

## Workshop: Migration, security and foreign policy in the Mediterranean

A suggestion for a workshop/publication, organized by Zaid Eyadat, University of Jordan & Peter Seeberg, University of Southern Denmark

“...since 11 September 2001 and Eastern enlargement, the EU has placed security issues (terrorism, migration, borders, energy) at the heart of its concerns”<sup>1</sup>

(Karoline Postel-Vinay)

### Introduction

Within the last decade new developments have taken place in the Mediterranean as regards migration movements and policy reactions to this important phenomenon. What used to be a system based on a distinction between countries of immigration and countries of emigration has changed into complex patterns of continued migration towards Europe, transit migration through southern and eastern Mediterranean states and trans-regional, globalized migration. At the same time increasingly restrictive immigration policies and external as well as internal EU securitization of immigrant groups seem to emphasize that security concerns in the Mediterranean are shifting from external security and North-South issues towards a focus on internal challenges in the involved states and transnational developments such as irregular migration, cross-border crime and transnational terrorism.

The incumbent regimes in the Middle East are like the EU states and the EU itself concerned with their own security and the migration issue constitutes an important aspect of this, often connected to conflicting national narratives attached to ethnic or religious minorities and to political conflicts in which Islamist movements and parties play an essential role. A growing, yet mostly unspoken, consensus between the governments across the Mediterranean related to the securitization of oppositional groups in the Arab world has developed. The focus on security has constructed an informal alliance between authoritarian MENA states on one side and EU foreign policy and security strategies on the other.<sup>2</sup>

Behind this development lie changing political agendas in both the EU and in the MENA-states. This is a result of a changing security environment in the Mediterranean, where a new common security interest has developed in recent years.<sup>3</sup> On the European

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<sup>1</sup> Postel-Vinay, K. (2008). The historicity of European normative power. EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Normative power and social preferences. Z. Laidi. London and New York, Routledge.

<sup>2</sup> Aliboni, R. and F. M. Ammor (2009). "Under the Shadow of 'Barcelona': From the EMP to the Union for the Mediterranean." EuroMesco Paper January 2009(77): 1-34.

<sup>3</sup> Hannay, D. (2003). "Strengthening Europe's Role in World affairs: Foreign Policy, Security and Immigration." European Foreign Affairs Review 8(3): 365-368. Collyer, M. (2006). "Migrants, Migration and the Security

side there are several reasons for the fact that the states as well as the media have become more preoccupied with security. Needless to say it has to do with 9.11 and the terror attacks in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005. The tragedies have at the political level led to an increased awareness of a threat connected to radical groups in the European cities, and in the public sphere and the media often to more hostile positions against the continued migration movements towards Europe.

Security has thus become a key issue in EU policies<sup>4</sup>, and in connection with the institutional cooperation related to the Barcelona process and the further development of European-Middle Eastern cooperation, the political narratives related to overall migratory developments, immigrant groups, ethnic minorities etc. have changed. An aspect of this seems to be the common interest in the EU and in the Arab world in developing a security environment across the Mediterranean, making it more difficult for the opposition in the MENA states, often with a strong component of Islamic movements or parties, to become discussion partners. Before 9.11, the Islamist opposition was seen in many European countries as constituting a substantially important political opposition to problematic regimes broadly regarded as authoritarian by the EU. Nevertheless, the EU only reluctantly approaches oppositional movements and parties in the countries south and east of the Mediterranean.

In the past few years, cooperation between governments across the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea in both regulating immigration and fight against Islamist terrorism has increased markedly, in a bilateral as well as a multilateral framework. A minor, yet interesting aspect of this is that the security cooperation at the operational level between the secret services of Europe and the states in the Middle East has spread. This might have consequences for the resilience of the authoritarian regimes of the Middle Eastern states and for underlining the common interest in security cooperation between the EU and its MENA partners.<sup>5</sup>

It is the purpose of this workshop to throw light on how the relation between migration, security and foreign policy gradually has changed over the last decades. The workshop will analyze recent developments in Mediterranean migration movements and

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Paradigm: Constraints and Opportunities." Mediterranean Politics 11(2): 255-270. Huysmans, J. (2006). The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU. Oxon, Routledge. Seeberg, P. (2007). "Unity in Diversity", security and migration. The Changing European Foreign Policy and Security Agenda in the Mediterranean. EU and the Mediterranean. Foreign Policy and Security. P. Seeberg. Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark.

<sup>4</sup> See for instance Laidi, Z., Ed. (2008). EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Normative power and social preferences. Routledge/Garnet Series: Europe in the World. Abingdon and New York, Routledge. Youngs, R. (2010). The EU's Role in World Politics. A retreat from liberal internationalism. London and New York, Routledge. Pace, M. and P. Seeberg (2010). The European Union's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean. Abingdon and New York, Routledge.

<sup>5</sup> Aliboni, R. and F. M. Ammor (2009). "Under the Shadow of 'Barcelona': From the EMP to the Union for the Mediterranean." EuroMesco Paper January 2009(77): 1-34.

how these movements are dealt with in the foreign and security policies of the states north and south of the Mediterranean. Furthermore it will deal with Mediterranean migration as a globalized, but also regional and local phenomenon and the perspectives in policies aiming at controlling and regulating migration movements, refugee flows and illegal migrants trying to enter European shores. Finally the project will focus on migration as a highly securitized phenomenon, both in a European and Middle Eastern political context.

### **Europe and the Middle East in a new, multipolar world**

As emphasized by Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller in their classic “The Age of Migration” the Middle East is containing all relevant conditions for producing migrants. It is “an area where enormous political, cultural and economic diversity has resulted in many varied types of migration and mobility.”<sup>6</sup> The migration is internal, meaning that it is taking place behind borders, like for instance – taking refugees as example – in Iraq where the invasion in March 2003 resulted in a huge number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs). It is also regional – a large number of Egyptians work in Libya (the local perspective) as well as a large number of Egyptians work in the Gulf (the interregional perspective).<sup>7</sup> The largest population movements related to the Middle East, however, are the transregional movements, first of all towards Europe. These movements seem to be rather stable, as convincingly demonstrated by Philippe Fargues et al: the “emigration from South and East Mediterranean countries (SEM) is continuing at a steady rate, while immigration to these countries is increasing, particularly in various irregular forms.”<sup>8</sup> A large amount of research projects have been documenting the migratory movements within the MENA-region.<sup>9</sup> The interconnectedness of the concepts of migration and security especially after 9.11 is also no novelty and has been demonstrated by several scholars.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Castles, S. and M. J. Miller (2009). The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World. London, Macmillan.(p. 159)

<sup>7</sup> Ghoneim, A. F. (2010). Labour migration for decent work, economic growth and development in Egypt. International Migration Papers. Geneva, International Labour Office: 1-53.

<sup>8</sup> Fargues, P. e. (2009). Mediterranean Migration 2008-2009 Report. San Domenico di Fiesole, Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute: 1-556.(p. 19)

<sup>9</sup> Among the number of reports documenting the varied expressions of Mediterranean migration, see for instance Baldwin-Edwards, M. (2005). Migration in the Middle Eastern Mediterranean. A Regional Study prepared for the Global Commission on International Migration. Athens, Mediterranean Migration Observatory. University Research Institute for Urban Environment and Human Resources Panteion University. Aristotelous 14, Kalithea, Athens 176-71, Greece: 1-43, Sørensen, N. N., Ed. (2006). Mediterranean Transit Migration. Copenhagen, Danish Institute for International Studies, Fargues, P. (2008). Emerging Democratic Patterns across the Mediterranean and their Implications for Migration through 2030. Transatlantic Council on Migration, New York, Migration Policy Institute.

<sup>10</sup> See for instance Seeberg, P. (2007). "Unity in Diversity", security and migration. The Changing European Foreign Policy and Security Agenda in the Mediterranean. EU and the Mediterranean. Foreign Policy and Security. P. Seeberg. Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark.

This workshop attempts at taking the discussion further by taking its point of departure in how new global tendencies related to the migration phenomenon affect the relation between Europe and the Middle East. The latest decades have witnessed a growing connectivity between processes of globalization, social transformation and migration, which has considerable consequences for the global migration trends and patterns, yet to a different extend in different regions of the world.

Taking the EU and its relations to the Middle East as the point of departure it can be claimed that the political and institutional developments are creating huge challenges for the attempts at cooperation. On one side the EU itself is experiencing a continuously slow integration process, which only recently has seen the Lisbon Treaty finally being adopted as the legal foundation for the Union. On the other side the complex challenges in the Middle East, not the least in relation to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the war in Iraq, have led to pragmatic tendencies in European foreign policy in the MENA-region.<sup>11</sup>

The EU attempts at becoming an important actor on the international political scene are thus far from unfolding. This (lack of) development becomes a reality while a simultaneous global trend furthermore is affecting the EU in attempting to realize its potential, namely a provincialization of Europe in world politics, as claimed, among others, by Karoline Postel-Vinay.<sup>12</sup>

The alleged provincialization of Europe has different aspects. The phenomenon can be understood within the framework of a new multipolar reality, where rising powers (China, India, Russia, Brazil etc.) are entering the political scene and where global demographic tendencies imply that Europe (or rather: the EU), despite its recent enlargements, is being outnumbered by growing populations in other regions of the world. The reasons for this reality are a combination of an ageing of the European population and a continuously rapid, yet gradually stagnating, population growth in other regions in Asia, Africa etc. The concept of provincialization of Europe has for some time been discussed within postcolonial theory, where it has been a central subject (at least) since the influential book by Dipesh Chakrabarty on postcolonial Europe.<sup>13</sup> The different tendencies related to the concept of provincialization of Europe seem to run parallel and in a certain way to reinforce each other. The overall demographic and political weakening of Europe in a global context is supplemented by the absence of progress for the internal institutional processes within Europe, meant to bring about more coherent and efficient foreign policies for the EU in its (Middle Eastern) neighbourhood.

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<sup>11</sup> This is discussed in Seeberg, P. (2010). "Union for the Mediterranean – pragmatic multilateralism and the depoliticization of European-Middle Eastern relations." Middle East Critique 19(3).

<sup>12</sup> Postel-Vinay, K. (2008). The historicity of European normative power. EU Foreign Policy in a Globalized World. Normative power and social preferences. Z. Laidi. London and New York, Routledge.

<sup>13</sup> Chakrabarty, D. (2007). Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

The states in the European neighbourhood are, of course, a part of the global demographic tendencies and experiences the comparative “decline” of the European population in the sense that the need of a workforce is registered as a demand for manpower in the societies close to the European borders. This still does not mean that it becomes more easy to get across the European borders. On the contrary the states are experiencing an even increasing blockade of emigration towards Europe, partly due to securitization.

The Middle East, however, does not constitute an important part of a reconfiguring global reality in the sense that the region is developing into a growth center in world economy. On the contrary, the Middle East seems, unintentionally, to avoid becoming part of the positive economic and political aspects of globalization. Besides, the Middle East is suffering from the consequences of the securitization of migration in the West, which seems especially to concern itself with the migration from the Middle East. Summing up it seems that the Middle East, as well as Europe, is a victim of global competition in an emerging new world order. The Middle East and Europe are both losing ground in a new multipolar world of regions and this reality affects the formation of transnational movements related to migration in the Mediterranean, both as these movements are perceived on the European side and as they are perceived on the Middle Eastern side of the Mediterranean sea.

### **Institutional, formal cooperation and transnational social formations**

In a highly competitive global environment migration plays an important role as a phenomenon which challenges security and therefore becomes high politics – and a core issue in European-Middle Eastern relations. In order to conceptualize this reality it is relevant to draw on a terminological distinction suggested by Rainer Bauböck in connection with an attempt at developing a political theory of migrants in a transnationalist perspective.<sup>14</sup> Bauböck discusses to which degree it can be useful to differentiate between international, multinational, supranational and transnational relations and phenomena.<sup>15</sup> He makes the point that whereas the term international meaningfully can be attached to activities or relations undertaken by nation-states within a “traditional” neorealism scheme, on the other hand the term transnational can be attached to activities or phenomena related to non-institutional or non-state actors, “be they organized groups or networks of individuals across borders.”<sup>16</sup>

This way of applying the concepts is discussed by Steven Vertovec, referring among others to Alejandro Portes, Saskia Sassen, Adrian Fawell and Ulf Hannerz. In connection with

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<sup>14</sup> Bauböck, R. (2003). "Towards a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism." International Migration Review 37(3): 700-723.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Vertovec, S. Ibid. "Migration and other Modes of Transnationalism: Towards Conceptual Cross-Fertilization." 641-665.

attempts at developing these concepts further, Vertovec discusses how opportunities and constraints in the migration processes arise from the character of social capital in the involved networks and goes through a number of studies within this area. He points to political opportunity structures as important for the process, defined by “the openness or closure of formal political access, the stability of alignments within a political system, and the presence or absence of influential allies.”<sup>17</sup> Furthermore he underlines the importance of mobilizing structures, defined as “collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilize and engage in collective action.”<sup>18</sup>

In understanding migration as an important issue in a security context the role of transnational networks becomes highly relevant. Different phenomena attached to migration processes like chain migration related to family reunion, migration networks, (be they official, semiofficial or clandestine), or ethnic diasporas all constitute examples of transnational social formations. But also more problematic phenomena like human trafficking or illegal migration activities organized by people smugglers can be seen as manifestations of transnationalism. With the tendency of securitizing migration movements and with the growing focus on radical Islamist religious organizations in the last decade the interconnectedness between security and migration develops new dimensions in the narratives related to transnational social movements.

Within the political field the consequences at the EU level are that attempts at security management in the European neighbourhood gradually assumes a pragmatic character. The formal, multilateral or bilateral, state based cooperation institutions like the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) or the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) are developed into pragmatic schemes, designed, in so far as the ENP is concerned, at pursuing realist, political goals.<sup>19</sup> Accordingly the de-politicized (or even technocratized) character of the UfM with its focus on relatively uncontroversial infrastructural projects can be seen as expressing pragmatic tendencies, as pointed at by Peter Seeberg.<sup>20</sup>

In addition – and in some ways in opposition – to the formal, institutional relations between Europe and the Middle East, we find a plethora of informal networks attached to transnational social formations. A large number of these are connected to migration processes, and therefore become subject to securitization by European governments but also more or less by the authoritarian Middle Eastern regimes. The interconnectedness between migration and security is a reality on both sides of the Mediterranean and plays a role in the policies on behalf of the governments north as well as south of the

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Seeberg, P. (2009). "The EU as a realist actor in normative clothes: EU democracy promotion in Lebanon and the European Neighbourhood Policy." *Democratization* **16**(1): 81-99.

<sup>20</sup> Seeberg, P. (2010). "Union for the Mediterranean – pragmatic multilateralism and the de-politicization of European-Middle Eastern relations." *Middle East Critique* **19**(3).

Mediterranean. This leads to a situation where the organizational setup built by the EU in order to deal with its changing foreign policy and security conditions is challenged by complex structures of transnational social movements and networks.

### **The politics of migration**

It seems that Europe is caught between several difficult challenges. It has to deal with losing ground in a new multipolar world of regions and at the same time it has to find solutions to a severe loss of manpower due to ageing. The ageing of Europe's population is in itself a challenge in so far as the expenses to pensions and health care are growing rapidly and inflicting these costs on a workforce which in large areas of Europe is declining. A significant replacement migration is necessary in order to solve the problem, and this reality will probably tend to emphasize the security dimension of migration. The Mediterranean security environment is under pressure from the differentiated transnational social formations related to migration in the region in the widest sense. The securitization of migration is thus becoming as complex and differentiated as the migration phenomenon itself.

It is the idea of this workshop to analyze and discuss the manifold aspects of migration, security and foreign policy in the Mediterranean, within Europe and in the Middle East. The workshop will take its point of departure in this introductory section and discuss a number of separate analyses, each within the framework of the overall theme and with a focus on transnational social formations. Based on the topics introduced here it is the ambition to include the following aspects – aiming at producing a Special Issue of a journal or an edited volume in a Middle East book series.

### **Introduction**

The introduction will take its point of departure in overall relations between migration, security and foreign policy from a European perspective. It will describe how new global tendencies are witnessing growing connectivity between processes of globalization, social transformation and migration. Furthermore it is the ambition to analyze the recent role of Europe in a global context and how a more radical securitization of migration creates new, more problematic conditions for Europe's neighbours, in particular the Middle East and Turkey. The intro finally deals with how complex structures of transnational social movements and networks are challenging institutional setups aiming at controlling migration.

### **Perceptions of migration and security in European Middle-Eastern relations**

Migration used to be perceived as a threat to the social stability and welfare of Europe, as demographic growth in the European neighbouring countries in itself – understood in

classical migration theory terms – was considered a main reason behind this alleged menace. The terror attacks in New York, Madrid and London have changed the European perception of migration and security, but this simplified understanding of the migration-security nexus does not explain how security played a role in European foreign policies long before 9.11 and how migration is subject to securitization in legislation, public discourse and actual political practice towards migrants.

### **Common discourses on migration and security related to oppositional groups in MENA**

Discourses on the migration-security nexus in Europe are often in the public discourse linked to transnational Islamist groups like Al Qaida, but also other radical groups in the Middle East which might constitute part of potential migrant groups heading for Europe. The authoritarian regimes in the Middle East do also, however, invest large resources in controlling radical, oppositional movements, which might be part of transnational social groups. This part of the project will analyze to which degree common notions on migration and security are developing in Europe and the Middle East, thereby contributing to the development of common security discourses. Furthermore it will be analyzed how such a consensus adds to preserving status quo but also to renewed alienation and radicalism within oppositional groups.

### **Migration and security across the Mediterranean. Transnational challenges**

According to national statistics as well as reports on transnational movements “emigration from South and East Mediterranean countries (SEM) is continuing at a steady rate, while immigration to these countries is increasing, particularly in various irregular forms.”<sup>21</sup> In this part of the project the dimensions and dynamics of contemporary international migration<sup>22</sup> should be taken as its starting point – with a focus on the Mediterranean in a broad sense, including the Middle East, transit migration with the Maghreb states etc. It will be important for the project to analyze different migration phenomena like irregular migration, illegal migration etc. and how this complex reality has implications for state policies dealing with migration and security.

### **Security cooperation across the Mediterranean and its consequences regarding the different categories of migrants**

Security cooperation across the Mediterranean seems to focus more and more on transnational challenges and as Derek Lutterbeck describes the “growing concern in

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<sup>21</sup> Fargues, P. e. (2009). Mediterranean Migration 2008-2009 Report. San Domenico di Fiesole, Robert Schumann Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute: 1-556.

<sup>22</sup> For a short overview of recent international migration dynamics, see Koser, K. (2008). Dimensions and Dynamics of Contemporary International Migration. Workers without borders: Rethinking Economic Migration, Maastricht Graduate School of Governance.



European countries with irregular migration and transnational crime (...) has also prompted an intensification of law enforcement co-operation between the countries north and south of the Mediterranean.”<sup>23</sup> According to Lutterbeck there has been a significant deepening of the cooperation between the countries north and south of the Mediterranean regarding internal security. An important aspect of the project will be to analyze the consequences of the shift towards internal security as to the different categories of migrants.

### **Migration and inner security in Europe – securitization of converging (?) integration policies**

The immigrant population in Europe, the majority of which is coming from the Middle East and Turkey, is growing and to an increasing degree securitized – at the same time being exposed to the construction of a common European immigration regime and to national(-ist) immigration policies in each individual EU member state. The construction of a European immigration regime reflects new transnational challenges related to overall European security but also new tendencies in “local” contexts. An important aspect of analyzing this dichotomy will be to look at to which degree the securitization tendencies at the supranational and intergovernmental level are reelected in a convergence of the local immigration policies and practices.

### **Migration and strategies of inclusion and exclusion in Middle Eastern states – case studies**

As Laurie Brand explains – exemplified in a recent article looking at Lebanon and Jordan – migration poses challenges to the nation.<sup>24</sup> Taking the latter as an example, for instance “Jordan has been profoundly shaped by multiple episodes of immigration and emigration, voluntary and forced, economic and conflict-induced.”<sup>25</sup> National narratives, more or less obvious, can function as state strategies, where migration movements are used by the incumbent Middle Eastern regimes to include or exclude migrants from the nation. Taking this as point of departure this part of the project will analyze possible reciprocal effects of such strategies on migration and their potential security aspects.

### **Forced migration (in a Mediterranean context) – new theoretical approaches**

Finally the issue of refugees, or forced migrants, will be included in the project as an important part of international population movements. The (often very explicit) politicization of the refugee phenomenon and the problems related to a changing international refugee regime and how this is perceived in the main receiving countries in the

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<sup>23</sup> Lutterbeck, D. (2006). "Essay. Policing Migration in the Mediterranean." *Mediterranean Politics* **11**(1): 59-82.

<sup>24</sup> Brand, L. A. (2010). "National Narratives and Migration: Discursive Strategies of Inclusion and Exclusion in Jordan and Lebanon." *International Migration Review* **44**(1): 78-110.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 96. See also Antoun, R. (2009). *Documenting Transnational Migration. Jordanian Men Working and Studying in Europe, Asia and North America*. London, Berghahn Books.

Third World and in the OECD-states (dealing with the refugee in a highly varied manner), underline that “forced migration has become a major factor in global politics”, as mentioned by Castles and Miller.<sup>26</sup> It is the intention to contribute to the ongoing research discussions on forced migration in a security perspective, related to the overall framework of this project, relations between Europe and the Middle East.

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<sup>26</sup> See p. 191 in Castles, S. and M. J. Miller (2009). The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World. London, Macmillan.

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