



No. 4, November 2017

METHODOLOGY AND CONCEPT PAPERS

THE MENA REGION IN THE GLOBAL ORDER: ACTORS, CONTENTIOUS ISSUES AND INTEGRATION DYNAMICS

László Csicsmann, Erzsébet N. Rózsa and Máté Szalai



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under grant agreement No 693244

THE MENA REGION IN THE GLOBAL ORDER: ACTORS, CONTENTIOUS ISSUES AND INTEGRATION DYNAMICS

László Csicsmann, Erzsébet N. Rózsa and Máté Szalai

ABSTRACT

The paper aims at revealing the current nature of the interactions between the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region and the global order. The authors argue that this relationship can be divided into three separate issues: global actors, which influence (and are influenced by) regional developments, primarily the USA, China, Russia and the European Union; contentious issues (such as borders and mobility, trans-nationalization, norms of proliferation and energy market tendencies) which effect international and transnational relations; and global integration dynamics (in the political, economic and technological spheres) which determine the extent to which the states and societies of the MENA region participate in and shape the process of globalization. The paper introduces a number of research questions to guide further research in the different fields.

CONTRIBUTORS

László Csicsmann is Associate professor, the Head of the Institute of International Studies and Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and International Relations at the Corvinus University of Budapest, as well as external fellow of the Institute for Foreign Affairs and Trade (IFAT).

Erzsébet N. Rózsa is Associate professor at the National University of Public Service, senior research fellow at the Institute of World Economics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, as well as external fellow at IFAT.

Máté Szalai is Assistant lecturer at the Corvinus University of Budapest, programme coordinator and research fellow at IFAT.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	p. 4
1. Global Actors	4
1.1 A Post-American MENA Region?	6
1.2 China's Pivot to the Middle East?	7
1.3 Russia: A Global or Regional Engagement?	8
1.4 The European Union: An "Invisible Superpower" in the Region?	9
2. Global Contentious Issues	9
2.1 Borders and Mobility	10
2.2 Trans-nationalization and Global NGOs	10
2.3 Norms and Questions Related to Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)	11
2.4 Tendencies in the Energy Market	13
3. Global Integration Dynamics	14
3.1 Political Integration: Multilateralism and the UN Framework	16
3.2 Economic Integration: Financial and Economic Embeddedness	17
3.3 Technological Integration: Global Trends and Major Changes	17
Conclusions	18
References	19

INTRODUCTION

The place and role of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region in the international system can be understood and analysed as a set of asymmetrical relationships with distinct dynamics. The external environment affects the security, political, economic and social developments in the MENA, while these not only interact with, but often set, the international agenda, prompt international global action, and challenge or reinforce the existing order and norms.

In this context of bilateral and multilateral relations, against the background of globalization, the relative balance of the global and the regional is continuously shifting. Old frameworks and the ability of traditional external actors to influence or interfere in the region are waning or at least evolving. New frameworks and new external actors and influences are emerging, challenging the existing global order based on states as the primary shaping factors of politics. Globally relevant issues such as migration and mobility, external intervention and the possession or even use of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are salient in the region and demand global attention and action, which in turn interferes in and may even reconstruct the regional order. The natural resources of the MENA have been and still are the target of global competition, even if their relative importance is shifting. Global developments such as the financial crisis and the technological revolution have linked the region more closely to the wider global context.

The research focus of the paper is to assess whether the region is embedded in global dynamics or peripheral to it. The three sets of issues described here and analysed in the cluster papers to be prepared within the framework of Work Package 6 (WP6), "Global dynamics", provide the context in which to explore how penetrated and how globalized the region is – whether it is a laboratory where global conflicts are being tested, or an arena where they are being fought?

The basic argument of the paper is that the relationship between the global and the regional orders is complex. The dynamics of this complex relationship will be analysed based on three sets of issues: the role and capacity of global actors (the USA, Russia and China) in shaping the regional order and how the region shapes the broader foreign and security policy of these superpowers; global contentious issues and their relations to the MENA region (borders and mobility, global non-governmental organizations (NGOs), WMD proliferation and non-proliferation, and global competition for natural resources/energy); and global integration dynamics (the United Nations (UN) and multilateralism, economic and financial globalization, and the impact of technological developments on the regional order).

1. GLOBAL ACTORS

The MENA region has become a "penetrated system" since the 19th century, where major political developments such as the very creation of the state system have been initiated, shaped or controlled by external actors. While the presence of global powers has been constant historically, their strategy, level of involvement and the nature of the relationships they have built with local partners have varied significantly. The major debates in this regard usually concern the extent to which global powers shape regional developments and how much regional actors are able to affect the priorities and strategies of states interfering in the Middle East (Hinnebusch 2014: 3-4).

The position of the MENA region in the global context has been undergoing significant transformations since the beginning of the 21st century. The global players that shape the political and economic developments of MENA countries have shifting perceptions about the importance of the region in their foreign policy strategies and about the changing role of the states of the region in their future plans. Global powers also have different abilities (relative distribution of power in the realist/neorealist term) to influence the ongoing regional and internal transformations in the MENA region. From a global power perspective it is important to emphasize the regional transformation, as regional powers have been trying to influence – through their own independent action – external players to support their regional agendas (Malmvig et al. 2016). Thus the relationship is clearly bi-directional: global powers shape the behaviour of regional actors, and regional actors influence that of the global powers as well, to varying degrees.

Investigating the interactions between Iran under the Shah and the USA, Mark Gasiorowski (1991) introduced the notion of “cliency”, namely a “cooperative, mutually beneficial relationship” aiming at “a reciprocal exchange of goods and services between the patron and client governments” to “enhance the security of the two countries” (cited by Tetreault 1991: 566). If we consider “goods”, “services” and “security” in a broad sense, this conceptualization makes it possible to avoid rash conclusions about the nature of these relationships and the exact way in which regional and global actors have shaped each other’s behaviour.

Within the framework of “cliency”, the influencing and co-opting of the foreign policies of external patrons by regional “clients” has been a constant phenomenon in MENA both during and after the Cold War (Rózsa 2015). The recent Qatari–Saudi diplomatic rift is a good example for two reasons: first, both Doha and Riyadh consider the USA as their patron and thus have been seeking support from Washington. Second, the unclear role that President Donald Trump’s visit to Riyadh in May played in the unfolding crisis (Tharoor 2017) demonstrates the complexity and lack of transparency in client relationships and the exact ways in which the client and the patron affect each other.

In such relationships, regional actors often try to influence the threat perceptions of global powers. The most obvious example might be the Israeli–American partnership, in which Tel Aviv managed to connect its survival to the national security of the USA.¹ A more recent example occurred in the case of the Iranian nuclear crisis, in which the main opponents of the Islamic Republic, namely Saudi Arabia and Israel, tried to magnify the Iranian nuclear threat.

All in all, the MENA region has been witnessing a triad of transformations: the continuous development of the external context (from a brief “unipolar moment” to a multi-dimensional international order, or an a-polar order?) (Krauthammer 1990 and 2002, Haass 2005, 2008a and 2008b); a shift in the regional power balance; and domestic political developments. The three levels of transformation are not independent of each other, and thus the traditional client relationships and, in general, the role of external actors in the MENA region have also been subject to change.

Three major global powers shape political developments in the MENA region: the USA, Russia and China. The European Union (EU), while its influence has been shifting, is also a global actor in the region. Some emerging powers, such as India and Brazil, are playing an increasingly important

¹ On this historical process, see for example Rubenberg’s book from 1986, a thorough yet critical examination of American–Israeli security relations.

role in the MENA, but their economic and political influence lags behind that of the three global powers. In the present paper, we concentrate on the USA, Russia and China and then make reference to the role of the European Union at the end of the section.

1.1 A POST-AMERICAN MENA REGION?

The post-Cold War regional order in the MENA was based on the USA playing the dominant role. The Pax Americana in the MENA region in the 1990s was characterized by an active US foreign policy (e.g. the 1991 Gulf War, the Arab–Israeli/Madrid peace process, the Oslo agreement). Washington was the only global power that considered the MENA region to be a priority and had the ability to advance its interests there. The 2000s were defined by the global war on terror initiated by President George W. Bush (including the war in Afghanistan, the war in Iraq, and belligerence towards Syria, Iran and Hizbullah).

The Obama administration introduced the “pivot to Asia” concept, which refocused US foreign policy towards East Asia (Green 2016). As a result, the importance of MENA in US foreign and economic policy began to decrease. With the development of the shale gas industry at the end of the decade, the USA and its allies became less dependent on the MENA region for energy. A clear indicator of their decreasing energy dependence is the lower rate of imports from MENA countries. Experts refer now to the post-American Middle East, as a region with a more multipolar external environment (Guzansky 2013, Simon and Stevenson 2015).

As a result of this process, it can be argued that the USA no longer has a monopoly on decisions in the region regarding war or peace (and it is questionable whether it really ever did). According to this argument (Fontaine and Singh 2015), due to changing security perceptions in Washington and the new-found interest of other global actors in the region (especially Russia), the USA has been transformed from an “only” power to a one – albeit the leading – power among others in a multipolar regional and global context (Auslin 2010).

Recent events in the MENA region, however, have challenged this view. On the one hand, the global financial crisis and the restructuring of the oil markets have had an impact on the US economy and energy mix. On the other hand, the rise of the so-called Islamic State and the evolution of failed states in the region – particularly in the aftermath of the disastrous US “war on terror” in Iraq – have dramatically reshaped US perceptions of the region. Fighting terrorism has become the most important theme related to the MENA region in any US presidential address, as the Islamic State poses a security threat to the western world. Despite the pivot to Asia, therefore, the importance of the MENA region to the USA has not diminished.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How has the US perception of the MENA region changed as different administrations have come to power? Which factors have a greater influence in shaping this perception – American domestic politics or global affairs?
- What are the main strategic goals of the USA's Middle East policy?
- What are the main economic interests of the USA in MENA?
- How the normative order propagated by the US can be implemented in the MENA region?
- Is there a new pivot to the MENA region in Washington's Middle East policy?
- To what extent have changes in US foreign policy over the past twenty years impacted the MENA regional order?

1.2 CHINA'S PIVOT TO THE MIDDLE EAST?

With the launch of the One Belt, One Road initiative (OBOR or New Silk Road concept) by Xi Jinping in 2013, the Middle East finally appeared on Beijing's strategic map (following the String of Pearls concept of the early 2000s). The OBOR provided a framework within which China could deal with an ever-changing region. Some experts argue that the growing Chinese interest in the region has accelerated a rebalancing from Washington toward Beijing, referred to as the Middle East's pivot to Asia (Rothkopf 2015). From the Chinese perspective, the country's dependence on Middle Eastern oil production could become even higher in the near future. Economic cooperation between China and MENA is growing, but China has maintained a low-profile foreign policy towards the conflict zones in the region. Given the primacy of economic issues over political ones in Chinese foreign policy, it is important to note that political stability is key to economic growth and cooperation. In January 2016, China published its Arab Policy Paper, which stipulates that "China is willing to have pragmatic cooperation in the principle of mutual benefit and win-win results with Arab states" (China's MFA 2016). Nonetheless, China still maintains a low political profile in MENA affairs. However, as China's global outreach on security issues (such as terrorism) increases, a greater commitment to political questions may become inevitable.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Will China maintain its low political profile in the short and medium term?
- How does China perceive the region? What are the main strategic issues on the agenda of Chinese decision-makers?
- Has the Middle East made a pivot of its own to Asia in order to rebalance waning US interest in the region?
- What are the main economic interests of China in the region?
- What is the relationship between US, Russian and Chinese Middle East policies? Are they in conflict with each other?
- Is China's political engagement in the MENA region increasing? Will spheres of influence in the region be reshaped? How would the USA react to such a situation?
- To what extent does China reinforce, undermine or aim at modifying some of the basic elements of the MENA regional order?

1.3 RUSSIA: A GLOBAL OR REGIONAL ENGAGEMENT?

Russia's political and strategic engagement in the region has been shaped by a multitude of factors (Hannah 2016). While the image of Russia in the West deteriorated following the annexation of the Crimea, President Vladimir Putin has tried to present Russian foreign policy towards Middle Eastern affairs as that of a "responsible" global actor. Russia has tried to engage with regional and global actors to resolve the conflict in Syria and to fight terrorism, which is also a top security priority for Russia. However, the western perception of this "responsible" engagement, on the contrary, seems to be a self-justifying one. Yet it seems that Russian involvement is indispensable in managing and eventually solving the many ongoing crises in the MENA region. Russia's Middle Eastern policy is complicated and cannot be understood from a single vantage point. It includes elements such as economics, energy, arms exports, political visibility and so forth. Russia's aim in the Middle East is to maintain (or re-establish) its position as one of the most significant actors shaping the security, political and economic developments in the region, and it seems that there is a certain – even increasing – readiness among regional actors to engage with it (Hannah 2016, Khlebnikov 2016, Sladden et al. 2017). Russia has a military presence in Syria (at Tartous port, and the Khmeimim military base). Russia has participated in OPEC supply cuts and has recently concluded arms deal with a number of countries (e.g. S-400 air defence missiles to Turkey, a NATO country). Russia also supplies a number of nuclear power plants in the region (e.g. in Turkey, Egypt and Jordan).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Is Russia an influential actor in the MENA?
- What are the main factors (or actors) shaping Russian foreign policy in the MENA region (economic interests, energy interests, security interests and political visibility)?
- Do the conflict in Ukraine and related sanctions against Russia affect Russian behaviour in the Middle East?
- Is the conflict in Syria part of a global rivalry between Russia and the USA?

1.4 THE EUROPEAN UNION: AN “INVISIBLE SUPERPOWER” IN THE REGION?

The leverage of the European Union and its member states in the MENA region does not constitute an integral part of the present analysis, but its regional role is important in the context of global power rivalry.²

For several reasons, Europe is not currently competing on the same level as the USA, Russia and China in the region, yet it is a frequently quoted point of reference. Since the financial crisis, the decision-makers of the EU and its member states have been more inward-looking (Kausch 2014). Due to the EU’s specific structure (27+1 member states), it has a competitive disadvantage as a result of the inflexibility of its decision-making process. Moreover, in the European public discourse, the Middle East is viewed through the lens of the EU’s self-interest in terms of migration and refugees, energy security and terrorism. By 2017, it looked as if member states with historical connections – the United Kingdom (Michou 2012) and France (Mikaïl 2012) – had more leverage to exert influence in regional affairs.

Nonetheless, the EU’s role in economic relations, humanitarian affairs and institutional partnerships is still strong and continues to be critical. As Andrew Moravcsik (2017) argues, the European Union usually works as an “invisible superpower” that is able to exert its influence through interdependences, connectivity and transnational relations. Due to the geographic proximity of (large parts of) the Middle East and North Africa to the European continent and the extensive economic and trade ties between the two regions, the EU can play a primary, though not necessarily spectacular, role in the MENA states.

2. GLOBAL CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

The MENA region occupies a unique position in the global order, primarily due to its geostrategic importance and the presence of key energy and trade links. Historically this has meant that the region has been penetrated by global actors. The presence of large energy reserves and the global competition for them have meant that developments in MENA have influenced the international system and its major actors, but the relationship has always been an asymmetrical one.

Issues such as borders and mobility, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and the non-proliferation efforts aimed at curbing them, trans-nationalization and the presence of global NGOs and non-state actors, and energy typically have been discussed in recent years in the context of the MENA region. Thus, on the one hand, MENA is fully embedded in the global international order. However, in spite of this agenda-setting capability, the region is a relatively passive target (or a cooperating partner at most) of any international initiative aimed at the management of such contentious issues, giving the impression that it is fully (or mostly) peripheral as regards decision-making related to the events originating on its own soil (Fawcett 2016).

2 The role of the EU will be described in Work Package 9, “Fostering a New Role for the EU in the Region” (including the policy areas in which the Union has engaged with regional partners, the coordination and contradiction between policies carried out by the member states and the common institutions, and the perception of the EU and its adaptability).

2.1 BORDERS AND MOBILITY

The coexistence of MENA's agenda-setting role and its relative lack of engagement in regional and international governance schemes is also evident in terms of the issues of migration and transnational mobility. Following the Arab uprisings, the new wave of migration reaching Europe from the south (mainly from sub-Saharan Africa via Libya and Italy) and from the east (from Syria, Afghanistan, Bangladesh and other countries via Turkey, Greece and the Balkans) have highlighted the region's agenda-setting role vis-à-vis Europe. In this context, the EU's allegedly normative policies towards its periphery were put to the test during and after the Arab uprisings (Del Sarto 2016, Okyay and Zaragoza-Christiani 2016). The phenomenon of transnational mobility and migration in the MENA-EU context has also underscored its almost global dimension while raising a number of complex issues, such as:

(a) forced migration and internal displacement as a result of multiple, acute and protracted crises across the region [...]; (b) irregular, mixed migration flows, driven by a combination of economic, political and other factors, within and transiting through the region, particularly to and through North Africa and towards Europe, as well as [towards Gulf countries]; and (c) labour migration, both regular and irregular, within and from far beyond the region, with GCC countries, Lebanon, Jordan and Libya acting as the principal magnets for migrant workers. (IOM 2017: 11)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- Is the substantive growth of migration and trans-border mobility from the MENA region to the EU since the Arab uprisings an indication of the growing interconnectedness of the MENA region itself?
- Has the region's agenda-setting role vis-à-vis the EU grown in recent years? Are there common features or discernible trends in the responses of MENA countries to these issues?
- To what extent do recent developments and their underlying dynamics support the embeddedness of the region in the international governance of migration and transnational mobility? Conversely, has the region been increasingly pushed to the periphery as far as the European and international management of mobility is concerned?

2.2 TRANS-NATIONALIZATION AND GLOBAL NGOS

In the post-Cold War globalized era, non-state actors and NGOs have come to challenge the state-centric international system on the one hand, and to complement the activities of state actors, both in the military and in the civilian sphere, on the other hand. The MENA region has been affected by the process of globalization and trans-nationalization in two ways: first, from the bottom up, it has reinforced and highlighted the role that non-state actors play in the region; and second, from the top down, global NGOs have also made their mark on regional developments. For both phenomena the Arab uprisings were a litmus test, as the leverage of governments and states was severely limited by transnational organizations. While the presence of NGOs – especially “Islamist movements” (Wiktorowitz 2004) – in the Middle East is not a novelty, due to the internal weakness

of the state system (Hafez and Wiktorowitz 2004: 65), the growing role of global ones cannot be questioned.

As the present study focuses on how the dynamics of the global and the regional order have been affected, the top-down approach will be investigated further. Naturally, the two cannot be completely separated from each other, but this focused approach will allow us to examine the question more precisely.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How have the processes of trans-nationalization and the growing importance of external non-state actors affected the MENA region?
- Have global dynamics enabled local non-state actors to capitalize on the changing nature of the international system and gain a foothold against the state?
- In what ways are global NGOs present in the region, and how do they affect political outcomes?

2.3 NORMS AND QUESTIONS RELATED TO WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION (WMD)

WMD-related questions, regarding both their control/disarmament and their eventual use (or threat of use) – as a norm – have come to belong to the competence of the international community, namely the United Nations. Arms control typically involves a process of negotiation, in which state actors engage – usually voluntarily – with the aim of achieving a common goal, from confidence-building measures through limitation and finally to an eventual total ban on an entire category of weapons (Goldblat 2002). Since the beginning of the 2000s the MENA region has been one of very few where concerns have been raised, and which has provoked international and UN reaction, in terms of practically all categories of weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, chemical, biological and missiles (which are increasingly considered part of such weapons systems).

The MENA region has proved to have the capability to shape the international agenda by lobbying for solutions to, or “producing”, WMD-related issues of concern (the Middle Eastern nuclear weapon-free zone (NWFZ) and the Iraqi WMD programmes, respectively) and has been, at the same time, the target of international action. However, in itself it has not been able to enforce and realize solutions to such threats.

This asymmetrical relationship between the global and the regional levels has been further aggravated and complicated by the set of WMD capability asymmetries within the MENA region itself: External actors with WMD capabilities – most notably the USA – have a continuous presence in the region, sometimes even equipped with WMD themselves. Time and again they have provided support to states with WMD capability (Israel; Iraq during the 1980s), which produces resentment in the region.

The global non-proliferation debate between the “haves” and the “have-nots” has received a new boost with the proposal of the new Nuclear Ban Treaty (Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear

Weapons), which was supported by 122 states with one abstention and one vote against, though none of the nuclear weapon states or their allies took part either in the negotiation or in the voting. Although the Treaty was opened for signature on 20 September 2017, this shows that the most basic underlying issue in the debate over nuclear weapons has not yet been resolved. With the exception of Syria, Libya and Somalia – all of which are in the midst of bloody civil wars and thus not able to participate meaningfully in these discussions – all Arab League member states voted yes in line with their long-held policy of pushing for a region free of nuclear weapons. Iran also voted yes in a further effort to pressure Israel to give up its nuclear arsenal (UN News Center 2017). (Israel has long been the only possessor of nuclear weapons in the region, yet in spite of this it is a major pillar of western policy. Israel has not signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and has worked hard to lobby the USA not to push for a WMD-free zone.)

With regard to the other multilateral treaties on chemical weapons (the Chemical Weapons Convention, CWC) and biological weapons (the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, BTWC), the existing global regime (not to have such weapons) received a huge boost when Syria joined the CWC, leaving only Israel and Egypt among the regional states not party to these global treaties (as “haves”) (Makdisi and Pison Hindawi 2017). Egypt, it should be pointed out, has long suggested it is ready to sign the treaty as soon as Israel does. The civilian nuclear, chemical and biological capabilities reflect the same categories of “haves” and “have-nots”, which is especially significant in the field of nuclear energy generation. While in some of the most developed industrial countries (e.g. Germany, Japan) nuclear energy is increasingly erased from the energy mix, in other parts of the world it is seen as an important option to meet growing energy demand. The MENA region, especially the Mashreq (Egypt, Jordan) and the Persian Gulf (United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait), have ambitious plans, although they are in different phases, to construct a series of nuclear power plants – a move very much influenced by political considerations (to balance Israel’s and Iran’s capabilities) as well as economic ones (Shaker 2010, Goodenough 2008, World Nuclear Association 2017).

The international community’s inability to even start a multilateral negotiation process on the limitation and control of missiles is clearly reflected in the fact that most of the MENA states have not signed the Hague Code of Conduct (International Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation) and have not joined the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR).

A further global concern related to WMD is that while arms control is typically a state actor exercise, developments in the international system have been increasingly shaped, sometimes even forced, by non-state actors. Since the MENA region is host to a wide variety of non-state actors, some of them radical militants, the possibility of such organizations obtaining or producing some kind of WMD capability (most probably chemical) cannot be excluded. (Islamic State has tried to gain such a capability, but the late Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden also had such intentions.) In terms of global efforts by non-nuclear weapon states to create NWFZs, the proposed NWFZ in the MENA region has been under discussion the longest yet still has not been realized. In 1990, in response to the asymmetry of the Israeli nuclear (and other WMD) capability vs the Arab chemical and biological programmes (at the time), Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak expanded the proposal to include a WMD-free zone (WMD-FZ) in the MENA region (Karem 1988). The idea of a NWFZ/WMD-FZ has been floated ever since. The only multilateral forum where such a question can be negotiated is

the NPT review conferences, but the issue is so contentious that it has the potential to prevent the achievement of a common final declaration, as it did in 2015 (Davenport 2017, Wan 2015).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the underlying causes of the current impasse in the process of establishing the NWFZ/WMD-FZ?
- What other options might exist (e.g. Arab initiatives regarding the NWFZs and/or the splitting of the full nuclear fuel cycle – possibly the idea of a nuclear fuel bank, etc.)?
- How have the Israeli nuclear weapons stockpile and Iran’s nuclear programme driven new thinking and norms about WMDs in the region?
- To what extent has chemical weapons disarmament in Iraq and Syria contributed to the global norm?
- How imminent is the threat of an eventual biological programme? What factors (or the lack thereof) can be identified?
- Missiles are the only category for which there is not yet a multilateral treaty. United Nations Security Council Resolution 687, which was passed after the Gulf War (1991), has been the only initiative to press for their limitation, not only regionally but also globally. Could the MENA region be the initiator of a global shift?

2.4 TENDENCIES IN THE ENERGY MARKET

The MENA region has the largest oil reserves in the world and is the world’s largest oil exporter, and Saudi Arabia is the crucial “swing producer” in global oil markets. It is the only country with sufficient spare capacity to calm markets in case of supply shortfall elsewhere. Qatar is the world’s biggest exporter of liquefied natural gas (LNG), while Iran holds the largest global reserve base of natural gas. The region has also expanded downstream into refining and petrochemicals. Thus the MENA region’s energy resources put it at the heart of global energy dynamics and have turned the region into a target of global power competition. It is arguably via energy that MENA is most deeply embedded in the international system.

The paper on energy will cover the MENA region’s role in shaping global energy dynamics. About half of the region’s energy production is exported, but this export capacity is increasingly threatened by skyrocketing domestic demand for energy. Given the increasing energy demand (driven by population and economic growth as well as increased energy access), countries in the region are diversifying their energy mix, especially by developing renewable energy.

The global energy system is evolving towards a low-carbon economy. Renewable energy and energy efficiency are key in this energy transition. Renewable energy, in particular, has been gaining momentum and has attracted worldwide attention as an alternative source of energy. Technological developments and the decreasing costs of some technologies (especially wind and solar photovoltaic systems, PVs) have contributed to wide-scale developments and the deployment of renewable energy around the world. The year 2016 witnessed a record, with new additions of installed renewable energy capacity (161 gigawatts (GW) of capacity added – or an estimated

around 62 percent of net addition to global generating capacity) in the power sector, providing an estimated 19.3 percent of global final energy consumption (REN21 2017; see also Menichetti 2017). Energy policy, and renewable policy support mechanisms in particular, have been behind such extensive deployments. In the light of the latest COP21 Paris Agreement, several countries have set up targets within the framework of their nationally determined contributions (NDCs).

The major global energy trends, including an overview of the global energy demand and supply in major countries (such as the USA, China, India and members of the EU), and the likely implications for the MENA region, will also be analysed. In addition, in the past decade two major changes, some would even say revolutions, have taken place in world gas markets: namely the boom in unconventional gas production, especially in the USA, and the widespread LNG trade, inducing an increasing number of LNG export and import countries.

In particular, the paper will treat such questions as:

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How will global energy trends impact the region – and vice versa?
- What role will unconventional sources (mainly shale oil and gas shale) play on the global energy scene, and what are the implications, particularly for the MENA region?
- What will be the role of the LNG trade?
- What role will the region play in the future, especially in oil and natural gas markets?
- Will the region's petrochemical and refining industry maintain its steep growth path of the last two decades?
- What is the likely impact of shrinking export levels and decreasing oil prices on state revenues and policies in the future?
- What is the likely impact of the ongoing fossil fuel subsidy reforms in many countries in the region? How can renewable energy sources and energy efficiency help MENA countries retain their leadership position in global energy markets?
- How will growth in the electric car market impact oil demand?
- What are the main contributions of the MENA countries' commitments vis-à-vis the Paris Agreement, especially their NDCs and the role of renewables and energy efficiency?

3. GLOBAL INTEGRATION DYNAMICS

It has become a commonplace observation among scholars of the MENA that the region and its states have been loosely integrated into the global political and economic system. As it was observed in the case of the Ottoman empire (Yurdusev 2009: 71), one can argue that the states of the region today are part of the international system but not of the international society – while they are formally independent actors, they are more likely to be “objects” and not “subjects” of world politics (Morillas et al. 2016: 73).

While this statement in general can be considered accurate, the exact level and nature of the global integration of the MENA region is subject to debate, since participation in global integration dynamics (or globalization in general) can be measured in different ways. Perhaps the most famous indicator is the globalization index developed by A.T. Kearney in cooperation with Foreign Policy (2002 and 2003).³ He analysed statistics according to four different categories representing the four main aspects of global integration: economic integration, personal contacts, technology and political engagement (Bhandari and Heshmati 2005: 17).⁴ Using this methodology, the MENA region appears to have been moderately integrated into globalization by the 21st century, on the same aggregate level as East Asia and sub-Saharan Africa (Bhandari and Heshmati 2005: 26). MENA countries have better scores in technology and political components than in economic and personal relations. A more up-to-date series of data is available from the KOF Index of Globalization (IoG). This methodology divides the variables measuring the embeddedness of globalization into three categories (political, economic and social), based on which it also calculates an aggregate index.⁵ The advantage of the KOF IoG is that it provides available data since 1970.

According to the IoG, the MENA remained below the global average for decades. Though the differences are not as great as they are in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, the gap has not been narrowed significantly in the last four decades (KOF 2017b: graph 4b). The most recent data covering 207 countries from 2017 (KOF 2017a) shows that the states with the highest scores (i.e. the most globalized) are Qatar and the United Arab Emirates (occupying the 29th and 37th place respectively), both of which actually surpass the level of globalization of Japan (39th). They are followed by Israel (38th), Turkey (42th) and Bahrain (43rd), and later Jordan (47th) and Kuwait (49th) as well as Saudi Arabia (51st). The least integrated actors are the West Bank and Gaza (188th), Sudan (186th) and Iran (155th).

Using these data, one can come to three conclusions regarding the embeddedness of the MENA region in global integration dynamics. First, the level of integration of MENA states varies significantly, with the countries of the Arabian Peninsula and non-Arab countries (Turkey and Israel) exhibiting the deepest integration. Second, however, while Israel and Turkey traditionally have been the frontrunners, the states of the Arabian Peninsula are relative newcomers to globalization. This affects their domestic economic, political and social circumstances to a great extent, as generational cleavages, identity crises and reactions to globalization tend to be sharper in cases of rapid transformation (Dessouky and Korany 2008).

Third, MENA countries typically perform differentiated integration, meaning they achieve markedly diverse scores in the three categories. Some states (e.g. the Gulf monarchies) have a high level of integration in economic and social terms, but are only loosely integrated politically. Others, such as Jordan, Morocco and Egypt (and to some extent Algeria), have a high degree of political embeddedness but are lagging in the other two categories. A third country type would include

3 For the most recent list, see Amburn 2009.

4 Alternative measurements include the examination of a country's value in the global value chains (Banga 2013), the participation of nation-states and citizens in global governance (Sassen 2003), and the so-called principal component analysis and factor analysis (Bhandari and Heshmati 2005: 17).

5 Which includes other sub-indices in terms of actual economic flows, economic restrictions, data on information flows and on personal contact, as well as on cultural proximity. See IoG website: <http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch>.

those countries which have a low score in all three categories (Yemen, Iraq, Sudan and Somalia). It should be noted that even the non-Arab countries of the region are not fully embedded in global integration trends; Israel achieved relatively low scores in political integration, Turkey in economic integration and Iran in all three dimensions.

The reason these data are of utmost importance is that the level of global integration and embeddedness in globalization reflects two attributes of a state or region. First, it shows their potential structural power (or the lack thereof) on the world stage. Being on the periphery of global integration dynamics (especially in political and economic terms) means that MENA states (or the region in general) are more the objects, rather than the subjects, of the decision-making processes taking place in international institutions and other official or unofficial fora. Second, the level of integration also shows the connectivity of different state and non-state actors, an attribute which, in the age of trans-nationalization and globalization, cannot be ignored (Khanna 2015).

The low level of integration is also connected to the question of the regional order. In other regions of the world, the process of globalization stimulates different forms of regional integration processes, which can protect its members from some of the disadvantages of worldwide developments (Sideri 1997). Lacking such substantive and regionally accepted initiatives (with some minor exceptions), the MENA region cannot defend itself in this regard, which limits the benefits of globalization, allows foreign interference, accentuates geostrategic rivalry and fosters tendencies of self-peripheralization.

Another matter of debate in the literature is the effect of the partial and limited global integration of the MENA region on political dynamics and outcomes. The consequences include, for example, the discrepant understanding of material and immaterial institutions in the region (including sovereignty, market dynamics, diplomacy, etc.) (Gonzalez-Pelaez 2009) and Middle Eastern states' inability to affect global politics to a substantive extent (Morillas et al. 2016: 72-75), but the phenomenon also highlights the importance of technological spillover, mobility programmes and educational cooperation.

In the following, we will investigate global integration dynamics from three different viewpoints: political, economic and technological.

3.1 POLITICAL INTEGRATION: MULTILATERALISM AND THE UN FRAMEWORK

Two basic research questions should be asked regarding multilateralism and the United Nations framework: first, how the conflicts in the MENA region and transnational crises are dealt with at the multilateral level (Makdisi and Prashad 2017); and second, how states of the region can represent their interests and what agency they have on the global level.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What role do the resolutions and sanctions regimes of the UN Security Council play in the MENA region, and what do they reveal about the contradiction between geopolitics and legitimacy?
- What role do the UN peacekeeping and political missions play in the MENA region?
- How did the UN react to the Arab uprisings? What did the uprisings reveal about the UN and its norms and ideology?
- In what ways (and to what extent) have MENA countries participated in the decision-making processes of the United Nations during key conflicts?
- How does the Arab region view the activities of the United Nations?
- What does the Palestinian bid for statehood, and the larger role of the UN in the Arab-Israeli conflict, reveal about the UN framework and the contradiction between geopolitics and legitimacy?
- Has collaboration with UN institutions been seen as cooperation with global institutions or enforcement of external interests?

3.2 ECONOMIC INTEGRATION: FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC EMBEDDEDNESS

In terms of the financial and economic embeddedness of the MENA countries, the heterogeneity of the region should be stressed. As we have already mentioned, the level of integration can vary not just between different states but also between different sectors of a given state. A high level of embeddedness can be observed in heavy industries (the Gulf countries and Morocco), in finance (the Gulf countries and Turkey), in logistics (the Gulf countries) and, to some degree, in light manufacturing (Turkey, Morocco and Tunisia). Yet some parts of MENA still have relatively closed economies and a less successful track record of engaging with the global economy.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What effects do economic embeddedness and peripheralization have on the economic structure and performance of a given state?
- In terms of connectivity and complex interdependences, what influence do MENA states have on external actors and in which sectors?
- What impact do the different levels of economic and financial integration have on intra-regional cooperation and conflict?

3.3 TECHNOLOGICAL INTEGRATION: GLOBAL TRENDS AND MAJOR CHANGES

The exposure of MENA societies to global trends in technological developments has far-reaching consequences on the ground and on intra-state relations as well. It determines the framework of economic growth, modernization, social connections and dynamics and has a huge effect on the leverage and longevity of political regimes.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the most important technological (mega-)trends with relevance for the region and its interrelations with global changes?
- What are the main potentials and preconditions for the development of infrastructure for information and communication technology (ICT)?
- Which factors drive ICT usage patterns from the demand side in the MENA region?
- What role does ICT play in economic development, especially in the business and banking sectors – and in relation to labour market segments?
- What role does ICT play in political dynamics, especially in the media, education, political culture, election processes, state security and the military?
- How have digitalization, robotization and the fourth wave of technology in general affected the region, especially in the economic and military sectors?

CONCLUSION

As stated in the introduction, the interaction between the global and the regional order can be considered from three vantage points: the presence of global powers and their relationship with regional and local actors; global contentious issues and their influence; and global integration dynamics in political, economic and technological terms.

These three phenomena will be analysed in different cluster papers with different emphases. While public discourse tends to present the MENA region as an object rather than a subject of global dynamics, we try to frame our research questions on the separate topics more broadly. First, regarding global powers, the MENARA project is not solely concerned with the interests and effects of the key external actors, but also tries to assess how their engagement in the MENA affects their overall foreign and security policy strategy. Second, global issues are not permanent; they are constantly constructed and reconstructed in different circumstances, a process which will be analysed in the research papers. Third, in terms of global integration processes, the MENARA project will shed light on the effects of uneven and differentiated integration on the different regional and local actors in the Middle East and North Africa.

REFERENCES

- Amburn, Brad (2009), "The Globalization Index 2007", in *Foreign Policy online*, 12 October, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/10/12/the-globalization-index-2007>
- A.T. Kearney and Foreign Policy (2002), "Globalization's Last Hurrah?", in *Foreign Policy*, No. 128 (January/February), p. 38-51
- A.T. Kearney and Foreign Policy (2003), "Measuring Globalization: Who's Up, Who's Down?", in *Foreign Policy*, No. 134 (January/February), p. 60-72
- Auslin, Michael (2010), "Back to Declinism", in *National Defense Review Online*, 28 December, <https://www.aei.org/publication/back-to-declinism>
- Banga, Rashmi (2013), "Measuring Value in Global Value Chains", in *UNCTAD Background Papers*, No. RVC-8 (May), http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/ecidc2013misc1_bp8.pdf
- Bhandari, Amit K. and Almas Heshmati (2005), "Measurement of Globalization and Its Variations among Countries, Regions and over Time", in *IZA Discussion Paper Series*, No. 1578 (April), http://legacy.iza.org/en/webcontent/publications/papers/viewAbstract?dp_id=1578
- China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2016), *China's Arab Policy Paper*, 13 January, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/2649_665393/t1331683.shtml
- Davenport, Kelsey (2017), "WMD-Free Middle East Proposal at a Glance", in *Arms Control Association Factsheets*, 17 July, <https://www.armscontrol.org/node/4705>
- Del Sarto, Raffella A. (2016), "Normative Empire Europe: The European Union, its Borderlands, and the 'Arab Spring'", in *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 54, No. 2. (March), p. 215-232, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12282>
- Dessouky, Ali E. Hillal and Bahgat Korany (2008), "Globalization and Arab Foreign Policies: Constraints or Marginalization?", in Bahgat Korany and Ali E. Hillal Dessouky, eds., *The Foreign Policies of Arab States. The Challenge of Globalization*, 2nd ed., Cairo/New York, American University in Cairo Press, p. 45-65
- Fawcett, Louise, ed. (2016), *International Relations of the Middle East*, 4th ed., Oxford, Oxford University Press
- Fontaine, Richard and Michael Singh (2017), "Is America No Longer the Middle East's Greatest Power?", in *The National Interest*, No. 148 (March/April), <http://nationalinterest.org/node/19461>
- Gasiorowski, Mark J. (1991), *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah. Building a Client State in Iran*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press

Goldblat, Jozef (2002), *Arms Control. The New Guide to Negotiations and Agreements*, 2nd ed., London/Thousand Oaks, SAGE Publications

Gonzalez-Pelaez, Ana (2009), "The Primary Institutions of the Middle Eastern Regional Interstate Society", in Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez (eds.), *International Society and the Middle East. English School Theory at the Regional Level*, Basingstoke/New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 92-116

Goodenough, Patrick (2008), "Arab States Encouraged to Go Nuclear", in *CNS News*, 7 July, <http://sumo.ly/JuVG>

Green, Mike (2016), "The Legacy of Obama's Pivot to Asia", in *Foreign Policy online*, 3 September, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/03/the-legacy-of-obamas-pivot-to-asia>

Guzansky, Yoel (2013), "The End of the American Era in the Middle East?", in *INSS Strategic Assessment*, Vol. 15, No. 4. (January), p. 25-36, <http://www.inss.org.il/?p=59046>

Haass, Richard N. (2005), "The Case for 'Integration'", in *The National Interest*, No. 81 (Fall), p. 22-29

Haass, Richard N. (2008a), "The Palmerstonian Moment" in *The National Interest*, No. 93 (January/February), p. 10-16

Haass, Richard N. (2008b), "What Follows American Dominion?" in *Financial Times*, 15 April, <http://www.ft.com/content/dd19987e-0af4-11dd-8ccf-0000779fd2ac>

Hafez, Mohammed M. and Quintan Wiktorowitz (2004), "Violence as Contention in the Egyptian Islamic Movement", in Quintan Wiktorowitz, ed., *Islamic Activism. A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 61-88

Hannah, John (2016), "Russia's Middle East Offensive", in *Foreign Policy online*, 13 September, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/13/russias-middle-east-offensive>

Hinnebusch, Raymond (2014), "Foreign Policy in the Middle East", in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds., *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, 2nd ed., Boulder, Lynne Rienner, p. 1-34

IOM/International Organization for Migration (2017), *IOM Middle East and North Africa Regional Strategy 2017-2020*, Cairo, IOM Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa, <http://publications.iom.int/node/1652>

Karem, Mahmoud (1988), *A Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the Middle East. Problems and Prospects*, New York, Greenwood Press

- Kausch, Kristina (2014), "Competitive Multipolarity in the Middle East", in *IAI Working Papers*, No. 14|10 (September), <http://www.iai.it/en/node/2358>
- Khanna, Parag (2015), "On Globalization, Geopolitics and Connectivity", in *MUNPlanet*, 21 July, <http://ow.ly/TwuTK>
- Khlebnikov, Alexey (2016), "The Middle East Riddle and Russia's Role in It", in *Russia Direct*, 14 December, <http://www.russia-direct.org/node/5238>
- KOF Swiss Economic Institute (2017a), *2017 KOF Index of Globalization [Detailed Rankings]*, April, http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/media/filer_public/2017/04/19/rankings_2017.pdf
- KOF Swiss Economic Institute (2017b), *KOF Index of Globalization 2017: Netherlands Are the Most Globalized Country*, April, http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch/media/filer_public/2017/04/19/press_release_2017_en.pdf
- Krauthammer, Charles (1990), "The Unipolar Moment", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (Winter), p. 23-33
- Krauthammer, Charles (2002/03), "The Unipolar Moment Revisited", in *The National Interest*, No. 70 (Winter), p. 5-17, <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/362>
- Makdisi, Karim and Coralie Pison Hindawi (2017), "The Syrian Chemical Weapons Disarmament Process in Context: Narratives of Coercion, Consent, and Everything in Between", in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 38, No. 8, p. 1691-1709
- Makdisi, Karim and Vijay Prashad, eds. (2017), *Land of Blue Helmets. The United Nations in the Arab World*, Oakland, University of California Press
- Malmvig, Helle, Jordi Quero and Eduard Soler i Lecha (2016), "The Contemporary Regional Order", in Eduard Soler i Lecha et al., eds., "Re-conceptualizing Orders in the MENA Region. The Analytical Framework of the MENARA Project", in *MENARA Methodology and Concept Papers*, No. 1 (November), p. 33-55, <http://www.menaraproject.eu/?p=776>
- Menichetti, Emanuela, Abdelghani El Gharras and Sohbet Karbuz (2017), "Material Factors for the MENA Region: Energy Trends", in *MENARA Working Papers*, No. 5 (November), <http://www.menaraproject.eu/?p=1061>
- Michou, Hélène (2012), "The UK in the Middle East: Commercial Diplomacy to What End?", in Kristina Kausch and Richard Young, eds., *Europe in the Reshaped Middle East*, Madrid, FRIDE, p. 135-144, <http://fride.org/publication/1056/>
- Mikail, Barah (2012), "France and the Arab Spring: An Opportunistic Quest for Influence", in Kristina Kausch and Richard Young, eds., *Europe in the Reshaped Middle East*, Madrid, FRIDE, p. 125-134, <http://fride.org/publication/1056/>

Moravcsik, Andrew (2017), "Europe Is Still a Superpower", in *Foreign Policy online*, 13 April, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/13/europe-is-still-a-superpower>

Morillas, Pol, Erzsébet N. Rózsa and Máté Szalai (2016), "Global Dynamics in the MENA Region", in Eduard Soler i Lecha et al., eds., "Re-conceptualizing Orders in the MENA Region. The Analytical Framework of the MENARA Project", in *MENARA Methodology and Concept Papers*, No. 1 (November), p. 68-87, <http://www.menaraproject.eu/?p=776>

Okyay, Asli and Jonathan Zaragoza-Cristiani (2016), "The Leverage of the Gatekeeper: Power and Interdependence in the Migration Nexus between the EU and Turkey", in *The International Spectator*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (December), p. 51-66

REN21 (2017), *Renewables 2017 Global Status Report*, <http://www.ren21.net/gsr-2017>

Rothkopf, David (2015), "The Middle East's Pivot to Asia", in *Foreign Policy online*, 24 April, <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/04/24/the-middle-east-pivot-to-asia-china>

Rózsa, Erzsébet N. (2015), "Iran and Saudi Arabia. A Regional 'Cold War' with Global Relevance", in Peter Bátor and Róbert Ondrejcsák, eds., *Panorama of Global Security Environment 2014*, Bratislava, Center for European and North Atlantic Affairs (CENAA), p. 279-288

Rubenberg, Cheryl A. (1986), *Israel and the American National Interest: A Critical Examination*, Urbana/Chicago, University of Illinois Press

Sassen, Saskia (2003), "The Participation of States and Citizens in Global Governance", in *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 5 (Winter), p. 5-28, <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/ijgls/vol10/iss1/2>

Shaker, Mohamed I. (2010), "Nuclear Power in the Arab World & the Regionalization of the Nuclear Fuel Cycle: An Egyptian Perspective", in *Daedalus*, Winter, p. 93-104, <http://www.amacad.org/content/publications/pubContent.aspx?d=813>

Sideri, Sandro (1997), "Globalisation and Regional Integration", in *The European Journal of Development Research*, Vol. 9, No. 1, p. 38-82

Simon, Steven and Jonathan Stevenson (2015), "The End of Pax Americana", in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 94, No. 6 (November/December), p. 2-10

Sladden, James et al. (2017), "Russian Strategy in the Middle East", in *Rand Perspectives*, No. 236, <https://www.rand.org/pubs/perspectives/PE236.html>

Tetreault, Mary Ann (1991), "Autonomy, Necessity, and the Small State: Ruling Kuwait in the Twentieth Century", in *International Organization*, Vol. 45, No. 4 (Autumn), p. 565-591

Tharoor, Ishaan (2017), "The Qatar Crisis Offers a Window into Feuding within the Trump Administration", in *The Washington Post*, 30 June, <http://wapo.st/2sslAze>

UN News Center (2017), *UN Conference Adopts Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapons*, 7 July, <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=57139>

Wan, Wilfred (2015), *Why the 2015 NPT Review Conference Fell Apart*, UNU Centre for Policy Research, 28 May, <https://cpr.unu.edu/why-the-2015-npt-review-conference-fell-apart.html>

Wiktorowitz, Quintan (2004), "Introduction: Islamic Activism and Social Movement Theory", in Quintan Wiktorowitz, ed., *Islamic Activism. A Social Movement Theory Approach*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 1-34

World Nuclear Association (2017), *Emerging Nuclear Energy Countries*, updated September, <http://www.world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/others/emerging-nuclear-energy-countries.aspx>

Yurdusev, A. Nuri (2009), "The Middle East Encounter with the Expansion of European International Society", in Barry Buzan and Ana Gonzalez-Pelaez (eds.), *International Society and the Middle East. English School Theory at the Regional Level*, Basingstoke/New York, Palgrave Macmillan, p. 70-91



Middle East and North Africa Regional Architecture: Mapping geopolitical shifts, regional order and domestic transformations (MENARA) is a research project that aims to shed light on domestic dynamics and bottom-up perspectives in the Middle East and North Africa amid increasingly volatile and uncertain times.

MENARA maps the driving variables and forces behind these dynamics and poses a single all-encompassing research question: Will the geopolitical future of the region be marked by either centrifugal or centripetal dynamics or a combination of both? In answering this question, the project is articulated around three levels of analysis (domestic, regional and global) and outlines future scenarios for 2025 and 2050. Its final objective is to provide EU Member States policy makers with valuable insights.

MENARA is carried out by a consortium of leading research institutions in the field of international relations, identity and religion politics, history, political sociology, demography, energy, economy, military and environmental studies.



This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation programme under grant agreement No 693244. This project has been funded with support from the European Commission. This publication reflects the views only of the author, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.

