, *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 21, No. 5, p.1133-1135.

2010 : « L'Europe : une machine à libéraliser ? », Lecture croisée de Nicolas Jabko, L'Europe par le marché, et de François Denord et Antoine Schwartz, L'Europe sociale n'aura pas lieu, *Politique européenne*, no. 31, p. 215-220.

2008 : Lecture critique d'Aurélie Campana, Emmanuel Henry et Jay Rowell (dir.), La construction des problèmes publics en Europe: émergence, formulation et mise en instrument, *Politique européenne*, no. 24, p. 151-153.

2008: Lecture critique de Pierre Berthaud et Gérard Kébabdjian (dir.) La question politique en économie internationale, *Critique internationale*, no. 38, janvier-mars, p. 201-205.

2005: Lecture critique de Pierre Lascoumes et Patrick Le Galès (dir.) Gouverner par les instruments, *Pôle sud*, no. 23, p. 200-202.

2004: "Représentation, contrôle et légitimité démocratique dans l'Europe des vingt-cinq," *Revue française de sciences politiques*, vol. 54, no. 6, p. 1030-33.

Media Presence

Op-Eds

Börsen-Zeitung: „Finanzunternehmen zwischen Staat und Recht,“ 25 September 2019, p.4.

The Conversation: "L'Allemagne, le pays où les hauts fonctionnaires se forment à l'université" 5 June 2019.

Le Monde: "Elections européennes 2019 : « Le système de nomination du président de la Commission a montré ses limites »" Tribune, 28 mai 2019, p.27.

Portraits

UniReport: "Wie hängen Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft zusammen?" Goethe Universität Frankfurt, No. 51/6, 7 December 2018, p.2.

Gesellschaftsforschung: "Interview: Das Beste aus vielen Welten," Newsletter of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, 2/2012, p. 15-18.

Gesellschaftsforschung: "Forscherportrait: Ein Faible für politische Prozesse" Newsletter of the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies 1/2009, p. 21-23.

Max Planck Forschung: "Souffleure im Politiktheater," Forschungsportrait, 1/2007, p. 68-71.

*Schlossplatz*³: "Lobbying in Brussels and Washington: Different Styles, Same Logic," Interview, no.1, September 2006, Hertie School of Governance, Berlin, p. 30-33.

Research Interviews and Round Tables

TV5 Monde: "Grand angle sur la souveraineté économique", 64 Minutes – le monde en français, 1 February 2021.

France Culture: "Comment protéger sans protectionnisme?" Entendez-vous l'éco, 1 February 2021.

Le Monde: "Le 'patriotisme économique' faisait sourire il y a quinze ans", 26 January 2021, p.12.

France Culture: "Quels pouvoirs dans la finance?", L'atelier du pouvoir, 15 February 2015.

The Washington Post: "Bailing Out Banks is Not a Lucrative Business" Monkey Cage Blog, 25 June 2014.

Other

Invitations as expert on European and French politics, lobbying or economic policy from *ZDF*, *Deutschland-funk*, *France Culture*, *LCI*, *TV5 Monde*, *Euronews*, among others.

Frequent media intervention for Sciences Po on higher education and institutional issues in *Le Monde*, *Challenge*, *L'Express*, *Le Figaro*, *Les Echos*, *Reuters*, *AFP*, *L'Etudiant*, among others.