

Publication record (* = peer-reviewed)

Monographs & Special Issues

- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Josefsson, Jonathan, Laura Pantzerhielm & Eva Lövbrand (2025): "The Politics of Child and Youth Representation in Global Governance: confronting international institutions", Special Issue for *Globalizations*
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Josefsson, Jonathan & Bengt Sandin (eds.) (2019): "Child Rights Governance", Special Issue for *Childhood*, 26:3.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2010): *Children's Rights in International Politics. The Transformative Power of Discourse* (Basingstoke: Palgrave/Macmillan).
- *Cantwell, Nigel & **Anna Holzscheiter** (2008): *A Commentary on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child: Article 20 – Children Without Parental Care* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff).

Journal articles

- *Weickardt Soares, Maria & **Anna Holzscheiter** (forthcoming), "Regime Complexity and the Politicization of Global Health. A Discourse Network Analysis of Contentious Debates on Health Data Sharing within International Organizations", *Journal of Common Market Studies*
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** & Laura Pantzerhielm (2025). The voice of youth? Performative liminality and the ambiguities of political representation in global governance. *Review of International Studies*
- *Weickardt Soares, Maria & **Anna Holzscheiter** (2025), Biobanking as a contentious issue in global health governance. Diversification and contestation of policy frames in international biobanking debates, *Social Science & Medicine*, 369,
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Jonathan Josefsson, Eva Lövbran & Laura Pantzerhielm (2025), In-between worlds: the unsettled politics of child and youth representation in international institutions. *Globalizations*, 22:3, 343-357.
- *Stadelmann, Felix, Kramer, Niklas, Pantzerhielm, Laura & **Holzscheiter, Anna** (2024). Reckless subjects, future capital? 'Youth' as an object of concern in international health organizations' discourse. *Globalizations*, 22:3, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14747731.2024.2414688>
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** & Holthaus, Leonie (2024). Who Governs Access and Voice of Civil Society in Global Governance? Practice Theory, Reflexivity and Power in the Study of International Organisations' "Opening Up." *Global Society*, 38(3), 412–420. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13600826.2024.2334731>
- *Orsini, Amandine, Kang, Yi hyun, Ampomah, Emmanuel, Cooper, Adam, Gómez-Mera, Laura, Gran, Brian, **Holzscheiter, Anna**, Salve, Roberto S. & Vergonjeanne, Anaëlle (2024), [Forum: Youth as Boundary Actors in International Studies](#), *International Studies Perspectives*: DOI: 10.1093/isp/ekae016.
- *Franz, Christian, **Holzscheiter, Anna** & Ilona Kickbusch (2024), [Germany's role in global health at a critical juncture](#), *The Lancet*, 404: 10447, 82-94, DOI: 10.5771/0946-7165-2017-1-143

- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Thurid Bahr, Martin Grandjean & Laura Pantzerhielm (2024), Positioning among International Organizations: Shifting Centers of Gravity in Global Health Governance, *International Studies Quarterly*, 68
- *Hofferberth, Matthias, **Anna Holzscheiter**, Daniel Lambach, Martin, Koch, Maryam Zarnegar Deloffre, Nina Reiners, Karsten Ronit (2022), [Forum: The Why and How of Global Governors: Relational Agency in World Politics](#), *International Studies Review*, 24 (4): DOI:10.1093/ISR/VIAC054.
- *Berger, Tobias, **Anna Holzscheiter** & Anja Jetschke (2022), [Forum: New Perspectives on Transnational Non-State Actors - A Forum Honoring the Work of Thomas Risse](#), *International Studies Review*, 24 (3): DOI: 10.1093/ISR/VIAC039.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Sassan Gholiagha & Andrea Liese (2022): [Advocacy Coalition Constellations and Norm Collisions: Insights from International Drug Control](#), Human Trafficking, and Child Labour, *Global Society* 26:1, 25-48, open access.
- *Kickbusch, Ilona & **Anna Holzscheiter** (2021): Can Geopolitics Derail the Pandemic Treaty?, *BMJ Public Health*
- *Bahr, Thurid, **Anna Holzscheiter** & Laura Pantzerhielm (2021): "Understanding Regime Complexes through a Practice Lens. Repertoires of Inter-Organizational Practices in Global Health", *Global Governance* 27:1, 71-94.
- *Gholiagha, Sassan, **Holzscheiter, Anna** & Andrea Liese (2020) ["Activating Norm Collisions. Interface Conflicts in International Drug Control"](#), *Global Constitutionalism*, 9:2, pp. 290-317
- *Pantzerhielm, Laura, **Holzscheiter, Anna** & Thurid Bahr (2020): ["Power in relations of international organisations: The productive effects of 'good' governance norms in global health"](#), *Review of International Studies* 46:3, 395-414.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Josefsson, Jonathan & Bengt Sandin (2019) "Child rights governance: An introduction", *Childhood*, 26:3, 271-288.
- *Pantzerhielm, Laura, **Holzscheiter, Anna** & Thurid Bahr (2019): "Governing effectively in a complex world? How metagovernance norms and changing repertoires of knowledge shape international organization discourses on institutional order in global health", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 44:4, 1-26.
- *Taylor, Angelina, Littmann, Jasper, **Holzscheiter, Anna**, Voss, Maike, Wieler, Lothar & Tim Eckmanns (2019) "Sustainable development levers are key in global response to antimicrobial resistance", *The Lancet*, 394: 10214, pp. 2050–2051.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2018): ["Affectedness, Empowerment and Norm Contestation – Children and Young People as Social Agents in International Politics"](#), Special Issue on 'Empowering the Affected in Global Governance and International Law', *Third World Thematics*, 3:5-6, 645-663.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2017): "Coping with Institutional Fragmentation? Competition and Convergence between Boundary Organizations in International Health", *Review of Policy Research* 34:6, 767-789.
- *Kickbusch, Ilona, Franz, Christian, **Holzscheiter, Anna**, Hunger, Ilona, Jahn, Albrecht, Köhler, Carsten, Razum, Oliver & Jean-Olivier Schmidt (2017): "Germany's new global health policy", *The Lancet*.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2017): „The Legacy of Arguing“, *zib. Journal of International Relations*, 24:1, pp. 143-159.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna**, Thurid Bahr & Laura Pantzerhielm (2016): "Emerging Governance Architectures in Global Health: Do Metagovernance Norms Explain Inter-Organisational Convergence?", *Politics & Governance* 4:3.

- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2016): [“Representation as Power and Performance: Global Civil Society Advocacy for Children and their Rights”](#), *Review of International Studies*, 42:2, pp. 205-226.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2015): “Restoring Order in Global Health Governance”, *CES Papers Open Forum*, Grzegorz Ekiert & Andrew Martin (Eds), (Cambridge/MA: Center for European Studies, Harvard University).
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2015): „Interorganisationale Harmonisierung als sine qua non für die Effektivität von Global Governance? Eine soziologisch-institutionalistische Analyse interorganisationaler Strukturen in der globalen Gesundheitspolitik“, *Politische Vierteljahresschrift*, Sonderheft “Internationale Organisationen“, Eugénia da Conceição-Heldt et.al. (eds), 322-348.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2014): [“Between Communicative Interaction and Structures of Signification: Discourse Theory and Analysis in International Relations”](#), *International Studies Perspectives* 15: 2, 142-162.
- ***Hahn, Kristina & Anna Holzscheiter** (2013): „The ambivalence of advocacy – representation and contestation in global NGO advocacy for child workers and prostitutes”, *Global Society* 27:4, 497-520.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna & Monika Krause** (2013): „Macht und Global Governance – Repräsentationsmacht und feldspezifische Logiken des Handelns von Nichtregierungsorganisationen im transnationalen Raum“, *Leviathan*, Sonderheft 41:28, 125-150.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2012): “Non-Governmental Organizations”, in Heather Montgomery (Hrsg.), *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Childhood Studies* (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna, Ruairi Brugha & Gill Walt** (2012): “Monitoring and evaluation in HIV/AIDS control - weighing incentives and disincentives for coordination among global and local actors”, *Journal of International Development*, 24:1, 61-76.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2012): „Power of Discourse or Discourse of the Powerful? The reconstruction of global childhood norms in the drafting of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child”, *Journal of Language and Politics*, 10:1, pp. 1-28.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2005): “Discourse as Capability – Non-State Actors’ Capital in Global Governance“, *Millennium* 33:3, Special Issue on „Facets of Power in International Relations“, pp. 723-46.

Book chapters

- Holzscheiter, Anna** (forthcoming), Speaking norms. Discourse analytical approaches and methodologies in norms research, in: Gholiagha, Sassan, Phil Orchard & Antje Wiener (eds.), *Handbook of Norms Research* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Stadelmann, Felix, **Anna Holzscheiter** & Benjamin Stachursky (2024), Child Rights Governance in International Development, in: Abebe, Tatek, Karen Wells & Anandini Dar (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Childhood Studies and International Development* (London: Routledge)
- Holzscheiter, Anna** & Laura Pantzerhielm (2023): “Contested childhood and young people’s political representation and agency in global health politics”, in: Berents, Helen & Marshall Beier (eds.), *Children, Childhoods and Global Politics* (London: Routledge)
- Holzscheiter, Anna, Thurid Bahr & Markus Sperl** (2022): “Health and Human Rights”, in: Bornemann, Basil, Knappe, Henrike & Patrizia Nanz (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Democracy and Sustainability* (London/New York: Routledge).
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2021): “Governing children’s rights in global social policy. International

organizations and the thin line between child protection and empowerment”, in: Kerstin Martens, Dennis Niemann & Alexandra Kaasch (eds.), *International Organizations and Global Social Governance* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).

- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2020): “Children as Agents in International Relations? Transnational activism, international norms and the politics of age”, in: Marshall Beier (ed.), *Discovering Childhood in International Relations* (Basingstoke: Palgrave).
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2018): “Health”, in: Oxford Handbook on Governance and Limited Statehood, edited by Tanja Börzel/Anke Draude/Thomas Risse (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2012): “UNITAID”, in David Held/Thomas N. Hale (Eds), *Handbook of Transnational Governance. Institutions & Innovations* (London: Polity Press), pp. 394-9.
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2012): “International Health Partnership and IHP+”, in David Held/Thomas N. Hale (Eds), *Handbook of Transnational Governance. Institutions & Innovations* (London: Polity Press), pp. 189-94.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** & José Antonio Flores Farfan (2011): “The Power of Discourse and the Discourse of Power”, in: Barbara Johnstone/Ruth Wodak/Paul Kerswill (Eds), *SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (London: Sage), pp. 139-52.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2010): “The representational power of civil society organisations in global AIDS governance. Advocating for children in global health politics”, in: Thomas Olesen (Ed.), *Power and Transnational Activism* (London: Routledge), pp. 173-89.
- ***Holzscheiter, Anna** (2009): „Internationale Menschenrechte von Kindern und Jugendlichen im Spannungsfeld zwischen Schutz und Emanzipation“, in: Heiner Bielefeldt et.al. (Eds), *Jahrbuch Menschenrechte 2010. Kinder und Jugendliche* (Wien: Böhlau Verlag), pp. 69-82.

Policy papers and blogs

- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2024): The Silent Disintegration of Global Health Governance? Verfassungsblog: On Matters Constitutional, March 2024, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17176/20240326-220600-0>
- Holzscheiter, Anna** & Maria Weickardt Soares (2024), International rules on health data sharing for a new pandemic agreement, IDOS Policy Brief 23/2024, Bonn: IDOS, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23661/ipb23.2024>.
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2022): “[A panacea for fixing global health governance? The promises and pitfalls of negotiating a new pandemic treaty](#)”, SEF Global Governance Spotlight (Bonn: SEF Development and Peace Foundation).
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2021): “[Pandemic Politics, Law and the Re-Negotiation of Human Rights](#)“, Contribution to Essay Symposium *Global Governance in the Age of Covid*, Weinberg College, Northwestern University.
- Hettihewa, Julian & **Anna Holzscheiter** (2020): “[Reclaiming the Voice of Youth: Pandemic Politics and the Invisibility of Youth](#)”, EJIL Talk!.
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2020): “[Comparing Covid responses in the UK and Germany: Part II, Germany](#)”, UCL Europe Blog.
- Gholiagha, Sassan, **Holzscheiter, Anna** & Andrea Liese (2020), “[When norms collide: The COVID-19 pandemic and difficult choices on the hierarchy of norms and values](#)”, WZB Blog *Orders beyond Borders. Understanding the Globalized World*.
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2020): “[The ugly face of health politics – COVID-19 and the hypocrisy of the ‘saving lives’ metaphor](#)”, WZB Blog *Orders beyond Borders*.
- Holzscheiter, Anna** (2020): „[Trumps Stöckchen](#)“, IPG Journal für Internationale Politik,

23.4.2020.

Holzscheiter, Anna (2020): „Im Auge des Sturms. Die WHO in der COVID-19 Pandemie“, Wissenschaft & Frieden.

Holzscheiter, Anna, Stachursky, Benjamin & Lena Stamm (2017): Die Umsetzung von Kinderrechten beobachten: eine Instrumentenauswahl für die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (Berlin: Deutsches Institut für Menschenrechte).

Further contributions on COVID-19, including media interviews, are available [here](#).

Publications under review or in preparation for submission

„The spatial politics of transnational representation: Contested futures and youth representation in global (health) governance“, in preparation for submission with *International Political Sociology*

“Ages of Innocence? Explaining Norm Non-Evolution by Comparing International Human Rights Standard-Setting for Children and Older People“, manuscript for submission to *Human Rights Quarterly*