

GORDON M. FRIEDRICH

Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law
Im Neuenheimer Feld 535 • 69120, Heidelberg, Germany
friedrichs@mpil.de • www.gordonfriedrichs.com

EDUCATION

Ph.D. in Political Science <i>Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Heidelberg University</i> <i>Title of Ph.D. thesis: "The U.S. Global Leadership Role and Domestic Polarization"</i> <i>Committee: Sebastian Harnisch (chair), Cameron Thies, Welf Werner</i>	2013-2019
Magister Artium (M.A.) in Political Science & South Asia Studies <i>Heidelberg University</i>	2007-2012
Graduate Studies Abroad <i>Arizona State University</i>	2009-2010
Magister Artium (intermediate examination) in South Asia Studies <i>Heidelberg University</i>	2007-2009
Magister Artium (intermediate examination) in Political Science & Sociology <i>Goethe University Frankfurt am Main</i>	2005-2007

ACADEMIC POSITIONS

Alfred Grosser Chair Visiting Professor <i>Center for International Studies, Sciences Po, Paris</i>	09/2025 – 06/2026
Visiting Scholar <i>Department of Political Science and International Relations, Yonsei University, Seoul</i>	07/2025
Principal Investigator of Research Group "In the Age of the Polycrisis" <i>Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities</i>	04/2024 – 03/2027
Visiting Lecturer <i>European Business School, Oestrich-Winkel</i>	10/2024 & 11/2025
Senior Research Fellow <i>Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg</i>	08/2023 – 12/2025
Fulbright Schuman Visiting Research Fellow <i>Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame</i>	09/2022 - 02/2023
Visiting Lecturer <i>Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies, Geneva</i>	02/2022 – 07/2022
Postdoctoral Researcher & Lecturer <i>Department of Political Science, University of Freiburg</i>	10/2021 – 07/2023
German Academic Exchange Service Visiting Research Fellow <i>Institute for International Studies, Charles University, Prague</i>	08/2021
German Academic Exchange Service Adjunct Lecturer <i>Department of Political Science, German-Turkish University, Istanbul</i>	03 – 05/2021 & 2022
German Research Foundation Postdoctoral Researcher <i>Heidelberg Center for American Studies, Heidelberg University</i>	10/2019 – 09/2021
Research Associate & Lecturer <i>Institute of Political Science, Heidelberg University</i>	10/2016 – 09/2019

PUBLICATIONS

MONOGRAPHS:

(2021): *U.S. Global Leadership Role and Domestic Polarization: A Role Theory Approach*. Routledge: London & New York.

EDITED VOLUMES:

(2024) *The Roles of International Organizations amidst global crises* (ed. with Diana Panke). Bristol University Press: Bristol.

(2024) *Polarization & US Foreign Policy: When Politics crosses the Water's Edge* (ed. with Jordan Tama). Palgrave Macmillan: London.

(2022): *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World* (with Michael Grossman and Francis Shortgen). Routledge: London & New York.

(2019): *The Politics of Resilience and Transatlantic Order: Enduring Crisis?* (with Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron Thies) Routledge: London & New York.

EDITED SPECIAL ISSUES OF JOURNALS:

(2026) "Cities as Global Actors in International Politics: Patterns, Processes, and Impacts" (with Judith Keller). *Urban Studies* (accepted).

(2022): "Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, Institutions, and Implications" (with Jordan Tama). *International Politics* 59(5).

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES:

(2025): "The Age of the Disaffected Voter: American Democracy and US foreign policy under the second Trump presidency." *Heidelberg Journal of International Law* 85(1): 1-16.

(2025): "The polarization of U.S. alliances: Domestic division and U.S. commitment to international security". *Democracy & Security* <https://doi.org/10.1080/17419166.2025.2449635>.

(2024): "Ontological Security Crisis and Role Conception Change: The Impact of the Russian Invasion of Ukraine on the European Union's Role Conceptions" (with Jule Sommer). *The European Journal of International Relations* <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066124130453>

(2024): "Learning by doing: a role theoretical approach to role learning of inter-governmental organizations". *Globalizations* 22(5): 745-765.

(2023): "When Leaders Disappoint: Rejection and Denial of Leadership Roles in International Politics" (with Áine Fellenz). *International Relations* <https://doi.org/10.1177/00471178231205399>.

(2023): "Regime Complexity as an Asset? The Negotiations of the Arms Trade Treaty" (with Diana Panke). *Journal of Global Security Studies* 8(1).

(2022): "Populist minds think alike? National identity conceptions and foreign policy preferences of populist leaders". *Foreign Policy Analysis* 18(2).

(2022): "The Effects of Polarization for U.S. foreign policy behavior in international negotiations: Revisiting the two-level game". *International Studies Review* 24(1).

(2022): "Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Key Debates and New Findings" (with Jordan Tama). *International Politics* 59(5): 767 – 785.

(2021): "Polarized we trade? Intra-Party Polarization and U.S. trade policy." *International Politics*. 59(5): 956 – 980. *Online first*.

(2021): “Die Polarisierten Staaten von Amerika und internationale Ordnungspolitik(en)” [The Polarized States of America and International Order] (with Sebastian Harnisch). *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 28(2): 83-99.

(2019): “From Factions to Fractions: India’s Foreign Policy Roles across different Party Systems.” *India Review* 18(2): 125-160.

(2017): “Alliances Rebalanced? The Social Meaning of the U.S. Pivot and Allies’ Responses in Northeast Asia” (with Sebastian Harnisch). *The Korean Journal of International Studies*, 15(1): 1-39.

(2016): „Schwerpunktverlagerung, Richtung ungewiss? Der „US-Pivot to Asia“ und seine unintendierten Konsequenzen” [A pivot to nowhere? The U.S. pivot to Asia and its unintended consequences] (with Sebastian Harnisch). *ASIEN*, 139: 44-74.

(2016): “Mediatisation of expertise? How media affects communication patterns in external economic policy advice in Germany and the United States” (with Dorota Stasiak, Eva Savinova und Andrea Römmele). *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung*, 8(2-3): 115-129.

BOOK CHAPTERS IN EDITED VOLUMES:

(2024) “International Organizations’ roles in the wake of global crises: Patterns, drivers, and effects” (with Diana Panke). In Diana Panke and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *The Roles of International Organizations amidst global crises*. Bristol University Press: Bristol, pp. 205-221.

(2024) “Bridging the gap between Role Theory and comparative International Organization research” (with Diana Panke). In Diana Panke and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *The Roles of International Organizations amidst global crises*. Bristol University Press: Bristol, pp. 1-28.

(2024) “Looking Ahead: Prospects for Effective Foreign Policy and Avenues for Further Research”. In Gordon M. Friedrichs and Jordan Tama: *Polarization & US Foreign Policy: When Politics crosses the Water’s Edge*. Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, pp. 405-414.

(2024) “Introduction: Polarization and America’s Role in the World”. In Gordon M. Friedrichs and Jordan Tama: *Polarization & US Foreign Policy: When Politics crosses the Water’s Edge*. Palgrave Macmillan: Cham, pp. 1-24.

(2023): “Quantitative Content Analysis”. In Patrick Mello and Falk Ostermann: *Routledge Handbook of Foreign Policy Analysis Methods*. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 306-320.

(2022): “The Organization of American States’ role as facilitator of democracy promotion: Persuasion and social influence during the political crisis in Venezuela”, in: Michael Grossman, Francis Shortgen, and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World*. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 158-171.

(2022): “Shrinking the U.S. leadership role: Populism and the change of domestic and international ‘Others’” (with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Michael Grossman, Francis Shortgen, and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World*. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 25-39.

(2022): “Defining Roles in a Polycentric World” (with Michael Grossman & Francis Shortgen), in: Michael Grossman, Francis Shortgen, and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World*. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 1-22.

(2022): “Conclusion: Turbulence in the 21st Century International Order” (with Francis Shortgen and Michael Grossman), in: Michael Grossman, Francis Shortgen, and Gordon M. Friedrichs: *National Role Conceptions in a New Millennium: Defining a Place in a Changing World*. Routledge: London & New York, pp. 172-179.

(2021): “Leading by example or extortion? U.S. leadership role transition under the Trump administration”, in: Florian Böller and Welf Werner: *A Hegemonic Transition? Reconfigurations of Global Economic and Security Orders in the Age of Trump*. Palgrave Macmillan: New York, pp. 125-146.

- (2021): “Straining Liberal Resilience: Trumps Populismus und die liberale Wirtschaftsordnung“ [Straining Liberal Resilience: Trump’s Populism and the liberal economic order], in: Florian Böller, Steffen Hagemann, Marcus Müller, and Lukas Herr: *Weltmacht und Demokratie - Die USA nach der Ära Trump [Global Power and Democracy: The US after the Era Trump]*. Nomos: Baden-Baden, pp. 221-240.
- (2019): “Theorizing transatlantic crisis resilience: An introduction (with Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron Thies)”, in: Gordon M. Friedrichs, Sebastian Harnisch, and Cameron Thies: *Enduring Crisis? The Politics of Resilience and Transatlantic Relations*. Routledge: New York, pp. 1-17.
- (2019): “A New Grand Bargain? Trumpian Populism and Shifts in Liberal Economic Order“, in: Gordon M. Friedrichs, Sebastian Harnisch, and Cameron Thies: *Enduring Crisis? The Politics of Resilience and Transatlantic Relations*. Routledge: New York, pp. 203-220.
- (2019): “The Logic of Crisis Resilience in Transatlantic Relations” (with Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron Thies), in: Gordon M. Friedrichs, Sebastian Harnisch, and Cameron Thies: *Enduring Crisis? The Politics of Resilience and Transatlantic Relations*. Routledge: New York, pp. 221-236.
- (2018): „Südkoreas strategischer Wankelmut zwischen den Großmächten: Eine liberale Erklärung“ [South Korea’s strategic ambiguity among great powers: A liberal explanation] (with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Mischa Hansel, Sebastian Harnisch, und Nadine Godehardt: *Chinesische Seidenstraßeninitiative und amerikanische Gewichtsverlagerung*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, S. 41-72.
- (2018): „Nordkoreas neue Strategie zur Stabilisierung dynastischer Herrschaft: Nuklearwaffen und innenpolitische Säuberungen“ [North Korea’s new strategy for regime stability: Nuclear weapons and domestic purges] (with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Mischa Hansel, Sebastian Harnisch, und Nadine Godehardt: *Chinesische Seidenstraßeninitiative und amerikanische Gewichtsverlagerung*. Baden-Baden: Nomos, S. 125-156.
- (2015): „Rüstungskontrolle/Rüstungskontrollpolitik“ [Arms Control] (with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Dieter Nohlen und Florian Grotz: *Kleines Lexikon der Politik*. Beck Verlag: München.
- (2015): „Sanktionen/Sanktionspolitik“ [Sanctions] (with Sebastian Harnisch), in: Dieter Nohlen und Florian Grotz: *Kleines Lexikon der Politik*. Beck Verlag: München.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS:

- (2025): “Autocratic Alliance? The North Korea–Russia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Treaty.” *Völkerrechtsblog* <https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/autocratic-alliance>.
- (2025): “America’s Polarization and the Challenges of Confronting Russia.” *Russia Matters* <https://www.russiamatters.org/analysis/americas-polarization-and-challenges-confronting-russia>.
- (2024): “America Reimagined: Project 2025 and the Future of the Rules-Based International Order under a Second Trump Presidency” (with Frederike Kanschat). *Völkerrechtsblog* <https://voelkerrechtsblog.org/reimagining-americas-role-in-the-international-legal-order-under-a-second-trump-presidency>.
- (2024): „Bröckelndes Vertrauen: Wie Polarisierung die Allianzpolitik der USA untergräbt“ [Crumbling trust: How polarization is undermining US alliance policy] (with Florian Böller). *WeltTrends*.
- (2024): „Ikone der Freiheit? Die amerikanische Gesellschaft und die Führungsrolle der USA in der (Poly)Krise“ [Icon of freedom? American society and the leading role of the USA in the (poly)crisis] (with Natalie Rauscher). *Athene Magazin* of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- (2021): “Domestic Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, institutions, and policy implications”, *Conference Report, Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik* 14: 83–89.
- (2020): “International Politics Podcasts 101 – A ‘Best of’ List“, *HCA Graduate Blog*, <https://hcagrads.hypotheses.org/3044>
- (2019): *Muster der Politikberatung: Wirtschaftspolitische Beratung in Deutschland und den USA im Vergleich [Patterns of economic policy advice: Economic policy advisory in German and the U.S. in*

comparative perspective] (with Dorota Stasiak & Martin Thunert). Düsseldorf: Hans-Böckler Stiftung. Online verfügbar: http://www.boeckler.de/pdf/p_study_hbs_423.pdf.

(2017): „3-Länder-Tagung: Regionalismus in einer entgrenzten Welt” – Konferenzbericht [Regionalism in a boundless world], *Conference Report, Zeitschrift für Außen- und Sicherheitspolitik*, 10(1): 99-104.

(2016): “Sailing the Water’s edge – sailing to nowhere? Book review of Helen V. Milner’s & Dustin Tingley’s ‘Sailing the Water’s Edge: The Domestic Politics of American Foreign Policy’, *IReflect – Student Journal of International Relations*, 3(1): 101-103.

(2013): *Smart Security Council? Analyzing the Effectiveness of Targeted Sanctions*. Hamburg: Anchor Academic Publishing.

UNDER REVIEW

Edited Volume “Multiplication of Global Governance Authority: Contestation, In/formalization, and Constellations” (with Janne Mende, Ruji Auethavornpipat, Magdalena König, and Angelo Valter). Under review at *Oxford University Press*.

Edited Special Issue “Shifting Political Order(s) in the Polycrisis: Complexity and Challenges in Global, Regional, and Domestic Governance” (with Stella Kim and Steven Schwarz). Under review at *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations*.

“Agency of Cities in International Politics” (with Judith Keller), chapter in Michele Acuto, Simon Curtis, Ian Klaus, and Gaea Morale (eds.) *DeGruyter Handbook on Cities, Infrastructure and International Relations*.

“Constructing Conflict and Cooperation: Economic Role Negotiation in U.S.-China Relations” (with Stella Kim). Under review at *Cooperation & Conflict*.

CONFERENCE & WORKSHOP PAPERS

(2026): “Resistance Paradiplomacy in Foreign Affairs: U.S. Cities and the Defense of Global Norms under the Trump Presidency”, Workshop: International City Networks under Adverse Conditions: The Role of Cities in Global Normative Change, Berlin.

(2025): “Divided within, unreliable abroad? Patterns of political polarization and foreign policy consistency of democracies”, International Political Science Association World Congress, Seoul.

(2025): “A comparative role theoretical approach of national role conceptions toward international legal order”, Workshop: Comparative International Legal Policy: National, Regional and Transnational Approaches, Humboldt University, Berlin.

(2025): “Retaliatory Economic Statecraft: Autocratic Responses to Western Trade Sanctions”, Workshop: The Geopoliticization of Trade Policy, University of Salzburg.

(2025): “Assessing National Role Conceptions and Social Structural Change: A Machine Learning Approach to UN General Assembly Debates” (with Spencer White and Jule Sommer), Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago.

(2025): “Constructing Conflict and Cooperation: Economic Role Negotiation in U.S.-China Relations” (with Stella Kim), Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago.

(2025): “Role Change in International Legal Order: A Comparative Analysis of International Legal Role-Taking by the U.S., Germany, and the People’s Republic of China” (with Sebastian Harnisch), Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago.

(2024): “International legal role-taking over time and place: A comparative role theoretical approach of national role conceptions toward international legal order in the U.S., Germany, and the People’s Republic of China” (with Sebastian Harnisch), Workshop: Tracking Systemic Change: Comparing National Roles towards the International Legal Order, Humboldt University, Berlin.

(2024): “Paradiplomacy and Global Governance: How transnational city networks can become norm entrepreneurs in global governance institutions”, Annual convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco.

(2024): Pre-conference workshop “Parties and Cabinets in Foreign Policy” (with Florian Böller), Annual convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco.

(2024): “Does anybody care? How domestic polarization shapes U.S. international relations” (with Florian Böller), Annual convention of the International Studies Association, San Francisco.

(2024): “Rethinking Ontological Security: The European Union's Evolution in Response to the Russian Invasion of Ukraine and Its Implications for Social Structural Change” (with Jule Sommer), Workshop: Ontological (In)Security in Europe: Theories, Methods, and Approaches, University of Birmingham.

(2023): “Ontological security crises and social structural change: The European Union’s role conception change in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine” (with Jule Sommer), virtual Brown Bag Colloquium of the Research Group Foreign and Security Policy, German Political Science Association.

(2023): “Does anybody care? How domestic polarization shapes U.S. international relations” (with Florian Böller), Annual Meeting of the Political Science Section of the German Association for American Studies, Berlin.

(2023): “Ontological security crises and social structural change: The European Union’s role conception change in response to the Russian invasion of Ukraine” (with Jule Sommer), European Union in International Affairs Conference, Brussel.

(2023): Methods Café Foreign Policy Analysis: Methods and Approaches, Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal.

(2022): “The Polarization of US Alliances: Domestic Division and Global Power Shifts”, American Political Science Association annual convention, Montréal (virtual).

(2022): “Roundtable: Domestic Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, institutions, and policy implications”, Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Nashville.

(2021): “Roundtable: New Directions in Foreign Policy Analysis.” Annual convention of the International Studies Association (virtual).

(2021): “Against all odds: Crises management and resilience of Transatlantic Relations.” Annual convention of the International Studies Association (virtual).

(2020): “Polarized we trade? Intraparty polarization and U.S. trade policy.” Virtual Workshop: Domestic Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, institutions, and policy implications, Heidelberg University.

(2020): “All populism is global? Populist role conceptions and challenges to international authority in the 21st century.” WISC 2020 Sixth Global International Studies Conference (*canceled*).

(2020): “Roundtable: The Methodologies of Role Theory: Towards Greater Coordination and Coherence.” Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Honolulu, Hawaii (*canceled*).

(2019): “All good things come in threes: Ideological, institutional, and affective polarization in the making of democracies’ foreign policy.” Workshop: New Directions in Foreign Policy Analysis, London University, City.

(2019): “Death by Transition? U.S. Leadership Role and Altercasting by Others under the Trump Administration.” Conference: A Hegemonic Transition? Reconfigurations of Global Economic and Security Orders in the Age of Trump, Heidelberg Center for American Studies.

(2019): „More Data, more Problems? Methodische Ansätze zur quantitativen Inhaltsanalyse von Außenpolitikpräferenzen und Kontestation“ [Quantitative content analysis of foreign policy preferences

and contestation], Workshop: Methoden der Außenpolitikanalyse: Ansätze, Daten und Perspektiven [Foreign Policy Analysis Methods: Approaches, Data, Perspectives], University of Erfurt.

(2018): “A New Grand Bargain? Trumpian Populism and Shifts in Liberal Economic Order.” German Political Science Association Conference, Frankfurt am Main.

(2017) “Polarizer, Populist, or both? Donald Trump’s relationship with Congress and changing patterns of U.S. foreign policy” (with Sebastian Harnisch). International Relations Conference of the German Political Science Association, Bremen.

(2017): “The Populist’s New Clothes: Policy Preferences of the Trump Administration and Transatlantic Crises Management.” Workshop: Crisis, the Politics of Resilience, and the Future of Transatlantic Relations, Heidelberg Center for American Studies.

(2017): “Polarized at home, bound to lead abroad: Contestation and Role Contestation and Change of U.S. Global Leadership.” Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Baltimore.

(2017): “Bringing Agency (back) in: Research avenues in contemporary role theory and the case of U.S. global leadership in times of political polarization.” Workshop: “Foreign Policy Analysis & Role Research, University of Edinburgh.

(2016): „Nordkoreas neue Strategie zur Stabilisierung dynastischer Herrschaft: Nuklearwaffen, Provokationen und innenpolitische Säuberungen?“ [North Korea’s new strategy for regime stability: Nuclear weapons and domestic purges] (with Sebastian Harnisch). Workshop: Stabilität und Krisen: Sicherheitspolitische Dynamiken in Asien [Stability and crises: security dynamics in Asia], German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Berlin.

(2016): “From role to counter-role taking: The U.S. Pivot to Asia and the allies’ responses in Northeast Asia” (with Sebastian Harnisch). Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Atlanta.

(2015): “The U.S., its Pivot to Asia and allies in the Northeast Asia: convergence or divergence” (with Sebastian Harnisch). Workshop: Strategic Triangle: US-China-Europa, University Frankfurt am Main.

(2015): „Rebalancing or Counter-balancing? The U.S. Pivot to Asia and its unintended consequences” (with Sebastian Harnisch). German Political Science Association, Duisburg.

(2015): “From Factions to Fractions: Indian foreign policy role-taking across different coalitional settings”. Annual conference of the British International Studies Association, London.

(2015): “The Pivot to Asia, a pivot getting nowhere? A role theoretical study of U.S. leadership and contestation at home and abroad” (with Sebastian Harnisch). Annual convention of the International Studies Association, New Orleans.

(2015): “Economic Policy Think Tanks in Germany and the United States: Supply, Demand, Instruments and Strategies of Policy Advice. Think Tanks in the Knowledge Society” (with Martin Thunert), University of Speyer.

GRANTS & AWARDS

Fritz Thyssen Foundation grant for workshop “Cities as Global Actors in International Politics: Patterns, Processes, and Impacts” (with Judith Keller), Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg (15.000€). 2024

WIN-Kolleg research grant “In the Age of Polycrisis: How complex crises emerge and how we can confront them” (joint with Natalie Rauscher), Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities (300.000€) 2023

European Consortium for Political Research Standing Group on International Relations, co-funding for the workshop “Multiplication of Global Governance Authority”, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg (2.000€) 2023

The Academic Society of Freiburg Travel Grant, Annual International Studies Association Conference, Montréal (1.200€) 2023

<i>International Studies Association Travel Grant</i> , Annual International Studies Association Conference, Montréal (\$750)	2023
<i>Fulbright Schuman Grant for Postdoctoral Research</i> , Fulbright Commission in Belgium (20.000€)	2022
<i>German Academic Research Service Travel Grant</i> , Annual International Studies Association Conference, Nashville (1.700€)	2021
<i>German Research Foundation Fund</i> , research training group “Authority and Trust” Heidelberg University (assistance to Manfred Berg, Günter Leypoldt, Ulrike Gerhard, Sebastian Harnisch, Margit Peterfy, Magnus Schlette, Soledad Alvarez Velasco, Jan Stievermann, and Martin Thunert) (4.500.000€)	2021
<i>German Academic Exchange Service Grant</i> , Heidelberg University/Charles University Prague (1.000€)	2021
<i>4EU+ minigrants</i> , Charles University Prague, joint with Jan Hornát (215.000 CZK)	2021
<i>Max-Kade Foundation Scholarship</i> , Heidelberg University/Notre Dame University (10.000€, cancelled due to COVID-19 pandemic)	2021
<i>4EU+ minigrants</i> , Charles University Prague, joint with Jan Hornát (215.000 CZK)	2020
<i>Max-Kade Foundation Grant</i> , Heidelberg University, joint with Sebastian Harnisch & Axel Dreher (15.000€)	2020
<i>International Studies Association Travel Grant</i> , Annual International Studies Association Conference, Baltimore (\$600)	2017
<i>German Research Foundation Fund</i> , Heidelberg University, assistance to Manfred Berg, Günter Leypoldt, Beatrix Busse, Ulrike Gerhard, Sebastian Harnisch, Margit Peterfy, Dietmar Schloss, Jan Stievermann, and Martin Thunert (3.500.000€)	2016
<i>Foundation German-American Academic Relations Grant</i> , joint with Sebastian Harnisch and Cameron Thies (\$23.000)	2015
<i>PROMOS Grant</i> , Heidelberg University (2.200€)	2011
<i>German Academic Exchange Service Grant</i> , research internship at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Washington, D.C. (\$1000)	2010

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

GRADUATE COURSES (EUROPEAN BUSINESS SCHOOL):

Policy Analysis winter 2024, 2025

GRADUATE COURSES (UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG):

Qualitative Methods summer 2022, 2023

GRADUATE COURSES (HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY):

Populism and Foreign Policy summer 2024

U.S. Foreign Policy Analysis (virtual) summer 2021

US Foreign Policy Analysis in a Polarized Age (virtual) winter 2020

US Global Hegemony (virtual) summer 2020

American Culture and Society winter 2014

GRADUATE COURSES (ABROAD):

Foreign Policy Analysis (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies) spring 2022

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES (ABROAD):

US Foreign & Security Policy (Sciences Po)	winter 2025
Current Issues in International Politics (Turkish-German University)	summer 2021, 2022

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES (UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG):

Regional Governance in Asia	summer 2022
Negotiation Simulation European Union	summer 2022, 2023, 2025
The European Union as a Global Actor	fall 2021
Introduction to Political Science	fall 2021

UNDERGRADUATE COURSES (HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY):

U.S. Foreign Policy Analysis	summer 2015, 2016, 2017, 2021
US Hegemony and International Relations	winter 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019
US Foreign Policy in the Trump Era	summer 2018, 2019
The US Role in the Asia Pacific	summer 2019
Conflict & Cooperation in the Asia Pacific	summer 2018, 2019
Introduction to International Relations Theory	winter 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (NATIONAL/INTERNATIONAL)

REVIEWER

The Journal of Politics, The European Journal of International Relations, Foreign Policy Analysis, International Studies Review, Cambridge Review of International Affairs, International Studies Perspectives, European Security, International Relations, International Studies Quarterly, International Politics, German Politics, Politics and Governance, Global Sustainability, Global Society, International Journal, Political Behavior, Social Policy and Society, All-Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace, India Review, Routledge, Fulbright, Social Sciences & Humanities Open, Applied Economics Letters, Cogent Social Sciences, National Science Centre Poland, German Academic Exchange Service Carlo-Schmid Program, Nomos, Politische Vierteljahresschrift

INVITED PRESENTATIONS

“US hegemony in the polycrisis: How global risks impact democracy”, Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Heidelberg.	2025
“Autocratic Alliance: The North Korea-Russia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership Treaty”, Monday Meeting of the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg.	2025
“Transatlantic Security Community? Challenges and Future of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization” Akademie für Politische Bildung, Tutzing.	2025
“Quo Vadis USA – Change in Foreign Policy?”, Forum for International Security, University of Heidelberg.	2024
„Reflections on the 2024 US Presidential Elections: Implications for Democracy and Foreign Policy“, Monday Meeting of the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg.	2024
“Reliable Ally?: Die USA und ihre Führungsrolle in der NATO”, Summer School Atlantic Academy Rhineland Palatinate.	2024

“How to conceptualize polycrises and how to study them”, Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Heidelberg.	2024
“Complexity Theory, International Relations, and Polycrisis”, Goethe University, Frankfurt am Main.	2024
“Politicization of International Security: The United States and the Iran Nuclear Agreement”, Monday Meeting of the Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg.	2023
“The politicization of polycrises: Populist role conceptions and international norm contestation in the 21st century”, Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Delaware (virtual).	2023
“Back to normal? U.S. foreign policy under Biden“, Summer School 2022: Democracy under Attack. The United States in times of crisis, Atlantische Akademie Rheinland-Pfalz (virtual).	2022
“The Return of Liberal Internationalism? The Biden-Administration and transatlantic relations”, Atlantische Akademie Rheinland-Pfalz (virtual).	2021
“The Biden Administration and U.S. Global Strategy: Perspectives on Transatlantic Relations”, Charles University Prague, virtual public debate (joint with Cameron Munter, Małgorzata Zachara-Szymańska, Kryštof Kozák, and Martyn de Bruyn).	2021
“Transatlantic relations and the incoming Biden administration”, 4EU+ Alliance, Charles University Prague, virtual public debate (joint with Jan Hornat, Alessandro Colombo, Aleksandra Jarczewska, and Cameron Munter).	2020
“COVID-19 and U.S. Global Leadership”, podcast episode “Corona in the U.S.”, Heidelberg Center for American Studies, https://www.hca.uni-heidelberg.de/podcasts/index.html (joint with Sebastian Harnisch).	2020
“Threatening gestures and denuclearisation – nuclear conflict between North Korea and the U.S.”, Evangelische Akademie Loccum.	2019
“North Korea: Regime stability and foreign policy behavior”, Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing.	2019
“Populism and foreign policy analysis: Approaches and methods” (with Sebastian Harnisch). Institute of Political Science, Heidelberg University.	2019
“Undermining the global nuclear order? Impacts of unilateral negotiations between the U.S. and North-Korea.” Evangelische Akademie Hofgeismar, Haus der Kirche, Kassel.	2018
“Institutional or Moral Decay? The Trump presidency and the domestic politics of U.S. foreign policy.” Verband der deutsch—amerikanischen Clubs, Steinbach am Donnersberg.	2018
“American Democracy under Donald Trump and the consequences for the liberal international order”, Atlantische Akademie, Ramstein, Baumholder, and Spangdahlem.	2017
“U.S. Populism and foreign policy under Donald Trump”, Atlantische Akademie Rheinland-Pfalz.	2017
“There will always be another day and another election: The transatlantic relations in times of key elections on both sides of the Atlantic.” Europäische Akademie Otzenhausen.	2017
„Partner in Crime? Die transatlantischen Beziehungen unter der neuen US-Präsidentschaft.“ Chair at public panel, Akademie für Politische Bildung Tutzing & Women in International Security, Munich.	2017
“Polarization in the U.S.: Trump and Populism”, Institute of Political Science, Heidelberg University.	2017
“North Korea’s new strategy for regime stability: Nuclear weapons and domestic purges“ (with Sebastian Harnisch), Institute of Political Science, Heidelberg University.	2016

- “U.S. elections 2016: The rise of Donald Trump and the American political system”, Die Außen- und Sicherheitspolitische Hochschulgruppe, Institute of Political Science, Heidelberg University. 2016
- “Pitfalls of Leadership? German and U.S. foreign policy before and after the elections”, Verband der deutsch—amerikanischen Clubs, Trier, 2016. 2016

WORKSHOP & CONFERENCE PANEL ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

- “*Shifting Political Order(s) in the Polycrisis: Complexity and Challenges in Global, Regional, and Domestic Governance*” (with Stella Kim and Steven Schwarz), Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities. 2025
- “*Cities as Global Actors in International Politics: Patterns, Processes, and Impacts*” Roundtable (with Judith Keller) at the Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago. 2025
- “*Expanding Authority in Global Governance: Power, Legitimacy, and Common Goods*” Panel (with Janne Mende) at the Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Chicago. 2025
- “*Cities as Global Actors in International Politics: Patterns, Processes, and Impacts*” Workshop (with Judith Keller), Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg. 2024
- “*Multiplication of Global Governance Authority: Contestation, Institutionalization, and Constellations*” Workshop (with Janne Mende, Ruji Auethavornpipat, and Marie Lohrum), Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg. 2024
- “*Domestic Division, Foreign Policy Change, and International Trust of U.S. Global Authority*”, Panel (with Florian Böller) at the annual meeting of the German Association of American Studies, Heidelberg. 2024
- “*Foreign Policy Roles of International Organizations amidst global crises*”, Panel (with Diana Panke) at the annual convention of the International Studies Association, Montréal. 2023
- “*Foreign Policy Roles of International Organizations amidst global crises*”, (virtual) Workshop (with Diana Panke), University of Freiburg. 2022
- “*Domestic Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, institutions, and policy implications*”, Roundtable (with Jordan Tama) at the Annual convention of the International Studies Association, Nashville. 2022
- “*Who participates in global affairs anymore? The polarization of expertise and institutions in U.S. foreign policymaking*”, Panel at the German Association for American Studies annual conference, Heidelberg University. 2021
- “*Domestic Backlashes of International Order and Globalization: A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective*” Workshop, Heidelberg University. 2020
- “*Domestic Polarization and U.S. Foreign Policy: Ideas, institutions, and policy implications*” (virtual) Workshop (with Jordan Tama), Heidelberg University. 2020
- “*New Methods in Foreign Policy Analysis*” (with Falk Ostermann), Panel at German International Relations annual conference, Freiburg University. 2020
- “*Crisis, the Politics of Resilience, and the Future of Transatlantic Relations*” Workshop (with Sebastian Harnisch & Cameron Thies), Heidelberg University. 2017

MEMBERSHIPS IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES

International Studies Association

German Political Science Association

German Association for American Studies

European Consortium for Political Research Standing Committee on International Relations

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE (UNIVERSITY/DEPARTMENT LEVEL)

<i>Member of the Library Advisory Board, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg</i>	2024-2025
<i>Organizer of the Human Rights Discussion Group, Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law, Heidelberg</i>	2024-2025
<i>M.A. Examination Committee Member, Department of Political Science (University of Freiburg)</i>	2021-2023
<i>Member of the Graduate Council of the Research Training Group "Authority and Trust in American Culture, Society, History, and Politics" (joint with Judith Keller and Johanna Mast), Heidelberg Center for American Studies</i>	2021
<i>Spokesperson of research group "Foreign and Security Policy" (joint with Patrick Mello, Sabine Mokry, and Falk Ostermann), German Political Science Association</i>	2020-2023
<i>Member of cluster of excellence initiative "Polycentricity" (Heidelberg University)</i>	2021
<i>Member of the Ph.D. selection committee of the Research Training Group "Authority and Trust in American Culture, Society, History, and Politics", Heidelberg Center for American Studies</i>	2020
<i>Spokesperson of research group "Foreign and Security Policy" (joint with Klaus Brummer, Sandra Destradi, and Patrick Mello), German Political Science Association</i>	2017-2020
<i>M.A. Examination Committee Member, Institute of Political Science (Heidelberg University)</i>	2016-2019
<i>Chairman of library commission, Institute of Political Science (Heidelberg University)</i>	2019
<i>Member of library commission, Institute of Political Science (Heidelberg University)</i>	2016-2019
<i>Spokesperson of PhD students, Institute of Political Science (Heidelberg University)</i>	2017-2019
<i>Member of the Council for Graduate Studies (Heidelberg University)</i>	2014-2016

PhD SUPERVISION

<i>Stella Kim: "The impact of global crises on armed conflicts"</i>	<i>since summer 2024</i>
<i>Steven Schwarz: "The Political Economy of Corporate Japan and Germany Inc.'s Grand Strategy in the Era of Polycrisis"</i>	<i>since summer 2024</i>

B.A. THESIS READER (UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG)

<i>Camille Belland: "Die Auswirkungen der Rivalitäten zwischen den USA und China auf die europäische Geopolitik" [The impact of the US-China rivalry on EU geopolitics]</i>	<i>summer 2023</i>
<i>Florence Tang: "Rising China and the Power Transition Theory: U.S. and EU Foreign Policy Approaches Towards Taiwan"</i>	<i>summer 2022</i>
<i>Lynn Ossenbrüggen: "Germany's military involvement in ISAF (Afghanistan) from a role theoretical perspective"</i>	<i>summer 2022</i>

Jule Sommer: <i>“The European Union and the Russia-Ukraine Conflict: Change in the EU’s Role Conception following the Russian Invasion of Ukraine in February 2022?”</i>	summer 2022
Lara Muttar: <i>„Klimaschutzpolitik in mittelgroßen deutschen Städten: Zum Einfluss von Parteien und Bundesländern auf den kommunalen Klimaschutz“ [Climate Protection Policy in Medium-Sized German Cities: On the Influence of Political Parties and Federal States on Municipal Climate Protection]</i>	summer 2022
Moritz Pohlner: <i>„Beyond Nationality and Party Group Affiliation: What factors influence co-sponsorship in the European Parliament?”</i>	summer 2022
Josefine Zabka: <i>„Die Implementierung der Erneuerbare-Energien-Richtlinie 2009/28/EG in Deutschland und in Frankreich“ [The implementation of the Renewable Energies Directive 2009/28/EC in Germany and in France]</i>	summer 2022
Anna Blancal: <i>„Komparative Studie der Ratifizierung der Faro Rahmenkonvention zum Wert des Kulturerbes für die Gesellschaft 2005“ [Comparative study of the ratification of the Faro Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society 2005]</i>	summer 2022
Fabian Steigerwald: <i>„Die Sanktionspolitik der Europäischen Union: Welche Faktoren erklären Inkohärenz im Einsatz von restriktiven Maßnahmen?“ [The European Union's sanctions policy: what factors explain incoherence in the use of restrictive measures?]</i>	summer 2022

M.A. THESIS READER (GRADUATE INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, GENEVA)

Aineias Engstrom: <i>“Reconciliation without Reparations? A Role-Theoretical Analysis of German Foreign Policy in Namibia”</i>	winter 2022
--	-------------

M.A. THESIS READER (HEIDELBERG UNIVERSITY)

Alexander Busch: <i>“China and the Liberal International Order: Strategic Engagement or Systemic Challenge?”</i>	winter 2024
Lena Rottinger: <i>“Comparing the Roles of the United Nations Security Council Presidencies”</i>	winter 2024
Hannah Engeler: <i>“Interpreting the ambiguity of hybrid threats”</i>	winter 2023
Áine Fellenz: <i>“Does it matter who leads? A role theoretical approach to international leadership”</i>	summer 2023
Jonas Gockel: <i>“Changing IAEA Role Conceptions in the 21st Century”</i>	summer 2021
Josh Tobolt: <i>“American Whiteness & Collective Violence: Ethnic Irish & the Chicago Police Department during the Chicago Race Riot of 1919”</i>	summer 2021
Junxuan Li: <i>„U.S.-China Trade Conflicts in the Trump Era: Contrasting American and Chinese Views and Rationales”</i>	summer 2021
Norma Delia Moreno Castillo: <i>“AI building Global Hegemony”</i>	summer 2021
Patrick Alfred Bias: <i>“Polish Foreign Relations with Germany and Ukraine in the Post-Communist Era - Embedded Bilateralism or Simple Partnership?”</i>	summer 2020
Shihan Li: <i>“Towards Westlessness? Germany’s Redefinition of “Westernness” with European Focus”</i>	summer 2020
Xenia Rak: <i>“Germany’s ‘Role’ in Ukraine“</i>	summer 2020

Oliver Nothdurft: <i>“The Making and Breaking of Transatlantic Trust. Relational Measurement and Crisis Resilience”</i>	winter 2019
Daniel Massing: <i>“U.S. Authority in International Trade Policy under the WTO”</i>	winter 2019

REFERENCES

Cameron Thies	Juliet Kaarbo	Sebastian Harnisch
MSU Foundation Professor, James Madison College	Professor of International Relations	Professor of International Relations and Foreign Policy
Michigan State University	University of St. Andrews	Heidelberg University
Case Hall Room S365 842 Chestnut Rd East Lansing, MI 48825, USA	The Arts Faculty Building The Scores St Andrews KY16 9AX	Institute of Political Science, Bergheimer Str. 58, 69115 Heidelberg, Germany
thiescam@msu.edu	Kaarbo@st-andrews.ac.uk	sebastian.harnisch@uni-heidelberg.de
Kai Oppermann	Janne Mende	
Professor of International Politics	Senior Research Group Leader	
University of Technology, Chemnitz	Max Planck Institute for Comparative Public Law and International Law	
Institut für Politikwissenschaft, Thüringer Weg 9, 09126 Chemnitz	Im Neuenheimer Feld 535, 69120, Heidelberg, Germany	
kai.oppermann@phil.tu-chemnitz.de	mende@mpil.de	

Last updated: August 2025.