

#### **European Institute**

# BİLGİ EUROPEAN INSTITUTE NFWSI FTT

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FP 7 Project: Identities and Modernities in Europe

#### **İstanbul Bilgi University** European Institute

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Dear Friends.

Welcome to the Fourth Newsletter of the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University. This issue is mainly composed of two sections: the first one gives a graduate programs, certificate programs, social outreach projects and our students. The second one is particularly dedicated to the findings of an ongoing FP7 Project funded by the European Union, entitled "IME, Identities and Modernities in Europe". The IME project investigates the European identities in a way that refer to a wide range of definitions of 'us, the Europeans' proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, the United Kingdom. The team leader of the Project is Kingston University, and Istanbul Bilgi University is responsible for studying the Turkey leg of the project.

The project addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are, in what ways they have been formed and what trajectories they may take from now on. It then examines the various ways in which these diverse self-definitions different societal, cultural and systemic settings and in which they have been commonalities among diverse European identities in the nine cases as the basis of grounded projection of possible trajectories European identities may take as the processes of European integration continue. You will be able to find information about some of the

conferences, fieldwork research,

The general part of the Newsletter starts Participation of Women in Turkey held in collaboration with various women's organizations. Distinguished speakers from various parts of Turkey and of the European Union as well as from the European Commission exchanged views on the issue. Following that, you will find information on the International Mother Tongue Day celebrated by the European Institute in collaboration with different partners on the 21st of February, 2011. Some of the other news covered in this Sciences Po-Paris; Oral History Workshop; in Turkey; news about the German-Turkish Business Law Joint Degree LL.M. Program held by the Law Faculties of Istanbul Bilgi University and University of Cologne, an interview with a distinguished Professor of Law and a member of the Advisory Board of the European Institute, Prof. Dr. Ünal Tekinalp on the new Turkish Commercial Code; social outreach projects of the Institute aimed at 9th Graders in the Highschools of the Beyoglu Municipality in Istanbul, a TV program on the perception of the EU in and outside Turkey held with CNNTurk; news about PLURALISM," our new Jean Monnet Chair and Jean Monnet Modules, the visit of the European Ombudsman to the Institute and his speech, and many other topics which we hope that you will find interesting.







# **Conferences and Workshops**

# "Women and Politics: Best Practices" Workshop held at BiLGi

European Institute of BİLGİ organised a joint workshop with KA.DER and KAGİDER on March 28-29th.



The workshop focused on different experiences and measures to be taken in order to establish the efficient participation of women in politics. A network was formed for the sustainability of the workshop results.



#### **Report of the Workshop**

#### Workshop 1st Day (March 28, 2011)

On March 28-29, 2011, İstanbul Bilgi University hosted the "Political Participation for Women: Best Practices" workshop organized by İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute, KA.DER (Association for the Support and Training of Women Candidates) and KAGİDER (Women Entrepreneurs Association of Turkey) with the support of the Consulate General of Sweden and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung.

In his opening speech, İstanbul Bilgi University Deputy Rector Prof. Remzi Sanver expressed his pleasure to host the workshop at the University and noted that this issue will be approached bravely; he concluded his speech with the words of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: "... our women have to be more intellectual, more prosperous, more sophisticated than men."

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director of İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute, said that the participation of women in politics is a political right and drew attention to the differences in women's rights in Turkey and in the EU, noting the lower participation rates in Turkey in contrast to the EU. Prof. Kaya stated that there is some progress on this issue which still needs to be furthered; noting that he supports the improvement of women's participation in politics, he emphasized that the parity and quota practices can further facilitate women's participation in politics, thereby contributing to limiting the neoliberal narrative.

The President of KAGİDER, Dr. Gülden Türktan, stressed the importance of increasing the number of women in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey and the importance of political parties' attention to the number of woman candidates; she stated that they are supporting Sunay Karamık Özbek, AKP Adana, Yasemin Yılmaz, CHP

Adana, Fatoş Kayacan Hataylı, CHP Hatay, Aysel Yükselener, AKP Kütahya, Belma Sekmen Satır, AKP İstanbul 1st region, Gülseren Onanç, CHP İstanbul 2nd region, and Meltem Gürler, AKP İstanbul 2nd region, in their candidacy for nomination. Former President of KAGİDER Dilek Bil stated

their aims as: preventing any form of violence against women and ensuring political participation of women. She stated that there is a need for equal representation for women in the decision making mechanisms and that they want equal representation for women in the National Assembly, for which they are intent on producing both word and action. She maintained that the Parliament that will be established according to the results of the general elections will devise a new Constitution and that such a Constitution formulated by a Parliament where women's representation rate is 9% would be illegitimate, thus there should be more women in the National Assembly.

The EU Commission took part in the conference via Viviane Reding's video message, which mentioned that gender equality is a fundamental right in the EU and that NGOs should put pressure on this issue. She stated that women have to be present in the decision-making mechanism because of the effects of politicians on daily life.

President of KA.DER Çiğdem Aydın stressed that women are excluded from the male-dominant political understanding and emphasized the need for a society where women are considered equal citizens. Noting that deliberating on whether women's clothing, qualifications and numeric dominance will make any difference is a stereotype and a sign of distrust in women, she stated that discussions should focus on different points and that women should occupy half of the seats at the National Assembly.

#### Workshop I:

#### "Different Experiences, Common Targets: Women's Political Participation in the Political Arena in Europe and Turkey"

The moderator of the first panel was Prof. Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute Director, and the speakers were Dora Bakoyannis, President of the Alliance of Democratic Movement, Member of Greek Parliament, Agnes Hubert, Bureau of European Commission European Policy Adviser, Pia Locatelli, President of Socialist International Women Italy, Güldal Akşit, AKP Representative, President of Grand National Assembly of Turkey Woman-Man Equal Opportunities Commission, Nevin Gaye Erbatur, CHP Representative and Gültan Kışanak, BDP co-chairperson.

Dora Bakoyannis said that there is also a gender bias in Europe and evaluated the participation rate as "dreadful". She mentioned that there are stereotypes about women and in order to correct these, cooperation with the media should be increased. She claimed that these stereotypes can be eliminated if women appear more in the media, and mentioned that motherhood is a weapon for women that should be used well; she stressed that firstly, children should be raised well in order to transform the society.

Agnes Hubert commenced by sharing her experiences in the EU Commission and mentioned that attitudes towards women have changed over time, noting that as a result of the financial crisis, gender inequality is also present in the economic dimension. She further argued that the increase of women taking on managerial positions has lead to more debates on women's contributions to the economy.

Pia Locatelli mentioned that women have the ability and the potential, but the main problem is that men do not share this belief. She stated that the Peking meeting was a turning point where the significance of gender equality as a necessity for improvement and peace was emphasized. Locatelli also emphasized that women's lives outside the home should be supported, but men's lack of support for their partners is causing women to perceive themselves in the wrong way. She observed that women tend to see themselves as inefficient in politics and that there are negative attitudes in the media, but suggested that women can overcome this phenomenon if they get organized and behave strategically. She addressed proportional representation, quotas and material quality.



Güldal Akşit mentioned the importance of women in civilizing the society and said that men see politics as a right for themselves and search for qualifications for women. Aksit noted that women have to make great efforts in order to get past the barricade and drew attention to the importance of local politics, stating that there should be more women in local government. Nevin Gaye Erbatur drew attention to the importance of women's solidarity and argued that women will succeed if they act in unison. According to her, women compete with each other, thus they are not team players. She said that women should be in politics as a prerequisite of democracy and that a quota is a necessity. Sustainability of politics is vital but women are perceived as guests, which is why strength cannot be established. The last spokesperson of the panel, Gültan Kışanak, said that women should put pressure on political parties for political sovereignty. She noted that the struggle within political parties is as important as the struggles in society and mentioned that in her own Party, if a decision is taken without the presence of women then it is not binding on women.

#### **Workshop II:**

#### "Woman's Status in National Parliaments, the Role of Institutions and Political Structure"

In the second panel, the moderator was the Committee member of BM CEDAW and Associate of Middle East Technical University Political Science and Public Administration Department Prof. Feride Acar. The panellists were: the legislator of the Moderate Party Sweden Magdalena Andersson, Istanbul University Faculty of Political Science Assoc. Prof. Serpil Çakır, legislator of the Socialist Alliance and the Progressive Democrats Spain Carmen Romero Lopez; AKP representative Fatma Şahin was unable to participate in the panel

The second panel began with a video message from Zita Gurmei, member of the European Parliament Social Democrats Group, who said that there is a need for positive role models.

The first panellist, Magdalena Andersson, underlined that gender equality is not exclusively a women's problem but a human rights problem. According to her, while there are not many role models for women in politics, which lowers women's self-esteem, there is a need for women in politics. She stressed the importance of establishing a "women's network" so that women will not be alone. She asked women to support each

Serpil Çakır said that politics is an area of conflict and interest; women and men should be represented equally and these problems can be solved in political parties. She emphasized that women's rights should take a greater place in political campaigns. Carmen Romero Lopez mentioned the importance of women's solidarity by giving examples from Spain. If there is no quota and positive discrimination, then it is difficult for women to take an active role in politics. Men's support should also be obtained.

#### Workshop III: "EU's Social Equality Perspective: Special Measure and Mechanisms, Does it Work?"

The third workshop's moderator was Çiğdem Aydın and the panellists were: Advisory Committee Member KA.DER and Women's Lobby Administrative Committee member Selma Acuner, President of Women's Lobby Brigitte Triems, Director General for Enlargement European Commission Alexandra Cas Granje and Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities Petra Schott. Petra Schott mentioned that women leave politics for various reasons and as a result they cannot use their potential. She said that the more women in business life, the more success. She noted that only 10-20% of Nobel Prize winners are women and that women receive awards only in the peace and literature categories.

Brigitte Triems mentioned that women's participation in local governments is also low in Germany. She stressed that gender equality is a social problem, and that new legislation should be adopted. She indicated that recent studies show that women's active role in business life contributes to the economy and the firms' success. She noted that women should take part in campaigns, that NGOs should put pressure for this and that a network should be established with the cooperation of men.

Selma Acuner noted that there is no more inequality in insurance premiums and assistance owing to the new EU regulations and she added that she is not in favour of the quota system. She said that women's movement representatives in France work at parity. She also mentioned that the

constitutional amendments are in the agenda in Turkey and that Article 10 on gender inequality has been amended.



Alexandra Cas Granje said that in contrast to Turkey, gender equality is better in the EU. She gave examples from the Nordic and Spanish models. She said that lessons should be learned from the Nordic model. According to her, the success of states in the north is due to this. She said that quotas cannot be effective everywhere, then she gave an example from Africa and stated that there are not enough women for quotas. She said that course books should also be taken into consideration because equality is just talk. She stated that the legislation on social services should be enforced and human resources should work efficiently.

#### Workshop 2nd Day (March 29, 2011)

The second day's opening speech was given by Alexandra Cas Granje. The first moderator of the second day's workshop was Prof. Yeşim Arat, Boğaziçi University, International Relations department associate, and the panellists were Petra Schott, Çiğdem Aydın and CHP council member Gülseren Onanç and Former President of Committee on Women's Rights and Gender Equality, European Parliament and PES Women President Anna Karamanou. AKP MYK council member Ayşe Böhürler could not attend the panel.

Cas Granje mentioned the gender equality ratings and said that Turkey is far behind in the ratings and women's rights are not sufficient. The limited participation in politics, violence against women, early marriage and honour killings are other issues that she discussed. She said that children should feel safe and receive quality education. She mentioned that in comparison to the first progress report, Turkey is doing well; and argued that while there are new regulations in place; the Turkish society does not follow these regulations. She stressed that Turkey's progress is very slow.

# Workshop IV: "Gender Mainstreaming Based Policy, How to Shape the National Policies?"

The fourth workshop's moderator was Prof. Yeşim Arat, who said that without networking and collaborating, women cannot become more powerful.

The first speaker, Anna Karamanou, emphasized Atatürk's support for women's rights and said that Greece is in favour of Turkey becoming a full member of the EU. She said that the distribution of gender roles in the family should be taken into consideration, because the strength of gender is formed in the family at an early age. Men should be aware of parentage and the distribution of domestic work should be fair; child care should be universal, high quality and affordable. She stressed the importance of raising children's awareness at schooling ages.

Petra Schott said that gender equality is a fundamental right. She underlined the limited number of women involved in the decision making process and gave examples from Norway. She mentioned that women quit their jobs to be at home for child care and a balance between home and professional sphere should be found.

Çiğdem Aydın said that the mentality should be changed. She argued that the implementation of law and the support of NGOs are important issues.

Gülseren Onanç said this issue should not be discussed only in conference rooms; it should be carried to different social spheres, like canteens or streets. She said that woman politicians are important for solving women's problems. She also mentioned that the parliament should be revitalized.

### Workshop V: "Local Governance, Female Policy-Maker and Making Space for Directors in the Local"

The moderator of the fifth workshop was Sabancı University Jean Monnet Professor Meltem Müftüler Baç. The panellists were Hilde Scheidt Mayor of Aachen, Germany, Pascale Bonnier Chalier Councillor of Grand Lyon, France and Mayor of Tunceli Edibe Sahin.

Hilde Scheidt mentioned the importance of child care. She discussed the importance of politicians visiting schools and raising awareness of politics at early ages. She pointed out that there has been a women's branch in Aaachen for the past 65 years and that this branch works in coordination with professional committees and women's committees. She also argued that they value children's education and that child education is an important issue while the parents are involved in the work force.

Pascal Bonnier Chalier said that the parity system is used in France and that the male to female ratio in local governments is almost 50 percent. She mentioned that Turkey's target should also be the parity system, and that in France the number of males was higher before the implementation of the parity system. The new education system should be supported and woman's image should be changed. In order to do so, men's support should also be obtained. Edibe Şahin said that women should change their mentality and that the problems should be resolved with the support of NGOs. The closing speeches were given by Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Dilek Bil and Çiğdem Aydın. It was noted that the EU progress reports are crucial, the political definition in Turkey is changing and the political parties will be compelled to write the women candidates' names on top of their lists in order to increase the possibility of election. After a rather successful workshop, a souvenir photo was taken with all the panelists.

#### Languages at the European Institute





BİLGİ's European Institute hosted an event on International Mother Language Day, February

Eight speakers representing different languages and over 250 participants enjoyed Gülcan Altan's concert after the conference.

At the conference, answers were sought to questions such as, "How is it possible to sustain mother tongues in Turkey?"

Simultaneously, there also was a poster exhbition of UNESCO's "Language Matters" posters at the Dolapdere campus.





Moderator:

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya- Director of European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University Speakers:

Abkhazian: Sezai Babakuş - Spokesperson for Friends of Abkhazia Platform, member of İstanbul Caucasian Cultural Foundation

Adyghe: Kuşha Doğan Özden - Delegate for World Circassian Association, member of İstanbul Caucasian Cultural Foundation, Artist

Armenian: Pakrat Estukyan - Journalist, Armenian language editor for AGOS newspaper Georgian: Fahrettin Çiloğlu - Writer

Kurdish: Muhsin Kızılkaya - Writer, poet and journalist

Laz: Mehmedali Barış Beşli - Writer, poet and chairman of Laz Cultural Foundation

Ladino: Karen Gerson Sarhon - Director of the Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Foundation and Şalom Newspaper

Syriac: Yakup Atuğ- Artist, student at Mor Gabriel Monastery, Syriac teacher

Note: We would like to thank Mr. Özcan Geçer, a founder of www.suryaniler.com platform, for his support in the acquisition of UNESCO's mother language theme posters for the exhibition, which took place at BİLGİ Dolapdere Campus main entrance between February 21-28th.

#### On June 11, 2011 İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute, in collaboration with Nouvelle Europe, held a seminar on "Europeans' memory" at Santral campus



The seminar titled "Europeans' Memory" focused on the role of collective memory in the formation of Europe.

Two panels were held with the contributions of MA and PhD students from Istanbul Bilgi University and Sciences Po. The first panel titled "European memory and its reassessment with the successive EU enlargements" was

moderated by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya; participants discussed the different types of memory spaces in Europe and the different elements that influence the formation of collective memory. The second panel, titled "Entangled history and memory between the EU and Turkey", was moderated by Dr. Philippe Perchoc and focused on the influence of culture, religion and history with specific emphasis on Turkey and collective memory.

The panels were conducted with the presentations of Dr. Philippe Perchoc, Ms. Gizem Ozturk, Ms. Capucine Goyet, Ms. Aslı Aydın, Ms. Ophélie Hemonin, Ms. Ayşegül Şah Bozdoğan, Ms. Ayse Tecmen and Mr. Servan Adar Avsar.

For further information on Nouvelle Europe, please visit: http://www.nouvelle-europe.eu/

#### On January 19th, European Institute at BiLGi held a conference titled "Culture of **Tolerance in Turkey: Different Modes of** Pluralism" (Launch event)



The conference focussed on concepts like pluralism, tolerance, coexistence, equality and marginalization. Representatives from Bogazici University's European Studies Centre Student Forum have written an article about the conference.

Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute launched its new FP7 project, ACCEPT PLURALISM, on January 19, 2011. This offered a great opportunity to assemble prominent academics, journalists, researchers and think-tank specialists with graduate and undergraduate students, civil society actors, politicians, and other stakeholders. The guest speakers, Fuat Keyman (political scientist and think-tank director), Recep Kaymakcan (social scientist and member of the National Curriculum Board), Etyen Mahçupyan (researcher and columnist for the Daily Zaman) and Dilek Kurban (researcher and columnist for the Daily Radikal), as well as Ahmet Yıldız (researcher from the National Assembly Research Centre), were interested in the project's efforts in analysing and assessing the discourse and practice of tolerance in Turkey of the 21st century. Drawing on the studies and research they have conducted themselves, all speakers agreed on the fact that tolerance towards social, cultural, ethnic and religious differences is only a discursive matter, but not substantiated on a political and social level. They jointly argued that the Turkish state, heirs to the Ottoman "Millet" system, imposed on the society a republican and monolithical regime with a homogenous Sunni-Muslim-Turkish nation in a way that undermines the heterogeneity of the Turkish society. As a result, they all commented that it is a very difficult task to diverge from the dominant discourse of intolerance. Responding to very intriguing questions coming from the audience, all speakers came to the conclusion that in order to establish a venue for peaceful coexistence, we should all try to go beyond the limitations of the culture of tolerance and revisit the already existing, but somehow forgotten terms of acceptance, respect, justice and equality. They also emphasized that contemporary debates in the world should be deculturalized, de-ethnicizied and de-Islamized; instead, they should be discussed on a more social-economic basis.

#### Oral History, Culture and **Arts Society Seminar** was held at BİLGİ on 31st January 2011

The Oral History, Culture and Arts Society's seminar was held at Dolapdere Campus on 31st January 2011 with the support of the EU Institute of BILGI. Ayse Gül Altınay, Fethiye Çetin and Leyla Neyzi contributed to the seminar. Ayşe Gül Altınay and Fethiye Çetin explained their experiences through the book "Torunlar". Leyla Nevzi, on the other hand, discussed the history-memory relationship and also contributed to the discussions about national identity through interviews that she had conducted about oral history.



#### **Turkish-German Business Law Master Program Celebrates** Its First Year



"Academics and first year students from Cologne and Istanbul Bilgi together".

Istanbul Bilgi University and Cologne University celebrated the first anniversary of the establishment of the Turkish-German Business Law Master Program on 10 June 2011 at the Santral Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University. The Turkish-German Business Law Master Program supported by DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service) and German Mercator Foundation is the first bilingual and joint diploma LL.M. program in Turkey. The aim of this unprecedented program is to enable its graduates to carry forward their work in the area of Business Law to the international field with the help of the high-profile education that is provided for in Cologne and at Istanbul Bilgi. The program offers four different fields of specialization: Corporate Law, Capital Markets and Consumer Law, Competition and Intellectual Property Law and International Trade Law.



"Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to Turkey, Dr. Eckart Cuntz"

At the first anniversary meeting of the program, the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Turkey Dr. Eckart Cuntz, North Rhine-Westphalia's Economy, Energy, Construction and Traffic Minister Harry K. Voigtsberger, Istanbul Consul Brita Wagener, Head of Turkish-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry Dr. Rainhardt Freiherr von Leoprechting and representatives of Cologne University and Istanbul Bilgi University were present.

On the occasion of the anniversary a panel about Turkish-German Relations in the field of law scholarship was also held. At the panel, Prof. Dr. Ernst E. Hirsch, who had escaped from the atrocities of the Third Reich by settling in Turkey and who had made important contributions to the establishment of the first two law faculties in Istanbul and Ankara was commemorated. Professor Hirsch had mentored and taught many Turkish lawyers and academics and had also drafted the Turkish Commercial Code of 1956 which is still in force and will remain so until 2012. Among the speakers on this panel were Enver T. Hirsch, son of Professor Hirsch, Prof. Dr. Hilmar Krüger from Cologne University and Prof. Dr. Ünal Tekinalp, student and assistant of Professor Hirsch and also Chairperson of the Drafting Committee for the new Turkish Commercial Code, which will come into effect as of July 2012. (See below an interview with Prof. Dr. Ünal Tekinalp on the role of Prof. Dr. Hirsch in Turkish law scholarship)

After the panel, 11 students of the first year, which was named the "Ernst E. Hirsch Year", received their certificates. They stated that even though they had difficulties in getting used to the law terminology at first, they were very happy to be participating in the program due to the added value generated for their careers. They praised the smooth organization of the program and high teaching standards. The first-year students will graduate after the completion of their master's thesis and mandatory internships.

# **INTERVIEW**

# INTERVIEW WITH PROF. DR. ÜNAL TEKINALP, CHAIRMAN OF THE TURKISH COMMERCIAL CODE COMMISSION, ON PROFESSOR DR. ERNST HIRSCH

\*Prof. Tekinalp is also a member of the Advisory Board of BİLGİ European Institute.



Q: What is your opinion regarding the designation of the 2010-2011 Joint Master Program between Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law and University of Cologne Faculty of Law as "Hirsch Academic Year?" **Tekinalp:** Professor Hirsch is a legend. None of the professors who came to Turkey from Germany became as popular as Hirsch. As his former student, this commemoration and praise in accordance with the academic traditions deeply pleased me. It is very common in the West that professors who have made lasting contributions to science are remembered in the context of academic traditions and introduced to younger generations, whereas such ways of appreciation are not much known in Turkey. Istanbul Bilgi University and University of Cologne made a meaningful gesture. We owe the administrations of both universities special thanks. I wish this practice would be taken as a model and turned into an established tradition.

**Q:** How did you meet Professor Hirsch? What kind of relationship has developed between you?

**Tekinalp:** In April 1959, Professor Hirsch came to Istanbul Faculty of Law in order to deliver a speech at a conference. The subject of the speech was "Legal Problems Arising from the Division of Germany". At that time, I was newly appointed as a research assistant at the department of commercial law. In other words, I was the assistant of Halil Arslanli.

At a cocktail reception given by the Law Faculty in honor of Professor Hirsch, Professor Arslanlı introduced me to Professor Hirsch and said, "I would like Ünal to learn from you as I did. For this reason I would like him to work as your assistant". This request pleased Professor Hirsch, since Arslanlı was his first assistant in Turkey. When he was appointed as Hirsch's assistant, Arslanlı was 20 and Professor Hirsch was 30 years old. There was a strong bond between them, going far back into the past. Later on, I was granted a scholarship by the Ford Foundation on the condition that I work with Professor Hirsch in Berlin Frei Universitaet. In early 1962, I submitted my doctoral thesis and I went to Germany with my wife, who was an assistant in the department of international private law of

Istanbul University. We had just gotten married before the beginning of this journey. We received a warm welcome from Professor Hirsch and his family. Professor Hirsch requested that my wife Gülören Tekinalp take a scholarship exam, which she passed successfuly. However, the Berlin City Senate refused to grant the scholarship to both husband and wife at the same time. Professor Hirsch initiated a legal struggle against the City Senate. Eventually, an increase was made to my scholarship in the name of marriage payment and, with the help of her professor Hıfzi Timur, my wife started to work as an assistant of Professor Hirsch. Thus, our relationship shifted to a whole new level. When our first daughter was born, this relationship turned into that of a family nature.

My wife and I continued our relationship with Professor Hirsch until he passed away. Each week, we wrote a letter and received a letter in return. These letters reached the hundreds. We gave photocopies of some of these letters to a young student claiming to write a doctoral thesis on Professor Hirsch but of whom we never heard again. Q: How was the relationship between Professor Hirsch and Arslanli?

**Tekinalp:** Despite a general opinion to the contrary, it was really good. We witnessed it during Arslanlı's visits to Berlin, because in another way, Arslanlı was Professor Hirsch's teacher; he taught Turkish to his professor.

Professor Hirsch was versatile in law. Methodology, legal sociology and legal philosophy were the disciplines that he worked on intensely. I learnt the Müller-Erzbach method from him and later I discovered that the source was Hirsch. Q: Who had more influence on you? Arslanlı or Hirsch?

Tekinalp: I can never pay my debts to either of these two exceptional academics. I learnt the methods of research, interpretation and categorization from them. They both have a great influence in my way of thinking, approach and academic understanding. Arslanlı is an idol to me and he always has been. I have never had an academic title or a university position which I deem more honorable than my title of "the Assistant of Arslanlı". I still wish to be called by this title. Q: As the president of the preparation committee of the New Turkish Commercial Code, could you make a comparison between current Turkish Commercial Code No. 6762 and the future Turkish Commercial Code No. 6102 which will enter into effect in July

**Tekinalp:** The Turkish Commercial Code No. 6762, of which Professor Hirsch was the architect, proved that it was a perfect code for the time. For more than half a century, it succeeded in establishing and maintaining the relations regarding commercial enterprises, commercial companies,

negotiable instruments, maritime trade and insurance as well as solving legal conflicts. It was a source for new doctrines, precedents and developments. It contributed to the formation of successful generations of academics and scientists. The Turkish Commercial Code No. 6762 is the monumental work of a "scholar" who had a command of commercial law as a whole, who had deep and sound knowledge on the matter, and who had a strong analytical capability and an impressive rhetoric; a legal sociologist whose reputation was not only limited to Europe. Legal sociology and methodology play an important role in the foundations of the current Turkish Commercial Code.

The new Turkish Commercial Code has not passed any tests yet. However, the new Turkish Commercial Code is the successor of the Hirsch Code and this indicates an important inheritance. The New Code maintains the structural and doctrinal foundations and sociological references of its predecessor. The new structure is formed by the same principles but is further developed with the new approaches of transparency, accountability, independent audit and international standards in compliance with the demands of the market. In this context, the protection of stakeholders, the principle of equal opportunities and the approach of "glasspocket" enterprises are the new established values.

For six years, the n e w Turkish Commercial Code has been discussed in relevant circles by young researchers and experts who are talented, who have academic prowess and who have the capacity to use several foreign resources. It is a great opportunity that the new Turkish Commercial Code



brought along a new generation of jurists. With the help of this opportunity, I believe, the new code will succeed in all tests. I believe another chance of the new code is the effort of managers of enterprises, especially those of joint-stock companies and limited liability companies, to learn the new approaches and institutions established by the new code.

**Q:** What is the position of the New Turkish Commercial Code vis-à-vis the Acquis Communautaire?

Tekinalp: The New Turkish Commercial Code contains and integrates the principles of all EU decrees, directives, recommendations, programs, action programs and expert reports with regard to commercial enterprises, corporations, law of transport and the law of insurance. The Committee on Turkish Commercial Code consisted of scholars such as Professors Karayalçın, Bozer and Kalpsüz and of Supreme Court judges such as Yurdaer Özdilek, Mehmet Kılıç, Ahmet Gören and of young academics such as Yasaman, Yanlı, Atamer, Karan and Can. Deeply comprehensive and detailed research was conducted and legal problems were discussed with a strict scientific discipline. The work of the commission may set an example in terms of scientific ethics and elegance.

# **PROJECTS**

# ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY IN TURKEY: AN EMPIRICAL APPROACH

The project entitled "ARMED FORCES AND SOCIETY IN TURKEY: AN EMPIRICAL APPROACH," prepared by Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute lecturer Asst. Prof. Dr. Yaprak Gürsoy and Bilkent University Department of Political Science lecturer Asst. Prof. Dr. Zeki Sarıgil, has received a grant from The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK). The project will last 15 months and will help develop inferences on the possibilities of creating more democratic civil-military relations in Turkey on the road to European Union membership. The project team will investigate Turkish society's perceptions of the armed forces by conducting an opinion poll in October 2011 from a nationwide, representative sample of around 3000 randomly selected people. The results of the survey will be analyzed by employing quantitative methods. The project also aims to conduct interviews with political and economic leaders in order to understand the perceptions of the elites toward the military. During the summer of 2011, around 30 prominent businessmen, newspaper columnists and academics were interviewed in Istanbul and more in-depth meetings will take place in the following months in Ankara.

#### European Institute discusses EU with 9th graders

with 9th graders

European Institute's Social
Responsibility Project the

The seminar material prepared by the European Institute is social prepared by the



"EU Boat" organised its final

The European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University in collaboration with Istanbul Beyoğlu Municipality Youth Center launched an education project called "the EU Boat" for over 600 ninth-grade students from 20 high schools located within the Beyoğlu Municipality. The objective of the "EU Boat" Seminars was to communicate general information about the European Union and initiate a dialogue with the students on Europe and Europeanness.



The seminar material and booklets were prepared by the European Institute team led by Aslı Aydın and Ceren Gökçe, and included subjects such as: "What do we know about Europe?", "How does the EU function? What are its institutions?", "Is it beneficial for Turkey to be a Member of the EU?", "EU Policies on Environment, Industry, Trade", "Social Policy, Human rights, Citizenship", "The Parliament", "The Council", "The Commission", "EU's Enlargement Policy" and "Europe and Culture".









The Seminars were taught by Aslı Aydın and Ceren Gökçe with support and participation from European İnstitute lecturers such as Senem Aydın and Ayhan Kaya.

The final event of the project was organised under the concept of "Unity in Diversity" on May 26th at Santral Campus with the participation of Beyoğlu's Mayor Ahmet Misbah Demircan, Bilgi's Rector Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver and the Director of European Institute Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya.

The "EU Boat" Seminars will be continued during the 2011-2012 academic year.

#### Student Interviews about "The EU Boat" Project, May 26th, 2011

#### Saint Benoit French High School



#### Yağmur Ceylan (9th grade)

**Ayşe:** How did this seminar contribute to your thoughts about the EU?

Yağmur: Before the seminar, I didn't have much information about the EU and with the help of this seminar I received many answers to the questions I had. Actually, I was not very positive about the EU because I thought that they do not want us in the EU. My feelings about the EU changed a little bit when I heard that it contributes to our progress. For instance, now I think that it will contribute to our budget and will improve the living standards in Turkey. I think that membership will also have a positive influence on my education.

#### İstanbul Atatürk Anadolu High School



#### Attila Ülkücü (9th grade)

**Ayşe:** How did this seminar contribute to your thoughts about the EU?

Attila: Of course, it contributed a lot. Through the seminar I learned about Turkey's current stance and that it has an objective and I also learned the requirements for EU membership. Our country fulfills the requirements of full membership to the EU. For example, as a result of the referendum there are various efforts to fill the deficiencies in the Constitution. Actually I had some hesitation before the seminar regarding "Is the EU a good thing?" or "What will happen if we become a full member of the EU?" I received answers to these concerns through the seminar.

Collaborative Project: "EU and its Enlargement in Questions and Answers" (EuropeAid/129221/C/ACT/multi)

Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute has been collaborating with Dipnot Production and SOM Consultancy in the Project titled, "EU and its Enlargement in Questions and Answers" (Reference Number: EuropeAid/129221/C/ACT/multi). The Project, which is funded in the scope of the IPA 2009 Information and

Communication Programme, aims to contribute to the presentation of the EU, its ideals, its institutional stance and its future prospects by utilizing television and webbased services as tools. In doing so, 50 Turkish citizens, 10 EU citizens and 24 citizens of acceding and pre-accession countries will participate in a guiz show which will investigate citizens' knowledge of the EU, its standards, policies and practices relevant to specific countries. The countries have been selected from EU member states, accession countries and pre-accession countries, which are: Turkey (selected cities are: Konya, Van, İstanbul, Diyarbakır, Antalya), Germany, United Kingdom, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Hungary. At the final stage of the Project, findings from the guiz show and expert opinions on best practices will be broadcast on prime time by the national news channel CNN Turk.

### ACCEPT PLURALISM

Tolerance, Pluralism and Social Cohesion: Responding to the Challenges of the 21st Century in Europe (SSH-CT-2010-243837)

Türkiye'de Hoşgörü Kültürü: Çoğulculuğun Farklı Halleri konferansı



The project ACCEPT PLURALISM, funded under the Seventh Framework Programme of the European Commission, addresses the need to explore and understand the issue of tolerance in European societies, and seeks to identify key messages for policy makers. Currently, Europe has experienced increasing tensions between national majorities and ethnic or religious minorities, more particularly with marginalised Muslim communities. In some countries challenges relate more to immigrant groups, while in other countries they involve native minority claims. It is in this geopolitical context that the project joins the guest to investigate whether European societies have become more or less tolerant during the past 20 years. Mainly, this project examines the potential and limitation of reconstitution of public space in which ethnic, religious and cultural differences are tolerated and/or accepted, and of a social change whereby cultural interaction can solve cultural diversity challenges to the dominant discourses and practices of nation-state, secularism, neo-liberalism, multiculturalism, and citizenship in 15 EU member countries and Turkey.

In March 2010, our project **ACCEPT PLURALISM** completed the first and second phases, which generated two significant outputs. The first one is a report

based on literature review examining the discourses on tolerance and cultural diversity in each country of the research area, and the second is a report providing a theoretical and conceptual framework for the project. The first and second reports have recently been released on the official website of our project coordinated by the European University Institute in Florence. You can find and download the first report, "Tolerance and **Cultural Diversity Discourses in Turkey"** written by the Turkish Team Leader, Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya and Research Assistant Ece Harmanyeri using the link below. You can also find the reports on National Discourses of Tolerance in the other research countries of the project using this same link.

http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/ Research/ProjectReports/NationalDis courses.aspx

Since February 2011, we have proceeded to the third phase of our project, which aims to conduct fieldwork on the accommodation of cultural diversity with respect to tolerance/acceptance and recognition/respect in school life and education. For the field work, we have chosen two topics illustrating a public policy, political initiative or social attempt to solve a conflict or problem which arises from ethnic/religious/cultural differences. These topics consist of the public policies and political initiatives to solve the headscarf issue in universities, and the government initiative on the Alevi question involving the widening of compulsory religious courses for Alevi belief and practice. The fieldwork involving data collection, interviews and a focus group discussion was conducted in a period between the end of February and the beginning of July 2011. We have been writing and revising a report on the results of the fieldwork since May 2011. In our report, we examined the discourses and practices of (in)tolerance in relation to acceptance/recognition of and respect for cultural diversity, particularly religious diversity in Turkey. We have attempted to analyse the potentials and constraints of accommodating religious diversity with reference to tolerance and respect/ recognition in both the cases, the lifting of the headscarf ban in universities and the revision of the compulsory Course on Religion and Ethics with the inclusion of Alevi belief in the curriculum. We have found that regarding both of the cases, the Turkish social attitude to the solution of the religious diversity challenges is predominantly shaped by the discourses linked to fundamental rights and liberties, secularism/laicism, the right to education and to participation in social and professional life. However, the social tolerance and respect/recognition for religious diversity within the framework of freedom of religion, the separation of public and private spheres, and the practice of religion in everyday life is remarkably constrained by an ambiguous and unconscious contestation between the divergent social actors. Our report will be released in the upcoming months.

# Identities and modernities in Europe:

European and national identity construction programmes and politics, culture, history and religion (SSH-CT-2009-215949)





The 7th Framework project titled 'Identities and Modernities in Europe' (IME) entered its third year of research. The consortium, comprised of Kingston University, Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP), Helsinki University, Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences Po). University of Duisburg-Essen, The Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (IMIR), University of Zagreb and İstanbul Bilgi University, has successfully completed WP4, WP5, WP6, WP7 and WP8 reports. In doing so, the consortium has investigated important current issues such as external promotion of Turkish culture and internal promotion of Turkish identity and culture vis-à-vis the role of four selected subject matters in identifying experts' and private citizens' perception of Turkish and European identities. The selected subjects were as follows: a) education in one's mother language. particularly education in Kurdish and the boycotts that occurred in September 2010; b) the Bologna Process, which aims for the Europeanization of higher education, and criticisms regarding its neoliberal motivations; c) history education in Turkish high schools and the way in which neighbouring countries, for instance, Greece, Armenia and the European countries, are portrayed in the textbooks; and d) the headscarf ban at Turkish Universities and the student protests.

For further information about the Project, please consult:

http://fass.kingston.ac.uk/research/e uropean/ime/

http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/research400.asp

IME Project reports are available at: http://fass.kingston.ac.uk/public/ime/

# Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director of İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute and Prof. Fikret Adaman, Professor of Economics at Boğaziçi University have been investigating the social impacts of emigration and rural-urban migration in Turkey within the scope of the project entitled: "Social Impact of Emigration and Rural-Urban Migration in Central and Eastern Europe". The project is carried out by a European Consortium organized under the auspices of the European Commission's DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion (2010-2011).

# Jean Monnet Modules

# IR 472: Europe and Migration / Spring 2011

In the Spring 2011 Academic semester. the third session of the Jean Monnet module titled 'Europe and Migration' was hosted by Istanbul Bilgi University. The module is co-funded by Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute and the European Commission under the Lifelona Learning Program. The course aims to extend the understanding of the key notions of migration, globalization, diaspora, colonization, integration and assimilation in the contemporary world. Europe and Migration as a module also aims at equipping the students with the tools needed to compare the different forms of migration since antiquity as well as alternative forms of regimes of migration implemented by different states such as Germany, France, Netherlands, Belgium, UK and Turkey.

Accordingly, the module has four main parts. The first part outlines the theoretical and methodological issues surrounding migration. The second part provides a comparative perspective to the students by focusing on various countries. The third and fourth parts of the course provide a broader outlook on the issues by focusing on Europe as a whole.

In addition to the lectures by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, who is the coordinator of the Module and the Director of the European Institute, instructors with expertise in the field of migration were also invited as guest lecturers. Furthermore, in the scope of the module, students had the opportunity to visit the Phanar Rum Patriarchate where they had the opportunity to learn about the history of the Rum community with regards to their traditions and experiences with migration.

Students who successfully completed the course were awarded a certificate of attendance.

http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/research302\_1.asp

#### On March 7, 2011, IR 472 Jean Monnet Module students visited the Phanar Rum Patriarchate.



Within the scope of the Jean Monnet Module titled "Europe and Migration", students visited the Phanar Rum Patriarchate



The site visit was planned in the scope of the Jean Monnet Module as a means to introduce the students to the Patriarchate and provide them with insight into the culture via a guided tour of the institution.

#### EU 311 -Conceptualising the EU: Institutions, Policies and Political Debates/Fall 2010

The first session of the Jean Monnet Module titled 'Conceptualising the EU: Institutions, Policies and Political Debates' was hosted by Istanbul Bilgi University in the Fall 2010 academic semester. The module is co-funded by Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute and the European Commission under the Lifelong Learning Program. The course is designed to provide an understanding of the institutions and policy-making in the European Union within the analytical scope of the major theoretical frameworks of European integration. Selected policies are given specific focus, along with wider political debates in the EU. The course emphasises theories and concepts, but also focuses on current debates in the EU. It is comparative in nature, whereby theories, concepts and arguments are juxtaposed to highlight explanatory advantages and weaknesses. In practice, the course aims to familiarise students with the main theories of European integration: (i.e. federalism, neofunctionalism, (liberal) intergovernmentalism, social constructivism, multilevel governance); important political debates such as those that concern the democratic deficit, social europe, the impact of globalization on the EU; the theoretical perspectives that contribute to these debates; institutions of the EU and decision-making within the EU and selected major policies of the EU (i.e. CAP, Common Commercial Policy, Justice and Home Affairs). In addition to the lectures by Dr. Senem Aydın Düzgit, who is the coordinator of the Module, instructors with expertise in the field of European Studies were also invited as quest lecturers. Selected student papers have been published online at the Module

http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/research302\_2.asp.

# **EVENTS**

# European Ombudsman at BİLGİ



Lecture by the European Ombudsman Prof. Dr. Nikiforos Diamandouros held at BILGI on 11 March 2011: İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY'S Turkish-Greek Studies, in cooperation with The European Institute and the Department of International Relations, held the lecture titled "DEMOCRACY, RULE OF LAW AND THE OMBUDSMAN" by Prof. Dr. Nikiforos Diamandouros, European Ombudsman.

# 30-31 MAY, ACCEPT PLURALISM PROJECT WORKSHOP

The third meeting of the Accept Pluralism Project was held at Istanbul Bilgi University on 30-31 May 2011 and was organised by the European Institute in cooperation with the Project Coordinator, Anna Triandafyllidou and the Dutch team. All the 17 project partners from the most reputable European universities, research institutions and non-governmental organisations participated in the Istanbul meeting. 36 participants from all the country teams as well as the advisor for dissemination and publicity, the prominent journalist Terry Martin, were present at the meeting. The goal of the meeting was to present, evaluate and integrate the findings of the research conducted under Work Package 3, which is assigned to analyse the discourses and practices of (in)tolerance in school life in each of the studied countries. The meeting was also aimed at discussing the potential case studies and the research methods for Work Package 4, which is described as analysing the discourses and practices of (in)tolerance in political life in each of the studied countries. On May 30th, a discussion session was held in order to discuss the country reports, the topic of which was the embodiment of tolerance addressing cultural diversity in school life. The discussion section was divided into four parallel clusters: Curriculum, Educational culture and teaching tolerance; Accommodation of diversity in schools; Segregation in the education system: Religious schools. In each parallel session, one country team as the discussant presented the two different cases on which another country team had conducted a study. The presented case was thoroughly debated by the country team that had studied the case, the discussant team and other country teams attending the respective cluster session. On May 31st, all the project partners gathered in an integrative session in which they tried to combine the main findings of the particular case studies in each country and to assess their main similarities and differences concerning the discourses and practices of tolerance adopted to solve cultural diversity challenges in school life. The partner participants also attempted to find a route map for us to determine the case studies, the research methods and the interview guide for our subsequent task, a study focused on the embodiment of tolerance in political life. The heated debates during the meeting greatly helped the participants to draw significant conclusions and create new opinions about the development of the conceptions of tolerance and respect in contemporary European and Turkish societies.

# Gresi Sanje BiLGi's Communication Faculty Award Winners travel to Brussels and Budapest





The winners of the "Young Communicators" Competition launched by the Secretariat General for EU Affairs were announced by Egemen Bağış, Minister and Chief Negotiator for the EU. BİLGİ students have won prizes in five different categories, which are TV, radio, slogans, printed material and outdoor advertising. After the ceremony, Bilgi

Award winners travelled to Brussels and Budapest, where they visited different EU institutions, embassies and ministries as well as cultural venues.



Within the scope of the visit to Brussels, the group visited the EU Commission and the European Parliament as well as Turkey's Permanent Representative to the EU. In Budapest they met officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Turkish Embassy in Hungary.

#### On April 21, 2011, Mr. Dáithaí O'Ceallaigh, Director General of the Institute of International and European Affairs in Dublin (Ireland).

visited the European Institute in the framework of the roundtable discussion on the future of the EU and Turkey-EU relations.

On February 7, 2011, a group composed of 6 Muslim-origin leaders and intellectuals residing in England visited BiLGi University in the framework of the roundtable discussion entitled "Europe, Islam and Representation" organized by the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

#### "International DAAD -Academy" visited İstanbul Bilgi University

15 representatives from German Universities were at Istanbul Bilgi University on May 12.



How does the Turkish higher education system function? What does the German-Turkish high school do? In which language do exchange students prefer to study in Germany? In order to find answers to these questions and to discuss further cooperation opportunities, 15 representatives of German Universities visited İstanbul Bilgi University in the framework of a visit organised by the DAAD.

#### On September 28, 2011, EMI South-North Mediterranean Dialogue meeting held in Istanbul,





The European Movement International (EMI) held a meeting in the framework of its South-North Mediterranean Dialogue programme at istanbul Bilgi University's Santral Campus on 28 September 2011.



The meeting was organized in collaboration with Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute. The aim of the meeting was to discuss Turkish perceptions of the EU Mediterranean Dialogue and the recent political development in the Arab world. The EMI South - North Mediterranean Dialogue meeting started with the opening speech of Prof. Remzi Sanver, Rector of Istanbul Bilgi University, who emphasized the importance Bilgi attaches to Turkey's European Union candidacy and the work accomplished by the European Institute since 2007. Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb, Vice president of EMI, opened the discussions and thanked Bilgi for hosting a second meeting of EMI after having hosted the EMI Congress in February 2011.

#### Background for the meeting:

The South-North Mediterranean Dialogue brings together civil society actors as well as public authorities in order to provide a platform of exchange to discuss regional civil society activities and the sustainability of reform processes. Its objective is to contribute to a more productive dialogue between civil society and public authorities in order to deepen their cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean area at the highest level.

Recently, the EMI launched a political debate and started to monitor actions aimed at the development of the dialogue between civil society and public authorities in neighbouring countries, particularly in candidate and potential countries to the EU and in countries of the Mediterranean.

The first Mediterranean Congress took place in **February 2006 in Algiers**, followed by the **Alicante Congress in November 2009** on Education and Migration. The upcoming meeting in Istanbul on 28 September 2011 is to be seen in line with these previous congresses and as the next step in order to prepare the 3rd Congress of the South-North Mediterranean Dialogue, foreseen to take place in Tunis in spring 2012.

#### Keynote speeches and participation:

Marc Pierini, EU Ambassador to Turkey (Topic: The Arab Spring as seen from Europe), Prof. Dr. Kemal Kirişçi, Boğaziçi University (Topic: The Arab Spring as seen from Turkey), Prof. Dr. İlter Turan, Istanbul Bilgi University (Topic: The EU Mediterranean policy as seen from Turkey) and Diego Pinto, Secretary General of EMI (Topic: Position of the European Movement in 2011 on the EU Mediterranean and Neighbourhood policy), gave keynote speeches in the meeting moderated by Prof. Dr. Gül Günver Turan, Okan University and President of Turkish European Movement. Among the distinguished participants of the round table meeting were: Prof. Dr. Mustafa Aydın, Rector of Kadir Has University, Assoc. Prof. Bianca Kaiser, Kemerburgaz University, Dr. Namık Ceylanoğlu, Secretary General of Tüsev, Emel Kurma, Helsinki Citizens Association, Volkan Vural, Chairman of Tüsiad's EU and External Relations Commission. Mustafa Durma from Tümikom. The round table meeting was also followed by a group of MA students in European Studies from Bilgi, Viadrina and the Erasmus exchange students.

For more information, please contact the EMI Secretariat:

#### E-Mail:

secretariat@europeanmovement.eu Web:

http://www.europeanmovement.eu

# Academic Awards and Honours

#### **JEAN MONNET CHAIR**

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya is awarded the Jean Monnet Chair for European Politics of Interculturalism by the Education and Culture Directorate General of the European Commission.

The Chair will be attached to the Department of International Relations of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences as well as to the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University. Professor Kaya will deliver various courses and seminars, organize international conferences, student workshops and certificate programs with regard to the European politics of interculturalism. The Chair will be active as of the 1st of September 2011.

# Aziz Nesin Visiting Professorship for Diversity Studies to be launched at European University Viadrina



The European University Viadrina in Frankfurt (Oder) has established an Aziz Nesin Visiting Professorship in Diversity Studies in honor of the distinguished Turkish writer and unfailing social critic. The professorship is to be initiated in the fall semester of 2011 with the visit of Prof. Dr. Alan Duben, anthropologist from Istanbul Bilgi University. Bilgi rector Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver and Viadrina rector

Prof. Dr. Gunter Fleuger will be present at the official launching ceremony to be held on 2 November.

The professorship was established and is being funded by Viadrina for the purpose of promoting internationalization and international cooperation in teaching and research at Viadrina as a component of the Viadrina-Bilgi dual-degree Master of European Studies Program. Crossfertilization among Turkish, German and other European scholars and students is particularly important during this time of tension and uncertainty in Europe with regard to migration, diversity and the place of Islam and Muslims in particular. During his one-month stay at Viadrina from mid-October to mid-November 2011, Prof. Duben will initiate the professorship by offering a block seminar titled "Istanbul in Anthropological Perspective", where he will examine the ways in which this important city has dealt with issues of migration, social class, ethnicity and diversity from the early 20th century to the present. While Istanbul is not Turkey, European city, it has been the locus of many of the central dynamics of Turkish society as well as being a center of innovation, at least since the late 19th century. Perhaps there is something to experience of Istanbul in the context of issues confronting contemporary Europe. Prof. Duben will also offer a public lecture titled, "The Fall and Rise of Istanbul in the 20th Century". While at Viadrina, he will discuss joint potential research issues with local academicians and work closely with both Bilgi students at Viadrina and Viadrina students who plan to or have had a Bilgi experience in order to to improve channels of intercultural

#### Willy Brandt **Professorship for Prof. Ayhan Kaya**

Prof. Ayhan Kaya has been appointed as the new Willy Brandt Professor at the "Institute for Studies on Migration" of Malmö University, Sweden.

Prof. Kaya will be visiting Malmö University between September and December 2011 in order to give seminars, to conduct research and to tutor post-graduate students. Prof. Kaya will also contribute to the development of cooperation between BİLGİ and Malmö University, which are both members of the Dorich House Consortium.

#### **Students**

BİLGİ University students Koray Ercihan, Murat İşıker, Ezgi Sarıbaloğlu and Yusuf Ozan Üstebay have qualified for the Jean Monnet scholarship and they are eligible to continue their higher education in England.

### **Certificate Programs**

İstanbul Bilgi **University European** Institute held the "Certificate Program on EU Financial Resources and **Project Cycle** Management" in collaboration with NGO Training and **Research Centre** 

(January 31, 2011 - February 4, 2011)





#### **European Studies Certificate Program**

The European Institute organized a "European Union cycle of the studies certificate" program for the EU Office of Governorship of Afyonkarahisar between September 19th and 22nd, 2011. The certificate program covered





a variety of thematic issues ranging from EU - Turkey relations and competition law to EU research funds, as listed below.





#### **Instructors and courses**

Boğaç Erozan Emre Gönen Özge Onursal Burç Beşgül Durmuş Özdemir Bertan Tokuzlu Alper Akyüz Ayhan Kaya Pinar Artiran Esra Arsan Özge Onursal Pınar Uyan

Ömer Turan Ayşe Uyduranoğlu İdil Işıl Gül Nihal İncioğlu Mehmet Ali Tuğtan EU Security Policy

Turkey and Westernization History of the EU **EU Institutions and Policies EU and Turkey Relations EU Economic Integration** 

**EU Law EU and NGOs** 

EU, Migration and Citizenship **EU Foreign Trade Law EU** and Journalism **EU Education Policy EU Social Policy** Political Theory and the EU

**EU and Environmental Policy EU and Human Rights EU and Regional Politics** 

#### **Academic Programmes**

#### **BİLGİ MA in European Studies**

The MA Program, launched in 2000, is designed to provide a thorough knowledge of the European Union, its historic development, its institutions, systems and policies. Turkey's longstanding EU integration process, which started in 1963, continued with the Customs Union (1996), making Turkey part of the European Single Market. Within the framework of the program, Turkey's EU accession period is analyzed and researched with a focus on recent developments. The Program, concentrating on themes such as enlargement and the societal transformations it brings to the countries involved (peace, stability, democratization, regional cooperation, human rights, rule of law, etc.) and European Neighborhood Policy, also offers a wider perspective of European Studies with emphasis on issues such as migration, environmental issues and intercultural dialogue.

#### Viadrina Double Degree MA Programme

As one of the core countries of European integration since the early days of the European Coal and Steel Community, Germany with its political, social and economic structure deserves special attention in studies regarding the European Union. To this end, the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University has developed close relations with many universities and institutes in Germany. The academic cooperation with the European University Viadrina is an exemplary relationship, which started as a two-way exchange of students and academics, leading finally to an enhanced collaboration agreement between the two Universities funded by the German Foreign Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). Graduates not only gain an insight into life in two very different European cities, but also prepare themselves for a rapidly changing world of work across the European continent.

With 30% of foreign students from over 70 countries and an extensive network of partner universities, European University Viadrina is one of the most international universities worldwide. The study courses and university degrees are internationally acknowledged. Its atmosphere is personal and warm; with excellent student support and guidance, European University Viadrina is able to offer outstanding study conditions. Viadrina is located at the German-Polish border, only one hour by train from Germany's capital, Berlin.

The University's proximity to Poland and to Eastern Europe is clearly a distinctive feature of the degree program. Students are able to both learn about the expansion of Europe to the east whilst actively experiencing life on both sides of the German-Polish border. In addition, extensive supervision is offered, as well as small seminar groups and outstanding technical facilities. Should Frankfurt be too small, then there is always Berlin only an hour away by train.

#### Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (I.E.H.E.I)





The Centre International de Formation Européenne (C.I.F.E.) and Institut Européen des Hautes Etudes Internationales (I.E.H.E.I) are among the oldest European institutes offering study programs. For more than 40 years they have been teaching European integration, and over this time they have taught over 5,000 students from more than 70 countries. Their former students have gone on to become today's ministers, diplomats, members of national parliaments or even members of the European Parliament as well as European and international officials. I.E.H.E.I. benefits directly and indirectly via C.I.F.E. from different forms of financial support, both public and private, particularly from the European Commission as well as from several national governments and different foundations.

From the 2009 academic year onwards, BİLGİ's European Institute has collaborated with I.E.H.E.I. to foster broad academic collaboration and exchange and to develop an innovative interdisciplinary MA program in Advanced European and International Studies. The program includes terms in istanbul, Nice and Berlin complemented by a study trip to European and international organizations. The first term takes place at Istanbul Bilgi University (October-December), the ideal place to study what is at stake when it comes to EU enlargement and relations with its neighbors. Students have classes in the two modules. International Relations and European Integration. For the second term, students have classes in four modules with a focus on Economy and Globalisation and Federalism and Governance in Nice (January and February), which are brought to a conclusion by means of an oral examination. The program is complemented by a study trip to European and international organizations. The last term takes place in Berlin, where the program focuses on the experiences of Eastern and Central European countries following their accession to the EU, as well as the fundamental problems with which Turkey and other future accession countries are faced. During their stay in Berlin, the students benefit from lectures given by a variety of experts specialized in European Integration and international relations. With a unique cultural and artistic life, Berlin offers a world of discoveries. The last phase of the program, the writing of the theses and their defence, as well as the final exams, takes place in İstanbul (May, June, July).

With its various university partners from different countries, a study trip and a dialogue with experts and stakeholders from politics and business, the program offers a unique and extraordinary experience. By taking part in this high-level academic program, students can experience real-life "European integration" by living the EU motto, "Unity in diversity".

# **GERMAN STUDIES**

#### German Studies at the European Institute





Berlin's management of the European debt crisis has caused debates in Germany as well as about Germany, a book by former central banker and politician Thilo Sarrazin triggered a heated debate on migration, integration and exclusion, and at the same time perspectives on Turkey in the German public gained new facets - be it through Turkey's significance after the Arab Spring, be it through the country's economic strength that attracts well-educated German Turks considering future careers in Turkey. particularly in Istanbul. It is hardly possible to bring the debates down to a common denominator apart from the observation that political constellations and perspectives in the web of relations between Germany, Turkey and the EU are going through a noticeable change.

These and other aspects are reflected in German Studies growing at Bilgi's European Institute through a cooperation with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) - in courses, research activities, the cultivation of contacts as well as in a DAADsponsored study trip to Berlin last June that brought Bilgi students together with German and European representatives in the fields of politics, administration and law. Corresponding to the political reality of an increasingly Europeanised Germany, the European embedding is a special feature of German Studies at Bilgi. In courses on European politics, institutions and policy fields, on mass media and political communication in Europe, Germany regularly serves as a prominent case study to substantiate general contexts. This contributes to the multiperspectivity practised at the European Institute. Programs with students from Turkey, Germany and many other countries and backgrounds provide a productive basis for seminar discussions in which different points of view are articulated

A second feature of German Studies at the European Institute is the combination of political analysis with an evaluation of the sociological aspects of European integration. In Germany as well as in other EU-countries, European integration is broadly perceived as a process driven forward by political and bureaucratic elites that allow economic and legal experts to set the course beyond public

attention. Various democratisation attempts on the European level have not changed this essentially, nor have European institutions' efforts for more effective public relations. This results in a range of problems, one of them being open gateways for populist movements that capitalize on Euroscepticism, nationalism and xenophobia. Germany offers a multifaceted field to study the relations between political, bureaucratic, economic and legal elites on one side and citizen publics on the other and the ramifications resulting from the visible tensions.

A central feature of German Studies at Bilgi is the Turkish context. This involves the German role in the Turkish accession process and related public debates as well comparative perspectives on both countries. Bringing German and Turkish perspectives together proves to be fruitful since it clarifies the view on the other as well as on the home country. A comparative perspective is the more illuminating, the more one looks on countries and societies not as homogenous units characterized by static political, social or cultural features, but rather as phenomena characterised by distinctive cleavages, conflict dynamics and patterns of social change.



#### "Bilgi students together with Lucy Kinski in the EU department of the Federal Chancellery"

A study trip to Berlin in June 2011 has proven this. During an intensive week, 15 Bilgi students from BİLGİ's European Studies and Law programs met representatives of the Federal Chancellery, the Foreign Office, the Ministry of Justice, political parties, legal institutions and German-Turkish organisations. The group participated in several workshops together with academics and students from three Berlin universities and experienced the dynamics and cultural diversity of the German capital (see the indepth report below).

Contacts are also developing in the opposite direction: 15 representatives of German universities visited Bilgi University and the European Institute in the course of the German Academic Exchange Service's International Academy in May 2011 to explore opportunities for further academic cooperation. In September, 30 members of "TD-Plattform", an organisation of Turkish-German academics, young professionals and students active in the whole range of German-Turkish relations, visited the European Institute to get a detailed picture of Bilgi's and the Institute's activities in Turkish-German academic relations. Beyond teaching activities and the establishment of new contacts, a research cooperation has developed with the European Stability Initiative (ESI), a European think tank working on EU-Turkey relations for many years. The European Institute cooperates with ESI in a comparative project on Turkey-related public debates in five EU countries (Germany, France, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands). The project can help to answer a couple of questions: Is there one European debate on Turkey or do national citizen publics follow national debates? To what extent are debates on Turkey framed by interpretations of migration and by perceptions of culture and religion? What is the role of criteria from the fields of economy, energy security and international relations? Joint efforts are needed to answer such questions on a comparative level.

Peter Widmann

#### German-Turkish Organisation "TD-Plattform" at BİLGİ`s European Institute



The state of relations between Turkey, Germany and the European Union, Turkey's landscape of higher education and guestions of professional training and equal opportunities in Germany and Turkey were the topics of a round-table at the European Institute in September. Emre Gönen, Program Director for European Studies. and Peter Widmann, who is developing the German Studies Unit at the Institute. welcomed 22 members of the German-Turkish organisation "TD-Plattform". The Cologne-based organisation brings together German-Turkish students, academics and representatives of economic and public life in order to create networks and open up opportunities for German-Turkish students and young professionals.

## From the Chancellery to the Neighbourhoods

### Bilgi Students on a DAAD Study trip through Berlin

Berlin may be smaller than Istanbul, but when you try to explore the German capital and discuss questions of the country's politics, law and society, a week can be short. Nonetheless, in eight days one can discover the variety and dynamics of German reality. Through a funding of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) financed by the German Foreign Office, 15 students from European Union Studies and Law accompanied by Nilgün Başalp and Peter Widmann had the opportunity in June 2011 to discuss German and European politics, law and legislation in Berlin with scientists and students, political practioners and jurists. They met representatives from three Berlin universities, from federal ministries, political parties and the European Commission, from the Berlin Supreme Court and organisations of civil society. And they experienced the everyday life of a city sharing an exceptional pace of social, economic and cultural change with Istanbul.

#### Germany, Turkey, Europe: Political perspectives

During the talks with experts from political institutions, abstract notions of "the" German politics were quickly left behind and the diversity of political actors and their institutional perspectives and interests became visible, particularly in discussions on the question of a Turkish EU membership. The discussions with Petra Dachtler, deputy head of the German Foreign Office's Turkey Department, and with Lucy Kinsky from the EU Department of the Federal Chancellery showed how important it is to differentiate party positions from government positions. The 2009 coalition treaty between German Christian Democrats and the Liberal Party labels the EU-Turkey negotiations since 2005 as an "open end process", even though voices from the Christian Democratic Party are rather critical.



#### "Bilgi students in a discussion with Cem Özdemir, chairman of the German Greens"

In a detailed discussion with the study group, the Green Party's chairman Cem Özdemir took the view that Turkey's integration into the European Union is in the interest of today's EU members as well as in Turkey's. Özdemir could refer to a wide range of political experiences - in 1994 he became the first member of the German parliament from a German-Turkish family and the Green's spokesperson for domestic affairs; later he was elected to the European Parliament and became his parliamentary group's Foreign Policy spokesperson. In the discussion he warned against focussing the membership debate on cultural and religious questions. In his perspective, the debate should rather concentrate on accession criteria, standards of democracy and market economy, human rights and the protection of minorities.

The membership question was also discussed in the office of the European Commission Representation in Germany. Dr. Marzenna Guz-Vetter from the Representation's Political Department explained how the Cyprus conflict hampers the accession negotiations. Beyond that, she described in detail the operating range of the Representation and its responsibility for the Commission's contacts with the German parliament and the federal government.

Turkish perspectives on German and European politics were also part of the program. In the Turkish Embassy in BerlinMitte, Envoy İskender Okyay welcomed the group for a in-depth discussion on political and economic relations between Turkey and Germany, on the European perspectives of Turkey and the objectives of Turkish foreign policy. Beyond that, Okyay spoke about occupational outlooks in the diplomatic service - a topic especially interesting for students who were at the end of their studies.

#### Migration, Equal Opportunities and Discrimination

Public perception of Turkish migrants and their descendants is central to the debates on a Turkish EU membership. Hence discussions on migration, integration and discrimination were part of the program. Serdar Yazar and Moritz Schelkes from the Turkish Union in Berlin and Brandenburg introduced the group to the Antidiscrimination network, a project financed by the City of Berlin. The project's staff give advice to individuals affected by discrimination, support them and help to find legal assistance if needed. The network not only supports persons of Turkish background, but everyone who finds himor herself excluded because of ethnic background, religion, disability, sex, age or sexual orientation - be it on the job, in the housing market or in a restaurant. At the same time, the staff members try to raise public awareness for equal treatment. One element of the project is empowerment seminars to strengthen the ability of minority groups to take action against discrimination.



#### "Bilgi students at the Turkish Union in Berlin-Brandenburg"

In the rooms of the Berlin-Brandenburg Migration Council the study group met with sociologist Prof. Iman Attia and students of social work from Alice Salomon University of Applied Sciences, many of whom come from German-Turkish families. The students described the social situation of German Turks in rapidly changing neighbourhoods like Kreuzberg and Neukölln. One important topic of the discussion was the relation of imposed exclusion and self-exclusion of population groups in a minority situation. The scientific analysis of discrimination and prejudice was the subject of a workshop at the Centre for Research on Antisemitism at Berlin's Technical University. Dr. Juliane Wetzel, Dr. Isabel Enzenbach und Yasemin Shooman presented teaching materials developed in the Research Centre designed to support the fight against anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination in schools. The materials show that prejudice is not a reaction to alleged collective characteristics of minorities but rather a phenomenon deriving from self-affirmation needs of majority societies. One topic of the workshop was the public perception of

Muslims in Germany and Europe and the corresponding stereotypes and feelings of threat

Legislation and Jurisdiction on the National, European and Regional Levels

The conditions of the European Union as a system of multi-level governance have a strong influence on legislation and jurisdiction in Germany. The study group discussed questions that arise with the Europeanisation of EU member states in the Federal Ministry of Justice, in the Berlin Supreme Court, with the Association of Republican Lawers and in the Berlin Free University's Law Department.

In the Federal Ministry of Justice the study group met with Annette Böringer, Chief Prosecutor at the Federal Court of Justice. who, as the head of the Ministry's Department for Legal Cooperation, is also responsible for the contacts with the Turkish Ministry of Justice. Ms. Böringer explained major characteristics of the German legal system, where day-to-day administration of justice is situated at the federal states' level. At the same time EU legislation influences national law through directives and regulations - to a degree often criticised by national politicians. Ms. Böringer described how the Ministry of Justice examines the compatibility of draft laws and regulations of other federal ministries with European, national, international and constitutional law.



#### Judge Ulrich Wimmer explains German court proceedings at the Berlin Supreme Court.

At the Kammergericht, the Supreme Court of the Federal State of Berlin for civil and criminal cases, the group explored how German jurisdiction works on the day-to-day level. Judge Dr. Ulrich Wimmer guided the group through the historical court building at Kleistpark and explained the proceedings of German civil and criminal trials in different courtrooms. Wimmer, who also works as a legal mediator, described the possibilities of court mediation, which offers a chance to compromise outside formal trials.

A visit at the Association of Republican Lawyers in the House of Democracy at Friedrichshain Park gave an insight into the work of lawyers. Carsten Gericke, executive secretary of the association, and Antonia von der Behrens characterised the strong influence of European Law on German jurisdiction on the field of refugee and migration law.

In the Berlin Free University's Law Department the study group took part in a workshop on fundamental rights and competition law in the European Union led by Dr. Andreas Fijal, Dr. Maik Wolf and Philipp Germelmann. The workshop was organised by the Chair for Constitutional,

Administrative and International Law, Prof. Philip Kunig, who is the Vice President of the German Consortium for the development of the Turkish-German University in Istanbul and in this function responsible for the setup of the law faculty.

#### Berlin as a Historic Site

Beyond insightful discussions, Berlin offered the chance to visit sites of German and European history - buildings and memorials representing the Nazi period, the history of a divided Germany and its reunification. The study group experienced the presence of history in Berlin's centre not only during a guided tour to historical sites but also on the way to the meetings with the representatives of political and legal institutions - for example in the Berlin Supreme Court, where one former courtroom is dedicated to the commemoration of the resistance fighters who tried to kill Hitler on July 20, 1944, and who were sentenced to death there, or in the Reichstag building, where graffiti of Russian soldiers from the Second World War can still be seen, as well as the room of the former Press Office of the German Democratic Republic, today situated in the Federal Ministry of Justice, where Communist politician Günter Schabowski announced the freedom to travel for citizens of the GDR in November 1989. The history of the 20th century was even present in the musical part of the program: in the German Opera House in Charlottenburg the group saw a staging of Giuseppe Verdi's "Macbeth", located by director Robert Carsen in a fictional military dictatorship.

#### Maultaschen and Döner Kebab: Experiencing Berlin Culture

Berlin's food reflects the immigration into the city - be it from South Germany or Anatolia. In the Tiergarten district the students became acquainted with handmade Swabian Maultaschen in the restaurant "Maultaschenmanufaktur". But even Berlin Döner Kebab places can have surprising things to offer visitors from Istanbul, since the German-Turkish version of this traditional dish differs quite a bit in size and ingredients from the one in Istanbul. Beyond gastronomy, the variety of the city was explored at the Market of Cultures in Kreuzberg organised during the annual Carnival of Cultures. Berlin-based groups from many countries presented themselves with music on several stages and in an artisans' market.

#### **New Perspectives**

The eight days' gain was manifold: the significance of multi-level governance on the day-to-day level of politics, administration and law became vivid. Opportunities and conflicts of a culturally pluralistic society became comprehensible. Even though some of the topics could only be touched on cursorily, the week gave many insights into the complexity and dynamics of German politics, society and culture. This is precisely the chance such trips offer: students do not return with simple answers, but with different and more specific questions - and immune to simplistic images of Germany. Perspectives on social change and its conflicts proved to be especially important from a Turkish viewpoint, since they connect experiences from both Turkey and Germany.

#### **Our students**

#### BEING A 'GERMAN-TURKISH' ERASMUS STUDENT AT ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITY



Alper Baysan (Erasmus Exchange student)

If you had told me beforehand that my Erasmus studies in Turkey were going to change my mindset fundamentally, I would have frowned and shaken my head. No

doubt about that. Before my arrival I was not really sure what to expect or how to prepare, although I would have considered myself ready for my studies abroad since my parents are Turkish and I went to Turkey for vacation and visits at least once a year up until then. However, one thing became very clear afterwards: Living in Istanbul/Turkey is a completely different issue from just going for short-term trips or visits.

Before my departure to Istanbul I had collected plenty of information on Bilgi, its related departments, institutions and associated academics. Upon the recommendations of family, friends and acquaintances I finally preferred BiLGi to another foundation university in Istanbul to do my Erasmus exchange studies. This is firstly because I was very interested in the work and lectures of the international relations department's academicians. Secondly, I deemed it very important to experience city life in an urban university. How would I have otherwise made intercultural and social encounters and gone sightseeing if I had spent most of my time on a campus outside of the city-center?

I came to Turkey pretty much amidst a personal identity crisis. Up to then, I had not figured out yet whether I was German, Turkish, both or whatever. Having felt a continuous coercion in Germany to position myself identity-wise, Istanbul came to my aid precisely when it was high time. Seeing and experiencing life and social interaction in a very cosmopolitan city and environment, my personality has made a stark turn towards being more outgoing, tolerant and open for intercultural exchange. Concomitant with highly inspirational lectures at Bilgi I was able to adopt a completely new outlook. I realized that it is not important where you're coming from but rather where you're going. If I am now being asked what I would consider myself, I simply reply: a human being. Constraining myself to be either German or Turkish would not only neglect my individuality, but would also bring my ethnic/national affiliation to the fore instead of my personality. This is not what I want.

In retrospect I can say that I am very happy to have chosen BiLGi to do my Earasmus exchange studies. The instructors were highly competent and their courses really stimulating. Very quickly it became clear that ambitious and diligent students were thoroughly supported and assisted in their research endeavors and all sorts of issues. In a similar vein, professors and staff were consistently available for consultation, even outside their office hours. This is something I really much appreciate and which was totally different from what I knew

in Europe. In fact, this is an asset for BİLGİ and its academicians in that it shows the great importance they attach to teaching and to maintaining close relationships with their students. I would like to thank all the instructors, staff and friends for an exciting, insightful and unforgettable Erasmus exchange year, in the hope that our paths may cross someday.

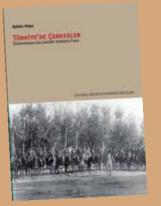
#### Nana Varshanidze

(European Studies student, MA)



I believe that, every single day I have spent during the Master Degree programme on European Studies in Bilgi University has been fruitful and informative for me. As a foreigner studying in Turkey, it has been a great experience studying in a university which is open to different perspectives and has a very welcoming environment. This makes it easier to focus on your studies without any additional difficulties. It is delightful that as a student and a researcher you have the means and access to any kind of information available, especially concerning my Department, with the online library system. I would also like to mention that the quality of the education and the educators are stunning, and they are committed to providing knowledge and sharing their experiences as much as they can. The diversity of students from different countries in the class provides a platform for sharing opinions and debating contemporary issues, which gives us the opportunity to understand what others think. Interaction between different cultures and finding a common ground for decision making is all that the European Union is about, and studying at Bilgi has given me a clear idea of what this process encapsulates. Studying the European Union in EU countries in my perspective would not be sufficient and would not give us the whole picture, especially in my area of interest, which is the enlargement and neighbourhood policy of EU. I myself am from Georgia, a non-member striving for the EU, however a country seen as the "neighbour of" or the "other" Europe. Studying in Turkey has contributed to looking at the situation from the countries who feel neglected and I think this has been a very valuable perspective which can be helpful for some future solutions on undisputable matters. I believe that any knowledge attained without listening to both sides is always incomplete. I advise all my foreign friends and future colleagues to experience such an interactive atmosphere. Bilgi University has been the best channel in which I could integrate different perspectives and approaches. In my opinion, in Bilgi University one can access objective knowledge together with a more critical stance towards the already known matters and can be more than welcome to express one's own ideas without any hesitation to be misjudged. After the end of my programme and with the valuable knowledge I have gained and with all those activities and programmes in which Bilgi is involved outside Turkey, I am confident with myself in terms of carreer accomplishments. It was these opportunities and the liberal stance of the university which had determined my choice in the first place, and at the end of the day I can honestly say that I do not regret it.

# **PUBLICATIONS**



#### Circassians in Turkey: Reification of Culture in Diaspora

Avhan Kava

The book entitled: Circassians in Turkey: Reification of Culture in Diaspora (Istanbul Bilgi University Press, in Turkish) is a study on the Circassian diaspora and aims to understand how the meaning of "motherland" was conceived and configured by the Circassian consciousness. It seeks to find answers to the question whether there is an image of "motherland" constructed by the Circassian diapora or there is a different concept of "motherland" grounded on metarial conditions. At the same time, it analyses socio-economic structures, cultures, traditions, rituals, migration routes and the changes in the ethno-cultural and religious identities of Circassians.



# Access to Justice in Turkey: Indicators and Suggestions (Türkiye'de Adalete Erişim: Göstergeler ve Öneriler)

The book titled "Türkiye'de Adalete Erisim: Göstergeler ve Öneriler" (soon to be published from TESEV in English under the title "Access to Justice in Turkey: Indicators and Recommendations") written by Seda Kalem Berk from İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law and Human Rights Law Research Center is a compilation of data on various access to justice issues in Turkey. The work mainly covers four areas of access to justice: legal aid, courtroom interpretation, access to information and electronic litigation. All of these areas are titles that are covered under the access to justice section of the government's 2009 Judicial Reform Strategy

(http://www.sgb.adalet.gov.tr/yrs/Judicial %20Reform%20Strategy.pdf).

By limiting the scope of access to justice issues to these four particular areas, the author tries to link the available data on these matters -compiled from official as well as unofficial sources- to actual policy in order to present the convergence and the divergence between what is promised by the political authority and what is actually being executed. In this respect, the work also tries to speak to policy makers by demonstrating the gap between the relevant legislative and bureaucratic developments in these areas and real moments of access to justice in everyday encounters, especially for disadvantaged groups within the society.

For full text in Turkish, go to http://www.tesev.org.tr/UD\_OBJS/PDF/DEMP/ADALETE-ERISIM.pdf.



#### Stefann Grudmann Yesim M. Atamer

Speculation is rife on the origins of the worldwide financial crisis of 2008, with a preponderance focusing on alleged shortcomings in corporate governance. This book offers a distinct yet complementary perspective: that the most useful path to follow, if we want to understand what happened and forestall its happening again, is through an analysis of contract relationships - specifically, banking contracts entered into in the financial services sector. considered under the rubric of contract law rather than company law. Because banking is the area of European contract law which is most thoroughly developed, banking contracts can be seen as paradigmatic of typical assumptions and shortcomings often examined in the more general debate on contract law. And indeed, the very thoroughness of European banking contract law makes it a promising ground on which to build effective preventive measures. In this book, thirteen noted scholars, recognizing that modern contract law must take into account global markets and risks, consider banking contracts within networks and within mass transactions. Always attending to the long-term relationships that characterize financial services contracts, they focus on such cross-sector issues as the following:

- rule-setting and the question of who should best regulate and at which level;
- networks of contracts as the backbone of a market economy;
- the complex interplay between market regulation and traditional contract law;
- avoiding erroneous assumptions about the future development of prices;
- the passing on of the risk via securitization;
- rating relationships affected by conflicts of interests;

- remuneration problems;
- core duties of information and advice in an agency relationship in services;
- · fiduciary duties of loyalty and care;
- types of clients and level of protection;
- differentiation in information available on various markets, and
- the question of enforcement.

The authors analyse the full body of secondgeneration European Banking Contract Law and show convincingly that the world financial crisis has proceeded at least as much from contracting as from corporate governance. This vantage point promises to open new ways to approach this most crucial of contemporary problems, and will be of great interest to all professionals examining the role played by financial services in market crises.

This book is based on the tenth annual conference of the Society of European Contract Law (SECOLA) which took place at BILGI University in Istanbul in June 2010. For a short summary of the conference, see our Newsletter III on p. 14.



#### Introduction to European Union: History, Institutions and Policies

The book entitled Introduction to European Union: History, Institutions and Policies is the latest publication by the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University published by Istanbul Bilgi University Press in October 2011. The book was edited by the academic staff of the European Institute Ayhan Kaya, Senem Aydın Düzgit, Yaprak Gürsoy and Özge Onursal Beşgül. Published in Turkish, the book aims to provide an overview of the history, institutions and policies of the European Union. It is composed of two main sections. The first section covers the topics of institutions of the EU, EU's enlargement and ENP policy, EU and democratization, European economic integration, financial integration, EU law and EU citizenship. The second section covers a wide range of EU policies, such as regional policy, environmental policy, social policy, educational policy, security and defense policy, energy policy and transportation policy. Each chapter concludes with a section on Turkey. The contributers of the book are: Emre Gönen, Senem Aydın Düzgit, Yaprak Gürsoy, Durmuş Özdemir, Oral Erdoğan, Harry Tzimitras, Ayhan Kaya, Kerem Cem Sanlı, Nihal İncioğlu, Burç Beşgül, Nuran Talu, Pınar Uyan Semerci, Ela Babalık Sutcliffe, Özge Onursal Beşgül, Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, Halil Güven, and Doğan Güneş. Senem Aydın Düzgit "Avrupa Birliği - Türkiye İlişkilerine Posyapısalcı Yaklaşım: Almanya Örneğinde Dış Politika ve Söylem Analizi" (A Poststructuralist Approach to EU-Turkey Relations: Foreign Policy and Discourse Analysis in the Case of Germany) Uluslararası İlişkiler (Journal of International Relations), Vol. 8, No. 29 (Spring 2011): 49-70.

Senem Aydın Düzgit "Limits of Cosmopolitanism? European Commission Officials on the Selves and Others", (with Semin Suvarierol) Alternatives: Global, Local, Political, Vol. 36, No.2 (May 2011): 155-168.

Senem Aydın Düzgit "Turkish Accession and Defining the Boundaries of Nationalism and Supranationalism: Discourses in the European Commission," (with Semin Suvarierol), South European Society and Politics, Vol. 16, No. 3 (September 2011): 469-482.

Yaprak Gürsoy "Is There a Europeanization of Turkish Foreign Policy: An Addendum to the Literature on EU Candidates," (with Meltem Müftüler-Baç), Turkish Studies, Vol. 11, No. 3 (September 2010): 405-427.

**Yaprak Gürsoy** "The Impact of EU-Driven Reforms on the Political Autonomy of the Turkish Military," **South European Society and Politics**, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June 2011): 293-308.

**Ayhan Kaya** "Euro-Turks as a Bridge between Turkey and the European Union," **South European Society and Politics**, 16:3 (September 2011): 499-512.

Ayhan Kaya "Valenciennes Örneğinden Hareketle Karabük'e Işık Tutma Denemesi: Öğrenen Kentler Yaratmak," Kuruluşundan Bugüne Karabük ve Demir Çelik, Ankara: TBMM Basımevi, 2011.



#### Working Paper No: 4 EU/4/2011

The Role of Common Cultural Heritage in External Promotion of Modern Turkey: Yunus Emre Cultural Centres

Kaya, Ayhan, Ayşe Tecmen 2011, Working Paper No: 4 EU/4/2011

This study investigates the role of Yunus Emre Cultural Centres in the promotion of Turkish society and culture abroad with reference to the theory of multiple modernities - a theory that is likely to revitalize the role of culture and religion in social and political inquiries.

# IDENTITIES AND MODERNITIES IN EUROPE: EUROPEAN AND NATIONAL IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMMES AND POLITICS, CULTURE, HISTORY AND RELIGION



May 2009 - April 2012

Project acronym: IME
Project number: SSH-CT-2009-215949
Project starting date: 1 May 2009
Duration: 36 months
Project budget (EU contribution):
€1,447,773.00

IME (Identities and Modernities in Europe) investigates European identities. European identities in this project refer to a wide range of definitions of 'us, the Europeans' proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU), in particular in nine cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The project addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are, in what ways they have been formed and what trajectories they may take from now on.

IME first investigates the diversity of European identities as it manifests in the nine cases.

It then examines the various ways in which these diverse self-definitions have been formulated and maintained in different societal, cultural and systemic settings and in which they have been interacting with various processes and forces. It then aims to identify commonalities among diverse European identities in the nine cases as the basis of grounded projection of possible trajectories European identities may take as the processes of European integration continue.

The project therefore has the following objectives:

- to map the diversity of European identities across the cases studied in relation to four factors: type of state, type of religion, the strength of civil society and geo-historical and geo-political background;
- to analyse in each case how European identities have evolved within the specific historical context in relation to other forms of identification, especially national identity;
- to investigate the role of the EU integration processes in modifying the contemporary identities, especially in its relationship to national and religio-ethnic identities;
- to examine the extent to which religioethnic minorities influence identity construction programmes of the majority, and their unique contribution to the articulation of European identities;
- to seek commonalities in European identities across the cases by way of systematic comparisons;
- to test the validity of theory of multiple

modernities as a sound basis for projecting the trajectory of the future of European identities

#### Consortium members are:

- Kingston University
- Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
- Helsinki University
- Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques (Sciences Po)
- University of Duisburg-Essen
- The Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
- International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (IMIR)
- İstanbul Bilgi University
- University of Zagreb

#### Advisory board members are:

- Professor Johann Arnason, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic
- Dr John Hutchinson, London School of Economics and Political Science, UK
- Professor Juan Diez Medrado, Universidad de Barcelona, Spain
- Terry Martin (Journalist, Communication Advisor; SPIA)

#### Highlights from IME project



#### Publication

#### **Europe, Nations and Modernity (2011)** Edited by Atsuko Ichijo Series: Identities and Modernities in Europe Palgrave Macmillan

#### Conferences

Collective papers drawing upon the research and fieldwork conducted for the IME project have been presented at the following international events:

- XVII ISA World Congress of Sociology: Sociology on the Move, 11-17 July 2010, Gothenburg, Sweden Congress program is available at: http://www.isa-sociology.org/ congress2010/
- 18th International Conference of Europeanists: The Causes, Consequences and Meaning of Transnationalization, 20-22 June 2011, Barcelona, Spain Conference program is available at: http://councilforeuropeanstudies.org/

#### **Project Meetings**



- Seventh project meeting: 28-29 March 2012 Kingston, UK (forthcoming)
- Sixth project meeting, 13-14 June 2011, Helsinki, Finland
- Fifth project meeting: 24-25 February 2011, Paris, France
- Fourth project meeting: 7-8 October 2010, Istanbul, Turkey
- Third project meeting: 6-7 May 2010, Opatija, Croatia
- Second project meeting: 19-20 November 2009, Athens, Greece
- First project meeting: 29-30 May 2009, Kingston, UK

#### **Newsletters**

Four newsletters regarding the progress of the project and the project partners have been released. IME newsletters can be obtained at:

http://fass.kingston.ac.uk/research/european/ime/newsletter/

# Summary of Findings from the Turkish Reports

# WP3 Theoretical framework: Theory of multiple modernities and European identities

The WP3 report was prepared by Thea Boldt, Géraldine Bozec, Sophie Duchesne, Atsuko Ichijo, Armando Salvatore and Bo Strath, and it constitutes the theoretical framework in which the project partners approach the notions of national and European identities. As such, the report also investigates and sets the framework in which key concepts such as modernity, multiple modernities, human agency and self-reflexivity are defined and employed throughout the IME project.



# WP4 The state of the art: Various paths to modernity: Turkish Case

The WP4 report establishes the theoretical background of the research on identities and modernities in the Turkish case. As such, the report focuses on the late Ottoman Empire period, the Kemalist movement and the role of Europe (and the EU) as an anchor for reform. Furthermore, this report also includes a literature review on Turkish scholars' works on the multiple modernities theory. This report is also vital in understanding the roles of Westernization and Europeanization in Turkish modernity.



# WP5 Identity construction programs of the state and the EU: Case Study Phase I: Turkish Case

The WP5 report investigates internal and external identity promotion programmes of the state.

The Turkish WP5 report particularly investigates the Turkish higher education system as the fundamental internal promotion programme and the external promotional activities of the state, such as Yunus Emre cultural centres, EU communications strategy of 2010 as well as civil society initiatives. In doing so, the report includes an extensive literature review and findings from in-depth interviews. Drawing upon these findings, the report highlights the discourses on national identity, European identity and modernity followed in internal and external promotion of Turkish identity as well as the convergences and divergences in state efforts.

# WP 6 Identity construction programmes of non-state, professional and collective actors: Case study phase II: Turkish Case



The WP6 report constitutes the first stage of the fieldwork. Interviewing various professional and collective actors, the WP6 report investigates the ways in which the notions of Turkishness, Europeanness, Europe and modernity have been accommodated in the field of education. In doing so, the important contestations in the

2000 and 2010 period were identified as follows: a) immigration, multiculturalism and citizenship; b) liberalism and globalisation; c) history education reforms as indicators of national identity construction debates; and d) the representation of religion and secularisation in the education sector.

The Turkish report reveals that the EU is considered an anchor with reference to the reformation of the education system; however, the rise of EUscepticism is still visible. In terms of national identity, it was significant that while Turkishness is still the mainstream, ethno-political claims constitute a test for the consolidation of Turkish democracy.

# WP7 Citizens and Modernities: Between National and European Paths in Turkey

The WP7 report constitutes the second stage of the fieldwork. Interviewing private individuals (students, parents, retirees) the WP7 report investigates the following topics: a) education in one's mother language, particularly education in Kurdish and the boycotts that occurred in September 2010: b) the Bologna Process, which aims for the Europeanization of higher education, and criticisms regarding its neoliberal motivations; c) history education in Turkish high schools and the way in which neighbouring countries are portrayed in the textbooks; and d) the headscarf ban at Turkish Universities and the student protests.

The Turkish report reveals that humanism and reflexivity play significant roles in individuals' understanding of modernity and modernization. Furthermore, the report emphasized that although Turkishness is not essentialized by the interlocutors, ethnic diversity and pluralism are accepted/tolerated as long as the unity of the state is not threatened.

Moreover, our interviews revealed that there is no consensus over the definition and conceptualization of Europe. To that effect, the interlocutors reference Europe and Europeanization in various ways which range from: Europe as modernity (Europeanization as a modernization process), a synonym for the West, the source of philosophy and reason, as well as Europe as the "other" with reference to religion and culture.

### WP8 Consolidation of the case study: Turkish Case

The WP8 report constitutes the consolidative work which aims to provide a comprehensive and comparative view of the findings from the WP5, WP6 and WP7 reports. Accordingly, the report provides an analysis of the findings from three different levels of actors which are: state actors, non-state actors and private individuals.

The WP8 report underlines that while state actors have been traditionally perceived as the modernizing agents in Turkish history, non-state actors and private individuals

demonstrate that they have a strong conviction in the role of collective and individual actors in their ability to reconstitute and restructure their surroundings vis-à-vis the process of contestation. While the role of the modernizing agent has been attributed to the state due to the top-down approach followed by the Turkish state, the significance of cognitive processes and critical attitudes towards modernity and the role of Europe as a model for modernity have been contested in various stages of our field work.



Most importantly, the report argues that while both non-state actors and private individuals maintain the importance of modernizing Turkey with certain universal reference points, which are founded on democracy, rule of law and human rights, they are not supportive of the holistic Western model. Subsequently, they emphasize that Europe and Turkey have different cultural and religious elements. thus the two entities' experiences with modernity are dissimilar in nature but they are not necessarily inconsistent. Moreover, the consolidative study indicates that Europe as synonymous with the West sets a valid model of modernity for Turkey on the structural level, but the acknowledgement of societal and cultural differences between Turkey and other European countries presents the prospect of analysing the Turkish experience with modernity as an alternative model.

Full texts of the reports are available at: http://fass.kingston.ac.uk/public/ime/

# Policy Actors in the post-Helsinki Period: Political Parties and Civil Society Organizations in Turkey



#### **Political Parties**

From the 1960s onwards, political parties in Turkey displayed different levels of commitment to EU membership while the left-right division of political parties became more visible and class politics began to emerge due to the industrialisation process. Altunışık and Benli (2005: 25) argue that "From the mid-1980s onwards, identity issues took over the political sphere and gained an ideological dimension in time. The Kurdish issue and political Islam became two important subjects of discussion during

this period". Subsequent to the 1999 Helsinki Summit, the prospect of EU membership led to the realignment of political parties with regard to their perceptions on EU membership, yet there was a common element to both pro- and anti-European sentiments. In that regard, "the major political parties were not willing to challenge the fundamental precepts of state ideology on key issues of concern such as 'cultural rights' and the 'the Cyprus problem'..." (Öniş, 2003: 17).

In the early and mid-1990s, leading up to the Helsinki Summit, ANAP (Anavatan Partisi- Motherland Party), the centre-right party under the leadership of Mesut Yılmaz, emerged as one of the key political actors that supported EU membership with a rather more evident political stance. However, ANAP, as the opposition party in the early 1990s, was not able to implement considerable reforms. As a counterpart, in the early 1990s the ultra-nationalist MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi- Nationalist Movement Party), the far-right party, emerged as the major anti-EU political party with concerns over the effects of EU membership on "national sovereignty and security" (ibid: 18). However, the "military's elite, left-wing nationalists and extremists have also repeatedly voiced their concern or opposition on certain EU issues" (Avc., 2003: 157). These concerns were mainly over sovereignty and territorial integrity. It should also be noted that in the late-1990s. MHP became one of the key political actors attributable to the rise of Turkish nationalism. The rise of PKK insurgency and the increasing political attention to the situation in Southeastern Turkey leading to the rise of nationalism revived concerns over the territorial integrity of the country. Subsequently, "the political debates around EU membership turned into "ideological" confrontations between the nationalists and the rest of the parties" (Avcı, 2003:157).

While the far right and the centre right took opposite sides on the debate over EU accession, there was another common element to the stances of the political parties. Öniş notes that "the Left has taken a highly nationalistic stand on many of the key issues involved. ...parties of the centreright in Turkey do not appear to have been particularly influenced by debates on multiculturalism, liberal internationalism and third way politics, which seem to have occupied the European social democratic left during the recent era..." (Öniş, 2003: 18). Consequently, "'defensive nationalist' characteristics of the left-right political spectrum, which refers to the parties' broad support for membership is accompanied by a tendency to feel uncomfortable with the key elements of conditionality" (Öniş, 2007: 248). Öniş also notes that while EU membership is a part of state-supported westernization process, the stances of political parties can be distinguished as "hard euroscepticism" and "soft euroscepticism". He summarizes the distribution of hard and soft sceptics as

"hard euroscepticism, meaning the rejection of EU membership altogether, is confined to fringe elements in the party system, namely extreme leftists or nationalists and radical Islamists, which constitute a very small percentage of the total electorate... "soft-Euro-scepticism", which involves a certain dislike of the conditions associated with full-membership if not the idea of membership, is quite widespread and can be identified in political parties which fall across the whole of the political spectrum" (ibid: 249-250).

Another important political phenomenon in the 1990s was the rise of political Islam, which brought about a different dynamic in domestic politics. Necmettin Erbakan, "defined his movement against the West, in general, and the Kemalist vision of Europeanization, in particular" (Yavuz, 2006:243). Although Erbakan incorporated EU membership into his agenda in the 1999 elections, the formation of the AKP introduced yet another form of political Islam. To that effect, Yavuz suggests that the prospect of European integration had strong influences on political Islamic movements in Turkey. He argues that:

"Since the early 1990s, however, a dramatic cognitive shift has taken place in Turkey. Islamic political identity is shifting from an anti-Western to a pro-European position, while conversely, the Kemalist bureaucratic-military establishment, which has defined its historic mission as that of guardians leading the nation westward, has become increasingly recalcitrant in regard to integration with Europe. Today one of the few unifying platforms of Turkey's diverse ethnic and religious groups is one favouring membership in the EU" (Yavuz, 2006:226).

In analyzing the wide public support for the AKP, Yavuz suggests that the party's promotion of accession "is the search for political identity through the EU process", which is founded on an identification "with the European norms of the Christian Democratic parties". In relation to that, he argues that AKP utilized the process of accession to "reduce the power of the military" through defining "itself against the military" (Yavuz, 2006: 246). In other words, he attributes the pro-EU stance of AKP to the search for self-identification, which occurred in contrast to the military establishment in Turkey.

#### **Civil Society Organizations**

Although Turkish civil society organizations have been deemed weak policy actors due to the assertion that "respect for authority is stressed over citizen empowerment and participation, and democracy has been shallow, imposed from above by Westernizing elites on largely peasant, passive society", in the 1980s and particularly in the 1990s civil society organizations began to proliferate (Kubicek, 2002:762). While it is agreed upon that this proliferation was highly contingent on economic liberalization, Keyman and içduygu argue that this increase can also be associated with the political parties, such that:

"Where the center-Right and center-Left political parties have continuously been declining in terms of their popular support and their ability to produce effective and convincing policies, while at the same time both the resurgence of identity politics and civil society have become strong and influential actors of social and political change" (Keyman, İçduygu, 2003:222).

Kalaycioğlu agrees that although "the visible statist orientation (étatism) in Turkey stresses community over the individual, uniformity over diversity, and an understanding of law that privileges collective reason", he reasons that this phenomenon is founded on the critical relations between the centre and the periphery (Kalaycioğlu, 2002: 250-252).

Perhaps as a part of this dynamic, namely the association of the centre with the state, Kalaycıoğlu argues that, among others, TÜSİAD (Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği- Turkish İndustrialists' and Businessmen's Association), Türk-İş (Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu-Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), TOBB (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği-The Union of Chamber and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey), "often benefit from their co-operation with the state, rather than co-operation with other voluntary associations to pressure the state. As a rule voluntary associations do not seem to consider the state as an adversary, but rather as an ally to be mobilised against their competitors" (Kalaycıoğlu, 2002: 258). On the other hand, protest movements and advocacy associations which confront the Turkish state that "advocate drastic change in the Republican system or the political regime", though they receive media attention, are not received well by the state (Kalaycıoğlu, 2002: 260). In contrast, Atan argues that certain civil society organisations do not necessarily cooperate with the state and that:

"While Turkish civil society is traditionally weak vis-a-vis the state, Turkish PBOs [Peak Business Organizations] appear as significant actors to challenge the government's policy agenda. Familiarisation with the EU-level governance system had provided them with additional resources to act upon the domestic agenda-setting process "(Atan, 2004:109).

To that effect, it should be noted that TÜSİAD, an association including big business, has been one of the most discussed civil society actors in literature. In terms of EU membership, Atan argues that in the aftermath of 1997, "TÜSİAD played an important role in strengthening their ties with their European counterparts with and through whom they lobbied EU institutions and governments in favour of Turkey's EU membership" (Atan, 2004: 107). Additionally, TÜSİAD prompted domestic policy changes in Turkey in favour of harmonization with the EU member states through the report titled "The Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey" published in 1997. These reports have been discussed and cited by several scholars as a reflection of the growing civil society participation in the domestic policy-making process.

MÜSİAD is another business association, which consists of AKP supporters. According to Atan, MÜSİAD appears to be "an organisation advocating a different model of economic and social development using

"a certain interpretation of Islam' to ensure the coherence of its members and 'to represent their economic interest as an integral component of an ideological mission" (Atan, 2004: 111). Consequently, MÜSİAD followed the "discourse emphasizing the compatibility of EU membership with the 'Islamic democrat' identity of Turkish society (Atan, 204: 112), which is guite similar to the arguments made by the members of the AKP. On the other hand. Yankava (2009) argues that in MÜSİAD's case, the Europeanization process produces two dynamics: economic Furopeanization as a social learning process and political Europeanization as political opportunism, and an on-going Euroscepticism. Furthermore, one could also observe that there is an interesting shift from hard Euroscepticism based on a civilizational divergence argument towards a soft Euroscepticism expressed in nationalinterest and in a new Islamic rhetoric in line with the assumption that Turkey is becoming a soft power in its region.

In addition to business associations, it should be noted that İKV (İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı-Economic Development Foundation) was established as an initiative of the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce in 1965 to inform the public on the internal affairs of the EU as well as the relations between Turkey and the EU. Similarly, TESEV (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı-Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) is a nongovernmental think-tank which focuses on social, political and economic policies in Turkey. Both İKV and TESEV have been very active in informing the public and the government on EU-related issues.

Regarding the nature of civil organizations in Turkey, an important argument is made by Keyman and İçduygu. The scholars argue that the direction of Turkish modernization since the 1980s and the increasing participation of civil society actors in the policy making process is a result of four processes. These are as follows: (1) "the changing meaning of modernity" or in other words "the emergence of alternative modernities", which refers to "first the emergence of the critique of the status of the secular-rational thinking as the exclusive source of modernity in Turkey, and second, the increasing strength of Islamic discourse both as a 'political actor' and as a 'symbolic foundation' for identity formation"; (2) "the legitimacy crisis of the strong state tradition" which occurred "as a result of the shift towards civil society and culture as new reference points in the language and the terms of politics"; (3) "the process of European integration" referring to the assertion that "reforms also indicate that the sources of democratization in Turkey are no longer only national, but also global, and therefore that the EU plays an important role in the changing nature of the state-society relations in Turkey and functions as a powerful actor" generating system-transforming impacts on Turkish politics"; and (4) "the process of globalization" due to which "Turkish politics is embedded in this process and globalization functions as a significant external variable for understanding the current state of the political process in Turkey (Keyman and İçduygu, 2003: 222-226).

#### **Trade Unions**

In comparison to the literature on civil society organizations and political parties, the literature on trade unions with respect to their role in Europeanization during the post-Helsinki period is rather limited. Nevertheless, it is possible to characterize the stances of labour unions as rather cautious and inconsistent. For instance, "on the one hand, they argue that it would cause unemployment and the disintegration of the country. On the other hand, membership of the EU is seen as providing an opportunity to move forward and to improve labour rights" (Yıldırım, Çalış and Benli, 2008: 363). However, it is also noted that:

"Many of the labor market problems currently experienced in Turkey emerge in a context of rapid structural change. Until quite recently, the bulk of employment was in the agricultural sector, whereas today the urban labor force in industry and services is much larger than the rural workforce" (Adaman, Buğra, İnsel, 2008: 8).

With reference to her in-depth interviews with members of the labour unions, Alemdar argues that "Although the literature expects them to appeal to the EU for better labour standards or workers' rights, Turkish domestic actors' use of the EU depends heavily on the domestic environment and their respective EU perceptions" (Alemdar, 2009:3). In fact, Alemdar's argument in general is also reflective of shifting views towards the EU, but she relies on the premise that the domestic environment, such as the military coups, political party alliances, and labour regulations, influences the way in which trade unions perceive the EU. Consequently, the unions appeal to the EU when they are not satisfied with the domestic politics.

In order to examine the perceptions of labour union on EU membership and the reforms it necessitates, scholars tend to look at the cases of Türk-İş (Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu-Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions), DİSK (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu-Confederation of Revolutionary Trade Unions), Hak-İş (Hak İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu- Confederation of Justice Seekers' Trade Union). Alemdar describes Türk-iş as a state-centric labour union while depicting that the Union's perceptions of the EU have taken an openly anti-EU stance after 2000 but have softened their position since 2005, as membership negations began. Türk-İş's position vis-a-vis the EU is very well explicated by the statement of Yıldırım Koç, who is one of the advocates of the syndicate:

"The European Union's demands for Turkey are in opposition to the Turkish Republic's unitary state system and its independence. Abiding by these demands would tear our country apart and divide it, creating a new Yugoslavia. Turkey is not going to solve its problems through the EU. Turkey is not going to be stronger because of the EU. Turkey is going to solve its problems despite the EU, and it will be stronger. Turkey's admittance to the EU is dependent on this strength" (cited in Alemdar, 2009: 12).

It is important to note that Koç's argument is similar to the political parties' concerns over territorial integrity as well as the unity of the Republic. While Türk-İş did not necessarily reflect the structure of its counterparts in the EU, DISK, which is considered a supporter of the left wing, reformulated itself in the 1990s in line with the European trade unions (Alemdar, 2009:15). Consequently, DİSK has been adamant in pressuring the government and lobbying to harmonize Turkish labour regulations with those of the EU (Doğan, 2003).

Hak-İş, on the other hand, presents a different dynamic in the sense that: "HAK-İŞ's appeal to the EU has been intricately linked with the organization's liaisons with the government. When the government was pursuing the EU, its appeal to the EU has been strong, and vice versa" (Alemdar, 2009:19). In December 1989, Hak-İş declared its stance towards the EU as follows:

"A major challenge to integration with Europe is Turkey's Muslim population. Turkey, because of its historical, moral, philosophical, religious and national characteristics, is not Western. 'Westernization' comes as a betrayal and alienation to Turkish culture...if membership in the EU is pushed; this would mean a total surrender [to Western values]. On the other hand, Turkey's application for EU membership means a heavy legal burden for the Constitution and other laws, and constitutes a threat to the state's sovereignty and the nation's unity...the fact that the government and the opposition parties are silent about this raises questions" (cited in Alemdar, 2009: 20).

However, as the Islamist political parties modified their perceptions of the EU and the notion of Westernization, Hak-İş followed the same discourse.

#### Media

First and foremost, it should be noted that similar to trade unions, the literature on the role of the media in the process of modernization/Europeanization is very limited. Nevertheless, scholars have studied the nature of the Turkish media, which can be used to indicate certain trends. During the period between 1982 and 1993, it is possible to observe a proliferation in media outlets, which, was a result of non-media related capital into the sector, which altered the structure of the media to resemble industrial enterprises (Sağnak, 1996:55-56). The technological developments in this period contributed to the establishment of numerous television and radio channels, both local and national. As the intensity of competition increased, in tandem with the rise of capitalist ideology, media enterprises began to focus more on sales. In correlation with the increased competition, among other things, this period was marked by the rise of monopolies in the sector, which in return creates support of the government and politicians due to growing need for "incentives, credits, and public announcements" (Sağnak, 1996: 51).

In terms of exploring the role of EU journalists' role in informing the European

citizens about the EU, Arsan makes several observations regarding the Turkish journalists in Brussels. One important observation is that "small state journalists", which includes those from Turkey; do not necessarily have a background in journalism. In other words, individuals who reside in Brussels for other reasons, such as education, have become journalists (Arsan, 2007a: 139). During an interview conducted by Arsan with Sitki Ulaç, he is quoted as saying that although Turkey is trying to become a member of the EU, "there is a severe lack of Turkish press in Brussels" (Arsan, 2007a: 140). In line with this argument, the quality of the reports is also rather debatable. In that sense, Turkish journalists, similar to Greek journalists, have been characterized by a "pursuit of polemical news and sensational reporting practices" (Arsan, 2007: 150).

Additionally, as Arsan observes in the Greek and Hungarian media, Turkish media is also categorized as a part of the "the Mediterranean model". In this model the journalists "take sides as members of the political and literary elites" (De Burgh, 2005:10). Arsan describes the Mediterranean model of journalism as follows:

The Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist Model is characterized by en elite-oriented press with relatively small circulation and a corresponding centrality of electronic media. Freedom of the press and the development of commercial media industries generally came late; newspapers have often been economically marginal and in need of subsidy. Political parallelism tends to be high; the press is marked by strong focus on political life, external pluralism, and the tradition of commentary-oriented or advocacy journalism persist more strongly than in other parts of Europe. Instrumentalization of the media by the government, by political parties, and by industrialists with political ties is common. Professionalization of journalism is not strongly developed as in the other models: journalism is not strongly differentiated from political activism and the autonomy of journalism is often limited (Arsan, 2007b).

An important aspect of Arsan's argument is that "Turkish journalists were also swinging between Eurosupportiveness and Eurosceptisism while framing the EU beyond classical institutional news coverage like "Turkey must fulfil its EU requirements by..." or "EU must fulfil its promises..." (Arsan, 2007b). While Arsan depicts the problematic nature of journalists situated in Brussels, it is also necessary to examine the nature of domestic sources of information. In terms of the domestic television channels, Gencel Bek suggests that Turkish media has also gone through a "tabloidization process". As a part of her research, she analyses TRT (Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu-Turkish Radio and Television Corporation), and characterizes as the quality of the news as follows:

In Jen ral, the reports are quite bland accour s of cabinet meetings. There is no settir J of context, interpretation, discussion or liticism. TRT just reports that such and such politicians met, in a formulaic way.

The news gives no other information such as who else talked in the meeting, who said what, what the main aim of the meeting was, etc... What TRT does achieve, however, is full coverage of all the national ceremonies, reminding the public of national history from the perspective of the official memory. One could call TRT news the 'news of the nation state' (Gencel Bek, 2004: 378).

The above mentioned argument is partly a result of the mentality followed by RTÜK (Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu- Radio and Television Supreme Council), which is a public legal entity that monitors television channels. On that issue Gencel Bek criticizes the operations of RTÜK for being in favour of the state. She argues that:

The peculiar characteristics of broadcasting regulation also have an effect on content: the RTÜK controls content to a far greater extent than media structure, concentration, increasing market mechanisms, etc. Content control, and subsequent penalties, is mainly directed towards the channels 'which are against the state'. Protecting the state takes precedence over the citizen's right to information (Gencel Bek, 2004: 383).

Even though Arsan and Gencel Bek examine different aspects of the Turkish media, it is possible to infer a common theme, which is that the news media, both journalists in Brussels and TRT, filter the news before they reach the public. In that sense, the lack of professional and extensive media coverage from Brussels and the domination of the public service channel by nationalist events indicate that the citizen's right to information on the EU and the process of Europeanization has been overshadowed by political and social interests. Moreover, as Sağnak argues, the media coverage depends highly on their relations with the political parties. In combination with Arsan's argument that the media has been shifting between Euroscepticism and pro-Europeanness, further research on the relations between private media enterprises and political parties is essential.

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# İstanbul Bilgi University

#### **LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES**



Founded in 1996 with the aim of making a difference in the university life in Turkey and continuing to date to offer its students the opportunity for international development, istanbul Bilgi University is the only member of Laureate International Universities in Turkey. With an academic staff of 200 professors and 325 faculty members, BiLGi currently has more than 11.000 students and 15.000 graduates.

As of its 16th academic year, 2011-2012, BİLGİ offers 50 undergraduate and 34 graduate programs in its six faculties, two professional schools, two vocational schools and three institutes. BİLGİ has 15 associate degree programs at the School of Advanced Vocational Studies and the Vocational School of Justice. As a recognized center also for graduate education, BİLGİ offers 32 graduate programs of which 30 are at master's level and 4 are at doctoral level at three institutes: Institute of Social Sciences, Institute of Natural and Applied Sciences and the European Institute.

Since its founding, BİLGİ has attempted to establish a cultural and scientific community that promotes tolerance and respect for a diversity of individuals with different lifestyles, beliefs and ways of thinking within the framework of contemporary universal values, while at the same time maintaining strong ties with all segments of the society. The BİLGİ community includes more than students: it also includes faculty, alumni, families, employers and the neighboring communities where BİLGİ is located.

Functioning under the aegis of the Turkish Council of Higher Education, BİLGİ is an associate member of the European University Association (EUA) and a member of the International Association of Universities (IAU). With more than 200 exchange agreements in Europe, BİLGİ is also an active participant in the Erasmus

exchange network and has strong academic affiliations with numerous universities abroad.

In 2006, BİLGİ joined Laureate International Universities, which provides a quality higher education on an international scale with more than 60 accredited campus-based and online universities throughout North America, Latin America, Europe, Northern Africa, Asia and the Middle

East. With more than 130 undergraduate and graduate programs in a number of career fields including engineering, education, business, health care, hospitality,



architecture, communication and information technology, Laureate serves more than 650,000 students in 29 countries, ranging from the USA, the UK, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, France, Brazil, Chile and Mexico to China.

Being part of the Laureate International Universities network, the founding premise of BİLGİ has become "to make education more accessible and affordable so that more students can pursue their dreams". BİLGİ seeks to educate freethinking, creative, intellectually curious and enterprising individuals who will contribute to a world in which knowledge is the primary driving

force in society, where knowledge is accessible to all and, indeed, in which access to it has come to be seen as a fundamental human right. BiLGi holds a primary responsibility for providing, maintaining and further developing an academic environment in which both students and faculty members are able to engage in learning and the production of knowledge at the highest level.

The medium of instruction at BİLGİ is English, except for the Faculty of Law, which conducts most of its courses in Turkish. Before being admitted to their degree programs, students must demonstrate their proficiency in English. Students whose level of English is not sufficient to begin undergraduate study will have to enroll in the English Language Preparatory Program.

BiLGi is a city university with three innovative campuses on the European side of istanbul, the 2010 European Capital of Culture. Located in central neighborhoods, campuses offer easy access to social and cultural activities in istanbul: Santral, Kuştepe and Dolapdere. BiLGi campuses are equipped to provide for all the academic and extracurricular needs of students. Physical facilities comprise conference halls, film production, post-production, ensemble and recording studios, cinemas, a sports complex and student cafeterias.

BİLGİ Library offers an impressive collection of books, periodicals, e-books, e-journals, academic internet resources, music scores and other printed items. Extensive audiovisual and sound recording collections are also available.

Students at BİLGİ participate in numerous extracurricular activities, including various student clubs and sports. They are also engaged in university governance via the Student Union. The university provides emergency medical and psychological counseling services free of charge. The "Online Education System" provides students online access to course materials, messages and evaluations from their instructors at their personal computers.

BiLGi operates residential halls in the center of the city, offering a variety of room choices. The dormitory at Tophane is equipped with kitchenettes, laundry facilities, computer and study rooms. Daily room cleaning, breakfast and shuttle service to campuses are also provided. In the 2009-2010 academic year, BiLGi also opened Tophane Residence and Santral Residence.



#### **Academic Programs**

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**BA** in Comparative Literature **BSc in Computer Science** BA in English Language Teacher Education BSc in Financial Mathematics **BA** in History BSc in Mathematics BA in Music BA in Psychology **BA** in Sociology

BA in Advertising

BA in Art Management BA in Cultural Management BA in Film and Television BA in Management of Performing Arts BA in Media and Communication Systems BA in Media and Communication Systems (BİLGİ - University of Liverpool/ Dual Degree) BA in Photography and Video **BA** in Public Relations BA in Television Reporting and Programming BA in Visual Communication Design

**BA** in Business Administration **BA** in Business Administration (BİLGİ - University of Liverpool/ Dual Degree) **BA in Business Economics BA** in Business Economics (BİLGİ - University of Liverpool/ Dual Degree) BSc in Business Informatics **BA** in Economics

BA in European Union Studies BA in International Finance **BA** in International Relations BA in International Trade and Business BA in Political Economy and Social Philosophy **BA** in Political Science BSc in Economics and Management (Honors) BSc in Mathematics and Economics (Honors)

BSc in Bioengineering BSc in Computer Engineering BSc in Computer Engineering (BİLGİ - University of Liverpool/ Dual Degree) BSc in Electrical and Electronics Engineering BSc in Electrical and Electronics Engineering (BİLGİ - University of Liverpool/ Dual Degree) BSc in Energy Systems Engineering BSc in Industrial Engineering

#### LL.B in Law

**BA** in Fashion Design BA in International Logistics and Transportation

BSc in Nursing BSc in Nutrition and Dietetics BSc in Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation

AA in Banking and Insurance AA in Business Administration AA in Finance AA in Health Services Management AA in Human Resource Management

AA in Information Technologies and Programming AA in International Trade AA in Logistics AA in Media and Communication **Technologies** 

AA in Public Relations and Advertising AA in Radio and Television Programming AA in Sports Management

AA in Photography and Videography

AA in Tourism and Hotel Management

#### AA in Justice

MA in European Studies Double Degree MA in European Studies (İstanbul Bilgi University and Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt-Oder)

March in Architectural Design MSc in Mathematics PhD in Mathematics

MSc in Accounting and Auditing MA in Advertising Design MA in Banking and Finance MBA MA in Comparative Literature MA in Cultural Management MA in Cultural Studies MSc in Economics MA in Film and Television MSc in Financial Economics

MA in History MA in Human Resource Management LL.M/MA in Information and Technology Law MSc in International Finance

MA in International Political Economy MA in International Relations

LL.M/MA in Law

(Business Law/ Human Rights Law) MA in Marketing Communication

MA in Media and Communication Systems

MA in Organizational Psychology

MA in Philosophy and Social Thought MA in Psychology

Joint LL.M in Turkish-German Business Law (İstanbul Bilgi University-Cologne University) MFA in Visual Communication Design

PhD in Economics

PhD in Organization Studies PhD in Political Science



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