Dear Friends,

Welcome to the fifth Newsletter of the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University. This issue contains information on the activities, publications, conferences, workshops, graduate programs, research, social outreach projects and comments of our students. The highlight of this year is certainly that Istanbul Bilgi University conferred the title of Doctor Honoris Causa upon European Parliament President Martin Schulz on May 29, 2012. This title was given to him for his contributions to the European political integration on the basis of universal values of democracy and civil liberties, his distinguished political career and his principled and consistent attitude towards Turkey’s place in the European Union.

This year we have enjoyed also several national and international conferences and round-tables. “Contemporary Turkish Studies at a Glance - Topics, Institutions and Future”, “Europe in Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities”, “Uncovering Citizenship: New Claims in Turkey and the EU”, “Armed Forces and Society in Turkey: Survey Results” are only some of the topics covered. The WTO Regional Trade Policy Course for Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus Countries was also held for the 3rd time at BİLGİ.

We would like to inform you that Assoc. Prof. Durmuş Özdemir is now holding a Jean Monnet Module on European Political Economy. Together with his course meanwhile 5 Jean Monnet modules are offered at BİLGİ. In this Issue you will also find information on the 9 May Europe Day held with ninthgrade high school students from the Beyoğlu District of Istanbul; the World Mother-Tongue Day celebrated by the European Institute in collaboration with different partners on the 21st of February, 2012. Other news in this issue include: some of the findings and Policy Briefs of the FP7 Project entitled Modernities and Identities in Europe, a Germany brief on Turkish-German relations; an exhibition and conference on Turkish-Greek population exchange and a study visit of the Ritsumeikan University from Japan.

This Newsletter also focuses on the ongoing “Learning EU at School” Jean Monnet Project entitled DigiEU: An e-book for high school students in Turkish. The rationale of this project is to provide high school pupils with online information on the EU. The project is being undertaken in collaboration with the National Education Directorate of Istanbul. The project outcome is also being presented to the Life Long Learning Program team of the European Commission.
European Institute hosts J. M. Ripert, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, for a roundtable discussion at İstanbul Bilgi University (9 November 2012)

J. M. Ripert, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey, came to Bilgi’s Dolapdere Campus on 9 November 2012 to participate in the roundtable discussion on “EU-Turkey relations at Crossroads” organised by the European Institute. The roundtable was opened by Bilgi’s Rector Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver who reminded the participants of the strong commitment of Bilgi to fostering European Union relations and its academic engagement in European Studies which led to the opening of the EU Center, EU Documentation Center and the European Institute, as well as the European Studies BA and MA Programmes.

Ambassador J. M. Ripert then presented an enlightening keynote speech where he analysed the status of EU-Turkey relations at a stage where the EU is facing a deep crisis and where the Accession is being met with multiple challenges on both sides. He highlighted the intensive work accomplished “backstage” for the progress of the Accession negotiations on both sides.

WTO Regional Trade Policy Course for Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus Countries (3 September-19 October 2012)

Reported by the Course Manager of the WTO CEECAC RTPC, Pınar Artıran

The RTPC, which is organized in partnership with İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law, World Trade Organization, Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation and the Turkish Ministry of Economy, was held from 3 September to 19 October 2012. The opening ceremony of the RTPC was held at the Santral Campus on the 3rd of September with the opening addresses by Professor Turgut Tarhanlı, Dean of the Faculty of Law, Mr. Samer Seif El Yazal, Counsellor and Head of the Arab and Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and Caucasus Countries at the WTO ITTC and Mrs. Elçin Edis, Deputy Director General at the Turkish Ministry of Economy. The course aims at deepening the participants’ understanding of the functioning of the WTO, its rules and procedures, and at developing their capacity to find relevant information and documents on WTO-related issues, including the use of the WTO legal texts, and developing a network between the participants as well as the WTO experts and regional experts. Selected participants benefited from the education program offered by the WTO experts and the university professors. The entire course of seven weeks was delivered through a combination of co-lectures conducted together by WTO Staff and Regional Academics and also through interactive exercises. WTO experts provided general information regarding the agreements whereas the regional academics offered a regional perspective and related experience. The management of the course was assumed by Assistant Professor Pınar Artıran, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law, who has been appointed as the Academic Coordinator of the RTPC by the WTO. Associate Professor Gül Okutan Nilsson and Dr. Nilüfer Oral from the same Faculty have also contributed to the RTPC as regional academics.

Moreover and very importantly, since the WTO is attributing a great deal of importance to paperless activities due to environmental concerns, the virtual classroom that was put into place by İstanbul Bilgi University Information Technology Units was highly appreciated by both the WTO Secretariat and the
participants who used the classroom with a high level of efficiency. This new element in Bilgi University WTO cooperation represents yet another crucial component for future work to be undertaken in partnership.

This course offers basic training to government officials from Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus Countries on the WTO, its Agreements and other related issues, including the Doha Development Agenda. The purpose is not to form specialists in each area of activity of the WTO but rather to ensure that participants are thoroughly exposed to all WTO-related matters.

The course was composed of several modules where topics such as International Trade and Trade Theory, Trade Finance, WTO Key Principles, Regional Trade Agreements: Challenges and Opportunities in a Global Economy took place on the 10th of October at DoubleTree by Hilton Istanbul Old Town Hotel where Mr Emre Öztelli, Deputy Director General for EU Affairs at the Turkish Ministry of Economy, Mr Roberto Fiorentino, Counsellor at the WTO Secretariat and Assistant Professor Pınar Artıran discussed issues related to regional trade agreements and their implications for the global trading system.

Following the termination of the seven week course and the final exam, the participants who successfully completed the program, which is accredited as a level two activity within the new progressive learning approach adopted by the WTO Secretariat, shall be entitled to attend the three month advanced trade policy course to be held in Geneva.

The closing ceremony of the RTPC where the diplomas were conferred on the successful participants was held on the 19th of October at the course venue, DoubleTree By Hilton Istanbul, Old Town Hotel, with the participation of Professor Turgut Tarhanli, Dean of the Faculty of Law and Mr Samer Seif El Yazal of the WTO ITTC. In their closing remarks, both Dean Tarhanli and Mr Seif El Yazal expressed their satisfaction with the successful outcome of the collaboration that has continued between the two institutions since 2010 and their wish to continue working together on the basis of this fruitful partnership. Dean Tarhanli pointed out the particular importance that Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law attributes, since its establishment, to the international contacts and academic cooperation that have been already developed to a great extent with international organizations such as WIPO, UN agencies and EU institutions as well as prestigious international academic institutions, and reiterated the Faculty's determination and commitment to fostering further the close ties that were constructed with the WTO Secretariat on the basis of the strong partnership formed in the course of the last three years.

European Parliament MEP Assistants Group visits Istanbul Bilgi University (2 November 2012)

A group 15 MEP Assistants/Advisors from the European Parliament visited Istanbul Bilgi University on 2nd November 2012 within the framework of a programme organised by Turkey’s European Affairs Ministry.

The visit was organised under the responsibility of the European Affairs Ministry’s Head of Department for Research and Documentation, Selçuk Bayraktaroğlu. The group was led by Fatih Erdoğan, Assistant to İsmail Ertuğ, the MEP from Germany (Group of Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats) who is active in the “Friends of Turkey” group at the European Parliament.

After a working lunch with Bilgi Academics at Santral Campus, the group participated in a roundtable meeting where Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, Prof. Dr. Yeşim M. Atamer, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Durmuş Özdemir and Assist. Prof. Dr. Senem Aydin Düzgüt gave presentations about the social, economic, legal and political aspects of Turkey’s EU candidacy and the present situation. The EP Assistants participated in a very lively “Question and Answer” session where academics and students from Bilgi’s European Studies MA Programme discussed current topics.

At the end of the meeting, Laura Batalla Adam, Parliamentary Assistant and Policy Advisor to MEP Salvador Sedo, expressed her satisfaction on her return to Istanbul Bilgi University, where she had attended the European Institute’s Summer School on “Managing Diversity: EU and Turkey” organised in July 2009 as a part of the EU - Turkey Civil Society Dialogue Programme’s “INTERACT: France, Turkey, EU University Dialogue” Project where the European Institute worked with Sciences Po Paris and IFEA.
International Conference on “Europe in Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities” (21 May 2012) Reported by the Conference Organizer, Pınar Artiran

Ambassador Volkan Vural, Professor Miguel Maduro, Professor Turgut Tarhanlı, Professor Joseph H.H. Weiler, Professor Asaf Savaş Akat

Amidst the recent global economic crisis and the unprecedented difficulties that the EU is currently facing, Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law organized a conference entitled “EU in Crisis: Challenges and Opportunities” with the participation of four eminent speakers. Professor and European Union Jean Monnet Chair at NYU Law School Joseph H.H. Weiler, Former Advocate General of the European Court of Justice and Current Professor of EU Law at the European University Institute in Florence Miguel Poiares Maduro, Professor Asaf Savaş Akat from Istanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences and Retired Ambassador and Founding Secretary General of the EU General Secretariat Volkan Vural spoke at a roundtable held on the 21st of May 2012 to tackle the different aspects of the actual crisis and the possible ways to deal with its implications. The opening speeches of the Conference were made by the Deputy Minister for EU Affairs, Professor Hasan Nuri Yaşar, and the Dean of the Faculty of Law, Professor Turgut Tarhanlı.

Professor Miguel Maduro
Contending that the European citizens do not feel that the politicians they elect properly represent them, nor do they feel that they can be held accountable for their actions, Professor Weiler described Europe as “a government without a government”. He asserted that “Whatever we do to give more powers to the European Parliament or to national parliaments cannot redress this political lacuna”. Professor Weiler further contended that it is high time for Europe to propose a new mission, or what political scientists call “messianic political legitimacy,” putting forward a vision or a dream of a new project that citizens are likely to support.

The second speaker, Professor Maduro, on the other hand argued that the eurozone has reached a crossroads. He put forward that the European policy prescriptions have proven inadequate, and there is no consensus on the right balance of fiscal consolidation and economic stimulus – or on how much fiscal solidarity a functioning monetary union requires. According to Professor Maduro, in order to neutralize moral hazard, northern European countries seek a guarantee that their profligate peripheral neighbors maintain discipline, reflected in steps taken toward greater Europe-wide governance of national fiscal policies. To that end, he added that the EU leaders are focusing on more European rules to discipline national governments. Professor Maduro argued that the way out of the euro crisis is a New Deal for Europe, with governance at its heart, where Europe needs its own resources, funded by taxes levied on EU-related economic activity and bonds guaranteed through the EU budget. Professor Maduro was cautious to add that the New Deal’s second crucial ingredient was politics. In his opinion, while European governance will naturally take on more political relevance, as politics follows power and money, Europe’s leaders must take an active role. Accordingly he suggested that the European parliamentary elections must be augmented by a genuine electoral competition for President of the European Commission. He concluded by arguing that this would give the position real political capital, provide legitimacy to EU spending, and catalyze a fundamental shift in citizens’ perceptions of integration.

Professor Asaf Savaş Akat argued that the European Union is trying to advance two conflicting principles at the same time. On the one hand, Member States maintain their sovereignty and politics are being made at a national level. On the other hand, though, the Union that is aimed for requires the limitation of national sovereignty. However, no efficient political mechanism has been laid out to achieve this objective. Prior to the Economic and Monetary Union, the tension between political union and national sovereignty was not an issue. And yet, establishing the EMU without strengthening the political union produced negative results. In sum, the Euro crisis had the effect of speeding up the political evolution of the EU. Professor Akat opined that the future structure of the EU ultimately depends on how the Euro crisis will be solved.

Starting with an overview of the historical background of Turkey-EU relations and analyzing the issues dominating the discussions regarding the possible membership of Turkey in the EU, the last speaker, Retired Ambassador Volkan Vural, opined that the activity surrounding Turkey’s EU candidacy focused mainly on political issues and criteria, while the economic dimensions were only secondary as opposed to the state of play in Europe today. Ambassador Vural concluded his remarks by arguing that the “European Union is in serious crisis that is more political than economic. Moreover, the way out of this crisis is certainly not going to be an easy one.”

The Conference, which was open to the public, attracted a large audience and ended following a series of remarkable questions posed by Istanbul Bilgi University students to the eminent speakers who unanimously praised the high level of interaction and engagement of the student body.
Concept

Despite the growing international importance of Turkey, the country’s possible EU-membership and the large number of citizens with Turkish background in European societies, only a few academic institutions in Europe focus on contemporary Turkish Studies. At the same time, little effort has been made to institutionalize cooperation between relevant actors in the field of Turkish Studies in Europe and Turkey. Consequently, material and intellectual capacities are frequently wasted and the opportunity for mutual academic enrichment is lost. The international conference, Contemporary Turkish Studies at a Glance – Topics, Institutions and Future Perspectives, which took place on October 13-14, 2012 at Istanbul Bilgi University Santralistanbul Campus, aimed to fill this gap by bringing together the most important institutions, organizations and individual scholars from Europe and Turkey who are engaged in Turkish Studies. The conference provided an opportunity for an interdisciplinary debate within different fields of research and allowed the participants to build networks for future cooperation.

Outline

The two-day conference gave young scholars involved in Turkish Studies the chance to present their papers to some of the most renowned scholars and institutions in the field. Scholars were given the chance to position themselves in the international research community and to debate related topics and research questions in an interdisciplinary environment. The event was framed by key-note speeches by some of the most prestigious scholars in the field. Furthermore, in four different panels, chaired by renowned experts, central issues and research questions for Turkish Studies were discussed in depth.

The topics, framing the presentations and discussions of the panels, were announced in a Call for Papers, and the most innovative and outstanding papers selected and were presented during the event. Each day finished with a roundtable discussion highlighting the outcome of the panels and the implications for Turkish Studies as an interdisciplinary and applied area of study. Additionally, while the conference was under way, organizations, journals and other actors engaged with Turkish Studies set up stands to exhibit their work and publications.
Organizers

Emre Gönen: Istanbul Bilgi University
Ayhan Kaya: Istanbul Bilgi University
Daniel Grütjen: Network Turkey
Rana Deep Islam: Stiftung Mercator

Erik-Jan Zürcher: Leiden University
Village and Empire: Micro and Macrohistory as Sources of Innovation in Turkish Historiography

“Turkey and its Neighbors”
İlter Turan: Istanbul Bilgi University
Chair

Speakers
Ayça Uygur: Europeanization of Security Sector Reform in the European Union’s Enlargement

Zone: Informal Institutions and the Implementation of Decaf in Poland and Turkey
Lisa Schäfer: Turkey is too large, too poor and too different isn’t it? A Framework for Explaining the EU Member States’ Diverging Positions on Turkey’s Accession

Ali Balcı: The Kurdish Movement’s Policy towards the USA: An Understanding of a Dissident Power Block’s Foreign Policy in Turkey

Keynote Speech
Anthropologists of Turkey
Alan Duben: Istanbul Bilgi University

“Domestic Politics”
Fuat Keyman: Istanbul Policy Center
Chair

Speakers
Anne Schluter: Competing or Compatible Language Identities in Istanbul’s Kurdish Workplaces?
Laura Tocco: Civil Society in Turkey
A Gramscian Approach

Doğru Durgun & Elif Kalaycıoğlu
A new Turkish Citizenship? Contestation of Muslim Women’s and LGBT Organizations

“Transnationalism”
Ayhan Kaya: Istanbul Bilgi University
Chair

Speakers
 Çağdem Bozdağ: The Digital Bridge Between Turkey and Europe: Transnational Media Use in Turkish Diaspora

Doğuş Şimşek: The Perceptions of “Home” in the Context of Transnationalism among Turkish and Kurdish Youth in London


Contemporary Turkish Studies at a Glance
Participants
Ayhan Kaya
Fuat Keyman
Erik-Jan Zürcher
Chair
Elise Massicard

3rd Keynote Speech
Moving Beyond ‘Turkish Studies’: an Anthropological Query
Yael Navaro Yashin: University of Cambridge

“Ottoman History”
Şevket Pamuk: Boğaziçi University/LSE
Chair

Nicola Verderame: The Ottoman Participation in World Fairs as an Internal Communication Tool: The Case of the World’s Columbian Exposition (Chicago, 1893)

“Islam and Identity”
Ayşe Kadioğlu: Sabancı University
Chair

Speakers
Sara Merdian: Ambiguity and Toleration: Muslims on Homosexuality

Feyda Sayan-Cengiz: Headscarf in the Context of Precarious Work: A Critical Approach to the headscarf discussion in Turkey


Caroline Tee: On the Path of Pir Sultan? Engagement with Authority in the Modern Alevi Movement

“Contemporary History and Memory Studies”
Leyla Neyzi: Sabancı University
Chair

Speakers
Eray Çağlı: Architectural memorialization at Turkey’s ‘witness sites’: the case of the Madimak Hotel
Alice von Bieberstein: Archival (Im) Mobilizations: Sensing the Sights and Sounds of Denial

Erol Sağlam: Trabzon and Nation: A Psychoanalytical Insight into Memory, Identity, and Citizenship

“Gender Studies”
Ayşe Gül Altınay: Sabancı University
Chair

Speakers
Elirini Avramopoulou: Walking as Feminists against Death and Violence: On (Lost) Hopes
Belin Benezra: The Institutional History of Family Planning and Abortion in Turkey

Tillie Kluthe: Bağımsız olmak - To be Independent Ethnographic Research about a Women’s Organization in Turkey

“Future Perspectives for Turkish Studies”
Participants
Ayşe Gül Altınay

Ayşe Kadioğlu

Yael Navaro-Yashin

Leyla Neyzi
Chair

Kerem Öktem
considered. The second step consisted of looking at national legislation concerning the implementation of the non-discrimination directives of the EU. This analysis also examined how the politics of fear in the EU (and legal acts that refer to European norms implementing these policies) are reflected in the national legislations of various countries. Legislative provisions and implementation (administrative and judicial practice) at national level was also reviewed in the conference. The conference also covered debates about the newly rising claims of various social-ethnic-cultural groups in Turkey in the process of preparation of a new Constitution to replace the 1982 Constitution enacted by the 1980 Military junta. Issues of multiculturalism, interculturalism, tolerance, respect, recognition and acceptance were discussed by the participants.

The conference covered the contemporary debates on citizenship, and discussed the ways in which national citizenship has lately been challenged by different forms of belonging such as European citizenship, multiple citizenship, diasporic citizenship and multicultural citizenship. The conference was open to the public, and education specialists, primary and secondary school teachers, journalists, public servants working in the education sector as well as university students across all the disciplines attended.

**Jean Monnet Chair Conference on “Uncovering Citizenship: New Claims in Turkey and the EU” (11 May 2012)**

The conference was held on 11 May 2012 at Istanbul Bilgi University’s Dolapdere Campus. It was inaugurated by Prof. Ege Yazgan (Dean, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Istanbul Bilgi University) and moderated by Senem Aydın-Düzgit (International Relations Department, Istanbul Bilgi University). The speakers were: Prof. Anna Triandafyllidou (European University Institute, Florence), Prof. Fuat Keyman (Director of Istanbul Policy Centre, Sabancı University, Istanbul), Dr. Pınar Uyan (International Relations Department, Istanbul Bilgi University), Prof. Ayhan Kaya (Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism, Istanbul Bilgi University)

The Conference assessed the legal norms and policies of the EU as well as the legal framework of the European Union Citizenship Law (Article 8 of the Maastricht Treaty, 1992) with a view to analyzing whether they provide for additional rights through the EU framework (or e.g., make the human rights framework operate better at national level), and/or restrict the existing political, civil and socio-economic rights of non-European nationals residing in the EU; and how the EU norms are implemented at national level in project countries so as to create conditions for promoting European identity through legal practices and establishing arguments for European added value. As a first step, a review of EU legislation on non-discrimination (e.g. Race directive 2000/43/EC, Employment Quality Directive 2000/78/EC) was made. This analysis also examined how fear-policies of the EU are reflected in the legislation (thus legislation of the EU on fighting terrorism and combating transnational crime were be analyzed). The analysis was guided by the rights-based framework established in the Charter of Fundamental Rights. Jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice was be also considered. The second step consisted of looking at national legislation concerning the implementation of the non-discrimination directives of the EU. This analysis also examined how the politics of fear in the EU (and legal acts that refer to European norms implementing these policies) are reflected in the national legislations of various countries. Legislative provisions and implementation (administrative and judicial practice) at national level was also reviewed in the conference. The conference also covered debates about the newly rising claims of various social-ethnic-cultural groups in Turkey in the process of preparation of a new Constitution to replace the 1982 Constitution enacted by the 1980 Military junta. Issues of multiculturalism, interculturalism, tolerance, respect, recognition and acceptance were discussed by the participants.

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**First IAPP KnowledgeNet Symposium (30-31 October 2012)**

 Reported by the conference organizers, Yücel Saygin and Nilgün Başalp

IAPP Istanbul, organized by Yücel Saygin from Sabancı University and Nilgün Başalp from Bilgi University, in cooperation with IAPP (International Association of Privacy Professionals) was held on 30-31 October 2012 in Karaköy, Istanbul. The event was supported in the context of the EC-funded MODAP (Mobility, data mining and privacy) project.

The symposium (http://iappistanbul2012.modap.org) brought together actors from academia, regulation and business in the field of data protection with the aim of creating a platform for mutual exchange of experience on the international level with special focus on the Turkish landscape of data protection.

Privacy is a fundamental human right protected by international instruments such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention on Human Rights. It is a prerequisite to a functioning democratic society and to many other fundamental freedoms, such as freedom of speech, religion and political association. Informational privacy, or data protection in EU parlance, plays an essential role in the regulation of a market in which personal data constitutes raw material and an emerging asset class. Turkey is about to adopt a comprehensive data protection act. The new law will give effect to the recent constitutional amendment on data privacy and establish an independent data protection authority. Consequently, Turkey’s data protection landscape will be shaped in the near future, which is also the case for EU countries, because of the draft regulation prepared by the European Commission.

The IAPP Istanbul event was organized in response to the need for following the ongoing discussions about data protection law in the EU and to reflect those discussions onto the Turkish data protection framework. The symposium created a platform for the various actors to exchange their ideas and experiences. The international perspective of the conference was reflected by speakers who are leading experts on data protection. International speakers of the Symposium were the UK Information Commissioner David Smith, AAPP Managing Director Rita DiAntonio, Accenture Director of Data Privacy Bojana Bellamy, Siemens Chief Data Protection Officer Florian Thoma, Consultant for Data Protection and Privacy Prof. Omar Tene. Leading experts and regulatory bodies in Turkey also presented the current state of the regulation and its possible impact on business. Turkish speakers included the Ministry of Justice Directorate of Law Division Head Mustafa Taşkin, Board of Information Technology and Communication Lead IT Expert Güneş Koca, Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency, Division Head of Data Management Ahmet Türk Varlı, Turkcell Manager of Regulations Strategies Çiğdem Ayözger Önal, and Garanti Bankası Legal Counsel Berna Avdan.

We believe that this symposium contributed to the development of the Turkish data protection landscape.
Survey Results:

**Turkish Public Attitudes toward the Military and the Ergenekon Case: Consequences for the Consolidation of Democracy**

Abstract: A quick glance at the Eurobarometer surveys indicate that after 2008 there is drop in the number of respondents who declared their trust in the Turkish Armed Forces. Indeed, in the 2010 survey, the Turkish public does not seem to differ from its European counterparts and trusts the military at around the same level as western democracies. The critical event that seems to have led to the drop in trust levels is the court case known as Ergenekon, which has implicated hundreds of lower- and higher-ranking current and retired officers in attempts to stage coups against the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). Given the importance of civil-military relations and the public’s attitudes toward the armed forces for democratic consolidation, is it possible to argue, then, that the Ergenekon case is contributing to democratization in Turkey? In order to answer this question the paper analyzes Turkish public opinion on the trials, based on an original nation-wide opinion survey designed to understand attitudes toward the military. The results of the survey show that Turkish politics is polarized on the Ergenekon case. This type of polarization is indicative of an unconsolidated democracy where actors mutually suspect each other’s intentions. Thus, instead of contributing to consolidation by altering the public’s attitudes toward the armed forces, the Ergenekon case is leading to polarization and threatening the prospects of further democratization.
The World Mothertongue Day (21 February 2012)

The World Mothertongue Day was celebrated at Istanbul Bilgi University on 21 February 2012. The program was prepared by the Istanbul Bilgi University’s European Institute, Laz Cultural Centre (Istanbul) and the Federation of Caucasian Associations (Ankara). The program was organized within the framework of the ACCEPT Pluralism project. (http://www.accept-pluralism.eu/Home.aspx)

This was the second time that the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University celebrated the Mothertongue Day at a time corresponding to similar claims voiced by various groups in Turkey and to a recent preoccupation with the preparation of a more democratic and inclusive form of constitution to replace the 1982 constitution enacted by the 1980 Military coup.

Workshop for Ritsumeikan University (19 – 22 February 2012)

Ritsumeikan University BA Studies Program in Japan visited the European Institute in the framework of a workshop on “Turkey-EU Relations”. The Turkish study visit of Ritsumeikan University’s (Kyoto -Japan) BA students in European Studies was organised by BİLGİ’s European Institute in collaboration with CIFE Berlin.

As part of this visit a group of 21 students came to Istanbul on 19th February 2012 for a four-day stay and attended lectures and seminars at Istanbul Bilgi University and also had a busy cultural programme.

The lectures and seminars organised for the group were as follows: “Analysis of Turkey’s political, social and economic structure” by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, “The Enlargement Policy of EU with a focus on Turkey’s Accession Process” by Asst. Prof. Dr. Senem Aydın, “History and Present Situation of Turkey-EU Relations” by Emre Gönen, “Turkey’s Foreign Policy - a multidimensional perspective” by Prof. Dr. Gencer Özcan, and a roundtable discussion on “Decoding Turkish Foreign Policy: Neighbours, EU, Transatlantic, Middle East Relations, Political Economy / The role of Communication and Social Media in shaping Democracies” with Asst. Prof. Dr. İnan Rüma, Asst. Prof. Dr. Yaprak Gürsoy and Asst. Prof. Dr. Erkan Saka.

The Ritsumeikan University students also had ample time for discussions and sightseeing with BİLGİ European Studies students.

The feedback received by CIFE from the students was very positive and reflected a high degree of satisfaction for both the lectures and the cultural programme.

Students were given lectures by BİLGİ Professors and visited historical places in Istanbul.
Birth in one place, growing old in another place. And feeling a stranger in the two places. The 20th century is often called the century of expulsions.

From the collapse and breakup of multi-ethnic European empires after World War I to the creation of independent post-colonial states in the second half of the century and, finally, the demise of communist states in the last decade of the century, nation building has been a violent process. Millions of people around the world have been forced to leave their homelands, many of them never to return.

The human cost of refugee displacement is enormous. It is reflected in the images and the testimonies of those who have lived to tell the tale: in their journey into exile, the trauma of loss of home, the challenge of cultural reinvention and of rebuilding a society.

These stories – whether from Greece, Turkey, Germany, Poland, India, Pakistan or Cyprus – reveal a common human experience of lost homelands, but also the idea that it is worth the effort and sometimes the sacrifice, to preserve multi-ethnic spaces in our modern world.

Based on video testimonies and rare film and photographic archives, “Twice a Stranger” brings visitors face-to-face with the survivors of these traumatic events. It is accompanied by educational and outreach programmes for children (storytelling, documentaries and music workshops).

Exhibition and Conference on Population Exchange (24 February – 30 April 2012)

Egemen Bağış, Minister for European Affairs and Chief Negotiator, Martin Schulz, President of the European Parliament, Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver, Rector of Istanbul Bilgi University, Rifat Sancaoğlu, Chairman, Board of Trustees, İstanbul Bilgi University

The President of the European Parliament, Martin Schulz, was awarded an Honorary Doctorate in Political Science by İstanbul Bilgi University, for his contributions to the European political integration on the basis of universal values of democracy and civil liberties, his distinguished political career and his principled and consistent attitude towards Turkey’s place in the European Union.

President Martin Schulz is the third political leader to receive the title of Doctor Honoris Causa from İstanbul Bilgi University after Jack Lang and Nelson Mandela.

Before the conferment ceremony, President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz participated in a long and spirited panel session with İstanbul Bilgi University students and answered numerous questions.

Academic Awards and Honours

İstanbul Bilgi University conferred the Title of Doctor Honoris Causa Upon European Parliament President Martin Schulz on May 29, 2012.

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

İstanbul Bilgi University conferred upon Martin Schulz, the President of the European Parliament, an Honorary Doctorate in Political Science, on May 29, 2012. The ceremony took place in the Museum of Contemporary Arts at the Santral Campus, with the participation of Egemen Bağış, the Minister for European Affairs, and Chief Negotiator, leading names from academia, civil society, business, politics, and students.

İstanbul Bilgi University

The panel was moderated by Prof. Ayhan Kaya, the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism at the Department of International Relations of İstanbul Bilgi University.
At the ceremony, Turkey’s Minister for European Affairs and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış, Rector of İstanbul Bilgi University Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver, tDean of the Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences Prof. Dr. Ege Yazgan and President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz gave speeches.

President Martin Schulz later spoke expressing his appreciation of İstanbul Bilgi University’s decision, and stated that, “Bilgi’s liberal stance, which promotes tolerance and respect for a diversity of individuals with different lifestyles, beliefs and ways of thinking within the framework of contemporary universal values, is an inspiration”. President Schulz reminded the participants that the first political action in which he participated as a young political activist was in support of the children of Turkish mine workers in the town where he later became Mayor.

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Martin Schulz concluded by commenting that “Turkey and EU shared common universal values based on democracy and civil liberties, and that he supported Turkey’s EU Accession process”.

Aziz Nesin Visiting Professorship for Diversity Studies at European University Viadrina was granted to Dr. Bertan Tokuzlu from Bilgi University Law Faculty

This Interview was published in Mess Newsletter July 2012 of Europa Universität Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder) which runs a Double Degree European Studies Master Programme with İstanbul Bilgi University.


It is a long time ago that we took the bus from Brunnenplatz to Sophienstraße. It is a sunny – yet a bit cloudy – day, when we arrive there, just on time. Prof. Bertan Tokuzlu came downstairs to join us for an interview in the garden. One hour later, this garden will be full of MES students, enjoying the barbecue at this year’s summer garden party.

We sit down on one of the “Biergarnituren” and switch on the voice recorder. “How did you prepare for your stay in Frankfurt?” – “Actually, I did not have much time to prepare before I arrived in Frankfurt. I was proposed for this position only a few months before coming to Frankfurt. Due to time constraints, I had initially proposed a course titled ‘International Protection Law with a View to Turkey-EU Relations’, which I had already been teaching in İstanbul. This title however, was not found suitable for the MES Program. Therefore, I came up with a more general title, namely ‘Human Rights in Turkey’. I prepared a syllabus based on the jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights. This would give us maximum flexibility with the course. We needed some flexibility since only a small portion of the students had a law background. Working with cases would give me the opportunity to either take more initiative or give more responsibility to the students according to the level of the class. Although this course was crafted for Viadrina University, all of these topics were part of my Constitutional Law Course in Bilgi University. Therefore, it was possible for me to prepare all the necessary reading materials in a short time.

İstanbul was very chaotic before my departure for Germany. I could miraculously fit this program between the end of the spring term and the beginning of the summer school at Bilgi. Therefore, I had plenty of work to be done before I left town, such as giving exams, making presentations or completing paperwork. Moreover, I had to go through this boring and time-consuming visa procedure at the German Consulate in İstanbul.”

Prof. Tokuzlu is the current lecturer of the Aziz Nesin guest lectureship in cooperation with İstanbul Bilgi University. He is going to stay at Viadrina for a month and teach a course titled ‘Human Rights in Turkey.’ “Prof. Tokuzlu we would like to hear your first impressions with the town”. “I found Frankfurt quite silent and peaceful. It is good to be away from the chaos of Istanbul for a while. The place is just a bit too calm at the weekends though. I wish the students had spent some more time in town.”

In his opening speech Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver, Rector of İstanbul Bilgi University, thanked President Martin Schulz for his “sensitivity to democracy, human rights, active citizenship, civil society, and the environment”.

In the ceremony, Turkey’s Minister for European Affairs and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış, President of the European Parliament Martin Schulz gave speeches.
Constitutional amendment process in order to develop the Turkish legal system for a better future."
Feeling quite happy here and welcomed in Frankfurt, Prof. Tokuzlu will probably come back for summer school next year.
"There is a good academic network here which I am glad to be a member of. It is also very enriching for me. It is not like discussing our own issues with our own people and our own academics."
As the MES appreciates getting to know different perspectives on different issues, we would also be very glad to meet you again next year. Maybe at the next MES summer garden party?
This Interview was conducted by Hannah Reckhaus und Katharina Görig

Research

Identities and Modernities in Europe (IME): Briefing of Findings

INTRODUCTION

IME has investigated European Identities, a wide range of definitions of ‘us, the Europeans’ proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU), in particular in nine cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. The project has addressed three major issues regarding European identities: what they are, in what ways they have been formed and what trajectories they may take from now on. This is a briefing of major findings in the Turkish case, focusing on the role of Yunus Emre Cultural Centres in the external promotion of Turkish identity.

External Promotion of Turkey

In the scope of the Identities and Modernities in Europe (IME) (SSH-CT-2009-215949) project, in order to provide insight into the case of Turkey, we began our research with an exploration of the meanings attached to Westernization and Europeanization leading to the realization that these concepts have been used interchangeably when referring to the modernization process in Turkey. At the second stage of the project, we investigated the internal and external identity promotion programmes carried out by the Turkish state between 2000 and 2011. At this stage, we scrutinized the ways in which the external promotion of Turkish identity has recently been made by the newly established Yunus Emre Cultural Centres. Proliferating recently, these Centres have become essential for Turkish foreign policy makers with regard to the cultural promotion in the strengthening of regional ties.

These Centres are also important because a close analysis of their locations and their positioning in the Middle East, Balkans, Caucasus and in Central Asian Turkic republics show that they complement the efforts that were carried out in Europe, particularly those that were carried out by state and non-state actors in the scope of Turkey’s bid for EU membership. Yunus Emre Centres on the other hand show that while discourses centered around Europe and the EU still persist in the political circles, there is also a revival of the neo-Ottoman discourse and a growing emphasis on the Turco-Islamist discourse.

As a part of this project we have also looked into the notion of modernity and Westernization, which are often used interchangeably in Turkey. When we refer to modernity and Westernization we are referring to a mode of understanding, which assumes Euro-American hegemony over the process of progress. In the light of this discussion, we see that the Turkish political elite challenge this presupposition by encouraging the promotion and propagation of Turkish cultural, linguistic, historical and religious beliefs on other nations, rather than being restricted by the western model of modernity. As we struggle to define the trajectory of European identities vis-à-vis the possibility of an alternative to the emphasis on the west and the western understanding of modernity, we see that these Centres embody efforts which do not necessarily reject the western model of modernity, but provide a means whereby the country’s path to modernity consists of the protection and promotion of particularist cultural, linguistic and religious assets.

Europeanization of Higher Education in Turkey

The project elaborated on the internal identity construction programmes in Turkey, consisting of a comprehensive analysis of the state of Turkish higher education and the nature of its reformation since the early days of the Republic. In order to investigate the role of Europeanization in higher education, we looked at the discourses of state and non-state actors as well as private individuals. This stage of the research was supplemented by nine interviews conducted with non-state actors and 20 interviews conducted with private individuals.
While we looked at various important issues surrounding the reformation of Turkish higher education, such as representation of religious beliefs and education in Kurdish, we would like to briefly address our findings on the implementation and perceptions of the Bologna Process.

Our research shows that there is a considerable lack of knowledge and research on the restructuring of the Turkish education system along the lines of the Bologna Process requirements. Therefore, we preferred to focus on this subject matter since it is one of the topics that yielded very interesting information on the westernization of the Turkish higher education system. Our research into the role of Europe and Europeanization in the Turkish higher education system began with the identification of different approaches with regard to the transformation of the education system. We have seen that the Bologna Process is commonly framed as internationalization rather than Europeanization in order to prevent the possible backlash resulting from the rise of Euro scepticism. This type of framing, which was more apparent in state actors’ discourses, was indeed replaced by disagreements over internationalization and Europeanization at the non-state and private individual levels. This shift in the discourses used in regards to the effects of the Bologna Process in Turkey is significant, since different understandings of internationalization and Europeanization have recently emerged. In congruence with our project’s research topic, this finding reveals that non-state actors and private individuals have different definitions of Europeanization.

In addition, the notion of neo-liberalism and neo-liberal motivations behind the Europeanization of the education system became an apparent concern with regards to our research on the reformation of education. It is also noteworthy that our research and findings on the Bologna Process coincided with the rise of concerns over the value of education as a public or private good in European countries, which became apparent with the rise of student and faculty protests in various European universities. To that effect, we should also note that non-state and private actors’ approach to Bologna Process revealed that they would prefer to discuss the “American model” of education and hence Americanization rather than the European model and Europeanization as the basis of the westernization of the Turkish higher education system. Indeed, while this preference is grounded in the restructuring of the system along the lines of the American model in the 1950s, our fieldwork showed that it is still the model that is recognized, and most of the time favored, by those who participated in our fieldwork. Nonetheless, this is in fact related to the diverse opinions on what Europeanization is and what being European entails.

**Bilingual Education in Turkey**

In the scope of the Identities and Modernities in Europe (IME) (SSH-CT-2009-215949) project, in order to provide insight into the case of Turkey, we investigated the internal and external identity promotion programmes carried out by the Turkish state between 2000 and 2011. In regards to internal identity promotion programmes carried out by the state, we looked at the regulatory framework concerning the official language of education in Turkey. Complementing our investigation of the regulatory framework, we carried out interviews with 20 private individuals, particularly students, parents and academics, where we inquired about their opinions on the possibility of bilingual education in the Turkish and Kurdish languages.

As we progressed with the interviews, we observed that there are two frameworks where education in one’s mother language is addressed: 1) as a right guaranteed by the rules of democracy and hence to be considered a human rights issue; 2) as a politicized issue which is being exploited for various reasons. Nonetheless, these two frameworks often merged despite their differences; concerns over the legal and practical complications of bilingual education merged as the widespread and prevailing concern. In terms of practicability, we observed that private individuals do not necessarily disagree with the right to education in mother language, and in most cases they support the principle behind the revitalization of minority languages as a means to preserve and promote minority cultures. However, our interviews also revealed that the majority of the private individuals argue for the necessity of having an official language and the need for all those who are citizens of Turkey to learn the Turkish language in order to be able to communicate with the rest of the society. Hence, the practical aspect of communication emerged as the primary issue that needs to be addressed in debates on bilingual education.

Another important aspect of the research on bilingual education was the way in which there was a widespread uneasiness with the exclusive association of these concerns with the Kurdish language, which was often criticized for restricting the discussions on other minority languages. We also observed that the concept of separatism arises along these lines of concerns over the restriction of bilingual education to the Turkish and Kurdish languages. An analysis of our findings reveals that this issue is considered to be an embodiment of last-longing societal and political tensions that have been perpetuated by the education system in Turkey. Therefore, it is often the case that our interviews with private individuals reveal a broader tendency to criticize the Turkish education system for its failure to integrate ethnic and cultural variations in Turkey.

**RESEARCH PARAMETERS**

IME employed qualitative research methods in its investigation, including policy document analysis and in-depth interviews with state/EU officials, civil society actors and private individuals. The details of the fieldwork can be supplied upon request.

**PROJECT IDENTITY**

Identities and modernities in Europe: European and national identity construction programmes and politics, culture, history and religion

Project acronym: IME
Project number: SSH-CT-2009-215949
Project starting date: 1 May 2009
Duration: 36 months (May 2009 - April 2012)
Project budget (EU contribution): €1,447,773.00
Co-ordinator: Dr Atsuko Ichijo (Kingston University)
Partners in Turkey: Ayhan Kaya (Istanbul Bilgi University) and Ayşe Tecmen (University of Bristol)

**Consortium**

Kingston University
Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
University of Helsinki
Sciences Po (Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques)
Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities (KWI) in Essen
The Institute for Ethnic and National Minority Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
International Centre for Minority Studies and Intercultural Relations (IMIR)
Istanbul Bilgi University
University of Zagreb
EU 416: European Political Economy
Durmuş Özdemir
This is the core course of the fourth year BA in European Studies. It aims to convey how the relationship between state and economy in Western, Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe has evolved over the post-war period. The course aims to provide students with both a deep analytical understanding and a systematic treatment of empirical issues related to the evolution of the European political economy. Topics include: the state and economy in Europe, economic theory and policy in Europe, the political economy of European integration, the political economy of EU enlargement, monetary union, the creation of a single market, the Lisbon process and the democratic paradoxes of the EU.

EU 222: Introduction to European Culture
Ayhan Kaya
This course gives a broad outline of the basic structures and topics of Europeanization, European culture and identity as they have been constructed throughout history. It is an introduction to the different historical constructions of ‘Europe’ with their ramifications for the global order from the early Middle Ages to our times. The course also sheds light on the notions of feudallsm, democratization and enlightenment, which are essential components of the European political culture.

EUR 510: Politics of Cultural Diversity in the European Union
Ayhan Kaya
Politics of Cultural Diversity in the European Union aims to provide the students with a comprehensive explanation of the political theories concerning the ways in which cultural, ethnic and national diversities are managed inside and outside the European Union. The main concern of the module is to try to find some answers to the questions, “Can we live together? If so, how?” Thus, the course will concentrate on the inclusionary and exclusionary forms of governmentality developed and initiated by nation-states employing some prominent liberal ideologies such as libertarianism, communitarianism, multiculturalism, interculturalism, patriotism, universalism and cosmopolitanism. The students are also expected to generate an awareness of the merits of intercultural dialogue within the European space.

EU 311: Conceptualizing the EU: Institutions, Policies and Political Debates
Senem Aydın Düzgit
This course is designed to provide an understanding of the political institutions and political processes of the member countries of the European Union and of how the accession process has transformed the governmental institutions, central-local relations, political parties, NGOs and political life in these countries.

IR 472: Europe and Migration
Ayhan Kaya
This course aims to extend the understanding of the key notions of migration, globalization, diasporas, colonization, integration and assimilation in the contemporary world. International Migration as a module also aims at equipping the students with the tools to compare different forms of migration since antiquity as well as alternative forms of regimes of migrations implemented by different states such as Germany, France, Turkey, USA and Britain. Students will be asked to write two working papers.

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), making Turkey part of the European Single Market. Within the framework of the program, Turkey’s EU accession period is analyzed and researched with a focus on recent developments. The Program, concentrating on themes such as enlargement and the societal transformations it brings to countries involved (peace, stability, democratization, regional cooperation, human rights, rule of law, etc.) and European Neighborhood Policy, also offers a wider perspective of European Studies with emphasis on issues such as migration, environmental issues, and intercultural dialogue.

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

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

Beyond Privileged Partnership German
Christian Democrats and Liberals search
for new approaches towards Turkey

Dr. Peter Widmann

Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute
German Studies Unit Director
DAAD Fachlektor

Guido Westerwelle, German Foreign
Minister

Indeed, some observers were surprised
to see the Minister, a leading figure in the
centre-right German Liberal Party (FDP)
and a key representative of the governing
conservative-liberal coalition, hailing
socialist François Hollande’s success in
the French presidential elections and at
the same time accusing conservatives
of following a mere domestic agenda
towards Turkey. Westerwelle said: “It
is self-evident that the European Union
cannot predict if and when Turkey
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do have the legitimate expectation that
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merits, not on domestic considerations
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latest elections in Europe will strengthen
this principle. I am optimistic to overcome
the standstill.”

Yet Westerwelle’s position is hardly new.
In January 2010 during his first official visit in
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that Berlin will adhere to the accession
negotiations. Regarding the coalition
partner CSU, the Bavarian branch of the
German Christian Democrats, and
demand to cancel negotiations,
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to do with responsible foreign policies.”

Still, Westerwelle’s recent remarks are
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Partnership” as an alternative to a Turkish
EU membership that is favoured by his
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Besides his urge for re-dynamised
accession negotiations, Westerwelle
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Even though German Foreign Minister
Guido Westerwelle did not make it to the
front pages when he spoke in Istanbul
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weekly “Die Zeit”, described
Westerwelle’s speech as emotional and
conceptually strong, and the Financial
Times’ German edition tried to catch the
Minister’s approach in the headline
“Westerwelle’s Turkish Spring”.

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

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

“Guido Westerwelle, German Foreign Minister”

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New undertones from the centre-right

Westerwelle’s remarks can be seen as a part of a bigger picture. A closer look reveals a tentative change in attitudes among German centre-right policy elites towards an economically stronger and politically more significant Turkey. Not only among market-oriented Liberals but also among Christian Democrats signs of uneasiness with existing approaches become increasingly visible. Chancellor Angela Merkel’s remarks during a press conference in Ankara after a meeting with her Turkish counterpart in March 2010 might have been only a first sign: “Now I have understood that Privileged Partnership has not a favourite appeal at all here.” However, signals from Christian Democratic foreign policy circles confirm the impression. Philipp Missfelder, CDU Foreign Affairs spokesman in the German Parliament, declared in an interview in September 2011: “Many Turkish politicians have communicated their disapproval of a Privileged Partnership often to me personally, and against this background I believe that we need a thinking process, what we can offer Turkey beyond a privileged partnership in order to not lose the country as a partner.”

At first sight the shift visible in Broks article is not dramatic, since his suggestions resemble a “Privileged Partnership” insofar as they would result in a status that for the time being keeps Turkey outside the EU decision-making processes. Yet, against the background of the official Christian Democratic position on the issue a significant difference becomes visible: The final state of EU-Turkey relations remains open – also for a Turkish EU membership.

One might object that any analysis based on remarks of individual politicians risks running into over-interpretation. Indeed, there have always been German Christian Democrats who differed from their party’s official position on Turkey. At present the most prominent among them is Ruprecht Polenz, chairman of the German Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs and author of the book “Better for both – Turkey belongs in the EU”. Polenz stresses that his opinion might be a minority but not solitary risks running into over-interpretation. Indeed, there have always been German Christian Democrats who differed from their party’s official position on Turkey. At present the most prominent among them is Ruprecht Polenz, chairman of the German Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs and author of the book “Better for both – Turkey belongs in the EU”. Polenz stresses that his opinion might be a minority but not solitary.

Two months later, in November 2011, CDU politician Elmar Brok, Member of the European Parliament for the European Peoples Party and chairman of the EP’s Committee on Foreign Affairs, indicated a possible direction of this thinking process. In an extensive article on EU-Turkey relations for the EurActiv Network’s German language webpage Brok entirely avoided the term “Privileged Partnership”, even in passages on possible alternatives to full membership. He predicted that neither the EU nor Turkey will fulfil accession conditions soon and called for negotiations on an “intermediate goal”. These negotiations should focus on a Turkish membership in the European Economic Area (EEA), currently the grouping that unites the 27 EU countries with Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway in the Internal Market.

Brok wrote: “This can mean for example the adoption of 60 to 70 per cent of the acquis communautaire, a full membership in the Single Market and in the Schengen system. We would have gained much if such a ‘Norwegian status’ could be reached for a certain time. This would be not discriminating and could include everything from the Single Market to, ultimately, security policies. Then one could calmly and without further frustration see the coming developments. Such quick steps would have immediate positive effects for citizens and could show them the benefit of a European perspective. The strategy is realistic and can also make the last step possible – if both sides develop in such a way that they consider it possible. Sweden, Finland and Austria have been successful with this strategy.”

Brok made his suggestion in the context of a rather critical evaluation of recent developments in Turkey. He suspected a difference to those of his party colleagues who explicitly use culture as an argument against a Turkish EU membership.

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from a candidate to a third state. As early as 2006 a Working Paper of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation that is affiliated with the Christian Democratic Party recommended: “The political elite at the national or EU level should no longer use the concept of “Privileged Partnership”, since Turkey, for whom the term was originally devised, has firmly rejected it.” Even among other European conservatives the success of the approach remained limited. In August 2005 – a few weeks before the general elections brought her into the Chancellor’s office - Angela Merkel together with CSU leader Edmund Stoiber wrote a letter to conservative heads of government in Europe to promote their concept. In the end both failed to forge a common position among European centre-right politicians. In the case of France, however, the concept proved to be a successful export product: Already in January 2005 the CDU and the Gaullist UMP signed a joint declaration that warned of a loss of the European capacity to act if Turkey becomes an EU member. “Privileged Partnership” also found supporters in Vienna, where the centre-right Austrian People’s Party (ÖVP) adopted the concept.

Privileged Partnership and inner-party cleavages

Even though privileged partnership quickly proved to be still-born on the level of EU-Turkey relations, Christian Democrats cherished the idea in the following years. The term even became part of the party programs of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU). In its 2007 basic party program the CDU declared: “The full membership in the European Union cannot be the only answer in every case. Not only the fulfillment of the accession criteria is a condition for the admission of new members, but also the absorption capacity of the EU itself. We believe that the Privileged Partnership of the European Union and Turkey is the right solution.” In the CSU’s basic program, also approved in 2007, the rejection of a Turkish EU membership was explicitly connected with a cultural perspective: “The Christian Social Union advocates clear borders of the European Union. Besides geographical borders Europe for us also has borders there where there is a lack of a common historical and cultural ground.” Both parties used the concept of Privileged Partnership in their manifestos for the 2009 European Parliament elections. In November 2011 the latest general party convention of the CDU in Leipzig confirmed the prominence of the concept and made it part of its general resolution on the party’s EU policies.

While being fruitless and even damaging on an international level, the concept brought benefits on a domestic level. It could be used as an integration formula to bridge cleavages and contradictions inside the Christian Democratic Party. German Christian Democrats developed as a successful catch-all project after the Second World War, bringing together centre and right-of-centre groups of very different backgrounds, Catholics and Protestants, farmers and workers with a church affiliation, market liberals, conservatives as well as nationalists. Compared to other centre and centre-right formations in Europe, German Christian Democrats showed a high integration capacity for voters and activists from the centre to the very right. On the national level no political force to the right of the Christian Democrats established itself. German right-wing populists never managed to gain more than regional significance, since Christian Democrats successfully prevented groups like the French Front National, Jörg Haider’s Austrian Freedom Party or Geert Wilders’ Dutch Party for Freedom from thriving.

Even though privileged partnership quickly proved to be a dead birth on the level of EU-Turkey relations, Christian Democrats cherished the idea in the following years. The term even became part of the party programs of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and its Bavarian sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU).
The precondition of this integration capacity was the capability to balance the needs of different groups, to reconcile the expectations of market liberals open to the chances of globalisation with those who see the nation state and traditional national identity as a shield against the threats of globalisation, who remained sceptical of the social and cultural diversity that resulted from migration. Besides, a further inner-party cleavage had to be bridged: The one between foreign policy elites thinking in terms of the EU’s power to influence and stabilize its neighbourhood, securing the European energy supply and being attractive and credible enough to exert soft power towards key regions like Central Asia, the Middle East and Northern Africa on one side, and on the other side, parts of the local party basis coming from a conservative Christian background with a more parochial perspective, perceiving Islam as a threat to the country’s Christian character.

The concept of Privileged Partnership was a formula to at least intermittently pacify latent inner-party conflicts. It served as a signal to the more nationalist and Christian traditionalist circles among the voters and the party rank and file. At the same time the concept allowed the party elite to claim to respect the policy needs in international politics of binding Turkey close to the EU. “Privileged partnership” was symbolic politics securing inner-party coherence and mobilization capacity in elections. The inner-party rhetoric compromise could survive for many years due to a time-tested division of responsibilities in German coalition governments. Since Christian Democrats have constantly been the bigger partner, they dominated the Chancellor’s Office, while the smaller party – the Liberals and in the times of the Grand Coalition the Social Democrats - took the Foreign Ministry. This resulted in “Privileged Partnership” being the party position of the Christian Democrats, but not the position of the Federal Government – which until today saves Angela Merkel from having to enforce it at the EU level. “Privileged partnership” was symbolic politics securing inner-party coherence and mobilization capacity in elections. The inner-party rhetoric compromise could survive for many years due to a time-tested division of responsibilities in German coalition governments. Since Christian Democrats have constantly been the bigger partner, they dominated the Chancellor’s Office, while the smaller party – the Liberals and in the times of the Grand Coalition the Social Democrats - took the Foreign Ministry. This resulted in “Privileged Partnership” being the party position of the Christian Democrats, but not the position of the Federal Government – which until today saves Angela Merkel from having to enforce it at the EU level.

Soon Christian Democrats will have to decide if they want to adhere to their existing approach. Germany’s next general elections are scheduled for fall 2013, and even if the financial crisis will dominate the European agenda, Christian Democrats will not be able to avoid the issue of EU-Turkey relations. As things stand, it seems that the more-of-the-same formula will not work as it did in the past.

The price Christian Democrats had to pay for the successful integration of the more conservative segments of their voters and activists is obvious: “Privileged Partnership” was an element of defensive tactics. In the long run Christian Democrats, who proudly call themselves “the German party for Europe” in their basic party program, risk to marginalize themselves in a policy field of increasing significance without a positive vision that is communicable to Turkish partners. It seems that the Christian Democrats’ foreign policy elites have arrived at this conclusion. The question remains how many of those in their party who are mainly involved in domestic power struggles they manage to convince.


Although there are ongoing projects that are promoting European integration-related issues at high-school level, such as the quiz show on EU among high schools, there is not a resource book in Turkish that enables the students to learn the basics of European integration-related processes. The Ministry of Education is aiming to increase the use of IT-based materials and equipment as part of the FATIH Project between the years 2011 and 2014. Throughout the project, more schools will have desktops, laptops, tablet PCs, smart boards and projectors. Part of the FATIH Project aims to produce educational content compatible with IT tools. On the other hand, young people are using many technological devices such as mobile phones, desktops, laptops and tablet PCs during their free time. IT-based learning materials are not very heavily promoted as part of their learning process.
knowledge and awareness among young citizens of Turkey of issues related to European integration. Therefore, the project will develop and deliver appropriate pedagogical content and new didactic material for the teaching of European integration at the level of secondary school students and teachers.

FOTO 72
The e-book will cover issues such as introduction to EU, key EU policies and constructing European citizenship (Please see Annex 6 for the content of the e-book). The e-book will be based on the idea of creating a sense of European citizenship based on understanding and respect for human rights and democracy, and encouraging tolerance and respect for other peoples and cultures.

The e-book will provide a user-friendly textbook that will enable students to enhance their knowledge, especially on issues related to European integration. The e-book will contain interactive photos, maps, statistics and infographics as well as movies and animations to better communicate the content to the users. As a textbook, it will contain sections for student self-assessment. The e-book will be accessible in several ways. It will be accessible from a website for online use and will also be downloadable to enable offline use. Finally, it will be compatible with tablet computers.

The content will be designed in a participatory way, according to the needs and ways that young people prefer to learn European integration related issues. A teacher’s guide for better use in the classroom will also accompany the e-book. The teacher’s guide will include explanation of the methodology and approach. It will facilitate the guided use of the e-book in the classroom. It is expected that the e-book will contribute to enhance the knowledge of the EU among young people, which will eventually increase participation in European integration-related issues.

The project will be conducted in collaboration with Istanbul Province National Education Directorate. The Directorate will provide the necessary support in order to reach students and teachers from various economic, cultural and social backgrounds on needs analysis and testing periods of the project. Equal participation of boys and girls in these meetings as well as inclusion of students from the most excluded groups, such as Roma, will be another issue for the invitation of participants to these meetings.

The collaboration of the Directorate will contribute highly to the sustainability of the deliverables of the project as well.

EVENTS

Jogging Campaign to support the Tarlabası Community Center

İstanbul Bilgi University Center for Migration Studies organized a jogging campaign to support the Tarlabası Community Center in santralistanbul Campus on Sunday, 5 September 2012. 75 individuals attended the jogging and 285 people donated money for the future activities of the Center, which is working for the eradication of poverty in the Tarlabası neighbourhood in Beyoğlu district of Istanbul. After the Campaign ended, the Youth Band of the Tarlabası Community Center gave a concert to the audience on campus.

Study Trip to Şahkulu Communion House (Şahkulu Cemevi) (Fikirtepe, İstanbul)

İstanbul Bilgi University's Jean Monnet Chair for European Politics of Interculturalism organized a study trip to Şahkulu Communion House (Şahkulu Cemevi) on 10 April 2012. The students of EU 222 (Introduction to European Culture), IR 472 (Europe and Migration), and EUR 510 (Politics of Cultural Diversity in the EU) were present on the trip. For further information on the Communion House and the Alevi-Bektashi order see http://www.sahkulu.com/brosur.pdf; and http://www.sahkulu.com/.

FROM OUR STUDENTS

Model European Union Strasbourg 2012 What is MEU?

Deniz Can Akkaya, one of our undergraduate students in European Union Studies and Political Science, has participated in Model European Union Strasbourg 2012, in which he was one of the 5 participants from Turkey. Model European Union (MEU) is a unique simulation of EU decision-making and politics that takes place annually in Strasbourg, a city that carries a lot of symbolism in relation to peace and democracy in Europe. Every year MEU brings together a significant number of highly-skilled and motivated young Europeans and gives them a superb opportunity to have a first-hand experience of the functioning of
of European institutions right on the premises of the European Parliament. The project is thus completely original in the world of simulations and is already extremely popular among young Europeans from diverse backgrounds and studies ranging from Law, International Relations, Political Sciences and European Affairs to History, Media Studies, and Interpreting. Deniz Can Akkaya assumed the role of a Member of the European Parliament, more specifically an Italian delegate representing Lega Nord as a member of the Europe of Freedom and Democracy faction. Also, he was selected as leader of this faction.

Naz Tüfekçiyanar
Graduated from MA in European Studies - 2012

Studying at Istanbul Bilgi University was an enriching and life-changing experience. I had the opportunity to improve self-awareness and mutual understanding thanks to the multinational class environment and interdisciplinary character of our program. Most importantly, I met amazing people who will be my friends for a lifetime. Next year, I will continue my studies at the College of Europe, Bruges, with a scholarship from the Ministry of EU Affairs. I would like to take this occasion to thank all my Bilgi teachers who gave me immense academic input.

Veronika Kurdiova
Graduated from MA in European Studies - 2012

My whole adventure started approximately 4 years ago, surprisingly not in Istanbul but in Ankara. I decided just like most of my European mates to experience Erasmus mobility. Ever since I can remember, I have been attracted to differences, extraordinary things. I always tried to be different from others and my university period was not an exception. “Why Turkey?” I cannot even remember how many times I gave the answer to this question: “Why not?”. A lot of people I knew decided to either get stuck at their home universities or just spend their Erasmus experience in places where most people went, such as Poland or Germany. To me, Turkey seemed like a great way to break this mould and frankly speaking, I never regretted it! So I spent one academic year at Ankara University, majoring in International Relations. The time passed far too quickly before I had to go back home to finish my last year of university. But I had already decided to come back to this amazing country as soon as possible. It took me exactly one year, two months and one week to make it back. While I was finishing my bachelor thesis and struggling with my exams, I decided to send my application to the Master Studies Program at Bilgi University, majoring in European Studies. The only thing I had to do was to send my application, attend an entry exam and attend a personal interview. And in the end, everything went just as I had wished. So here I come Istanbul, the city that never sleeps, the place where tons of locals and foreigners with different cultural backgrounds, great food and the smell of mystical spices exist together in harmony. I had no doubt that those upcoming two years would be remarkable. Although I was surrounded mostly by Turkish students, Bilgi provided a home for me and other visiting students from all parts of the world.

I gained a big pack of knowledge in several areas such as EU Trade, Europe and Migration, Political Transformation, and also Economic Integration of Europe, as well as in areas like Ethnocultural Diversity or Relations between EU and Turkey. The courses were run professionally thanks to professors who enrich the academic environment with their positive, energetic and highly motivated approach and who directed each student into the core of every subject. By encouraging us to participate in discussions, we could freely express our opinions or suggestions. This was something I was not really used to from my former university; therefore I appreciated Bilgi even more. During the semesters we were asked to complete research papers and create presentations and address them to the rest of the class which repeatedly resulted in many interesting and fruitful discussions. Besides giving courses and setting exams, Bilgi also provided more relaxed activities you could take part in, such as dance classes, courts for playing basketball or football in dedicated sports facilities. I decided to sign up for Bilgi’s well-equipped gym, which includes a 25 m-long swimming pool. All Bilgi students have a special discount and can spend even 25 hours at the gym every week if they wish. Don’t feel like exercising? Just lying in the grass at the beautiful Santral campus and reading your favorite book was another great way to relax your mind.

What’s more, by completing two unforgettable years at Bilgi I received tons of knowledge, enriched my personal and academic skills, met a lot of great people; made friends for life, lived in one of the most beautiful and most diverse cities in the world, improved my Turkish language skills from beginner “Hello, How are you?” to intermediate user “Merhaba, Nasilsin?” and of course created amazing memories I will remember forever. So my only advice is that if you are considering becoming a part of Bilgi’s family, don’t think twice, let your Bilgi adventure begin!
A quick glance at the Eurobarometer surveys indicate that after 2008 there is drop in the number of respondents who declared their trust in the Turkish Armed Forces. Indeed, in the 2010 survey, the Turkish public does not seem to differ from its European counterparts and trusts the military at around the same level as western democracies. The critical event that seems to have led to the drop in trust levels is the court case known as Ergenekon, which has implicated hundreds of lower- and higher-ranking current and retired officers in attempts to stage coups against the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP). Given the importance of civil-military relations and the public’s attitudes toward the armed forces for democratic consolidation, is it possible to argue, then, that the Ergenekon case is contributing to democratization in Turkey? In order to answer this question the paper analyzes Turkish public opinion on the trials, based on an original nation-wide opinion survey designed to understand attitudes toward the military. The results of the survey show that Turkish politics is polarized on the Ergenekon case. This type of polarization is indicative of an unconsolidated democracy where actors mutually suspect each other’s intentions. Thus, instead of contributing to consolidation by altering the public’s attitudes toward the armed forces, the Ergenekon case is leading to polarization and threatening the prospects of further democratization.

AYHAN KAYA is Professor of Politics, Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism, and Director of the European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University, Turkey. He is the author of Belgian-Turks (with F. Kentel), Euro-Turks (with F. Kentel), and Constructing Diasporas. He is now working on his forthcoming book by Palgrave, Europeanization and Tolerance in Turkey.

Exploring recent contemporary debates on migration and integration, this book provides a comparative focus on Euro-Muslims residing in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands. Based on extensive qualitative and quantitative field work, it critically engages with both republicanist and multiculturalist policies of integration. Questioning the economy of integration and securitization as well as the rise of prudentialism at the expense of the welfare state, the book claims that integration means more than the cultural and linguistic assimilation of migrants. It challenges the success of contemporary forms of accommodation of Islam by the western states, which are likely to prevent young generations of Euro-Muslims from individualising themselves. The book provides evidence that young Euro-Muslims consider Islam an instrument of emancipation, and it underlines the need for transnationalizing integration. This paperback edition also includes a new chapter which explores the rise of Islamophobia.
Yapark Gürsoy


Senem Aydın Düzgit

• Ayhan Kaya, Senem Aydın-Düzgit, Yapark Gürsoy ve Özge Onursal (der.) Avrupa Birliği’nde Gelişmeler (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları), 2011.


• Senem Aydın-Düzgit ve Semin Suvarieroğlu, Turkish Accession and Defining the Boundaries of Nationalism and Supranationalism: Discourses in the European Commission”, South European Society and Politics, Vol. 16, No. 3, September 2011, pp. 469-482.

• Senem Aydın-Düzgit, "Avrupa Birliği Genişlemesi ve Komşuluk Politikası", Avrupa Birliği’nde Gelişmeler, Ayhan Kaya, Senem Aydın-Düzgit, Yapark Gürsoy ve Özge Onursal (der.) (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları), 2011.


Ayhan Kaya


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

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1996 with the motto ‘We learn for life, not for school’, İstanbul Bilgi University is a city university intertwined with İstanbul’s vibrant cultural life and in close connection with the business world. BilGI is renowned for qualified international education and career opportunities as the only member of Laureate International Universities in Turkey.

Since its founding, BiLGİ has attempted to establish a cultural and scientific community that promotes tolerance and respect for a diversity of individuals with different lifestyles, beliefs and ways of thinking within the framework of contemporary universal values, while at the same time maintaining strong ties with all segments of the society. The BiLGİ community includes more than students: it also includes faculty, alumni, families, employers and neighboring communities where BiLGİ is located. Today BiLGİ represents a sound and distinct attitude in the academic and intellectual life in Turkey with its more than 17,000 graduates, more than 13,000 students and around 800 academic staff.

Functioning under the aegis of the Turkish Council of Higher Education, BiLGİ is an individual full member of the European University Association (EUA) and a member of the International Association of Universities (IAU). With nearly 350 exchange agreements in Europe, BiLGİ is also an active participant in the Erasmus exchange network and has strong academic affiliations with numerous universities abroad. In 2006, BiLGİ joined the Laureate International Universities network, which provides quality higher education on an international scale with more than 60 accredited campus-based and online universities throughout North America, Latin America, Europe, Northern Africa, Asia and the Middle East. With this collaboration, BiLGİ students are able to be a part of an educational network which includes the University of Liverpool in the UK; Kendall College, Santa Fe University of Art and Design, San Diego Newschool of Architecture and Design, Walden University in the USA; Ecole Supérieure du Commerce Extérieur in France; Business, Information Technology and Design School in Germany; Universidad del Valle de México in Mexico; Universidad Europea de Madrid in Spain.

BiLGİ seeks to educate freethinking, creative, intellectually curious and enterprising individuals who will contribute to a world in which knowledge is the primary driving force in society, where knowledge is accessible to all and, indeed, in which access to it has come to be seen as a fundamental human right. BiLGİ holds a primary responsibility for providing, maintaining and further developing an academic environment in which both students and faculty members are able to engage in learning and the production of knowledge at the highest level.
BİLGİ offers more than 100 programs in its six faculties, two schools, two vocational schools and two institutes. The medium of instruction at BİLGİ is English. Before being admitted to their degree programs, students must demonstrate their proficiency in English. Students whose level of English is not sufficient to begin undergraduate study will have to enroll in the English Language Preparatory Program.

BİLGİ has three innovative campuses on the European side of Istanbul, the 2010 European Capital of Culture. Located in central neighborhoods, the three BİLGİ campuses - santralistanbul, Küştepe and Dolapdere - offer easy access to social and cultural activities in Istanbul. Küştepe Campus is located in Şişli, the center of Istanbul’s business life, and Dolapdere Campus, an award-winning campus for its architectural design, is only ten minutes away from Taksim, the heart of the art scene, social activities and city life. santralistanbul Campus is an arts and culture complex located along the Golden Horn, hosting more than 700 conferences, festivals, and other scientific and social events a year and includes the Energy Museum, Main Gallery, KREK Theatre Company as well as educational buildings.

### ACADEMIC PROGRAMS

#### Undergraduate

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* Programs require an aptitude test.