

## **When Liminals Interact**

EU-Hamas Relations

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**ACCESS EUROPE**   AMSTERDAM  
CENTRE FOR  
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STUDIES

*The European Union and the Arab Spring:  
Constructions of Security in the Southern  
Mediterranean*

**ACCESS EUROPE Workshop  
November 13-14, 2014**

PROGRAM

## Thursday, November 13

Venue: Regentenkamer, Allard Pierson Museum, Oude Turfmarkt 127, 1012 GC Amsterdam

09.00-09.15: Coffee and welcome

09.15-09.30: Introduction

09.30-11.00: **Panel 1: EU Security Practices following the Uprisings: Transformation or Persistence?**

Chair: Katjana Gattermann, University of Amsterdam

Discussant: Beste İşleyen, University of Amsterdam

- Annette Jünemann, Helmut Schmidt University – University of the Federal Armed Forces, and Delf Rothe, University of Hamburg, *Persistence in Times of Change: Security Policies in the Mediterranean and the Logics of Actions shaping them*
- Julien Jeandesboz and Polly Pallister-Wilkins, University of Amsterdam, *Spectacles of Enforcement and Routines of Control: European Border Control Practices in the Southern Mediterranean and the 2011 Uprisings*

11.00-11.15: Coffee break

11.15-12.45 **Panel 2: Security: Prevention or Engagement?**

Chair: Falk Ostermann, VU University Amsterdam

Discussant: Polly Pallister-Wilkins, University of Amsterdam

- Halit Mustafa Tagma, Ipek University, and Bezen Balamir Coşkun, Zirve University, *Constructing European Security in the Arab World: EU Migratory policies toward Post-Arab Spring Countries*
- Beste İşleyen, University of Amsterdam, *EU Counter-Terrorism Policy: A Discourse Theory Approach*

12.45-13.45 Lunch

13.45-15.15 **Panel 3: 'Security Interventions' in the Southern Mediterranean**

Chair: Burcu Toğral Koca, Eskişehir Osmangazi University,

Discussant: Virginie Mamadouh, University of Amsterdam

- Dimitris Bouris, College of Europe, *The European Union and State-Building in the Southern Neighbourhood: Lessons from Palestine and Libya*
- Falk Ostermann, VU University Amsterdam, *Explaining French Intervention: Self-Constructions, Democratic Legacies, and Responsibility to Protect during the Libyan War*

15.15-15.30 Coffee Break

15.30-17.00 **Panel 4: Norms versus Security? Reconsidering Liberalism in EU Engagement with the Southern Mediterranean**

Chair: Marieke de Goede, University of Amsterdam

Discussant: Vivienne Matthies-Bonn, University of Amsterdam

- Annette Freyberg-Inan, Technical University of Darmstadt and Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research, *The Dilemma of Liberal Self-Defense: EU Policy towards North African 'Neighbors'*
- Vincent Durac, University College Dublin, *The European Union and Egypt after the 'Coup': The Security/Democracy Dilemma Revisited*

19.00 Dinner at De Jaren, Nieuwe Doelenstraat 20-22, 1012 CP Amsterdam

## Friday, November 14

Venue: Regentenkamer, Allard Pierson Museum, Oude Turfmarkt 127, 1012 GC Amsterdam

09.45-11.15

### **Panel 5: Construction of Borders**

Chair: Wolfgang Wagner, VU University Amsterdam

Discussant: Julien Jeandesboz, University of Amsterdam

- Burcu Toğral Koca, Eskişehir Osmangazi University, *Biopolitics of Security: Governing the 'Border' between the EU and Africa*
- Nina Perkowski, University of Edinburgh, *Beyond Security: Humanitarianism and Human Rights in the EU Border Regime*

11.15-11.30

Coffee Break

11.30-13.15

### **Panel 6: Security and Identity Politics: EU Engagement with Political Movements in the Arab Countries**

Chair: Vincent Durac, University College Dublin,

Discussant: Dimitris Bouris, College of Europe

- Michelle Pace, Roskilde University, and Polly-Pallister Wilkins, University of Amsterdam, *When Liminals Interact: EU-Hamas Relations*
- Benedetta Voltolini and Assem Dandashly, Maastricht University, and Silvia Colombo, Istituto Affari Internazionali, *Islam, Security and the EU: Securitization of or Engagement with Islamist Parties and Civil Society Organisations?*

13.15-14.00

Lunch and conclusion

### ***Acknowledgements***

This workshop is organised by Beste İşleyen (University of Amsterdam), ACCESS Europe project theme 'Europe and the World' led by Prof. Marieke de Goede (University of Amsterdam) and Prof. Wolfgang Wagner (VU University Amsterdam).

Special thanks to Douwe Truijens and Gijs van der Starre for their administrative help in the organization of this workshop.

Thanks to ACCESS Europe for sponsoring the workshop and its affiliated activities.

### ***Workshop format***

The main goal of the workshop is to have extensive discussions and constructive exchange on our ongoing research regarding EU policies towards the Southern Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings. The emphasis is more on **discussion** and less on **presentation**. Therefore, the workshop format is planned in a way that each presenter will have sufficient time to receive feedback/suggestions and respond to comments/questions towards the further development of their work.

The workshop consists of 6 sessions with two papers in each session.

The sessions will last **90 minutes**. Each presenter will have **45 minutes**. Each session is divided into two slots (45 minutes each). We will discuss only one paper in each slot (45 minutes) to ensure the continuity and coherence of the discussions.

In each slot, the presenters will give a brief introduction to their paper (about 5 minutes). This will be followed by the comments/suggestions of the discussant of the session (about 15-20) minutes. The remaining time will be devoted to the questions and comments of other workshop participants.

### ***Address Hotel***

Hotel Résidence Le Coin  
Nieuwe Doelenstraat 5  
1012 CP, Amsterdam

The best way to reach the hotel from Schiphol airport is by public transport. There is a frequent train connection from Schiphol to Amsterdam central train station, which takes around 15 minutes. From Amsterdam central station frequent trams run to the stop Muntplein from where the hotel is only a few minutes' walk. Visit the following website for more information on the public transport connections and tickets: <http://9292.nl/en#>

## **Participants**

**Annette Freyberg-Inan** is Professor of International Politics at the Technical University Darmstadt and an affiliate of the research program on "Political Economy and Transnational Governance" (PETGOV) at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research. She works on International Relations Theory and processes of political economic transformation and their contestation, globally and with a special focus on Europe east and west. Her books include *What Moves Man: The Realist Theory of International Relations and Its Judgment of Human Nature* (2004), *The Ghosts in Our Classrooms, or John Dewey Meets Ceausescu: The Promise and the Failures of Civic Education in Romania* (2006), *Rethinking Realism in International Relations: Between Tradition and Innovation* (2009), and the forthcoming *Human Beings in IR Theory*.

**Annette Jünemann** is Professor of International Relations at the Helmut Schmidt University in Hamburg, Germany, with a strong focus on Euro-Med Relations. Many publications have been on the EU's promotion (or non-promotion) of Democracy and Human Rights in the MENA Region, including gender-democracy, always in the context of the strong security paradigm, which guides EU regional policies. Recent publications: Together with Delf Rothe and Jakob Horst: *Euro-Mediterranean Relations after the Arab Spring*, Ashgate 2013; together with Agapiou-Josephides Agapiou and Benoit Rohmer: *Enhancing EU-Action to Support Universal Standards For Women's Rights During Transition*. Study requested by the European Parliament, 's Subcommittee on Human Rights, 2012.

**Assem Dandashly** is a Lecturer in European Public Policy at the Department of Political Science at Maastricht University. Prior to that, Assem was a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Kolleg-Forschergruppe "The Transformative Power of Europe" Freie Universität Berlin. Assem holds a PhD in Political Science (2012) from the University of Victoria, BC Canada. Assem's research focuses on European political economy, economic and monetary union, Central and Eastern Europe, European Neighborhood Policy and democratization in the Middle East and North Africa.

**Benedetta Voltolini** is Lecturer in International Relations at Maastricht University. She holds a Ph.D. in International Relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), with a thesis on the role of non-state actors in EU foreign policy-making towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. She was also a Visiting Fellow at Sciences Po Paris, at the Freie Universität Berlin and at the EU Institute for Security Studies in Paris. Her research interests include lobbying in EU foreign policy, the Arab-Israeli conflict and EU democracy promotion in the MENA region.

**Beste İşleyen** is postdoctoral researcher in ACCESS Europe at the University of Amsterdam. She holds a PhD in Political Science from the University of Tübingen in Germany supported by the German Friedrich-Ebert Foundation. Her research interests include the European Union, conflict and peace studies, post-structuralism and the Middle East. Currently, İşleyen works on the European Union policy towards the Southern Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Arab uprisings. Her latest publication is 'The European Union and Neoliberal Governmentality: Twinning in Tunisia and Egypt', which is forthcoming in *European Journal of International Relations*.

**Bezen Coskun** is an Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of International Relations at Zirve University in Gaziantep. Her research focuses on international security with a geographical specialization on the Middle East. She has published articles, books and book chapters in the fields of international security and international politics. She is editor of the Zirve University's Middle East Strategic Research Series and a research fellow at Turkey Institute, London.

**Burcu Toğral Koca** is Assistant Professor in the Department of Political Science and Public Administration at the Eskişehir Osmangazi University, Turkey. She completed her undergraduate studies in International Relations and Sociology at the Middle East Technical University, Ankara. She received an MA in European Studies and PhD in Political Science from the University of Hamburg. During her PhD study, she stayed as a visiting scholar at the University of Kent, Brussels, and the Fundacion Jose Ortega y Gasset, Madrid. She has also been involved in the work of the Hamburg Refugee Council for several years. Her fields of research interest are securitization of migration, Turkish migration policy, biopolitics of security and racism.

**Delf Rothe** is research fellow at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy of University of Hamburg, Germany. He has written his PhD-thesis on the securitization of international climate politics from 2009-2013 at

the department of International Relations, University of Hamburg with a scholarship from the German Heinrich-Böll-Foundation. Rothe has published on securitization theory, risk-management, global climate governance, and discourse theory in journals such as *Security Dialogue*, *International Relations*, and *Journal of International Relations and Development*. He is co-editor of two recent volumes on 'Interpretive approaches to global climate governance' (Routledge 2013) and 'Euro-Mediterranean Relations after the Arab Spring' (Ashgate 2013).

**Dimitris Bouris** is a Research Fellow at the European Neighbourhood Policy Chair, at the College of Europe (Natolin). He is the author of *The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: State-building without a State* (Routledge, 2014) for which he was selected as Routledge Politics and International Relations author of the month for February 2014. Dimitris is currently co-editing a book on the Revised European Neighbourhood Policy which will be published by Palgrave in 2015. He has written scholarly articles in peer-reviewed academic journals such as *European Security*, *The Hague Journal on the Rule of Law*, the *Journal of Contemporary European Research and Political Perspectives*. Dimitris has also written short articles and op-eds for *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, *EU Observer*, *Gulf News*, *European Voice* and *Open Democracy*. His research focuses on the European Neighbourhood Policy, the Arab Spring, the European Union's role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as well as on the broader domains of state-building, security sector reform and conflict resolution.

**Falk Ostermann** is Assistant Professor in International Security Governance at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Faculty of Social Sciences, VU University Amsterdam. He has research interests in (French) security and defence policy with a particular focus on NATO, European cooperation and integration, and the development of Franco-American relations. He is further interested in constructivism, discourse analysis, interpretive methods, and methodology. Falk Ostermann's PhD thesis deals with the reconstruction of French foreign policy identity during the Sarkozy presidency and the explanation of decision-making.

**Halit Mustafa Tagma** is an Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of International Relations at Ipek University in Ankara. His research focuses on international security and the political philosophy of Immanuel Kant and Michel Foucault. He has published articles in the fields of international relations theory and international security in journals such as *Security Dialogue*, *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Contemporary Security Policy*, *Globalizations*, *Turkish Studies* and *International Relations (Uluslararası İlişkiler)*. He serves on the editorial team of *International Political Sociology* and is the current president of the Turkish International Studies Association.

**Julien Jeandesboz** is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. His research explores the politics of security and technology in Europe, with a focus on border control and the relation between security, surveillance and liberties. He previously held a research position at War Studies, King's College London, and earned his PhD in political science from Science Po, Paris.

**Michelle Pace** is an International Relations specialist and a European-Middle East/Mediterraneanist. She has been working predominantly on perceptions of democratisation in the Middle East and North Africa as well as in the European Union. Core areas of her current research interests include the development of the public sphere in the MENA region since the Arab "Uprisings", de-democratisation, governance and pluralism in the Middle East. It was her extensive fieldwork experience in Brussels, Morocco (MedaDemocracy EU-funded project), Greece, Malta, Turkey, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel and Palestine (EU funded Framework Programme 5 project, amongst others, which also led her to focus on Northern Ireland and Pskov, Karelia and Kaliningrad) that led her into the area of democracy promotion and political reform. She was Principal Investigator (PI) of the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) large First Grant Scheme project RES-061-25-0075, 2008 - 2014 (successfully completed) (<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/activity/government-society/eumena/index.aspx>) during which she engaged in wide ranging policy discussions with external actors involved in democracy promotion, governance and humanitarian aid, including various European governments, the EU's main bodies (Council, Commission and European Parliament), Permanent Representative offices of EU Member States in Brussels, International IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Stockholm), the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, as well as the UNDP, amongst others. She is Professor (MSO) at Roskilde University and Honorary Professor at the University of Birmingham. She is currently involved in the evaluation of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy towards Palestine.

**Nina Perkowski** is a PhD student in Politics at the University of Edinburgh, focusing on the humanitarianization of the EU border regime. Looking in particular at the relationship of humanitarianism, human rights, and security in the work of the EU border agency Frontex, she has conducted fieldwork in Warsaw, Bulgaria, and Italy.

Previously, Nina studied at the University of Oxford, University of California, Berkeley, and Maastricht University, obtaining a BA in Liberal Arts and an MSc in Refugee and Forced Migration Studies. Nina has volunteered with migrants and asylum seekers in Germany and Italy, and spent three months monitoring migrants' rights for borderline-europe in Sicily in 2012.

**Polly Pallister-Wilkins** is an assistant professor of IR in the Department of Politics at the University of Amsterdam. Her current research is twofold concerning the use of walls and fences in disciplining populations and governing circulation as well as mobilities and wider technologies of control and the rise of humanitarian sensibilities in the present with a regional expertise/focus on the Mediterranean and Palestine/Israel.

**Silvia Colombo** is a Research Fellow in the Mediterranean and Middle East Programme at the International Affairs Institute (IAI) in Rome. She is an expert on Middle Eastern politics and in this capacity she is working on Euro-Mediterranean cooperation, transatlantic relations in the Mediterranean and domestic and regional politics in the Arab World. Among her research interests there are also the relations between the European Union and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and energy dynamics in the Euro-Mediterranean region. She holds a Ph.D. in Comparative Politics from the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa (Florence Branch) and a Master's Degree in Near and Middle Eastern Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London .

**Vincent Durac** lectures in Middle East Politics in University College Dublin and has been a visiting lecturer in Bethlehem University, Palestine since 2004. He is co-author of *Democracy and Authoritarianism in the Middle East and North Africa* (Palgrave: 2015), and *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World: The Dynamics of Activism* (Routledge: 2010). His research is focused on a number of aspects of Middle East Politics, including political reform, civil society, the impact of external actors in the region, and Yemeni political dynamics. He has published on a range of topics in peer-reviewed journals, including the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, the *Journal of North African Studies*, *Mediterranean Politics* and the *European Foreign Affairs Review*.