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**European Institute**

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# JEAN MONNET CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE

## BİLGİ EUROPEAN INSTITUTE NEWSLETTER

Dear Friends,

We would like to welcome you all to the 12<sup>th</sup> Newsletter of the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University. This issue contains information on the Institute's activities, publications, conferences, workshops, graduate programs, research, social outreach projects and opinions of our staff and interns.

The Newsletter starts with the depiction of our ongoing projects and activities carried out in 2019 by the members of the European Institute. The first part mainly includes information about the new ERC Advanced Grant Research, and it uncovers the content of the research on youth radicalization in Europe. The Newsletter then continues to give a detailed coverage of the other Horizon 2020 projects and Jean Monnet projects conducted by the members of the European Institute. You will also find information on the new DAAD fellow, Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı, who recently joined the Institute. The Newsletter also covers some news regarding the Academic Network for European Studies in Turkey (A-NEST), the Secretariat of which will be held by the Institute for the next two years.

The second part of the Newsletter has news about the A-NEST Conference to be held at İstanbul Bilgi University in April 2020, conferences, roundtables, workshops, publications, Jean Monnet activities, our students as well as short news about the Institute.

On this occasion we would like to express our appreciation to the Rectorate and the Board of Trustees of İstanbul Bilgi University for their constant endorsement of the Institute. But most importantly, we would like to express our gratefulness to you all for your interest in the European Institute. We wish you all a pleasant academic year...



Prof. Ayhan Kaya  
Director, European Institute



Dr. Özge Onursal Beşgül  
Vice-Director,  
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# EUROPEAN RESEARCH COUNCIL (ERC) PRIME YOUTH PROJECT

## “Nativism, Islamophobia And Islamism In The Age Of Populism: Culturalization And Religionization Of What Is Social, Economic And Political In Europe”

**From: 01 January 2019 – To: 31 December 2023**

*This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme grant agreement no. 785934.*

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute and faculty member of İstanbul Bilgi University's International Relations Department and Director of the European Union Institute has been awarded an “Advanced Grant” by the European Research Council (ERC), one of the most prestigious research institutions of Europe, for his project entitled “Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalization and Religionization of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe”.

For the purpose of more fairly evaluating research work at different levels, ERC offers three types of grants: A “Starting Grant” for young researchers, a “Consolidator Grant” for experienced researchers, and an “Advanced Grant” for scientists who perform high-level research at a global level. Prof. Ayhan Kaya's project is the first social sciences project at a Turkish university to receive an “Advanced Grant” from ERC.

### Research Summary:

The main research question of the study is: How and why do some European citizens generate a populist and Islamophobic discourse to express their discontent with the current social, economic and political state of their national and European contexts, while some members of migrant-origin communities with Muslim background generate an essentialist and radical form of Islamist discourse within the same societies? The main premise of this study is that various segments of the European public (radicalizing young

members of both native populations and migrant-origin populations with Muslim background), who have been alienated and swept away by the flows of globalization such as deindustrialization, mobility, migration, tourism, social-economic inequalities, international trade, and robotic production, are more inclined to respectively adopt two mainstream political discourses: Islamophobia (for native populations) and Islamism (for Muslim-migrant-origin populations). Both discourses have become pivotal along with the rise of the civilizational rhetoric since the early 1990s. On the one hand, the neo-liberal age seems to be leading to the nativisation of radicalism among some groups of host populations while, on the other hand, it is leading to the islamization of radicalism among some segments of deprived migrant-origin populations. The common denominator of these groups is that they are both downwardly mobile and inclined towards radicalization. Hence, this project aims to scrutinize social, economic, political and psychological sources of the processes of radicalization among native European youth and Muslim-origin youth with migration background, who are both inclined to express their discontent through ethnicity, culture, religion, heritage, homogeneity, authenticity, past, gender and patriarchy. The field research will comprise four migrant receiving countries: Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and two migrant sending countries: Turkey and Morocco.

For further information of the European Research Council: <https://erc.europa.eu/>

## Populist Extremism Hauling Native European Citizens: The Front Side of the Coin

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, BiLGi Prime Youth Principal Investigator of the Project



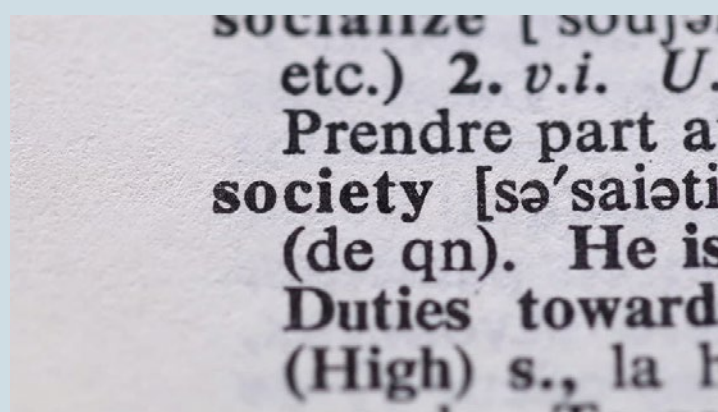
In 1967, researchers at the London School of Economics including Ernest Gellner, Isaiah Berlin, Alain Touraine, Peter Worsley and others organized a conference with a specific focus on populism. Following this pivotal conference, the proceedings were edited by Ghita Ionescu and Ernest Gellner (1969) in a rather descriptive book covering several contributions on Latin America, the USA, Russia, Eastern Europe, and Africa. One of the important outcomes of the book, which is still meaningful, was that “populism worships the people” (Ionescu and Gellner 1969: 4). Another outcome was that populism was not really a European phenomenon. However, the conference and the edited volume did not really bring about a consensus beyond this tautology, apart from adequately having displayed particularist characteristics of each populist case.

Today, populism has become a global phenomenon. However, the state of play in the scientific community is not very different from the one in the late 1960s with regards to the definition of populism. Rather than having a comprehensive definition of the term, scholars have only come up with a

list of elements defining different aspects of populism such as: anti-elitism, anti-intellectualism, and anti-establishment positions; anti-globalism and anti-international trade; affinity with religion and past; racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, anti-Islam, anti-immigration; promoting the image of a socially, economically and culturally homogenous organic society; intensive use of conspiracy theories to understand the world we live in; faith in the leader's extraordinariness as well as the belief in his/her ordinariness that brings the leader closer to the people; statism; nativism; and the sacralisation of "the people" (Ghergina, Mişcoiu and Soare, 2013: 3-4). One could argue that the recent economic crisis and the refugee crisis may have played a role in the ascendance of populist rhetoric, but they are at best catalysts, not causes. After all, if resentment as a social concept posits that losers in the competition over scarce resources respond in frustration with diffuse emotions of anger, fear and hatred, then there have been several other factors in the last three decades which may have triggered the resentment of the European public, such as de-industrialization, unemployment, growing ethno-cultural diversity, multiculturalism, terrorist attacks in the aftermath of September 11 as well as the gender social change and the transformation of the gender order and norms challenging hegemonic masculinity (Berezin, 2009: 43-44).

However, rather than simply recapitulating on the symptoms, one needs to understand the underlying causes of contemporary societal, political, psychological and ideational divides emerging in Europe where mainstream political parties are becoming less and less credible by their constituencies while previously marginal populist parties, right or left, are becoming more popular. There are three main approaches to analyse typologies of populism in Europe as well as in the other parts of the world: a) anti-globalism approach; b) anti-elitism approach; and c) political style approach. The first approach explains the populist vote with socio-economic factors. This approach argues that populist sentiments come out as the symptoms of detrimental effects of modernization and globalization, which is more likely to imprison working-class groups in states of unemployment, marginalization and structural outsiderism through neo-liberal and post-industrial sets of policies (Betz, 2015). Accordingly, the "losers of globalization" respond to their exclusion and marginalization by rejecting the mainstream political parties and their discourses as well as generating a sense of ethno-nationalist, religious and civilizational discourse against migrants (Fennema, 2004). The second approach tends to explain the sources of (especially right-wing) extremism and populism with reference to ethno-nationalist sentiments rooted in myths about the distant victorious past. This approach claims that strengthening the nation by emphasizing a homogenous ethnicity and returning to traditional values is the only way of coming to terms with the challenges coming from outside enemies be it globalization, Islam, the European Union, or the refugees (Rydgren, 2007; Miller-Idriss, 2009). This approach assumes that it is the elites who created all this "mess" resulting from discourses of diversity, multiculturalism, mobility, free international trade, and Europeanization. The third approach has a different stance with regards to the rise of populist movements and political parties. Rather than referring to the political parties and movements as a response to outside factors, this approach underlines the strategic means employed by populist leaders and parties to appeal to their constituents (Beauzamy, 2013). The populist leaders often attract their followers by means of appealing to the people versus to the elite, generating some bad manners and a political-incorrecness, presenting themselves as both ordinary and extraordinary persons, constantly relying on crisis, breakdown, or threat, and trying to explain local and global realities through conspiracies (Moffit, 2016: 29).

These approaches may highlight different aspects of populism, but they all agree on the fact that there is a growing social-economic inequality and injustice in contemporary world. OXFAM findings show that the prosperity of eight richest men on earth equals the sum of prosperity of 3.6 billion people. A growing number of people in Europe criticize the elites including the scientists for becoming detached from the realities of everyday life of billions of people and for not leaving their Ivory towers. Populist rhetoric comes out as a protest and a symptom of these structural inequalities and disparities resulting from social-economic and political conditions. The scientific translation of populist rhetoric in everyday life should be carefully made. Instead of understanding it as an anomaly and disease, scholars should try to understand the messages behind it and the outcries of individuals resorting to it. Populism seems to be one of the radical critics of neo-liberal status quo, which seems to have failed with regards to the redistribution of justice and fairness. Michel De Certeau (1984)'s strategies and tactics could be used as a framework to understand the rise of populist rhetoric. Hence, populism may be interpreted as an individual tactic to fight back against the meta-narratives (strategies) of globalism and neo-liberalism. This is a trend that one could see among many native European citizens. Whereas among some of the subaltern, subjugated "wretched of the earth", to use Franz Fanon (1965)'s words, who are mostly Muslim-origin migrants and their descendants, Islam becomes the alternative rhetoric to be exploited against globalization and neo-liberalism.



In this research, an interdisciplinary understanding of these approaches will be deployed to analyse the rationale behind the growing popularity of populist movements and parties. The field-research conducted with the supporters of right-wing populist parties within the framework of the ongoing H2020 Project entitled "CoHERE" reveals that the state of the lower-middle class youngsters in Germany, France, the Netherlands, Greece and Italy is very illuminating in the sense that an eclectic use of these approaches is considerably needed to make a more comprehensive analysis of growing populism and radicalism among native youth. These youngsters are the offsprings of independent farmers and small shopkeepers. Buffeted by the global political and economic forces that have produced global hegemonic masculinities, they have responded to the erosion of public and domestic patriarchy with a renewal of their sense of masculine entitlement to restore patriarchy in both arenas. That ancient patriarchal power has been stolen from them by liberal and Europeanized political elite, and staffed by legions of the newly enfranchised minorities, women, immigrants and refugees who have become visibly more active in contemporary international economic and political life. Downwardly mobile rural and/or lower-middle class youth are now squeezed between the jaws of global capitalism and a political elite that is at best indifferent to their predicament, and at worse, facilitates their further demise. "The losers of globalization" apparently resent to global capitalism, Europeanization, diversity, mobility of labour,



and international migration by capitalizing on masculinity, imagined patriarchy, heritage, national past, and looking backward nostalgically to a time when they could assume the places in society to which they believed themselves entitled. The exploitation of masculinity, patriarchy, past and heritage as a cultural capital against the detrimental effects of globalization is undertaken by the mediated acts of the populist political figures. What is equally remarkable is that immigrant-origin youngsters with Muslim backgrounds are also revitalizing their masculinity and patriarchy to come to terms with the detrimental effects of globalization (Kimmel, 2003; Köttig et al., 2017; Kaya, 2017).

### **Backlash among Native Populations against Multiculturalism: Lost in Diversity**

Extremist populist parties and movements often exploit the issue of migration, and portray it as a threat against the welfare system and social, cultural, and even ethnic features of a nation. Populist leaders also tend to blame a soft approach to migration for some of the major problems in society such as unemployment, violence, crime, insecurity, drug trafficking and human trafficking. This tendency is reinforced with the use of a racist, xenophobic and demeaning rhetoric. Public figures like Geert Wilders in the Netherlands, Heinz-Christian Strache in Austria and others have spoken of a 'foreign infiltration' of immigrants, especially Muslims, in their countries. Geert Wilders even predicted the coming of Eurabia, a mythological future continent that will allegedly replace modern Europe (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2010), where children from Norway to Naples will allegedly learn to recite the Koran at school, while their mothers stay at home wearing burqas.

A remarkable part of the European public perceive diversity as a key threat to the social, cultural, religious and economic security of the European nations (Kaya, 2012b). There is an apparent growing resentment against the discourse of diversity, which is often promoted by the European Commission, the Council of Europe, many scholars, politicians and NGOs. The stigmatisation of migration has brought about a political discourse, which is known as 'the end of multiculturalism and diversity.' This is built upon the assumption that homogeneity of the nation is at stake, and it should be restored by alienating those who are not part of an apparently autochthonous group that is ethno-culturally and religiously homogenous. After the relative prominence of multiculturalism both in political and scholarly debates, today we can witness a tendency to find new ways to accommodate ethno-cultural and religious diversity. Evidence of a diminishing belief in the possibility of a flourishing multicultural society has changed the nature of the debate about the successful integration of migrants in "host" societies.

### **Nativism and Eurosceptic Populism: Lost in Unity**

In addition to the growing popular resentment against multiculturalism and diversity, there is also a growing resentment among populist segments of the European public against the discourse of unity, which is also promoted by European institutions as well as by scholars, politicians, local administrators and NGOs. Right-wing populist leaders have always tried to capitalise on anti-EU sentiment. Most recently, the perception that European leaders are failing to tackle a developing economic crisis is fuelling further hostility towards the European Union, both right and left. The 2016 Spring Global Attitudes Survey of the Pew Research Centre showed that many European citizens have lost faith in the European Union. The growing resentment against the "elitist" discourse of unity goes in parallel with the amplification of another discourse among the populist groups: nativism. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, nativism is

"prejudice in favour of natives against strangers". Today, nativism means a policy that will protect and promote the interests of indigenous, or established inhabitants over those of immigrants. This usage has recently found favour among Brexiters, Trumpists, Le Penists and other right-wing populist groups, who seem to be anxious to distance themselves from accusations of racism, xenophobia and Islamophobia. Nativism sounds more neutral, and conceals all the negative connotations of race, racism, Islamophobia and immigration (Jack, 2016). Hence, the nativist European populism is now claiming to set the true, organic, rooted and local people against the cosmopolitan, globalizing elites denouncing the political system's betrayal of ethno-cultural and territorial identities (Filc, 2015: 274).

### **Muslim-origin Youth with Migration Background: The Back Side of the Coin**

It has become common in Europe to label migrants of Muslim origin as persons with a "Muslim identity", the boundaries of which remain unchanged over time (cf. Heitmeyer et al., 1997; Nielsen, 2013; Laurence, 2012). One could trace the genealogy of the ways in which migrants have so far been named by host societies and states. Migrant workers were first simply called "workers" in the early days of the migratory process in the 1960s. Then, in the aftermath of the official ban of recruiting migrant labour in 1974, a sharp discursive shift can be observed in their identification by the host societies and states. They have become, "foreigners", "Turks", "Algerians", or "Moroccans". In other words, their ethnic labels have become the primary reference for the host societies. Ethnicization of immigrant workers goes in tandem with the process of deindustrialization in western European countries, where unemployment started to become a common phenomenon for migrant workers, who were mostly left outside the processes of integration to the spheres of education, politics, housing and labour market (Kaya, 2001; and Lipsitz, 1994).

The latest categorization made by the host societies and states in Europe to identify migrant origin groups and their descendants derives from the hegemony of civilizational and religious paradigm, which has become popular since the early 1990s. Since then, migrant groups and their descendants with Muslim background are unquestionably and homogenously labelled as "Muslims". There are several reasons for this discursive shift in identifying Muslim origin migrants and their descendants primarily with their religious identity as "Muslims". I will here limit myself to name just two specific developments to explain the sources of this shift: the dissolution of the Socialist Block, and the war in the former Yugoslavia fuelling the discourses of 'the end of multiculturalism' and the rise of the discourse of 'the clash of civilizations'.

It was mainly the processes of securitization and stigmatization of migration that has brought about the ascendancy of a political discourse renown as the end of multiculturalism – a discourse, which has often been revisited over the last two decades since the war in Bosnia in 1992, leading to the birth of the Huntingtonian clash of civilizations paradigm, which assumes that civilizations in general, and Christianity and Islam in particular, cannot coexist (Huntington, 1996). In contradiction to the earlier sociological and philosophical trends defining civilization on the basis of the material processes of industrialization, capitalism, colonialism and urbanization (Elias, 1998), Huntington's attempt to reduce civilization to religion and culture apparently attracted a large audience across the world, including the European Union. The discourse of the end of multiculturalism is often built upon the assumption that the homogeneity of the nation is at stake, and thus it has to be restored at the expense of alienating those who

are not ethno-culturally and religiously from the prescribed definition of the nation on the basis of linguistic, religious and cultural tenets. Today, such a culturalist paradigm, coupled with the unfavourable elements of global financial crisis and the current refugee crisis, is likely to fuel extreme right-wing populism, which highly invests in the revitalization of ethno-cultural and religious boundaries between native majorities and minorities (Mudde, 2014).

### Individualization of Islam among Young Muslims



Along with the growth of a neo-liberal and culturalist paradigm for the last three decades, many western European states are more and more inclined to accommodate migrants and their descendants originating from Muslim-origin countries through some representative form of Islamic institutions. It is now a common practice to see that modern states, be it imperial states or nation-states, are inclined to generate a similar pattern in accommodating centrifugal religious communities that are becoming more visible in the public space. One could see parallels between the ways in which the Jews in France in the early 19th century, and the Muslims in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands in the early 21st century (Koenig, 2003; Safran, 2004; Berkovitz, 2007; Kaya, 2012a). The Conseil Français du culte musulman in France (2003), Islam Summit in Germany (2006), Exécutif des Musulmans de Belgique (1995) and the long-lasting Pillar system in the Netherlands have so far contributed to the institutionalization of Islam and to the construction of parallel societies in these countries through the creation of religious-based liaison bodies. The formation of such religious institutions has also prevented Muslim-origin individuals from seeking civic opportunities to represent themselves through existing political parties, labour unions, and civil society organizations where the members of the society are represented on the basis of their civic identities (Fetzer and Soper, 2005; Ireland, 2000; Koenig, 2003).

Attempts to institutionalize Islam in Europe for the sake of creating liaison bodies mediating between Muslims and the central and local state actors go along with the labelling of migrant-origin individuals with Muslim background simply as “Muslims” by an overwhelming majority of private citizens, political actors, media and even by the academia. The labelling of those individuals through a religious identity at both political and societal level seems to be very reductionist and simplistic since their self-identifications are extremely diverse oscillating between “Muslim”, “secular”, “atheist”, “agnostic”, and other identifications (Kaya and Kentel, 2005, 2008). Such forms of labelling imposed on migrant-origin individuals and their descendants seem to overshadow the processes of individualization and democratization of Islam among younger generations, who have been raised in the European Union countries interacting with individuals of different denominations (Kaya, 2012a; Sunier, 2009).

Furthermore, the institutionalization of Islam is also likely to be contributing to the perception of Islam by extreme right-wing populist movements as a threat to their authentic way of life.

Religion and ethnicity seem to offer attractive ‘solutions’ for people entangled in intertwined problems. It is not surprising for the masses, who have a gloomy outlook of the future, who cannot benefit from society, and who are cast aside by global capitalism, to resort to honour, religion, ethnicity, language, tradition and myths, all of which they believe cannot be pried from their hands, and to define themselves in those terms (Eliade, 1991; Clifford, 1994). However, a detailed analysis must be made to decipher the employment of Islam by young Muslims with migration background in frequent acts of violence. If the analysis is not made rigorously, it will serve to affirm, and thus reproduce, the existing ‘clash of civilisations’ thesis. Therefore, it is genuinely important to underline that the Islamic identity used by the youth, who show their resistance to the social-economic, cultural and political regimes of truth through different ways (music, graffiti, dance, looting, and arson) in Europe is not only essentialist, or radical, but also mostly symbolic and democratic (Kepel, 2017; Roy, 2015, 2017; Martiniello, 2015; Kaya, 2009; Vertovec, 1995). The Islamic reference used in such acts of opposition is mostly expressive of the need to belong to a legitimate counter-hegemonic global discourse, such as that of Islam, and to derive a symbolic power from that. It seems that now religion is replacing the left in the absence of a global leftist movement. Michel de Certeau (1984: 183) reminds us of the discursive similarities between religion and left: religion offering a different world, and left offering a different future – both offering solidarity. Moreover, it should be remembered that recent acts of violence, such as in Paris (7 January and 13 November 2015), Nice (14 July 2016), Istanbul (1 January 2017), Berlin (28 February 2017), London attacks (2017), and rapidly spreading to other cities and countries, are also an indication of the solidarity among the members of the newly emerging transnational Islam, who are claimed to be engaged in religious fundamentalism.

Gilles Kepel (2008, 2017) and Olivier Roy (2007, 2015) are two leading experts working on the Jihadist groups in the EU. While Kepel mostly concentrates on France, Roy has recently extended his research to other European countries trying to understand the causes of Islamist radicalism and Jihadism. Kepel addresses at the social-economic exclusion and colonial memories of Muslim-origin youngsters as well as the promotion of Salafism by the Gulf countries (mainly Saudi Arabia and Qatar) to explain their affiliation with radical Islam and Jihadism. His main assumption is that Islam is becoming radicalized among young Muslims who are exposed to structural outsiderism in the west. Roy (2015, 2017), on the other hand, argues that the issue is not the radicalization of Islam but rather “the Islamization of radicalism”. Roy claims that the Jihadists, mostly second-generation immigrants, were caught between the tradition-bound world of their parents and the secularism of their French society. Unable to find a place, they adopted a nihilistic rejection of society, expressing through Islam in the absence of a strong Marxist language in the contemporary world (Roy, 2015; 2017).

Yet, what Olivier Roy (2015) has already indicated with regards to the analysis of such forms of radicalism, is very important for us to diagnose what is happening. Roy makes a correction of the misdiagnosis arguing that what is happening is not the radicalization of Islam, but rather the Islamization of radicalism in the age of neo-liberalism. Combining the analyses of Roy (2015) and of de Certeau (1984), it is more likely to understand better what is happening in diasporas: Islamization of radicalism among some young Muslims, mostly converts and second/third generations with Muslim



background, in the absence of a counter-hegemonic global left-wing ideology. Such critical approaches, which draw attention to social-economic aspects of radicalism rather than to reductionist explanations of Islamic fundamentalism, have also been visible in psychoanalysis literature. Fethi Benslama (2009, 2017) demystifies both Islam and Western ideas of religion by addressing the psychoanalytic root causes of the Muslim-origin radicalists and jihadists' clash with modernity and their subsequent turn to fundamentalism. Tracing this ideological strain to its origins, Benslama shows that contemporary Islam consists of a recent hybridization of Arab nationalism, theocracy, and an attempt to ground science in faith. Working with the jihadists youngsters in the banlieues of Paris and combining textual analysis and Lacanian and Freudian psychoanalysis, he argues that neither theological nor sociological explanatory approaches are sufficient to understand the motivation of jihadist youngsters. Instead, he claims that psychoanalytical questions are to be asked as to what kind of individual gains the jihadists are deriving from Islamic radicalization. Furthermore, he claims that Islam is not the point of departure in understanding their motivations. In parallel to what this research presumes, Benslama (2017) also claims that Jihadists are not much different from other radical youngsters, who also go through similar processes of creating utopias to seek forgiveness. Radicalist native groups and radicalist Muslim-origin groups with migration background are the two sides of the same coin. They both tend to create their own anti-political utopias.

Islam is perceived by many Westerners as a threat to the European lifestyle. Islamic fundamentalism is often depicted as the source of xenophobic, racist and violent behaviour in the West. However, reversing the point of view, the rise in religious values may also be interpreted as the result of structural problems such as deindustrialization, poverty, unemployment, racism, xenophobia, isolation, humiliation, constraints in political representation, and the threat of assimilation. In order to cope with these challenges, discourses on culture, identity, religion, ethnicity, traditions and the past have become the most significant strategies of survival for minorities in general, and immigrants in particular. Reconstituting the past and resorting to culture, ethnicity, religion, past and myths, seem to serve a dual purpose for disenchanted communities: Firstly, as a way to be contemporary without criticising the existing status quo - "glorious" past, authentic culture, ethnicity, and religion are used by diasporic subjects as a strategic instrument to resist exclusion, poverty and institutional discrimination; and subsequently, as a way to give an individual the feeling of independence from the criteria imposed by the flows of globalization, because the past, traditions, culture, and religion symbolise values and beliefs that the disenchanted subjects believe in cannot be taken away from them (de Certeau, 1984).

The growing popularity of Islam among younger generations in transnational spaces is partly a consequence of the processes of globalization. However, only a very small minority of young Muslims become radicalized in diaspora. Majority of them generate very moderate forms of religious identities in a way that liberates them from the confines of their patriarchal culture. The global circuitry of modern telecommunications also contributes to the formation of a digitalized umma within the Muslim diaspora, which is based on the idea of a more homogeneous community of sentiments (Appadurai, 1990), shaped by a constant flow of identical signs and messages travelling across cyberspace. A digitalized umma (Muslim community) shaped by electronic capitalism tends to get engaged in various forms of *ijtihad* (an Arabic word, meaning interpretation of the Quran), because each individual dwell in a different social, political or cultural context within the diaspora. Whilst the signs

and messages disseminated across the diaspora are rather more homogeneous, their impact on individual lives differs greatly. The signs and messages form a more heterogeneous and individualized form of umma. This kind of *ijtihad*, built up by the media, has the potential of turning recipients into a virtual alim (an Arabic word for intellectual) who can challenge the authority of traditional religious scholars (Mandaville, 2001: 160). As Appadurai (1997: 195) rightly says, "new forms of electronically mediated communication are beginning to create virtual neighbourhoods, no longer bounded by territory, passports, taxes, elections, and other conventional political diacritics." These new communities of sentiments are constructed in cyberspace, a space that is often occupied by modern transnational subjects.

The reality in Europe today is that young Muslims are becoming politically mobilized to support causes that have less to do with faith and more to do with global communal solidarity with their peers in Gaza, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, or elsewhere, the manifestation of which can be described as an identity based on vicarious humiliation (Buruma and Margalit, 2004: 10). Some of the European Muslims develop empathy for Muslim victims elsewhere in the world and convince themselves that their own exclusion and that of their co-religionists have the same root cause: Western rejection of Islam. The rejection of Islam has recently become even more alarming due to the rise of populist movements in Europe that are often capitalizing on the growing institutional visibility of Islam in public space and that are not likely to observe the individualization and democratization of Islam in everyday life. However, the difficulties of the migration context, to which the migrants with Muslim background are being exposed to, do not only stem from the ways in which they are framed and represented by the political and societal actors of the receiving countries, but also from the state actors of their homeland country.

The growing affiliation of some Muslim-origin migrants and their descendants with culture, authenticity, ethnicity, nationalism, religiosity and traditions provides them with an opportunity to establish solidarity networks against structural problems. Accordingly, the revival of honour, religion and authenticity emerges on a symbolic, but not essentialist level, as a symptom. Such a revival is an outcome of the processes of structural exclusion of migrant origin individuals from political and social-economic resources. To provide reasons for the failure of the integration regime in the West, one should look into the ways in which 'communities' are producing and reproducing themselves. Kreuzberg (Berlin), Schaerbeek, Port Namur (Brussels), Keupstrasse (Cologne), Villier le Bel, La Courneuve, St. Dennis or Cr  til (Paris) and Bos en Lommer (Amsterdam) provide good examples of a location where one can find diasporic Muslim origin communities. The first thing that a flaneur (someone strolling through the streets) of such diasporic spaces will notice is that the symbols, colours, languages, sounds, figures, postures and dress-codes are all replicas of what exists in the homeland. Such diasporic spaces provide the members of diasporic communities with a symbolic 'fortress' protecting them against structural problems.

The community essentially presents a collective need. The community strategy of keeping people together is counteracted by some individuals through a kind of what Fran  ois Dub  t (2002) calls "necessary conformism". Conformism is a tactic deployed by some individuals to comply with the rules of the game set out by the power of the community. The strategies and tactics used in everyday life are explicated very well by Michel de Certeau (1984). Accordingly, subordinated subjects like migrant origin individuals with working-class or underclass background, who feel themselves to be structurally excluded and neglected,

become more oriented to their homeland, ethnicity, culture, religion and past. The process of home-seeking, as James Clifford (1994: 307) suggests, might result with the existence of a kind of diaspora nationalism which is critical to the majority nationalism. Sometimes, such kinds of diaspora nationalism and radicalism also attract those middle-class and upper-middle-class youngsters with Muslim background, who feel disenchanted due to the perceived mistreatment of their Muslim fellows in the other parts of the world and the lack of a global justice in their countries of settlement (Kaya, 2012a: 204). The nature of diaspora nationalism here is cultural, which is based on alienation, and celebration of the past and authenticity.

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## Shedding a New Light on Radicalization Processes

**Dr. Jais Adam-Troian, ERC Post-Doctoral Researcher**

A general trend of political extremization can be observed across the globe. This is indicated by the numerous electoral successes of populist parties in the EU and the US, the authoritarian/hawkish shift of governments in 'illiberal democracies' such as Russian Federation, Brazil, and India, or even the revival of nationalistic ideas in Western countries such as Brexit. Violent extremism in the form of terrorism is also on the rise again (START, 2018). Indeed, an estimated



25,000 people annually die from terror attacks or other violent acts perpetrated by extremists around the world (see START data at <https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>). Though most of these occur in countries rife with political instability and long-term armed conflicts (e.g. Syria, Iraq), a worrying trend of growing extremism can be observed in the European Union.

But what motivates individuals to carry out such violent actions, very often against their own societies? So far, social science research has established that violent extremism is not linked with either structural or psychopathological factors per se but involves a combination of three groups of factors. Individuals will engage in violent extremism as a function of the number of violent extremists in their own social network, as a result of their exposure to violence-legitimizing ideologies and because of their motivation to achieve a meaningful purpose in life. This motivational aspect is particularly important to understand why individuals engage in violent extremism, and constitutes significant part of the psychological literature focusing on the determinants of radical political behaviour.

Nevertheless, from radical Islamist organizations (ISIS, Boko Haram, Al Qaida etc.) to extreme-left factions (Anarchists, Black-Blocks) and neo-fascists movements (EU Identity-Youth, US Alt-Right), a main predictor of engagement into violent extremism remains young age, with young individuals making up the bulk of violent radical organizations. So, to understand the current rise of extremism in the EU, one needs to pay specific attention to the factors that push

European youth to seek control and significance in life through engaging into violent extremism. This is precisely what the ERC Prime Youth project focuses on.

It is known that engagement into violent extremism – specifically for youth individuals – is a process that begins with a 'sensitivity' phase. Life events that threaten people, such as being discriminated against, having financial difficulties or being socially isolated, can trigger a process that will ultimately lead to violent extremism. In Prime Youth, we will investigate the role of socio-economic changes in the EU during the past three decades in generating threats among the youth to explore the way deleterious societal changes generate extremism as a long-term consequence. This research is thus much needed to understand how growing unemployment, economic insecurity and individualism are actually at the roots of violent extremism. Thus, we hypothesize that religious or political 'radicalization' is actually a consequence of these socio-economic factors, and not a direct cause of extremism.

However, societal factors act in an indirect way to shape political violence. For instance, analyses of responses to the 1990 EU Barometer Youth survey showed that, compared to employed youth, unemployed youth reported less confidence in politics, talking less about politics, and more frequently supported revolutionary political ideologies. Similarly, social comparison, individualism, materialist goals of success, and acceptance of social inequality, have been found to explain why deprived East German youth expressed more xenophobia than their Western German counterparts and to be predictive of far right-wing attitudes. On the other hand, increased nationalism, intergroup tensions and xenophobia generate violent extremism among minority youth populations. Feelings of ostracism among minority youth in Western countries lead to greater resentment and Islamist radicalization while also fuelling a sense of detachment from their host nation's culture. In short, societal crises fuel Far-right extremism, which in return increases Islamist radicalization, which further fuels perceptions of crisis (e.g. terror attacks) thus Far-right extremism.

Therefore, the Prime Youth project is about identifying and understanding these 'co-radicalization' cycles. To do so, we will investigate the living conditions of EU youth from marginalised backgrounds likely to lead them to either Islamism or Fascism. This dynamic understanding is important since misguided political arguments in the EU often stigmatize some populations (e.g. Muslim youth) by pointing at religion (hence Islam) as a cause of extremism. Actually these narratives are likely to generate even more violent extremism by contributing to threat perceptions among essentialized minority groups and bolster Islamophobia among the majority group. It means that a correct understanding of the processes at play behind extreme political violence are needed to address this issue adequately and avoid 'fuelling the fire' by displaying unfit political reactions which eventually backfire. And this is precisely what Prime Youth is about.



## PRIME Youth Blog Contributions by Our Advisory Board Members

### “Discrimination and Radicalisation”

#### Contemporary Dynamics between the Nation and Religion



**Professor Anna Triandafyllidou, Canada Excellence Research Chair in Migration and Integration Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada**

The latest European election has significantly strengthened the presence of far right and populist nationalist parties in the European Parliament even if a far right forces' victory, as was feared by many, did not materialise. Many of these far right populist parties, like Italy's Lega, adopt fervent anti-Muslim and anti-immigrant discourses curving a new type of nationalism that is both aggressive and chauvinistic. It is important indeed to try and understand the dynamics that lie behind such discourses and attitudes by taking a step back and trying to look at wider socio economic and political developments in the last ten years both within Europe and worldwide and trying to make sense of this tight embrace that emerges between new nationalisms and religious Others.

Indeed, during the 2010s European public opinion and political leaders, squeezed by several problems – notably a fragile recovery from a long financial and economic crisis, an imploding Middle East and political unrest and instability across several Arab countries, persisting asylum seeking and migration pressures from Asia and Africa, and persisting challenges of socio cultural integration of migrants and minorities – have been tempted to conflate these different challenges into a one-size-fit-all explanation based on a presumed “clash of civilisations” between the West and Islam. In this difficult context, international Jihadist terrorism has accelerated the sense of insecurity and threat, in a globalising, borderless world reinforcing far right discourses asserting that: European countries were confronted with a triple menace: a cultural invasion from within; a domestic terrorist network creeping into society also from within; and a geopolitical threat from ISIS, both as an Islamic state and through its terrorist attacks.

Geopolitics have thus taken up strong religious connotations (such as those of the “War on Terror” or the overall Islamophobia discourses erupting in different places in Europe) and have become constitutive elements of rising nationalist discourses in different European countries. While the connection between national/local challenges and global geopolitics with the Rushdie affair in Britain (when at the time as Ayatollah Khomeini issued a fatwa against Salman Rushdie because of his blasphemous “Satanic Verses”) caused both national and international upheaval as something unexpected and novel, today such a connection has taken a central place in nationalism discourses.

The nation affirms itself not only in its cultural, religious or territorial homogeneity and uniqueness but also through its positioning in a global landscape of Christian or secular Europe vs Islam and the Muslim Other. Addressing these socio-political challenges today requires acknowledging this reciprocal projection of the local/national and the global, which fire back to one another usually with detrimental results for tolerance and respect. These trends observed and analysed in Europe emerge also albeit in different forms in important countries in Europe and Asia such as Turkey or India, for instance, which are both experiencing a rise of assertive and even aggressive nationalism.

The fall of the Soviet Union and the re-shuffling of the Left and Right, the forces of globalisation and the reorganisation of the global geopolitical landscape have affected internal nationalist and religious dynamics in both Turkey and India. In both countries, like in Europe, the geopolitical reorganisation on one hand, and the insecurity and fluidity brought about by globalisation have favoured the emergence and strengthening of exclusionary forms of nationalism which have been further reinforced by both identifying the national majority with a given religion (Islam in Turkey and Hinduism in India) but also by Othering minorities whether religious communities or simply secularists.

Contemporary dynamics between the nation and religion need to be understood in their interactive character taking into account how they are affected by socio-economic and geopolitical transformations both within the nation-state and globally. We need to pay special attention to how nationalism and particularly exclusionary and religiously informed nationalism can be mobilised by political elites to respond to both socioeconomic and geopolitical insecurity, and at the same time reaffirming the nation's and nation state's position in a globalising world. Assertive nationalism in the age of globalization marks a new form of identity politics that focuses on the majority and the presumes injustices it has suffered. Religion lends itself then to these new anti-globalisation nationalisms both to reinforce national identity and to construct internal and external others against which the nation needs to assert itself.

## A circular word cloud on a CD-ROM surface. The words are arranged in a circular pattern, with some words appearing multiple times. The words include: like, grasp, attach, favor, pursue, embrace, withdraw, avoid, hate, detest, flee, reject, remove, detach, exclude, want, desire, prefer, like, grasp, attach, favor, pursue, embrace, withdraw, avoid, hate, detest, flee, reject, remove, detach, exclude, want, desire, prefer. The words are in various sizes and orientations, creating a dense, circular composition. The CD-ROM surface is visible in the background, with its characteristic reflective sheen and central hole.

There is a difference between individuals who arrived in France, called first-generation immigrants, and those who were born in France from foreign parents and who have French nationality, called second-generation immigrants. The latter may perceive an ambiguous situation more as a situation of discrimination. Let us take the example of social control in the face of a deviant act committed by members of minorities with a migrant background. Imagine a situation in which a young French Muslim does not leave his place in the subway to a pregnant woman and a native

**Professor Mehdi Lahlou, University of Rabat, Morocco**





I am a 26 years old Moroccan student in France. I was born in Morocco in 1993, where I lived until the age of 18 where I moved to France to study.

I consider that the primary reason I never became or was ever tempted to become a radicalized Muslim is the environment I grew up in. Indeed, I was born in a Muslim country, with a deep Islamic culture, I was raised as a believer in Allah with Arabic-Muslim traditions, in a country where mosques were built everywhere, more than schools. Religion was omnipresent around me. But I was also raised in a family where religion was subject for discussion. My parents are Muslims, but only partly practice their religion, and I was never pushed into religion as well. It was a given that I was a Muslim since I was born, but my parents taught my brother and I that, among other things, tolerance and respect for everyone no matter their origin and belief is even more important than religious practice like prayer. The other important factor to me is also that I was able to talk about religion freely, ask about meanings and doubts that I would feel during the period of life where we are building ourselves as future adults. I deeply believe that this openminded environment where I was raised in, was the most important shield I could have had to protect me against a religious radicalization. Furthermore, I was enrolled in a French school since kinder garden where the teaching is secular. Religion was considered only as a private matter. But to have access to that education, I was also very lucky to be born in a wealthy family with educated parents that understood the importance of providing me this education.

The secondary reason for why I never become radicalized is that I didn't find any difficulty integrating when I moved to France after I graduated high school to study. The fact that my family could provide for me during my studies gave me a quality of life that made me able to focus on getting used to a new foreign country and my studies. It helped me find my place in a new life, in a different culture. And, thanks to my education, I was able to grow in a new society where I was welcomed. Even though I was still attached to a Moroccan student community in Paris, I was able to meet new people and classmates and accepted me as the foreigner that I am. I landed in a new environment that was open for me, and where I could keep my education going. Also, the fact that even though I was a foreign student in France, I got the same governmental financial help that any other student living far from their families. I got access to financial help for housing, the same student fees as my classmates, and the same healthcare. Of course, I have to go through every year the complicated and overwhelming process of renewing my resident visa, but other than that, I felt like I was welcome to study and live in France. Thanks to my education, I didn't find difficulties comprehending and integrating the local culture and religion. I never felt the need to confine myself into a Moroccan nor Muslim community to find my place in France. To my mind, the combination of both my family and education background and the acceptance and welcoming I got when I moved to study in France, protected me from the need of confinement into religion and radicalization.

## Upcoming Event: Interdisciplinary Workshop on Youth Radicalization 13 November 2019

**Istanbul Bilgi University santralistanbul Campus**

We are pleased to announce that a workshop on "Youth Radicalisation from an Interdisciplinary Perspective" in the frame of the European Research Council funded PRIME Youth project is going to be carried out Istanbul Bilgi University. The workshop will take place on 13 November 2019 in the santralistanbul Campus of Istanbul Bilgi University.

The objectives of the workshop are: to exchange opinions and experience on youth integration (both native, and Muslim-origin), extremism and radicalization among the youth, culturalization of extremist ideologies).

### PROGRAM:

#### 10.00 - 10.30

Opening and Presentation of the ERC Project by Ayhan Kaya, Ayşe Tecmen and Jais Troian

#### 10.30 - 11.15

Keynote Speech by Prof. Jocelyne Cesari, University of Birmingham "A Sociological Perspective on Radicalization and Co-radicalization Processes in Europe"

#### 11.15 - 12.30

Discussion and Individual Interventions

#### 12.30 - 14.00

Lunch

#### 14.00 - 14.45

Keynote Speech, Prof. Catarina Kinnvall, Lund University "Radicalization and Co-radicalization Processes in Europe: A Political Psychology Perspective"

#### 14.45 - 16.30

Discussion and Individual Interventions

#### 16.30 - 17.00

Closing Remarks by Ayhan Kaya

## HORIZON 2020 PROJECTS

# RESPOND



Co-funded by the Horizon 2020 programme of the European Union

## Horizon 2020 RESPOND: Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond

**From: 01 December 2017 - To: 30 November 2020**

*"This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 770564"*

## The need for a Stronger Integration Discourse in Turkey



*"Thanks to the courtesy of Hüseyin Aldemir (İstanbul Bilgi University) to use his photos"*

### Ayhan Kaya, Istanbul Bilgi University - Principal Investigator of RESPOND project

Turkey first introduced a Temporary Protection Directive for the refugees in 2014, based on Articles 61 to 95 of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, which came into force in April 2014. The directive grants almost the entire social and civil rights that refugees enjoy in western societies. Accordingly, Turkey has provided Syrians with temporary protection, which consists of three elements: an open-door policy for all Syrians; no forced returns to Syria (non-refoulement); and unlimited duration of stay in Turkey. Following the implementation of the Temporary Protection Regulation, which still frames the refugees with a state of temporariness, some discursive shifts were witnessed in the media about the state actors' changing position on the permanent character of at least some of the Syrian refugees in Turkey. These discursive shifts have so far mainly emphasised the permanent nature of the issue - introduction of work permits in early 2016, incorporation of pupils into public schools, creating quotas for Syrian students in higher education institutions, granting citizenship to the Syrians, and some statements from political figures such as the President Erdoğan and the former Deputy PM Numan Kurtulmuş. Comparing the Turks living in Germany and the USA with the Syrians living in Turkey, in a meeting with the journalists, President Erdoğan referred to the need for granting citizenship to the Syrian refugees residing in Turkey:

"Today, a Turk can go to Germany and become a German citizen; [a Turk] can go to the U.S. and become an American citizen; why can't the same be possible for people living in our country?"<sup>1</sup>

This statement brought about a big commotion in Turkey making the Turkish citizens to conclude that all the Syrians will be granted citizenship immediately. Due to the disturbance of the public in general, former Deputy PM Kurtulmuş had to announce that the Ministry of Interior was working on a proposal, implicitly meaning that the government considers granting citizenship to those with cultural and economic capital:

"Our citizens should be comfortable. We have not yet completed the proposal about granting citizenship to the Syrians. The Ministry of Interior is working on the proposal. There are so many skilled people [among the Syrians] who can contribute to Turkey. To this effect, we can propose some criteria. When there is nothing concrete, some oppositional groups are trying to create chaos for the sake of opposition; and these groups are gossiping about the uncertain things as if everything is clearly laid out by the government.

These are all incorrect."<sup>2</sup>

However, it is not still clear what the Turkish state actors mean by granting citizenship. Anecdotal evidences as well as our observations in the field indicate that those Syrians with economic and cultural capital are more likely to be granted citizenship than those precarious ones, who seem to be instrumentalized by the on-going neoliberal forms of governance for the establishment of a model of precarious work for non-citizen workers.

Based on the findings driven from the readings of the late Ottoman history, legal texts and the speeches of leading political actors, one could see that the Turkish government has reproduced an Islamist discourse in their attempts to incorporate Syrians on the basis of the principle of tolerance and benevolence of Turkish state actors, who tend to see their Sunni-Muslim brothers and sisters as the members of the same Millet, the community of faith. These acts of benevolence went in parallel with the discourse of "Ansar Spirit" reminding the leading political elite of the early Muslims of Medina welcoming the Prophet Mohammad and his entourage escaping from the atrocities of their pagan relatives in Makkah. It is this act of benevolence as well as cultural intimacy, which comforted many Syrian refugees in their neighbourhoods in Turkey. Whether, this political discourse of tolerance and cultural intimacy embodied by the Turkish government is yet positively perceived by the overall Turkish society, is another question to be answered. Growing societal tensions between native communities and Syrians show that the majority of the Turkish society that is exposed to growing socio-economic and political challenges no longer embraces the political discourse of tolerance and cultural intimacy.

There is a growing urban tension in different parts of the country, which results in conflicts between local populations and Syrian refugees. The mainstream discourses of the political parties irrespective of being in government or in opposition tend to worsen the situation. Apparently, the discourse of integration is no longer at the agenda of both government and oppositional parties. On the contrary, both sides promote a return discourse despite the fact that Syria is still far from being stable. The media announcements of the Minister of Interior every month put it very baldly who many Syrians voluntarily returned while the municipal mayors and oppositional party leaders constantly talk about the need for massive return of Syrians to their homeland. There is only one way out, that is to politically, socially and economically underline the need for a strong integration discourse, which has the potential of easing the growing societal tension in urban spaces. One should not forget that integration discourse will pay off in both cases irrespective of Syrian refugees decide to go home, or a third country, or they decide to stay in Turkey. If they go home, or to a third country, they will become the ambassadors of Turkey remembering the good treatment and integrative efforts they received in Turkey. If they decide to stay then they will also appreciate for integration efforts of the Turkish state and society by delivering positively to the society as the constituent and welcomed individuals. In each option, there is always a win-win scenario.

<sup>1</sup> For news coverage about President Erdoğan's discourse on the Syrians being granted citizenship, or dual nationality, see *Hurriyet Daily News* (11 July 2018), <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/erdogan-details-dual-citizenship-for-syrians.aspx?pageID=238&nid=101428&NewsCatID=341>.

<sup>2</sup> For the Deputy PM Numan Kurtulmuş's speech on granting citizenship to the Syrians see *Sabah* (15 July 2016), <http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2016/07/14/hukumetten-suriyelilere-vatandaslik-aciklamasi>



## Project Summary:

With the goal of enhancing the governance capacity and policy coherence of the EU, its member states and neighbors, RESPOND is a comprehensive study of migration governance in the wake of the 2015 Refugee Crisis. Bringing together 14 partners from 7 disciplines, the project probes policy-making processes and policy (in)coherence through comparative research in source, transit and destination countries. RESPOND analyzes migration governance across macro (transnational, national), meso (sub-national/local) and microlevels (refugees/migrants) by applying an innovative research methodology utilizing legal and policy analysis, comparative historical analysis, political claims analysis, socio-economic and cultural analysis, longitudinal survey analysis, interview based analysis, and photovoice techniques. It focuses in-depth on: (1) Border management and security, (2) International refugee protection, (3) Reception policies, (4) Integration policies, and (5) Conflicting Europeanization and externalization. We use these themes to examine multi-level governance while tackling the troubling question of the role of forced migration in precipitating increasing disorder in Europe. In contrast to much research undertaken on governance processes at a single level of analysis, RESPOND's multilevel, multi-method approach shows the co-constitutive relationship between policy and practice among actors at all three levels; it highlights the understudied role of meso-level officials; and it shines a light on the activities of non-governmental actors in the face of policy vacuums. Ultimately, RESPOND will show which migration governance policies really work and how migrants and officials are making-do in the too-frequent absence of coherent policies. Adhering to a refugee-centered approach throughout, RESPOND will bring insights to citizenship, gender and integration studies, ensure direct benefit to refugee communities and provide a basis for more effective policy development.

## Consortium:

- 1 UPPSALA UNIVERSITET Sweden
- 2 THE GLASGOW CALEDONIAN UNIVERSITY United Kingdom
- 3 GEORG-AUGUST-UNIVERSITÄT GÖTTINGENSTIFTUNG ÖFFENTLICHEN RECHTS Germany
- 4 THE CHANCELLOR, MASTERS AND SCHOLARS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE United Kingdom
- 5 ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSİTESİ Turkey
- 6 SWEDISH RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN ISTANBUL Sweden
- 7 ÖZYEĞİN UNIVERSİTESİ Turkey
- 8 UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI FIRENZE Italy
- 9 ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΙΓΑΙΟΥ Greece
- 10 ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN Austria
- 11 UNIWERSYTET WARSZAWSKI Poland
- 12 KØBENHAVNS UNIVERSITET Denmark
- 13 LEBANON SUPPORT Lebanon
- 14 THE HAMMURABI HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATION, Iraq

## Working Paper Series:

RESPOND's Working Paper Series "Global Migration: Consequences and Responses" series makes RESPOND results freely available to scholars and the general public in order to foster the exchange of ideas and collaboration within and beyond academia. We welcome paper proposals from all researchers working on similar topics.

Papers can be accessed at:

<https://www.crs.uu.se/respond/working-paper-series/>

## RESPOND Blog:

The RESPOND Blog contains posts from the researchers. The goal of RESPOND is to study responses to mass migration to Europe in 2015 and afterward in order to provide a basis for more effective policy making. The project is an attempt to reckon with the sense of crisis that emerged due to migration movements and to generate recommendations for improving the governance capacity of the EU, member states and neighbors. RESPOND studies the key actors responsible for borders, protection, reception and integration while also addressing the broad issues of Europeanization and externalization. Employing a refugee-centered approach to the study of labor market integration, housing, citizenship and more, policy recommendations resulting from RESPOND will be relevant to refugees, effective and humane.

The blog is available at:

<http://responders.crs.uu.se/about-respond/>

## RESPOND Newsletter

Respond Newsletter Series, which features recent stories from our blog, information about RESPOND researchers' activities, and upcoming events is available at:

<https://www.crs.uu.se/respond>

Twitter: @RESPOND\_H2020

Facebook: @RespondMigration

## Horizon 2020 CoHERE Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe

**From 01 April 2016 - To: 31 March 2019 (Ended)**

*"This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 693289".*



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Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe (CoHERE) is a Horizon 2020 project (ID No 6932899), which was carried out between April 2016 and 2019. The project consortium was comprised of 12 partners from 9 countries, which included universities, an SME, two museums and a cultural network, from various fields such as museum, heritage and memory studies, cultural

history, education, musicology, ethnology, political science, archaeology, ethnolinguistics and digital interaction design. The consortium comprises 12 partners over 9 countries.

#### Consortium:

- 1 Newcastle University (coordinator) UK
- 2 Aarhus University Denmark
- 3 University of Amsterdam Netherlands
- 4 National and Kapodistrian University of Athens Greece
- 5 İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute Turkey
- 6 University of Bologna Italy
- 7 Copenhagen Institute of Interaction Design Denmark
- 8 Heriot-Watt University UK
- 9 Latvian Academy of Culture Latvia
- 10 European Network of Cultural Centres Belgium
- 11 POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews Poland
- 12 Tropenmuseum Netherlands

As a part of the consortium, İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute was involved in two Work Packages.

Work Package 2 "The use of past in political discourse and the representation of Islam in European museums" was led by Professor Ayhan Kaya and researchers from İstanbul Bilgi University with Dr Chiara de Cesari from University of Amsterdam, and researchers from Newcastle University, in collaboration with Dr Wayne Modest from National Museum of World Cultures.

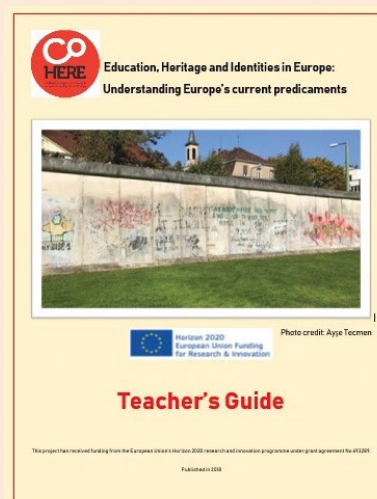
There were three reports that were produced by the European Institute team. All reports are available at the CoHERE Critical Archive (<http://cohere-ca.ncl.ac.uk/>).

- The first reports titled "The rise of populist extremism in Europe: Theoretical Tools for Comparison" (Kaya, 2016) conducts a literature survey based on theoretical and empirical analysis to bear on the questions of cause and response: what factors are causing growing numbers of citizens to endorse populist parties of right or left? Drawing on the theoretical review of the current state of populism in Europe, this report elaborates on the features of contemporary populism.

- The second report titled "The rise of populist extremism in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity" (Kaya, 2017) reveals the social-economic drivers of the contemporary forms of populist movements in Europe. This report provides the theoretical tools to compare the rise of populist movements in five EU countries (Germany, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands) as well as in Turkey.

- The third report titled "Islam versus Europe: Populist discourse and the construction of a civilizational identity" (Kaya and Tecmen, 2018) reveals the ways in which five populist parties in Europe (Alternative for Germany in Germany, National Front in France, Party for Freedom in the Netherlands, Five Star Movement in Italy, and Golden Dawn in Greece, employ the fear of Islam as a political instrument to mobilize their supporters and to mainstream themselves.

Work Package 5 "Education, heritage and identities" was led by Professor Troels Myrup Christensen and researchers from Aarhus University with Dr Lia Galani, researchers from University of Athens, researchers from İstanbul Bilgi University and researchers from the Latvian Academy of Culture.



The interactive e-book titled Education, Heritage and Identities in Europe: Understanding Europe's current predicaments (2018, edited by Ayhan Kaya and Tecmen) was designed for secondary school students. It covers various current issues, such as European identity, the refugee crisis and the financial crisis. The interactive characteristic of the e-book is also mirrored in the animated video on populism and tolerance in Europe and the digital game titled "Europe in a Museum", which can be found <http://criticalheritage.bilgi.edu.tr/>.

The teachers guide for the interactive e-book titled Education, Heritage and Identities in Europe: Understanding Europe's current predicaments (2018) is a component of this deliverable. It is comprised of lesson plans to inform instructors on how they can incorporate the e-book chapters into their lessons.

The e-book and the teachers guide are available at: <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/en/publication/etkilesimli-kitaplar/>

All deliverables of the CoHERE project can be reached from the CoHERE Critical Archive, available at: <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/coherecriticalarchive/>

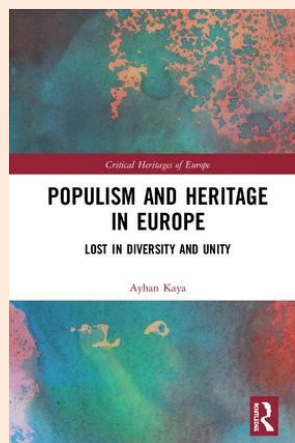
What is the CoHERE Critical Archive (CCA)? One of the innovative aspects of the CoHERE project is the Critical Archive (CCA) which provides a dynamic digital repository



and linking mechanism for content produced through or in relation to the CoHERE project. This content includes critical essays, articles, reports and literature reviews, films and audio recordings, data files, case studies and profiles of practice-based research. As well as providing a home and linking structure for this content, the CCA unfolds and evolves over time. This allows it to register changes in thinking, contradictions and tensions, emerging areas and debates, reflections on current affairs, provocations, conjectures and forecasts related to notions of European heritage. Project outputs can be reached from the CCA, available at: <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/coherecriticalarchive/>

We are also happy to announce two forthcoming publications from Routledge Press which were prepared in the scope of the CoHERE project:

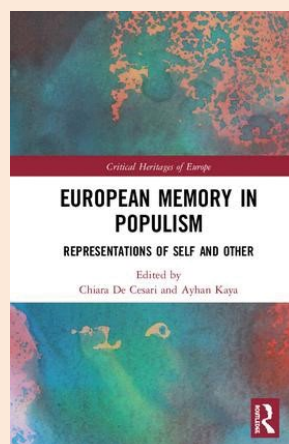
- **Ayhan Kaya's *Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity*** offers a comprehensive study of populism and heritage in France, Germany, Italy, Greece, Netherlands and Turkey. This book elaborates on different aspects of the current political framework, in which populist political rhetoric is becoming strongly rooted at a time characterized by globalism, anti-multiculturalism, financial crisis, refugee crisis, Islamophobia, terror, Euroscepticism, and nativism. This study aims to offer social, economic, political, psychological and cultural sources of the current populist movements. It also aims at displaying the social-economic basis of the populist rhetoric, without falling into the trap of culturalizing what is social, political and economic in origin. Based on the in-depth interviews conducted with such populist movements' followers within the framework of the CoHERE project in the spring of 2017, the book unravels the main motivations of these individuals in resorting to nativist and populist discourses, and to understand the use of the past and heritage by such parties and their followers.



This study underlines at least three distinctive elements to be underlined: Firstly, the focus of the work is on the combination of social-economic and political resentment of populist electorates with the culturalist, nativist, nationalist, Islamophobic, and Manichean populist style of party leadership, a combination which has turned populist parties into rather permanent political entities within the European political space. Secondly, the book delineates the ways in which right-wing populist party

leaderships exploit heritage, past, culture, civilization, and religion to mobilize the masses who are hit by current flows of globalization appearing in the forms of deindustrialization, unemployment, human mobility, migrants, refugees, and a growing visibility of Islam in public space. In this sense, the right-wing populist style will be depicted in relation to some notions borrowed from Heritage Studies such as 'past presencing', 'assembling futures', 'heritage from below' and 'heritageisation'. Finally, another distinctive element which needs to be mentioned, is that the volume distinguishes itself from existing literature, which assumes that populism is a rather more male-dominated phenomenon. Contemporary right-wing populism in Europe is very different from earlier forms of extreme right-wing parties as they find new strategies to become mainstream parties. The fear of Islam in the public space is being strategized by right-wing populist parties strategize the fear of Islam in public space to reach out to larger segments of the European public. Referring to terms like 'femonationalism' and 'homonationalism' as

well as to the findings of the fieldwork, this work reveals that more and more women and LGBTI individuals are also becoming attracted by the populist rhetoric, which has a much clearer oppositional stance against radical Islam, a religion which is believed to pose a threat to both women and LGBTI individuals.



- ***European Memory in Populism: Representations of Self and Other***, edited by Chiara De Cesari (University of Amsterdam) and Ayhan Kaya (Istanbul Bilgi University) offers a summary and reflection on the collective work of WP2 as well as a number of contributions on the memory culture of contemporary populisms by a wide variety of key scholars beyond our network. *European Memory in Populism* explores the links between memory, heritage and populism in contemporary Europe and beyond. Focusing on circulating ideas of memory,

especially European memory, in contemporary populist discourses, the book also analyses populist ideas in sites and practices of remembrance that usually tend to go unnoticed. More broadly, the theoretical heart of the book reflects upon the similarities, differences, and slippages between memory, populism, nationalism, and cultural racism and the ways in which social memory and heritage contributes to give substance to various ideas of what constitutes the 'people' in populist discourse and beyond.

Bringing together a group of political scientists, anthropologists, and cultural and memory studies scholars, the book illuminates the relationship between memory and populism from different angles and in different contexts. The contributors to the volume discuss dominant notions of European heritage that circulate in the public sphere and in political discourse and consider how the politics of fear relates to such notions of European heritage and identity across Europe and the European Union. Ultimately, this volume will shed light on how notions of a shared European heritage and memory can be used not only to include and connect Europeans, but also to exclude some of them.

Investigating the ways in which nationalist populist forces mobilize the idea of a shared, homogeneous European civilization, *European Memory in Populism* will be of interest to scholars and students in the fields of European studies, memory and heritage studies, migration studies, anthropology, political science and sociology.

## CoHERE WP2 FINDINGS

### WP 2 the use of the past in political discourse and the representation of Islam in European museums



- Populism is often used pejoratively to criticize politicians and their supporters for deploying politics of fear; authoritarian political tone; and undemocratic discursive elements;

- The main drivers of right-wing populist movements and their wide support are social-economic deprivation and/or nostalgic deprivation experienced mainly by parochial, immobile, working-class, underclass, traditional middle-class

groups who feel challenged by the flows of globalization;

- Right-wing populism is not only driven by anti-globalist, anti-establishment, and anti-elitist sentiments, but also mobilized by populist political style;
- Populist political style is characterized by a leadership investing in societal and political polarization (Manichean world view which is centred on dualism); in myths and heritage to flatten the complexity, the nuance, the performative contradictions of human history; in ordinariness as well as unordinariness of personalities of leaders; in political incorrectness to give the impression to his/her followers that s/he is equal with the people s/he represents; in speech acts that scandalize, dramatize and exaggerate social and political phenomena; and in constant state of crisis;

- Right-wing populist political style also frames societal and political cleavages as cultural, and religious divides which leads to a civilizational approach between the Christian west and the Muslim east;

- The divide is not between the crescent and the cross; the divide seems to be between the seculars, atheists, agnostics, and liberals on the one hand and the Muslims on the other; which stems from the perceived homogeneity of the “other” (outgroup homogeneity);



- Right-wing populism is escalating in a period when global financial crisis and refugee crisis simultaneously intensifying because populist party/movement supporters are socio-economically disadvantaged by the increasing competition with refugees;

- One should also bear in mind that populism is not the sources of the problems we are all facing now in Europe, but it is the outcome of the failure of mainstream political parties that could not deliver enough to cure the ills of contemporary societies. In other words, contemporary right-wing populism is partly the critic of neo-liberal governance which fail to address the problems of the “periphery”;

- One should not also forget that the main tropes of right-wing populism, i.e. civilizational rhetoric, Islamophobia, and are the remnants of the war in the Balkans in 1990s that gave birth to Samuel Huntington’s ‘clash of civilizations’ paradigm; September 11, which epitomized growing Islamophobia; and the multiculturalism bash made by mainstream politicians in Europe in 2010 such as Angela Merkel, David Cameron, and Nicola Sarkozy. In this sense, populist movements and their supporters perceive multiculturalism as a failed experiment.

- Islamophobia becomes a mainstream discourse employed by those who are feeling socially, economically, politically and nostalgically deprived in real and/or relative terms to

express their problems in everyday life. Such individuals are also aware of the fact that speaking from the margin makes more echo;

- Right-wing populism in Europe is mainstreaming itself by highlighting a civilizational, liberal and culturally Christian discourse; Right-wing populism in Europe is:

- civilizational, EU-sceptic (but not necessarily Eurosceptic), and anti-Islam;
  - resorting to welfare discourse to appeal to working-class and unemployed populations;
  - making new political alliances with middle classes, women, LGBTI, and Jews,
  - promoting a culturalized Christianity to appeal to those in search for community to fight back against the perils of globalization, and
  - highlighting liberal values such as free speech, gender equality, philosemitism to appeal to new groups;

- Right-wing populism in Europe is far more different from earlier extreme-right movements as the current forms of populism are anti-elitist and diverse in terms of their ideological content;

- Islamophobia, or anti-Muslim racism, is the most popular instrument used by right-wing populist parties in Europe to mainstream themselves;

- Islamophobia is mostly visible in remote cities and rural spaces where there are practically no Muslims in the public space because populism is a localized phenomenon which draws on the fear of the unknown/unfamiliar cultures. Those who are with a lower-education level, unemployed, male, nationalist and non-religious as well as those who rely on the mainstream media are more likely to be Islamophobic;

- Right-wing populist parties are very much capitalizing on the feeling of “being left behind” of many people all around the EU. AfD is investing in such a mood in Germany to mobilize masses against the shortcomings of the German political parties in the centre while the other European right-wing populist parties are investing in the feeling of popular discontent against Germany, which mainly springs from Angela Merkel’s austerity policies (as in Greece), or from the fact that Germany has been the net winner of global financial crisis since 2008 (as in France, Italy, and the Netherlands);

- Populist rhetoric creates new communities of sentiments to fight back against detrimental effects of globalization, EUization, multiculturalism, diversity, unity, and cosmopolitanism;

- EUization is distinct from Europeanisation in populist discourse because the former is seen as an institutional integration model devoid of the public’s voices;

- Right-wing populist discourse is not simply standing at the right end of the political spectrum, but also manifesting environmentalist, welfarist, anti-globalist, and leftist claims; which stems from the fact that populist rhetoric is becoming a political communications style;

- For instance; Yellow vests express their resentment against an their individualized life, fragmented families, feeling of being left behind, demotivating working activities, low salaries, small businesses increasingly penalised, growing fears related to global issues such as climate, environment, immigration, absence of answers to fundamental questions about the meaning of life, and growing nostalgic deprivation resulting from globalization, diversity, multiculturalism and



mobility challenging the established notions of the nation, culture, tradition, and heritage.

- Supporters of the right-wing populist parties do not necessarily have anti-refugee sentiments, they are on the contrary empathetic towards them as they resemble the victims of the World War II in their collective memory. However, the same supporters generate very strong negative sentiments against the settled immigrants and their descendants as they see them as their competitors struggling for the same resources;

- Populist parties and movements emphasise the protection of national culture and heritage in the name of preserving national identity; which is characterized by an increasing nativist rhetoric;

- Populist rhetoric instrumentalizes heritage as a form of governmentality to mobilize and consolidate its supporters to promote authenticity and nativity, to fight against the foreign infiltration, and to maintain the identity of European Nations.

## Horizon 2020 FEUTURE: Future of EU-Turkey Relations

# F | E U | T U | R E

THE FUTURE OF EU-TURKEY RELATIONS:  
MAPPING DYNAMICS AND TESTING SCENARIOS

From 01 April 2016 - To: 31 March 2019 (Ended)

[www.feuture.eu](http://www.feuture.eu)

*This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement No 692976.*

### Project Summary:

FEUTURE (Future of EU-Turkey Relations) revealed the narratives and drivers of the EU-Turkey relationship, the likely scenario(s) for the future, and the implications these may have on the EU and Turkey, as well as the neighbourhood and the global scene. The FEUTURE project contributed to the knowledge base of the external environment the EU operates in, providing a strong, evidence-based foundation from which the future trajectory of EU-Turkey relations may be drawn.

The project identified six prevalent thematic dimensions of EU-Turkey relations that structure our research across four levels of analysis: the EU, Turkey, the neighbourhood and the global scene.

The political dimension was most closely related with the overall pace of EU-Turkey relations. Research takes into consideration that progress in Turkey's political performance has often been related to and has justified progress in Turkey's European integration and vice versa. At the same time, setbacks in Turkey's democratization has been linked to stagnation in its European integration path.

The economics dimension focused on the economic ties between Turkey and the EU and the way these are conditioned both by the economic performances of the two sides and by relations with the neighbourhood and global markets.

In the security dimension, Turkey's membership of NATO (as the second largest armed force in the Alliance) critically shaped EU-Turkey relations (as well as EU-NATO relations). Likewise, Turkish ambitions to become an independent regional power affect security ties with the EU. At the same time, Turkey's relations with the EU condition both the EU and Turkey's relations with the neighbourhood as well as with key global actors such as Russia and the United States.

In the light of Turkey's growing importance for the EU's quest for energy security through the diversification of energy sources and routes, the energy dimension focus on whether Turkey will end up representing an energy hub, for Europe at the heart of the Southern Corridor and thus contribute to the EU's energy security.

Concerning the migration dimension, the research analysed the flows of skilled migrants between Turkey and the EU, the transit of irregular migrants from Turkey into the EU, and the evolution of Turkish and EU asylum policies, and the way these have affected the broader scope of the EU-Turkey relationship.

The identity dimension focused on the diverse perception of identity of both Turkey and Europe by Turkish and EU actors.

The consortium included 15 partner institutions including IAI in Italy; University of Cologne in Germany (coordinator); CIDOB in Spain; ELIAMEP in Greece; Middle East Technical University (METU), Centre for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies (EDAM), Koç University, İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute and Sabancı University from Turkey; Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA), DIIS in Denmark; The American University in Cairo in Egypt, CIFE in France, Caucasus Resource Center CRRC in Georgia and MERI from Erbil, Northern Iraq.

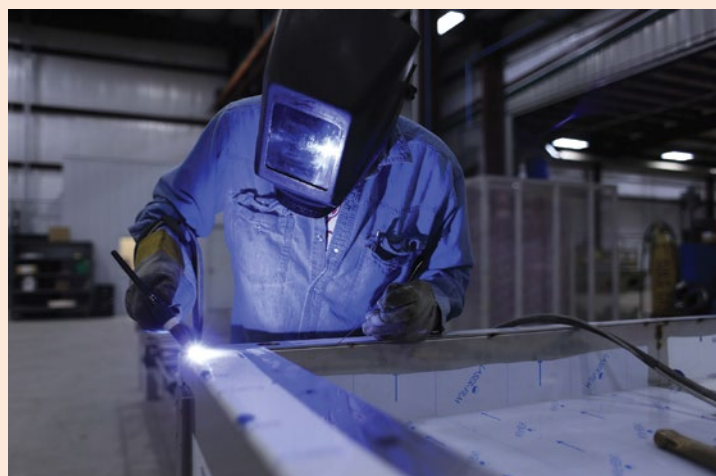
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## FEUTURE: The Future of EU-Turkey Relations

### Brain Drain or Brain Gain?

**Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University, Principle Investigator of FEUTURE Project**



Attracting highly-qualified immigrants is a priority in the 'Europe 2020 Strategy', yet European efforts continue to face several obstacles in attracting and retaining skilled migrants as well as making sure that there is a growing cross-border mobility of skills within the European Space. Based on the recognition that migration/mobility is a bi-directional issue and against the background that only few studies exist dealing with highly-qualified immigrants, this task analyses the movement not only of Turkish skilled labour



migrants to the EU but also of EU labour migrants to Turkey. An in-depth analysis identifies direct and indirect drivers in EU and Turkey (e.g. Blue Card scheme and the upcoming proposals for improvement, the institutional framework in EU and Turkey, visa policies and labour schemes, economic factors and trends, foreign policy, social factors etc.) as well as the neighbourhood and global level (e.g. role of European Neighbourhood policy in attracting legal skilled migration, attraction of skilled labour forces at the global level).

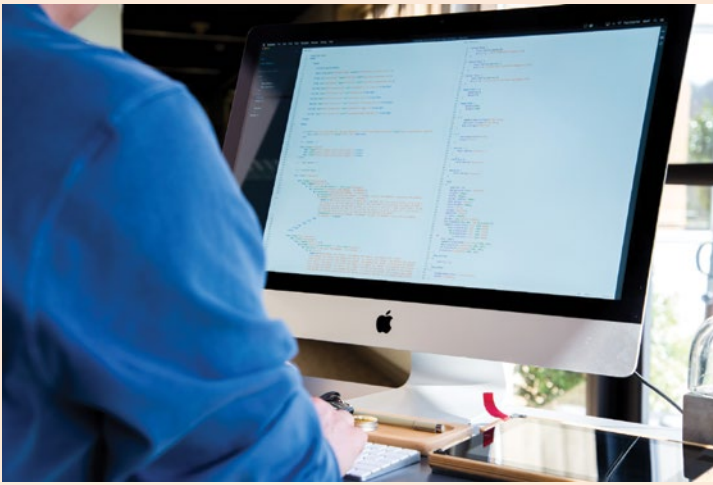
The Turkish state actors worked on the legal regulations to attract highly skilled international work force. Following the Law on Foreigners and International Protection (Law no. 6458) which was put into force in April 2014, the state actors have now completed their preparation for a new Law on International Work Force (Law No. 6735) under the guidance and coordination of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. International Workforce Law No. 6735, the aim of which is to attract the qualified foreigners, was put into force as of 13 August 2016. The Law introduced a new type of work (or employment) permit, a certificate called “Turquoise Card” that grants eligible foreigners to work permanently in Turkey. Turkey has been very active in the last two decades since the Helsinki Summit of 1999 in terms of aligning its migration and integration policies with the European Union. However, these efforts were interrupted since the eruption of the civil war in Syria in 2011. In the meantime, Turkey attracted many skilled and highly skilled EU citizens, descendants of Turkish origin migrants residing in the EU as well as skilled and highly skilled individuals from the rest of the world. Booming of Turkish economy, growing opportunities of higher education, research and development, increasing foreign direct investment opportunities and Turkey’s potential of becoming a soft power in the region have been very decisive for attracting skilled and highly skilled international work force until the early 2010s. However, this trend was interrupted due to regional and domestic political developments leading the country to a vulnerable situation in terms of deterioration of human rights, freedom of speech, democracy as well as explicit Islamization and authoritarianisation of the state. Based on the research we conducted within the framework of FEUTURE: The Future of Turkey-EU Relations, this short piece aims to elaborate on the discussion regarding the dichotomy between brain drain and brain gain.

Developed countries, which are likely to prevent the entry of non-qualified or semi-qualified migrants into their territories, are eager to welcome qualified human resource originating from developing countries such as India, China, Russia and Turkey. Certain countries provide better quality of research, study and employment opportunities. The Overseas Research Students Awards Scheme in the UK, Marie Curie Fellowships and European Research Council grants in the EU, 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Framework Research Program, and now Horizon 2020 Research Program within the European Research Area, Alexander von Humboldt fellowships in Germany, and Human Frontier Science Program are some of the academic funding programs attracting the citizens of other countries to study and/or to do research abroad. The mobile PhDs are mostly a brain gain for OECD countries. International doctoral students make up more than 20 per cent of enrolments in advanced research programmes in Australia, Belgium, Canada, New Zealand, the United States, and the Nordic countries. This ratio becomes even more than 40 per cent in Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands. It is usually indicated that several of the foreign graduates of the western universities tend to stay where they receive their degrees. For instance, surveys indicate that 79 per cent of 1990-91 doctoral recipients from India stayed abroad and 88 per cent of those from China were still working in the United States in 1995. In contrast, only 11 per cent of

Koreans and 15 per cent of Japanese who earned science and engineering doctorates from US universities in 1990-91 were working in the US in 1995 (OECD, 2002). The fact is that only a handful of countries have been successful in luring their talented émigrés back home.

The OECD findings reveal that the efforts by OECD countries to attract highly skilled workers affect the supply of skilled people in the sending countries, which are often among the poorest in the world. The brain drain, for example, hits mainly small African and Caribbean countries, with some smaller countries such as Fiji, Haiti, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Malawi and Mauritius, having more than 40 per cent of their highly skilled population living abroad. These countries also have many of their doctors and nurses leaving to work abroad, as do African countries including Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Malawi and Tanzania. Over 50 per cent of doctors from those countries work abroad. There is also a gender dimension to the brain drain: women from developing countries with tertiary degrees are also more likely to emigrate to OECD countries than highly skilled men: 17.6 per cent versus 13.1 per cent (OECD, 2008). The table below displays the percentage of immigrants with tertiary education originating from poor countries. “Brain drain” is particularly acute in small countries and island states in Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean. In 2010, close to 93.0 per cent of highly skilled persons born in Guyana lived in OECD countries. Similarly, more tertiary educated persons were living outside Barbados, Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago than in these countries. The proportion of highly educated persons residing in OECD countries was also significant for Jamaica (48.1 per cent), Tonga (48.1 per cent), Mauritius (43.8 per cent), Zimbabwe (43.6 per cent), and the Republic of the Congo (37.4 per cent), Belize (34 per cent), and Malta (36.6 per cent). In contrast, most OECD countries as well as non-OECD countries with large populations, including Brazil, China, India and Russian Federation, had low emigration rates of the highly-skilled (below 3.5 per cent) (OECD, 2013). In terms of the population of the emigrants with tertiary-education, the first top three countries are India, Philippines and China.

One of the crucial points with regard to the discussions revolving around the brain drain is the organization of border management in the EU as well as in the other parts of the western world. In a recent work, Dilek Karal (2019) finds out that the European Union’s collaborations with third countries, collaborative framing of migrants via statistical tools (EASO, Frontex, Europol), combined monitoring of border management across countries, bio-control and point systems, regional protection programs, regional migration conferences, formation of sub regional economic communities and IOM’s Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) programs are some aspects of technologies of ethico-political governmentality in migration. Referring to the Foucaultian notion of governmentality, she defines ethico-political power as a new form of organization of self-regulatory mechanisms of power exploited in collaboration with the bio-politics of population (Karal, 2019). She also argues that ethico-political paradigm is constructed as an authority tool, which technically and institutionally goes further than discursive elements (Karal, 2019). Approaches to border management have been strongly affected by security concerns. Some regions in the world have been the subject of attacks linked with international terrorist networks and the possibility that they might constitute targets for further assaults. Consequently, the strengthening of border management systems in terms of technology, infrastructure, business process for inspection of travellers, and training of staff has become a primary area of concern.



Technologies of ethico-political power function on exclusion via dividing practices. Point-based elimination systems is one of the major instances of these practices along with selection of skilled migrants from Africa. This system invests in human capital benefiting from financial outcomes in a post-liberal understanding. For instance, World Bank estimates that about 70,000 African professionals and university graduates leave their country of origin each year to work in Europe or North America (IOM, 2003). The situation creates a problem of brain drain especially in health and technology sector that African countries are deprived of. A recent estimate suggested that some 400,000 scientists and engineers from developing countries between 30 per cent and 50 per cent of the total stock were working in research and development in the industrial countries, compared with around 1.2 million doing the same at home. The percentage of such migrants in the US from several Central American countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, varied roughly between 25 and 40 per cent of those at home. Nowadays, more Ethiopian doctors are practicing in Chicago than in Ethiopia (IOM, 2005: 173).

Ethico-political governmentality of migration legitimizes discrimination of immigrants with technologies of exclusion via dividing practices. Because of advanced liberal rationalities, migrants who can make the utmost contribution to host societies are given priority in welcoming policies whereas others are outcaste. In this regard, migrants are discriminated in terms of skills, education, countries of origin or their contributions to the host countries. For instance, point based system that is activated in Australia, United Kingdom and New Zealand provides residence permit or asylum to applicants on a point based system on which migrants are given grades depending on their education level, language ability, experience, employment, age, adaptability and their partners' qualifications. Hence, such a point-based system is designed to protect host societies from inflow of "undeserving migrants" and downgrades migrants' rights.

Apparently, there are attractive opportunities for professionals from developing countries in many western countries. The Green Card practice in the USA, Canada, and lately in Germany and similar programs in other countries such as the UK, Australia, Holland and France aim to attract professionals from developing countries. Western countries provide those professionals with relatively better life conditions than they would get in their home countries. The increasing flows of highly skilled migrants can be associated with the emergence of skill-biased technical change in the developed labour markets as well as with the internationalisation of multinational firms' internal and external markets. The International Organization of Migration reports that some 300,000 professionals from the African continent live and work in Europe and North America. Since the 1990s, some 900,000 highly skilled professionals, mainly IT workers from

countries like India have migrated to the United States under the H1B temporary visa programme. However, the USA is not the only magnet; Canada, Australia, Britain, Germany, France and Holland are the other major countries trying to attract foreign researchers and IT workers as well as students (IOM, 2012).

As more and more qualified young nationals have left the peripheral countries in the EU, commentators have expressed concerns on the risk of a brain drain. Although it is estimated that more than 100,000 university graduates have left Spain in the past few years, complaints about an exodus of skills are misleading (Buck, 2014). Given the ongoing high unemployment even for skilled young people in the periphery, taking a job abroad is obviously better for the youngsters than inactively staying at home. Longer periods of unemployment, especially at the beginning of their career, are frustrating for young people, as they see their qualification devalued. What is more, in the GIPS the young generation's incentives to invest in education and qualification would be even more impaired if the youngsters even missed the opportunity to try their chances abroad. Instead, a period of work experience abroad can boost career opportunities, especially for university graduates. Moreover, of course, a substantial number of today's emigrants are likely to move back home when the labour market situation has improved. However, it is obvious that a lasting exodus of skills from the southern periphery would entail serious structural problems and undermine the growth potential there. With a lasting migration deficit Greece, Spain and Portugal would soon be among the most rapidly ageing populations on the globe and their workforce would shrink substantially. However, such a scenario is unlikely, given the stabilisation of these economies.

Hence, the data show that skills go to places where they are respected, valued and recognized. However, the migration of skilled labour does not mean that skilled migrants will no longer contribute to the well-being and prosperity of their homelands. On the contrary, their affection to their homeland continues under all the circumstances, and skilled migrants tend to contribute to their homeland by setting up scientific, academic, business, cultural and societal bridges between their original homelands and the rest of the world.

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# JEAN MONNET PROJECTS

Co-funded by the  
Erasmus+ Programme  
of the European Union



## FlipEU

The Jean Monnet Module entitled A 'Flipped Course' on EU is coordinated by Özge Onursal-Besğül and Mehmet Ali Tuğtan. The FlipEU module is the first blended course on the EU in Istanbul Bilgi University. The module is delivered as a course under the General Education Curriculum with the course code and name GE 112 Introduction to European Union. The course launched as GE 112 "Introduction to European Union", as a general education curriculum (GE) elective course open to all of the students in the university. The students from a variety of departments were able to select this course from the GE or the full list slot in their programs.

During the first year of the project, the teaching content of the module was set up. The course is structured as a two-hour face-to-face lecture and a one hour online component. The course concentrated on the historical evolution of European Union, taking the EU from the end of World War II to the current period. Over three years in six consecutive terms, 322 students enrolled in the course. Now, at the end of the third year, as the project draws to a close, the final outputs consisting of two academic articles and a Massive Online Open Course to be delivered over the project website are in the works. Please visit the Project Web site:

<https://flipeu.bilgi.edu.tr>

## DAAD FELLOWSHIP

**DAAD**

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst  
German Academic Exchange Service



As of September 2019, Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı is the new DAAD lecturer at the European Institute. Within the framework of the agreement between Istanbul Bilgi University and the German Academic Foreign Exchange Service (DAAD), she will advance the European Institute's relations to German academic institutions, advise on DAAD scholarship opportunities and pursue original research and

will lecture in the International Relations program.

Deniz Güneş Yardımcı is a sociologist, media- and film scholar specialized in Turkish-German relations with a focus on Turkish-German migration history, culture- and identity politics, and the cinematic representation of migration and diasporas. Before joining the European Institute, she worked as a visiting lecturer at the Humboldt University of Berlin

and the University of Duisburg-Essen, and will continue to lecture at the international Berlin Perspectives Programme at Humboldt University of Berlin.

Yardımcı received her PhD at the Media Arts Department at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2017, where she studied with a College Reid Scholarship from the Department of Media Arts. Her dissertation takes a comparative approach to the representation of culture and identity of Turkish migrants and the Turkish diaspora in Germany in German, Turkish-German, and Turkish cinema. During her PhD, Yardımcı was a DAAD doctoral fellow at the European Institute for seven months in 2014.

After her double degree study at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz in Germany, Yardımcı graduated from the Department of Sociology and the Department of Film/ Department of Mass Communication and received her German Diplom (equivalent to MA) in Sociology in 2009 and her German Magister (equivalent to MA) in Film Studies (with high honours) in 2010. During her studies, she worked as an editorial assistant in the news department of ZDF German Television and as a freelance journalist for Business Week (2006 - 2010).

Between 2003 and 2019, Yardımcı taught various courses in Sociology and Film Studies at the Johannes Gutenberg University of Mainz, Royal Holloway, University of London, Humboldt University of Berlin and the University of Duisburg-Essen. Furthermore, she was a research assistant at Regent's Centre for Transnational Studies at Regent's University London and worked as an English Language Tutor for Academic Purposes (EAP) at Royal Holloway, University of London in 2013.

Yardımcı's broader research interests include European Migration and Integration Policies, Turkish-German Migration, Migration and Media/Film, Film Sociology, Transnational Cinema, Social Inequality, Marginal Groups, Postcolonial Theories and Qualitative Research Methods. Currently, she is completing a German as Foreign Language (DAF) teacher qualification at the Goethe Institute and writing her book on the cinematic representation of Turkish-German migration history. Yardımcı's present research focuses on contemporary Turkish-German Hip-Hop culture and the cinematic representation of the Syrian refugee crisis.

## ACADEMIC NETWORK FOR EU STUDIES (A-NEST) IN TURKEY



Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute, which is the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence is honoured to announce that it will hold the secretariat of the Academic Network for European Studies in Turkey (A-NEST) between 2019 and 2021.

A-NEST is a platform supported by the EU Delegation to Turkey, which aims to create a network where the academics of European Studies can exchange developments in European academic studies, EU-Turkey relations, organise conferences, workshops, seminars, and share news, announcements and publications.

The first conference of A-NEST will be held on 18-19 April 2020 at İstanbul Bilgi University.

Please find below the call for papers for the conference:

**Upcoming Conference:  
A-NEST CONFERENCE  
European Studies:  
Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Turkey,  
EU and Beyond**

**18-19 April 2020  
İstanbul Bilgi University, santralistanbul Campus**

A two-day conference will provide an opportunity for European Studies scholars to discuss several areas in contemporary European Studies and present their papers to some of the most renowned academics, institutions and stakeholders in the field. Scholars will have the chance to position themselves in the international research community and to debate related topics and research questions in an interdisciplinary environment. **Presenters based outside of Istanbul will be partly reimbursed through the A-NEST framework for their travel and accommodation expenses.** The amount of the reimbursement depends on the final number of presenters travelling from abroad and will be communicated after the conference's program has been finalized.

We invite scholars to submit papers that discuss key issues in contemporary European Studies and particularly concerns with evolving and changing dynamics in EU-Turkey relations. We accept papers from across a range of academic disciplines covering political science, public policy, sociology, history, cultural studies, anthropology, legal studies, and economics.

The panels will be chaired by renowned scholars in the field of European Studies. Keynote speeches by some of the most innovative and prestigious international experts in European Studies will further frame the program. Each day will be wrapped up with a round table discussion highlighting the outcome of the panels and the implications for European Studies as an interdisciplinary and applied area of study.

**Panels**

**• Theoretical and conceptual discussions in European Studies: Europeanization and De-Europeanization**

Panel Convenor: Çiğdem Nas - Yıldız Technical University and İKV

**• Innovative research methods on European Studies**

Panel Convenor: Sezai Özçelik - Çankırı Karatekin University

**• Social movements, civil society and political participation in EU-Turkey relations**

Panel Convenor: Büke Boşnak - İstanbul Bilgi University

**• The politics of crisis- Brexit, financial crisis, migration crisis and its implications on the EU-Turkey relations**

Panel Convenor: Selin Türkeş-Kılıç - Yeditepe University

**• Migration and Securitisation in the EU**

Panel Convenor: Pelin Sönmez - Kocaeli University

**• Populism and Euroscepticism**

Panel Convenor: Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University

**• EU governance, policies and reforms**

Panel Convenor: Berrin Ataman - Altınbaş University

**• EU and the Emerging Multipolar World Order**

Panel Convenor: Tarık Oğuzlu - Antalya Bilim University

**• European Law**

Panel Convenor: Pınar Artıran - İstanbul Bilgi University

**Roundtable Discussions**

**• Teaching EU-Turkey relations**

Emre Gönen- İstanbul Bilgi University, Özge Onursal-Beşgöl - İstanbul Bilgi University, Ebru Turhan - Turkish German University and Selin Türkeş-Kılıç - Yeditepe University.

**• Gendering EU studies**

Büke Boşnak - İstanbul Bilgi University, Burcu Özdemir-Sargil - Bilkent University and Rahime Süleymanoğlu- Kürüm - İstanbul Gedik University.

**A-NEST Steering Committee**

Sinem Açıkmeşe - Kadir Has University  
Berrin Ataman - Altınbaş University  
Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University  
Çiğdem Nas - Yıldız Technical University & İKV  
Selin Türkeş-Kılıç - Yeditepe University  
Tarık Oğuzlu - Antalya Bilim University  
Sezai Özçelik - Çankırı Karatekin University  
Başak Yavcan - TOBB ETÜ

**A-NEST Scientific Committee**

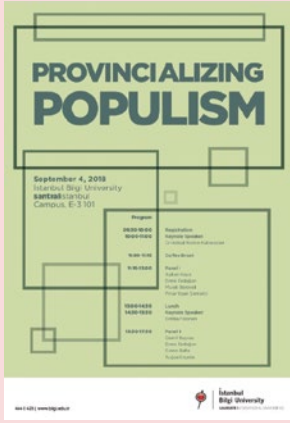
Senem Aydın-Düzgüt - Sabancı University  
Büke Boşnak - İstanbul Bilgi University  
Meltem Müftüler-Baç - Sabancı University  
Özge Onursal-Beşgöl - İstanbul Bilgi University  
Ziya Öniş - Koç University  
Bahar Rumelili - Koç University  
Pınar Artıran - İstanbul Bilgi University  
Hatice Yazgan - Çankırı Karatekin University

For full details, please visit İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute website: <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr>



# CONFERENCES, ROUNDTABLES & WORKSHOPS

- **Conference: PROVINCIALIZING POPULISM** by İstanbul Bilgi University's Department of International Relations, 4 September 2018, santralistanbul Campus



The conference entitled "Provincializing Populism" was organised by İstanbul Bilgi University's Department of International Relations on 4th September 2018, in the santralistanbul Campus.

Prof. Ayhan Kaya made a presentation about "Mainstreaming of Right-wing Populism in Europe through Islamophobia: A Civilizational Turn".

- **"From Tolerance to Respect in Social Participation and Harmonisation Processes", 24 September 2018, Sultanbeyli Idea Club**



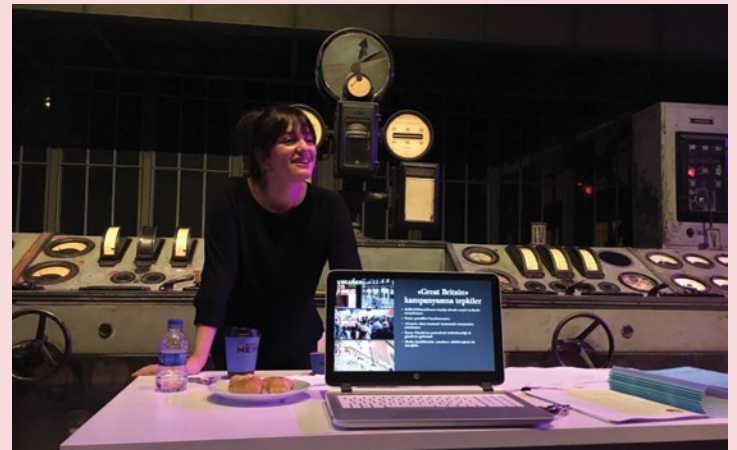
Professor Ayhan Kaya made a presentation titled "From Tolerance to Respect in Social Participation and Harmonisation Processes" on September 24, 2018, as a guest of Sultanbeyli Idea Club. In his presentation, Prof. Ayhan Kaya discussed the migration crisis issue and the meanings of concepts like "tolerance" and "guest" which have become a part of our daily lives. Prof. Kaya also examined the etymological origins of these concepts as well as the subtexts that remain outside their connotations.

- **"How Diplomacy Makes and Unmakes Peace" by Prof. Markus Kornprobst, 8 October 2018, santralistanbul Campus**



The European Institute and Department of International Relations of İstanbul Bilgi University in collaboration with the Austrian Cultural Forum İstanbul organized a seminar at the santralistanbul Campus. Professor Markus Kornprobst, Chair in International Relations at the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, made a presentation on "How Diplomacy Makes and Unmakes Peace".

- **"Public Diplomacy, Nation Brand and European Identity", 19 October 2018, santralistanbul Campus**





Istanbul Bilgi University International Relations Club organized a talk on 19 October 2018 at **santralistanbul** Campus, Energy Museum with the participation of the Department of International Relations and European Union Students. Dr. Ayşe Tecmen made a presentation on “Public Diplomacy, Nation Brand and European Identity” and answered the students’ questions about the subject.

• **RESPOND Seminerler Series, 23 October 2018, the Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul**



RESPOND seminerler series at the Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul hosted Professor Ayhan Kaya on October 23, 2018. Professor Kaya made a presentation on “Migration, Heritage and Populism in Europe”.

• **Lund University students visited European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University! 7 Kasım 2018, santralistanbul Campus**



Lund University (Sweden) students visited the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University. Professor Ayhan Kaya and Dr. Ayşe Tecmen answered the questions of the students on EU-Turkey relations and current political issues in Turkey.

• **CoHERE Conference: “Who is Europe?”, 22 – 23 November 2018, POLIN, Warsaw.**



Professor Ayhan Kaya and Dr. Ayşe Tecmen attended the final CoHERE conference titled: “**Who is Europe?**” on 22 - 23 November 2018 at POLIN, Warsaw. Kaya and Lora Sariaslan presented a paper titled: “Uses of the Past in Populist Political Discourse and Representations of (Post) Colonialism in Museums” and Tecmen presented her paper titled “Populist Political Rhetoric in Turkey: How Does “the Other” See Europe?”

• **RESPOND 1<sup>st</sup> Roundtable Meeting, 17 December 2018, santralistanbul Campus**



**1<sup>st</sup> Roundtable Meeting**

RESPOND project’s researchers and invitees met at the first roundtable meeting held at İstanbul Bilgi University in Turkey, on December 17, 2018. The meeting was moderated by Dr. Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek (İstanbul Sweden Research Institute - SRII), Dr. Ela Gökalp-Aras (İstanbul Sweden Research Institute - SRII), Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (İstanbul Bilgi University) and Dr. Susan Rottmann (Özyeğin University).

**PROGRAMME**

**First Session (9.15- 9.45)**

**Welcome Speeches and Introduction**

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (Principal Investigator of RESPOND, İstanbul Bilgi University)/ “General Welcoming, Brief presentation of the project”

Dr. Ela Gökalp-Aras (Principal Investigator of RESPOND, Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul)/ “A brief overview of the first year of RESPOND”

Dr. Susan Rottmann (Principal Investigator of RESPOND, Özyeğin University)/ “A brief overview of the fieldwork in İstanbul”

Dr. Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek (Senior Researcher, SRII)/ “A brief explanation about MGNs and how the information gathered in this meeting will be used”



## **Second Session: Legal and Institutional Reforms and Practice (9.45- 10.45)**

**Moderator:** Dr. Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek, Senior Researcher of RESPOND, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul  
Presentation of participants

### **Leading Questions:**

1- In the wake of the implementation of the Law on Foreigners and International Protection, what are the major achievements and problems regarding the legal framework and the secondary law?

2- What are the main problems regarding migration governance in relation to institutional structures and actors?

### **Coffee Break (10.45- 11.00)**

## **Third Session: Border Management and Migration Control (11.00-12.00)**

**Moderator:** Dr. Ela Gökalp-Aras, Principal Investigator of RESPOND, Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul  
Presentation of participants

### **Leading Questions:**

1. How 'open' are Turkey's borders? How do you describe Turkey's border policy? How is it managed in relation to the migration flows? What are the key developments and main changes (since 2011) in Turkey's border policy? Please focus on 'pre-entry', 'at the border', 'internal controls', 'return and deportation' dimensions.

2. What institutions and social actors are involved in the implementation of border management and control policies? (Also, as one of the important external actors, what is the impact of the EU in this field considering the EU-Turkey Statement and the EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement and also the other cooperation in the field?)

3. How are legal provisions implemented? Does the implementation of national legal provisions diverge from the legal framework?

4. What are the main difficulties at the borders regarding access to asylum? Please consider the nexus between irregular and forced migration?

5. What are the key patterns of cooperation and tensions among actors involved in policy implementation?

6. What are the main issues at the borders regarding human rights and human cost dimensions? How is a more humanitarian border governance possible among the relevant stakeholders and actors?

### **Lunch (12.00- 13.00)**

## **Fourth Session: Reception and Protection (13.00-14.30)**

**Moderator:** Prof. Ayhan Kaya (Principal Investigator of RESPOND, İstanbul Bilgi University)  
Presentation of participants

### **Leading Questions:**

1. What problems/obstacles do you see about the current provisions in refugee protection in Turkey?

2. What are the key themes/narratives associated with "international protection"? (as a responsibility, as a right, as a burden, as an obstacle, as a duty, as an aid, humanitarianism, generosity etc.). What are the key developments and main changes (since 2011) in Turkey's protection policy?

3. What are the institutions and social actors involved in the implementation of international protection? What are the main issues and the key patterns of cooperation and tensions among them?

How are the legal provisions implemented? Does the implementation of the EU and domestic legal provisions diverge from the legal framework?

4. What are the informal policies of protection? (NGOs etc.)

5. Based on your experiences, is the current protection regime in need of reform in Turkey? If so, in which way and how?

6. What problems and obstacles do you see about the current situation of refugee reception in Turkey at policy and practice level regarding for example infrastructure, funding, legal provisions, preparedness, inclusiveness etc.? What were the major developments and milestones in national reception policies and regulations between 2011 and 2017 (and beyond, as far as this is important)?

7. Have there been major political controversies between national, regional and/or municipal actors about the division of labor between 2011 and 2017 (and beyond, as far as this is important)? Does the multilevel system create operational obstacles for refugees to claim their rights (e.g. because responsibilities are not clear)?

8. Does the quality of reception practices differ across different levels?

9. How are women and men experiencing the challenges of reception? What are women and men's specific needs with regards to policies related to the reception? How are civil society groups and government agencies addressing or failing to address gender issues in their work with migrants? How are they meeting the reception needs of vulnerable groups such as unaccompanied minors, women, LGBT people and religious minorities? How and to what extent do the reception measures for these groups differ from the regular procedure?

10. Issues around implementation – main difficulties, any positive practices highlighted.

### **Coffee Break (14.30-14.45)**

## **Fifth Session: Integration (14.45- 16.00)**

**Moderator:** Dr. Susan Rottmann (Principal Investigator of RESPOND, Özyegin University)

### **Leading Questions:**

1. What problems/obstacles do you see in terms of Turkey's integration policy towards refugees? What is the dominant understanding / key narratives of "integration" of asylum seekers?

2. How are integration policies implemented locally? Are there any local/regional differences? If so, how can these be explained?

3. How are the different levels coordinated? Do they respond to different political and social imperatives? Do they complement or contradict one another?

4. In your opinion, what are the greatest barriers to social acceptance/integration for asylum seekers in this community/region/country? Please give examples (what, when, where, how?). Please comment on any differences in terms of men or women's integration in host communities.

5. Labor market: What are the greatest obstacles for asylum seekers and refugees in entering the labor market and in the workplace?

6. Spatial integration: What is the impact of the presence of asylum seekers and refugees in different spatial settings such as urban/rural; inside/outside refugee camps (e.g. labor and housing market, education system, healthcare sector)?

7. Housing: What are the main problems regarding housing? What are the reasons for these obstacles (e.g. public debates, housing shortage, etc.)?

8. Education: In your experience, what are the main challenges in implementing educational programs and measures for children and adults? How would you assess their effectiveness? Are they harmonized with the labor market situation (do they respond to the needs of the labor market)?

9. Mental health & public health: In your experience, what are the greatest health-concerns among refugees in the local (primary care) encounter? What obstacles do you experience, and how do you handle these? How efficient are existing policies and programs in tackling these obstacles? Are there specific cultural and religious needs to the effective provision of health care and welfare services?

#### **Closing Remarks (16.00-16.30)**

#### **• Student Study Trip to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs, 21 December 2018, Ortaköy Office**



*"The European Institute organized a Study Trip to the Ministry"*

The European Institute organized a Study Trip to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs for the students of the Department of International Relations of Istanbul Bilgi University. The Students had the opportunity to talk about EU-Turkey relations and received information on studying abroad.

#### **• Meeting: "Media and Civil Society Cooperation for Refugee Rights", 25 January 2019, Ankara**



The Research Center on Asylum and Migration organized a meeting titled "Media and Civil Society Cooperation for Refugee Rights" on January 25, 2019 in Ankara. Professor Ayhan Kaya made a presentation about Syrians in Turkey to a large number of academics and journalists.

#### **• RESPOND Team meeting the new Director of the Swedish Research Center in İstanbul, 6 February 2019**



RESPOND Team met and presented the Project to Ingela Nilsson, the new Director of the Swedish Research Institute in İstanbul on February 6, 2019.

#### **• CoHERE Project Outcome Presentation, 18 February 2019, Intercontinental Hotel, Istanbul**







This Project meeting was centred on the following topics:

- What have we achieved?
- What have we done / trialled (practice element)?
- What have we found out?
- What are the key contributions to knowledge/policy/practice?
- Go back to Reflective 2 rubric, how can we say we have responded?

- What innovations have we provided? (Products, technology, processes, approaches)
- How to integrate role of non-academic partners in the narrative?
- What is the outcome of cross-WP working?
- The 'taxi-driver' task. Explain your WP to a taxi driver; explain CoHERE to a taxi driver.

#### • FEUTURE's Final Conference, 28 February - 1 March 2019, Brussels



On 28 February and 1 March 2019, after three years of successful collaboration and joint research, FEUTURE held its final conference in Brussels hosted by the Trans European

Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) and organized together with the University of Cologne (UoC). This event provided many opportunities to discuss FEUTURE's scientific output with the Consortium, Members of the Scientific and Policy Advisory Board, Stakeholders, Diplomats, and the interested public – a total of 81 participants.

During many interesting panels, closed-door meetings, and roundtable discussions, the FEUTURE researchers engaged in close exchange about the project's main output, scientific analyses, and the finalization of the FEUTURE Synthesis Paper – which was to be published by the end of March 2019. All FEUTURE publications are available at: [www.feuture.eu](http://www.feuture.eu). In addition to the exchanges with the public, FEUTURE held its final administrative meetings of the Steering Group, the General Assembly, and the Scientific and Policy Advisory Board (SPAB), setting the path for the successful conclusion of the largest project on the EU-Turkey relationship ever funded by the European Commission.

Further, the FEUTURE Consortium engaged in internal debates to finalise its key-synthesis publications (Syntheses Paper, 11 Takeaways from FEUTURE) in close scientific exchange with the SPAB members, the FEUTURE Consortium, and invited guests.

#### • University of Amsterdam visited BİLGİ! 29 April 2019, santralistanbul Campus



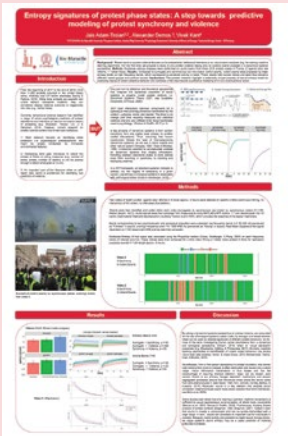
University of Amsterdam student visited the European Institute. Dr. Ayse Tecmen, ERC post-doctoral researcher from the European Institute gave a lecture on "EU-Turkey relations drawing on the findings from the recent EU-funded research".



• **International Convention of Psychological Science (ICPS), 7 – 9 March 2019, Paris**



The final review meeting of the “CoHERE project” was held at the European Commission in Brussels on 18 March 2019. This review meeting marked the end of the CoHERE project, which produced many outputs highlighting the significance of heritage and culture in Europe.



Our ERC Post-Doc Researcher Jais Adam-Troian participated in the International Convention of Psychological Science (ICPS) on 8 March 2019, Paris. He made two presentations on the cultural underpinnings of adherence to conspiracy theories and on the development of a new technique to predict protest violence from protest audio bands.

• **Head of the EU Delegation to Turkey, Ambassador Christian Berger visited İstanbul Bilgi University, 22 March 2019, santralistanbul Campus**



• **RESPOND review meeting, 14 March 2019, Brussels**



RESPOND review meeting was held on 14 March, 2019 at Brussels with the attendance of all PI's. At the meeting, the process of the Working Packages and the national reports were discussed and the upcoming events were planned.

• **CoHERE Final Review Meeting, 16 – 19 March 2019, Brussels**



Head of the EU Delegation to Turkey, Ambassador Christian Berger, visited İstanbul Bilgi University on March 22, 2019. Ambassador Berger visited the Rector of İstanbul Bilgi University Mrs. Kubra Dogan Yenisey at the Rector's Office and after the visit he had lunch with the academicians. Mr. Berger and the Director of the European Institute Prof. Ayhan Kaya met with students and academicians to make a presentation on EU-TR relations and answered the questions of the students.



• **CIFE - (Centre International de Formation Européenne) students at BİLGİ! 8 April 2019**



The European Institute hosted the CIFE European Integration and Global Studies program and CIFE Mediterranean Studies program between April to July. The students took their classes at BİLGİ and had the opportunity to experience Istanbul.

• **DAAD Scholarship Presentation: “Higher Education, Research Opportunities and DAAD Scholarships in Germany”, 8 May 2019, santralistanbul Campus**



The European Institute in collaboration with German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) organized a meeting titled “Higher Education, Research Opportunities and DAAD Scholarships in Germany” on May 8, 2019 at the **santralistanbul** Campus.

The presentation provided information about the requirements for undergraduate and master’s programs in Germany, doctoral education, scientific research, living expenses, accommodation and the requirements for DAAD scholarships.

• **“New Europe” Conference Series**



The European Institute organized a Conference Series titled “New Europe”, focusing on three main projects of the Institute.

The first conference centred on the political psychology of the disenfranchised segments of European societies. The various factors that contribute to the appeal of populist parties in Europe were explored and the significance of nostalgic and relative deprivation in seeking refuge in populist discourses were illustrated. The Yellow Vest

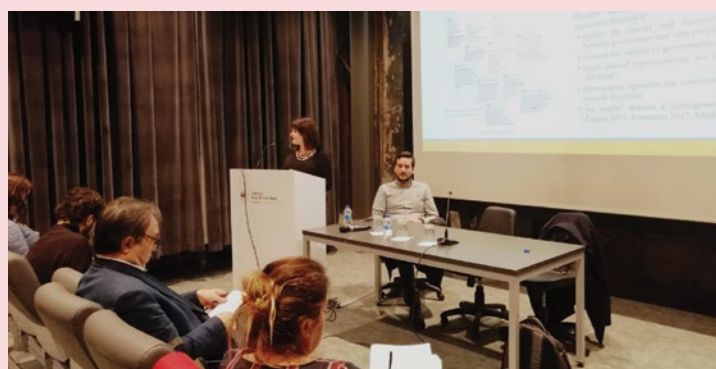
movement in France was also discussed from a political psychology perspective through an analysis of recently conducted surveys on anomia, relative deprivation and participation in the Yellow Vest movement.

The second conference discussed the findings from the Horizon 2020 CoHERE Project. The various different levels of heritage was investigated and the concept of authorized heritage to conceptualize EU’s heritage narratives while situating European heritage as a critical element of European identity was overviewed. Also, the role of heritage in populist political discourse was discussed.

The conference series ended with a presentation by Karin Borevi of Södertörn University on the responses of the Scandinavian Policy to the 2015 Refugee Crisis. This conference was held in the framework of the Horizon 2020 RESPOND Project.

Below you can find more information on the conferences.

• **Political Psychology of Yellow Vest in France, 21 March 2019, santralistanbul Campus**



The first ERC event took place on 21 March 2019 in the scope of the “New Europe” conference series.

Ayşe Tecmen presented her paper titled “The Appeal of Populism in Europe” focusing on the disenfranchisement of the supporters of populist parties and movements. She highlighted the centrality of relative and nostalgic deprivation in the construction of the “other” comprised of the elites, immigrants, and minorities. Her presentation noted that socio-economic relative deprivation is one of the main reasons that make individuals susceptible to populist politics.

Jais Adam-Troian presented his paper titled “A political psychology perspective on Yellow Vests violence: shifting



from 'who' to 'why'". He argued that Yellow Vests violence can be understood as a consequence of growing feelings of alienation among the populations, independently of socio-economic or ideological factors. He noted that this also explains potentially why such a diverse movement can attract violent extremists from both the extreme left and right organizations.

The event was moderated by Ayhan Kaya who noted that new social movements are not necessarily novel because there have been many historical instances of grassroots movements based on the people's determination to seek socio-economic equality.

### CoHERE Conference: Heritage Populism in Europe, 18 April 2019, santralistanbul Campus



European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University organized a conference titled "Heritage Populism in Europe" on 18 April 2019 under the "New Europe" Conference Series. At the conference the findings of the CoHERE project were presented by Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director of BİLGİ European Institute and CoHERE project Researcher Dr. Ayşe Tecmen.

### Respond Conference: "Scandinavian Policy Responses in the Wake of the 2015 Refugee Crisis: Path Dependencies and Paradigmatic Changes" by Assoc. Prof. Karin Borevi, May 21, 2019, santralistanbul Campus



The European Institute hosted Assoc. Prof. Karin Borevi, senior lecturer in Political Science at Södertörn University and researcher at the Uppsala Religion and Society Research Centre (CRS), a member of the Swedish team of the Horizon 2020 RESPOND project on May 21, 2019 at Istanbul Bilgi University. Professor Borevi made a presentation on the "Scandinavian Policy Responses in the Wake of the 2015 Refugee Crisis: Path Dependencies and Paradigmatic Change".

# 30<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF JEAN MONNET ACTIVITIES



In the framework of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jean Monnet Activities, the European Institute organized several events. Please find below the call for papers for the conference:

### Spring Talks I: "Fears and Hopes", Prof. Ayhan Kaya, 2 May 2019, santralistanbul Campus

The first Spring Talk was held by Professor Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University on May 2, 2019. Professor Kaya talked about "Fears and Hopes" with BİLGİ Students.





## Student Study Trip to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs, 2 May 2018, Istinye, Istanbul



In the framework of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jean Monnet Activities, together with the students of the EU Relations and International Relations department, we visited the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Directorate for EU Affairs.

## Spring Talks II: “FlipEU: Teaching EU Online” by Assoc. Prof. Özge Onursal Beşgöl and Assoc Prof. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan



On May 9, Assoc. Prof. Özge Onursal Beşgöl and Assoc Prof. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan met with BİLGİ students and talked about Europe and Europeaness in the framework of their Jean Monnet Module FlipEU.

## Panel: “Thoughts on Europe” 9 May Europe Day



Within the scope of the 9th May Europe Day Activities, we held a panel titled “Thoughts on Europe” at the Energy Museum of **santralistanbul** Campus.

Prof. Ayhan Kaya and Emre Gönen shared their thoughts about the idea of creating a European Union, Europeaness and its importance while Dr. Gülay Göksel made a presentation on the current migrants in Europe.

### Speakers:

Emre Gönen

Assoc. Prof. Gülay Göksel

### Moderator:

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

## PUBLICATIONS

1. Chiara De Cesari and Ayhan Kaya, eds. (2019) **European Memory in Populism: Representations of Self and Other**. London: Routledge.

2. Ayhan Kaya (2019) **Populism and Heritage in Europe: Lost in Diversity and Unity**. London: Routledge.

3. Ayhan Kaya and Ayşe Tecmen (2019). “**Europe versus Islam?: Right-wing Populist Discourse and the Construction of a Civilizational Identity**,” *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*, 17:1, 49-64 DOI:10.1080/15570274.2019.1570759 Link: [https://www.academia.edu/38660636/Construction\\_of\\_a\\_Civilizational\\_Identity](https://www.academia.edu/38660636/Construction_of_a_Civilizational_Identity)

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# MA PROGRAMMES ON EUROPEAN STUDIES

## BİLGİ MA in European Studies



The MA Program, launched in 2000 and run by the Social Sciences Institute, 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) that made 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.

For further information please visit:  
<http://eustudies.bilgi.edu.tr/>

## Viadrina Double Degree MA Program



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. The program is run by the Social Sciences Institute.

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, and 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, along with small seminar groups and outstanding technical facilities. Should Frankfurt be too small, then there is always Berlin, only an hour away by train.

For further information please visit:  
<http://maesdd.bilgi.edu.tr/>

## Master in Advanced European and International Studies - MAEIS



Applications for the "Master in Advanced European and International Studies" (MAEIS) at CIFE's Institut européen-European Institute (IE-EI) (Nice/France) in cooperation with Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute are open. The Master's programme offers the unique opportunity to learn about the challenges and chances of Europe and develop perspectives for its future by learning and living in different European countries over the year. The MAEIS is a one-year-programme that takes place in three different study locations. The programme includes semesters in different countries, complemented by a study trip to the European and international organisations in Strasbourg, Brussels and Geneva.

For further information please visit: [www.ie-ei.eu](http://www.ie-ei.eu)  
[http://www.ie-ei.eu/en/3/description\\_21-1](http://www.ie-ei.eu/en/3/description_21-1)

## FROM OUR STUDENTS



### UFUK ELİF RODOPLU, Double Degree MA in European Studies

After graduating from the International Studies department at Sabanci University, and one year of work experience, I decided to continue my academic life at Istanbul Bilgi University European Studies department. One of the most important reasons why I chose Istanbul Bilgi University was the academic environment that I knew it would help me to achieve my goals. At BİLGİ, I not only attended the fundamental courses in European Studies but also had the opportunity to learn from the expert professors in various areas such as Balkan politics and post-colonialism. Another reason that influenced my decision was BİLGİ's Double-



Degree program with European University Viadrina, where I am currently continuing my masters. This program has provided me the opportunity to learn European Studies in Germany, the locomotive country of the European Union. In addition to its academic advantages, the Double-Degree program has contributed a lot to my acquisition of a new culture, language, and environment. In this way, I have become a more open-minded person with new perspectives.

The courses that I attended at BİLGİ has contributed significantly to my academic improvement. For example, I have taken a course which mainly focuses on the Europeanization of the members of the EU, and one of the requirements of the course was to write a paper. The paper I wrote, which is called De-(Europeanization) of the Turkish Foreign Policy was published on Viaduct Policy Papers. The publication of my paper made me look more confident in my academic future and encouraged me to consider an academic career.

Also, İstanbul Bilgi University has a lot to offer to a student. In addition to its rich library and academic events on the campus, there is a various number of student clubs. I was a member of the European Union Student Club, and I attended a trip to Ankara, where I had the opportunity to visit several ministries including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of European Union, and three main party headquarters. I had the chance to observe the professional life of my field of study, discuss with the experts, and learn from their experiences.

I can honestly say that İstanbul Bilgi University was the right place for me. I would like to thank the student-friendly structure and all the academic staff for their contributions.

## INTERNS

### GAMZE ALKAN, University of Duisburg



I am a Master Student of Theory and Comparative Studies of Political Systems in Transition program at the University of Duisburg, Germany. As I am interested in EU-Turkey relations, I applied for an internship at the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University.

My time here will always be a valuable memory for me. In addition to the harmonious working atmosphere, the Institute offers the opportunity to participate in the ERC BİLGİ Prime Youth project and experience real working life. The mentors are very helpful and they take time for the interns. Your own research interests are taken into account and you have the feeling of being part of the team.

My main research focus was to find out the reason for the voting behaviour of young Turks in Germany. I am from Germany and had the opportunity to look at my own

community from a different perspective. In addition to your own work, you learn a lot about the works of others and can exchange ideas. This internship has been a very valuable experience for me as it taught me how to research for a project, how to best structure a work, and how to keep exploring the important details of that research.

Besides, BİLGİ's campus is very green and beautiful, so lunch breaks are really relaxing, you'll find everything you need on the campus.

Life in İstanbul is an experience in itself, each part of the city has its own history which is just waiting to be explored. I would like to thank to the institute for this opportunity especially to Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya and Dr. Ayse Tecmen for their care and support.

### SELİN LEVİ, University of Michigan



I am a senior studying Sociology, Political Science, and Middle East Studies at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor/USA. This past summer I was able to intern at the European Institute, and helped to work on the ERC BİLGİ Prime Youth project. The internship was an enriching and rewarding experience, as I was able to expand my research skills, apply my own knowledge from past coursework, and work in a supportive and friendly environment.

Throughout the course of my internship, I prepared a literature review regarding islamophobia and nativism in the American context. This allowed me to effectively apply knowledge from my previous academic experiences, as well as to improve upon my research skills. I also welcomed the opportunity to spend time better acquainting myself with research resources, including the wide range of sources offered at the Bilgi Library. Working on the Prime Youth project also provided me with a more comprehensive understanding of how the issues of migration, populism, and nativism play out in European societies. I especially valued the chance to work on a project that seeks to address complex issues that are urgent and relevant to the present day political climate. Lastly, I really enjoyed working with everyone at the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence/European Institute, which was a highly welcoming, supportive environment, and feel very lucky to have had this experience.

# SHORT NEWS

- Prof. Yeşim M. Atamer, the former Vice Director of the European Institute, was awarded the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa* by the University of Hamburg. The European Institute is proud to see that the international academic success of Professor Yeşim M. Atamer was recognized by such a renowned University. We extend our warmest congratulations to her.
- Dr. Özge Onursal has been promoted as the Vice Director of the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University as of February 2019. The European Institute wishes her all the best in her new post.
- Dr. Ayşe Tecmen started to work as a Senior Post-doc researcher for the ERC Project titled “Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionisation of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe” as of January 2019. She has a PhD in Politics from the University of Bristol. She graduated from Emory University in the USA with a BA degree in Political Science and received her MA degree in European Studies with High Honours from İstanbul Bilgi University. Her fields of interest include public diplomacy, nation branding, commercial nationalism, culture, tourism and European identity.
- The European Institute has a new brochure! The brochure is available at: <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr>

## İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

**‘Non scholae, sed vitae discimus’** (learning not for school but for life) Adopting the principle of ‘Non scholae, sed vitae discimus’ (learning not for school but for life), İstanbul Bilgi University took its place within the Turkish system of higher education as a civil corporation after the application made by the Bilgi Education and Culture Foundation on 7 June 1996 and the subsequent approval by the Turkish Grand National Assembly according to Law number 4142.

Over time İstanbul Bilgi University has grown to encompass 4 campuses that nearly a total of 206,000 m<sup>2</sup> and it is on these four campuses (Kuştepe 32,000 m<sup>2</sup>, Dolapdere 21,000 m<sup>2</sup>, **santral**istanbul 148,000 m<sup>2</sup> -with annex building- and Kozyatağı 4,300 m<sup>2</sup>) that it continues to serve its students and the academic world in Turkey.

Having realized many firsts in its 23 years and with the aim of increasing the quality of education and research and becoming a university that can compete globally, İstanbul Bilgi University began a long term partnership with Laureate Education, one of the largest international education networks in the world, in 2006 and continues to be a part of this network.

**7** Faculties, **3** Institutes, **4** Schools,  
**3** Vocational Schools, **150** Programs

The university currently has more than 20,000 students and 40,000 graduates; nearly 1,000 academicians; 7 faculties, 3 institutes, 4 schools, 3 vocational schools, and 150+ programs that provide education to its associate, undergraduate and graduate students.

<https://www.bilgi.edu.tr>



### About Laureate

Laureate International Universities is a leading international network of quality, innovative institutions of higher education. The LIU network offers undergraduate and graduate degree programs in 40 institutions over 5 continents.

Laureate universities offer hundreds of undergraduate, master's and doctoral degree programs in fields including architecture, art, business, culinary arts, design, education, engineering, health sciences, hospitality, information technology, law and medicine.

President William J. Clinton, 42<sup>nd</sup> President of the United States, serves as honorary chancellor of the Laureate International Universities network, a role in which he offers advice on social responsibility, youth leadership and increasing access to higher education.

Laureate is dedicated to helping its students reach their highest potential and supporting their achievement of personal and professional goals. Laureate brings to its universities and students a global perspective blended with a local point of view, creating a truly multicultural, career-oriented educational experience.

<http://laureate.net>



# ACADEMIC PROGRAMMES

## FACULTIES

### Faculty of Architecture

Architecture  
Industrial Design  
Interior Design

### Faculty of Business

Business Administration  
Business Administration  
(BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree)\*  
Business Informatics  
Business-Economics  
Economics  
Economics and Finance (Honors)  
Economics and Management (Honors)  
International Finance  
International Trade and Business  
Management and Digital Innovation (Honors) \*\*  
Marketing

### Faculty of Communication

Advertising  
Arts and Cultural Management  
Communication Design and Management  
Digital Game Design  
Film and Television  
Management of Performing Arts  
Media and Communication  
Photography and Video\*  
Public Relations  
Television Reporting and Programming  
Visual Communication Design

### Faculty of Engineering and Natural Sciences

Civil Engineering  
Computer Engineering  
Computer Science\*  
Electrical and Electronics Engineering  
Energy Systems Engineering  
Genetics and Bioengineering  
Industrial Engineering  
Mathematics  
Mechanical Engineering  
Mechatronics Engineering

### Faculty of Health Sciences

Child Development  
Health Management \*  
Nursing  
Nutrition and Dietetics  
Occupational Therapy \*  
Perfusion \*  
Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation

### Faculty of Law

Law

## Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Comparative Literature  
English Language and Literature  
English Language Teacher Education  
European Union Studies  
History  
International Relations  
Music  
Political Science  
Political Science (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) \*  
Psychology  
Sociology

## SCHOOLS

### School of Applied Sciences

Banking and Finance \*  
Fashion Design  
International Logistics and Transportation  
International Retail Management \*

### School of Aviation

Aviation Management

### School of Sports Sciences and Technology

Sports Management

### School of Tourism and Hospitality

Gastronomy and Culinary Arts  
Tourism and Hotel Management

## ASSOCIATE DEGREE PROGRAMS

### School of Advanced Vocational Studies

Accounting and Tax Applications (Evening Education)  
Accounting and Taxation  
Aircraft Technology  
Aircraft Technology (Evening Education)  
Architectural Restoration  
Architectural Restoration (Evening Education)  
Banking and Insurance  
Banking and Insurance (Evening Education)  
Business Administration\*  
Civil Air Transportation Management  
Civil Air Transportation Management (Evening Education)  
Civil Aviation Cabin Services  
Civil Aviation Cabin Services (Evening Education)  
Computer Programming  
Construction Inspection\*  
Construction Technology  
Construction Technology (Evening Education)  
Cooking  
Cooking (Evening Education)  
Cyber Security  
Fashion Design  
Fashion Design (Evening Education)  
Graphic Design  
Graphic Design (Evening Education)  
Interior Space Design  
International Trade  
Logistics\*

Marina and Yacht Management\*  
 Maritime Transportation and Management  
 Maritime Transportation and Management  
 (Evening Education)  
 Photography and Videography\*  
 Printing and Publishing Technologies  
 Public Relations and Advertising  
 Radio and Television Programming\*  
 Sports Management\*

### **Vocational School of Health Services**

Anesthesia  
 Anesthesia (Evening Education)  
 Audiometry  
 Audiometry (Evening Education)  
 Child Development  
 Child Development (Evening Education)  
 Dental Prosthetics Technology  
 Dental Prosthetics Technology (Evening Education)  
 Dialysis  
 Dialysis (Evening Education)  
 Electroneurophysiology  
 Electroneurophysiology (Evening Education)  
 Emergency and Disaster Management  
 First and Emergency Aid  
 First and Emergency Aid (Evening Education)  
 Medical Imaging Techniques  
 Medical Imaging Techniques (Evening Education)  
 Medical Laboratory Techniques  
 Medical Laboratory Techniques (Evening Education)  
 Occupational Health and Safety  
 Occupational Health and Safety (Evening Education)  
 Operating Room Services  
 Operating Room Services (Evening Education)  
 Opticianry  
 Opticianry (Evening Education)  
 Oral and Dental Health  
 Oral and Dental Health (Evening Education)  
 Pathology Laboratory Techniques  
 Pathology Laboratory Techniques (Evening Education)  
 Perfusion Techniques \*  
 Physiotherapy  
 Physiotherapy (Evening Education)  
 Radiotherapy  
 Radiotherapy (Evening Education)  
 Social Services

### **Vocational School of Justice**

Justice

## **MASTER PROGRAMS**

### **Institute of Graduate Programs**

Accounting and Auditing  
 Architectural Design  
 Banking and Finance \*  
 Clinical Psychology  
 Construction Management \*  
 Cultural Management  
 Cultural Studies  
 Economics  
 Electrical-Electronics Engineering  
 Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Technology / LITE

European Studies  
 European Studies (İstanbul Bilgi University and Europa-  
 Universität Viadrina Frankfurt-Oder)  
 Film and Television  
 Financial Economics  
 History \*  
 History, Theory and Criticism in Architecture  
 Human Resource Management  
 Information and Technology Law  
 International Finance  
 International Political Economy  
 International Relations  
 Law (Business Law/Human Rights Law)  
 Marketing  
 Marketing / Next Academy  
 Marketing Communication  
 MBA  
 Media and Communication Systems  
 Nutrition and Dietetics  
 Organizational Psychology  
 Philosophy and Social Thought  
 Public Relations and Corporate Communication  
 Social Projects and NGO Management \*  
 Trauma and Disaster Mental Health  
 Turkish-German Business Law (İstanbul Bilgi University-  
 Cologne University)

### **Online Master Programs**

Banking and Finance Online  
 e-MBA English  
 e-MBA Turkish  
 Health Management Online \*  
 Human Resources Management Online  
 Management Information Systems Online

## **DOCTORAL PROGRAMS**

### **Graduate School of Sciences Programs**

Business Administration \*  
 Communication \*  
 Economics \*  
 Political Science \*  
 Private Law \*  
 Public Law \*

\* No intake for 2019-2020 Academic Year

\*\* The Program will accept students beginning from 2020-2021  
 academic year.



