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**CONFERENCE** 

# Governing through counterterrorism in the Arab world

Production, circulation and (mis)uses of counterterrorism policies from the Maghreb to the Gulf

19-20 June 2023

Address: Salons scientifiques de Sciences Po Paris

1, place Saint Thomas d'Aquin - 75007 Paris



CONFERENCE 19-20 June 2023

# Governing through counter-terrorism in the Arab world

Production, circulation and (mis)uses of counterterrorism policies from the Maghreb to the Gulf

Conference Organizing Committee: Isabel RUCK, Leila SEURAT, and Stéphane LACROIX

Since September 11, 2001, the fight against terrorism has been at the heart of global governance. Attacks perpetrated in Europe during the 2010s reinforced this trend, pushing to the fore both an assortment of "deradicalization" initiatives as well as larger paradigms for "countering" or "preventing" a phenomenon rechristened as "violent extremism". While showing strong intra-European disparities, the diversity of these terms and policy interventions reflects both a semantic imprecision around the notion of radicalization and the emergence of a de-radicalization market within the wider counter-terrorism industry. For researchers, these notions are not self-evident and their omnipresent use reflects forms of political instrumentalization (Jackson, R., Jarvis, L., Gunning, J., Breen-Smyth, 2011).

In France, the spillover of the state of emergency inaugurated in the aftermath of the November 2015 attacks (administrative searches, closure of places of worship, etc.) as well as the effects of the laws on intelligence and "Global Security" have been the subject of numerous analyses (Bigo et al., 2008; Bigo et al., 2021; Louis, 2021). It is in that context that the notion of illiberal practices of liberal political regimes was introduced, making direct reference to the notion of illiberal democracy forged two decades ago and updated more recently to describe the trajectories of the Hungarian and Polish regimes. As early as 2004, Didier Bigo had already analyzed Northern Ireland as an emblematic case, revealing how a democracy could derogate from the legal framework of the rule of law in the name of the need to combat exceptional violence. As time passed, his findings showed themselves to be generalizable, as the relation between exceptional discourse and repressive practices emerged further afield to the point that we could speak of the *Northern Irelandization* of the world (Bigo, Guittet, 2004). Just as importantly, it became apparent that counter-radicalization and counter-terrorism more generally could not be considered within the limits of methodological





nationalism. As policies diffused across borders and partnerships between states grew deeper, the imperative of engaging the transnational dimension of the problematique grew increasingly pronounced.

Interestingly, counter-radicalization policies in Arab countries remain notably understudied, especially as compared to Asia and Africa. In authoritarian contexts such as China, Jérôme Doyon has shown how the Chinese government uses the discourse of counter-terrorism to justify measures of reeducation directed at the Uighur minority in the Xinjiang region (Doyon, 2019). In African countries, studies have shown how, in order to benefit from technical and financial aid from their American allies, local political elites have asserted their strategic position, even if it means exaggerating the links between armed opposition groups and al-Qaeda (Fisher, Anderson, 2015; Jones, Soares De Oliveira, Verhoeven, 2013). In Chad and Cameroon, anti-terrorist laws were enacted in a hurry, without prior parliamentary discussion (Vircoulon, 2012, 2016).

Galonnier, Lacroix and Marzouki attempted to integrate the MENA region into this discourse with their 2022 *Politique de lutte contre la radicalisation*. Using a comparative approach, the book discards binary categories of democratic and authoritarian regimes to analyze the misuse of counter-terrorism measures in both Western and non-Western contexts. While the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have led to an inflation of research essentially focused on a "hard approach" of counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency practices, the authors emphasize how this body of research has often overlooked the underlying historical and sociological issues at stake.

The ambition of this conference is to bring those historical and sociological dimensions back into the debate by critically assessing the circulation and reappropriation of counter-terrorism measures, discourses and practices. This critical approach also includes a gender analysis of counterterrorism not necessarily by looking at the human rights impact (Margaret L. Satterthwaite, Jayne Huckerby, 2012) but rather by analyzing the instrumentalization of women for securitization imperatives (Abu-Lughod; Hammami; Kevorkian, 2023).

The first objective of the conference is to historicize the relation between the state of emergency and the increase of coercion and repression in the Arab context (Khalili, Schedler Ed. 2010). In Egypt, grasping counterterrorism needs to be understood in a continuity with 150 years of counter-insurgency discourses and practices (Abozaid, 2022). The Algerian example also allows us to understand how "terrorism" had, since the beginning of the 1990s, been mobilized by the agents of the Department of Intelligence and Security (DIS) to justify the repression of the Islamist opposition and the muzzling of all forms of political opposition.

The second objective is to approach the topic through a sociological lens, looking at how the norm of counter-terrorism is being transferred and reappropriated in host countries.





Indeed, counter-terrorism is not only a *response* to "terrorism"; it is also understood as a *tool* to prevent "terror". It is in this perspective that the discourses and measures implemented in the name of "counter-terrorism" have been diffused in all political and social spheres. In the legislative realm, the diversity of anti-terrorism laws in the Maghreb hardly hides a common coercive implementation and desire to control of dissidence (Tamburini, 2018; Santucci, 2003). The process of traveling norms, as shown by the role of the IMF in the enactment of the *Money Laundering Law* and in the implementation of the *Combating the Financing of Terrorism* (CFT), is also particularly interesting for documenting the inclusion of economic policies in security issues.

The security field has been particularly sensitive to the exchanges of counter-terrorism norms and practices. Inspired by the French model, the S17 form in Tunisia arbitrarily affected opponents of the Ennahda party as well as human rights activists. In parallel to the coercitive transfer of norms, we also witness the blurring of borders between hard counter-terrorism and its softer forms. Indeed, discourses on "prevention" and the promotion of "good governance" have progressively taken precedence over punitive measures, a normative renewal that also reflects the emergence of a new market. Thus, in addition to public agents, the implementation of these measures also implies paying attention to other actors such as foreign/Western powers, international donors and private companies.

In sum, this conference will focus on both the political uses and misuses of "radicalization" including deradicalization programs. Looking at the historical backgrounds, the panels will focus on the different narratives produced by governments, the media and experts, and their practices. The conference will facilitate the emergence of comparative perspectives by looking at similar practices in Western contexts and also in China. Finally, a roundtable discussion at the end of the conference will bring experts and practitioners into the debate and see how far it is possible to bridge the realm of critical theory with the one of practice.



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# CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

## DAY 1

8:30 | Registration 8:45 | Welcome address

#### 9:00 - 10:00 I Opening discussion

Under the moderation of **Stéphane Lacroix**, SciencesPo / CERI

**Joseph BAHOUT**, Issam Fares Institute, American University of Beirut **Olivier ROY**, European University Institute / PREVEX

10:00 - 12:00 | Panel 1: Critical approaches and knowledge production on "terrorism"

Under the moderation of **Christian Olsson**, Université Libre de Bruxelles

Jeroen GUNNING, King's College London: Critical terrorism studies, an introduction Omar ACHOUR, Doha Institute: Critical Terrorism Studies and Decolonisation Jamil MOUAWAD, American University of Beirut: Researching Security from the Arab world

12:00 - 14:00 | Lunch break

14:00 – 16:00 | Panel 2: Counter-terrorism and governance in the Arab world: Historical continuities and present evolutions

Under the moderation of Colin Powers, NORIA Research

**Ahmed M. ABOZAID**, University of Southampton: Post-colonial security studies: Historical perspective on counter-terrorism in Egypt

**Khansa BEN TARJEM**, Université de Lausanne: Repressing through exceptional measures: the case of Tunisia's police service

**Steven HEYDEMANN**, Smith College & The Brookings Institution Center for Middle East Policy: The misuse of counter-terrorism measures as a strategy for authoritarian upgrading

16:00 - 16:30 | Coffee Break

16:30 – 18:00 I Panel 3: Transplantations, Reappropriations and diffusion of counter-terrorism norms in the Arab world

Under the moderation of **Merouan Mekouar**. York University

**Christian OLSSON**, Université libre de Bruxelles: Leading form behind? US counter-insurgency and the transfer of military know-how during operation « new dawn » in Iraq (2010-2011) **Amr MAGDI**, Human Rights Watch: The misuse of anti-terrorism laws: the case of Egypt **Leila SEURAT**, CAREP Paris: A tool of fight against "terrorism": the transfer of *community policing* in Lebanon

#### 20:00 I Conference dinner





## DAY 2

#### 9:00 I Welcome of participants with coffee

10:00 – 12:00 I Panel 4: EU counter-terrorism policies in the MENA: what went wrong?

Under the moderation of Nadia MARZOUKI, CNRS/ SciencesPo

**Wolfram LACHER,** German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP), Berlin: Local and external drivers behind the decline of Libya's jihadist movements

**Djallil LOUNNAS**, Al-Akhawayn University/ PREVEX: The impact of EU counter-extremism response on regional stability in the Sahel

**Erik SKARE**, University of Oslo / Sciences Po Paris: The possibilities and constraints of the EU in the MENA: Between democratic ideals and autocratic reality

#### 12:00 - 14:00 | Lunch break

14:00 – 16:00 I Panel 5: Comparative approaches: thinking the coproduction of counter-terrorism measures and discourses beyond the MENA

Under the moderation of Juliette Galonnier, SciencesPo / CERI

**Jérôme DOYON,** Sciences Po / CERI: 'Community-focused' counter-extremism and forced assimilation in China

**Ibrahim BECHROURI**, City University of New York: The City "Must be Defended": Counter-insurgency and the War on Terror at Home

**Sarah C. PERRET**, Ecole Normale Supérieure, Paris: The effects of counter-terrorism policies on Muslims in France

#### 16:00 - 16:30 | Coffee Break

16:30 - 18:30 | Roundtable discussion: "From knowledge to practice: preventing the misuse of counter-terrorist policies"

Under the moderation of Isabel Ruck. CAREP Paris

Andreas HATZIDIAKOS, Counter-terrorism Unit, EEAS
Jean-Pierre FILIU, Sciences Po / CERI
Morten Bøås, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs & PREVEX project leader

18:30 - 19:00 | Conclusion





# **CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS**

#### **ABOZAID**, Ahmed

Ahmed Abozaid (PhD, University of St Andrews, 2022) is a political scientist and a lecturer of International Security at University of Southampton (UK). Abozaid was a fellow at Columbia University's Program on Exiting Violence.

His first peer-reviewed monograph "Counterterrorism Strategies in Egypt: Permanent Exceptions in the War on Terror" was published by Routledge in 2022. The book was well received, endorsed by prestigious journals such as Security Dialogue, and nominated for BISA's L.H.M. Ling Outstanding First Book Prize. Abozaid also contributed chapters to various edited volumes in Arabic, English, and French. His work has appeared in 18 languages. Abozaid also published five books in Arabic and more than 70 peer-reviewed papers in leading peer-reviewed English & Arabic journals. According to the Arab Citation & Impact Factor (ARCIF), between 2012 and 2022, of more than 3000 researchers from over 20 countries, Abozaid was listed among the top three most cited & most influential Arab scholars in the fields of Political Science and International Relations.

#### **ACHOUR, Omar**

Omar Ashour is a Professor of Security and Military Studies and the Founding Chair of the Critical Security Studies Programme at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He is the Director of the Strategic Studies Unit at the Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies. He was a tenured faculty member at the University of Exeter (UK) for ten years (2008-2018) and lectured at McGill University (Canada) for two years (2006-2008). He previously served as a senior consultant for the United Nations on counterterrorism, security sector reform, and deradicalization issues. Professor Ashour specializes in small state defense; combat and military effectiveness; military adaptations, innovations, and transformations by state and non-state armed actors; asymmetric, conventional, irregular and hybrid warfare; weapon systems analysis; counterinsurgency and counterterrorism; and collective de-radicalization. He is the author of *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements* (Routledge, 2009) and *How ISIS Fights: Military Tactics in Iraq, Syria, Libya and Egypt* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021) and the editor of *Bullets to Ballots: Collective De-Radicalisation of Armed Movements* (Edinburgh University Press, 2021). His current research project is focused on "Comparative Combat Effectiveness and Ukraine's Regular and Irregular Armed Forces."

## BAHOUT, Joseph

Joseph Bahout is the Director of the Issam Fares Institute at the American University of Beirut. He was a former researcher at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Professor at Sciences Po Paris.





#### **BECHROURI**, Ibrahim

Ibrahim Bechrouri (PhD) is a scholar, writer and activist whose academic interests center around terrorism, counterterrorism, policing, colonialism, surveillance, race, and Islamophobia. His doctoral dissertation, completed at Paris 8 University and supported by Columbia University, examined the New York Police Department's counterterrorism policies, their impact on targeted communities, and the resistance strategies they deployed against surveillance and over-policing. Dr. Bechrouri's work has been featured in numerous journals, including Surveillance & Society, Mouvements, Politique américaine, Modern & Contemporary France and IdeAs: Idées d'Amériques. He has also shared his research at several universities, including Columbia University, Uppsala University, the Université Libre de Bruxelles, and Sciences Po Paris. Dr. Bechrouri currently teaches at the City University of New York where he hopes to inspire and guide students to become critical thinkers and change-makers in their own right.

#### **BEN TARJEM, Khansa**

Khansa Ben Tarjem is a PhD candidate in political science at the University of Lausanne. She is interested in international security and state coercion in the Middle East. Her research focuses on the impingement of political development on the formation of a police apparatus in the context of Tunisia. She is especially interested in the effect of the decolonization process on security services formation and state violence. She co-authored a three-volume book, *Tunisian Revolution and Security Challenges* (2015). She was awarded the Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship. In December 2015, she co-founded a Tunisian media and think-tank called *Barr al Aman Research & Media*, where she is now its incumbent president. She has also worked on security services reform and as a journalist for *Le Monde* and *Reuters TV*.

#### **BOAS, Morten**

Morten Bøås (PhD) is Research Professor at the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). Bøås is currently the PI of the EU Horizon 2020 funded project 'Preventing Violent Extremism in the Balkans and the MENA: Strengthening Resilience in Enabling Environments (PREVEX)'. Bøås works predominantly in Africa and the Middle East on insurgencies, civil war and its consequences for human security.

#### **DOYON, Jérôme**

Jérôme Doyon is a Junior Professor at the Centre for International Relations (CERI) at Sciences Po Paris. His research focuses on Chinese politics and foreign policy with a specific interest in the inner working of the Party-State apparatus and its exportation beyond Chinese borders, as well as elite politics, political youth organizations, and the management of ethno-religious minorities. His work has appeared in various outlets, such as Political Studies or The China Quarterly, and his most recent book titled Rejuvenating Communism: Youth Organizations and Elite Renewal in Post-Mao China was published by the University of Michigan Press in 2023. Prior to joining Sciences Po, he held fellowships and positions at the Harvard Kennedy School,





the Oxford School for Global and Area Studies, the University of Edinburgh, and the SOAS China Institute.

#### **FILIU, Jean-Pierre**

Jean-Pierre Filiu is professor of Middle East Studies at Sciences Po, Paris. A historian and an Arabist, he has also held visiting professorships at the universities of Columbia and Georgetown. From 1988 to 2006, Prof. Filiu was a career diplomat, posted in Jordan, Syria or Tunisia, following humanitarian missions in Afghanistan (1986) and Lebanon (1983-84). Hurst and Oxford University Press published his *Arab Revolution* in 2011, *Gaza, a History* in 2014 (MEMO Book Award) and *From Deep State to Islamic State* in 2015, after University of California Press had published in 2011 his award-winning *Apocalypse in Islam*. He also wrote the story of David B.'s graphic novel: *Best of enemies, a history of US and Middle East relations* (Self Made Hero, 2012-2018). His books have been translated in more than fifteen languages, including Arabic and Turkish.

#### **GALONNIER**, Juliette

Juliette Galonnier is Assistant Professor at CERI at Sciences Po. Her research focuses on the social construction of racial and religious categories and their frequent intertwining. Her empirical investigations on this topic have focused on Islam in minority situations in a plurality of national contexts (India, France, United States). She holds a double doctorate in sociology from Sciences Po and Northwestern University in 2017. Entitled Choosing Faith and Facing Race: Converting to Islam in France and the United States, her dissertation received the 2018 Best Dissertation Award from the American Sociological Association (ASA). Juliette Galonnier has published several book chapters as well as articles in journals such as French politics, culture and society, Sociology of Religion, Social Compass, Archives de sciences sociales des religions, Critique internationale, Hommes & Migrations or Tracés.

## **GUNNING**, Jeroen

Jeroen Gunning is Professor of Middle East Politics and Conflict Studies at the Department of Political Economy, King's College London and Visiting Professor at the Department of Political Science, Aarhus University, and the London School of Economics' Middle East Centre. He is one of the founders of the field of Critical Terrorism Studies. His research focuses on political contestation in the Middle East, specifically on the interplay between social movements, religion, electoral politics, violence and structural change. With Dima Smaira, he has been developing a spatialized Bourdieusian framework for understanding everyday security practices in Beirut's Southern Suburbs. With Morten Valbjørn, he co-directs the research project TOI: "Bringing in the Other Islamists – comparing Arab Shia and Sunni Islamism(s) in a sectarianized Middle East". His publications include Hamas in Politics: Democracy, Religion, Violence (2007) and, with Ilan Baron, Why Occupy a Square? People, Protests and Movements in the Egyptian Revolution (2013).





#### **HATZIDIAKOS**, Andreas

Andreas Hatzidiakos is a policy officer at the counter-terrorism unit of the European External Action Service (EEAS). The Counter-Terrorism Division is responsible for the coordination of counter-terrorism (CT) and counter violent extremism (CVE) cooperation with third countries and international organizations and for developing and promoting effective CT and CVE external action policies.

#### **HEYDEMANN**, Steven

Professor of Government and Janet Wright Ketcham 1953 Chair in Middle East Studies, with a joint appointment in the Department of Government, Steven Heydemann is a nonresident senior fellow in the Center for Middle East Policy of the Brookings Institution. From 2007–15 he held a number of leadership positions at the U.S. Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., including vice president of applied research on conflict and senior adviser for the Middle East. His research interests include authoritarian governance with a particular interest in Syria, institutions and economic development, state-society relations, social policy, political and economic reform, and conflict economies and post-conflict reconstruction. He is the author or editor of numerous books and articles on these subjects. His most recent publication is a forthcoming co-edited volume, Making Sense of the Arab State, due to be published in early 2024.

### **LACHER, Wolfram**

Wolfram Lacher is a Senior Associate at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin. His research focuses on conflict dynamics in Libya and the Sahel. His work has been published in *Survival*, *Mediterranean Politics*, *Foreign Affairs* and the *Washington Post*, among other publications. He is the author of *Libya's Fragmentation*: *Structure and Process in Violent Conflict* (I.B. Tauris, 2020), and co-editor of *Violence and Social Transformation in Libya* (Hurst, forthcoming, June 2023). He studied Arabic and African languages and history, conflict and development studies, and holds a PhD in political science from Humboldt University in Berlin.

## LACROIX, Stéphane

Stéphane Lacroix obtained a doctorate in political science in 2007 (Sciences Po), after two master's degrees, one in Arabic language and civilization at INALCO and the other in mathematics at the University of Paris 6. In 2008, he was awarded the thesis prize of the French Association of Social Sciences of Religions. Stéphane Lacroix obtained a doctorate in political science in 2007 (Sciences Po), after completing two master's degrees, one in Arabic language and civilization at INALCO and the other in mathematics at the University of Paris 6. In 2008, he was awarded the thesis prize of the French Association of Social Sciences of Religions. He was a postdoctoral researcher at Stanford University (Abbassi Program in Islamic Studies/Department of Political Science) in 2008-2009 and a visiting researcher at the Center for Economic, Legal and Social Studies and Documentation in Cairo between 2010 and 2013.





Currently, he is an associate professor at the School of International Affairs at Sciences Po (PSIA).

#### **LOUNNAS, Djallil**

Djallil Lounnas is Associate Professor of International Relations at Al Akhawayn University in Morocco. Djallil Lounnas holds a PhD in Political Science from Université de Montréal. He has published numerous studies and scientific articles on the subject in *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, *Political Violence and Terrorism* and *Politique Étrangère*. He is also the author of the book *Le Djihadisme en Afrique du Nord-Sahel: D'AQMI à Daech* published in 2019 by Les Presses de la fondation pour la Recherche Stratégique/L'Harmattan. He has coordinated and been part of several research teams in the framework of European H2020 research projects. He is the leader of the Al Akhawayn research team of the European H2020 research consortium Preventing Violent Extremism (PREVEX project). His research focuses on violent extremism in the North Africa-Sahel region, where he has conducted several field studies since 2011.

#### **MAGDI, Amr**

Senior researcher in the Middle East and North Africa division at Human Rights Watch. Before, he worked as the director of research at the Arab Network for Human Rights Information in Cairo and as a freelance journalist for several Egyptian and international outlets.

#### **MARZOUKI**, Nadia

Nadia Marzouki is a Research Fellow (chargée de recherche) at the CNRS (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) in Paris. She received her PhD in political science from Sciences-Po in 2008. Her work examines public controversies about Islam and religious freedom in Europe and the United States. She is also interested in debates about religious freedom and democratization in North Africa. She is currently working on a new project on progressive ecumenical alliances and interfaith movements in the United States that advocate social and racial justice and oppose the instrumentalization of religious values for far right religious and political ends.

She is the author of *Islam, an American Religion* (Columbia University Press, 2017). She coedited with Olivier Roy *Religious Conversions in the Mediterranean World* (Palgrave, Macmillan, 2013). She coedited with Olivier Roy and Duncan McDonnell, *Saving the People, How Populists Hijack Religion* (Oxford University Press, 2017).

#### MEKOUAR, Merouan

Merouan Mekouar is Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at York University in Toronto, Canada and a visiting researcher at the German Institute of Global Area Studies in Hamburg, Germany. His research focuses on norm diffusion and authoritarian resilience in North Africa and the Middle East. His latest co-edited book, recently published with Edinburgh University Press, focuses on the evolution of authoritarian practices in the MENA





region after the start of the Arab uprisings. His next book (co-edited with Kira Jumet) focuses on the specific challenges that native scholars face while conducting research in non-democratic or illiberal countries and will be published by Oxford University Press in late 2023. He received numerous awards and grants including the Abner Kingman Fellowship, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Grant, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Connection Grant, and the York University Faculty Association Teaching Grant among others.

#### **MOUAWAD, Jamil**

Jamil Mouawad is an Assistant Professor of Politics and Policy at the American University of Beirut, AUB. He holds a PhD in politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London. He is a former Max Weber Fellow at the European University Institute, Florence.

Jamil is a founding member of the Beirut School for Critical Security Studies, and the coordinator of the Ethics in Social sciences project initiated by the Arab Council for Social Sciences (ACSS).

His research interests in state-society relations span the subfields of comparative politics and political economy. He has several scientific publications and is a regular commentator on Lebanese politics.

### **OLSSON**, Christian

Christian Olsson is professor in political science at Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), director of its research unit in international relations (REPI) and affiliated to its Observatory of the Arab and Muslim worlds (OMAM). His research pertains to military interventions, armed conflict, political violence and statebuilding in the Middle East. He has recently published in Millenium, Critical Military Studies, the Canadian Journal of Political Science and Partecipazione e Conflitto.

## PERRET, Sarah C.

Sarah Perret is a Researcher in political science at the Chair in Geopolitics of risk at the ENS Paris and the principal collaborator in the ANR-PrAIrie project (Paris Artificial Intelligence Research Institute) entitled 'AI at the border'. Her research focuses on what security does to the issues of borders, migration, identity, and more broadly on the circulation of knowledge, particularly through the use of digital technologies. She has published several articles in journals such as Etudes internationales, Review of international Studies or Big data and Society, and has recently published a book co-authored with J. P. Burgess entitled *Géopolitique du risque* (2022). She is also the co-author with F. Ragazzi, S. Davidshofer and A. Tawfik of a study in 2018 entitled *The Effects of Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Radicalisation Policies on Muslim Populations in France, a quantitative study*, which shows the importance of taking into account discrimination issues in counter-terrorism policies.





#### **POWERS, Colin**

Colin Powers is the Noria Research MENA Program Head of Publication. He holds a PhD in International Relations and International Economics from Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies (2020). He has twice been awarded the Fulbright Grant and his research has been supported by a number of European foundations, including Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung. He has conducted extensive field research in Palestine, Jordan, and Tunisia and regularly writes for academic journals, media, and think tanks.

#### **ROY**, Olivier

Prof. Olivier Roy (1949) is presently Professor at the RSCAS and adjunct professor at the School of Transnational Governance (European University Institute, Florence). He directed the ERC funded project ReligioWest. Professor Roy has been a Senior Researcher at the French National Center for Scientific Research (since 1985), professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (since 2003) and visiting professor at Berkeley University (2008/2009).

#### RUCK, Isabel

Isabel Ruck is a political scientist and Middle East specialist. She is in charge of research and scientific coordination at CAREP Paris. Since 2012, Isabel Ruck has been a lecturer at Sciences Po Paris. Between 2018 and 2019, she also worked as a specialized project manager within the Forccast program, an initiative of excellence in innovative training of the Ministry of Higher Education, Research and Innovation. In addition, Isabel also taught in the Global BBA program at the École supérieure des sciences économiques et commerciales (ESSEC Business School), which she joined in 2017. Previously, she worked as a project manager in a consulting firm at the European Commission in Brussels. An associate member of the Institute for Research and Teaching on Negotiation (ESSEC IRENÉ), Isabel Ruck is also a member of the association Le Cercle des Chercheurs sur le Moyen-Orient (CCMO) and has collaborated with the Pharos Observatory. She has authored several articles on the issue of minorities in Lebanon and edited the double issue of the journal *Maghreb-Machrek* on minorities in the Middle East. Her current research focuses on the politics and management of water in the region.

#### SEURAT, Leïla

She is a researcher at CAREP Paris and an associate researcher at the Centre de recherches Sociologiques sur le Droit et les Institutions Pénales (CESDIP) and at the Observatoire des Mondes Arabes et Musulmans (OMAM-ULB). Leila Seurat received her PhD from IEP Paris in 2014, devoted to the study of Hamas' foreign policy, and subsequently published under the title Le Hamas et le monde (CNRS Éditions, 2015), then in English, in the collection SOAS Palestine Studies at I.B Tauris (2022). Leila has completed several postdoctoral contracts abroad. In Florence, as a member of the Max Weber program. In Beirut, hosted by Ifpo, as part of the "Ambassador" program of the DGRIS (French Ministry of the Army). Her research focuses on the maintenance of public order, including its dynamics of pluralization and delegation of physical force. In addition to analyzing the repression of collective protests, she is also





interested in the dynamics of the transfer of security models and norms in an "Authoritarian" context. She is the author of an anthology of Arab political thought that she co-authored with Jihan Sfeir (CNRS Éditions, 2022).

#### **SKARE, Erik**

Erik Skare is a researcher at the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo and an associate researcher at the Center for International Studies (CERI) at Sciences Po in Paris. He is the author of A History of Palestinian Islamic Jihad (Cambridge University Press, 2021) for which he was awarded the Palestine Book Award and Palestinian Islamic Jihad: *Islamist Writings on Resistance and Religion* (I.B. Tauris, 2021).

