

## Publications / Project impact

Project research material is disseminated through, amongst other means, presentations at national and international conferences. Academic publications include journal articles, reports and reviews. In addition to academic dissemination, the findings of the project are publicised through the media and reports to practitioners.

### Conference Papers

[Open all sections](#)

#### June 2012

The PI presented a paper entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa' at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, at a Workshop on Critical Perspectives on European - MENA Relations in Light of the 'Arab Spring', 1 June 2012.

#### May 2012

The PI presented a paper entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa' at a Conference in Gothenburg, Sweden, on the EU and the 'Arab Spring', 9-10 May 2012, organised by the School of Business Economics and Law at Gothenburg University in cooperation with the Swedish network of European Legal Studies. The programme for the event is available at [Gothenburg Conference Programme \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/program-göthenburg-conference-2012.pdf\)](#).

#### April 2012

The PI presented a paper (co-authored with Oz Hassan) entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? US and EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa' at a panel organised by the PI at the ISA Conference held in San Diego, USA between 1-4 April 2012.

#### January 2012

The PI delivered two papers at a Workshop for Contributors, held at the University of Birmingham on 20-21 January 2012, 'Between Authoritarian Resilience and Transition to Democracy. The Arab Democratic Spring in Theoretical Perspective'. The first paper was co-authored with Francesco Cavatorta and was entitled 'Introduction: the Arab Spring in Theoretical Perspective'. The second paper was entitled 'An Arab Spring of a Different Kind? Resilience and Freedom in the Case of an Occupied Nation'. The first paper presented at the workshop has been published Themed Issue on the Arab 'Spring' of the journal *Mediterranean Politics*, 2012, July, 17(2), pp.125-138. The second paper will be published in *Mediterranean Politics*, 18 (1) in 2013. The programme of the workshop is available at: [January Workshop Programme \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/21jan2012workshopprogramme.pdf\)](#).

#### September 2011

Dr Michelle Pace delivered a paper on 'The EU's Efforts at Promoting Human Rights and Democracy in Egypt: Impact of the Arab 'Spring' at the EUGRASP project meeting held in Florence on 24th September 2011. The paper has been published as a book chapter in an edited book volume by Joel Peters on the European Union and the Arab Spring by Lexington Books, 2012, pp. 49-64 in both paperback and hardback versions.

#### June 2011

Paper on 'Europe and the Arab Revolutions'. Presented at a conference on 'Islamism and the Arab Revolutions: the Promise and the Pitfalls'. Organised by the Democracy and Islam Programme, Centre for the Study of Democracy, University of Westminster, Al-Manthour Centre, 16 June, 2011, London. The Programme of the Workshop is available at [Westminster Workshop Programme \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/westminster-presentation-june-2011.pdf\)](#).

#### March 2010

Paper on 'Liminality in EU-Hamas Relations'. Presented at the British Academy Conference on 'Rethinking the Middle East? Values, Interests and Security Concerns in Western Policies towards Iraq and the Wider Region, 1918-2010'. London, 17-19 March, 2010. Organised by the University of Salford: <http://www.britac.ac.uk/events/2010/rtme/index.cfm> (<http://www.britac.ac.uk/events/2010/rtme/index.cfm>).

#### December 09

Paper on 'Liminality in EU-Hamas Relations'. Annual Conference of the British International Studies Association (BISA), 14-16 December 2009, Leicester.

Paper on 'EU Governance of the Mediterranean'. International Conference 'Re-inventing the Mediterranean? The Middle East and Europe after Lisbon and Union for the Mediterranean', held at the Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, Denmark, 2-3 December 2009.

#### April 09

Paper I on 'Interrogating the EU's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East. And Paper II on 'Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: The Limits of EU Normative Power' presented at separate panels, European Union Studies Association (EUSA) Eleventh Biennial International Conference, 23-25 April, Los Angeles, California, US.

#### March 09

Paper on 'Democracy Promotion in the Context of an Occupied Nation? The Case of Palestine'. Panel on The Importance of Perceptions. Understandings of Democracy in Palestine and Egypt, British Academy final project conference on Europe and Progressive Islamist Movements: Perceptions of Democratisation in the Middle East, 6 March, European Research Institute, University of Birmingham.

#### December 08

Paper on 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East'. British International Studies Association (BISA) conference, 15-17 December, Exeter.

#### November 08

Paper on 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East'. Middle East Studies Association (MESA) conference, 22-25 November, Washington DC, US.

#### October 08

## July 08

Paper on 'A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in Palestine: the case of Hamas'. British Society for Middle Eastern Studies (BRISMES) conference, Leeds, 4-6 July.

## Presentations

### PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

#### June 2012

The PI presented a paper entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa' at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, at a Workshop on Critical Perspectives on European - MENA Relations in Light of the 'Arab Spring', 1 June, 2012.

#### May 2012

The PI presented a paper entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa', at a Conference in Gothenburg, Sweden, on the EU and the 'Arab Spring', 9-10 May 2012, organised by the School of Business, Economics and Law at Gothenburg University in cooperation with the Swedish Network of European Legal Studies.

#### April 2012

The PI presented a paper (co-authored with Oz Hassan) entitled 'A Fusion of Horizons? US and EU Democracy Support in the Newly Emerging Middle East and North Africa', at a panel organised by the PI at the ISA Convention held in San Diego, USA between 1-4 April 2012.

#### February 2012

At the Workshop 'One Year on from the Arab Spring: Deconstructing Past Myths and the Role of the EU', held at the EPC premises in Brussels, Belgium, the PI presented the paper entitled 'Facing EU Policy Failures in the Middle East: the New Arab Awakening'.

#### January 2012

The PI delivered two papers at a Workshop for Contributors, held at the University of Birmingham, between 20-21 January 2012, entitled 'Between Authoritarian Resilience and Transition to Democracy. The Arab Democratic Spring in Theoretical Perspective'. The first paper was co-authored with Francesco Cavatorta and was entitled 'Introduction: the Arab Spring in Theoretical Perspective'. The second paper was entitled 'An Arab Spring of a Different Kind? Resilience and Freedom in the Case of an Occupied Nation'. The papers presented at the Workshop have been published in a Themed Issue on the 'Arab Spring' of the journal *Mediterranean Politics*, 2012, July, 17 (2). The Programme is available at the [January Workshop Programme \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/programme-as-at-18-jan-2012.pdf\)](#).

#### September 2011

Dr Michelle Pace delivered a paper on 'The EU's Efforts at Promoting Human Rights and Democracy in Egypt: Impact of the Arab 'Spring' at the EUGRASP project meeting, held in Florence on 24 September 2011. The paper is now published as a book chapter in an edited book volume by Joel Peters on the European Union and the Arab Spring: *Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in the Middle East* by Lexington Books, both in paperback and hardback versions. A flyer and discount form is available here (pdf): [book order form \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/joel-peters-ed-eu-and-arab-spring-flyer.pdf\)](#).

#### June 11

Joint presentation (with Francesco Cavatorta) entitled 'Facing EU Policy Failures in the Middle East - the New Arab Awakening'. UACES ARENA seminar series, 30 June 2011 at the Centre, Brussels.

A contribution to the Round Table organised by the Greens/ EFA group in the European Parliament as part of the on-going review process of the ENP, held on 14 June 2011 in Brussels, Belgium. For more information see Dr Franziska Brantner's page available [here \(http://www.franziska-brantner.eu/en/page/9/?id=13\)](#). The Programme for the event as well as an audio recording from the proceedings is available here: [click \(http://www.franziska-brantner.eu/en/europaeische-aussenpolitik/mittelmerraum-naher-osten/heute-live-im-video-webstream-diskussion-uber-reform-der-eu-nachbarschaftspolitik-%e2%80%93-demokratieforderung-und-mehr-mobilitat/\)](#).

#### May 11

Paper on 'The EU's Governance Practices and the Israeli - Palestinian Conflict'. Presented at a one-day workshop on 'The European Union, Human Rights and the Israeli - Palestinian Conflict'. Held in Jerusalem on Sunday 22 May 2011 as part of the activities of the EU - GRASP FP7 project on the European Union as Peace and Security Actor in the Israeli - Palestinian Conflict: <http://www.eugrasp.eu> (<http://www.eugrasp.eu>). This project examines the role of the European Union as an emerging security actor in a number of different issue areas. This workshop was organised and co-sponsored by the Centre for the Study of European Politics and Society, Ben Gurion University and the School of Global Studies, University of Gotenburg.

#### January 10

Paper on 'Liminality in EU-Hamas Relations'. Presented at the fifth meeting of the project's research group, held on 22 January 2010 at the University of Sheffield. The report from the workshop is available at: [5th Meeting Report \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/eu-democracy-promotion/fifth-meeting-report.pdf\)](#).

#### November 09

Paper on 'Perceptions of Democratization Among the Main Palestinian Political Parties'. Presented at the United Nations Development Programme/ Programme of Assistance to the Palestinian People (UNDP/PAPP) office, Learning Sessions series, Jerusalem, 12 November. The poster for this event is available at: [Learning Session Poster \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/undp-learning-session-poster.pdf\)](#). A report from the session is available at: [UNDP Learning Session Report \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/undp-report.pdf\)](#).

Paper on 'Perceptions of Democratization in the Arab Mediterranean World: the cases of Palestine and Egypt'. Presented at the Kenyon Institute, Public Lecture series, Jerusalem, 9 November. The poster for this lecture is available at: [Public Lecture \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/09-11-2009-lecture-poster.pdf\)](#). The report from this lecture is available at: [Public Lecture Report \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/public-lecture-report.pdf\)](#).

## October 09

Paper on 'Liberal or Social Democracy? Aspect Dawning in the EU's Democracy Promotion Agenda in the Middle East'. Presented at the project research group's fourth meeting, University of Leeds, 16 October. The report from the workshop is available at: [4th Meeting Report \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/eu-democracy-promotion/fourth-meeting-report.pdf\)](http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/eu-democracy-promotion/fourth-meeting-report.pdf).

Paper on 'The European Union's Internal Discourse on Democracy Promotion in the Middle East'. Presented at the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Cairo, 11 October 2009. Report: [DAAD Workshop Report \(http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/workshops-conferences/daad-report.pdf\)](http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/workshops-conferences/daad-report.pdf)

Paper on 'The European Union in the Middle East'. Presented at the Arab Forum for Alternatives (AFA), Cairo, 10 October 2009. Report: [AFA Workshop Report \(http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/workshops-conferences/afa-report.pdf\)](http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/workshops-conferences/afa-report.pdf)

## September 09

Paper on 'Democracy Promotion in the Context of an Occupied Nation? The Case of Palestine'. Presented at a contributors' workshop, 29 September, Muirhead Tower, University of Birmingham and published in M Pace's edited volume on Europe, the USA and Political Islam: Strategies for Engagement (2011), Palgrave: MacMillan.

Paper on 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East'. Presented at a contributors' workshop, 3-4 September, Muirhead Tower, University of Birmingham. Published as an article in a Special Issue of the journal European Foreign Affairs Review, 2010, Volume 15.

## June 09

During the third meeting of the project's research group, the PI presented a paper on 'A Reflexive Approach to EU Democracy Promotion'. Presented at a workshop on EU International Democracy Promotion: Theoretical Approaches, Mechanisms and Empirical Findings. Organised by Sandra Lavanex and Frank Schimmelfennig, Center for Comparative and International Studies, ETH Zurich, 3-4 June.

## May 09

Paper I on 'Liberal or Social Democracy? Aspect Dawning in the EU's Democracy Promotion Agenda in the Middle East' and Paper II on 'Perceptions from Egypt and Palestine on the EU's Role and Impact on Democracy-Building in the Middle East'. Presented at a Global Consultations meeting, organised by the International Institute on Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), 24-26 May, Stockholm, Sweden. The papers were subsequently published and can be found here: [Paper on Liberal or Social Democracy \(http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace-2.pdf\)](http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace-2.pdf) and [Paper on Perceptions from Egypt and Palestine \(http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace\\_low\\_2.pdf\)](http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace_low_2.pdf).

## March 09

Paper on 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East'. Presented at the Department of Theology and Religion, University of Birmingham, 3rd March, Post-Graduate Seminar Series.

## January 09

Paper on A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in the Arab-Mediterranean world: the case of Hamas. Second Meeting of Research Group on EU Democracy Promotion in the Middle East, 9 January. Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics and Political Science, London.

## December 08

Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East. POLSIS Research Seminars Series, University of Birmingham, Autumn 2008. 3 December.

## Novemebr 08

Paper on A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in the Arab-Mediterranean world: the case of Hamas. Oxford University Public Seminar, Forced Migration Series, Refugee Studies Centre, 12th November.

Paper on A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in the Arab-Mediterranean world: the case of Hamas. University of Leicester, Department of Politics and International Relations, Research Seminar Series, Autumn Semester 2008-09, 19th November.

## June 08

Chair, panel on World Security Studies. 'The New 20 Years' Crisis?' organised by the Politics and International Studies (PAIS) department, The University of Warwick, Thursday 12 – Friday 13, June, 2008.

## May 08

Paper on A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in Palestine: the case of Hamas. Presented at the University of Exeter, School of Humanities and Social Sciences (HUISS). Joint seminar organised by the Department of Politics and the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, 9th May.

## May 08

Paper on A 'Modern' Islamist Democracy? Perceptions of Democratization in Palestine: the case of Hamas. Presented at the University of Plymouth, Faculty of Social Sciences & Business, Department of International Relations, Seminar Series, 8th May.

## April 08

Friedrich Ebert Stiftung FES workshop on Sarkozy's Mediterranean Union, entitled Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean – Readjusting the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership, Brussels, 15 April 2008.

## March 08

Paper on Perceptions of Democratization in Palestine: the case of Hamas. Department of Religion and Theology, University of Birmingham, Postgraduate Seminar Series, 18 March 2008. Chaired by Dr Haifaa Jawad.

## February 2012

Hazem Kandil presented a paper entitled 'The Muslim Brotherhood, Salafi Movements and the Future of Democracy in Egypt' at the project Workshop entitled 'One Year on from the Arab Spring: Deconstructing Past Myths and the Role of the EU', held at the EPC premises in Brussels, Belgium, 2 February 2012.

## September 2011

Valentina Kostadinova presented a paper entitled 'GCC, the EU's Promotion of Regionalism and the Lessons of European Integration Experience' at the UACES Annual Conference held in Cambridge, UK, 5-7 September 2011.

## August 2011

Valentina Kostadinova presented a paper entitled 'GCC, the EU's Promotion of Regionalism and the Lessons of European Integration Experience' at the 6th ECPR General Conference held in Reykjavik, Iceland, 24-27 August, 2011.

## Academic Publications

### • Dr Michelle Pace (Principal Investigator)

2013 (forthcoming) 'An 'Arab Spring' of a Different Kind? Resilience and Freedom in the Case of an Occupied Nation'. *Mediterranean Politics*, vol. 18, number 1.

2012 Chapter 20 on 'The European Union and Democratization' in Routledge Handbook on Democratization, Jeffrey Haynes (editor), pp.310-321. ISBN 978-0-415-57377. Also available as ebook.

2012 (co-authored with Francesco Cavatorta) 'The Arab Uprisings in Theoretical Perspective - an Introduction'. *Mediterranean Politics*, Themed Issue, vol. 17, number 2, pp. 125-138.

2012 'Consociation in a Constant State of Contingency? The Case of the Palestinian Territory' (co-authored with Laurence Cooley). *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 33, number 3, pp. 541-558.

2012 'Egypt'. A chapter in *The European Union and the Arab Spring: Promoting Democracy and Human Rights in the Middle East*, pp. 49-64, edited by Joel Peters, Lexington Books. The book can be ordered from [Arab Spring flyer \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/PetersArabSpringFlyer.pdf\)](#).

2011 'Liberal or Social Democracy? Aspect Dawning in the EU's Democracy promotion Agenda in the Middle East'. In the *International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 15, issue 6, pp. 801-12.

2011 'Books Review of 'Kill Khalid. The Failed Mossad Assassination of Khalid Mishal and the Rise of Hamas' by Paul McGeough and 'Hamas: the Islamic Resistance Movement' by Beverly Milton-Edwards and Stephen Farrell, *International Affairs*, vol 87, number 4, pp. 1021-1023.

2011 'The European Union and the Mediterranean'. Chapter in *The European Union and Global Governance. A Handbook*, edited by Jens-Uwe Wunderlich and David J. Bailey, Routledge International Handbooks, 2011, pp. 304-312, ISBN: 978-1-85743-509-2.

2011 *Europe, the USA and Political Islam. Strategies for Engagement*, Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, (edited book, sole editor). ISBN: 978-0-230-25205-9. If you want to order this book, please use the flyer available here: [Order Form \(pdf\) \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/europeandpoliticalislamflyer.pdf\)](#).

2011 'The EU, US and Political Islam: an Introduction to Strategies for Engagement', in Michelle Pace (ed), *Europe, the USA and Political Islam: Strategies for Engagement*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 1-9.

2011 'Democracy Promotion in the Context of an Occupied Nation? The Case of Palestine, in Michelle Pace (ed), *Europe, the USA and Political Islam: Strategies for Engagement*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 102-124.

2010 *European Foreign Affairs Review*, Special Issue Number 15, on The Post-normative Turn in European Union - Middle East Relations. Guest editor together with Francesco Cavatorta. ISSN: 1384-6299.

2010 'The Post-normative Turn in European Union (EU)-Middle East and North Africa (MENA) Relations: An Introduction', with Francesco Cavatorta. In Special Issue of EFAR on the Post-normative Turn in European Union-Middle East Relations, Number 15, pp. 581-587.

2010 'Interrogating the European Union's Democracy Promotion Agenda: Discursive Configurations of 'Democracy' from the Middle East'. In Special Issue of the journal EFAR on the Post-normative Turn in European Union-Middle East Relations, Number 15, pp. 611-628.

2010 'The end of EU democracy promotion and of the two-state solution?' in *European Involvement in the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Chaillot Papers, Esra Bulut Aymat (editor), December 2010, Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies, ISBN: 978-92-9198-176-2 and ISSN: 1017-7566. A full text is available at: [European Union Institute for Security Studies \(http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/european-involvement-in-the-arab-israeli-conflict/\)](#).

2010 'The European Union, security and the southern dimension'. In Special Issue on European 'security' governance of the journal *European Security*, Volume 19, Number 3, September, guest edited by George Christou and Stuart Croft, pp. 431-444, ISSN: 0966-2839. The article is available [here \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/european-security-m-pace-1.pdf\)](#).

2010 *The European Union's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean*, London and New York, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, publication date: October 2009 (edited book, main editor). ISBN: 978-0-415-55168-7. If you wish to order this book, please use the flyer, available here: [Order Form \(pdf\) \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/flyer.pdf\)](#).

2009 '[Democracy in Palestine and the Middle East Peace Process \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/BAR13-Pace.pdf\)](#)'. *British Academy Review*, issue 13 (June 2009), pp 35-37.

2009 [Europe and Progressive Islamist Movements: Perceptions of Democratisation in the Middle East \(/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/publications/marchreport09final.pdf\)](#). Final Conference report for a British Academy project, European Research Institute, University of Birmingham, March 6th, 2009.

2009 *Democratization*, 16 (1), February. Special Issue on The European Union's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean: A Critical Inside-Out Approach. Main Guest Editor. ISSN: 1351-0347.

2009 'Paradoxes and Contradictions in EU democracy promotion in the Mediterranean: the limits on EU normative power'. In *Democratization*, 16 (1), February, pp. 39-58. (Special Issue). ISSN: 1351-0347.

2009 'The European Union's Democratization Agenda in the Mediterranean: A Critical Inside-Out Approach' (with Francesco Cavatorta and Peter Seeberg). In *Democratization*, 16 (1), February, pp. 3-19. (Special Issue). ISSN: 1351-0347.

2009 **Democracy or Strategic Interests? The EU and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East** ([/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/eu-democracy-promotion/second-meeting-report.pdf](#)). Second meeting of the EU Democracy Promotion in the Middle East Research Group LSE, London, UK, January 9th, 2009.

2008 'A Tale of Two Egypts'. In *Mediterranean Politics*, 13 (3), November, pp. 439-444. ISSN: 1362-9395

- **Others**

July 2012 (by Hazem Kandil) Why the Middle Class Marched to Tahrir Square? *Mediterranean Politics*, 17 (2).

July 2012 (by Hazem Kandil) Soldiers without Generals: Withe the Revolt? *Dissent*.

2012 (by Hazem Kandil) *Soldiers, Spies, and Statesmen: Egypt's Road to Revolt* (New York: Verso).

2012 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Tahrir Square: Choosing the Wrong Space for the Right Reasons?', *Progressive Planning*, 191, pp. 40-42.

2012 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Whose Golden age?', *New Left Review*, 73, pp. 140-145.

2012 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Back on Horse? The Military between Two Revolutions', in Bahgat Korany and Rabab el-Mahdi (eds.), *An Arab Spring of Revolution? Egypt and Beyond* (New York: American University in Cairo Press), pp. 300-337 [also available in Arabic].

2011 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Revolt in Egypt', *New Left Review*, 68 (1), pp. 17-55.

2011 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Islamising Egypt: Testing the Limits of Gramscian Counterhegemonic Strategies', *Theory and Society*, 40, pp. 37-62.

2010 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Resisting Resistance: Examining the Shifting Balance of Threats in the Middle East', *European Foreign Affairs Review*, 15, pp. 717-737.

2010 (by Hazem Kandil) 'On the Margins of Defeat: a Sociology of Arab Intellectuals under Authoritarianism', in Bahgat Korany and Ali al-Din Hilal (eds.), *The Changing Middle East: a New Look at Regional Dynamics* (New York: American University in Cairo Press), pp. 85-118 [also available in Arabic].

2008 (by Hazem Kandil) 'Syrian Foreign Policy and the Challenge of Restructuring', in Bahgat Korany and Ali Al-Din Hilal (eds.), *The Foreign Policy of Arab States: the Challenge of Globalisation* (3rd ed) (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press), pp. 421-456.

2008 (by Haya Al Farra and Michelle Pace) **Bush's Freedom Agenda: Between Democracy and Domination** ([/Documents/college-social-sciences/government-society/eumena/eu-democracy-promotion/launch-meeting-one.pdf](#)). Launch Meeting of the EU Democracy Promotion in the Middle East Research Group Birmingham University, UK, August 6th, 2008.

## Media Interviews

### February 2012

Following the Final Events of the project, held in Brussels, Belgium between 1st and 3rd February 2012, the PI's opinion on the impact of events in Egypt on the EU was published in the Birmingham Brief under the title: 'Can any Lessons be Learnt from the Arab Spring?' The opinion is available at: [the Birmingham Brief](#) (<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/impact/perspective/egypt-pace.aspx>).

### June 2011

Michelle Pace was interviewed by Arild Foss on the Arab Spring for the ESRC magazine, Society Now. Full details can be found here: [www.esrc.ac.uk](#) ([http://www.esrc.ac.uk/\\_images/Society%20Now%20issue%2010\\_tcm8-16400.pdf](http://www.esrc.ac.uk/_images/Society%20Now%20issue%2010_tcm8-16400.pdf)), Summer 2011 Issue 10 After the Spring pp. 10-12.

The PI was interviewed by Arwa Assem for the **BBC Arabic Service** following her contribution to a workshop at Westminster University on Islamism and the Arab Revolutions: The Promise and the Pitfalls, 16 June.

After the PI's contribution to the European Parliament's Round Table on the Review of the ENP she was interviewed by the **EUobserver** journalist Meabh McMahon, 14 June. The interview is available at: [EUobserver interview](#) (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zFGeEJAD7RY>).

### May 2011

The PI was interviewed by the international correspondent, Leandro Prazeres, of the Brazilian newspaper *A CRÍTICA*, from the Amazonas state, on 'The possible effects of the death of Osama bin Laden: will the world be a safer place now?'. For more information, please visit: <http://www.acritica.com> (<http://www.acritica.com/>).

### February 2011

Principal Investigator's interview with the *Times of Malta* on the political unrest in the Middle East and North Africa. The interview was conducted by Patrick Cooke. The article can be downloaded from: [Times of Malta](#) (<http://www.timesofmalta.com/articles/view/20110203/local/eu-has-lost-all-credibility-on-democracy-in-middle-east>).

### December 2009

Principal Investigator's interview with the *Danish National Radio* (the programme is in Danish but the interview excerpts are in English). Interview was conducted by the journalist Birgitte Vestermark during the International Conference on Re-Inventing the Mediterranean? The Middle East and Europe after Lisbon and the Union for the Mediterranean, held at the Centre for Contemporary Middle East Studies, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, 2 - 3 December. It can be downloaded from: [Danish Radio](#) (<http://www.dr.dk/P1/orientering/indslag/2009/12/03/183739.htm>).

## Commissioned Reports and Papers

### October 2011

The PI was selected as an expert to deliver an ad hoc briefing on the Social, Economic, Political and Geo-Strategic Situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territories, on 26 October 2011, at the European Parliament, in Strasbourg. This was a Workshop Meeting of the Working Group on the Middle East jointly with the Delegation for relations with the Palestinian Legislative Council. The meeting was chaired by former President of the European Parliament, Dr. Hans-Gert Pottering. Michelle's presentation focused on the Hamas-Fatah reconciliation agreement and intra-Palestinian dynamics. The other speaker in the same panel was H.E. Dr. Nassif Hitti, Ambassador of the League of Arab States in Paris who spoke about the Palestinian bid in the United Nations and the role of the Arab League. The presentations were followed by an

## December 2010

Article entitled 'The end of EU democracy promotion and of the two-state solution?' prepared by the PI for the research arm of the Council of the EU, the European Union Institute for Security Studies, Paris for its Chaillot Papers series, December 2010 on European Involvement in the Arab-Israeli conflict, edited by Esra Bulut Aymat. This series of the papers is available at: [European Union Institute for Security Studies \(http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/european-involvement-in-the-arab-israeli-conflict/\)](http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/european-involvement-in-the-arab-israeli-conflict/).

## November 2009

A report entitled 'Perceptions from Egypt and Palestine on the EU's Role and Impact on Democracy Building in the Middle East' was prepared by the PI for the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), in Stockholm, Sweden. The report can be downloaded from [here \(http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace\\_low\\_2.pdf\)](http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/upload/Pace_low_2.pdf).

## October 2009

A report entitled 'Liberal or Social Democracy? Aspects of the EU's Democracy Promotion Agenda in the Middle East' was prepared by the PI for the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), in Stockholm, Sweden as part of the consultations process for the then incoming Swedish Presidency of the EU. The report can be downloaded from here: [International IDEA \(http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/liberal\\_or\\_social\\_demo.cfm\)](http://www.idea.int/resources/analysis/liberal_or_social_demo.cfm).

