

Projecting Academic Capacities with Tunisian Universities through Master courses

## **PACTUM**

# Reasoned Bibliography on Mediterranean Politics

## Luca Verzichelli and Linda Krzikalla

Lust update: March 2024



#### Index

### About this bibliography

- 1. Mediterranean Politics (general references)
- 2. Political regimes, Democracy, Governance, Electoral processes and transparency
- 3. Global politics, Geopolitics and the Euro-Mediterranean relations
- 4. Migration, poverty, gender policies and climate change issues
- 5. Political economy, tourism and cultural policies in the Mediterranean area

#### **About this Bibliography**

This bibliography has been compiled by the coordination team of the Pactum project as an initial tool to be offered to the instructors of the courses in the Master's program in Social Sciences, which constitutes the ultimate aim of the project itself. Specifically, the texts selected in the following bibliography will be used to compose syllabi and to produce basic teaching materials useful for defining a quality standard to be used in the courses of the Master's program in a cross-cutting subject that we define as Mediterranean Politics.

The underlying idea is to assist instructors of the various editions of the master's program – which ideally develops a series of different curricula at the various Tunisian locations where the project intends to experiment with an innovative course of study in social sciences – with a series of teachings that are "horizontal" with respect to the typical disciplines represented and "introductory" in every context, thus usable in all locations where the master's program will be implemented. These courses will complement the cross-cutting courses – those in methodology, history of international relations, theory of international relations, comparative law, and public policies. The choice has been made for a series of teachings focused precisely on the concept of Mediterranean politics.

Although the Mediterranean region is often the focus of abundant literature, we cannot count on a multitude of manuals, and popular books that truly consider the region as a unified area rather than a crossroads of cultures, civilizations, and types of regimes are not very numerous. Therefore, we have attempted to select readings driven by the need to identify an authentically Mediterranean approach to the study of certain social and political phenomena.

The bibliography consists of five sections. The first section aims to provide some general readings on the idea of the Mediterranean region. These are just a few recent general introductions that, we believe, may constitute an example of minimum common denominator to be shared among the students of Mediterranean politics at the master level.

The second section focuses on political and institutional aspects, developing a few typical concepts of comparative political science, that will be applicable at the Mediterranean context. The first concept is that of "political regime". Then we must cover the notion of "representative democracy", followed by that of "governance" (which also includes administrative systems at both local and national levels and the main channels of interest representation). Finally, we will deal with the

concept of the "electoral process". These aspects may be approached both under a purely legal approach and through the lens of comparative politics and the empirical analysis of decision making. Under this point of view, a particularly relevant issue to be covered in our courses is that of anticorruption policies and the quest for transparency within the political and administrative elites.

The third section focuses on the geopolitics of the Mediterranean area and the role of this area at the global level. Namely we focus here on recent works published in English that have analyzed the balance of power between Mediterranean countries and their ties with external powers: from the roles played by the USA and the USSR during the Cold War to the competition that many medium and large powers – among the other Russia, China, US and, obviously, the European Union – are currently playing on the Mediterranean chessboard.

The fourth section is dedicated to priority themes for the political agenda of the Mediterranean: the massive migration of segments of the population from many African countries and from countries in the Middle East and Asia passing through the Mediterranean in search of a wealthier society. But also, the problems related to desertification, climate change, and other factors that contribute to the Mediterranean being the stage for a dramatic exodus of millions of economic migrants and refugees. A few readings are selected on another policy priorities which is relevant on all the sides of the Mediterranean basin: the analysis of gender balance and anti-discrimination policies, with specific attention to the quest for equal opportunities within the context of labour policy and within the political and administrative elites.

Finally, we have included in this annotated bibliography a section dedicated to the solutions that all the Mediterranean countries are putting to the test to overcome the economic and social problems that plague them. In particular, we have focused on recipes of political economy, on the economic governance of Mediterranean countries, and finally on those policies that can use the natural and cultural resources of the Mediterranean basin as a catalyst for realizing a new cycle of policies centred not only on the traditional comprehensive goals of political modernity (liberalization; participation; democratization, etc.) and on those goals related to social control and prosperity (welfare, zero hunger, employability for all, etc.) but also on a shared and sustainable idea of economic and cultural development.

Tourism is especially an example of an untapped and inherently "shareable" resource since tourism will be genuinely Mediterranean only when all regimes on the various shores of the Mare Nostrum are committed to promoting the natural and cultural resources of neighbouring countries.

Unlike other bibliographies, which are more inclusive and exhaustive but essentially overabundant and unusable for the common effort of building a didactic program, this bibliography has followed an opposite, selective, and representative logic.

More precisely, the compilers of this document started from a comprehensive list of many bibliographic items (articles, reports, monographs, collective books) appearing in syllabi and bibliographies provided by scholars of the network and other sources recognized by the network itself as credible examples. Compared to this mass of sources, a selection process was carried out with the support of network experts to arrive at a rather limited but representative list of readings, which we recommend to all potential students of a master's program in "Mediterranean politics" today.

A second criterion was the availability of an updated literature corpus. For this reason, with very few exceptions, sources produced before 2015 were excluded.

The method used aims to constitute a method for the formation of new bibliographic tools in other disciplinary areas not covered by this document, and therefore to continue producing a set of tools usable in master's programs that aim to become an example of excellence and ideal candidates for joint programs and new forms of inter-university cooperation in the Mediterranean.

#### (1) Mediterranean Politics

Cavatorta, F., Mekouar, M. and Topak, O. (eds.) (2024). New Authoritarian Practices in the Middle East and North Africa. Edinburgh University Press.

Haas, M.L., Lesch D. (eds) (2017). The Arab Spring. The Hope and Reality of the Uprisings, Routledge.

Holdermann, S.; Lange, C.; Schäuble, M.; Zillinger, M. (2020): Rethinking the Mediterranean: Extending the Anthropological Laboratory Across Nested Mediterranean Zones. Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie (ZfE) / Journal of Social and Cultural Anthropology (JSCA), 145(2), 175–196.

Khakee, A., & Wolff, S. (2022): EU democracy projection in the Southern Mediterranean: A practice analysis. In Mediterranean Politics, *27*(4).

IIIS (various) (2017). Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. London Routledge.

Schmitter, P. C.; Sika, N. (2017): Democratization in the Middle East and North Africa: A More Ambidextrous Process? In Mediterranean Politics. Vol. 21.

Seirinidou, V. (2019): The Mediterranean. In D. Mishkova & B. Trencsényi (Eds.), European Regions and Boundaries: A Conceptual History, 79–99: Berghahn Books.

Watkins, J. (2017): Introduction: Non-state Actors in Mediterranean Politics. Mediterranean Studies, 25(1), 1–8.

Youngs, R. (2019): A new era in Euro-Mediterranean relations. In: Richard Gillespie und Frédéric Volpi (Hg.): Routledge handbook of Mediterranean politics. London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (Routledge Handbooks).

Volpi, F. & Gillespie, R.. (2018): Introduction: The growing international relevance of Mediterranean politics. In: Richard Gillespie und Frédéric Volpi (Hg.): Routledge handbook of Mediterranean politics. London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (Routledge Handbooks).

Volpi, F. & Clark, J. (2019): Network Mobilization Dynamics in Uncertain Times in the Middle East and North Africa. London: Routledge.

#### (2) Democracy, governance, electoral processes and transparency

Cavatorta, F. Storm. L. and Resta V. (eds) (2021), Routledge Handbook on Political Parties in the Middle East and North Africa. London, Routledge.

Cavatorta, F. & Clark, J. (2022) ) Political and social mobilization in the Arab world after the 2011 uprisings. In Globalizations, Vol. 22.

Cavatorta, and Resta V. (eds.) (2023). Routledge Handbook in the Middle East and North Africa. London, Routledge

Cofelice, A.; Stavridis, S. (2017): Mapping the Proliferation of Parliamentary Actors in the Mediterranean: Facilitating or Hindering Cooperation? Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Costello, A. (2021): The Routledge handbook of EU-Africa relations. London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (Routledge international handbooks).

El-Mikawy, N. (2020): From Risk to Opportunity: Local governance in the southern Mediterranean." CIDOB Notes internacionals, N. 232.

Lomazzi, V.; & Crespi, I. (2019): Gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Europe: Policies, culture and public opinion (1st ed.). Bristol University Press.

Magri, P. (2020): Holding back the Old Demons in the Euro-Mediterranean Region in Post-pandemic Times. Populism and Authoritarianism. In: Dossier: An Unexpected Party Crasher: Rethinking Euro-Mediterranean Relations, 119–124.

Rennick, S. A. (2023): Losing support to democracy: Political socialization, popular conceptualizations, and the formation of political grievances among marginalized youth in Tunisia. Mediterranean Politics, 1–25.

Sadiki, L., & Saleh, L. (2023): Crisis of Democratisation in the Maghreb and North Africa. In The Journal of North African Studies, 28(6)

Zardo, F.; Wolff, S. (2022): Decentering the Study of Migration Governance in the Mediterranean. Geopolitics, 27(3), 687–702.

Quilliam, N.; Vakil, S. (2020): A Pyramid of Multilateral Confidence-Building Measures in the Middle East. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Whitehead, L. (2020): Aversive' democracy, 'contentious' politics and 'agonistic' populism: comparative experience and implications for contemporary North Africa. In The Journal of North African Studies, 25(6),

Woertz, E.; Soler, I.; Lecha, E. (2020): Populism and Euro-Mediterranean cooperation: The Barcelona process 25 years after. Mediterranean Politics, 1-24.

Yardımcı-Geyikçi, Ş., and Duyvendak. J (2024): Catalysts of Change: Unveiling the Nexus between Protest Movements and Party Politics in the Mediterranean. In Mediterranean Politics, early views.

#### (3) Global politics, Geopolitics, and the Euro-Mediterranean relations

Cofelice, A.; Stavridis, S. (2017): Mapping the Proliferation of Parliamentary Actors in the Mediterranean: Facilitating or Hindering Cooperation? Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Dessì, A. (2021): Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean: Navigating Complexity, Mitigating Conflict(s) and Fishing for Compromise. In M. Tanchum (Ed.), Eastern Mediterranean in uncharted waters: Perspectives on Emerging Geopolitical Realities, 100–115. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Ellinas, C. (2022): Energy and Geopolitics in the Eastern Mediterranean. Atlantic Council.

Engelke, P.; Aronsson, L.; Nordenman, M. (2017): Drivers of Change in the Mediterranean. In Mediterranean Futures 2030: Toward A Transatlantic Security Strategy, 6–14. Atlantic Council.

Fernández-Molina, I. (2019): Global Power Shifts, Rational Choice and Role Conflict: Explaining the Trajectories of the Central Maghreb Countries' EU Policies since 2011." EUROMESCO Papers (Vol. 39). Barcelona: IEMed.

Ghafar, A. A. (2021): Between Geopolitics and Geoeconomics: The Growing Role of Gulf States in the Eastern Mediterranean. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Goldthau, A. C.; Joern Richert, J.; Stetter, S. (2024): Leviathan Awakens. Gas Finds, Energy Governance, and the Emergence of the Eastern Mediterranean as a Geopolitical Region. In: Review of Policy Research (41), 310–328.

Hierro, L. (2018): Integrationalism and resilience: a dynamic systems analysis of EU regional integration in the Mediterranean and North Africa, *Resilience*, 6 (3), 163–180.

LaGro, E., & Cavlak, H. (2022): Assessing dynamics of EU democracy projection through expert communities in the Mediterranean region. Mediterranean Politics, 27(4),

Marrone, A.; Muti, K. (2020): NATO's Future: Euro-Atlantic Alliance in a Peacetime War. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Tanchum, M. (2020): The Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis: A Regional System Perspective on the Mediterranean's new Great Game. In M. Tanchum (Ed.), EASTERN Mediterranean in uncharted waters: Perspectives on Emerging Geopolitical Realities, 7–17. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Tassinari, F.; Holm, U. (2010): Values Promotion and Security Management in Euro-Mediterranean Relations: 'Making Democracy Work' or 'Good-Enough Governance'? Danish Institute for International Studies.

Lecha, E. S.; Dokos, T. (2011): Mediterranean 2020: The Future of Mediterranean Security and Politics. German Marshall Fund of the United States.

Watkins, J. (2013): The New Mediterranean Studies: A Mediator between Area Studies and Global Studies. Mediterranean Studies, 21(2), 149–154.

Woertz, E., & Soler i Lecha, E. (2022). Populism and Euro-Mediterranean cooperation: The Barcelona Process 25 years after. Mediterranean Politics, 27(3)

#### (4) Migration, poverty, gender policies and climate change

Abderrahim, T. (2019): Pushing the Boundaries: How to create more effective migration cooperation across the Mediterranean. European Council on Foreign Relations.

Ambrosetti, E., & Strangio, D. (2016): Migration in the Mediterranean across disciplines. In E. Ambrosetti, D. Strangio, & C. W. de Wenden (Eds.), Migration in the Mediterranean: Socio-economic perspectives, 3-14. Routledge Studies in the European Economy. Routledge.

Ben-Porat, G., Filc, D., Ozturk, A. E., & Ozzano, L. (2023). Populism, religion and family values policies in Israel, Italy and Turkey. Mediterranean Politics, 28(2),

Cordesman, A. H. (2023): Climate Change. In The Changing Strategic Importance of the Middle East and North Africa: The Impact of Growing Military and Civil Instability in the MENA Region, 124–131. Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

De Haas, H. (2011), Mediterranean migration futures: Patterns, drivers and scenarios. In Global Environmental Change, Vol. 21, Supplement 1

D'Angelo, A.; Montagna, N. (2024): Mediterranean Migration. Reception, Governance and Industry: Bristol University Press.

Elliot, A. (2020): Mediterranean distinctions: Forced migration, forceful hope and the analytics of desperation. In E. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (Ed.), Refuge in a Moving World: Tracing refugee and migrant journeys across disciplines: UCL Press.

Fusco, F. (2022): Climate Change and Security in the Mediterranean. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Geddes, A. (2015): Governing migration from a distance: interactions between climate, migration, and security in the South Mediterranean. European Security, 24(3).

Grelaud, M.; Ziveri, P. (2020): The generation of marine litter in Mediterranean island beaches as an effect of tourism and its mitigation. Sci Rep 10, 20326.

Gross-Wyrtzen, L. (2023): 'There is no race here': on blackness, slavery, and disavowal in North Africa and North African studies. In The Journal of North African Studies, 28(3),

Gruszczak, A. (2017): European borders in turbulent times: The case of the central Mediterranean 'extended borderland.' Politeja, 50/5, 23–46.

De Haas, H. (2011): Mediterranean migration futures: Patterns, drivers and scenarios. In: Global Environmental Change (21), 59–69.

Haynes, J. & Guy Ben-Porat I. (2013). Religion, Secularization and Democracy in the Mediterranean Region: Problems and Prospects. In Mediterranean Politics, vol. 18(2).

Mason, M. (2019): Climate change, enviornmental degradation, and renewable energy. In: Richard Gillespie und Frédéric Volpi (Hg.): Routledge handbook of Mediterranean politics. London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (Routledge Handbooks).

Nohr, I. (2024): Rethinking agency: towards a collaborative approach on political agency of people on the move in the Mediterranean.

Pallister-Wilkins, P. (2016): Interrogating the Mediterranean 'Migration Crisis.' Mediterranean Politics, 21(2), 311–315.

Tagliapietra, A. (2019): The European Migration Crisis: A Pendulum between the Internal and External Dimensions. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Talani, S. & S. Giusti, (2018), Women in the Mediterranean. London: Routledge

Zapata-Barrero, R. (2023): Mediterranean thinking in migration studies. A methodological regionalism approach. In: International Migration (61), 198–211.

#### (5) Political economy, tourism, and cultural policies in the Mediterranean area

Apostolopoulos, Y., Loukissas, P., Leontidou. L (2013), Mediterranean Tourism. Facets of Socioeconomic Development and Cultural Change. London, Routledge.

Aslan, A.; Altinoz, B.; Özsolak, B. (2021): The nexus between economic growth, tourism development, energy consumption, and CO2 emissions in Mediterranean countries. Environ Sci Pollut Res 28, 3243–3252.

Bianchi, R.; Selwyn, T. (2019): Politics and tourism in the Mediterranean region. In: Richard Gillespie und Frédéric Volpi (Hg.): Routledge handbook of Mediterranean politics. London, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group (Routledge Handbooks).

Engelke, P.; Aronsson, L.; Nordenman, M. (2017): Scenarios for the Mediterranean in 2030. In Mediterranean Futures 2030: Toward A Transatlantic Security Strategy, 15–22. Atlantic Council.

Euromed Heritage (2013). Mediterranean Cultural Heritage, A Manual for Good Practice – A Euromed Heritage Experience. Libri Publishing Ltd.

Helly, D. (2018): Cultural Heritage Protection in the Mediterranean Region: Beyond Resilience. IEMed Mediterranean yearbook.

Helly, D. (2018) Scenario configurations for the EU as an international cultural heritage protection actor in conflict. In: *Journal of Cultural Heritage*, vol. 12.

Huber, D.; Paciello, M. C. (2015): Overhauling EU Policy in the Mediterranean.: Towards More Inclusive, Responsive and Flexible Policies. Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI).

Lanquar, R. (2015): Tourism in the Mediterranean. In: Ayadi, R., Dabrowski, M., De Wulf, L. (eds) Economic and Social Development of the Southern and Eastern Mediterranean Countries. Springer, Cham.

Mejjad, N.; Rossi, A.; Pavel, A. B. (2022): The coastal tourism industry in the Mediterranean. A critical review of the socio-economic and environmental pressures & impacts. In: Tourism Management Perspectives V. 44.

Radojevic, S. M. (2020): Political and strategic changes in the Mediterranean. In: The Review of International Affairs, 54–76.

Tanchum, M. (2020): The Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis: A Regional System Perspective on the Mediterranean's new Great Game. In M. Tanchum (Ed.), Eastern Mediterranean in uncharted waters: Perspectives on Emerging Geopolitical Realities, 7–17. Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Tsoukalis, L. (1981): The European Community and its Mediterranean Enlargement (1st ed.). Routledge.

Xuereb, K. (2020) European postcolonialism and cultural policy in the Mediterranean: an assessment of Malta. Journal of Mediterranean Studies, Vol. 1.