EUMENIA Closing Conference – University of Amsterdam, 16-17 June 2022 D0.08 hall, Oudemanhuispoort 4-6 1012 CN Amsterdam





University of Amsterdam 16-17 June 2022

With the support of the
Amsterdam Centre for
European Studies (ACES)



















Programme

Thursday 16 June 2022

12:00-13:00 Welcome Lunch

13:00-15:00 Opening of the Conference

Welcome Remarks by Dimitris Bouris (Leader and Coordinator of EUMENIA, University of Amsterdam)

Opening Speech by Francesca Albanese, UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian Territory occupied since 1967

Panel Discussion on "UN, EU and Dutch Perspectives regarding the Middle East Peace Process"

Chair: Dimitris Bouris (University of Amsterdam)

Speakers:

Sven Koopmans, EU Special Representative for the Middle East Peace Process (European External Action Service)

Marc Gerritsen, Director of the Middle East and North Africa Department (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands)

Q&A

15:00-15:30 Coffee Break

15:30-17:00 EU-Middle East Relations: entanglements, ruptures and current issues

Chair: Gökay Özerim (Yaşar University)

Discussant: Lourdes Habash (Birzeit University)

Speakers:

Dimitris Bouris (University of Amsterdam), **Daniela Huber** (Istituto Affari Internazionali) and **Michelle Pace** (Roskilde University) "Entanglements in EU-Middle East Relations"

Münevver Cebeci (Marmara University) "The EU's constructions of the Middle East"

Federica Bicchi (LSE) "The EU and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict: how Member States came together only to fall apart again"

Beste İşleyen (University of Amsterdam) and **Tamirace Fakhoury** (University of Aalborg) "Migration and refugees in EU-Middle East Relations"

Friday 17 June 2022

09:00-09:30 Registration, coffee and tea

09:30-11:00 Academic freedom and the ethics of care in the neoliberal university: Teaching and Researching EU-Middle East Relations

Chair: Daniela Huber (Istituto Affari Internazionali) Discussant: Annelies Moors (University of Amsterdam)

Speakers:

Michelle Pace (Roskilde University) "Academic freedom as an Essential Element of Democracy"

Anne de Jong (University of Amsterdam) "Teaching the Enlightened Student: Political polarization and the ongoing quest for critical thinking"

Giovanni Fassina (European Legal Support Center) "The attempt to chill the Palestinian rights advocacy in the Academia"

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-13:00 EU-Turkey Relations

Chair: Ioannis Galariotis (University of Peloponnese) Discussant: Münevver Cebeci (Marmara University)

Speakers:

Aylin Güney (Yaşar University) "Turkey-EU Relations: What does the Future Hold?"

Emre İşeri (Yaşar University) "International Autocratic Linkages and Regime Survival in the post-liberal order: The Ak Party-led Turkey's Eurasianist Turn"

Beste İşleyen (University of Amsterdam) "Emergent Border Security Technologies in Turkey at EU Borders"

Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (Bilkent University) "The European Union and Turkey: Rethinking the Nature of the Relationship"

13:00-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:30 Panel Discussion: The future of EU-Middle East Relations

Chair: Federica Bicchi (LSE)

Speakers:

Daniela Huber (Istituto Affari Internazionali), **Karim Makdisi** (American University of Beirut), **Tamirace Fakhoury** (University of Aalborg), **Münevver Cebeci** (Marmara University)

15:30-16:00 Closing Remarks

16:00-17:00 Drinks Reception

Participants' Bios

Ms. Francesca Albanese is the UN Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Palestinian Territory occupied since 1967. She is also an affiliate Scholar at the Institute for the Study of International Migration at Georgetown University, and a Senior Advisor on Migration and Forced Displacement for the think tank Arab Renaissance for Democracy and Development (ARDD), where she co-founded the Global Network on the Question of Palestine (GNQP), a coalition of renowned professional and scholars engaged in/on Israel/Palestine. She has published widely on the legal situation in Israel/Palestine; her latest book, Palestinian Refugees in International Law (Oxford University Press, 2020), offers a comprehensive legal analysis of the situation of Palestinian refugees from its origins to modern-day reality. She regularly teaches and lectures on International Law and Forced Displacement in European and Arab universities, and speaks frequently at conferences and public events on the legal situation of Palestine. She worked for a decade as a human rights expert for the United Nations, including the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the Relief and Work Agency for Palestine Refugees. In these capacities, she advised the UN, governments, and civil society across the Middle East, North Africa, and the Asia Pacific, on the enforcement of human rights norms, especially for vulnerable groups including refugees and migrants. She holds a Law Degree (with honors) from the University of Pisa and an LLM in Human Rights from the University of London, SOAS. She is currently completing her PhD in International Refugee Law at Amsterdam University Law Faculty.

Dr. Federica Bicchi is Associate Professor of International Relations and Director of the European Foreign Policy Unit of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). She is also member of the academic board of EUMENIA. Her current research focuses on contemporary trends in European diplomacy, especially in relation to the digitalization of diplomacy and developments in European foreign policy cooperation. Recent publications include articles in *Review of International Studies, Cooperation and Conflict, Global Networks, Journal of Common Market Studies, The Hague Journal of Diplomacy, Geopolitics, Journal of European Public Policy, Democratization and Geopolitics.* She has published *European Foreign Policy Making towards the Mediterranean* (Palgrave, 2007) and edited inter alia *Europe and the Occupation of Palestinian Territories since 1967* (Routledge), *European Diplomatic Practices* (2018, with Niklas Bremberg) and *The Struggle for Influence in the Middle East* (2015, with Benoit Challand and Steven Heydeman).

Dr. Dimitris Bouris is an Assistant Professor (Senior Lecturer) at the Department of Political Science at the University of Amsterdam, an Associate Editor of the academic journal European Security, a Visiting Professor at the College of Europe (Natolin). He is the leader and coordinator of the EU-Middle East Jean Monnet Network EUMENIA. Dr Bouris is the author of *The European Union and Occupied Palestinian Territories: State-building without a State* (Routledge, 2014), the co-editor (with Tobias Schumacher) of the *Revised European Neighbourhood Policy: Continuity and Change in EU Foreign Policy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) and the co-editor (with Daniela Huber and Michelle Pace) of the *Routledge Handbook of EU-Middle East Relations* (Routledge, 2022). He has also edited special issues and published a number of scholarly articles in leading peer-reviewed academic journals such as European Security, the Hague Journal on the rule of law, Mediterranean Politics, Global Affairs, International Spectator, the British Journal of Politics and International Relations, International Political Sociology and Geopolitics.

Prof. Münevver Cebeci is a full Professor at the Institute of European Studies, Marmara University, Istanbul. She was also a visiting professor (2017-2019) and senior researcher (2016-2017) at the College of Europe – Natolin. She is also member of the academic board of EUMENIA. Her teaching and research focus on European foreign policy (the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership/UfM and European Neighbourhood Policy) and security studies.

Dr. Anne de Jong is associate professor in the anthropology of conflict with a regional expertise on the Middle East (Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Bahrain). Prioritising subaltern everyday perspectives, her research interests centre on violence/nonviolence, radical activism and social movements, human rights violations and resistance, anti-racism and anti-colonial struggles. For her PhD (2011, SOAS) she conducted a 19-month fieldwork research in the Occupied Palestinian Territories including East-Jerusalem and Gaza. Emphasising anti-racism and social justice struggles, her current work focuses on nonviolent resistance in armed conflict (Palestine), the transition between armed and unarmed struggle (Nepal) and anti-racism and anticolonial activism (South Africa and the Netherlands). Born from the necessity of doing "fieldwork under fire", research ethics and innovative methodology have grown central to her work and are also reflected in her teachings.

Dr. Tamirace Fakhoury is an Associate Professor of Political Science and Global Refugee and Migration Studies at the University of Aalborg in Copenhagen. She is also the scientific adviser to the Kuwait Chair at Sciences Po in Paris and a member of the academic board of EUMENIA. Her core research and publication areas are: the theory

and practice of power sharing in divided societies, migration dynamics and governance, Arab states' coping mechanisms with forced migration, and the role of immigrant communities and diasporas in democratization, and conflict transformation. She is member of the core coordination team of the Global Migration Policy Associates in Geneva.

Mr. Giovanni Fassina is a Programme director of the European Legal Support Center (ELSC), the first and only huma rights organisation providing free legal assistance to associations, human rights NGOs, academics and students advocating for Palestinian rights in mainland Europe and the United Kingdom. Giovanni oversees the legal team and the strategic litigation work of the ELSC. Previously, he worked as trainee lawyer at a Human Rights law firm in Venice (Italy).

Dr. Ioannis Galariotis is a research fellow at the Political Science and International Relations Department of the University of Peloponnese. From September 2017 to December 2017, he was visiting Lecturer at the Institute of European, Russian and Eurasian Studies at Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada). Previously, he was Max Weber Fellow (2015-2017) at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, European University Institute where he was affiliated at the thematic research group "Europe in the World: Foreign Relations, International Security, World Politics". His research focuses on the employment of diverse computational social science approaches (automated content analysis techniques and sentiment analysis) to examine the role of the EU as a global and regional security actor. Prior to joining the EUI, he was a post-doctoral research fellow at the Athens University of Economics and Business (2013-2015) in the research project "The EU Performance at the United Nations General Assembly". His broader research agenda focuses on European integration, international relations, foreign policy analysis and political methodology.

Mr. Marc Gerritsen is Director of the North Africa and Middle East Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague. He is a career diplomat with extensive experience abroad (Ramallah, Rome and Tokyo among others). At headquarters, he served as director of Policy Planning and as deputy director of the organization of the Nuclear Security Summit 2014 in The Hague. Also, he worked in the Prime Minister's Office in The Hague as an advisor on international and EU affairs and as a secretary to the Council of Ministers. Marc Gerritsen holds an MA in History from the University of Groningen and also studied in Chicago, Paris and Cairo. Mr. Gerritsen is married with three children.

Dr. Ioannis N. Grigoriadis is Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair of European Studies at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Bilkent University. He is also Senior Fellow and Head of the Program on Turkey at the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP). In the academic year 2018-2019, he was Visiting Professor at the Keyman Modern Turkish Studies Program, Buffett Institute for Global Studies, Northwestern University. In the academic year 2016-2017, he was IPC-Stiftung Mercator Senior Research Fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (Stiftung Wissenschaft und Politik-SWP) in Berlin and Stanley J. Seeger Research Fellow at Princeton University. His research interests include comparative, European, Middle Eastern and Turkish politics and history.

Prof. Aylin Güney is currently the Dean of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, at Yasar University, İzmir, and a Faculty member of the Department of International Relations as well as the Founding member of the Center for Mediterranean Studies at the same university. Professor Aylin Güney holds a B.A. degree in International Relations from the Middle East Technical University, and a M.A. degree in Political Science and Public Administration, from Department of Political Science at Johns Hopkins University, and a one-year Diploma from Paul Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) in Bologna, Italy. She holds a PhD in Political Science and Public Administration, from Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey. Güney had been the holder of two Jean Monnet Chairs (2007-2010) and (2011-2014) respectively at Bilkent and Yasar Universities. She has been awarded the Young Scientist Award in 2006 by the Turkish Academy of Sciences. She was a visiting scholar at University of California, Berkeley, USA in 2015. Her research interests focus on the politics of European integration, state-society relations in Europe and the Mediterranean, Turkish-American relations, civil-military relations. She is the co-editor of two books with Ali Tekin, Europeanization of Turkey: Politics, Polity and Policies and Europeanization of Turkish Public Policies: A Scorecard (2015 and 2016, Routledge) and author of many articles as well as chapters in edited volumes.

Dr. Lourdes Habash is Associate Professor at Political science department. She was the director of Ibrahim Abu-Lughod Institute of International Studies (IALIIS) and head of the political science department at Birzeit University. Habash earned her Ph.D. in Political Science from Cairo University. Dr. Habash has published in the fields of political science and international studies. Habash holds a PhD in Political theory and Theories. Author with others "Revolutions and the transition to democracy in the Arab region and Eastern Europe: Poland and Egypt model".

Dr. Daniela Huber is Head of the Mediterranean and Middle East Programme at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), editor of The International Spectator and adjunct professor at Roma Tre University. Her research interests include IR theories and methodologies, international relations and contemporary politics in the Middle East, as well as EU and US foreign policy towards and their role in conflicts in the Middle East. Her latest book is The International Dimension of the Israel-Palestinian Conflict: A Post-Eurocentric Approach.

Amb. Sven Michael George Koopmans is the EU Special Representative (EUSR) for the Middle East Peace Process. He is charged with providing an active contribution to the final settlement of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict based on a two-state solution. He reports directly to the High Representative, Josep Borrell, on this issue and maintains an overview of all EU regional activities linked to the Middle East Peace Process. Between 2017 and 2021, Mr. Koopmans was a Member of Parliament in the Netherlands and served as the governing party's spokesperson on foreign affairs. Prior, he was political and legal advisor in peace and mediation processes under the auspices of the EU, the UN, and other international organisations, including in Cyprus, Kosovo, Mali, Sudan and Syria, among others. His book *Negotiating Peace: a guide to the practice, politics and law of international mediation* was published by Oxford University Press in 2018. Mr. Koopmans has taught peace negotiation at the universities of Leiden and Aix-Marseille III.

Prof. Emre İşeri is a full member of the Department of International Relations, Yaşar University, İzmir. He has worked on various EU/university-funded research projects. His areas of current research agenda include energy/environmental policy, political communication, Euro-Asian politics, and Turkish foreign policy. He published articles/chapters in numerous books and journals, including Geopolitics, Journal of Balkan and Near East Studies (JBNES), Energy Policy, Turkish Studies, South European Society and Politics (SESP), European Journal Communication (EJC), Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, and International Journal of Communication (IJC).

Dr. Beste İşleyen is Associate Professor in Political Science at the University of Amsterdam. Her research interests include border and migration studies, critical security studies and postcolonialism. Dr. İşleyen is on the Governing Board of the European International Studies Association and Editor at International Political Sociology. She co-leads the 'Europe and the World' theme of the Amsterdam Centre for European Studies, where she co-convened (with Dr. Tasniem Anwar), the 'Decolonising Europe' webinar. Dr. İşleyen's work has been published in, among others, European Journal of International Relations, Geopolitics, International Political Sociology, International Studies Quarterly, Political Geography and Security Dialogue.

Dr. Karim Makdisi is an associate professor of international politics, and the director of the graduate program in Public Policy and International Affairs, at the American University of Beirut. He is also an affiliated scholar in the critical securities research program at the Arab Council for the Social Sciences. He is the co-editor (with V. Prashad) of Land of the Blue Helmets: The United Nations in the Arab World (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2017); and is currently co-authoring (with C. Pison-Hindawi) a manuscript on the international politics of the Syrian chemical weapons disarmament (Routledge Press).

Prof. Annelies Moors is an anthropologist and professor emerita of contemporary Muslim societies at the Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam. She has done extensive fieldwork in the Middle East (Palestine and Yemen) and Europe (the Netherlands), and has published widely on Muslim family law and everyday life, Islamic fashion and anti-fashion, face-veiling, wearing gold, migrant domestic labor, Muslim marriages, and research ethics and ethnography (https://sites.google.com/site/anneliesmoors/). Her main current theoretical interests center on gendered racialization, ethnography under surveillance, materiality and embodiment in living Islam in Europe, and politics and intimate relations in Palestine.

Dr. Gökay Özerim is the Director of the European Union Research Center at Yaşar University and coordinator of the EU Jean Monnet Chair on Migration in EU-Turkey Relations. His main study fields are international migration, security, youth and European integration process. In 2004, Dr. Özerim worked for a non-governmental immigrant organization in Ancona, Italy. He was awarded Chevening Scholarship of UK Government in 2010 and carried out a part of his PhD researches in the Centre of Migration, Politics and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford. In 2014, he has been at the Institute of European Studies in the University of California, Berkeley as a visiting scholar. He has been also working in several European Union funded projects and delivering trainings on intercultural learning, youth participation, social responsibility and project management since 2004. In 2016, he was awarded a Jean Monnet Module by his course on migration-security nexus in the EU and in 2019, he was awarded a Jean

Monnet Chair on Migration in EU-Turkey Relations by the European Commission.

Prof. Michelle Pace is Professor in Global Studies at Roskilde University (RUC). She is also Associate Fellow at Chatham House, Europe Program. Michelle serves as Associate non-resident Member at the Middle East Studies Forum, Deakin University as well as Member of the Scientific Advisory Board at the Centre for Advanced Middle Eastern Studies, Lund University and of the editorial board of the journal *Mediterranean Politics*. Her research areas of interest include: migration studies, emotions in IR, democratization and democracy support in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA).