

Roderick Parkes - List of Publications

Key publications – EU foreign affairs – EU free movement asylum and immigration policy – home affairs cooperation in the EU – European policy of the EU member states

1. Key Publications

with Bjorn Fagersten, Alessandro Marrone, Martin Ortega

[Towards a European Global Strategy](#)

Joint paper of Elcano Royal Institute, Istituto Affari Internazionali, Polish Institute of International Affairs, Utrikespolitiska Institutet

[The renegotiation delusion: nine questions about Britain's EU future](#)

PISM Report, (ed.), May 2013

with Petra Bendel, Andreas Ette (eds.)

[The Europeanization of Control](#)

Venues and Outcomes of EU Justice and Home Affairs Cooperation
LIT Verlag, May 2011, 288 Pages

[European Migration Policy from Amsterdam to Lisbon](#)

The end of the responsibility decade?

Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 2010, 199 pages

[Costing Free Movement](#)

Fear and Non-transposition in the Schengen Area

SWP Comments 2010/C 27, November 2010

2. EU foreign affairs

[Integrating EU defence and migration policies in the Mediterranean](#)

FRIDE working paper 125, November 2014

with Ela Kaca and Anita Sobjak

[Choosing our geography: 12 points to restore meaning to the Eastern Partnership](#)

PISM Policy Paper, July 2014

[The Cassandra gambit](#)

European Geostrategy (online), 10th March 2014

with Anita Sobjak

[Understanding EU action during Euromaidan: lessons for the next phase](#)

PISM strategic file 5, February.2014

[Europe's two worlds](#)

European Geostrategy (online), 28th January 2014

[„Global race“ vs. „global war of succession“: how Europe is split about how to compete](#)

PISM Bulletin 9, January 2014

[Ukraine and the strange Europeanisation of EU foreign policy](#)

ESharp (online), December 2013

With Marta Stormowska

[The UK's criminal law opt-out: a challenging opportunity for Poland](#)

PISM Bulletin 76, July 2013

With Ryszarda Formuszewicz

[The art of improvisation: the EEAS needs to find new ways to solve old problems](#)

European Voice, 24th September 2013

[Hey there neighbour!](#)

IP Journal, July 2012/ [Hallo Junge Nachbarn!](#)

Internationale Politik, August 2012

with Elina Viilup

[Eastern partnership? More like mutual dependence](#)

The case of EU home affairs cooperation with Moldova

in: CIDOB Notes internacionals, No. 52, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs, April 2012 (online)

[The unreliable western partner: why the EU reneges on its home affairs commitments](#)

in: OSW, Eastern Partnership Community, December 2011 (online)

with Dagmar Hilpert

[Split Citizenship: Immigrant integration in an age of circular migration](#)

in: Austria Institut für Europa- und Sicherheitspolitik (AIES), Fokus 1/2011

[Managing the Migration of the Arab Democratic Wave](#)

in: EUISS, European Union Institute for Security Studies, iss.europa.eu, February 2011

[When Home Affairs Becomes Foreign Policy](#)

Lessons from EU Immigration Policy towards North Africa and Eastern Europe

SWP Comments 2010/C 32, December 2010

[Mobility partnerships: valuable addition to the ENP repertoire? A checklist for revitalising ENP](#)

SWP Working Paper, January 2009

with Wibke Hansen and Tobias Gienanth

[International and Local Policing in Peace Operations](#)

Report of the 8th International Berlin Conference, Centre for International Peace Operations, 14th-16th December 2006, 2007

3. EU Free Movement, Asylum and Borders Policy

Borders: EU institutions fail to reconcile their agendas despite communitarisation

in: Florian Trauner and Ariadna Rippoll-Servent [Policy change in the Area of Freedom Security and Justice: How EU institutions matter](#), Routledge, 2014.

[Free movement in the EU: promoting mobility not migration](#)

PISM Bulletin 3, January 2014

[It's not Frontex it's us: towards a more honest EU borders debate](#)

PISM Bulletin 120, November 2013

[The frontiers of EU border reform](#)

IP Journal (online), November 2013

with Anita Sobjak

[Reforming EU free movement: the scope of Polish-British cooperation](#)

PISM Bulletin 59, May 2013

[Frontex: an accountability problem](#)

PISM Bulletin 114, December 2012

with Natascha Zaun

[Obligatory solidarity: does the EU need a formula for distributing asylum-seekers internally?](#)

PISM Bulletin 86, September 2012

[A lack of transparency has some virtues: be wary of EU plans to monitor how member states patrol their borders](#)

European Voice, 29th February 2012

with Anita Sobjak

[Delaying Romania's Schengen accession](#)

PISM Bulletin 77, August 2012

with Daniela Schwarzer

[The Divisiveness of Mobility: Fuelling Populism in the Euro and Schengen Areas](#)

SWP Comments 2012/C 21, July 2012

Why an Immigrant Integration Policy, and Why Not a Proper Role for the EU? in: Klaus Sieveking (ed.):

[Wechselwirkungen von Migration und Integration im europäischen Mehrebenensystem Rechts- und sozialwissenschaftliche Beiträge](#), Nomos, Baden-Baden 2011, pp. 107-116

with Birgitte Mossin

[The Rocky Road from Empty Prescriptions to Meaningful Policy](#)

Four Imperatives for a Better Immigration and Asylum Policy

in: Elvire Fabry (ed.) Think Global - Act European (TGAE). The Contribution of 16 European Think Tanks to the Polish, Danish and Cypriot Trio Presidency of the European Union, Notre Europe, Paris, June 2011, pp. 186-191

[Germany, the Schengen Crisis and Frontex: A Funny Kind of Pro-Europeanism](#)

Elcano Institute, ARI 99/2011, May 2011

with Moritz Schneider

[Partnership: A New EU Approach to Fighting Irregular Immigration?](#)

SWP Comments 2010/C 26, November 2010

with Steffen Angenendt

[A New Impulse for EU Asylum Policy?](#)

The Potential of the European Asylum Support Office

SWP-Comments 2010/C 21, September 2010/ [Neuer Impuls für die EU-Asylpolitik?](#)
Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des neuen Unterstützungsbüros für Asylfragen
SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 60, August 2010

with Steffen Angenendt

[Wanderer, kommst Du nach Europa?](#)

Strategien zur Anwerbung Hochqualifizierter in der EU
in: Internationale Politik (IP), July/ August 2010, pp. 74-78

with Steffen Angenendt

[The Blue Card Impasse](#)

Three Options for EU Policy on Highly Qualified Immigrants
SWP Comments 2010/C 14, June 2010/ [Blue Card - \(noch\) kein Erfolg?](#)
Perspektiven der EU-Migrationspolitik für hochqualifizierte Arbeitskräfte
SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 34, April 2010

with Steffen Angenendt

[Asylum and Immigration Cooperation after Lisbon](#)

New Competencies, Better Policy?
SWP Comments 2009/C 29, December 2009/ [EU-Migrationspolitik nach Lissabon und Stockholm](#)
Neue Kompetenzen, bessere Politik?
SWP-Aktuell 2009/A 71, December 2009

with Steffen Angenendt

[Can Further Nationalisation Facilitate a Common EU Approach to Migration?](#)

in: The International Spectator, Volume 44, Issue 3, September 2009, pp. 77-96

with Steffen Angenendt

[The re-nationalisation of migration policy-making? EU cooperation after the Immigration Pact](#)

SWP Working Paper, January 2009

with Markus Gastinger

[Immigration from the EU's 'New' Member States: Lessons from the UK](#)

SWP Working Paper, May 2008/ [Die Öffnung des Arbeitsmarktes für Bürger der EU8: Lehren aus Großbritannien](#) in: Gesellschaft - Wirtschaft - Politik (GWP), 4/2008, pp. 479-486

[Debating the EU's Immigrant Integration Activity: the State of Play](#)

in: Journal of International Law of peace and Armed Conflict (JILPAC), 21/1, 2008, pp. 34-40

with Pamela Jackson

[The Securitization of Immigration Policy, Shifts in National Immigrant Integration Models and the Incarceration of Immigrants in Germany, France and Britain 1970-2003](#)

in: Humboldt Journal of Social Relations, 31/1, 2008, pp. 39-82

with Andreas Maurer

[Democracy and European Justice and Home Affairs Policies from the Cold War to September 11](#)

in: Hans-Günter Brauch et al. (eds.): Globalization and Environmental Challenges Reconceptualizing Security in the 21st Century, Berlin/ Heidelberg/ New York, Springer-Verlag, 2008

with Steffen Angenendt

[Steering Labour Migration to the EU – Perspectives](#)

SWP Comments, 2008/12, May 2008/ [Arbeitsmigration in der EU Perspektiven der Steuerung](#)
SWP Aktuell, 2008/38, May 2008

with Steffen Angenendt

[EU Perspectives on Legal Migration and Asylum](#)

TGAE Briefing, May 2008/ [Perspectives européennes en matière d'immigration légale et de droit d'asile](#)

[Immigrant Integration Meets European Integration: Le silence des sourds](#)

SWP Working Paper, March 2008

[Asylum and Immigration Policy: Efficient Realisation of a Modest Agenda](#)

in: Daniela Kietz and Volker Perthes (eds.): The Potential of the Council Presidency: An Analysis of Germany's Chairmanship of the EU, 2007, SWP Research Paper, 2008/01, January 2008, pp. 49-55

with Andreas Maurer

[A Diagnosis of Policy-Prescription in EU Asylum Policy. Judging Policy-Change under the European Council's Tampere and Hague Programmes](#)

in: IMIS Beiträge, 32, 2007, pp. 89-112

with Steve Pryce

[Immigrants and the state in Britain: the Demise of a Multicultural Model?](#)

SWP Working Paper, December 2007

[The Commission's Green Paper on the Future Common European Asylum System](#)

Response to the European Commission's consultation, November 2007

with Steffen Angenendt

[The Green Paper on the EU Asylum System: Necessary but not Sufficient](#)

SWP Comments, 2007/19, October 2007/ [Das Grünbuch zum EU-Asylsystem: Notwendig, aber nicht hinreichend](#)

SWP Aktuell, 2007/50, October 2007

[Asyl- und Zuwanderungspolitik: Die effiziente Realisierung eines bescheidenen Vorhabens](#)

in: Daniela Kietz and Volker Perthes (eds.): Handlungsspielräume einer EU-Ratspräsidentschaft. Eine Funktionsanalyse des deutschen Vorsitzes im ersten Halbjahr 2007, SWP Studie, 2007/24, September 2007

with Andreas Maurer

[The Prospects for Policy-Change in EU Asylum Policy: Venue and Image at the European Level](#)

in: European Journal of Migration and Law, 9/2, 2007, pp. 173-205

with Pamela Jackson

[Parallel Societies, Cultural Tolerance and Securitization: Muslims and Anti-Immigrant Sentiment in Western Democracies](#)

in: Journal of Social and Ecological Boundaries, 3/1, 2007-2008, pp. 7-42

with Daniela Kietz

[Die deutsche EU-Ratspräsidentschaft: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer ausgewogenen Inneren Sicherheits- und Migrationspolitik](#)

in: Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft, 1/2007, pp. 66-83

[The EU under Siege? The Development of EU Migration Policy from the Treaty of Amsterdam to the European Constitution](#)

in: Foreign Policy in Dialogue, 8/22, 2007, pp. 7-16

with Pamela Jackson

[Globalization and the Securitization of Immigration Policy: Competing Influences on Immigrant Integration](#)

[Policy in Germany, France, Britain and the United States](#)

in: Human Architecture, IV, 2006, pp. 131-146

with Andreas Maurer

[Asylum Policy and Democracy in the European Union from Amsterdam towards the Hague Programme](#)

SWP Working Paper, November 2006

[Joint Patrols at the EU's Southern Border: Security and Development in the Control of African Migration](#)

SWP Comments, 2006/21, August 2006/ [Gemeinsame Patrouillen an Europas Südflanke: Zur Frage der](#)

[Kontrolle der afrikanischen Einwanderung](#)

SWP Aktuell, 2006/44, September 2006

with Pamela Jackson

[Immigration Policy and the Social Exclusion of Minorities: British Securitization 1948-2003](#)

in: Journal of Social and Ecological Boundaries, 1/2, 2005, pp. 5-31

with Pamela Jackson and Peter Zervakis

[A Contextual Analysis of the Integration of Muslims in Four Western Societies](#)

4. Home Affairs Cooperation in the EU

with Nicolai von Ondarza

Die Solidaritätsklausel im Vertrag von Lissabon: Spannungen zwischen Solidarität und Souveränität,

Katastrophenschutz und Terrorabwehr

in: Franco Algieri et al. (eds.) Integrationsprojekt Sicherheit: Aspekte europäischer Sicherheitspolitik im Vertrag von Lissabon, Nomos, 2011, pp. 75-86

[The Unromantic Union: Give and Take in EU Home Affairs](#)

in: What the EU Did Next: Short Essays For a Longer Life, January 2011, pp. 15-19, dgap.org

with Nicolai von Ondarza

[The EU in the face of disaster](#)

Implementing the Lisbon Treaty's Solidarity Clause

SWP Comments 2010/C 09, April 2010/ [Europäische Solidarität in Katastrophenschutz und Terrorabwehr?](#)

Vorschläge zur Umsetzung der Solidaritätsklausel des Vertrags von Lissabon

SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 54, July 2010

[The Stockholm Programme: More than just a five-year itch?](#)

Federal Trust essay, November 2009

with Daniela Kietz

[Reprogramming the EU's Home Affairs Policy](#)

Hostage to Political Short-Termism?

SWP Comments 2009/C 17, August 2009, 9 pages/ [Das Stockholmer Programm](#)

Schwierige Weichenstellung in der europäischen Justiz- und Innenpolitik

SWP-Aktuell 2009/A 51, August 2009, 9 pages

with Daniela Kietz

[Justiz- und Innenpolitik](#)

in: Julia Lieb, Andreas Maurer, Nicolai von Ondarza (eds.): Der Vertrag von Lissabon: Kurzkommentar, SWP Diskussionspapier, April 2008

with Marie McGinley

[Rights vs. Effectiveness? The Autonomy Thesis in EU Internal Security Cooperation](#)

in: European Security, 16/3 & 4, 2007, pp. 245-266

[What Limits for Government Control? Civil Liberties and Anti-terror Measures after the Heathrow Bomb Plot](#)

in: The Political Quarterly, 78/2, 2007, pp. 272-281

with Marie McGinley

[Data Protection in the EU's Internal Security Cooperation Fundamental Rights vs. Effective Cooperation](#)

SWP Research Paper, May 2007

[Democracy and Security in Britain after the 'Heathrow Plot': The Survival of the Fittest?](#)

SWP Comments, 2006/24, September 2006/ [Britische Anti-Terror-Politik und die Internationalisierung der Inneren Sicherheit: Zur Balance zwischen Freiheit, Sicherheit und Demokratie](#)

SWP Studie, 2007/03, January 2007

5. European Policies of the EU member states

with Almut Moeller (ed.s)

[What if the EU...? An exercise in counterfactual thinking](#)

DGAP Analyse 19, October 2014

with Julian Rappold

[Out on the edge instead of here in the middle: why the UK can't resolve its relations to the EU](#)

PISM Policy Paper 55, September 2014

[The Polish perspective](#)

in: Almut Moeller and Tim Oliver (ed.s) The United Kingdom and the European Union: What Brexit would mean. September 2014, pp.27-30

[Poland could be Britain's best ally](#)

Prospect magazine, September 2014

[Debating V4: three ways to boost its relevance in the EU](#)

CEPI (online), 4th September 2014

with Lidia Puka (eds)

[Linking national and European governance: lessons from Norway and Poland](#)

PISM Strategic File 53, August 2014

with Mark McQuay and Aleksandra Gawlikowska-Fyk

[A dummy's guide to forming an EU energy union](#)

PISM Policy Report 9, June 2014

[A game-changer for the EU: why major treaty change if a real prospect](#)

PISM Bulletin 90, June 2014

with Agata Gostynska

[Europe and its institutions: towards a renewed Polish approach to the EU](#)

PISM Strategic File 2, February 2014

[**Is this the future of Europe? Opportunities and challenges for Poland in a Union of insiders and outsiders**](#)

PISM Policy Report (ed.), February 2014

[**The strange heroism of Britain's political class**](#)

Social Europe Journal (online), February 2014

[**Briten, bleib in der EU!**](#)

Die Zeit, 2nd February 2014

[**Parliamentarising the Commission: a CEE view**](#)

PISM Bulletin 12, evidence to the Constitutional Committee of the European Parliament, January 2014

with Agata Gostynska (eds.)

[**The May 2014 elections: special edition**](#)

Polish Quarterly of International Affairs, January 2014

with Agata Gostynska

[**It is vital that the Party of European Socialists craft a coherent narrative for their lead candidate in the 2014 European Parliament elections**](#)

LSE Euopp blog (online), 4th January 2014/ [Policy Network](#)

with Agata Gostynska

[**The May 2014 elections: towards a Europe of party family competition**](#)

PSIM Bulletin 137, December 2013

[**Can the UK speak the language of German EU reform?**](#)

ESharp (online), October 2013

[**If Germany doesn't change, will Poland?**](#)

ISPI analysis (online), September 2013

with Ryszarda Formuszewicz

[**Widening the EU's democratic gap**](#)

European Voice, 12th June 2013

with Agata Gostynska

[**State power in the EU**](#)

IFRI Actuelles, May 2013

[**How Britain missed Poland's rise**](#)

Esharp (online), April 2013

[**Will the UK be an EU bridging state?**](#)

IP Journal (online), February 2013

[**A referendum would not resolve Britain's EU relations**](#)

ESharp (online), January 2013

with Agata Gostynska (eds)

[**Towards a V4 position on the future of Europe**](#)

PISM policy paper, December 2012

with Ela Kaca and Dorota Liszczyk (eds)

[France and the Future of the European Union](#)

PISM Report, December 2012

[Waiting for Brexit](#)

PISM bulletin 108, December 2012

with Arno Engel

[Accommodating an Intdependent Scotland](#)

EPC discussion paper, December 2012

[Goodbye London: if the UK insists on leaving the EU, it should go gracefully](#)

IP Journal (online), November 2012

[Stuck in the exit: the dynamics of Britain's EU relations](#)

SIEPS European Policy Analysis 11, October 2012

with Almut Moeller (eds.)

[Germany as viewed by the other EU member states](#)

EPIN research paper, July 2012

[Thinking Swiss: What the Swiss model really says about the EU's insiders and outsiders](#)

IP Journal, July 2012

[How Poland came to be a major EU power](#)

Carnegie Europe (online), 31st May 2013

[From Integration to Competition](#)

Britain, Germany and the EU's New Group Dynamics

EPIN Commentary No. 10, April 2012

with Andreas Maurer

[Is the UK Jumping or Being Pushed?](#)

British Separatism after Cameron's EU Veto

SWP Comments 2012/C 15, April 2012

[Britain's Commitment Problem is Germany's Commitment Problem](#)

Carnegie Report

in: carnegieendowment.org, March 2012

[Trading places: how Britain and Germany started thinking like one another rather than themselves](#)

IP Journal (online), December 2011

[Britain has become more German in its approach to Europe](#)

Both countries are holding on to a one-size-fits-all style, rather than engaging with the new messiness of EU politics

in: The Guardian, October 2011 (online)

[How David Cameron Fooled the EU](#)

The UK is becoming more withdrawn from the EU
in: IP Journal, July 2011 (online)

[Why Germany needs a strategy on EU withdrawal](#)

Open Democracy, June 2011

[Punitive European policy: a view from the North](#)

in: CIDOB, Barcelona Centre for International Affairs, Notes Internacionals No. 30, April 2011

[How the UK Became Politically Dependent on Germany](#)

And Why Germany Should Exploit the Situation for a New Bilateralism
SWP Comments 2011/C 04, February 2011

with Martin Kremer

[The British Question](#)

What Explains the EU's New Angloscepticism?
SWP Comments 2010/C 11, May 2010/ [Die EU und ihre neue britische Frage](#)
SWP-Aktuell 2010/A 46, May 2010

[An end to a marriage of convenience? Whatever the colour of its next government, the UK will find the old approach to the EU will no longer work.](#)

European Voice, 11th May 2010

with Martin Kremer

[Engaging with British European Policy](#)

SWP Comments 2009/C 27, December 2009 / [Großbritannien: »Being nice to a sceptic?«](#)
Warum es sich lohnt, in den schwierigen EU-Partner zu investieren
SWP-Aktuell 2009/A 66, December 2009

[The British Party Politics of Europe's Future](#)

SWP Comments 2009/C 08, June 2009/ [Regierungswechsel in London?](#)
Zukunftsfragen für die EU
SWP-Aktuell 2009/A 33, July 2009

[Has Cameron saved the EU?](#)

New Statesman, 18th May 2009

with Andreas Maurer and Markus Wagner

[Explaining group membership in the European Parliament: The British Conservatives and the Movement for European Reform](#)

in: Journal of European Public Policy, 15/2, 2008, pp. 246-262

[A Retrospective UK Referendum on the Lisbon Treaty? David Cameron and the Big Fight](#)

SWP Comments 2008/27, November 2008

with Simon Bulmer

[The Berlin-London Connection: From "No Frills" to "Full Service"? Prospects for a New Bilateralism in EU Affairs](#)

SWP Comments, 2007/21, December 2007 / [Die Berlin-London-Verbindung: Erst Funkstille, jetzt Standleitung? Die Perspektiven für eine erneuerte bilaterale Kooperation in EU-Angelegenheiten](#)
SWP-Aktuell 2008/10, January 2008

with Stephanie Hofmann

[From Blair to Brown: All Change?](#)

SWP Comments, 2007/13, June 2007/ Von Blair zu Brown: Wohin des Weges? Neue Führung, neue Prioritäten, neue Außen- und Europapolitik

SWP-Aktuell 2007/A 41, July 2007

[Großbritannien: Vom Sorgenkind zum Musterschüler](#)

in: Julia Lieb, Andreas Maurer, Nicolai von Ondarza (eds.): In 27+X Schritten zur Reform: Die Ratifikation und Umsetzung des Lissabonner Vertrags, SWP Diskussionspapier, March 2008

[The UK and the Ratification of the Reform Treaty: From European Problem Child to Class Swot](#)

SWP Working Paper, February 2008

with Andreas Maurer

[The British Conservatives in the European Parliament](#)

SWP Research Paper, 2006/10, May 2006

[Länderstudien: Großbritannien und Irland](#)

in: Andreas Maurer (ed.): Das Ratifikationsverfahren zum EU-Verfassungsvertrag, SWP Diskussionspapier, April 2006