

PROF. DR. TOBIAS SCHUMACHER
LIST OF PUBLICATIONS
AUGUST 2020

Books / Monographs

- *Benchmarking Democratic Development in the Euro-Mediterranean Area: Conceptualising Ends, Means and Strategies*, Lisbon: EuroMeSCo Press, 2006 (with R. Del Sarto, E. Lannon and A. Driss).
- *Die Europäische Union als internationaler Akteur im südlichen Mittelmeerraum. 'Actor Capability' und EU-Mittelmeerpolitik [The European Union as an international actor in the Southern Mediterranean. 'Actor Capability' and the EU's Mediterranean Policy]*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2005.
- *Relations between the European Union and the Gulf Cooperation Council States: Past Record and Promises for the Future*, Dubai: Gulf Research Center Press, 2004 (with G. Luciani).
- *Die Maghreb-Politik der Europäischen Union. Gemeinschaftliche Assoziierungspraxis gegenüber Algerien, Marokko and Tunesien [The Maghreb Policy of the EU. Common Association practices towards Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia]*, Wiesbaden: Deutscher Universitäts-Verlag, 1998.

Special Issues

- Conceptualising Cultural and Social Dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean Area. A European Perspective, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2005 (with M. Pace).

Edited volumes

- *The European Union and its Eastern Neighbourhood: Whither Eastern Partnership?*, London: Routledge, forthcoming (with A. Tyushka).
- *The Routledge Handbook on the European Neighbourhood Policy*, London: Routledge, 2018 (with A. Marchetti and T. Demmelhuber).
- *The Revised European Neighbourhood Policy. Continuity and Change in EU Foreign Policy*, New York and Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2017 (with D. Bouris).
- *The Arab Spring: One Year After: Transformation Dynamics, Prospects for Democratization and the Future of Arab-European Cooperation*, Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Publishers, 2012 (with A. Ghali, I. Hegazy, S. Kawakibi, E. Kienle, E. Manea, S. Saadawi, J. Voelkel).
- *Conceptualising Cultural and Social Dialogue in the Euro-Mediterranean Area. A European Perspective*, London: Routledge, 2007 (with M. Pace).

Articles in refereed/peer-reviewed journals

- 'Debating Identity in Euro-Mediterranean Relations. A Critical Analysis'. Currently under review with *Third World Quarterly* (with M. Cebeci).
- 'The Politics of Back and Forth: European Union Resilience-building in Moldova'. Currently under review with *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* (with M.R. Corman).
- 'The EU and its Neighbourhood: The Politics of Muddling Through', *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies. Annual Review*. 29 August, 2020, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.13076>.
- 'Crisis, Coordination and Coherence: European Decision-Making and the 2015 European Neighbourhood Policy Review', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 24, No. 4, 2019: 447-468 (with M. Furness and T. Henökl).
- 'The Politics of Flexibility: Exploring the contested statehood-EU actorness nexus in Georgia', *Geopolitics*, 2019, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2018.1552944> (with M. Dobrescu).
- 'Reply: Reflections on Borders, Boundaries and the Limits of Europe', *Global Discourse*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 2019: 153-155.

- ‘The EU and Middle Eastern Powers and Milieu-shaping in the Shared Arab Mediterranean Neighbourhood: A Story of Mutual Neglect’, *Contemporary Politics*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 2018: 46-64.
- ‘Of Policy Entrepreneurship, Bandwagoning and Free-riding: EU Member States and Multilateral Cooperation Frameworks for Europe’s Southern Neighbourhood’, *Global Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2016: 259-272 (with D. Bouris and M. Olszewska).
- ‘Uncertainty at the EU’s Borders: Narratives of EU External Relations in the Revised European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Borderlands’, *European Security*, Vol. 24, No. 3, 2015: 381-401.
- ‘Russia’s Foreign Policy towards the Countries of North Africa in the Wake of the Arab Spring’, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 20, No. 1, 2015: 97-104 (with C. Nitoiu).
- ‘From Brussels with Love: Leverage, Benchmarking, and the EU Action Plans with Jordan and Tunisia in the EU’s Democratization Policy’, *Democratization*, Vol. 18, No. 4, 2011: 932-955 (with R. Del Sarto).
- ‘The EU and the Arab Spring: Between Spectatorship and Actorness’, *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 13, No. 3, 2011: 107-121.
- ‘Germany and Central and Eastern European countries: Laggards or veto-players?’, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 16, No. 1, 2011: 79-98.
- ‘Wohlstand für Wenige. Die arabische Welt fordert mehr Partizipation und soziale Gerechtigkeit’ [‘Wealth for just a few. The Arab world demands more participation and social justice’], *Internationale Politik*, March/April, 2011: 30-38.
- ‘Explaining Foreign Policy: Germany, Poland and Great Britain in Times of French-Inspired Euro-Mediterranean Initiatives’, *Hellenic Studies/Etudes Helleniques*, Vol. 17, No. 2, 2010: 205-239.
- ‘Zum Mythos des Fortschrittsoptimismus der Euro-Mediterranen Partnerschaft: Die wirtschaftspolitische Verklammerung der EU mit den Ländern des südlichen Mittelmeerraumes zwischen 1995-2005’ [‘The Optimism About Progress within the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership is a Myth: The EU’s Economic Interdependency with Countries of the Southern Mediterranean during 1995-2005’], *Orient – German Journal for Politics, Economics and Culture of the Middle East*, Vol. 10, No. 3, 2005: 468-491.
- ‘From EMP to ENP: What’s at Stake with the European Neighbourhood Policy towards the Southern Mediterranean?’, *The European Foreign Affairs Review*, Vol. 10, No. 1, 2005: 17-38 (with R. Del Sarto).
- ‘The Barcelona Process between ‘Wider Europe’ and the ‘Strategic Partnership Initiative with the Mediterranean and the Middle East’, *Istrategia Al-Aurdon*, Vol. 1, 2004 (published in Arabic).
- ‘Riding on the Winds of Change: The Future of the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership’, *The International Spectator*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 2004: 89-103.
- ‘Culture and Community in the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership: A Roundtable on the Third Basket, Alexandria 5-7 October 2003’, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2004: 122-127 (with M. Pace).
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- ‘Mittelmeerpolitik’ [‘Mediterranean policy’], in W. Weidenfeld and W. Wessels (eds.): *Jahrbuch der*

Europäischen Integration 2020, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2020, forthcoming.

- ‘The EU and the Gulf Cooperation Council: A Troubled Relationship’, in D. Bouris, D. Huber and M. Pace (eds.): *The Routledge Handbook on EU-Middle East Relations*, London: Routledge, 2021, forthcoming.
- ‘Mittelmeerpolitik’ [‘Mediterranean policy’], in W. Weidenfeld and W. Wessels (eds.): *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2019*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2019, pp. 351-354.
- ‘The EU, Resilience and the Southern Neighbourhood after the Arab Uprisings’, in E. Cusumano (ed.): *Projecting Resilience Across the Mediterranean*, Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2019 (with E. Badarin).
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- ‘Mittelmeerpolitik’ [‘Mediterranean policy’], in W. Weidenfeld and W. Wessels (eds.): *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2016*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2016, pp. 325-328.
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- ‘The EU and Democracy Promotion: Readjusting to the Arab Spring’, in L. Sadiki (ed.): *The Routledge Handbook on the Arab Spring*, London: Routledge, 2015, pp. 559-573.
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- ‘Nahost- und Mittelmeerpolitik’ [‘Middle East and Mediterranean policy’], in W. Weidenfeld and W. Wessels (eds.): *Jahrbuch der Europäischen Integration 2013*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, pp. 299-306.
- ‘From Brussels with Love: Leverage, Benchmarking, and the EU Action Plans with Jordan and Tunisia in the EU’s Democratization Policy’, in S. Lavenex and F. Schimmelfennig (eds.): *Democracy Promotion in the EU’s Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?*, London: Routledge, 2013, pp. 48-71 (with R. Del Sarto).
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- ‘Thinking about the EU’s Future Neighbourhood Policy in the Middle East: From the Barcelona Process to the Euro-Middle East Partnership’, in C.-P. Hanelt, G. Luciani and F. Neugart (eds.): *Regime Change in Iraq. The Transatlantic and Regional Dimensions*, Florence: RSCAS Press 2004, pp. 169-192 (with F. Neugart).
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- ‘From Barcelona to Valencia: The Limits of the EU’s Political and Security Partnership with the Southern Mediterranean Countries’, in B. Huld, E. Davidson and M. Engman (eds.): *Strategic Yearbook 2003. The Barcelona Process and Euro-Mediterranean Security*, Stockholm: Elanders Publishers, 2002, pp. 215-237.
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Research papers

- ‘The EU’s Constructions of the Mediterranean (2003-2017)’, *MEDRESET Working Paper* No. 3, Rome: IAI Press, 2017 (with M. Cebeci).
- ‘Deconstructing the EU’s Discourse on the Mediterranean’, *MEDRESET Working Paper* No. 2, Rome: IAI Press, 2016 (with M. Cebeci).
- ‘EU and GCC Countries’ Foreign Policies and the Mediterranean Neighbourhood – Towards Synergetic Cooperation?’, *Gulf Research Paper*, Cambridge, Geneva, Jeddah: GRC Press, 2013 (with I. Fernández Molina).
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- ‘The Mediterranean Union in Perspective’, *EuroMeSCo Paper 68*, Lisbon: Euromesco Press, 2007 (with R. Aliboni, A. Driss, A. Tovias).
- ‘Survival of the Fittest. The First Five Years of Euro-Mediterranean Economic Cooperation’, *EUI-RSCAS Jean Monnet Working Paper*, No. 14, 2004.
- ‘Democracy and Security in the Barcelona Process. Past Experiences, Future Prospects’, *Quaderni Papers English series*, Rom: IAI Press, 2003 (with R. Aliboni, R. Balfour, L. Guazzone).
- ‘Europe and its Southern Neighbours. Opportunities and Challenges for Europe’s Economy, Politics and Society in the Maghreb’, Gutersloh: Bertelsmann Publishers, 2005.

Policy papers and other publications

- ‘Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict: why the ‘black garden’ will not blossom any time soon’, *Egmont Security Policy Brief* 71, April 2016.
- ‘Back to the Future. The ‘New’ ENP towards the Southern Neighbourhood and the End of Ambition’, *CEPOB* 1, January 2016.
- ‘From Survival to Revival: The 2015 Riga Summit and the Revised ENP’ *Egmont Security Policy Brief* 65, July 2015 (with S. Carp).
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- ‘Turkey and its Neighbours in Wider Europe and the Broader Middle East’, *Background Paper for the 5. Annual EU-Turkey conference in Madrid*, Florence: RSCAS Press, 2005.
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Book reviews

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- ‘The European Union and the Third World’ by Martin Holland, *IPG – Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft / International Politics and Society*, No. 1, 2004: 176-178.
- ‘Political Stability and Energy Cooperation in the Mediterranean’ by Antonio Marquina, Hans Günter Brauch 2000, *Mediterranean Politics*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2004: 141-143.
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- ‘From Preferential Status to Partnership. The Euro-Maghreb Relationship’ by Ahmed Aghrout, *IPG – Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft / International Politics and Society*, No. 2, 2002: 167-171.
- ‘Euro-Mediterranean Partnership for the 21st Century’ by Hans Günter Brauch, Antonio Marquina, Abdelwahab Biad (Hrsg.), *IPG – Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft / International Politics and Society*, No. 4, 2001: 446-450.