

Postcolonial era: what is the power balance now?

The European Neighbourhood Policy; case study Algeria



Bachelorthesis Geography, Planning and Environment

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Photograph by Rama, painting by Ernest Francis Vaherot, Arrival of Marshal
Randon in Algiers 1857

Preface

In 2012 I graduated from the Hague University of Applied Science, Cultural and Social Development. Three years later it was time to develop my academic-self and therefore I searched for master-programs within my field of interest. Migration, globalization and development was the program that I wanted to commit myself to. This Premaster year has been a year of intensive study, familiarizing myself with the subjects and theories within Geography, Planning and Environment, updating my research skills and providing me with knowledge of methodology used in academic researches.

The GPM course 'Borders and Identities in Europe' introduced the European Neighbourhood Policy to me. I was fascinated by the double-faced aspect and stratification of this policy. I used this policy in my B&I essay to describe my ideal future vision of Europe's borders.

In this bachelor thesis, I have intensified my research on the ENP in relation to Algeria and interpreted the cooperation with the E.U. through different visions using colonial and geopolitical theories. It was an interesting journey to me, and I hope this document reflects the complexity and fascination upon the reader.

I wish you a pleasant reading.

Lichelle de Bruijn

Den Haag, August 12th 2016

Abstract

The social, political and economical unrest in the Arab World is undeniable. The events of the Arab Spring that started in December 2010, have not only changed North Africa and the Middle East, but also changed the geopolitical situation between the South and its global partners. Policies and agreements between the European Union and its Southern neighbours have been of major discussion in political debates. Especially the relationship with the largest country in North Africa, is peculiar. Algeria has a history of colonial rule 'ending' in the 1960s with a horrible fight over independence against the French. Followed by groups fighting the government and a civil war against the oppression of dictatorship led by Boumediene in the 1990s. Current president Bouteflika brought Algeria order and peace, but the question is if his 'aging' regime is still capable to bring prosperity into a country which is struggling against unemployment and social and economical tension?

President Bouteflika's government is led by indigenous democracy, this form of democracy originate from the remains of history. Though the last few years the president announced political reformation, domestic as well as international. The cooperation with the European Union as a geopolitical actor is slowly recovering. Though the relationship between the two have been called 'awkward' and 'tumultuous', decision makers in both Brussels and Algiers have been trying to develop an optimal policy and institutional configuration that resembles the interests and potential of both partners. While the Association Agreement, the bilateral agreement between Algeria and the E.U. signed in 2002 and operational in 2005, is still the foundation of the cooperation, the negotiations on participating in the European Neighbourhood Policy and funding under the European Neighbourhood Instrument are still moving arduously. The European Neighbourhood Policy is a policy framework designed by the European Union to interact with and decide on developments in its surroundings. However, despite its good intentions to offer neighboring countries economical, technical or any other form of support, the ENP has been the subject of ongoing debates amongst policy makers, analysts and critics within and outside of Europe. This dissension around the ENP is mainly the result of the political approach that European Union maintains. The carrot and stick method, based on the more for more principal, has been criticized to undermine countries' (political) sovereignty and in Algeria it has been not been officially operational because of the persistent failure to attain a fair appreciation of the countries' interest and specificities (Darbouche, 2010).

The Eurocentric geopolitical approach of the ENP, especially during the launch of the ENP in 2004, has been compared to neo-colonialism and soft-imperialism. This is because of the use of leverages and conditionality; the E.U. offers a neighbour more financial support if the neighbour puts reforms on the political agenda, the higher level of reforms; the more a country can expect (financial) support from the European Union. However, the reforms that a country has to implement, are based on a Western discourse; based on European values. The question is in what way the Western discourse of democracy is fitting into a country's political ambition. Considering Algeria, which is the case study in this thesis, external pressure for evolution within the (political) system is not positively embraced. The leverage for financial support seems to be not very persuasive for Algeria either. The Algerian discourse considering (political) cooperation with global actors in has formed through historical events, and they have their own attitude on dealing with partners. This attitude has been described as the 'Russian syndrome', Algeria is advocating the idea of 'sovereign/indigenous democracy', a democratic political system which developed through the centuries in Algeria. This home-grown democracy is not likely to be intervened by external forces as the E.U. This causes a hesitant attitude.

This vision is the basis of the enduring ENP Action Plan negotiations. Algeria announced to actively be a part of the European Neighbourhood Project, but the negotiations around the Algerian Action Plan are still in an ongoing process.

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1. Introduction

Only a couple of centuries ago, a large amount of countries in Africa and the Middle East were under formal rule of European countries. Rebuilding the political system, owning and scaping the land, creating borders and introducing different mother languages, European countries definitely left their mark upon these territories.

In the twentieth century, European colonies in Africa and the Middle East became independent. By 1975, all of the countries were decolonized. In many countries the process of decolonization meant the fight over power and caused extremely violent struggles for emancipation (Klose, 2014). Regimes that have dictating characteristics came to power, with at the top of political hierarchy, powerful individuals or parties.

As the post-colonial regimes strove to consolidate their power, they faced indigenous economic classes that lacked the financial power or social coherence to pose an effective challenge to the state's dominance (Dodge, 2012). One aspect in the fact that these post-colonial regimes came to power was due to the inability or unwillingness of the population to impose a challenge on these dictating regimes (Dodge, 2012). Even though there has been internal critique on the system and the political organization, the power of the political leaders remained uncontested until this century (Shah, 2011).

In the beginning of this century, the discontent among the population in North Africa and the Middle East came to a breaking point. Tension amongst citizens opposing these regimes led to the emergence of rebel groups and riots (van Wouden, 2011). Conflicts, rising extremism, terrorism and human rights violation outlined North Africa and the Middle East. These events concluded in the Arab Uprisings labeled as the "Arab Spring" (E.U., 2015). Whether this term reflects on the democratic blooming in North Africa and the Middle East and reflects a symbol for regeneration, or if it is a reference to earlier revolutions (Paris, Prague, Beijing) remains the question. However, the Western world named this revolutionary demand for recognizing the right to human dignity the Arab Spring (Alhassen, 2012). This revolutionary wave of protests and civil wars started in December 2010 in Tunisia and rapidly spread throughout its surroundings (Al Yafai, 2011). The political rulers in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen had been forced from power in 2012. Civil wars had been erupted in Bahrain and Syria and major demonstrations had been erupted in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco and Sudan (Lynch, 2014).

Today, the wave of initial revolutions and protests from the Arab Spring have already fade away, but in multiple countries in this area, which happen to be former European colonies, rebel groups are still opposing the current political system and are in ongoing large-scale discourse conflicts. Some authors refer to these conflicts as the “Arab Winter” (Khallaf, 2013). The Arab Winter refers to the rise of authoritarianism and religious extremism, evolving in the aftermath of the Arab Spring revolutions in Arab countries. The Arab Winter is shaped by the emergence of regional civil wars in the Arab world, increasing regional instability, economic and demographic decline of Arab countries, and ethnic and religious conflicts (Malmvig and Lassen, 2013).

The Arab Spring and the Arab Winter are influencing the political debate in this area and most of the Arab states are undergoing political reforms on the occasion of the revolutions or are making a change towards a different political system (The Guardian, 2011). The developments within the (political) system change, not only have an effect on the institutional composition of the directly involved states, but also has its effect on global cooperation and cooperations with global institutions, for example the European Union (E.U.).

“The Arab Spring has provided a unique opportunity to revise the European Union’s languishing relations with North Africa and the Middle East” (Balfour, 2012, p. 7). Emphasis has been placed in re-inventing the European diplomatic narrative towards the region and on the newly developed ‘listening-mode’ of the E.U., which is dealing with reforming Arab leaders (Balfour, 2012). “According to the new rhetoric, EU institutions encourage the governments of those countries which have chosen to embark on a path of democratisation and modernisation to choose the level of engagement expected from the EU” (Balfour, 2012, p. 7).

While Europe has an extensive foreign policy framework and cooperation with countries in this region, the revolutions and the social and political developments in the Arab world have its effect on Europe and therefore on the European Union. The E.U. has to adjust its plans and policies regarding its Southern neighbourhood (North Africa and the Middle East) ; as most of its negotiation partners, the former governments, are overthrown (Gartestein-Ross et al, 2015). These events provide challenges for the Union and other geopolitical actors, to influence the territory of the unstable countries in the Arab World. It also poses significant challenges for Europe’s ability to control its own borders (Gartestein-Ross et al, 2015). “The political instability that has beset North Africa in the years following the Arab Spring also undermines European strategic and economic interests in broader ways.

North Africa has quickly descended from being a bastion of continuity and consistency into a basket case, forcing European states to carefully monitor threats so as to limit spillover into Europe. Violent conflict and political disorder has undermined North Africa's economic potential, which has in turn harmed European trade with its southern neighbour. Parts of North Africa have become strongholds for criminal networks, including drug traffickers and human smugglers, who have used North Africa as a base from which to gain entry into Europe." (Gartestein-Ross et al, 2015, p.7) . The European Union as well as individual member states have a policy framework to address these challenges (Gartestein-Ross et al, 2015), a framework of geopolitical policy strategies.

As stated above the social unrest during the Arab Spring, was a result of political, social and economical suppression of citizens in North Africa and the Middle East, a region that once, for a great part, was colonized or controlled by Western European powers. The source of many of these protracted conflicts, in large part, lies in past colonial policies.

Written in 2003, however, Marker stated that especially policies considering "territorial boundaries, the treatment of indigenous populations, the privileging of some groups over others, the uneven distribution of wealth, local governmental infrastructures, and the formation of non-democratic or non-participatory governmental systems are the cause of conflict and revolution" (Marker, 2003, p. 1). It is therefore essential if one would like to examine the issues and problems of today, to take into account influential historical factors. This includes to focus on past colonial policies, and their lingering effects (Marker, 2003).

The political and social developments in this region has its effects on the population as well. "Political instability, conflict, violence, surging fuel and food prices and food insecurity has precipitated significant forced population displacements within transition countries." Displacement and migration has its biggest spillover into neighboring countries in the form of refugees and repatriated migrants, but there is another spillover into neighboring regions, mostly into southern Europe (Mirkin, 2013).

Now that a majority of the population from these regions are fleeing from conflicts and war since the Arab Spring, Europe plays an active role in providing shelter. German chancellor Angela Merkel stated that "Whether countries agree upon providing shelter or not, helping refugees is a humanitarian duty. The E.U. partners need to be reminded that they signed up to such human rights standards by joining the European Union." (BBC, 2015, p.1).

The asylum policy in Europe is organized as such that refugees fleeing from these armed conflicts are able to await a procedure in a relatively safe environment. It is Europe's obligation to provide refugees with shelter and basic human needs (Hathaway, 1991).

Europe is also involved on a political level. To stabilize the European Neighbourhood (countries that are surrounding Europe), the E.U. has its influence in Africa and the Middle East by (bilateral) treaties. Especially within the context of the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) regulations and decision making is (in)directly influencing politics in these countries. The European Union is very much aware of their political and economical interdependency with its neighbourhood (Kovziridze, 2009). The ENP is developed to stabilize the neighbourhood and produce a beneficiary relationship. The ENP is a foreign relations instrument that contributes to internal transformation and the 'Europeanization' of countries surrounding European territory. This relates back to the developments around the Arab Spring; internal and external political change and revisiting past engagements and agreements, the terms democratisation and modernisation has been redefined: the E.U. is increasingly explicit about its definitions and standards to be achieved and the expectations to be met in the European Neighbourhood Policy (Balfour, 2012).

1.1 Research motive

To create a manageable thesis question, the focus of this research will be on the ENP development in the former French colony Algeria in North Africa. The ENP cooperation in Algeria is very specific of nature (Darbouche, 2008). Through a long history of negotiations, Algeria and the E.U. finally came to an agreement upon the ENP cooperation, but are still in the process of concluding an ENP Action Plan. In this Action Plan, both parties have to agree upon priorities, reforms and financial means. The ENP was introduced in many countries in 2004, the agreements on participation almost directly concluded in Action Plans. The more serious negotiations involving Algeria's Action Plan have only started in 2013. The negotiations to determine an Action Plan is an ongoing process, which already takes more than a decade because of (geo)political, economic and social motives from both partners. These motives will be discussed later in this thesis. A second interesting phenomenon is to examine the changing dynamics in society and discourses that eventually led to the shift of Algeria upon cooperation in the European Neighbourhood Policy.

In this bachelor thesis the ENP will extensively be examined. This is necessary to implicate the perspectives of the E.U. and (the) Algeria(n government) on the process of concluding an Action Plan. The ENP development in Algeria will be compared to the broader region in order to discover the different discourses that lead to actions by the E.U. and Algeria. Discourses in the political environment are not only determined by (self-appointed or elected) politicians and political activities, but also authors and the public (citizens, the 'people') are central players in the polity (van Dijk, 1995). That is, once we locate politics and its discourses in the public sphere, many more participants in political communication appear on the stage (van Dijk, 1995). These discourses are being reproduced by discursive practices of society or through political entities (Korsten, n.d.) , or discourses are being renounced. Discourses are playing a role within policymaking, and determine actions from governments and institutions (van Dijk, 1995), hence in the ENP framework.

As the ENP seems like a good policy to enhance global cooperation and to contribute to develop other nation states, it may seem that there can be a double agenda active while implementing this policy (Boedeltje and van Houtum 2011). The rationales behind the ENP allow for neo-colonial interpretations by which pre-defined policies are to be accepted and pre-defined European values are seen as superior to neighboring local values (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011).

In this thesis the motives for both partners will be examined, and the agenda of Action Plans will be reviewed through a colonial and geopolitical perspective. The fundamental point of research is to surface the perspectives of the E.U. upon the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy and to conclude if these perspectives correspond with the motives for the neighboring country Algeria in participating in this Neighborhood Project and in what way geopolitics and colonial viewpoints are intertwined in this policy framework?

1.2 Research objective

The objective of this research is to surface the underlying structures and consequences of the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in the context of the former colony in North Africa; Algeria, by examining the developments concerning the conclusion of the ENP Action Plan and by revealing the different perspectives of the parties concerned.

This research is focussing on the ENP in Algeria, this country is chosen carefully and will be researched as a case study. Before and during the first stage (orientation) of the research, it has occurred that Algeria and Europe have an interesting common history. This includes colonial history. Algeria has been under former rule of France and therefore the historical aspect is rooted in the current relationship with Europe (Benneyworth, 2011). Algeria in itself has a rich history with events that underly the Algerian approach towards (international) cooperation. This approach results in a prolong process of the ENP negotiations in Algeria, and the corresponding discourses and perspectives. The particular historical events as well as European cooperation initiatives, will extensively be discussed later in this thesis.

The geographical aspect is a second incentive, Algeria is located in a part of the world where social unrest and armed conflicts are taking place, these developments have direct consequences for Europe and may be even at the origin of these conflicts. This research will give the opportunity to examine the policy, the perspectives of the European Union and the Algerian government, and to surface the underlying connection with the theoretical approaches of geopolitics and colonialism.

1.3 Relevance of the research

The subject of ENP implementation and E.U. cooperation is relevant within the development of society; recent attacks in Europe (Paris: November 2015, Brussels March 2016 and Nice July 2016) and the conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East have surfaced issues in post-colonial societies and called into question the interference and policy implementation of Europe, and more broadly the (political) interference in the South.

The E.U.'s own interdependence with its neighbours has been placed in sharp focus (European Commission, 2015). Growing numbers of refugees are arriving at the European Union's borders hoping to find a safer future (European Commission, 2015).

Europe is currently in debate whether and in what way refugees coming from conflict areas in North Africa and the Middle East need to be provided with shelter and how they should construct the integration processes in the countries of settlement. These migration flows of refugees are the outcome of (political and social) unrest and poverty in the country of origin.

“The E.U. emphasizes the strategic interest behind the ENP when it claims that although the altering conditions have led to new challenges and opportunities, they also demand new policies in order to compensate for potentially damaging consequences on stability and development for the E.U.” (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011, p. 131).

Another debate is whether, by whom and in what way should be intervened in the ongoing conflicts in the Neighbourhood. There have been acts of terror affecting the E.U. and the neighbourhood (European Commission, 2015). An interesting fact is that these conflicts are mainly taking place in former European colonies, countries that have a historical connection with member states of the European Union.

“Through the European Neighbourhood Policy, the EU works with its southern and eastern neighbours to achieve the closest possible political association and the greatest possible degree of economic integration. These goals built on common interests and on values — democracy, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and social cohesion. The ENP is a key part of the European Union's foreign policy. (E.U., 2016) “Scholarly debates about European foreign policy frameworks tend to focus on the internal policy dynamics of the European Union and its institutional mechanisms, whilst paying less attention to the explanatory potential of variables at the receiving end of policy processes.” (Darbouche, 2008). This research is focussing on both aspects, the motives and perspectives of the institutional mechanism of the E.U. and the discourses and motives of Algeria for the view on cooperation with the E.U. Taking into account both aspects will contribute to the scientific importance on this subject. The research will complement existing debates because the goal is to analyze European policies critically and to surface the consequences of E.U. strategies, from a colonial perspective. The assumption of the ENP hinting at a neo-colonial approach has been made before (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011, Celata and Coletti, 2015, Chambers, 2008), and therefore the colonial viewpoint and the geopolitical approach will be applied to this particular case study. This thesis will zoom in on the conditions for Algeria to be a part of the ENP, the implementation process, the consequences and the underlying discourses. This research will contribute to the (general) understanding of the European policy which focusses on international/continental relationships and securing the member states of the European Union.

1.4 Research questions

The research question of the thesis is;

How does the geopolitical relationship between Algeria and the European Union in regards to the European Neighbourhood Policy develop?

The subquestions to answer the main question are;

- What are the reasons of interest of the European Union for cooperation with Algeria within the ENP framework?*
- What are the developments of the ENP framework in Algeria, North Africa?*
- How do the perspectives from the E.U. for implementing the ENP correspond with the perspectives of Algeria?*

1.5 Theoretical implications

In continuation of the previous paragraph, the prominent theoretical perspectives which are important in this research will be discussed. The framework of a research derives through the process and the product of knowledge building within the field of the subject (Verschuren and Doorewaard, 2015).

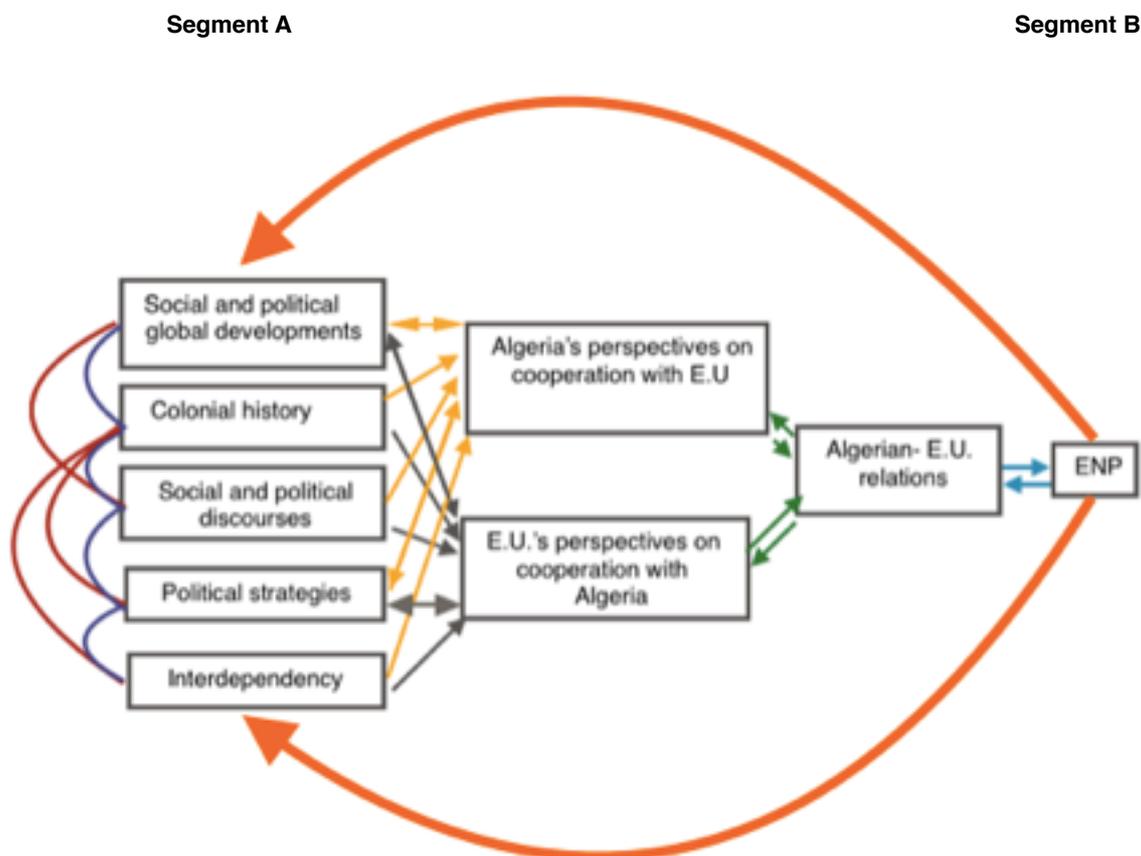
Colonial theory will be used to address the corresponding structures within the ENP implementation. Policymaking (regarding former colonies) and international cooperation is coherent with the historical aspect and discourses (van Dijk, 1995). Post-colonialism is a theory to ascribe the effects of colonization on cultures and societies (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 1995). This theory emphasizes on the intertwined history of societies that are currently presented as separated entities (Barnett, 2006, p. 149). The 'post' in postcolonial theory implies a break with a colonial past, suggests the end of colonialism and imposes a movement towards an era where colonialism is replaced by post-colonialism and where societies have experienced the process of decolonization (Sidaway, 2002).

However, post-colonialism and the effects of colonialism in the past should be taken into account in current international policymaking processes. This is because history has a prominent role in policymaking between global partners (Rennie, 1998). The consequences of colonization in the past, regarding inequality are not only shaped by colonial legacy but persist today because of neo-colonial power relations (Blunt & Wills, 2000).

Geopolitics is a theory, a perspective to view different political actions taken in a geographical context. In the classical geopolitics, Western expansion and Southern submission were explained and approved. This binary, almost Eurocentric way of thinking, became more criticized in the late twentieth century. As a reaction to the classical geopolitics discourse, critical geopolitics have derived. This theory is related to the theme (power-balances in a post-colonial context) and therefore will be used in this research.

The term discourses is also included in the research, because actions, taken by the European Union, are based on a certain discourse that is dominant in European policy making. Just as Algeria’s vision on cooperation is based on certain developments in society. As Philips et al. stated; “The socially produced ideas and objects that comprise institutions, and the social world in general are created and maintained through the relationships among discourses and action.” (2004). This implies that action taken by the European Union as an institution, and Algeria as a (former colonial) country arises from a particular discourse.

The following model visualizes the hypotheses. In this model covariation is incorporated to emphasize the intertwined relationship between the variables in segment A. A feedback loop from segment B to the first and last variables in segment A, indicates that the ENP is structured by these variables and that the variables are structured by the ENP.



1.6 Research strategy

To formulate an efficient research strategy, which contributes to achieving the research objective, the relevant research method will be discussed.

This thesis will provide an integral insight on the ENP development in Algeria. The most appropriate approach for answering the research questions is a case study. A case study consists of an intensive analysis of a research object, wherein relevant factors which cause, or lay at the foundation of this research object, will surface. A case study is a research in which the researcher provides the the reader with understanding and gaining insight in one (or more) time and space bordered objects and processes (Verschuren and Doorewaard 2007).

This case study will consist of describing and analyzing the ENP developments in Algeria in order to provide an understanding of that particular case (Cresswell, 2012). There are many types of case-studies; exploratory, descriptive, explanatory, extreme, deviant, typical and critical cases (Yin, 2013). This research will relate best to a descriptive case. This case will describe the environment in which cooperation between Algeria and the E.U. considering the European Neighbourhood Policy is evolving. This case will be deviant, because it is a unique case with unique variables and a unique history of partnership, this emphasizes on the particularity of the case. Doing research along the line of a descriptive case study has its implications for collecting data, these implications will be discussed in the next paragraph.

Within this case study different aspects will be discussed. These aspects, such as the dynamics in society, historical relationships, current relevant events and the forthcoming discourses, develop the E.U.-Algerian partnership and lead to actions taken by the European Union and the Algerian Government.

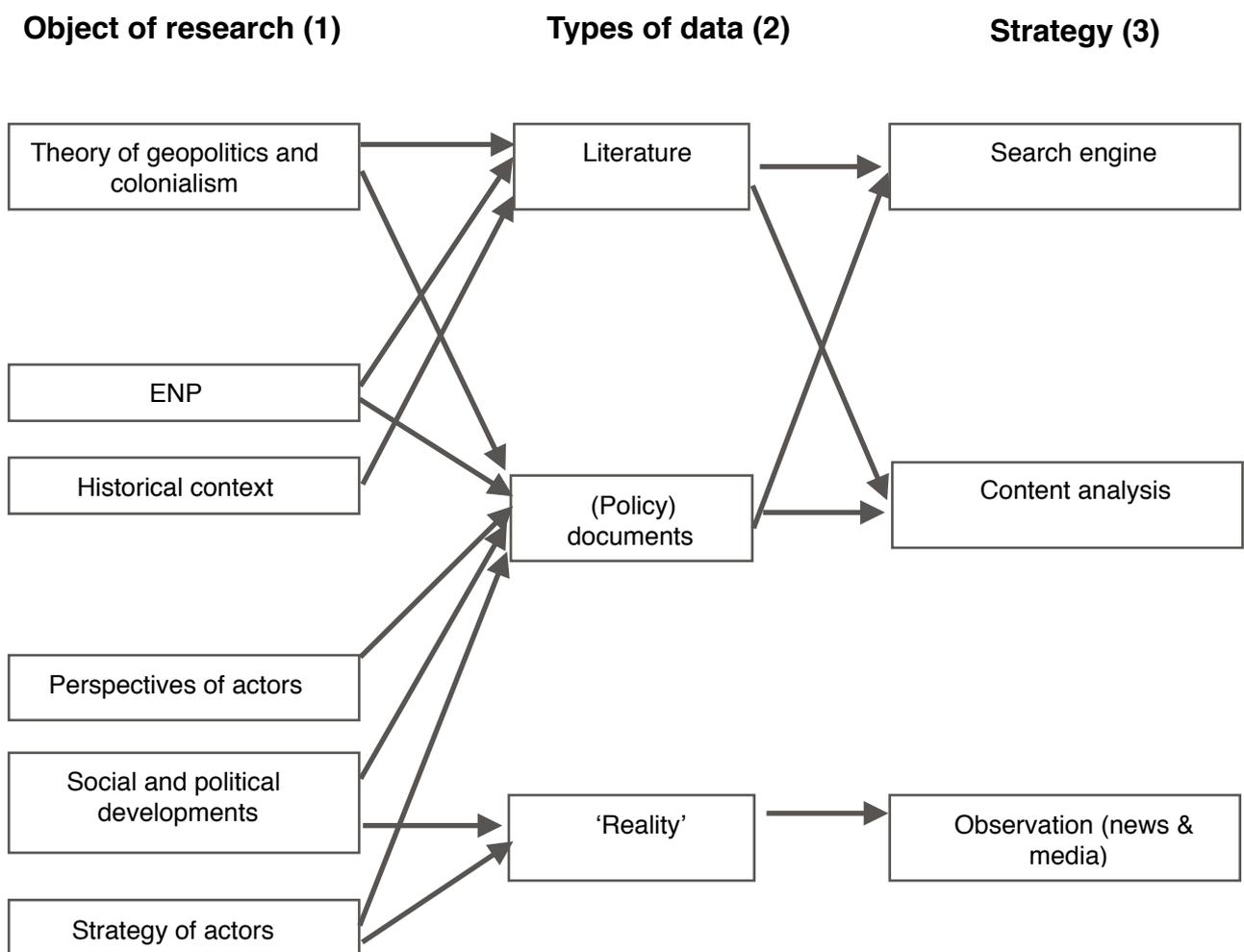
The different views and perspectives of the parties involved will be examined in this thesis. The conclusion will provide an overview of the results and stresses the data in order to answer the research questions and to generate a holistic view on the negotiation processes regarding the development of the European Neighbourhood Policy in Algeria.

The ENP development in Algeria is a case consisting of multiple embedded research units. Within these research units, the focus will be on European perspectives and on the Algerian perspectives regarding the ENP process. Within a research like this, the possibility may occur that the data is outdated within a short period of time. Within the time and space in which this case will be researched and the ever changing dynamics in policymaking, information could be outdated quickly. This factor may have consequences for the external validity of the results.

In an attempt to validate the results, it is therefore important to consult multiple sources (source triangulation) before formulating a conclusion (Holtzhausen, 2001).

After the correct approach for the research questions is determined, the next step is to decide what kind of material will be used to achieve the research objective and how this material will be attained (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007).

Data collection for case studies can consist of interviews, observations, documents, artifacts and audiovisual material (Creswell, 2012). To visualize the different aspects of this case study research, the following model is created.



1.7 Data inquiry

Approaching this research as a descriptive case study, will result in making choices for appropriate methods of data inquiry. Within this thesis, the focus will be on qualitative desk research. Characteristic of qualitative research is to explore an issue in depth. Qualitative research answers the “how and why” questions and is focussing on a particular case rather than to formulate generalizing conclusions (Myers, 2000). This method is in line with the objective of the research and the formulation of the research questions.

This research will be subdivided in stages with forthcoming research questions, which will fluently merge into the process of the research. The results of the stages will be used to answer the main question and to formulate a substantiated conclusion.

Within the first stage of orientation, preparatory desk research will be the focus of attention. In this stage the subjects will be defined and the limits to the case study will be explored. The objective of desk research is to gain insight in key concepts and developments regarding the subject. In order to reach this objective, a list will be created with key words, key authors and (internet) sources which will be consulted in the next stage. The plan is to focus and choose theoretical concepts. These theoretical concepts will determine the point of view in which this research will be written.

Within the second stage of analyses, literature will be the focus of attention. The preparation from the orientation stage will be the foundation for the activities during the second stage. The search for information will be more targeted with the help of the gathered keywords, authors and relevant sources. Information will be gathered from multiple sources:

- *RUQuest; the online Radboud University database with articles and more.*
- *The RU library; even in this digital era, not all texts are available in PDF.*
- *Google Scholar; this source provides researches with scientific articles and literature*
- *LexusNexus; to continue to be updated around developments within the range of the subject and of the discourses around politics and policies*

These sources provide information, which will contribute by presenting other relevant authors and theories by snowball sampling. Information and references from already found literature, will provide new information such as authors, keywords and viewpoints. After gathering all the information, it is important to criticize the documents on their relevance and scientific quality.

This will be done by scanning the text and reading the abstract or introduction and the conclusion. If certain key authors are used in other publications, it shows that this particular author is relevant in this field of research.

Within the stage of analyses it is necessary to define the situation, the development in the case study and to combine this information with the existing theoretical points of view. To form a holistic view and to complete an in depth analysis of the case, multiple information sources will be consulted.

Within the last stage of conclusion, the information from previous stages will be used to answer the main question and objective of the case study. The conclusion will be completed with recommendations and a reflection on the research process. The policy documents from the E.U. and the Algerian government will be the input for answering this question. A second important source of input is the literature that is written by several authors on the ENP in general, on Algerian foreign relations and on geopolitical aspects within current policymaking.

The analyses will be implemented on a macro scale. The analysis aims to determine what processes and means are used in this particular case and tries to explain the role and influence of the involved parties within the policy process. Within this thesis, the analyses intends to explain the important contextual factors of the policy process. This emphasizes the importance of the political, economic, historical and socio-cultural factors influencing the ENP development in Algeria. These factors will continue to be the focus of attention in the subquestions. More concrete guidelines for answering the subquestions will be discussed next.

The first subquestion zooms in on the goals of the European Union and the perspective of the European Union on the ENP implementation. This question will be answered by consulting documents on the website of the European Commission, for example abstracts of congresses, memo's and other official documents.

The second subquestion will focus on the conditions for implementing the ENP in Algeria. The history and the development of the relationship with Europe is a central aspect in this chapter. This part will be descriptive of nature. The objective is to describe the specific case and the research units as detailed as possible, in order to answer the fourth research question. Even though the specific conditions of a case study can be very complex, which could make it difficult to generalize statements (Verschuren & Doorewaard, 2007), this research tries to consider if Algeria could be considered as a representative model for ENP development in North Africa.

The last subquestion links to the main question and combines the outcomes of previous subquestions. After describing the ENP, examining the perspectives of the E.U. on the ENP, and describing the case in Algeria, the last subquestion will conclude whether and if the objectives and perspectives of the E.U. correspond with the objectives and perspectives of Algeria and in what way geopolitics, colonialism and discourses are relevant to interpret the partnership. The data will be carefully evaluated and the connections between the case and the theoretical framework will be completed. The last step is to search for similarities and differences amongst the different perspectives of the parties involved.

1.8 Research structure

This research is structured in seven chapters. The first chapter will consist of the theoretical framework, in which the two theories of colonialism and geopolitics will be explained. This chapter will conclude with how these theories will be implemented and in what way the theories of geopolitics and colonialism support the research. The research continues with an examination of the European Neighbourhood Policy, which is necessary to understand the current Neighbourhood Program.

In the third chapter the motives and the perspectives of the E.U. on the ENP will be discussed. Underlying discourses which lead to certain actions and dynamics will surface.

The fourth chapter consists of the case study of Algeria. This chapter starts with an chronologic introduction to (colonial) history and the relationship with Europe. This introduction will be followed by examining the development of the specific Action Plan and the perspectives of Algeria on the ENP. This chapter concludes with the question if this particular case study can be generalized, i.e. if the ENP processes in Algeria can be representative for North Africa.

The research continues with a parallel comparison of the perspectives of the European Union and the perspectives of Algeria on the ENP in chapter six. In this chapter it will be clear whether a synthesis exists or if the partnerships has to deal with conflictual means.

This research will be completed with a holistic conclusion and recommendations in chapter seven, followed by a reflection on the research process and suggestions for further research in chapter eight.

2. Theoretical framework

This research starts with a literature study. In this chapter two important theories that form the foundation of the research will be introduced. After describing these theories the research continues with the relevance of these theories to the research question and the operationalization, followed by an introduction to the European Neighbourhood Policy.

2.1 Theory of colonialism

The theory of colonialism is relevant to the research, because history plays an important role in current policymaking processes (Rennie, 1998). It is the past that forms the frame of references by which nations and institutions perceive issues, and it is knowledge of the past in which nations and institutions make choices and justify their decisions (Hobsbawm, 1997).

A huge part of European past is colonial history. Decolonization after the second world war created space for international treaties and agreements. Some of the former European colonies worked against the challenges of continuing European cultural and political hegemony, while other decolonized countries worked with European powers (Talton, 2010). The European Community was created during that period and this was the foundation for international partnerships and global agreements today.

2.2 Colonial history

Colonizers, the search for imperial power, expansion of land and political rule; it sounds like an outdated vision of statecraft, but it is often only 54 years since Algeria regained its independency from France. Colonialism became a strategic interest of mainly the Western world in the seventeenth century (Meredith, 2009). Benefits regarding trade, exotic resources and territorial expansion arose from a superior and sometimes faith-related point of view. Expanding European territory was coherent with the global expansion of the European economy. New resources and export markets meant the rise of the economy. The dominant discourse in colonial thinking of Europe from the 16th century up until the 20th century, was the superiority of the centre; Europe and the inferiority of the margins; the colonized countries in the South (Jiwani, 2006). The colonized subject became marginalized and the right to develop an own identity and own culture has been withdrawn.

The colonial imperial power of European countries “combined a strong sense of the particularity of European culture with a strong claim to the universality of these values” (Aitken and Valentine, 2006). The colonized or Orientals (Said, 1979) were “viewed in a framework constructed out of biological determinism and moral-political admonishment” (Said, 1979, p. 207-208) The colonized were linked to negative elements in Western society (delinquents, the insane, women, the poor) having an identity described as lamentably alien (Said, 1979).

This view on the colonized provided the colonizers the right to control and reform and by presenting the colonized as less worthy, overruling them became legitimate. “Since the Oriental was a member of a subject race, he had to be subjected: it was that simple.” (Said, 1979, p. 208).

This discourse of Western superiority was present in Europe at least until after the first World War. This viewpoint affirmed the absolute and systematic difference between East and West (Said, 1979). Not only European rulers operated from this standpoint, it was also a dominant discourse amongst European citizens (Said, 1979).

On the other side of the discourse spectrum, colonial ruling became more and more criticized by the people, in the metropole (Europe) as well as in the periphery (colonies).

2.3 Decolonization

The first important break within colonial ruling started after the first World War. The civilizational superiority of Europe was abolished by the reciprocal destruction of European countries and civilians. However, the major steps within the decolonization process started after the second World War. Developments in Europe (metropolitan theory), the increasing of strength and focus on independence movements in the south (peripheral theory) and developments in international politics (international theory), were the provocation of ending European global domination to a new order in the system of states (Klose, 2014). These theories imply that the end of colonial rule is to be found in a combination of developments in the metropole (Europe) which can be ascribed to the metropolitan theory, developments in the periphery (colonized countries) which can be ascribed to the peripheral theory and developments in international politics which can be ascribed to the international theory. It is important to distinguish these theories, because different discourses underlie the three components.

Decolonization, the political process which implies the gain of social, cultural and economical independency, frequently involved violence in Africa and the Middle East.

In case of the decolonization of Algeria, this meant a war of independence against the French which started after World War II in 1954 and ended in 1962. A more clarified and detailed description of this period in Algerian history will be discussed in chapter 5.

The effects of hundreds of years under rule of an other political entity, does not end with 'independence day'. In the decades that followed independency, countries worked to shape the cultural, political, and economic character of the postcolonial state.

Decolonization after the second World War, then, was a process as well as a historical period (Talton, 2010).

The process of 'decolonizing the mind' applied to the metropole needs to challenge the "self-image of the West as a self-determining, self-contained entity which is the unique origin of a universalizing history and culture" (Aitken & Valentine, 2006) and should acknowledge the culture and history of the colonized people, the Orient, the Other. On the other hand, the periphery, the former colonies worked to shape the cultural, political, and economic character of the postcolonial state. Some countries worked against the challenges of continuing European cultural and political hegemony, while other countries worked with European powers in order to protect their interests and maintain control over economic and political resources (Talton, 2010)

While anti-colonial nationalists in former colonies hoped for international economic and social cooperation, European countries were still dependent on resources from the newly independent nations. These two aspects (economic and social cooperation and mutual dependency) structure the ongoing relationship (Klose, 2014). The agreements between the European Community and former colonies reflect their (inter)dependency, as well as it acknowledges the sovereignty of the new nation states.

2.4 Post-colonialism and neo-colonialism

Post-colonialism reflects up on the degree to which such theory is emerging outside the intellectual centers, and the significance such theory has in the practical political issues of living in this range of societies. Post-colonialism carries the implication that colonialism is now a matter of the past, undermining colonialism's economic, political, and cultural reformative traces in the present. Post-colonialism surfaces the human consequences of external control and economic exploitation, but does not necessarily imply that colonial practices are present in the world today.

The "post-colonial" inadvertently glosses over the fact that global hegemony, persists in forms other than overt colonial rule." (Shohat, 1992).

Neo-colonialism implicates the continuation of colonial practices, to maintain control even after decolonization. This results in the fact that all post-colonial societies are still subject to different forms of neo-colonial domination (Ashcroft et al., 1995). In other words; that powerful individuals, nations and institutions act like colonial powers, and that this behavior is considered to resemble colonialism in a post-colonial world.

2.5 (Neo)-Colonialism within the ENP framework

Within the European Neighbourhood Policy is a (historical) link present between Europe and some of the countries in which the policy is implemented. Many of the ENP participating countries used to be under colonial rule of (one of the) European Union's member states. Some critics argue that even today the European Union is practicing neo-colonial legacies by influencing territory beyond its borders (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2008). European discourses and discursive strategies form a privileged position within the world; neo-colonial theory espouses the means by which Europe imposes and maintains its codes in the domination of the Middle East and North Africa. Countries are still working against the challenges of continuing European cultural and political hegemony (Talton, 2010). "The ENP carries the suggestion that the EU is developing imperial or neo-colonial aspirations and thus risks making exploitative relations" (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011, p. 141), this vision is one of the fundamental points for this research.

In this thesis the perspectives on colonialism within the ENP framework will be examined, the motives for ENP cooperation will surface and the relationship structures between Algeria and the European Union will be disclosed. This chapter starts with an introduction of colonialism and the European-Algerian relationship.

As mentioned before, decolonization is a process rather than an exact date in the past. With this perspective in mind neo-colonial structures like differentiation (Othering) could, and perhaps are, still rooted in current political, economic and social cooperation between countries and (international) institutions, as some critics argue; in the E.U. accordingly. Considering the case study of Algeria, it is important to sketch the common history and to surface underlying discourses present in policymaking. The fact that Algeria only recently agreed upon participating in the European Neighbourhood project and is in negotiation with the E.U. to develop an Action Plan is the result of existing discourses on both sides of the spectrum.

The central question in this thesis is to what extent can the European Neighbourhood Policy be ascribed to European dominance over it's neighbours, and can the implementation of this policy be considered as a form of neo-colonial legacy?

2.6 Geopolitics

Geopolitics is the second theory that will lay the foundation of the research. Geopolitics is a perspective to examine a subject's (institution, city, country, continent etcetera) location in a given geographical space and how this location influences and determines the political events and relations within its confines and with its surroundings. (Damjanovic, 2013). Not only during the period of colonialism, but since decolonization (when former colonies received the power of construction) and up until today the empires of the Arab World and Europe have been disputing common geographical space (Hourani, 2005). This creates geopolitical strategies in order to benefit as a state or as a geographical actor and this results in the development of stimuli (financial, technical, social) and compromising.

The geopolitical perspective is eminently accurate for this research because the global position of the European Union and the cooperation with its neighbourhood results in policymaking. The ENP is a policy regarding international relations with surrounding countries and this is an example of how discourses from different perspectives influences different geographical actors.

2.7 History of geopolitics

In the late nineteenth century the term geopolitics has been introduced by Robert Kjellen, in an era where countries were colonized and under formal rule of (Western) states. Kjellen introduced this term to emphasize the role of geography in politics and therefore geopolitics provided an explanation for the fight over land and natural resources in the Global South. "Geopolitics is the new national science of the state, a doctrine on the spatial determinism of all political processes, based on the broad foundations of geography, especially of political geography" (Cohen, 2009).

After the Cold War in 1989 (the fall of the Berlin wall), geopolitics was shed in a different light. Geopolitics could not serve any longer as an explanation and approval for the (Western) drift of territorial expansion.

Critical geopolitics became a counterpart of the Eurocentric view of geographical political issues. The aim of critical geopolitics is to denaturalize classical geopolitics, the term implies to de-legitimize geopolitics by placing it in its historical context (Klinke, 2009). Critical geopolitics excludes the binary aspect of geopolitical arguing (West-South, developed-developing, first world-third world) and places geographical political issues in a more balanced position.

Critical geopolitics studies how politics reflects in (the rule over) territories, territorial identities, and the role of geography in conflicts and bordering (van Houtum, 2009). Critical geopolitics describes the importance of place and the influence of geography on politics, without the justification of imperialism. The limitation is also geographically boundless; in the twentieth and twenty-first century are the connections between local, national, continental and global different and interdependent (more than in the time when the 'classical' geopolitics term has been introduced).

2.8 Discourses

Discourses play an interesting role in the theory of geopolitics. Geopolitics is a discursive practice by which intellectuals of statecraft spatialize politics. "It is through discourse that leaders act, through the mobilization of certain simple geographical understandings that foreign-policy actions are explained and through ready-made geographically-infused reasoning that wars are rendered meaningful." (Agnew and Tuathail, 1920). In this research the term discourse in the general sense of meaning will not extensively be used, but the term be integrated within previous announced theories. By using discourses as a way to understand and describe how colonialism and geopolitics as theories are derived and developed from the social body of thought and how they develop societies' way of thinking.

2.9 Geopolitics in the E.U.

One aspect in political discourses have been bordering and the creation of boundaries. "Boundaries have been a key category in political geography and political science since the 19th century, but it was above all the collapse of the East-West division in the 1990s that gave rise to a new interest in political boundaries." (Paasi, 2005).

Following the new interests of bordering of geopolitical actors, the European Union expanded largely in the East in 2004 with the inclusion of ten new members. This dynamic had its consequences on the outer borders of the Union and the European Neighbourhood Policy is initiated to 'deal' with the new political boundaries.

Geopolitics will provide a perspective which considers geographical space and political structures. A geopolitical viewpoint will be used to answer the research questions and to enable the reader and the researcher to analyze the relations and to come to a better understanding of the relationship between former colony Algeria and the European Union, and the development in the action plan as a part of the European Neighbourhood Policy.

3. The European Neighbourhood Policy

In this chapter the European Neighbourhood Policy will extensively be discussed. This is a fundamental aspect in order to understand the developments within this policy and to understand Algeria's vision on ENP participation.

3.1 Foreign policy

After the second World War the European Community established a shared common market, which emphasized the need for a shared responsibility in handling external (trade) relations. Since 1992, the EU has been developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (European Communities, 2007). Based on the shared responsibilities amongst members states, the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 urged the necessity of a good functional foreign policy even more (Maul, 2005). One of the most important aspects regarding foreign policy is trade relations and economic relations with non-E.U. countries (Louis, 2007). Foreign policy in the Union is considered fragmented and dependent on coherent member state decisions. However, the largeness and the complexity of the institutional framework within the E.U. has its consequences on the effectiveness of decision making processes. In these processes it is often difficult to locate power, especially regarding foreign relation policymaking. European foreign policy is still immensely depending on the decisions of individual member states (Casier and Vanhoonacker, 2007). Within these process, geopolitical strategies are structuring political decision making, as they inform, constrain, or affect political planning (Gove, 1961).

3.2 E.U. enlarged

The objective of the E.U. is to spread the advantages of open markets, economic growth and a political system based on social responsibility and democracy (European Communities, 2007). Member states of the European Union are in the process of redefining their relationship with space and territory, a development closely linked to geopolitics.

With the great enlargement of ten countries in 2004, the diversity in culture, traditions and opinions has increased. The enlargement of the E.U. with Estonia, Cyprus, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia and the Czech Republic in 2004, resulted in the spread and the implementation of common E.U. objectives, policies and key values.

Beyond the borders, the shape of the E.U.'s political and economic relations with the rest of the world also changed (E.U., 2003). "The traditional understanding of the state, as the ultimate repository of sovereignty over a bounded portion of the Earth's surface and the society that inhabits it, is at odds with the current world of cross-border flows of capital, goods, people, and ideas" (Popescu, 2008).

This applies to the member states of the European Union as well; the increasing international flows of goods, services, labour and information have developed a growing need for border-crossing mechanisms, governance and a good functioning, transparent institutional framework within the E.U, worldwide and around the E.U. Transparency and institutional frameworks are necessary for public trust and beneficial partnerships (Abazi, 2015).

3.3 Bordering and othering

Where an institutional union is established, a part of civilization benefits from privileges coming with inclusion. Another part of civilization has to deal with exclusion. Geostrategies are sets of competing and overlapping discourses concerned with how to organize territory and space at the border, and how to relate to the otherness beyond (Browning, 2008). By the development of a Union a border will come to existence, this results in the exclusion of people from participation and therefore the creation of the 'Other' (the excluded) (van Houtum, 2010). To develop the surroundings of the union into a stable, democratic, politically open and economically strong environment, without the obligation to enlarge itself (Delanty and Rumford, 2005), the European Union initiated different kinds of programs and policies (E.U., 2016). The European Neighbourhood Policy and the European Neighbourhood Instrument are part of this strategy. These policies are presented to avoid potentially damaging consequences on stability and development in Europe (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011), by literally creating a 'ring of friends'.

The first outline of the European Neighbourhood Policy was presented in 2003. In 2004 the first Action Plans were implemented. The ENP is a foreign relations instrument which contributes to internal transformation and the 'Europeanization' of countries surrounding European territory. "Europeanization is explained by the EU as a normative process of sharing European values made concrete through policies of conditionality and socialization." (Boedeltje and van Houtum, 2011).

3.4 Geopolitical actor

The practical implementation of the ENP is made possible through bilateral Action Plans with an ENP partner country. The ENP builds upon existing economic agreements which are used as pre-condition for the further negotiation of bilateral agreements (Commission of the European Communities, 2003). These Action Plans are made with every partner country individually and are based on a specific set of priorities and key values. Action Plans contain the planned economic and political reformations on a short term and medium term.

The European Union is very much aware of their political and economical interdependency with it's neighbourhood. "The EU has a duty, not only towards its citizens and those of the new member states, but also towards its present and future neighbours to ensure continuing social cohesion and economic dynamism." (European Commission, 2003). This results in the fact that the European Union must take action to promote regional and subregional cooperation and integration, because these factors are preconditions for a stable political system, economic development and the reduction of poverty and social divisions in the shared environment (European Commission, 2003).

Before the conflicts in Yugoslav in the 1990's, the foreign policy of the E.U. was mainly focussed on enlargement. Development processes and stabilization processes for for the E.U. surroundings were far from strategically organized. Due to the conflicts and the failed operation in Yugoslav, the issues regarding foreign policy; transformation, stabilization and integration instigated (Hayoz, 2005). By 1999, the European Union accepted the consequences and obligations of aspiring to guarantee the stability and prosperity of the whole continent, rather than just of the Unions' member states (Hayoz, 2005).

As described above the E.U. considers itself as the international actor to promote regional and subregional cooperation and integration in its' environment (European Commission, 2003). The E.U. is an international institution with tools and partners to accomplish this goal. This concerns cooperation on fields such as security, trade, foreign affairs, development and the environment. This strategy is visible in the ENP framework as well. The ENP partner countries have mutually agreed upon cooperation with the E.U. and as the E.U. claims; the success of the ENP relies on common interests and common priorities (European Commission, 2014).

3.5 New neighbours

As mentioned before, after the enlargement of the European Union in 2004, the political and economic relations with the rest of the world also changed.

This resulted in the fact that new non-E.U. countries became eligible neighbours qualifying for the European Neighbourhood Policy. The objective was to prevent separation between the E.U. and its new neighbours and to cooperate on a political, economic, security and cultural level. Action Plans, which contain the methods that are being used to determine short term priorities within the cooperation, are developed to break down the barriers between the E.U. and its 'new' neighbours. These plans were especially applied during the transition phase associated with the negotiation of new agreements (Lippert, 2007). The plans are focussing on: "political dialogue and reform; trade and measures preparing partners for gradually obtaining a stake in the EU's internal market; justice and home affairs; energy, transport, information society, environment and research and innovation; and social policy and people-to-people contacts" (E.U., 2004).

3.6 Discourses on ENP implementation

ENP critics have been polarized between two extremes. On the one hand there are academics and professionals that view the ENP as driven by neo-liberal/neo-imperialist assertions of economic hegemony, and on the other hand there are people that champion the ENP as 'a potentially progressive form of "post-Westphalian" and "postmodern" regionalism (Browning, 2008). This means to view the ENP as a reflection of a fixed geopolitical vision of the E.U., and how it aims to organize the broader European space (Browning, 2008).

These discourses on ENP implementation from the E.U. form the base of this thesis. Critical key authors with a Western and an Algerian point of view are an important information source for writing this thesis. These critics shine different perspectives on the policy documents implemented by the E.U. The underlying question is if the neighboring countries, which happen to be former colonies, really profiting from this ENP cooperation, or is the E.U. structuring international cooperation with leverages based on power and control?

In this thesis the case of ENP implementation in Algeria, North Africa, will be examined. The next chapter discusses the motives and perspectives and "the reason" of the European Union for implementing the ENP. The research continues with the case in Algeria, Algeria's Action Plan and the development considering the ENP agenda in Algeria.

4. The European Union's Neighbourhood mission

Long before the introduction of the ENP in 2004, the European Union implemented policies considering international relations and signed agreements concerning international cooperation. Therefore, the E.U. could build upon already existing agreements for the development of the Action Plans for the sixteen neighboring countries cooperating in the ENP in 2004. Especially in the southern Mediterranean region the ENP develops upon a long history of EC/EU Mediterranean policy (1970's). The E.U. had in fact concluded association agreements with all Mediterranean countries or at least offered them (Lippert, 2007).

In this chapter the European Union's motives for and the perspective on the ENP implementation will be discussed. This chapter will conclude with the pursued focus of the ENP in the future and the link between the ENP, geopolitics and colonialism.

4.1 Neighbourhood strategy

It is in the Union its interest that countries on the other side of the continental border are well-governed. Neighboring countries which are engaged in violent conflicts, weak states where organized crime flourishes and dysfunctional societies pose problems to the European Union (Lippert, 2007). The most prominent motive, affirmed by Hayoz et al, is that instability and impoverishment in the European Neighbourhood has direct negative implications for the Unions' member states and its citizens, whereas prosperity and stability would be politically and economically advantageous for the E.U. (Hayoz et al, 2005). To accomplish political and economical advantages the E.U. needed a strategy to cooperate with its surroundings. The approach of the E.U. towards its neighbors is to see their relationship as a privilege, to strive towards mutual benefits and mutual commitment to common values within the fields of law, governance, human rights, market economy and sustainable development and to process this into a political cooperation (Hayoz, 2005).

The core values of European civilization consist of Western values of democracy, the arrangements of a free market, limited government, separation of church and state, human rights, individualism, and the rule of law (Huntington, 1996). These norms and values, as well as the culture and practices carry through institutions (Smith, 2014). These aspects combined with the historical and social circumstances, develop institutions (Smith, 2014). This is applicable for the European Union as well.

These Western values are carried out by the European Union and these values are the fundament for discourses. The export of these values from institutions to beyond its borders, legitimizes and defines the superiority of the “West”.

However, since the launch of the ENP in 2004, not only the (focus on certain) neighboring countries have changed, also the global conditions in which partnerships develop have changed. The ENP in its form during the period when it was introduced, could not function in the changed dynamics of society. This transformed the cooperation between the European Union and the involved neighboring countries. In 2015 the first revised vision of the ENP was presented. This proposal contained a developed future vision on the ENP and its objectives. Because this revised ENP document is the most up to date version, this research continues with highlighting this future vision stated by the European Commission and discusses the corresponding actions undertaken within the ENP framework.

The European Commission, the Council and the Parliament reshaped the ENP in a way that it could adequately adapt to international developments, in particular the social tension and conflicts in North Africa and the Middle East (European Commission, 2015). The ENP as formulated in 2004, does not reason from the diversity in neighbourhood areas and showed little consideration for different approaches based on interests, ambitions, challenges, environment and capabilities of the ENP involved countries. The fragmentation of the European neighbourhood, and the different stages of development in the ENP countries have been a starting point for the revision of the ENP. To increase the level of development, the European Commission declared in 2015 that ENP countries that demonstrate enhanced cooperation and progress in achieving European values, should be rewarded with more resources and other incentives within the ENP framework (European Commission, 2015). This principle has been called ‘more for more principle’ and critics stated that the European Union used the soft power of incentives to transform its surroundings (Boedeltje and van Houtum 2011) .

With the ENP the European Union positions itself globally and the E.U. demonstrated to other global partners that it has a desire to play a leading role in international cooperation. The strategic importance of the ENP as the creator of multi-layered relationships and prove of the interdependence between the Union and its Neighbourhood, stresses the need to apply effective conditionality in reform processes (European Commission, 2015). The relationships with participating countries are multi layered, because of the interacting authority structures in political economy. These structures illuminate the entanglement between the domestic and international levels of authority (Hooghe and Marks, 2001).

This underlines the willingness of the E.U. to compromise its fundamental values and rights, and the 'more for more' principle which implements more resources and incentives towards ENP countries that reform more towards E.U. political, social and economic standards.

4.2 Focus on the South

The objective of the ENP, to stabilize the surroundings and the creation of a 'Wider Europe', is to deal with the new neighbours (2004) of the E.U. and the layout of its territory (Chourou, 2008). Looking at this from a geographical perspectives, the countries participating in the ENP since 2004 are not new neighbours. The change of perspective through the enlargement and the political situation in these countries since the Arab Spring (2010) is what is new.

As the E.U. stated, its stability is built upon democracy, human rights, the rule of law and economic openness (European Commission, 2015). These foundations are all built upon Western discourses of a political system, of democracy, and how a society should function. The E.U. tries to expand these discourses and western key values by implementing policies regarding international relations such as the ENP. Through the more for more principle, neighboring countries which reform more and live up to European standards, get more resources and other benefits from the partnership with the institution. However, since the Arab Spring and the tension alongside the southern borders of the E.U. in North Africa and the Middle East, this fragmented part of the neighbourhood is considered as a nerve center of insecurity. The discourse on cooperating with the Southern continents has changed; in discussion on the South, old Orientalist and neo-Orientalist thoughts continue to present the Arab world as dangerous, chaotic and violent or stagnant, passive, and always in need for help from the West (Shihade, Flesher Fominaya and Cox, 2012). Therewith the E.U. presents itself as being more developed than its partner countries in the South and legitimizes the need to implement policies in its immediate surroundings.

The focus shift towards the South is basically to prevent conflicts, security sector reform, counter-terrorism and anti-radicalization policies (E.U., 2015). The E.U.'s mission is to play a bigger part in the resolution of (armed) conflicts and to actively work on peace building and peace keeping in the South. According to Darbouche the current geographical focus on the South resembles an incarnation of Euro-Arab dialogue focussing on reform and governance that is based on European fears, rather than a socio-economic cooperation (Darbouche, 2008).

When the ENP was launched in 2004, different situations and levels of prosperity led to different discourses whereby economic development and support had the priority over building deep democracy, this resulted in policymaking targeting economic, social and political cooperation and reforms. From the E.U.'s perspective, the ENP countries and the institution would mutually benefit from this cooperation. Since 2010 the global situations have changed and therewith the need for different agreements and approaches within the ENP framework. In 2015 a revised formulation of the ENP and more specific organized Action Plans, based on the ENP countries' stage of development was eligible.

The E.U. developed systems of governance in order to bring stability and security (Browning, 2008). These systems of governance are legitimized by the history of terrorism in the Arab World. The E.U. considers cooperation with countries more than ever needed in this transitional phase of much structural change in society (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument).

4.3 Geopolitics, colonialism and the ENP

After describing the ENP and the European motives and perspectives on this policy, this research continues with the link between the European Neighbourhood Policy, geopolitics and colonialism.

The term "neighbourhood" is more than a mere geographical term, it is a geopolitical concept (Hahn, 2015). It indicates that in the neighbourhood, geo-strategies are active and that policies are regulating international cooperation.

After the enlargement of the Union in 2004, and the introduction of the ENP, the Union suggested that even if its enlargement was not final, its boundaries would be defined for a longer period of time. 'Enlargement fatigue' is the concept that emphasizes the reason for slowing down the enlargement process and it has forced policymakers within the EU to seek alternatives to the offer of full membership to states with candidate or potential candidate status (Szolucha, 2010). This concept has been invoked because member state governments have become generally more reluctant to accept additional candidate countries (Sedelmeier, 2014). According to the European Union the ENP could fill in the gap; a cooperative relationship with neighboring countries without offering the countries full membership.

In a geopolitical point of view the ENP is also a suitable form to continue with the Europeanization of the surroundings. Europeanization is explained as the spread of Western core values, which consist of the “Western values of democracy, free markets, limited government, separation of church and state, human rights, individualism, and the rule of law.” (Huntington, 1996) This strategy of foreign policy towards neighboring states includes the fact that these countries are not likely to become members of the E.U. (del Sarto and Schumacher, 2005). Therefore, the approach of the Union towards its Southern neighbours, is criticized for having a neo-colonial undertone (Drulak and Braun, 2010). The ENP stimulates economic advantages and social development in the neighboring countries and its approach includes a projected superiority of the Union (del Sarto and Schumacher, 2005).

Central to the effectiveness of the ENP has been the conditionality mechanism. This mechanism functions that states that comply with E.U. reform goals are rewarded with a closer relationship with the Union. Even though never confirmed by the European Union, involved parties may assume potential membership, the ultimate leverage therefor has indirect been membership (Browning, 2008). The ENP is built on a constructive ambiguity to activate the transformative (soft) power of Europe (Hahn, 2015). This is where the two theories from this thesis could provide an explanation. Geopolitics emphasizes the matter of location as a mainspring for policy making, it is a justification for inclusion and exclusion and will always be set on a balance between profiting at the expenses of outsiders and a healthy corporation.

The geopolitical vision of European space, is a regional space that transcends the borders of the European Union, a space where regional partners and E.U. outsiders are partners in the formulation and implementation of projects (Browning, 2007). The projects involve the reformation of political systems in the Neighbourhood area into ‘stable democracies’ and the creation of equal trade partnerships: the South has free access to the European market in return the E.U. benefits from (critical) resources. The geopolitical strategy of the European Union towards the South is how to deal with the land, how to move within it and how to change and shape it (Browning, 2007). Colonial structures imply a form of power asymmetry, where pacification and hegemony play part. The expanding power of Europe, upholds a right of just and wiseacre (Browning, 2008). According to Thompson (2002) African countries were not successful in emancipating themselves from the (post)-colonial influences, this is the result of three reasons. The focus points were: “accusations of a neo-colonialist (economic) presence in Africa; the “language problem” and African languages in literature; and the demand for multiculturalism in school curricula” (Thompson, 2002).

The unsuccessful emancipation is still present in the discourse and is argued to provide geopolitical actors as the European Union with structural power and righteousness to continue to influence its border regions. The neocolonial (economic) presence in forms of soft power aims at changing deep seated patterns of governance (Nicolaidis and Nicolaidis, 2004). "Framing the one way imposition of certain norms as an exercise in partnership raises major dilemmas of disempowerment in partner societies" (Nicolaidis and Nicolaidis, 2004, p.10). One may argue that normative power is not neo-colonial, if it is meant to empower local actors, it may in fact rob them of their autonomy in defining the substance of empowerment (Nicolaidis and Nicolaidis, 2004, p.10). The Europeanization on the Southern and Eastern Border of the Union, the self-appointed privileged role to organize and influence space beyond the borders of the institution, assembles in this way a form of neo-colonialism.

5. Algeria and the ENP

To better understand the relationship between Algeria and Europe, this chapter starts with an overview of the history of Algeria. This is important because the colonial past and the decolonization process led to the development of current agreements and to the discourses on which cooperation with the E.U. is based.

5.1 Algeria's political history-overview

From 1516 until 1830, Algeria has been a part of the Ottoman Empire. The 'Dey from Algiers', a governor which was chosen by the Ottoman Sultan, was in power of the part of the Empire what is now called Algeria. The power and status of this governor kept expanding, therefore the relations to the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire became less and less important. European maritime powers negotiated with the Dey from Algeria by using a leverage; Europe could prevent attacks on their ships in the Mediterranean Sea (Abun-Nasr, 1987). This was the beginning of Algerian-European cooperation.

In 1830 the colonial expansion drift from the west, particularly from Europe, led to the force from power for the Dey by the French. Algeria was organized in to French departments overseas. The rural areas in the south (Sahara) were separated from the modern economic infrastructure of the French community. Algerian population lost their lands and homes to the French authorities. Former leaders were eliminated, the educational system was partly dismantled and this led to the stressing of social structures (Horne, 2006). Napoleon III allowed the Algerian population to apply for French citizenship in 1856. This was a big step and the following years infrastructure, health, education and infrastructure improved. This was also the period when ideas of (in)equality arose and political liberty gained more attention. Perhaps this was the period when the Algerian call for independence originated (Horne, 2006).

During the first World War Islamic groups formed in protest to French rule. The support for these groups developed amongst Algerian citizens. Just before the second World War, in times of an economical crisis, these Islamic opponents of French domination became active in public political protests. Thoughts of anti-colonialism and nationalism increased and after a numerous of violent acts the protests led to the Algerian Independence War in 1954 (Stora, 2004).

Until 1962 Algeria has found 350.000-1.000.000 civilian casualties and more than 2.000.000 refugees. By the end of the Independence War in 1962 Algeria was destroyed. No infrastructure was left, however, the country gained it's independency.

With the departure of the colonists, the highly educated population departed as well. The first President Ben Bella and his officials claimed their properties and jobs (managers, engineers, scientists and skilled workers (Metz, 1993). Ben Bella governed Algeria without the need for legislative approval and institutional monitoring, he was responsible for the definition and direction of policies (Metz, 1993) and had a monopoly on public life (Meredith, 2009).

5.2 Algeria meets E.U.

The involvement of Algeria with the European Union dates back to 1976. After colonial rule (1962) Algeria decided to maintain the existing configurations of the trade relationship with the European Economic Community (EEC) (Darbouche, 2008). Trade, labour, and financial cooperation were part of this treaty. Europe was politically divided over the financing of the Agricultural Policy considering Algeria, stoked up by former colonizer; France. This led to the temporary abolition of trade and the more generous agricultural provisions, free movement of people and improvement of the social conditions of its migrant workers in the European Community (EC), mainly in France (Darbouche, 2008). This vision and demand caused increasingly more distance from the member states. It was only because of the more global vision of the EC towards the South, that the EC formulated an agreement with Algeria in 1976. This Cooperation Agreement covered technical, environmental, financial cooperation and labour.

This framework could not adequately respond to crises, recessions and the enlargement of the EC, that is the reason why this framework was replaced with the Association Agreement (AA). The AA is signed in 2002 and implemented three years later, in 2005. In comparison with other countries in the region, like Morocco and Tunisia for example, the relationship between Algeria and the E.U. have always been distinct (Darbouche, 2008). The European Commission stated that the cooperation with Algeria is “disappointing when compared with the hopes cherished by the two sides” (European Commission, 1992). Algeria implemented constitutional reforms in 1989, which only caused political chaos (Darbouche, 2008). Morocco, Tunisia and other surrounding countries were in conclave with the E.U. to gain from E.U.’s policies, however Algeria was not capable to renew the financial and technical cooperation.

In 1995, Algeria got involved in the Barcelona Process. This program was designed to boost the partnerships between the E.U. and the Mediterranean countries. The framework of the Barcelona Process was to manage both bilateral and regional relations (European Union, n.d.).

With the introduction of the ENP in 2004, the Barcelona Process essentially became the multilateral forum of dialogue and cooperation between the EU and its Mediterranean partners while complementary bilateral relations are managed mainly under the ENP and through Association Agreements signed with partner countries (European Union, n.d.). This implicated that Europe was not only focussed on enlargement in the East, but was still interested in improving the relations with the South (Darbouche, 2008).

5.3 Changing directions

After 26 years of dictatorship Ben Bella was overthrown and replaced with a new president. President Bouteflika came to power in 1999. Algerian population hoped for prosperity, freedom, development and most of all stability.

Trauma's of decolonization, armed conflicts between civilians and the government (supported by the military) and various acts of war from Islamist groups in the 90's marked Algerian history. To develop Algeria to prosperity, President Bouteflika his vision was to govern upon the structures of the sovereign democracy, the 'home-grown' democracy, which is the Algerian system of political democracy. Even though criticism upon the president and his vision was present, he is accepted and popular amongst most Algerians. The Algerian population believes in his vision on the international stage and in his ability to restore and keep peace in the country. (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011).

Considering international relations with the European Union, president Bouteflika signed the Association Agreement in 2002. This AA is implemented in 2005 in order to establish political dialogue, strengthening commercial ties and cooperation on a range of issues, from home affairs to social cooperation (European Union, 2015). This agreement lays the foundation of all fields within E.U.-Algerian cooperation.

However, since 2011 the Algerian government has to deal with tension amongst the population, tension that is mainly based on a social economical level. The Algerian population feels a gap between them and decision makers and are unable to identify with politicians (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). The trust in the political capabilities of president Bouteflika have been touched. The Algerian population finds it hard to believe that their president is able to turn the tides considering the high unemployment rates in the country. Demonstrations and riots striving for more economical prosperity marked the political landscape in the country the last few years. This accelerated the rapprochement towards international cooperation.

President Bouteflika and the Algerian population have always remained distant to cooperation with the E.U. , but in 2011 Algeria officially demonstrated its willingness to start exploratory negotiations regarding the elaboration of an Action Plan under the renewed ENP (European Commission, 2014) .

The E.U. proposed an agreement on an Action Plan in 2012. This agreement was the starting point of internal discussion in Algeria, because of the denouncement of the Eurocentrism within the ENP vision. The framework was not enough built on co-ownership and reciprocity and in fact the ENP was not considered to be ‘a subject of a democratic dialogue’ prior to its introduction, this way it gave a sense of denying identification (Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2005). In 2011 Algeria decided to actively be a part of the E.U.’s Neighbourhood, and started the Action Plan negotiations. The national political situation in Algeria in 2013 changed as such that half of the government, including the highest posts of interior, defense and foreign affairs has been reformed (European Commission, 2014).

A counter-proposal to the ENP was transmitted in 2013 (European Commission, 2014). It was not until 2013 that the Algerian-E.U. relationship was actually improving, 2013 is the year that the cooperation became more productive (European Union, 2015).

5.4 ENP Action Plan

After this overview of the European-Algerian history, which had it’s delays and accelerations and has been labeled as distinct and ‘awkward’ (Darbouche,2008), the research continues with the involvement of Algeria in the European Neighbourhood Policy specifically.

The E.U. and Algeria are linked by an Association Agreement which is signed in 2002 and entered into force in 2005. In 2011 Algeria officially indicated its willingness to start exploratory negotiations regarding the elaboration of an Action Plan under the renewed ENP (E.U., 2013). The initial proposition from the E.U. for Algeria to participate in the European Neighbourhood Policy excluded Algeria from the first round of negotiations due to ratification (van Hullen, 2015). However the E.U. started discussions with Lebanon and Egypt. This exclusion in 2004 backfired on the E.U. when the Union wanted to get involved with the Algerian government in 2005.

Algeria refused to cooperate and overall Algeria was reluctant to engage in the ENP, mainly because of its focus on differentiation and rewards (Celenk, 2008).

Algeria and the EU are trying to reset their (ENP) relationship (Dennison, 2012). Currently they are in negotiation of an Action Plan to develop an agenda of reformation which aims at stimulating democracy, prosperity and stability.

This means that the negotiations between the E.U. and the Algerian government on how these factors should be implemented into concrete regulations and targets continue.

Algeria and the E.U. had to begin where history have left them, and focus on a future partnership. President Bouteflika already introduced a program of political reforms. This led to the adoption of a package of laws in Algeria considering: electoral code, participation of women in elected assemblies, associations, media, political parties, decentralization and incompatibility between political mandates. While the laws on elections, on women participation, on political parties, on mandates incompatibility and on decentralization are on the average positive, the associations and information laws have been widely criticized as restricting freedoms of association and expression (E.U., 2013). If Algeria wants to be a part of the European Neighbourhood program, these situations must be improved. During the elections in 2013 the E.U. had set out an Election Observation Mission to observe the elections in Algeria. The report of this observation acknowledged positive developments in the electoral process (European Union, 2013).

As the E.U. stated; Algeria is not in need of important financial assistance (European Union, 2015). However in 2007-2010, Algeria received 220 million euro's financed by the E.U., in 2011-2013, Algeria received 172 million euro's for sustainable development and culture, economic growth, and employment and in 2012 the E.U. handed in another 20 million euro's to support democratic reforms (European Union, 2015). The fact that Algeria still receives such big amounts of money is because richness is concentrated in the hands of the country's elite or siphoned off to foreign investors, with no immediate benefits for the Algerian poor. This means that wealth and financial stability have not borne sufficient fruit in many pockets of Algerian society. The monotheistic economy is excessively dependent on world price fluctuation as well and is therefore subject to sudden contractions (Caruso and Geneve, 2015). This is why European money is still needed.

However, money will not provide a structural answer to Algeria's monotheistic economy, this is why Algeria's priority is to develop technical expertise with support from the European Union. The Action Plan protocol that was signed in 2014 and the E.U.'s total bilateral assistance until 2017 will range between 121 million and 148 million euro's. The final allocations will depend on the country's needs and commitment to reforms (European Union, 2015).

The financial support will cover projects in three main areas; justice reform and the empowering of citizen participation in public life, labour market reform and the creation of employment and management diversification of Algerian economy (European Union, 2015). For the Algerian government, this will hopefully be the source that will silence the discontent and the social unrest amongst the population in the country.

The last new factor in the ENP development in Algeria is the focus on the inclusion of civil society. The E.U. is focussing on civil society because of the power it has on the Algerian government and the reformation of Algeria as a country. The Union stated that “thriving civil society empowers citizens to express their concerns, contribute to policy-making and hold governments in to account” (European Commission, 2011). Especially after the Arab Spring, the power of civil society and various active groups within society are considered to have enormous influences on the (international) political agenda. Algeria is presented as emerging out of an uncertain past and is currently a political stable country. Algeria is “anxious to see not only economic growth and employment, but also an improvement in basic services, greater equality and good governance” (European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument). Led by President Bouteflika, the political and social reform and modernization process in Algeria are now in progress.

5.5 Algeria and international cooperation

Algeria’s discourses upon international cooperation and foreign policy have gone through many phases. These discourses are mainly based on historical events and political decision making. In this paragraph the phases will be discussed and Algeria’s attitude on international cooperation processes will be examined.

The approach towards the E.U. within the Barcelona Process (1995) and the more recent ENP can be seen as an indicator for international credibility (Darbouche, 2008). With Algeria’s current president Bouteflika came a new strategy to boost the international image of the country, in order to solidify domestic plans. Algeria needed foreign (technical) capital, to let the economy flourish again.

With the introduction of the ENP in 2004, however, the E.U. had shown its superiority and shoved consultation with the Southern Mediterranean countries to the background (Boughar, 2013), Algeria’s response was reserved and Algeria did not appreciate the offer to participate, due to the lack of dialogue. The Algerian government considered the E.U.’s attitude against the spirit of partnership (Boumghar, 2013).

The ENP stood accused of a form of dialogue based on reform and governance, in response of European fears, but Algeria's ambitions in international cooperation were far greater (Darbouche, 2008). This discourse of European hegemony within ENP cooperation resulted in the fact that Algeria remained the only Mediterranean-partner country was officially excluded from the ENP. The rejection of ENP cooperation appeared to be a political statement towards the approach of the European Union.

In addition the European ENP proposal for Algeria was done when the Association Agreement had not even been implemented. The AA is the foundation of the cooperation with the E.U. and the implications for the Algerian economy (Boumghar, 2013).

The conditionality approach which the E.U. carried out, but which it had always denied in the begin phase of the ENP, was considered as depreciative towards the Algerian government; democratic evolution is a national demand and implementation should not be forced with external incentives and international pressure (Boumghar, 2013).

It is only since a couple of years that in Algeria voices were being raised calling for a different approach towards international cooperation in a world of interdependence, this could have been the inducement of the ENP Action Plan negotiations that started in 2011 (Boumghar, 2013). In May 2011, the European Commission and the High Representative of the Union of Foreign Affairs issued a joint communication entitled "A New Response to a Changing Neighbourhood" (Boumghar, 2013). In contrary to the launch of the ENP in 2004, the E.U. is now consulting the Algerian government to formulate an adequate approach of the ENP. An approach that takes into account Algeria's perspectives, with the most important factor: the mono-export structure of the economy. Algeria's position on the ENP is determined by the willingness of the E.U. to negotiate a truthful partnership. Despite the strong trade relationship with the E.U., there is a risk that other countries or institutions that are active in the area will approach Algeria for an increased cooperation. These other partners may offer greater financial and technical assistance and perhaps have less demands considering political reforms (Boumghar, 2013). Algeria has been developing privileged commercial and political links with other partners (Darbouche, 2010). Strategic partnerships with China, Russia, Japan, Brazil, Canada and Turkey provide investors from these countries with the chance to benefit from opportunities on the Algerian market. This has major consequences for Algeria, \$200 billion worth of infrastructural projects, 1 million housing units, 1,200 km highway and transport infrastructure, all awarded to non-E.U. companies (Darbouche, 2010).

These non-E.U. partnerships could have a more political cost for the Union soon, only a specific ENP framework that capitalizes a fruitful partnership would provide a positive influence on the relationship between the two partners.

Therefore, if the Union would like to stay a strategic partner, it is crucial to conclude an Action Plan soon (Hinton-Beales, 2014).

Algeria's official discourse portrays the Association Agreement with the European Union as a way of political anchorage, but not a reform. The Agreement provides a stage for a global strategic partnership, not for norm diffusion. (Dabouche, 2008).

This discourse leads to the reserved attitude of Algeria towards E.U. cooperation, and a critical vision upon the ENP Action Plan. However the E.U. may have hoped that the Algerian government would gradually accept the conditions of implementing an Action Plan as they observe how ENP partner countries benefit from E.U. support, though negotiations around the Action Plan are nearly concluded, Algeria's attitude seems firm (Darbouche, 2008) Algeria's plans to recover the relationship with the Union and to reposition the country on a regional and global level, results in a shift in Algeria's attitude towards international cooperation.

5.6 Algerian population

Recent years demonstrations and riots portrayed the Algerian daily life as it did in other countries in the North Africa and Middle East region. In Algeria these demonstrations, riots and the high abstention rates in national elections were a cause of the totally disenfranchised feeling amongst the population and the inability of the Algerians to identify with decision-makers (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). Although President Bouteflika has been very popular and gained a lot of trust amongst the Algerian population, there is also a widespread conception that his outdated political party can not provide Algeria with solutions for the issues that emerge in today's world.

The private sector in Algeria is not dynamic enough to generate sufficient and sustainable jobs (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). This private sector is mainly consisting of gas and oil resources, which are providing Algeria almost 100% of the country its exports (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). This is why Algeria remains dependent on the public sector, which is highly inflated (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). The public sector is originally the greatest source of employment and it continues to be. Especially the growing population of youth has to deal with unemployment issues caused by the disorder of the public and private sectors.

President Bouteflika is in a process to turn these tides and to regain (political) trust by investing in employment and in the education sector and promoting technical development in Algeria. The development of the international relationship with the European Union is a part of his strategy as well. International financial support and human/technological capital is needed to transform Algeria's monotheistic economy and to give incentives towards a suitable home supported political system. Despite of Algeria's instabilities in the past and the current (economical) dissatisfaction, however, there is a shift in the public mindset (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). This results in Algerians taking more economic responsibility, rather than to rely on their government. In addition, there is also a shift in the political discourse. A development to accept new political forces is entering Algeria (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011).

5.7 Analyzing the ENP through the theory of colonialism and geopolitics

In the previous paragraphs the Algerian-European history has been discussed as well as the ENP Action Plan negotiations for Algeria and the dynamic perspectives on the ENP. This paragraph will connect the ENP development in Algeria to the theoretical approaches geopolitics and colonialism, discussed earlier in this thesis.

The relationship between Algeria and Europe dates back to 24 A.D., when Algeria had been conquered by the Romans. In the 19th century during the period when Algeria had been a French colony the (economic) interdependence was emphasized, especially in the energy sector. The close relationship mainly originated from geographical proximity and cultural affinities (Boumghar, 2013).

But the political strategies that the European Union exercises with the ENP has not always been perceived as a fruitful, equal policy by the Algerian government. The carrot and sticks method; more political reforms in the line of democracy for more technical support and finance can be perceived as degrading (Boumghar, 2013). This method also implicates that reforms in Algeria are coming from external demands, instead of from the Algerian population. Geopolitics, the role of geography in political action is visible in this aspect. From Algeria's efforts to reinvigorate its foreign policy and reconfigure its relations with the E.U. accordingly emerged a new dynamic in the E.U. Algerian relationship (Darbouche, 2008). The way in which Algeria positions itself towards the Union and the ENP, seems to have the characteristics of a 'Russian Syndrome' (Darbouche, 2008). While the geopolitical relationships between Russia and the E.U. are cold and restrained, Algeria has shown a similar pattern in its international geopolitical attitude (Darbouche, 2008).

This attitude is mainly present while discussing political reforms, whereas Algeria is (just like Russia) advocating the idea of 'sovereign/indigenous democracy'. It is just an assumption to say if the rejection of the ENP (and the E.U.) by Russia, functions as an example for Algeria, however the comparison of the geopolitical relation between Russia - E.U. and between Algeria- E.U. has been made (Darbouche, 2008).

This assumption is based on the review of the attitude of the Algerian government, labeled as partial and reticent, on an occasional, case-by-case basis and as a result of pragmatic cost-benefit analysis (Zoubir and White, 2016).

When it comes to geopolitical strategies on the one hand there is the dependence from Europe on energy sources. The vulnerability when it comes to being dependent on gas and oil from Russia (that caused a gas crisis in 2006), have brought the monotheistic export country Algeria and the Union closer together (Darbouche, 2008).

The European Union is dependent on gas and oil import, but rather spreads its chances on multiple suppliers. A second incentive is that the geopolitical aspect of dependency on Russia (Gazprom) is very sensitive (Dickel et al, 2014). If the cooperation with Algeria is stable and fruitful, this will have a positive effect on the Union's gas and oil supplies.

On the other hand, technical development in the energy sector are necessary in Algeria to adapt to the dynamic in demands and sustainability issues regarding this sector. The human/technical capital in the country itself is not adequate and that is considered to be the positive turn in the cooperation between the European institution and the country.

There is also the need for stability and prosperity in and around the union, and this can only be achieved when the ring of friends, the neighbourhood, is politically, socially and economically in balance. Algeria's income of export is mostly from sales to the European market (Darbouche, 2008). The dependence from Algeria on Europe as a export market implicates that it is important that a good relationship is being established; the carrot in front of the stick. This interdependence between Algeria and the E.U. is a source for geopolitical strategies and determine the negotiations regarding the ENP.

As mentioned before colonization is the expansion of a state, the power of enlargement, and multiplication through space. Colonization is the reproduction of laws, customs and ideas in space (Said, 1979). The conditionality implied in the ENP the EU is pressing political reforms and Europeanization in the South, the rewards of this partnership need to be enough to compensate for the loss of power of the countries which participate in the ENP (Noutcheva and Aydin-Düzgit, 2012). This policy has a very Euro-centric viewpoint, and the reproduction of political systems and reforms in space can be considered as a form of neo-colonialism.

The key factors within the ENP are political reformation, human rights and economic participation, but they are all based on European discourses. The question is if the policy is based on European discourses, can this be the foundation of a beneficiary cooperation for the two parties involved?

The E.U. is investing to transform political systems to democracy, to base human rights on Western values, and to develop the economic system which is based on a free market with appreciation of private investors, in opposite to governmental institutions and support.

5.8 Algeria within the regional context

After discussing the relations between Algeria and Europe this paragraph will focus on the fact how the ENP implementation in Algeria relates to ENP implementation in the greater region where it is a part from; North Africa.

The 13 years that the ENP is operational it has gone through major developments. During the launch in 2003, different aspects, discourses and global issues were key factors in the negotiation process, but after the Arab uprisings in 2011 the priorities within the ENP cooperation has been adapted, and in 2015 there has been a second reformation of the policy. The countries in North Africa and in the Middle east share the Mediterranean border space with the European Union, most of the countries in this region participate in the Neighbourhood project, however not all to the same extent. With the launch of the ENP in 2004, the approach towards countries in the Unions' Eastern neighbourhood and the Unions' Southern neighbourhood where based on a more or less one size fits all ideology. This in contrast to the specifics of the two regions, let alone the (historical) relations with each individual country. Critics argued that the East and the South could not be grouped together; despite regional similarities the neighbours had no reason to think of themselves as a group (Hahn, 2015). There may be some parallels existing in the political systems, the economy and other aspects in countries, but as Moldova knows little of Morocco, Algeria knows little of Azerbaijan (Hahn, 2015).

Further development and reformulation of the European Neighbourhood Policy needed instrumental and political differentiation: individual fine-tuning of Action Plans and certainly not an one-size-fits-all solution (Stiftung, 2008). In 2014 the ENP has extensively been discussed and the "one-size-fits-all" approach is now off the agenda; the E.U. wants to strive towards a more regional and individual country-led ENP (Tannock, 2016). This is where Algeria could support the E.U.'s vision and decided to participate in the ENP and to develop an Action Plan.

The initial purpose of the ENP was to develop an Action Plan with each individual participating country, based on a common set of issues that correspond with the ENP goals. Even though it is never been acknowledged by the Union, the definition of the issues seemed like a copy and paste method. Within the context of the revised ENP, the development of an Action Plan needs to be based on the priorities and the particular circumstances in the participating country concerned.

Differentiations in Action Plans will emerge due to the various geographic locations, the social, political and economic situation and the specific historical relationship with the Europe and the European Union.

The E.U.'s mission considering the revision of the ENP is to develop a more tailor-made and flexible policy framework, that can adapt to diversity in participating countries (European Parliament, 2015). The developed ENP aims at a differentiated approach to promote partnership in different areas. The E.U. and the partner country will involve interests and aspiration of the population, political ambitions and the geopolitical environment (European Parliament, 2015).

This is the generalization as far as the ENP approach concerns. However differentiation is visible on a different aspect, namely the way in which the ENP is received in the various countries in North Africa and in the Middle East. Since the launch of the ENP Morocco gradually became a privileged partner of the Union. Morocco and the E.U have a close partnership in the field of political and economic cooperation and also considering trade and technical and development cooperation (European Commission, 2015). This privileged status of Morocco is where the first fragmentation in cooperation with other partners arose. Tunisia was the first country to sign an Association Agreement in 1995. The relationship with the E.U. has been developing and Tunisia embraces the economic advantages provided through the ENP. Libya however, is more skeptical of European influence in its country. Whereas Algeria's relations with the Union a particularly salient example (Caruzo and Geneve, 2015) and have historically been distinct (Darbouche, 2008). According to Lippert, there has been a largely undeveloped issue in the ENP framework: the balance between values and interests. Since the introduction of the policy, this led to political differences amongst the members states of the E.U. and the respective participating countries (Lippert, 2007).

To conclude this section, it is obvious that the ENP starting point in 2004 was not embraced by all of the E.U. partners. Its conditionality and 'one-size-fits-all' approach has been criticized. The new vision of the ENP has recently been introduced and applied to the existing Action Plans, how this will evolve for the partner countries is just a guess. But as far as the exceptional case of Algeria, the new vision of the ENP provides a new base for negotiations.

6. E.U.'s perspectives versus Algerian perspectives

This research started with a chapter on the motives and perspectives of the European Union on the implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy. In this chapter sources coming from the European Commission and the European Parliament were used to delineate the vision, mission and objectives of the ENP. It became clear that over the period of 13 years, since the introduction of the ENP in 2004 and the development of the first Action Plans for neighboring countries in the East and South, the discourses and the social, political and economical environment have changed. This does not only result in a shift in the focus of the ENP; starting with economical and social prosperity and partnership, into political reforms and geopolitical strategies, but also has its consequences on the actions within the ENP cooperation. In this chapter the development of existing discourses on cooperation from the European Union and Algeria will be discussed.

6.1 Shift in ENP approach

When the ENP was introduced in 2014, this was not as a direct remedy for the socioeconomic conditions of the southern periphery, but a response to, and as a reflection of the E.U.'s shifting internal dynamics (del Sarto and Schumacher, 2005).

The approach of the European Union towards neighboring countries also changed. The 'more for more' and the 'carrot and stick' method, whereby the Union positioned itself as a superior political actor was not always perceived positively and financial support could not always be the leverage to condition countries into Europeanization. The E.U. legitimized their negotiation position by making a selective choice for presenting itself superior, and therefore having the right to govern its geographical surroundings.

This initial approach has been discussed and in 2014 the approach of the ENP has been examined. The European Union confirms the importance of a stable cooperation with its neighbours and considers the ENP as a policy to engage in specific political, social and economic issues of its partners and to protect European interests (European Commission, 2014). The revised vision of the ENP is to prevent and adequately respond to conflicts, and to stimulate partners to reform political and economic systems (European Commission, 2014).

Results from the first evaluation processes show that the diversity of challenges in the ENP participating countries increase. The ENP will have to adapt to these rapid developments and has to answer to the needs and expectations of the specific partner country. The partner that has been the research unit of this thesis is Algeria.

European interest in Algeria is clear; Algeria carries a political weight of its own in Africa and especially in northern Africa. “It is obviously a partner of importance in terms of security and stability in the region and the country is also of importance when it comes to economic grounds (Skolil in Hinton-Beales, 2014). Within the global market, Algeria’s natural and critical resources are of importance. Algeria is in possession of the world’s 10th largest gas reserves and the 16th largest oil reserves (the International Energy Agency, 2015). As stated before in this thesis; the European Union is interested in Algeria because of the gas and oil reserves in the country, a good partnership is necessary to be less dependent on natural resources from other countries, for example Russia. Algeria has the 5th largest export on natural gas (the International Energy Agency, 2015) but is not only relying on Europe as an export market. China for example is an other trade partner and a huge importer of Algerian gas. The E.U. geo-strategy is to include Algeria in the ENP project with the objective “of a high degree of economic integration through gradual integration with the internal market and a strengthening of political, cultural and social cooperation in particular” (Official Journal of the European Union, 2005). But in the Memo of 2014 the European Commission discusses Algeria and lists issues in different fields of the cooperation.

6.2 Political situation

Considering the political reforms in Algeria, which is on the domestic agenda of president Bouteflika since 2012, the E.U. concludes that; the process of completion of basic laws by subsidiary legislation has remained slow (European Commission, 2014). The following laws have clear shortcomings compared to international norms and standards (European Commission, 2014).

Algeria agreed upon European Observation during election processes, which is a big step considering the fact that Algeria wants to protect and control their homegrown democratic system. However, the Union concluded that in 2013, there has been no visible progress in the implementation of the recommendations of the E.U. Election Observation Mission (European Commission, 2014). While the revised ENP focusses more on the participation and involvement of civil society, Non-Governmental-Organizations (NGOs) are of importance within the new ENP framework.

The E.U. concluded in the Memo in 2014 that NGO activities are regulated by the 2012 law on associations restricts international cooperation.

A certain amount of national NGOs and practically all international NGOs are confronted with problems in the mandatory registration process (European Commission, 2014). On the Human Rights aspect, the initiatives in Algeria did not significantly change the situation in 2013. “There is a perception of a continued lack of judicial independence. The situation in Algeria seems to have deteriorated with respect to the freedom of association and assembly and the freedom of expression” (European Commission, 2014).

Furthermore, according to a 2013 UNODC report, the problem of corruption in Algeria has increased substantially over the last years. Corruption has always been a sensitive topic, and it has been insufficiently addressed by the government until so far.

With (financial) support from the European Union, Algeria will invest in human capital the following years (European Commission, 2014). Human capital in the form of education, emolument and health. President Bouteflika expects that this investment is crucial to strengthen sustainable and inclusive growth over the next years and to maintain social peace and to decrease unemployment.

Out of the 189 economies in the world, Algeria is positioned at the 153rd place worldwide (statistics from 2014). However the monotheistic export of natural resources, could provide the country with economic issues on a longer term. Considering the need to focus on sustainable energy, the developments regarding circular economies and the fluctuating gas and oil prices, Algeria needs to make investments to keep up on a global scale. The increase of government expends, partly aiming at limiting social discontent in the volatile regional context, is another main factor influencing Algeria’s economic situation (European Commission, 2014). Algeria is not intangible to external factors influencing the domestic economy, but comfortable foreign exchange reserves and low external debts levels, provide Algeria with a relatively financially strong position (European Commission, 2014). Though it is obvious that economic reforms are urgently needed, in order to diversify and to strengthen the economy and provide a solution to the high unemployment rates. Unemployment in Algeria in 2013 is at 10% (European Commission, 2014).

The most important challenges are the facilitating aspect considering trade-related issues, and the low level of Algeria’s integration with its surroundings. In contrast to the natural resources Europe remains Algeria’s biggest trade partner, taking up half of Algerian exports and imports (European Commission, 2014).

6.3 Global development

However, the European Union is in need of Algeria's cooperation. Besides the economical aspect and the interdependency discussed before, Algeria has a history of experiences with extremism. Since 9/11, and especially since the Arab Spring, tension has emerged in various corners and capital cities of E.U. member states. Algeria's experiences with the fight against Islamist extremism, after a decade of conflict in the 1990's, is of importance to international actors dealing with this phenomenon. The United States of America came to vindicate Algeria's hitherto disregarded stance on the (transnational) nature of terrorism (Darbouche, 2008). For years, Algeria has called for the necessity of international cooperation against (Islamist) terrorism. Since the Arab Spring, these calls have finally been answered due to the worldwide awakening to this global threat (Darbouche, 2008). Algeria's experience, its geographic location and its strategic geopolitical image in the Arab world, resulted in a principal position in the international cooperation on Islamist extremism. The need for Algerian participation on a global level emphasized the Algerian leadership's confidence in the conduct of its foreign policy, particularly vis-a`-vis Europe (Darbouche, 2008). This provided Algeria with a new geopolitical power in the reconfiguration of its relationship with the Union (Darbouche, 2008).

6.4 Algeria' s position

Considering cooperation with the E.U. in the ENP project, Algeria would only participate in the European Neighbourhood program if the partnership is based on dialogue, cooperation, and equal benefits. This results in the willingness of Algeria to join the project, only after the reformulation of the ENP (Darbouche, 2010). This started the Action Plan negotiations in 2011. The Algerian government emphasizes the need for "support for the management and diversification of the Algerian economy", besides support on an economical level, support will be given in the social system and labour market "reform of justice and the strengthening of citizens' participation" and a focus on the "labour market and employment of the youth" (Skolil in Hinton-Beales, 2014)

Currently the E.U. describes the ENP as an 'offer' to its neighboring countries to which they have responded with considerable interest and engagement (European Union, 2015). In this renewed ENP, joint ownership of the process based on shared values and common interests is the key value. The E.U. claims that with the renewed ENP, they do not wish to impose priorities or conditions onto the participating countries.

The reformulation of the Action Plans and the new objectives are based on shared issues, that is why it could not be possible to accept a pre-determined set of priorities (European Union, 2015). The E.U. hereby confirms that the copy-paste method is not suitable within this framework and not demanded by the partner countries. From now on, the priorities will be defined by common consent and will therefore vary from country to country (European Union, 2015). Thus in Algeria the ENP approach is adapted to priorities and developments in that specific country.

The research has showed that Algeria's perspective on the ENP has also gone through major developments from 2004 until the current situation. The reserved attitude towards the ENP partnership was a response to appropriation, since Algeria found it incontestable that the European Union developed its ENP proposal with no prior consultation with the initiative's potential beneficiaries (Boumghar, 2013). The argumentation from the E.U. to justify these actions were hardly convincing from the Algerian perspective; the E.U. responded with the fact that the ENP was designed for Central European and Eastern European neighboring countries, and that the initiative to extend this project to the South, the Mediterranean neighbors was a last minute choice. This meant that there was no possibility for prior meetings, and the South just had to accept the preconditions (Boumghar, 2013). This was unacceptable for the Algerian government, and without officially rejecting the project Algeria visualized its opinion. This view upon European actions can be ascribed to the fact that Algeria developed certain sensitivity considering issues of sovereignty and external interference, mainly because of historical experiences (Boumghar, 2013). Furthermore, Algeria's view on the ENP is that the conditions and environment of Central European and Eastern European countries is completely different from Mediterranean countries to develop one single inclusive approach applied to all of the regions.

The denial of the European Union of using conditionality as a leverage for the ENP in its Eastern and Central region has left a negative taste on the Algerian Government. Critics argue that the incentive for partner countries was to eventually become a member state and that the participation in the ENP was the first stepping stone. The documents of the E.U. describe the refusal of conditionality as a possible tool (Commission of the European Communities, 2004). Though in 2011 the European Union acknowledged that increased E.U. support to its neighbours is conditional (European Commission, 2011). This emphasizes the fact that countries that go further and faster with reforms will be eligible for greater (financial) support.

The conditionality underpinning the ENP appears to many as the expression of a hackneyed view of relations between Europe and the Mediterranean countries (Boumghar, 2013). A relationship based on an asymmetry of power structures, where Europe has the biggest advantage in its negotiation position. Signs of a neo-colonial relationship (Nicolaidis and Nicolaidis, 2004).

6.5 Change of Algeria's perspectives

It is only since 2011 that Algeria agreed upon participation in the European Neighbourhood Policy. Its geographical position as the largest country in Africa and the availability of natural resources allow Algeria to be more resistant against leverages that the European Union presented in the past and therefore Algeria had a more neutral position towards external influence (Darbouche, 2010). However, the unrest in the Arab World, the need for technical support and the domestic political reforms announced by President Bouteflika, have encouraged international cooperation especially within the European Neighbourhood framework. Algeria and the European Union increased their efforts in cooperating, they both have a common interest in the intensification of the partnership in order to face new challenges of instability, poverty and arms proliferation in the region (European Commission, 2011).

In the new conception of the ENP, the countries in the South were consulted in an early stage of the development. Especially Algeria was positive about this change in the E.U.'s approach and actively joined in discussions and negotiations from that point. Although Algeria and the E.U. have not officially agreed upon an Action Plan, Algeria has undertaken actions within the mission of the European Neighbourhood Policy the last few years. Due to the latest developments in the Arab World, Algeria has expressed feelings of instability in its surroundings (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011), and is more proactive in finding solutions. One of the solutions could be to integrate more with geopolitical actors such as the European Union. The Algerian government therewith has send a positive and open message to the Union and took a step towards joining in integrative political and economic measurements (Boumghar, 2013). Major changes in the political sector in Algeria would be inconceivable in the near future, but the government currently is in a difficult position. President Bouteflika is willing to negotiate with external institutions for overall benefits, this is mainly because Algeria feels the pressure on the region due to the tension in neighboring countries. A second motive is that Algeria is self aware of the reliance on the monotheistic economy and the non-residential expertise that is needed to boost its economy.

Therefore Algeria is aware of the fact that it can possibly fall behind in the European Neighbourhood Policy if the Action Plan is not concluded on a short term. Algeria has to deal with its self-perception as a sovereign state that has a comprehensive (political) history, Algeria has to keep balancing with public dissatisfaction with the status quo and the way in which this debate is being cast in the international, particularly the French, media (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). This is another interesting aspect in which colonial legacy plays a part. The caution in which the Algerian government and president Bouteflika report the domestic political struggle with respect to the international world and mainly France. Colonial discourses around demonstrating a states' independency and sovereignty towards the former colonial relations is present and suggests a painful area for Algeria (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011).

The Association Agreement has functioned just as a technical instrument for cooperation with the European Union in mainly non-politicized policy areas (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). The European Neighbourhood Policy framework is developed to complement the AA, with discussing policy areas that are not covered by the AA. This results in the fact that the Action Plan will eventually provide the E.U. with more power to influence the domestic political system in Algeria. Unless both partners compromise, Algeria will continue its strategy to give precedence to its bilateral relations with individual European member states, and the Union will struggle to extend any influence onto Algeria. Especially on sensitive questions like the need for political reform (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011).

7. Conclusion

To be able to formulate a well substantiated conclusion on the case of ENP developments in Algeria, the research questions are once again brought forth; the main question of this thesis was;

How does the geopolitical relationship between Algeria and the European Union in regards to the European Neighbourhood Policy develop?

The subquestions to answer the main question were;

- What are the reasons of interest of the European Union for cooperation with Algeria within the ENP framework?
- What are the developments of the ENP framework in Algeria, North Africa?
- How do the perspectives from the E.U. for implementing the ENP correspond with the perspectives of Algeria?

To determine how colonialism and geopolitics play part in this cooperation, this thesis has examined documents of the European Union, the Algerian government and bilateral agreements between those two actors. Texts of critical authors have been very important to illuminate different aspects of the cooperation in the specific context of Algeria-E.U. relations.

7.1 The E.U. needs Algeria on board

After extensive research, the data has shown that Algeria and the European Union are both a part of a political game in which the role of geography is visible. The motive for the European Union to cooperate with Algeria through the ENP, the first subquestion, is because Algeria is a “regional power, not just in the Maghreb but in the broader Arab world and Africa.” (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011, p.1) and Algeria is “a major security player in its region spanning the Maghreb, the Sahel and the western Mediterranean.” (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011, p.5). In addition, if the European Union wants to support the region’s development after the Arab Spring, the E.U. needs to have Algeria on board (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011, p.5). Algeria is a politically stable country in the region, although reformation in the political system is recently internally demanded.

The European Union is in need of natural resources which Algeria is exporting. Given these natural resources Algeria can invest regionally, and with the role as the driver of regional policy, Algeria's co-operation within the ENP would have a crucial impact on the region (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011, p.5).

In addition, Algeria has a neutral attitude towards- and developed an expertise on Islamist extremism. The European Union would like to stabilize its surrounding neighbourhood, because this space is of influence on the member states. A (politically) stable environment will have a positive effect on the E.U., to achieve this the E.U. has developed the European Neighbourhood Policy which is implemented in Central Europe, Eastern Europe and Southern Mediterranean countries. Although Algeria is very suspicious of the ENP (approach), it has demonstrated that cooperation is likely inevitable and could be beneficial for both parties concerned.

7.2 The need for cooperation is reciprocal

Although the relationship with Algeria has been labeled as "awkward and historically distinct" (Darbouche, 2008), Algeria is dependent on Europe as a export market for trade and technical and financial investments as well. In addition the shifts that are currently changing the southern Mediterranean region and in Algeria itself, could give the European Union new sources of influence on developments in (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). Algeria announced its concerns about the instability in its surroundings. These concerns may provide the E.U. with a potential leverage.

However the perspectives on and the motives for cooperation within the ENP may differ, both parties agree upon the fact that the European Neighbourhood Policy could be beneficiary for both partners and their surroundings. The current negotiations considering the Action Plan are therefor of importance. The E.U. needs to pursue a more active role in encouraging the implementation of necessary changes in Algeria

7.3 Developments in ENP framework

The revised ENP framework will focus on; “support to the deepening of democracy, respect for the rule of law, human rights and fundamental freedoms, including gender equality, thus contributing to long term domestic stability; support to sustainable and inclusive economic development, reducing social and regional inequalities, promoting diversification of the economy, job creation, enhancing standards of living, securing energy supplies to the E.U.; establishing a close partnership among peoples and civil societies; partnership in terms of addressing security challenges and reducing regional tensions, facilitate closer cooperation and integration.” (European Commission, 2014, p. 4). These key priorities are not only of importance within the ENP framework, but also within the single support framework goals 2014-2017. The objectives are to consult civil society and to facilitate interventions. First of all in the field of justice reform and citizen participation; to support governance in the justice sector and pro-democratic institutions and to stimulate efficiency in the public sector (European Commission, 2014). The second key priority is the improvement of the education system, to lay the foundation of increasing (higher education) employment. The creation of bridges between the needs of the local and regional labour market, to professional integration of a new generation (European Commission, 2014). And the last priority is to support diversification and management of the Algerian economy. The E.U. has agreed upon investing in analyzing the ways to achieve a sustainable economic diversification, while supporting a green and climate neutral economy. Furthermore, the E.U. will develop initiatives together with the Algerian government to emphasize the private sector, to secure the privatization of the public sector and to improve the business climate (European Commission, 2014). These developments are also the foundation for Algeria to agree upon constructing an Action Plan.

7.4 Colonialism and geopolitics

This is the point where the theory of colonialism enters the conclusion of this thesis. Algeria was deeply affected by colonial rule of the French. When Algeria became an independent country in 1962, the decolonization process started with political instability and dictatorship. Since the voting in 2005 where the French glorified their positive role during the era of colonialism, and the French refused to apologize for the colonial crimes and negative effects on Algeria (Darbouche, 2010), the French-Algerian relationship has again entered a new stage of cold confrontation (Darbouche, 2010).

The Algerian government is nervous about public disaffection with the status quo, and about the way in which Algeria's situation is being reported in the international, especially the French, media (Darbouche and Dennison, 2011). This hints to the fact that (colonial) history and recent events in the geopolitical sphere affect the current relationship between Algeria and the European Union.

Colonialism was legitimized by Europe through the representation of their culture and discourses as superior (Huntington, 1996) and to extent 'civilization' to the South, mainly Africa. African countries could develop under rule of European nations, and currently these relations are still related to geopolitical power structures as described above.

Within the ENP development in Algeria and the Algerian-E.U. relationship, the focus has been on creating systems based on European discourses, reasoning from European standards. The introduction of the ENP Action Plan to Algeria in 2004, was without prior consultation and imposed a set of pre-conditions copied from the implemented Action Plans in Central and Eastern Europe. This implies a superiority of the E.U., which after a history of colonization, set sails again to Europeanize and to civilize the 'Other'. A neo-colonial practice covered by a 'good offer' and international cooperation.

By emphasizing the differences, the Union in contrary to the Neighbourhood and marking these differences with a (geographical) border the Union includes countries (its member states) and excludes countries. In the excluded region, the (political) influence is still visible and the power structures are present. Neighboring countries can benefit from partial integration with European systems, but can not expect to become E.U. members. By civilizing its neighbourhood and using conditionality mechanisms, the E.U. shows a form of superiority which is part of the strategy.

Though the European Union does not undermine state sovereignty and the partner countries have to agree upon E.U. involvement by concluding an Action Plan, the power beyond its territorial borders within the ENP vision resembles new forms of imperialism.

7.5 Recommendations

This chapter will be concluded with recommendations for further development of the ENP Action Plan in Algeria. These recommendations are based on the data that is found while writing this thesis and the conclusion that is stated above.

Algeria has always taken itself seriously; 'others will have good reasons to do so as well' (Lesser, 2001 p.8). While introducing the ENP to Algeria in 2003, the E.U. had set up preliminary conditions and priorities and by doing so, the E.U. discouraged Algeria from participation. With the first renewal of the ENP in 2011, the E.U. made a shift in their approach. With the revised version of the ENP in 2015, Algeria has shown its willingness to participate and appreciated the fact that countries are actively involved in the development process of the ENP Action Plan. If the European Union wants to develop a fruitful partnership with Algeria, the institution has to acknowledge Algeria's strategic position in relation to the E.U. (Darbouche, 2011). The partnership can never be optimal if they fail to accommodate the aspirations of one or both parties (Darbouche, 2011). Algeria has always considered itself a different partner of the E.U. in the southern Mediterranean and this will always reflect upon E.U.-Algerian relations (Darbouche, 2011).

However, both partners emphasize the need for cooperation. An effective implementation of the European Neighbourhood Policy in Algeria can reduce security threats by stabilizing the economic, social and political situation. To promote security in Algeria will not only have a positive effect within the countries' borders, but also for the (direct) surroundings. The main objective of the ENP is to ensure security within the borders of Europe, however, with today's globalized world this effect will spread far beyond its borders.

To achieve an effective implementation of the ENP in this particular case, I suggest that the partners should respect each others contribution, emphasize each others strengths and focus on important priorities that are chosen carefully and agreed upon by both partners.

It will be of major importance that the E.U. assists Algeria to identify new sources of growth and diversification of the economy (Hinton-Beales, 2014), with a strong focus on how to integrate youth into the shrinking labour market and how to develop solutions to address other (un)employment issues. The second priority is to reform the Algerian justice and political system, to a home grown developed system with support of the Algerian population. Only under these conditions can a system function in Algeria. This is in contrary to what the E.U. initially proposed; namely an external imposed democracy with or without Algerian support.

The third and last priority is to strengthen citizens' participation. With the whirlwind that has gone through the political systems in North Africa in recent years, more than ever it became clear that the power of the population plays an important role in its country's development. Unfortunately the force from power amongst most of the former dictators did not happen without a fight. In whatever direction the ENP is going, it is important that Algeria and the E.U. address the cooperation to the Algerian population. Citizens need an access to all the information around the ENP implementation, and they need to be consulted and well informed about the consequences of this cooperation. With more public support (bottom-up approach) in Algeria, the E.U. will create a transcended policy where benefits and reforms are not controversial. Hinton-Beales stated that the E.U. is aiming to "reach a broader audience than the one they normally reach" (Hinton-Beales, 2014, p.2). The poll that is done in Algeria in 2014 on the perception of the population on the E.U., revealed that there is a "very, very positive foundation" (Hinton-Beales, 2014, p. 2).

After all, in order to combat global issues like acts of terrorism, poverty, climate change and power misuse, and to promote circular economies, employment, education and health care, the world needs sustainable partnerships based on equity.

8. Reflection

This last chapter of the research consists of a reflection on the research process. The strengths and limitations of this research will be discussed even as recommendations for further research.

The foundation of this thesis dates back to the period when I followed the course Borders and Identities in Europe. These classes were taught by professor Henk van Houtum, who has a lot of knowledge about political geography and geopolitics. Professor van Houtum provided an introduction to the ENP and the different aspects within cooperation with the geopolitical actor the European Union. Central to this course was the two sided aspect of the ENP, a side that supported international cooperation and a side that in some sort questions the underlying power structures and the neo-colonial legacy. After completing this course I concluded that I was fascinated by geopolitics; political strategies that are being implemented by the European Union and I wanted to investigate the ENP even more. The bachelor thesis was an excellent opportunity to do so and this formed the foundation of my research questions.

During the course Practicing Spatial Theories in the second semester, I discovered some interesting theories for writing my bachelor thesis about the ENP. I strongly support the theory that the relationship with global partners and neighboring countries in particular is build upon events and cooperation in history. The current relationships are also built on power structures and discourses. Therefore, the theory of colonialism is chosen to provide a second specific perspective on this topic.

A third incentive for my research objective was to involve current global developments. The last few years, the news has been filled with developments and issues regarding (political) protests, civil wars, human rights and Islamist extremism. The regions North Africa and the Middle East are particularly vulnerable to these developments. That is the reason why I choose to focus on these regions. Combined with the influence from the European Union (ENP), the theories of colonialism and geopolitics, the main research question was formed.

Looking back on the process, I found out first hand what 'iterative' in doing research actually means. Fortunately university students are guided by supervisors in order to structure the process a little bit. The starting point for me was to involve the geographical aspect into the research. The main reason for this is that I am studying to complete the premaster 'Geography, Planning and Environment', but also because the geographical aspect in policy making is of great importance.

The second starting point was to align colonial history and current ENP implementation in two different countries/regions; Algeria in North Africa and Jordan in the Middle East. To me it would be very interesting to find out if these two cases could be compared to one another, if colonial history would influence the different Action Plans and if Algeria could be representative for ENP implementation in North Africa and Jordan in the Middle East. One thing I found out is that the data on these two cases and the ENP is overwhelming and the best lesson I learned from the course Qualitative Research Methods is that you should not be afraid to 'kill your babies'. After a conversation with my supervisor, I decided that I needed to leave out Jordan and the Middle East in order to write a well substantiated and manageable thesis.

The theories enabled me to bring the relationship of Algeria and the European Union considering the European Neighbourhood Policy in to perspective. Using two theories provide a focus to the research(er) and gives a direction to the data search. On the other hand it limits the research in a way that other relevant theories stay underexposed. Using different theories will provide the researcher with a different lens to examine the relationships and will possibly provide different perspectives.

Considering the relationship between Algeria and Europe and the ENP development I have more knowledge on how power structures that are originated centuries ago still operate today. However, I still believe that further research on this topic should be encouraged. It would be very interesting to examine if and how the colonial relationship in a specific country/region is of influence on the ENP, and if two cases/countries/regions can actually be compared to one another.

Another drop out were the expert interviews, though I learned that method triangulation amplifies the research, the amount of data that was available was more than enough input for this bachelor thesis and to formulate a well substantiated conclusion. During the process I realized that within the reach of the connections I could make during these months, the experts that would be relevant were out of reach and the experts within my connections would probably not add information on this specific case; ENP in Algeria. after checking with the bachelor thesis coordinator, I decided to leave out the interviews and decided to focus on literature study. However, for further and more extensive research it would be interesting to contact academics and critics, which have been a source of information in this research and to interview them and to really reveal the effect of the ENP on Algeria.

Another critical point is that a lack of time and other facilities prevented me to do research in Algeria. It would provide a research a complete different view if the researcher would be in contact with the Algerian population. I believe that the specific and relevant discourses can only be revealed by extensive field research, which in this setting could not be realized.

Though Algeria is a very specific case, where discourses on geopolitical cooperation were the mainspring of political actions, the ENP Action Plan is only recently negotiated and as we have seen there is no official agreement upon the Action Plan in Algeria yet. This made the case very interesting, but it was also difficult to find documents that are currently up to date (in English). For further research I would suggest an examination on the Action Plan, when it (finally) comes into force.

Despite the efforts to position myself neutrally, the 'Western/European' perspective will always (subconsciously) be present. Not only in the way of thinking and my own discourses on society, but also in doing research. Methodologies, strategies and other ways to live up to the standards of internal, external and construct validity and the use of data will always represent our 'Western' way of thinking. A recommendation would be to ask an academic in Algeria to replicate a similar research, and find out the similarities and differences.

These weaknesses and recommendations for further research might presume that this research is incomplete, though I believe that the reader of this thesis and me as a writer, will have a much better understanding of the ENP, of the European-Algerian relationship and of the ENP development in this country. This thesis provides insight in the relevant discourses and development in society that played a part in the actions taken by the political actors.

Completing this bachelor thesis was a great opportunity to develop my academic research skills and I am thankful for all the inspiration and support I received during this premaster year. The professors, supervisors and all the people who got involved taught me interesting things that are needed in order to develop my (academic) self.

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