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Dear Friends,

This is the second Newsletter of İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute, which is now two years old. This issue is composed of two main parts. In the first part you will find a review of the activities of the 2008-2009 period, including postgraduate programs, conferences, summer schools, visits, collaborations and research projects, and in the second part a detailed coverage of the INTERACT project, which is an EU project designed together with the Sciences Po-Paris and IFEA in order to foster civil society dialogue between Turkey and France.



The first part of this issue includes the speeches of some of our guests who gave talks at BİLGİ: Mr. Costas Simitis, former Prime Minister of Greece, and Mr. Yves Leterme, former Prime Minister of Belgium and present Foreign Minister. This part also contains an article by Deniz Bingöl McDonald (Research Fellow, Central European University, Budapest) as well as news from our students, research projects, events and publications.

The second part reveals the details of the INTERACT Project ( July 2008 - December 2009). The main rationale of the project is to contribute to the improvement of the civil society dialogue between the two countries through academic channels. The partners of the project are Sciences Po-Paris, IFEA (French Institute Anatolian Studies) and the European Institute of

İstanbul Bilgi University. Prof. Jean Marcou (IFEA), Prof. Riva Kastoryano (Sciences Po) and Prof. Ayhan Kaya (BİLGİ) were the coordinators of the project, which has carried out several activities preceding the Saison de la Turquie, which started in September and is due to continue until April 2010. The main activities comprise academic exchange between Sciences Po and BİLGİ; conferences on various themes such as the republic, laïcité, religion, regionalism and state and society; a BA course launched at BİLGİ on French politics, society and culture; exchange of doctoral and post-doctoral researchers between the two countries; exchange of the representatives of various civil society organizations; a joint research project on regional development comparing the experiences of three cities that were engaged in coal mining and metallurgy industries (Valenciennes-France, Katowice-Poland and Karabük-Turkey), as well as publications of various types. We are very glad to see that all have made an impact on Turkish-French civil society dialogue. We would like to thank everyone who contributed to the project: our colleagues at BİLGİ, Sciences Po, IFEA, the European Union Delegation in Ankara, European Union General Secretariat in Ankara and the Central Contracting Unit. We would like to thank in particular Prof. Jean Marcou, Prof. Riva Kastoryano, Prof. François Bafail, Dr. Senem Aydın Düzgüt, Özge Onursal, Gülperi Vural (administrative coordinator) and Kerem Çiftçioğlu (administrative assistant), who made this whole project possible with their energy, enthusiasm and dedication.



Ayhan Kaya



Durmuş Özdemir



Yeşim M. Atamer

- H. E. Prof. Dr. Costas Simitis, former Prime Minister of Greece, visited BİLGİ

# “Democracy and Diversity in the European Union”

Moderator: Prof. Dr. Mete Tunçay  
March 23, 2009

Speech  
By former Prime Minister of Greece  
Costas Simitis



The subject of democracy and diversity has been discussed repeatedly. Some see it primarily in terms of the treatment of migrants faced with xenophobia and racism. Others examine the coexistence within the population of different groups with different customs and religions, the integration of foreigners, nationality issues, as well as the problem of terrorism and how to control it. It is commonly held that Europe, especially social Europe, must accept diversity.

I will address another issue that also concerns democracy and diversity. It is the question of what form the relation between the supranational and the national should take within the Union in order to preserve diversity while also pursuing the common objectives of the peoples of Europe. How can a balance be struck between the necessary common framework of the Union's objectives and actions and the preservation and protection of diversity?

The texts of the Union's earlier treaties and of the New Constitutional Treaty are based on the premise that unity within the Union guarantees diversity. The peoples of Europe are united though different. Articles 2 and 3 of the New Treaty lay down the conditions for unity. These are adherence to shared values, the promotion of peace and the well-being of the Union's peoples, and also actions in the areas of common policies, freedom, security and justice, the internal market, sustainable development based on balanced economic growth, and

peace and security. Articles 4 and 3 refer to diversity – the obligation to respect cultural and linguistic diversity, and the equality of member states and national identities. Article 5 contains general rules for achieving a balance between unity and diversity: “The limits of Union competences are governed by the principle of conferral. The use of the Union competences is governed by the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality”. And Article 8 makes it clear that “Citizenship of Union shall be additional to national citizenship and shall not replace it”. This shows that the EU is a political structure with a multinational dimension. Collective interests, however, are defined with the approval of the member states, hence the interests of the nation-states remain predominant. It is they that determine the boundary line that the Union must not cross if diversity is to be safeguarded. That line is guaranteed by the community model, intergovernmental co-operation, and the development of the Union through successive transfers of national sovereignty arrived at by mutual agreement.

Nevertheless, the dividing line between the supranational and the national, between unity and diversity, is not clear. This is evident from the history of the New Treaty. It is also evident from the rejection of the Draft Constitutional Treaty, the change of its name to the New Treaty (Lisbon Treaty) and from the unprecedented number of amendments, derogations and opt-outs, a result of numerous objections, national ambitions and fears concerning the co-existence of

27 states. None of that would have happened if there had not been doubts, conflicting views and disputes over how to aim for unity and defend diversity. The view that the community model permits transnational integration and the transcendence of cultural differences without denying them is not confirmed in practice. Experience has shown that inter-governmental co-operation is an inflexible framework.

This situation harbors dangers. New social and economic problems such as the energy crisis, as well as global developments such as the rise of the Asian economies, lead to greater tensions due to the specificities of member-states, conflicting interests and different cultural approaches. This increases the likelihood of clashes that may have the effect of paralysing the Union. These differences must be overcome. Diversity makes it imperative that unity be continually renewed and expanded within the Union. This unity cannot be achieved solely by further developments in electoral procedures, such as the election of the Commission President by the European Parliament. Other approaches are also required. The current economic crisis is a good example in order to understand the problems involved.

At least twice during the present economic crisis, the European Union has attempted to solve the problems facing all member states by means of a uniform solution. On the first occasion, a summit meeting decided on a plan of action to rescue banks

that had collapsed. On the second occasion, the summit reached a decision to deal with the recession in Europe by means of a 200-billion-euro program to support economic activity by the member states.

Both decisions adhered to the principle that the member states will adapt the guidelines of the Summit as necessary to the particular conditions in each country. However, similar actions reinforce the effectiveness of the common framework only if a common governance exists. But no common governance was instituted. As the prime ministers themselves noted, a common set of tools was created, from which each country can choose the tools it requires.

There was heated criticism, especially of the second decision to support economic activity. Critics did not object to its content, which they considered satisfactory, but to the procedure that was chosen. They believed that assigning the choice of measures and the amount of expenditure to the states would result in the plan not being implemented to the extent and in the manner needed to deal with the recession. The European Commission might propose but each state would dispose independently, whereas there should be common action coordinated by a single center.

While this criticism does point out real shortcomings, it overlooks the restrictions that determine the Union's actions. Through its institutions, the Union centrally manages only two percent of the member states' total public expenditure. The funds that it has at its disposal do not permit the Union – unlike the United States of America – to take initiatives that have a decisive effect on developments. The critics also overlook the fact that economic circumstances differ considerably from one country to another. The countries in the South have large budget deficits, while those in the North have large surpluses. These differences present an obstacle to uniform policy. They also impede various attempts to come up with an outcome that is satisfactory overall. This reduces the possibilities of achieving the euro-zone's main objective, that of economic convergence. These shortcomings confirm the need for

economic governance and a single center of economic policy.

It would, of course, be unreasonable to expect the Commission to amend the Union's operating rules without any preparation. But it may be noted that the Union's mode of operation is not suited to dealing with economic problems and that it needs re-evaluation. The Commission's conclusion, that "Europe will act in a united, strong, rapid and decisive manner to avoid a recessionary spiral and sustain economic activity and employment," shows that the member states are aware of the need for concerted action, but are not yet willing to create the requisite institutional conditions. But preaching is no substitute for action.

The latest developments concerning the economic crisis in Europe pinpoint three crucial issues. The response to each of them will shape policy and decide if both the countries in the Union and the Union overall will acquire the means to react effectively to global economic developments. The first issue concerns the relation of the national state to its international environment and the extent to which it is able to map out a policy that has an impact on events.

The state is no longer the sole framework within which economic and social relations are formed. These relations are also determined – in some cases very forcefully – by developments that transcend national borders, and have an impact across a far broader area than that of a single geopolitical region. The most recent example is the crisis concerning sub-prime mortgages in the USA, which shifted to Europe and Asia. That crisis has disrupted all the financial markets in the world.

This phenomenon is connected with globalization, which does not abolish the national state but co-exists with it, creating within it a new environment, setting it new targets and transforming its functions. It achieves all that, not by replacing it with another entity, but by creating new structures in which the national state participates: that is, by establishing new networks in which states interact and function together, and where the dividing line between the supra-national and the national becomes unclear. During the crisis,

for instance, the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank has repeatedly co-operated with the European Central Bank and other central banks on channeling money into markets outside the US, so as to avert a liquidity problem that might deepen the crisis. Individual specificities continue to exist in this new reality created by globalization but they do not possess the absolute importance they once did: they co-exist and interact with the rules of globalization.

Hence, when discussing any country, we must direct our attention to its connection with the international environment, the problems that arise from that connection and the new actions that it demands. For example, it would be unreasonable if a state that is a member of the European Union and co-operates with its policies ignored the fact that EMU interest rates are set by the ECB and tried to set a special rate for its own economy. It would also be unreasonable if it ignored the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the case law of the European Court of Human Rights, and insisted on treating minorities in a manner that defied the commonly accepted rules. And it would be equally unjustifiable for an EU member-state to take no action on the crisis and not to strive for the Union to acquire the means it needs to protect us from negative developments. In these circumstances, therefore, the success of national policy depends all the more on how it reacts to the web of relations to which the country belongs, its ability to manage that web, and also its will to shape it in such a way as to solve problems that it cannot tackle alone.

Thus, if the response to the international crisis can be given by the Union alone and not by the member states, the question is (and this is the second crucial issue) whether the present level of unification procedures, that is, the web of relations of European states, allows us to face a crisis such as the current one. The answer that emerges from the foregoing analysis is clear: the institutions and policies of the Union do provide help, but they are not sufficient. In order to handle the matters that the crisis has brought to light, we need 'more' Europe. Dealing with international crises demands strong, effective economic governance.

A typical example of the problems that have arisen is the matter of dealing with the euro as an international reserve currency in competition with the dollar. The strength of the euro points out that indeed the Union wishes the euro to be an international reserve currency. The reserves of many countries outside the EMU are already invested in euros. The Union expects that the use of the euro as a reserve currency will contribute to its stability. However, in order to produce results, such a development must have political support, and in any case it will depend on the economic policy implemented by the Union. Without economic governance, the course of the project will not be stable and consistent. Without a centralized diplomatic effort the euro-zone will not be able to attract capital from developing countries in order to boost investment in Europe. But the majority of member states do not want restrictions on national autonomy in the field of economic policy. Without progress towards economic convergence, however, the EMU will not have the desired stability and international acceptance. It will not possess the ideas and means to deal with international developments, have a voice in international dialogue, or play a part in shaping the desired state of things.

The current international crisis is again a good example. Financial markets in countries such as the USA are not regulated, while in others, such as European countries, they are regulated. The crisis began in an unregulated area, but spread to regulated areas due to close ties among financial institutions and the fact that financial products from the unregulated area are readily available in all markets. The interventions now being undertaken, in the USA or the Union, in order to restore the markets to health will not bear fruit if markets remain fragmented and are regulated by different rules. The strict rules that are to be decided upon must apply at a global level. This means that, in the international negotiations that will inevitably eventuate, European countries must be of the same opinion, adopt a common stance and act decisively.

4 The third issue concerns how to secure economic governance, or at least take some steps toward unification that will facilitate efforts

for stability, competitiveness and development. It is necessary at this point to make a general remark. A commonly accepted idea is that the Union must be organized as a nation-state in order to achieve efficient governance.

The rules that were formulated to make democracy function in the national state cannot be applied in the same way to a supranational Union of states where there are far greater differences between citizens and the extent of the Union is by far greater than the territory of each individual state. The change in scale is such that it alters the conditions for workable solutions. The simple transfer of a solution from the level of the nation-state to the level of transnational co-operation without the creation of support and implementation mechanisms adapted to transnational reality will not bring about the desired results. Besides, many contemporary issues, such as globalisation, demand wider actions than those that can be taken at the national level.

The transfer of responsibilities from the national state to a supranational body, with the change in the territorial scale of power and the obligatory quest for new ways of exercising policy and governance, entails an indefinite period of institutional realignment and social and political tensions. It also means that, since co-operation among European states keeps acquiring new forms with their own constantly changing rules because established constitutional and political formulae do not suit current events, the outcome will be something new.

Consequently, attempts to create democracy by a top-down process will not succeed. Likewise, it is exceedingly doubtful whether it is possible to create a European identity solely by means of formulating an ideology and promoting it through advertising.

Experience has shown that the future evolution of the Union will be marked by the retreat of individual states and the emergence of centralised power in Brussels. The lever for this process will continue to be the Union's central bureaucracy, the mechanism that foregrounds and formulates the common interests of the member states. Its field of action will be

determined by loose inter-governmental collaboration agreements that are made periodically. This new centre will generate its own autonomy. The more responsibilities it acquires, the more independent it will become.

EU bureaucracy and inter-governmental collaboration see technocratic issues as the responsibility of administrative mechanisms and the territory of experts. The prime concern for EU employees is to find compromises to meet the wishes of the member states, and of often divergent and contradictory national preferences. De-politicisation is seen to be advisable because it allows for the easy achievement of balances. This stance, however, does not favor public dialogue.

Bolstering democracy requires emphasising the political dimension, free public debate, and the discussion of problems in a forum for political dialogue that is open to all. National forums must make it their concern to discuss common issues and make them their own. That will ensure information for all, transparency, control and accountability. A European public forum is the way to reduce the democratic deficit. Such a forum has not yet been created, even though the Union increasingly supplies more information and its actions impinge on far more issues that affect the public. It could not be created because the preconditions do not exist for broad public participation in political procedures.

The creation of this forum is the task of forces that want a strong, democratic Europe. They must pursue it systematically and discuss the Union's issues in all countries at the same time so as to formulate common policies. Proposals for such joint action have been made, such as introducing a common electoral system for European parliamentary elections and for the election of the President of the European Commission by the European Parliament.

These proposals have met the strenuous opposition of member states that do not want to go beyond the framework of inter-governmental co-operation and fear any constraints on their own autonomy. But the consolidation of democracy at a

supranational level necessitates searching for and exercising new forms of co-operation that respond to the new conditions of post-national reality.

Democratic governance arose in nation-states when a political community was formed on their territory through public debate. This made people aware of their common interests and how to defend them. Thus, in the Union too, public mobilisation for common projects can help build acceptable institutions and democratic processes at the supranational level. It will ensure new forms of democratic governance in the post-national world.

Instituting public debate on European policy throughout the Union will also help clarify the aims of the unification project and determine the institutional shape of Europe. Public debate makes the problems and issues that are at stake comprehensible. It can contribute significantly to clarifying which aspects of diversity need protection and in what ways that can be achieved. Public debate is a motivating force for uniting expectations and perceptions at the European level, for making common interests apparent and shaping a collective identity beyond the borders of the member states – a European political community, a European demos.

The solutions that arise from the Lisbon Treaty will sometimes prove viable and sometimes evolve, like those of former treaties. Under pressure from socio-economic change, the Union will continue to seek new forms of organization, combining the inter-governmental and federal approaches. There is little time left for new quests and balances as the dimensions of the problems grow and their management requires solid and durable forms of co-operation. The need to adapt the operation of the European Central Bank to a policy of development for Europe as laid out by the Ecofin Council is already apparent. The Union will thus gradually acquire its definitive shape on the basis of the ongoing problems it has to handle. EMU is evidence of that.

The Economic and Monetary Union is an example of how settling an important problem, that of the common currency, entails a broader awareness of issues related to the currency, of public discussion and debate about them. The question of

whether the euro contributes to inflation, whether its high value puts European exports at risk, and whether interest rates set by the European Central Bank have facilitated house purchases, are issues familiar to the European public and have an effect on its stance. This goes to show that a forum for public debate automatically emerges when specific issues of concern to the public become topical and urgent.

That example also shows that progress towards a more democratic, more united Europe, whose people are aware of the issues it must face, will not derive from grand, unrealistic plans for the future, but from specific solutions for broader common issues. Already the EMU and the Schengen Agreement, and now the common foreign policy and defense policy that are being mapped out, have shaped the European structure and defined ways in which to respect and transcend particular identities. They ensure union in diversity, gradually reducing the number of intra-state agreements while also creating a focus of interest and discussion for citizens in more countries. Joint actions lead to broader means of cooperation and experience of the balance that must be struck between efforts for diversity and for unity, a balance that will not be the same in every sector. Such joint actions, consciously fostered by the Union, will gradually weave a unifying web that carries the integration project even further towards completion. Seen in that light, enhanced cooperation can be a step forward and a means of exerting pressure on the Union to expand common endeavors into new sectors.

The picture that emerges will be more complex than the structure of a nation-state. The more complex it is, the harder it will be for people to understand, and it will not provide the direct connection to power that exists in smaller state entities. But that also applies to other contemporary socioeconomic problems. Their complexity makes them seem obscure to the public as power relations today become more complex, less direct and visible. The new forms of supranational organization will not resemble their predecessors. And, provided that their complexity promotes the fullest and most effective democracy, it will also ensure a greater degree of diversity.

To sum up: the preservation and protection of diversity is connected with the progress of the unification process and the deepening of democracy. The relation of the supranational to the national can be shaped creatively as long as it is linked to a joint effort to tackle the problems of the peoples of Europe.

European unification will proceed with the gradual creation of broader forms of co-operation of different types in various areas of policy. They will constitute a network, at the hub of which is the core of states that participate in all of them. In this way it will be possible, under the umbrella that covers all the member states, to adapt various levels of unity and diversity, case by case, while continually expanding co-operation. What is important is to ensure in this way that the Union functions to the best of its ability.

## Federalism : Concept – Characteristics - Trends

“H.E. Yves Leterme, former Prime Minister of Belgium, visited BILGI”

### I. Federalism as a concept

Very often the notion “federalism” is confused with the notions “federation”, “federal state”, “Bundesstaat”. However, federalism has a much wider meaning and has to be distinguished from “federation”. Federalism is not a merely legal concept, but refers to a general concept, a conception or doctrine of how a community should be organised. The “federal state” is a



concrete and particular realisation of federalism. Federalism stands for ideas, values or a philosophy of which the federation is the application in practice. Federalism is the ideology, federation is the institution. Federalism is a normative idea, concept, based on the conviction that the political organisation of society has to strive for both “political integration” and “political freedom” by combining “shared rule” and “self-rule”.

## 1) Federalism

Federalism is “problem-solving” orientated. Federalism is seen and used as a solution for a number of political and sociological problems, like ethnic tensions, conflicts of interests, minority protection through autonomy, and the efficiency and legitimacy of the state. According to the French republican ideal, the policy can be structured in a way to cut across the differences by ignoring (not denying or eliminating) them, in order to let them disappear in a general principle of equality. Every person, every group, has the same means and the same access to political power and to the political institutions.

This republican ideal is based on the idea of universal values, and a clear idea of equality, that is transcendent to all particularities. On the other hand, a policy can also be based on the existing differences by trying to give every group the means to conduct its own policy which it deems appropriate to its own interests. Where these interests meet, there is a common interest, and a common policy should be conducted.

This is the balance between “shared or common rule” and “self-rule”: it is the core of ‘federalism’. In devising this balance, federalism tries to accommodate common and diverse interests within the same political system. Federalism, therefore, is a permanent process, looking for a balance, and can work in two directions: centralising and decentralizing, depending on underlying interests, political-ideological choices, political history, etc.

This is also proven by the fact that federal states originate in two different ways: as a result of aggregation

(centripetal federalism) and as a result of segregation (centrifugal federalism).

The founders of American federalism defended a larger centralisation, a more perfect union that would be able to defend itself better against the dangers coming from outside and that would be able to prevent war between the states. The same idea, of federalism as a centralizing concept, prevails within the context of the European Union...

In other cases, federalism tends to provide an answer for different economic positions within a state, for diverging identities, and for processes of reinforcing democratisation. In Belgium or Spain, for example, the interests of the groups involved push the balance to shift into the direction of decentralisation. In trying to strike this balance, federalism aspires to achieve exactly the same goal as the concept of “democracy”. Democracy, too, seeks to allow citizens as much scope as possible for self-determination while ensuring that society is managed and organised along efficient lines. This is why there is often a linkage between federalism and democracy. This democratic model is associated with the idea of subsidiarity.

## 2) Different federal systems

Federalism has been practiced since ancient times. Greek city-states united into leagues for common worship and for the resistance of common enemies. In medieval times, in Europe, three notable confederations were established. The Lombard League was formed by northern Italian cities to resist the Hohenstaufens. In northern Germany the Hanseatic League achieved considerable commercial and political strength. The Netherlands Confederation bound the northern lowland provinces through the years of Spanish oppression.

The first true ones are the United States of America and Switzerland, both of which take the form of a confederation. Today, between 23 and 30 states in the world formally declare themselves (mostly in their constitutions) “federal”. Certain European states describe themselves as federal: Belgium, Germany, Austria. There are also two key new developments in Europe: Spain, Italy, the United Kingdom and the

European Union, where the first two are not true ‘federal states’ but “regionalised states”. (Spain clearly has federal characteristics and the trend also appears to be in this direction.) The situation in the United Kingdom is hallmarked by a tendency toward decentralisation, under the term “devolution”.

## II. Essential characteristics of a federal state

The general reflections about federalism have something to say about the material, substantive dimensions of the federal model. However, from a constitutional viewpoint, a search has to be made for a number of institutional yardsticks to distinguish a federal state from the other state structures.

### 1) Features of a federal state structure

A description of institutional criteria may be primarily based on an (empirical) investigation of the federal constitutional arrangements available. This is effectively circular reasoning: we describe a number of political arrangements as federal, and on this basis we develop criteria to decide what a federal state now actually is.

Five items may be singled out to characterise a ‘federal state’:

- The federal state is a state, divided into territorial units.
- These units have a guaranteed and substantial autonomy.
- These units take part in the federal decision-making process (through a second chamber in the federal parliament).
- These 3 elements are guaranteed by a constitution that can be amended only by a procedure with stricter conditions than the procedure for normal legislation. And,
- There exists an organised mechanism to solve conflicts, particularly by means of decisions of tribunals.

However, very often the federal state is also defined as a result of comparing the concept with other types of state: the unitary state, the de-concentrated unitary state, the decentralised state and, at the other end of the spectrum, the federation or confederation.

*The unitary state in its pure form:* sovereignty (or better: all state power) lay with central authority. No pure form exists. Every unitary state knows forms of “de-concentration” and “de-centralisation”, but, within the unitary state, there is always an element of hierarchy. Component units are subordinate to the central government. The sub-national units, even if they have autonomous powers, only have delegated powers; their powers are given and can be taken away unilaterally by the central authority. There is always some form of control (which can be limited to legality, or extended to appreciation, opportunity) by the central authority.

*The regionalised state* consists of component units with large autonomy, but not as large as in a federal state. There is no or very limited participation in the federal decision-making process (especially the decision-making process with regard to the constitution and the allocation of powers to the regions).

Between both, *devolution*: That is the case in the United Kingdom, for example: “Devolution involves the creation of an elected body, subordinate to Westminster Parliament. It therefore seeks to preserve intact that central feature of the British Constitution, the supremacy of Parliament. Devolution is to be distinguished from federalism, which would divide, not devolve, supreme power between Westminster and various regional or provincial parliaments”.

*Confederation*: based on unanimity in the central authority, with representatives, delegates, of the component units but no direct power over the citizens.

## 2) Origins, political history and goals of a federal state

In order to understand any constitutional federal system, one must know its origins and the reasons why it was developed. The fact that federalism is integrative or devolutionary explains a lot of its characteristics.

To what problems is the federal structure considered to be the answer? The ‘problems’ are diverse and bound to the history of different countries or institutions. For example, you cannot understand

Belgian federalism without knowing the linguistic history, or Spanish federalism without the civil war. European federalism and the European Union started with economic integration among six states. In general, these main reasons for increasing federalist tendencies can be identified:

- economic modernisation, meaning the improvement of political control competences and the promotion of development. (For example: cooperation between regions [not necessarily coinciding with national borders] as economic engines.);
- clarifying the issues of identity, minority protection, and integration (national and regional identity as a reaction to the disappearance of borders [globalisation], as a reaction to a trend towards uniformity, with increasing migratory flows);
- democratisation: improving democracy as a result of a distribution of government powers and involving citizens more with the authorities, with more transparency and easier access, thereby hampering large concentrations of power.

Federalism implies a state structure that by its multi-level organisation is open to international and (for example, European) multi-level integration. Federalism is a success-model, used in more and more states, and the basis for successful international cooperation



## 3) The component units

A prerequisite of a federal structure is the existence of “entities” that together build the federation. These entities can be original sovereign states, or can be created by the federal constitution. These entities are generally based on a territorial

division of the federation. These references to territory are considered by many as a *conditio sine qua non* of a federal structure. This does not mean that every federal state must be considered a “multination” federation. In fact some federal systems, like the USA, Australia or Germany, are not a way of accommodating minority self-government, since they are based on dividing powers territorially within a single national community whose members are dominant within each of the subunits. Most constitutions provide that unilateral changes in the frontiers between the federated entities cannot be accepted. All changes in the composition of the federation will require the approval of the federal constitutional power and (at least) the federated entities involved.

In multinational federations, the boundaries and powers of one or more subunits are defined with the intention of enabling a national minority to exercise self-government. According to some, a so-called personal federalism is conceivable, and even recommendable. As an example, reference is sometimes made to the “communities” within Belgian federalism. However, these communities have a clear territorial basis, based on the linguistic division of the country. In the bilingual area of the capital, Brussels, both the Flemish and the French community have some competencies. These competencies, however, are restricted, and have regard only to unilingual institutions. The communities have no direct power over the citizens that live within the bilingual area.

In order to speak about real autonomy (which is not necessarily federalism), personal or non-territorial autonomy can be defined as a form of self-rule of a group, with institutions and governing organs that exercise the powers of the autonomy over the persons belonging to the minority. Governmental power is not distributed over territories (and their populations) but over population groups as such. Non-territorial autonomy means that the autonomous unit is defined in “personal” terms: that is, a particular

(ethnic) group is granted autonomy. The crucial factor for the member of the minority is not his residence in a given territory, but his membership in the minority.

Elements can be useful, in addition to territorially-based federalism. But it is sometimes problematic with regard to human rights: Is there a real free choice for the member with regard to culture, religion, etc., or more a risk of 'separate but equal'?

#### **4) The core of federalism: the autonomy of both the central level and the component levels**

The entities (as the federal structure itself) do need a real autonomy. The autonomy of powers and institutions is not necessarily identical for all the federated entities. In that case we are dealing with so-called asymmetric federalism. One of the most emblematic forms of such asymmetry is to be found in Belgium and Spain.

##### **a) Real autonomy, with real powers**

This implies substantial powers, at least in the field of legislation, but also in the field of execution and in the field of the judicial power. The sub national units must have executive powers. In the majority of federal states, parallel jurisdictions on both levels are organised. What are these substantial powers?

There seem to be no absolute criteria of 'what should be where'. In the European context one often uses the criterion of 'subsidiarity', which refers to the idea of efficiency on the appropriate level of decision making. It is a legal criterion in the context of the European Union, not for the attribution of powers, but only in the context of the application of (attributed) concurrent powers.

Are there "federal" and "regional" powers by nature? No, but very often federal powers imply foreign policy (or at least general foreign policy, treaty-making power, defence policy, monetary policy, large infrastructure (railways, highways, airports). Very often the powers of the component units imply issues such as culture, education, economic policy, social

affairs (health services) and local government.

The autonomy of powers and institutions is not necessarily identical for all the federated entities. In that case we are dealing with so-called asymmetric federalism. In fact asymmetry is realisation of the principle of subsidiarity (and taking into account size, specific minorities, geography and historical tradition). For some political groups 'constitutional autonomy' is an essential power for the component units. Especially in the German literature, the "Staatlichkeit" of the federated entities is stressed. However, this autonomy also has to be laid down in the federal constitution.

It is not up to the entities themselves to decide the degree of their powers. Precisely this aspect distinguishes the federation from the confederation. In a confederation, each member state remains master of the powers that are granted to the confederal institutions. In this sense, the European Union is a confederation, in which the member states are still "masters of the treaty". The supremacy of the constitution also implies the prohibition of unilateral secession of a state of the federation.

Federalism, however, does not forbid the possibility of secession as long as it respects the Constitution and therefore the rights and interest of the other components

The general rule is that the principles governing power-sharing are featured in the federal constitution and federal legal texts. The conferral of powers and restrictions may not be amended unilaterally.

##### **b) Methods of allocation and distribution of powers in the federal constitution**

The powers of the federation and/or of the constituent units can be allocated in two ways: by assignment and by recognizing the residual powers. The powers of the federation and/or of the constituent units can be expressly listed in the constitution. Even when the powers of the two levels are listed, these lists can never be exhaustive. Since the need for state action evolves constantly, no allocation, how extensive, can ever be complete.

The jurisdiction over the matters not listed in the constitution lies in most federations with the unit governments (USA, Switzerland, Australia, Germany, Russia). It is important to see that this fact says nothing about the extent and the size of the powers of the constituent units (e.g., the devolution in Scotland). On the contrary, this seems especially to happen in cases of integrative federalism, with a clear centralising tendency. In federations based on dissociation, residual powers have been left with the federal government, e.g., Canada, India and Belgium. It is important to note that the given powers can be exclusive or shared (concurrent). In Switzerland, Canada and Belgium most legislative powers are assigned solely to either the federal or the constituent unit. Other systems have allocated extensive areas of concurrent jurisdiction: an authority is only competent as long as the other level of authority does not legislate. Normally, in cases of concurrent jurisdiction, in cases of conflict, federal law prevails over regional law (Bundesrecht bricht Landesrecht). This technique is a way to prevent a power vacuum that would be created by the transfer of competences from former sovereign entities to the federation. A specific form of shared powers is the framework-powers: general principles, which can be completed by component units (cf. the technique of directives in EU).

##### **c) Own institutions**

Real autonomy implies the presence of own institutions, which find their legitimacy in the group that constitutes the component units. This is shown by institutionalising different parliamentary organs, which must be directly elected by the people who fall within the jurisdiction of this parliament.

Judicial review is also an inherent element of the constitutional systems of federal states. It is necessary to guarantee the autonomy of the components and of the federal authority, by guaranteeing the supremacy of the federal constitution. Federalism is based on the idea that the conflicts can be resolved with legal instruments. In many countries, a constitutional court plays a key role. It has to ensure that the federated states comply with the constitution (and any federal legislation ensuing

from this) and that the federal government respects the powers of the federated entities.

### III. Participation and co-operation

Participation and co-operation are decisive in the success of a federal system. The component units must have their say in the execution of the Kompetenz-Kompetenz. (This distinguishes them from provinces, local authorities, decentralised authorities, and especially from regionalised states). So the fact that the federated states are involved in one way or another in amending or establishing this competence is undoubtedly a characteristic of a federal state.

#### 1) Participation

The United States' system provides a good example. Three different categories of amending procedures can be distinguished. In a first category the federated entities participate effectively in the process of constitutional reform. A Convention is called by Congress when it is petitioned to do so by two-thirds of the states. In the second procedure, initiated by Congress, a proposal must be approved by two-thirds of the votes in both the Senate and the House of Representatives. Ratification of the proposal requires ratification by the states. This ratification can proceed by the approval of conventions in three-fourths of the states or by the approval of the legislatures in three-fourths of the states. Congress may indicate which method of ratification is to be followed, and failure to express preference leaves the states free to choose either one. In a second category the federated entities are only involved in the constitutional process by the second chamber of the federal parliament. In a third category there is participation, but an indirect and institutionally (but not necessarily politically) weak one.

Besides these specific requirements for constitutional amendments, in some federal states parts of the constitutions cannot be changed, or only with a very heavy burden. This hierarchy within the constitution often relates to the federal character of the state.

### 2) Cooperation and Mutual Respect

Federalism is based on the autonomy of both the federal and the regional level, two levels of government that are dependent on each other. The allocation of powers starts from this idea, and will try to separate as clearly as possible the allocated powers. However, in practice, overlaps and interdependence is unavoidable, even in federations where most powers are constitutionally assigned exclusively to one level. Most constitutional systems therefore develop procedures of cooperation. Formal procedures can be: consultation, formal agreements of cooperation, coordination and conflict-resolution or prevention procedures. What is more, each federal system nonetheless requires mechanisms for making the exercise of various powers and the delimitation more flexible. A key role is played under this heading by the principle of federal loyalty or "Bundestreue". Actually a special form of the principle of proportionality, the principle of federal loyalty has both a positive and a negative meaning; negative, because it involves prohibiting an authority from exercising its powers in such a way that it makes it impossible or extremely difficult for the other level of governance to exercise its powers.

From a positive perspective, federal loyalty features an obligation for an authority to deploy its powers. This is required whenever a failure to exercise powers makes the exercise of powers by the other authority impossible or difficult to an extremely disproportionate extent.

### IV. Federalism in the future

Like many Hollywood films, federalism gets mixed reviews. But the political question to be asked is not about whether federalism is good or bad but, rather, about the contexts in which federalism works best, and the contexts in which federalism is likely to have effects.

I underscored that federalism takes many different forms. But federalism is also an 'on-going concern', since it is a system which has to be adapted to an always changing political, administrative and historical background. In this way, it is not

easy to predict the future of the federalist system.

The balance between centralised state government and more decentralised autonomy has to be repeatedly sought. In which manner will the concept of 'subsidiarity' know its own implementation, for instance within the European Union? And together with 'more federalism' comes often the question of 'more solidarity' or of systems which secure a fair and correct financial distribution within the federal states. Will the German system of 'Finanzausgleich', where the regional taxation power knows certain corrections in favor of regions with less tax capacity, be a model which can inspire others? And in which way will the concept of 'no taxation without representation' play a bigger role in this context? Will the world-wide globalisation and growing migratory flows lead to more centralisation or will the solution lie in more decentralisation?

We learned that federalism can have several effects. Federalism does not put an end to all kind of communal conflicts by itself. But the relatively low incidence of inter-communal conflict in federal states may account for the possibility that the federal regimes perhaps are more durable than unitary ones. Federal systems provide more layers of government and thus more settings for peaceful bargaining. They also give at least some regional elites a greater stake in existing political institutions.

Federalism's effects on peaceful political participation may be positive, but the subject requires careful distinctions between the forms participation might take. In this way, federalist formulas for power-sharing can also be more effective in reducing the threat of secession over time.

The effects of federalism are, thus far, decidedly mixed, but this fact does not imply that desirable effects do not have to be further promoted in the future. Since peace and security are required for meaningful participation, for the long-term amelioration of inequalities and for the rule of law in countries as a whole, federalist structures should prioritise peace-making.

The settings in which federalism works best deal firstly with the legacy of the past in different states. Economic conditions, but also

administrative expertise with both central and regional governments, seem to be an important pre-requisite to the provision of all the public goods that federalism might bring.

In this way, the ongoing discussions within the European Union are a very good example of how difficult it is to define this balance. The progress of the making of a European Constitution shows that concepts like 'subsidiarity' or 'shared rule' are not easy to realise without broad social and political support. In the same way, the Belgian reform process over the last two years indicates that there exist also differences between theory and practice.

This constant balance between different values, different forms of government and 'shaping or re-shaping' democracy requires expertise and time. Federalism is 'piecemeal engineering', but therefore a very exciting concept.

debut of Slovenia, was that of the Czech Republic in the first half of 2009. Initially this was a good opportunity to turn the attention of the EU to its eastern borders as originally proposed by Prague, but the global financial crisis (not to mention the collapse of the Czech government in the midst of its mandate) dominated all previous agendas.

The Visegrad-4, following the end of the Czech presidency and the (secure) transitioning of EU presidency to Sweden, seem to reflect positively about this first experiment with the pinnacle of the EU power structure. From the point of view of Warsaw, which was initially critical of how Prague was handling the presidency, this first presidency from the CEE did a good job in handling two important issues: the Eastern partnership and the energy projects. Budapest was equally positive in its evaluation but claimed to do one better. Bratislava,

particular, would gain more experience in handling the everyday issues as well as various energy and financial crises that the EU-27 may find itself in.

The decisions about further enlargement (when, to whom and under what conditions) would also need to be made more concretely during the presidencies of the CEE. The Visegrad countries remaining to assume the presidency in the coming three years are relatively more sympathetic to the Turkish accession from a political and cultural diversity perspective than their 'older' and 'western' counterparts, and represent more of the 'transatlantic' foreign policy approach when it comes to realizing the geostrategic importance of Turkish membership for the EU-27.

The partnership that CENS will undertake with İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute thus comes at a special time when the Central and Eastern European countries will take up EU's rotating presidencies in the next three years. This time frame will also be crucial for decisions to be taken about the further enlargement of the EU to the Western Balkans (namely, Croatia and Macedonia) and Turkey.

The twentieth anniversaries of the political and economic transition have been celebrated in all CEE capitals at the time of the writing of this contribution. The value added of the first 5 years of the CEE memberships, and what Visegrad partnership (namely, Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic and Slovakia) countries can bring into existing EU governance structures have been tested. A valid question is how much these countries' experience in going through deep systemic and regime transformations under the EU conditionality's watchful eye can be transferred to the unique experience of the Turkish accession. As CENS, we have come to the realization that partnerships between the Turkish research institutions and think tanks and our region are essential. The research expertise at the European Institute at İstanbul Bilgi University, we believe, will prove invaluable for the evaluation of EU-led transformation in these two different but increasingly comparable policy environments.

# Opening New Frontiers: Opportunities for Collaboration between New EU Members and Turkey

Deniz Bingöl McDonald,  
Research Fellow,  
CENS- CEU, Budapest

*This contribution announces the budding partnership between the Center for EU Enlargement Studies at CEU, Budapest, and the European Institute at İstanbul Bilgi University; it introduces CENS and what it can contribute, outlining what is in the pipelines as well as the opportunities for collaborations in the medium and long terms.*

The Central and Eastern European (CEE) members of the EU will be put in the hot seat in the coming years. The first Central European EU presidency, leaving aside the

as part of old Czechoslovakia, has had a special interest in keeping close contacts with its eastern neighbors, thus it embraced Eastern partnership from early on and supported Prague's moves in the field of energy security. The Czech Presidency, in exchange, supported Slovakia in overcoming reservations about the European Commission's recovery plan, when Bratislava stated that the plan did not sufficiently reflect the needs of the countries of Central Europe. Fortunately, by the time of the Hungarian presidency in 2011 (to be shared with Belgium and Spain under the new system of team presidencies) the worst will be over with the global crisis, and new members, the Visegrad-4 in

*Who we are and what we can contribute...*

The Centre for EU Enlargement Studies (CENS) was established under the auspices of Central European University to expand its research portfolio to EU integration and the further enlargement process in Hungary's unique geographical location, sharing borders with EU member states as well as potential and current candidates to the EU.

CENS- CEU is firmly situated within a network in eastern central European foreign policy institutes and practitioners and extends its expertise to local governments and policy makers who are the EU's neighbors, such as Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia and Russia. It currently has a research director, an experienced administrative staff and two research fellows working to expand the research expertise of the centre. CENS has had experience in applying for and acquiring national, regional and trans-European funds for research in EU integration, the EU's Eastern Partnership and Black Sea initiatives with the Central European and former Soviet Union states and, more recently, in cross-border and regional cooperation in the Western Balkans.

During the past five years, CENS-CEU has been an active partner of the project conducted under the International Visegrad Fund, which aimed to increase and sustain the role of the Visegrad countries in shaping the political agenda of the European Council, European Commission, European Parliament and member states and other actors in the area of Common Foreign and Security Policy, and the Eastern dimension of the European Neighbourhood Policy. The project has provided a platform for think-tanks, NGOs and policy makers to work out common positions and to formulate and disseminate policy recommendations for both EU and national institutions. The Center has hosted or participated in a series of annual policy conferences in Warsaw, Prague, Bratislava and Budapest. Similar projects on the Western Balkans are planned to be carried out in the next two years.

CENS and the European Institute is a unique match. They exist under

the roofs of two educational institutions that demonstrate important similarities to one another with regard to founding missions, institutional mentalities and structures. Both Central European University in Budapest and Istanbul Bilgi University were established as city universities, with a track record of close collaboration with national, regional and international civil society organizations, as well as with reputable research centers. Both universities have, since their foundation, managed to become centers for scientific and cultural communities for the advancement of the well-being, tolerance and solidarity of the individual and society in which these two institutions are located.

As CENS-CEU and the European Institute, we plan to collaborate on a variety of research, fund-raising and teaching-related missions. A crucial area of cooperation would be towards participation in research consortiums in order to apply for 7th Framework Program funds. CENS would like to integrate other research centers within the CEU and in other Visegrad countries in order to further explore the emergent European foreign policy and security structures. The emergency of the energy issues that concern both EU and Turkey were highlighted in this week's signing ceremony, hosted by Ankara, between CEE countries (Hungary, Romania, and Austria), the EU and Turkey, that concretizes the talks for the building of Nabucco pipelines. The Nabucco project is to be finalized in 2014, but the special envoys from the CEE partners emphasized that the main decisions on the investment are expected to be taken in 2010, depending on the progress of these talks. One of the research collaborations between CENS and the European Institute in the coming year could be timely to further investigate the cross-sections of energy security and EU enlargement policies on one hand, and the foreign policy making in Hungary, Romania, Austria and Turkey, on the other.

Another area of collaboration would be the search for ways to increase the role and impact of civil society and advocacy groups located in Visegrad countries, Hungary in particular, and in Turkey, in further enlargement process and policy

making in Brussels and national capitals. The main product to come of these collaborations would be to transform the discussions taking place during future workshops in Budapest and Istanbul into policy papers and joint policy briefs to be disseminated in print and electronically in the respective websites and through media partnerships.

The co-application to EU-funded civil society and advocacy programs as well as European educational funds, such as the Erasmus Mundus, were also placed on the agenda of our cooperation. The Open Society Institute, the sister institution of CEU, has had a successful history in collaborating with Istanbul Bilgi University, however no significant teaching or research partnership has been conducted to date between the two universities.

In the light of the two universities' similar missions in their respective countries, our institutes would aspire to complement the existing partnerships by being the coordination points. The aim would be facilitating faculty and student mobility between the International Relations, Political Science and Public Policy departments to begin with, and designing and coordinating MA level courses on the EU's enlargement and neighborhood policies to be taught in CEU and Istanbul Bilgi University programs. These courses could also be planned to explore the alternative routes, such as the 'European security architecture' as promoted by Russia, or those by the US, in which Turkey appears in the forefront. CENS and the European Institute would also like to cooperate in the formulation and teaching of EU foreign and security policy seminars to be given in the existing special projects and summer universities both at CEU and Istanbul Bilgi University.

The meetings between CENS and European Institute will continue the launching and planning of the proposed projects in the coming year. The author looks forward to this unique and timely cooperation and hopes it will lead to opening up new frontiers of research and make an impact on policy making in Brussels, Ankara and in the CEE capitals.

# European Institute in collaboration with CIFE Summer University on “The Relations between the EU and Turkey”

In the summer of 2009 İstanbul Bilgi University European Institute hosted the second session of the annual Summer University in collaboration with Centre International de Formation Européenne (CIFE). Each year an international group of 40 students enrolled in the Program. The Summer School, supported by Robert Bosch Foundation, aims to foster dialogue between European and Turkish students.

also the opportunity to discuss foreign policy issues with Mr. Fadi Hakura, Turkey and the EU Accession Expert, at Chatham House, which signed a protocol with BİLGİ in 2008.



Another highlight of the Diplomacy Club’s visit to London was their meeting with Turkish Ambassador Yiğit Alpoğan and the Turkish Consul General at the historic Embassy building at Belgrave Square.

After visiting Cambridge University and the city of Cambridge, the group visited Nottingham, where a joint program with the University was



## BİLGİ students at Nottingham Trent University and Chatham House

BİLGİ “Diplomacy Club” students implemented a UK Project with support from the EU Institute under the supervision of Dr. Pinar Artıran from the Law Faculty. A group of members of the “Diplomacy Club”, acting upon an invitation extended by Nottingham Trent University, visited London, Cambridge and Nottingham.

After visiting the London School of Economics (LSE) and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London (SOAS), the students had



organised. BİLGİ students attended some lectures on International Relations and EU Studies. The group supervisor Dr. Pinar Artıran gave a lecture on “Turkey-EU Relations: current state of play” to students from the host university. The Diplomacy Club students also organised presentations and an information stand on Turkey and İstanbul Bilgi University MA Programmes. This joint programme initiated after the visit of Nottingham Trent University students and lecturers to BİLGİ paved the way for enhanced relations and networking between the students from both institutions.



The program includes lectures, roundtable discussions and debates encompassing several topics including civil-military relations, euro-scepticism, westernization and democratization of Turkey as well as the state of affairs between Turkey and the EU. Participants have the opportunity to receive 6 ECTS credits upon completion of the requirements. In addition to the lectures, the program offers cultural



BİLGİ Students who participated in this project were: Uğur Bakıcı, Muhsin Altıntop, Melike Yavuz, Tuğçe Taşar, Sinem Bahadır, Ayşegül Bayar, Nilay Kılınç, Aydın Baran Gürpınar. The lecturer and University observer was Dr. Pınar Arıran, Lecturer at BİLGİ's Law Faculty.

## PROJECTS



FP7 Project on “Identities and Modernities in Europe (IME): European and national identity construction programs and politics, culture, history and religion”

## Description

IME (Identities and Modernities in Europe) investigates European identities.

European identities in this project refers to a wide range of definitions of 'us, the Europeans' proposed and acted upon by various actors in and around the current European Union (EU), in particular in nine

cases: Bulgaria, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Turkey and the United Kingdom.

The project addresses three major issues regarding European identities: what they are, in what ways they have been formed, and what trajectories they may take from now on. IME first investigates the diversity of European identities as it manifests in the nine cases. It then examines the various ways in which these diverse self-definitions have been formulated and maintained in different societal, cultural and systemic settings, and in which they have been interacting with various processes and forces. It then aims to identify commonalities among diverse European identities in the nine cases as the basis of grounded projection of possible trajectories European identities may take as the processes of European integration continue.

The project therefore has the following objectives:

- to map the diversity of European identities across the cases studied in relation to four factors: type of state, type of religion, the strength of civil society and geo-historical and geopolitical background;
- to analyse in each case how European identities have evolved within the specific historical context in relation to other forms of identification, especially national identity;

- to investigate the role of the EU integration processes in modifying the contemporary identities, especially in its relationship to national and religio-ethnic identities;
- to examine the extent to which religio-ethnic minorities influence identity construction programmes of the majority, and their unique contribution to the articulation of European identities;
- to seek commonalities in European identities across the cases by way of systematic comparisons;
- to test the validity of the theory of multiple modernities as a sound basis for projecting the trajectory of the future of European identities.

**Project acronym:** IME

**Project starting date:** 1 May 2009

**Duration:** 36 months

**Project budget**

**(EU contribution):** €1,447,773.00

## Consortium

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

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY



Combating Discrimination

In Turkey Through

Documenting and Reporting

Project entitled  
“Combating  
Discrimination in Turkey  
through Documenting  
and Reporting”  
has begun.

Istanbul Bilgi University Human Rights Law Research Center's grant application made for the project entitled “Combating Discrimination in Turkey through Documenting and Reporting” has been selected by the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey for financing under the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR). The project that started in February 2009 aims at contributing to revealing ongoing discrimination practices and strengthening the mechanisms that work towards combating discrimination in Turkey.

In order to reach this objective, the project aims to enhance the role of civil society in addressing the issue of discrimination based on race or

ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability and sexual orientation. Taking the representatives of non-governmental organisations and community based organisations, activists, trade union representatives and lawyers as the target group of the project, the following activities will be undertaken:

- Conducting a mapping exercise on NGOs and trade unions that conduct work to fight discrimination;
- Organising a networking seminar with the purpose of encouraging and enhancing networks and establishing partnerships among NGOs and trade unions;
- Assessing the training needs of the target group;
- Developing a training curriculum on anti-discrimination and preparing guidebooks;
- Organising seminars for NGO/trade union representatives and lawyers and running local seminars;
- Preparation of guidelines and standards for monitoring reports;
- Preparation of monitoring reports on cases of discrimination based on race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability and sexual orientation for a period of six months.

In July 2009, the Center published the research report of the mapping exercise carried out for the project. The mapping exercise was conducted by Sevinç Eryılmaz Dilek, Expert of the Human Rights Law Research Center, and Ulaş Karan, Research Assistant in the Law Faculty of İstanbul Bilgi University. The purpose of the mapping exercise was to identify key NGOs, civic initiatives and trade unions actively working in the fight against discrimination on grounds of race or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability and sexual orientation. Detailed information in Turkish regarding the project and the full text of the “Mapping Exercise Research Report” and “Contact Details and Field of Work of Organisations that Joined the Exercise” are available on the web site of the Center.

The project, which will last for 18 months, is co-financed by Global Dialogue. For more information on the project, please contact the Project Coordinator Burcu Yeşiladali (burcuy@bilgi.edu.tr) or Project Officer Gökçeçiçek Ayata (gayata@bilgi.edu.tr).



## SEMINAR IN TRIER ON EQUAL TREATMENT

Sevinç Eryılmaz Dilek and Gökçeçiçek Ayata from the Human Rights Law Research Center of İstanbul Bilgi University participated in a seminar on “EC Legislation on Equal Treatment between Women and Men” on 21-22 September 2009 in Trier. The event was organized by the Academy of European Law (ERA) within the framework of the PROGRESS program. “Overview of the existing European Community legislation on equal treatment and the novelties of the recast Directive”, “Key legal concepts (direct/indirect discrimination, sexual harassment): definitions and limitations”, “Enforcing and promoting equality through the sharing of the burden of proof and positive action”, “The integration of equality between women and men into EU policies: ‘Gender mainstreaming’”, “Reconciliation of private and professional responsibilities”, “The ‘equal pay for work of equal value’ principle”, “Multiple discrimination – what are the challenges?” and “Legal perspectives on equal treatment between women and men” were the topics covered in the seminar.

## SPINOZA DAYS AT BİLGİ

A Dutch philosopher of 17th century, Benedictus de Spinoza, has changed the Western thought for once and for all. After more than 350 years, the defender of democracy and freedom of expression haven’t said his final word yet. Our age requires an urgent answer to the question “is there any possibility of a peaceful coexistence” and Spinoza is one of the philosophers whose thought became a guidance for answering this question.

On 14-15 November 2008, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law organised the first Spinoza Days in order to bring

two disciplines, philosophy and law, together. The central theme of the event was the Theological-Political Treatise of Spinoza, a work where the philosopher defends the natural right of the individual to think and speak in front of religious prejudices and state power. Besides the presentations of participants from Turkey, Tülin Bumin, Solmaz Zelyüt, Ahmet Ulvi Türkbağ, Türker Armaner, Eylem Canaslan, Gaye Çankaya Eksen, Birden Güngören, Alber Nahum, Ali Karabayram, Moris Fransez, Yücel Kayıran, Reyda Ergün, and the conference of Manfred Walther, the founder of Spinoza-Gesellschaft in Germany, two exhibitions welcomed the audience: A book

exhibition consisting of the Turkish editions of Spinoza's works and books on Spinoza published in Turkey, and a visual project of Raul Mansur, named "Without Message – A Visual Study: Revisiting Ethica". An edition, consisting of the articles presented in this event, has been published recently by İstanbul Bilgi University Press.

On 4-5 December 2009, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law will be the host of the II. Spinoza Days. Marilena de Souza Chauí, Maria das Graças de Souza and Marcelo Gross Villanova from Brasil, Diego Tatián, Natalia Andrea Lerussi and María Jimena Solé from Argentina, Miriam van Reijen and Theo van der Werf from the Netherlands, Manfred Walther from Germany, Solmaz Zelyüt, Türker Armaner and Reyda Ergün from Turkey will be the speakers of the event. Besides a wide range of themes like the

political thought, psychological philosophy and ontology of Spinoza, feminist approaches to Spinoza's thought, the concept of law in Spinoza, the reception of Spinoza in Germany, writers like Diderot, Celan, Hobbes and Kant also will be discussed in their relationship with Spinoza.

## EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR TURKISH JUDGES ON IP LAW

Istanbul Bilgi University Intellectual Property Law Research Center organized an educational program for 41 Turkish judges and prosecutors who work either at the specialized Intellectual and Industrial Rights Courts in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, or in other civil and criminal courts which also carry out the task of resolving

disputes concerning intellectual property law. The program which lasted two weeks in November 2008 was realized in cooperation with the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Justice, General Directorate for the European Union Affairs and Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism, General Directorate of Copyright and Cinema.

The main goal of the program was to help improve intellectual property (IP) protection in Turkey which depends on effective and correct enforcement of legislation as much as increasing public awareness. In the scope of the program each subject, covering all fundamental areas of intellectual property law, such as copyright, trademarks, design s, patents and utility models, was tackled by distinguished and well known



academics, judges and prosecutors and experts from related governmental institutions. The other aim of the training was to benefit from the experience and knowledge of judges trained in the framework of a project run in 2003 by the Turkish Ministry of Justice General Directorate for the European Union Affairs. Specialised IP courts were established for the first time in 2001 in Turkey and the first seven judges to be appointed were provided IP law training in foreign countries such as England, Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and France within the framework of an EU project at that time.



## STUDYING IN VIADRINA, LIVING IN FRANKFURT (ODER)

By Melek Akça

Melek Akça was a visiting student at Viadrina University in the 2008-2009 Fall Semester within the framework of the Double Degree Program on MA in European Studies

Viadrina University is certainly a multi-cultural university where one can encounter individuals from 62 different countries. Most importantly, while some seminars and lectures take place in Frankfurt (Oder), some take place at the Collegium Polonicum, which is located in

Slubice, Poland. Accordingly, students are provided with the opportunity to participate in classes offered in Poland and experience the culture simply by crossing the Oder Bridge. On account of my experiences at Viadrina University, I should emphasize that being in a

multi-cultural environment where one can express herself and discuss personal opinions and values leads to an “understanding of different cultures” while “eliminating the misunderstandings and prejudices”.

During my studies at Viadrina University, I gained ample academic insight through participating in a variety of seminars taught by different professors coming from Germany, Poland, the USA, Australia, France and Spain, and also through attending cultural activities and workshops.

Moreover, even though I was proficient in the German language before my arrival at Viadrina University, the opportunity to interact with native speakers enabled me to improve my language skills.

An eminent feature of the Double Degree Program is the fact that it allows students to write their MA projects under the guidance of two instructors; one from İstanbul Bilgi University and one from Viadrina University. Two sets of valuable instructions coming from two different disciplinary systems assist the student in identifying the variances in viewpoints while encouraging the student to synthesize these viewpoints.

In essence, the Double Degree Program is comprised of various experiences and opportunities that students can benefit from in attaining their educational and occupational goals while enjoying the benefits of being a registered student of both İstanbul Bilgi University and Viadrina University.

# My experiences as a Master student at İstanbul Bilgi University:

By Mirjam Rohloff

Mirjam Rohloff was a visiting student at İstanbul Bilgi University in the 2008-2009 Fall and Spring Semesters within the framework of the Double Degree Program on MA in European Studies

During my year at BİLGİ, I had the chance to profit from the impressive knowledge of the teachers of this university. They introduced me to a different perspective on the European Union—one that is less Eurocentric and more critical of the EU, especially with regard to Turkey-EU relations. These views complement what I have studied up until now and give me a lot of new impulses for my studies and research. Also, the extensive

choice of online journals at BİLGİ library is extraordinary for me and extremely useful for my research.

One of the biggest differences for me is the progress of the term at BİLGİ. Teachers here demand a lot of work during the semester. Especially difficult for me was the fact that students are expected to write their research papers while the semester is still going on and hand them in at the end of the lectures. In Germany, students



start writing their papers only after the lectures and seminars of the term are finished. Even though I think that the German university system gives the student more time to focus on their term papers and get really deeply into the topic, the system at BİLGİ taught me to work faster and use my limited time more efficiently. I guess that this is a very useful skill for work outside of the academic field.

## Baran Hanağası



Baran Hanağası is a visiting student at Viadrina University in the 2009-2010 Fall Semester within the framework of the Double Degree Program on MA in European Studies

As a decade ends and a new one approaches, we witness the rapidly changing world and different groups of people that deeply affect each other with their cultural interaction. This interaction manifests itself in various facets and offers different opportunities to the people. The future belongs to the people and nations that build rational projects for their welfare and social convergences that are compatible with the age of technology and information. The European Union project is one of them. Twenty-seven countries in Europe and their cultures attempt to build up sustainable peace and prosperity throughout the old continent. The cultures of Europe introduce themselves and learn about the others with the purpose of demolishing the barriers of indifference that have stood for centuries. Turkey, having a young and dynamic population and being culturally versatile, is ambitious to

enter this unique collection of cultures despite the difficulties that it is facing. On that road of difficulties leading to the European Union, Turkey needs experts and dedicated institutions to lead the way. The European Union Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University has initiated the European Studies Program to educate students whose aim is to learn all about the European Union and related issues such as minorities, immigration and cross-cultural communication supporting this project of civilization. It has been ten years since the launch of the program and around 50 students have graduated and are now considered European Union experts. To put it literally, the institute acts as a lodestar for these experts in finding their way to the Turkish accession to the European Union.

I started my education in the European Studies Graduate Program at the European Union Institute in the

## THE EUROPEAN UNION INSTITUTE OF İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY: THE LODESTAR IN THE DARK NIGHT

Fall semester of 2008. My intentions before being enrolled in the program were so clear: I wanted to obtain a profound knowledge about affairs between the European Union and Turkey and to become an expert on the topic. I had no doubt that İstanbul Bilgi University was the right educational institute, with its respected tutors and amazing course selection opportunities. As I end my course stage after two semesters, I am very happy to have been educated here at the European Union Institute and to have widened my perspective on the European Union and cultural studies. In the fall semester I will continue my education at Viadrina University in Germany, thanks to the academic cooperation between the European Institute at BİLGİ and Viadrina University. This opportunity is very important for me in order to deepen my knowledge and academic experience.

# EVENTS

- **7-8 November 2008:** Religious Instruction in Secular Societies and Laicist States: Turkey and Germany

The German Unit of the European Institute organized a conference entitled "Religious Instruction in Secular Societies and Laicist States: Turkey and Germany" in collaboration with Goethe Institute. The aim of this conference was the evaluation of the different models of religious instruction in Europe. Different perspectives on these models were discussed from pedagogical and development psychological aspects. Among the issues discussed in the Conference were: "Religious Instruction in Secular Societies and Laicist States: Turkey and Germany", and "Accommodation of Islam in Germany, France, Belgium and the Netherlands."

- **10 May 2009:** The students visited **Şahkulu Sultan Dergahı** within the framework of the Jean Monnet module course IR 472: Europe and Migration.

On May 11, 2009, students of the "IR 472: Europe and Migration" course, offered as a Jean Monnet Module, visited Şahkulu Sultan Dergahı, which is recognized for its historical significance for the Alevi community in Turkey. The Module was designed to provide students with awareness regarding the construction of identities in the migration context. Among other topics, students were informed about the Alevi identity and how it has been shaped by the Alevi Diaspora settled in EU countries such as Germany, France and the UK. The trip intended to offer students first-hand information on the construction of the Alevi identity in Turkey. In addition to participating in a tour of the facility,



students had the opportunity to learn about the historical background of the Communion, which created an intellectual atmosphere for the students in which to exchange ideas on the theories taught throughout the course.

- **May 2009:** Seminar on 'European and Corporate Law and Securities Regulation'

Two renowned visiting professors from Germany have shed light on different aspects of EU Company Law. The first part has been presented by Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. mult. Klaus J. Hopt (Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Private Law, Hamburg, Germany) with focus on "European Corporate Law and Securities Regulation"; the second part was taught by Prof. Dr. Jan von Hein (University of Trier, Germany) elaborating on "International Corporate and Capital Market Law in the European Union".

The first bloc, after a short introduction into European market integration, law-

making and the principle of subsidiarity, has dealt in particular with corporate governance. Emphasis has been on the Company Law Action Plan of the European Commission of May 2003, its basis in the two reports of the High Level Group of Company Law Experts,

*Prof. Dr. Klaus J. Hopt with students and colleagues from Bilgi*



its implementation and further developments up to 2008 and key problems such as board systems and committees, independence and remuneration of directors including auditors. As to securities regulation topics two exemplary harmonization areas have been discussed, namely insider trading and takeovers, as well as a glimpse on the Markets in Financial Instruments Directive (MiFID).

The second bloc has served to give an overview of the state of the art of corporate mobility and international transactions on the capital market within the EU. The private international law foundations have been explored as well as the current legislation and the pertinent case law of the European Court of Justice. A particular focus has been put on relations with third states."

- **19 February 2009, Istanbul:** The Power of Images: German-Turkish Relation as Focus of Media Responsibility

Our understanding of reality is mainly stamped by images spread through the media. The Turkish image in Germany as well as the German image in Turkey depends on what articles and reports are being published. Due to the impact the media has on the German-Turkish relationship, its responsibility is significant.

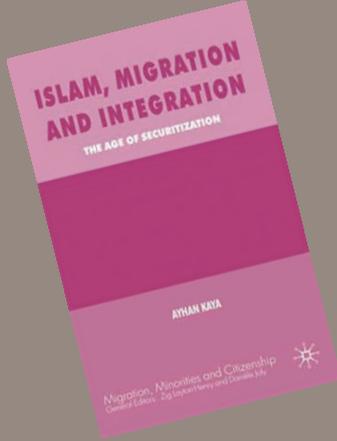


The aim of the event was to illustrate what images the media creates of the other. What topics are reported on and how are they conveyed to the public? Where are the critical points, and what are their backgrounds? The objective was to emphasize the significance of the media's responsibility and thus contribute to an enhanced German-Turkish understanding. The conference revealed that representation of realities in the German-Turkish context sometimes distorts realities in a way that leads to the strengthening of prejudices and stereotypes.

- **7 February 2009,** the EU Certificate Program, organized annually by the European Institute, ended with a reception given for the students and the lecturers. 35 students from various cities in Turkey attended the Certificate Program. The Program covers a wide variety of topics concerning the structure of the EU, Turkish-EU relations, Turkish Accession, EU policies and a profile of the EU member states.



# Publications



**Ayhan Kaya,**  
**ISLAM, MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION: The Age of Securitization (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).**

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.



**Yesim M. Atamer and Klaus J. Hopt (eds.),**  
**Kompatibilität des türkischen und europäischen Wirtschaftsrechts [Compatibility of Turkish and European Business Law – The new Draft Turkish Commercial Code and Neighboring Legal Fields], Beiträge zum ausländischen und internationalen Privatrecht Nr. 91, Max Planck Institut für ausländisches und internationales Privatrecht, Mohr Siebeck Publishers, Tübingen 2009, XXVIII+ 335 pp.**

This volume contains fifteen articles which originated at a German-Turkish conference held jointly by İstanbul Bilgi University and the Max Planck Institute for Comparative and International Private Law in Istanbul. The contributions focus on the compatibility of Turkish and European business laws in the areas of company, capital market, transport, maritime, insurance, consumer, competition and copyright law. The book is designed to give the reader, first, an overview of the relevant provisions by a Turkish expert, followed by the comment of a German colleague from the perspective of European law. The significance of the articles is that they evaluate all the major Turkish business laws issued with a view to adapting the *acquis communautaire* and also the final draft of the Turkish Commercial Code.



**Alper Akyüz (ed.), AB, Bütünleşme ve STK'lar [EU, Integration and NGO's] İstanbul Bilgi University Publications**

In recent years, "European Union" has gained a critical meaning for rights-based NGOs; on one hand EU has become an agent of positive change which is expected to put pressure on the government, on the other hand, a scapegoat accused of applying double standards. Within the period of the accession negotiations process, started formally on October 2005, in which we will become more familiar with and subjected to the requirements of this process, a cooled-down approach accompanied by a more thorough knowledge and understanding also provides NGOs in Turkey with opportunities to use this process to lead the most effective change towards their own aims and objectives, as well as empowering themselves and their target groups. Accordingly, the book has been compiled to contain both critical perspectives on Europe and Europeanisation from a citizenship and democratization aspect, and practical information on European institutions and decision processes that include enlargement and negotiations. The book is the product of a collaboration between the NGO Training and Research Unit and the EU Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University.



**Ayhan Kaya et al.,**  
**Internal Migrations in Turkey: Integration or a Return? İstanbul Bilgi University Press, 2009.**

Based on ethnographic and sociological fieldwork supported by TUBITAK and İstanbul Bilgi University, this book explores the life-worlds of internally displaced people (IDPs) residing in İstanbul, Diyarbakır and Mersin. The authors conclude that the IDPs should be integrated into urban life. The book also includes several testimonies of forced migration leading to various tragedies.

# EU INFORMATION NETWORK MEETING REPORT

On September 15-16, 2008, the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey organized the “European Union Information Network Meeting” in Ankara. Marc Pierini, the President of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey, Laura Tarragona, responsible for the European Union Communication Group from Turkey, Diego Mellado, European Commission representative, and several other representatives from the Delegation of the European Commission to

Turkey attended the event. Furthermore, coordinators of the European Union Information Offices and of the European Union Information Centers, as well as European Union institutions providing information about the EU, were in attendance.

During the opening session of the “European Union Information Network Meeting”, the abovementioned individuals and respective representatives made brief presentations on the relations between the EU and Turkey, the current improvements in the system and the future of the EU. In the course of the event, I attended several conferences on a variety of subjects including the EU Environmental Policy, Common

Agricultural Policy, human rights, women’s rights and training projects. The conferences illustrated these subjects as they relate to the Acquis Communautaire and addressed the way in which they relate to the accession negotiations.

Parallel sessions, instructed by the coordinators of the European Union Information Offices and the coordinators of the European Union Information Centers, took place simultaneously in the form of discussion sessions focusing on the subjects of “visibility, familiarity and promotions”. The discussions were centered on the following questions: “What is a network? How does it work? How can we work together to achieve our goals? What is the best way to access the target groups?” Throughout these sessions, we had the opportunity to share our opinions and suggestions about the deficiencies of the current approaches and standards with regards to the relationship between the users and information access.

We were able to make decisions about future coordinated efforts and the tools that can be utilized to provide access for EU Information Centers in Turkey to all necessary information about the EU.

Banu Elçi, MA  
İstanbul Bilgi University  
Library and e-Resources  
EU Information Specialist





# INTERACT: EU, TURKEY, FRANCE UNIVERSITY DIALOGUE PROJECT June 2008 – November 2009



Bu proje AB tarafından fonlanmaktadır.  
This project is funded by the EU

The European Institute has been going through a very intense period of activity since the Fall 2008 semester while implementing the 'INTERACT: EU, France, Turkey University Dialogue' project. In this edition of the European Institute's newsletter, we will take a closer look at the activities undertaken within the scope of the INTERACT project.



## Background of the INTERACT Project<sup>1</sup>:

In 2005 the European Commission adopted a Communication that establishes objectives and priorities for further development of a civil society dialogue between the EU and candidate countries. With this Communication, the Commission aimed at bringing citizens and different cultures, political and economic

systems closer in order to bridge the information gap, achieve better mutual knowledge, and thus ensure a stronger awareness of the opportunities as well as the challenges of future accessions.

In support of the Civil Society dialogue process, the Turkish Secretariat General for EU Affairs (EUSG) designed a project in 2007 entitled "Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between European Union and Turkey". The project is co-financed by the EU and provides for the implementation of four Grant Schemes amounting to 19.3 MEUR, aiming at intensifying and diversifying the contacts between:

- Towns and Municipalities (5 MEUR)
- Professional Organizations (3 MEUR)
- Universities (9.3 MEUR)
- Youth Initiatives for Dialogue (2 MEUR)

So far, a total of 119 projects have been awarded grants, with budgets ranging in value from 30,000 to 465,000. The organisations implementing the projects are located all over Turkey, and all have partners from either EU Member States or candidate countries.

<sup>1</sup> For more information on the Civil Society Dialogue  
<http://www.csdproject.net/web/AboutTheProgramme/tabid/54/TabId/54/language/en-US/language/tr-TR/Default.aspx>

## BİLGİ's INTERACT Project:



In the context of the above-described grant scheme, İstanbul Bilgi University, Sciences Po and l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (IFEA) have joined forces and presented an application in August 2007 for the "INTERACT – EU, France and Turkey University Dialogue" to the EU tender programme "Promotion of the Civil Society Dialogue between Turkey and the EU" Universities Call. The project was selected by the evaluators and a grant contract was signed on 12 June 2008. The project

officially started in June 2008, and will continue until the end of November 2009.

The major goal of the project is to contribute to the civil society dialogue between France and Turkey by fostering university dialogue between BİLGİ, Sciences Po and IFEA. It is hoped that by working together, the partners will contribute to create a more rationally inspired debate in the civil societies of both countries.

The INTERACT project aims to help strengthen contacts and mutual exchanges of experience between civil society in Turkey, France and EU member states, for a better understanding of Turkey, its culture, history and values in France, and a better understanding of EU and French values and their common culture as well as their policies and institutions in Turkey. The partners are also striving to establish sustainable partnerships that will last beyond the lifetime of INTERACT.

## Project activities

To achieve these ends, the INTERACT project has been carrying out three groups of activities:

- i) scientific interaction in social sciences and history;
- ii) networking among academic and civil society actors,
- iii) dissemination of information.

More specifically, the activities of the INTERACT project cover scientific

exchanges of 16 professors and two doctoral/post-doctoral fellows from BİLGİ and Sciences Po, an “expert task force” of PhD and post-doctoral fellows from Turkey and EU, a joint multidisciplinary research project led by high level academicians from BİLGİ and Sciences Po, a permanent course on ‘EU and France: Politics, Society and Culture’ to be taught at BİLGİ, two weekend schools for NGOs from both countries, a Summer

School on EU and Turkey, three thematic awareness- raising conferences, one final evaluation conference, as well as the publication of a joint research book and a final book composed of a selection of the working papers of the academics who have participated in the project.

Below you will find a detailed list with explanations regarding the various activities of the project.

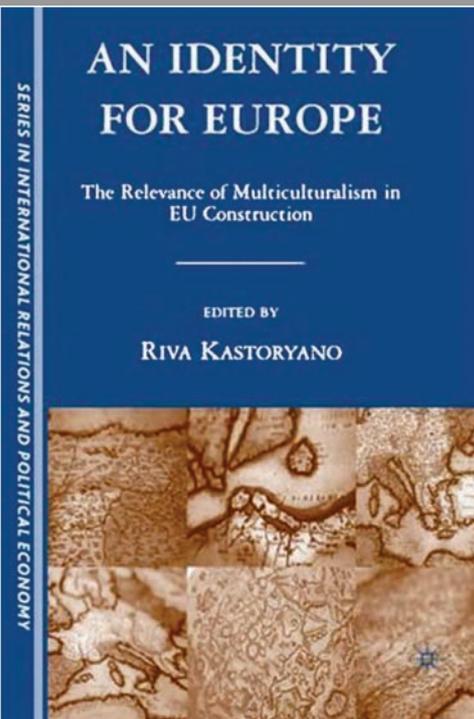
## Visiting Fellows

February 2009 – November 2009

This activity covers the exchange of academics from BİLGİ and Sciences Po and has enjoyed considerable success. Each academic who participated in the academic exchange has given lectures, held seminars and has had academic contacts with fellows and students at the partner institution.

Another noted activity under the same heading was *the Conference open to the general public held at CERİ (Centre for International Studies and Research in Paris)* on 21 April 2009. The conference focused on “The Debate on the Turkish New Foreign Policy” and brought together two professors from BİLGİ, İlter Turan and Soli Özel, and two professors from Sciences Po, Bertrand Badie and Riva Kastoryano.

*A public conference at Sciences Po*, on the “Rise of Turkey as a Soft Power in the Middle East: Wishful Thinking or Self-Fulfilling Prophecy?” brought together Professor Şule Kut and Professor Gilles Kepel and was held on 5 May 2009.. An audience of researchers, PhD students, diplomats, journalists and professionals concerned with the Middle East followed the presentations.



During Riva Kastoryano’s first short stay at BİLGİ in November 2008, a seminar was organised by the International Relations Department at BİLGİ on “An identity for Europe, The Relevance of Multiculturalism in EU Construction” on the occasion of the publication of Prof. Kastoryano’s book with the same title. In her presentation, Riva Kastoryano discussed the role that could be played by the politics of multiculturalism for the formation of a European identity. The lecture concluded with a vibrant question-and-answer session and a wine & cheese networking event with the participation of BİLGİ’s IR Department lecturers including Prof. İlter Turan, Prof. Şule Kut and the project coordinator, Prof. Ayhan Kaya.

## Global Horizons

Issue 5 | april 2009

SciencesPo. International Affairs Division (DAIE)

Eight Turkish professors at Sciences Po thanks to INTERACT project

SciencesPo will welcome eight Turkish professors this semester as part of its exchange program with Bilgi University in Istanbul under the INTERACT project, an EU-funded university dialogue initiative intended to improve cross-cultural interaction between France and Turkey (budget: 350,000 euros). The INTERACT partnership with Bilgi and the French Institute of Anatolian Studies (IFEA) includes activities such as joint research projects, stipends, lectures, debates and public seminars. INTERACT has planned three types of events at Sciences Po: lectures about Turkey and Europe, two lecture-debates covering new Turkish foreign policy, and the participation of invited professors from Bilgi University in a discussion group on contemporary Turkey. INTERACT is also organising a programme of civil society meetings for French and Turkish NGOs to take place during a series of Turkey-related



The modern campus of Bilgi University Istanbul, Turkey

activities in France scheduled from July 2009 to March 2010.

Sciences Po recevra ce semestre huit professeurs turcs dans le cadre d'un échange avec l'Université Bilgi

(continué en page 2)

Centre for the Americas

Student clubs facilitate integration

Equality of opportunity

Centre for Asia and the Pacific

## Visiting Fellows from BİLGİ in Sciences Po Paris:

### Lecture Series under “Turkey and Europe – Plurality of Stakes and Perspectives”

The major part of BİLGİ’s contribution to this activity was organised in a *cycle of lectures and conferences* under the title “Turkey and Europe – Plurality of Stakes and Perspectives”, which was organised from 7<sup>th</sup> April to 9<sup>th</sup> June 2009 at Sciences Po. The main contributions to this cycle by prominent BİLGİ academics were as follows: İlter Turan on “Turkish Politics”, Şule Kut on “Balkan Enlargement”, Serhat Güvenç on “CFSP and Turkish-Greek Relations”, Yeşim Atamer on “Europeanization of Turkish Law” and Umüt Özkırımlı on “Nationalism in Turkey and the EU”. The Conference series was open to all Sciences Po students enrolled in Master and PhD programmes at Sciences Po, but was also attended by outside experts.

### PhD workshops:

An interesting by-product of the “Visiting Fellows” Activity of the INTERACT Project was the organisation of *PhD workshops at Sciences Po in Paris and the creation of a working group* by Master, PhD and post-PhD students working on contemporary Turkey at Sciences Po and in other Institutions in France. The working group held meetings with all the visiting professors from BİLGİ and positive feedback was received.

### Visiting Fellows from Sciences Po Paris to BİLGİ:

The “Visiting Fellows” Activity of the INTERACT Project also provided for lecturers from Sciences Po to visit BİLGİ to give conferences, lectures and seminars, as well as to encounter BİLGİ academics.

*-The visits of Prof. Dr. Riva Kastoryano from Sciences Po, November 20 – 21, 2008.*



During her stay at BİLGİ, Riva Kastoryano also participated in the “European Integration” course as a guest lecturer and spoke about “Transnational Networks and Political Participation: the Place of Immigrants in the EU”. Prof. Kastoryano discussed the role of transnational participation in defining transnational solidarity, its function in forming a European identity and citizenship, and the relations between transnationalism and the nation-states. The lecture created, once again, a very inquiring and enthusiastic debate among the students, with plenty of questions.

During her second visit to BİLGİ in March 2009, Prof. Riva Kastoryano was a guest lecturer in the undergraduate course on “Society and Politics”, familiarising the students with the concept of transnational nationalism with a focus on voluntary associations of minorities and the Muslim minority in Europe. The Muslim minorities in Europe have created a transnational space, something we witness in this region as nationalism without boundaries. In her presentation, Riva Kastoryano argued that the minorities help form re-territorialisation in terms of Islam and a recentralization of identity in a culturally pluralist region around a common Islamic identity.



*-Visit of Prof. Dr. Bertrand Badie to BİLGİ, May 2009.*



Professor Bertrand Badie gave his first lecture at BİLGİ within the framework of the departmental seminars organised by the International Relations Department at BİLGİ. The lecture was attended by a captivated audience of more than 100 academics and students from the IR Department and the European Institute. Prof. Badie presented the distinctive features of the French academics’ approach to the field of international relations. He argued that the most important characteristic of the French approach is its scepticism towards the realist approach of international relations. This approach argues that international relations is not only about power politics, and criticises the realist approach as an incomplete interpretation of world politics. Bertrand Badie also argued that the colonial history of France has influenced the field, and that anthropology has shaped the French approach to international relations. As a final comment, Bertrand Badie spoke about Gaullism as a feature of this approach, highlighting that soft power is crucial in Gaullism. In general terms, one sees that the French approach to international relations has been very much influenced by fields such as history, sociology and law.



As part of his visit to BİLGİ within the framework of the INTERACT Project, he joined a public debate on the “Crisis of Multilateralism” held at the Pera Museum as a guest of IFEA on 7 May 2009, where Prof. İlber Ortaylı and Prof. Jean Marcou also participated as speakers.

*-Visit of Prof. Dr. François Bafail to BİLGİ in May 2009.*

On 22 May 2009, Professor Francois Bafail was a guest lecturer in the graduate course on “Enlargement and the European Neighbourhood Policy”, where he gave a seminar on transition to democracy in the Central and Eastern European countries. In this seminar, François Bafail argued that Europeanisation in Central & Eastern European countries was not actually a top-down process, but a bottom-up one. Another interesting point raised by Prof. Bafail was the historical lack of national sovereignty in this region where the countries curiously wanted to be members of the EU very shortly after gaining their sovereignty. He also analysed transition in this region in three phases and introduced a model of Europeanisation. In the second part of the lecture, Prof. Bafail concentrated on the cohesion policy of the EU and its impact on the CEECs, pointing specifically at the fact that discrepancies between regions are increasing.



# “The French Approach to International Relations”

**Bertrand Badie**  
(Professor, Sciences Po Paris)

Date: **May 06, 2009**  
Venue: **Istanbul Bilgi University Dolapdere Campus, B51**  
Time: **15:00**  
Contact: **+90 212 311 52 40**  
e-mail: **refika@bilgi.edu.tr**  
Organized by **Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute**



**KONFERANS**

## ÇOK TARAFLILIKIN KRİZİ

**BERTRAND BADİE**  
(SİYASET BİLİMİ PROFESÖRÜ, SCIENCES PO, PARİS)

**İLBER ORTAYLI**  
(TARİH PROFESÖRÜ, TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESİ BAŞKANI)

Morsözcüde  
**JEAN MARCOU**  
DEVLET HUKUKU PROFESÖRÜ – IFEA

Konferans dili: İngilizce  
Bu konferans, Avrupa Komisyonu'nun "AB-Türkiye Sivri Toplum Diyalogu" hibe programı tarafından desteklenen "INTERACT-AB, Fransa, Türkiye Üniversite Diyalogu" projesi kapsamında, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Avrupa Birliği Enstitüsü ve Fransız Anadolu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü (IFEA) tarafından, Pera Müzesi'nin katkılarıyla düzenlenmiştir.

**7 Mayıs 2009, Perşembe**  
Saat: 18:00-20:00  
Yer: Pera Müzesi  
Meşrutiyet Cd. Adesi, No:65 34433 Tepebaşı-Beyoğlu

Organizasyon:  
www.don@ifea-istanbul.net  
bilgi@bilgi-istanbul.net

## Doctoral/Post-doctoral Research Fellows Exchange

March 2009 – November 2009

The INTERACT project provides for academic exchange and dialogue at many levels. Another interesting activity supported by the project was the selection of two Doctoral /Post Doctoral Fellows—one from Turkey and one from France—who were offered a six-month academic stay at BİLGİ and at Sciences Po.

*-Maya Arakon as the Post-doctoral Research Fellow from Turkey at Sciences Po, Paris*



Maya Arakon was selected as the post-doctoral fellow from Turkey to occupy a post at Sciences Po. She is an assistant professor of Political Science at Yeditepe University, and her proposed research topic is “National identity and Minority Issues in Turkey and the European Union: a comparative analysis on the Western-European experience and the Kurdish problem in Turkey”.

Ms. Arakon started her research in March 2009, and will be holding office in Sciences Po from May until September 2009. She is currently engaged in her field work, doing interviews and literature review. Besides her research, she is actively involved in the academic life at Sciences Po. Among others, she has given a conference in debate format, where she spoke about, “Why do national minorities demand independence? Comparison of the Basque country and Turkey”.

*-Laurent Vinatier as the Post-doctoral Research Fellow from Sciences Po at BİLGİ*



Laurent Vinatier was selected as the post-doctoral research fellow from France for a six-month stay at BİLGİ's European Institute. Laurent has a PhD degree in Political Sciences, and is currently affiliated with the Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Internationales (CERI) of Sciences Po. His research topic is entitled, “Diasporas and Clandestine Networks between Political Projects and Criminal Practices”. He started his research within the scope of the INTERACT project in early June at BİLGİ. Besides his research, Laurent Vinatier has contributed to the INTERACT Summer School, where he lectured on the “Impact of Nabucco Project Pipeline on Turkish-Russian Relations”.

### Expert Task Force: PhD Students' Meeting at BİLGİ

January 2009, İstanbul /  
September 2009, Paris

#### Aim:

The INTERACT Project also planned to foster dialogue among a selected group of Turkish and French PhD candidates and recent PhD holders. The “expert task force” group was selected by a committee composed of academics from BİLGİ, IFEA and Sciences Po after an open call, on the basis of presented research and statement of purpose.

The group convenes twice (at BİLGİ and at Sciences Po) to form a network to establish links between young academicians from both countries researching themes that are within the remit of the INTERACT Project. The meetings are designed to provide a common space for academic interaction and hence promote socialisation and academic know-how on specific themes.

#### Participants:

The expert task force group held its first meeting at BİLGİ on 30 January 2009. The participants and the titles of their presentations were as follows: Nicolas Monceau (**University of Grenoble**), Debating Democracy in Turkey and Europe: Turkish Elites' and Public Opinion's Political Attitudes; Odile Bour (**Sciences Po/Munster**), Turkey as a German-Polish place of memory; Yasemin Ural (**EHESS**), The Funeral Practices of Franco-Turcs and the Burial Place: Turkey or France?; Erhan Akdemir (**Ankara University**), Formation of European Identity and the Religion Factor; Ali I. Aydın (**Sciences Po**), “Catholic Europe” vis-à-vis the Turkish EU Candidacy; Özge Genç (**BİLGİ**), Democracy and Religion in Turkey: Does piety bring political Islam?; Pelin Bingöl (**Istanbul University**), Identity Factor in Europe and in Turkey: EU Consciousness and Turks' Membership to the EU; Simone Weske (**Sciences Po**), The Public Opinion-Policy Nexus on Turkey's EU Accession: A Franco-German comparison; Loubna Lamrhari (**University of Montpellier**), Franco-Turkish Relations at the End of the Ottoman Empire and Under Atatürk: The Perceptions of “New Turkey” (1903-1938) by the French Army; Lisa Montmayeur (**University of Grenoble**), Turkey-Greek Civil Societies: From an Actual History to Actual and Local Partnerships; Benoit Montabone (**University of Rennes II**), Enlargement and Cohesion: the Turkish Case; Deniz Kut (**Bogazici University**), Interdependence, Rivalry and Cooperation: Nabucco Project and the Politics of Energy Security; Hamdi Gargin (**Free University of Brussels**), Resistance to Europe in the Municipal Administration system in Turkey: The concept of Public Space as Normative Approach”; Catherine Palpant (**Sciences Po**), Analysing Social Policy Change in Turkey: Does Cognitive Europeanization Apply?



#### Program:

The one-day meeting was opened with a speech by Prof. Ayhan Kaya, European Institute Director at BİLGİ and INTERACT Project Coordinator. The meeting was moderated by Senem Aydın Düzgüt from BİLGİ and Nicolas Monceau from Grenoble and Fribourg Universities. The presentations and the lively debate lasted through the late hours of the day.

# Joint Research Project

February 2009 – August 2009

## Content:

An interdisciplinary and comparative research project was undertaken by BİLGİ and Science Po researchers aiming at the comparative analysis of different forms of regional development within the context of EU membership in selected underdeveloped regions of a founding member state (France), a recent member state (Poland) and a negotiating candidate country (Turkey). The cities of the selected regions include Valenciennes in the Nord/Pas de Calais region in France, Katowice in the Silesia region in Poland and Karabük in the Black Sea region of Turkey. The common denominator of these cities is their characteristic as old industrialised cities with coal mines, facing high rates of unemployment with de-industrialisation and hosting populations of approximately 150,000 people. The joint research on regional governance within and on the way to the EU focuses on the institutions and the tools for regional development such as administrative infrastructure for use of EU structural funds at regional/local level, elaboration and implementation of regional/local strategies via different types of exchanges between the different administrations and partnerships with public, private and non governmental actors. The joint research also concentrates on the tools for regional development and the methodology for their use. (Since 2007 the tools for regional development are ERDF and ESF, implemented via a large use of civil society dialogue and inclusion of the civil society in the decision-making process.). Hence the topics of the research concern multilevel



governance (horizontal and vertical exchanges), the forms of partnership (including the role of the civil society) and the methods of implementations of the structural programs.

## Aim:

The joint research activity is relevant to the goals of the action both in terms of facilitating academic know-how through collaborative academic activity between EU and Turkey and in demonstrating the commonality of challenges and the solutions required in fostering the socio-economic development of the societies in underdeveloped regions under the EU umbrella, hence promoting further grounds for common inter-societal understanding within the EU and between EU and Turkey.

## The team:

The joint research project which has a duration of nine months, headed by BİLGİ and Sc Po, in association with the Graduate School for Social Research (GSSR) at the Center for Social Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences (associate institution in the action helping in the organisation of the fieldwork in Poland) is nearly over. The project team is composed of a team leader from Sc Po (Prof. François Bafoil) and a team leader from BİLGİ (Prof. Ayhan Kaya). The field work and the two resulting workshops are now over and the teams are currently finishing the preparation of the book to be published in December 2009, which will be the concrete output of this activity.

François Bafoil and Ayhan Kaya were supported in the field work and research by Senem Aydın Düzgit, Lecturer at BİLGİ's European Institute, Aysu Acar, research assistant for Karabük and Valenciennes, and Frederic Durand in Katowice.

Two workshops held during the joint research project allowed for reviewing, planning and discussing the findings of the research. The first workshop held at BİLGİ on 15 December 2008 was more an operational meeting dedicated to the planning and mapping out of the concrete work packages for the Joint Research Project. The second workshop held at CERI on 26 June 2009 was dedicated to the presentation of the studies revolving around the issue of regional development in different contexts, with the intention of stimulating the exchange of academic know-how on the topic.



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The workshop provided an opportunity for the following presentations: "General Presentation on Regionalisation in Europe" and "Regionalisation Process in France" by Romain Pasquier, "Regionalism in Eastern European Countries" by Catherine Perron, "Regionalism in Turkey" by Elise Massicard, "Valenciennes: The Restructuring Process" by Ayhan Kaya and Senem Aydın Düzgit; "Katowice: The Case of a Metropolitan Area" by Frederic Durand.

## NGO Workshop Series: French – Turkish NGOs Meeting

May 2009, Istanbul / September 2009,  
Paris

Civil society institutions play a significant role in raising awareness throughout the greater society in mutual understanding and tolerance through providing information obtained via mutual interaction. Two workshops (one at BİLGİ, one at Sc Po) were planned within INTERACT with the aim of bringing together civil society representatives from Turkey and France to enhance communication and understanding between the two sides; contribute to debates on the future of civil society in Europe within the scope of the debates on multiculturalism, diversity and state-society relations; disseminate information on the implications of Turkish accession on Turkey and on the EU within the scope of highly acquis-dependent selected EU policies such as agriculture and the environment; and to pave the way for future cooperative activities/projects between civil society institutions.

### Participants:



The first of the NGO Weekend Schools was held at BİLGİ on 16-17 May 2009 and brought together a total of 29 NGO representatives from France and Turkey selected following an open call. The NGO representatives from the following organisations participated in a very lively and interactive event organised with the support of BİLGİ's NGO Training and Research Centre and the two trainer/moderators Laden Yurttagüler and Avi Haligua: AITEC, Migreurop, CMİL, ACORT, Echanges et Partneriats, GİSTİ, AEC France, Amorces, FSQP, No Vox, Act Up France, Helsinki Citizens' Assembly/Refugee Support Program, İnsan Hakları Ortak Platformu, İstanbul Mahalle Dernekleri Platformu, Uçan Süpürge, Küresel Eylem Grubu, Sosyal

Haklar Derneği, Adana Kalkınma İnsiyatifi, Af Örgütü, Çevre Hukuku Derneği, Development Center Association, Hacı Bektaş Veli Anadolu Kültür Vakfı, İnsan Yerleşimleri Derneği, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Gençlik Çalışmaları Birimi, STGM, TOG, YAKA-KOOP.

### Aim:

This activity is aimed towards the NGOs working on the basis of advocacy with a rights-based agenda in different fields in France and Turkey to discover ways of collaboration with each other on various levels. The trainers and the project team agreed that during the workshops, a strategic mapping exercise would be used as the methodological tool to display the network of relations within which the NGOs work. At the end of this program, participants are expected to be able to offer concrete suggestions on the ways their organizations can collaborate/work together with the counterpart organisation in Turkey/France. The first of these meetings was designed as the first step in realizing the above mentioned goals.

More concretely, at the end of this program, the corresponding NGOs will be able to:

- Share information and knowledge on the civil society of Turkey, France and Europe,
- Build bridges of network and communication,
- Increase the capacity of working with each other,
- Strengthen the already existent relations,
- Use 'strategic mapping' as a method for building strategies.



### Program:

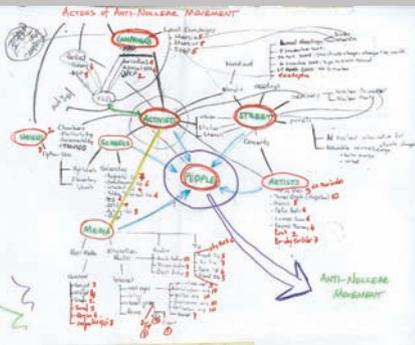
The first day of NGO Weekend School I started with a group building session where participants briefly presented themselves and their expectations from the workshop program. At the beginning of the session, a short introduction was made by Kerem Çiftçioğlu on the general framework and goal of the INTERACT project and the specific goal of the workshop program within that larger context.

This was followed by a module of discussion on civil society, moderated/facilitated by Avi Haligua and Laden Yurttagüler. Participants were first asked to write their definition of civil society in small groups, and then to present these definitions. Presentations were then transformed into debates, and trainers extracted features of civil society that emerged from those debates. The aim of this module was to unite the group around a common language on minimum common denominators - not necessarily a single agreed definition - of civil society.

In the second part of the day, Burak Arıkan, the trainer who is an expert on software programming, network mapping and visual arts, introduced the basic definition, concepts, and uses of network mapping. He then asked the participants to individually draw maps picturing any concept of relations that has a relation to their lives. This exercise was intended to introduce and familiarize the group with the logic of mapping before the following day's group exercise.

Based on the feedback of the many French NGOs, the second day started with each participant doing more in-depth presentations of their respective organisations, and of their expectations from the workshop. Each of these presentations was recorded, to be posted on the blog website built specifically for the workshop series.

The second part of the second day started with a group exercise on network mapping. The participants joined groups around common themes of their choice, which eventually were: i) environment, ii) human rights, iii) urban transformation, and iv) women's rights. Each member of each thematic group was asked to bring their own institution's network into the collective map built around the common theme. Hence, organisations working on different but related areas were able to identify, analyse and learn about each other's working relations. At the end of the exercise, the map of the environment group was the case selected in order to transfer the relational data represented on it into the software program written by Burak Arıkan. This digital image produced by a software program, fed with the simple relational data from a hand-written map, demonstrated the potential this method proposes for identifying, analysing, working on and coordinating the relations and interactions of actors within civil society.



The program was finalised with a brief presentation of what the expectation would be of the project team from the participants until the next workshop, which will be held in Paris on 19-20 September 2009. The participants were informed that relational data on the works of NGOs would be demanded in a survey method in order to prepare the ground for more detailed exercises in the second workshop.

## Thematic Conference: Comparative Perspectives on Managing Diversity: EU, Turkey, France

December 2008, Istanbul



### CIVIL SOCIETY DIALOGUE CONFERENCE SERIES - I

Comparative Perspectives on Managing Diversity:  
EU, France and Turkey



December 04, 2008, Thursday  
Istanbul Bilgi University - İSTANBUL  
Dolapdere Campus, BS2, 09.30 - 13.00

Speakers: Alain Dubuy, Anne-Marie Le Gloannec, Aydın Uğur, Ayhan Kaya, Christine Moro, İnci Atas, Jean Marcou, Joerg Baudner, Nihal İncioğlu, Nora Şeni, Riva Kastoryano, Seda Erden.



The launch conference of the INTERACT project took place on 4 December 2008 at BİLGİ's Dolapdere Campus. During the conference, speakers conveyed their experiences regarding the local, national, regional and transnational aspects of managing diversity.

### Content:

In the first panel, national practices from France, Germany and Italy as well as regional and transnational policies of Europe were analysed, while the second panel approached Turkey's approach to managing diversity from different focal points.

The conference started with the remarks of Prof. Dr. Aydın Uğur, Rector of BİLGİ, referring to the founding principles of BİLGİ in committing to the democratic values of Europe. He pointed to the distinction of European values as a collectivity, ready to be picked up and developed by any society. On this point he marked the importance of initiatives, such as the INTERACT project undertaken by European Institute, in building bridges with such values for contributing to Turkey's democratisation.

Seda Erden, Sector Manager of Culture and Audiovisual Policy Department of the Delegation of the EU Commission to Turkey, informed the audience of the grant programs of the Commission, with specific emphasis on the Civil Society Dialogue grant.

After the opening speeches, project coordinators Ayhan Kaya (European Institute Director), Nora Şeni (IFEA Director) and Riva Kastoryano (Professor at Sciences Po) described the ways in which this project fits with the overall self definition and role of their respective institutions.

### Panel 1:



Panel 1 started with the presentation of Alain Dubuy, Vice Consul of France in Istanbul, entitled "The European Pact on Immigration and Asylum". Mr. Dubuy started by juxtaposing some of the main features of immigration to the EU. He then traced the milestones of the efforts of Europe to have a common policy on immigration and asylum, starting from Schengen to the Pact on Immigration and Asylum. He finished his remarks with a few words on the Pact itself, and the

French Presidency's interest in a common policy.

The second speaker, Prof. Dr. Riva Kastoryano, presented "Multiculturalism in France: Contradictions in Theory, Policy and Practice". She emphasised the divergences at the discursive and practical levels in the French model of diversity management, showing that despite the official discursive denial, the policy and practical reality in France tell a different story. In this untold story of managing diversity, France indeed borrows from the school of multiculturalism in dealing with its own social diversity.

The third paper of the panel was from Prof. Dr. Jean Marcou, senior researcher at the French Institute of Anatolian Studies. In his paper entitled "The Regional Issue in France and in Europe", he presented the main reforms carried out in France since the early eighties and compared how regional diversities have been managed in Europe. In his conclusion, Jean Marcou drew attention to the importance of adapting to the specificities of each country's political history and culture in the process of regionalisation and decentralisation of the states' administrations.

The last piece of the first panel by Joerg Baudner, lecturer at the International Relations Department of İstanbul Bilgi University, was entitled "European Politics and Regional Challenges: the cases of East Germany and Northern Italy". In his presentation, he looked at the similarities and differences in the regionalisation processes in the cases of Northern Italy and East Germany, especially in conjunction with the policy and funding support of the EU

### Panel 2:



The second panel started with Prof. Dr. Anne Marie Le Gloannec of Sciences Po, speaking on "The Union, its Member States and Turkey: Accommodating Diversity." In dealing with the question of the Union's ability to accommodate diversity—that is,

diversity of socio-economic development, diverging historical paths and experiences and different political cultures—Prof. Le Gloanec examined the political criteria laid out by the governments and the EU Commission and the political acceptance by public opinion(s) regarding mainly the membership of Turkey. She concluded that in terms of political criteria, in spite of the difficulties and intricacies inherent to this very asymmetrical system of relations, the mechanism of conditionality has been fairly successful in being able to welcome ten member states, whereas in terms of public opinion, there is more work to be done. While the Europeans should inform and debate, the Turkish government should reform and nurture a Turkish vision of Europe.

Alan Duben, Professor of Sociology at BİLGİ, presented his anthropological perspective on the issue of diversity, entitled “Dilemmas of Diversity in Turkey: An Anthropological Perspective”. Taking off from the *Ebru* project<sup>2</sup>-- which is not only a collection of photographs and exhibitions, but also a narration of Turkey’s multicultural social formation--he went on to make a distinction between two forms of expression of cultural identities: i) benign identities and ii) more demanding identities. He remarked that official state ideology not only allows room for expression, but also supports the representation of identities in silent, photogenic and rural settings in efforts to create a brand of Turkey as an inheritor of a rich culture. He identified the red line of this position as starting at the point where demands for rights are expressed, rather explicitly and righteously.

The final speaker of the conference was Prof. Dr. Nihal İncioğlu from BİLGİ. In her paper on “Local Governance and Decentralisation in Turkey”, she traced the recent history of decentralisation and local governance in Turkey. In analysing the shift of considerable power and resources to local governance since the 1970s, she identified the main drive not as a concern for democracy, but for efficiency in a context where municipalities have increasingly become a domain of power struggle. In conclusion, however, she kept her optimism with the observation that, despite the absence of democracy as a genuine agenda, at the end of the day the process of decentralisation itself is contributing to a slow but true process of democratisation.

<sup>2</sup> www.ebruproject.com

## Summer School on Managing Diversity in EU and Turkey

July 2009, İstanbul

European Institute organised a two-week summer school entitled “Managing Diversity: EU and Turkey”, held at İstanbul Bilgi University’s Dolapdere Campus on 15-31 July, 2009.

### Aim:

Within the remit of the INTERACT project, the target group consisted of the graduate students studying in EU-related fields. The summer school aimed to address students’ needs for well-informed and rational debates on Turkey and the EU, which could in turn foster more pluralist and inclusive notions of identity and belonging.

The academic objective of the summer school was to disseminate knowledge on the institutions and policies of the EU and Turkey in the course of Turkey’s accession process, with a specific focus on the role of civil society, public opinion, immigration, culture, democracy and foreign policy. The program also included extra-curricular activities such as visits to sites of cultural and historical significance, NGOs and civil society groups, as well as a boat tour on the Bosphorus.

### Target group:

3<sup>rd</sup>- and 4<sup>th</sup>-year undergraduate students and graduate students in the social sciences were the target group encouraged to apply. Following open



calls in Turkey and the EU countries, 134 applications were received and 20 graduate students were selected by the selection committee. Participation was open to both EU and Turkish nationals.

### Courses and Lecturers:

The Program of the INTERACT Summer School included lectures and interactive discussions with the following professors and EU experts:

Jean Marcou, IFEA, Senior Research Fellow and University of Grenoble

- Turkey’s EU Accession Process: Assets and Risks

Umut Özkırımlı, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

- Nationalism in Turkey: An Impediment to EU Accession?
- Nationalism in Turkey and Greece

Emre GÖNEN, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

- The History of EU-Turkey Relations
- EU Enlargement Policy: How does it Work?
- A History of Europe Revisited

Ayhan KAYA, İstanbul Bilgi University, Director of the European Institute, Department of International Relations

- Diversity in Turkey: A General Framework on Issues of Democracy in Turkey
- Issue of Migration within the Scope of Turkish Accession



Riva KASTORYANO, Sciences Po Paris, Center for International Studies and Research

- Turkish Accession in the French Debate: Islam, Immigration, Identity
- Multiculturalism in Europe and Turkish Accession

Joost LAGENDIJK, Former Member of European Parliament, Lecturer at Sabancı University

- EU Accession Negotiations with Turkey

Alain SERVANTIE, DG Enlargement European Commission

- European Public Opinion on Turkey: Challenges to Diversity
- The role of Civil Society and Communication in the Accession Process

Soli ÖZEL, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

- Diversification of Turkish Foreign Policy and its Implications for Turkey's Relations with the EU
- Turkey's Domestic Reform Trajectory: The Scope for Diversity

Samim AKGÖNÜL, Associate Professor, Strasbourg University and Galatasaray University

- Migrants and Descendants from Turkey in France: Behaviour and Discourse towards Turkey's Accession to the EU

Senem AYDIN DÜZGİT, İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute and Department of International Relations

- National Identity in Europe and Turkish Accession: Cases of France, Germany and the UK
- Construction of European Identity in the EU's Relations with Turkey: The Case of the European Institutions

Aslı Tunç, İstanbul Bilgi University, Vice Dean of the School of Communications

- Why Aren't We There Yet?: Turkey's Media Debates and Challenges Lying Ahead in the EU Process

Deniz McDonald, Central European University, Budapest

- Lessons Learnt? : The Use(s) of EU Conditionality in Central and Eastern Europe and Turkey

Özge Onursal, İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute and Department of International Relations

- Situating Turkey in Europe: A Historical Perspective
- Debates on Europeanisation

Laurent VINATIER, Sciences Po Paris, Centre for International Studies and Research

- Turkish-Russian Energy Politics and its Impact on the EU

The INTERACT Summer School concluded on 31 July 2009 with a certificate award ceremony where lecturers and students celebrated the end of a very active two-week programme.



## Permanent Course: IR 341: State Society & Religion taught by Prof. Dr. Jean Marcou

September 2008 – December 2008, İstanbul

Within the scope of the project, Prof. Jean Marcou taught IR 341: State, Society and Religion, an undergraduate elective course, during the 2008 fall semester.

this country in Europe, regarding its contemporary history (revolutions and restorations, democracy, colonialism, Vichy period, Resistance, Algerian war, May '68), its secular state (laicism, republicanism, human rights), its political system (semi-presidential system in a parliamentary Europe), its foreign policy (the tumultuous relations with the US, the Arabian policy of France), its territory (centralisation, regionalism and the revival of local languages) and its society (literature, cinema and politics). 45 students were registered for the course.

**Certificate Ceremony, İstanbul Bilgi University Dolapdere Campus, 14 May 2009**

41 students who passed the final examination were awarded a certificate by the French Ambassador H. E. Bernard Emie on May 14, 2009.

European Institute Director Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Prof. Jean Marcou from IFEA and IFEA director Nora Şeni were also present at the ceremony. The event was followed by a reception where the invited guests, BİLGİ lecturers and students participated.



### IR 341 STATE, SOCIETY and RELIGION (Fall 2008)

**About the course:** This course will focus on France, a key EU Member State, especially underlining and questioning in itself the specificity of this country in Europe, regarding its contemporary history (revolutions and restorations, democracy, colonialism, Vichy period, Resistance, Algerian war, May 68), its secular state (laicism, republicanism, human rights), its political system (semi-presidential system in a Parliamentary Europe), its foreign policy (the tumultuous relations with the US, the Arabian policy of France...) its territory (centralisation, regionalism and the revival of local languages) and its society (literature, cinema and politics).

**Short biography of the instructor:** Jean Marcou, Professor at Grenoble Institute of Political Studies, is presently a senior researcher at the French Institute of Anatolian Studies in İstanbul (IFEA - Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes-Turkey-www.ifea-istanbul.net) where he is in charge of the Observatory of the Turkish Political Life (Observatoire de la Vie Politique Turque - OVPOT - www.ovpot.blogspot.com). Coordinator of the French speaking Department of Political Science of Marmara University (Istanbul) from 1988 to 1992, he has also been the Director of the French Affiliation of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science and of the Master in EuroMediterranean Studies at the University of Cairo (Egypt) from 2000 to 2006.

**INTERACT - EU, France, Turkey Universities Dialogue Project**  
The course is part of the "INTERACT - EU, France, Turkey - Universities Dialogue" Project, implemented by İstanbul Bilgi University, under coordination of Secretary General for EU Affairs. The project's overall aim is to contribute to the enhancement of dialogue between the publics of Turkey and the European Union. This will mainly be achieved through long-term sustainable collaboration between the partners of the project İstanbul Bilgi University, Sciences Po-Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris and Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes. The project, which has a duration of 18 months, covers a large number of activities such as scientific exchanges of academics, two weekend schools, a summer school, meetings of an experts network, three thematic conferences, a multidisciplinary joint research project and a variety of publications (working papers, books, reports).

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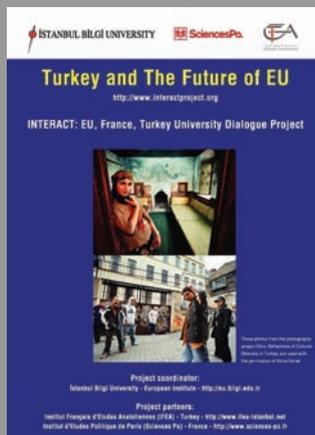


This course focused on France, a key EU Member State, underlining and questioning the specificity of

# Publications

## Brochures:

Two sets of brochures were printed in February, with 1000 copies of each. One set was written in English and French, to be distributed to the French audience through our partners Sciences Po and IFEA, and the other set was published in English and Turkish for the Turkish audience. The title of the first set was Turkey and the Opportunities of Membership, which listed the benefits that Turkey's membership would bring to the EU. This brochure targeted the French audience. The title of the second set was Turkey and the Future of Europe; in which the desired attributes and capabilities in building the EU were listed.



In the process of finding visual material for the brochures, we contacted the creators of the photography project EBRU: Reflections of Cultural Diversity in Turkey. In this project, Atilla Durak had embarked upon eight years of work to prepare a photographic narrative on the cultural diversity in Turkey. The photographs he had compiled during his years of fieldwork in literally all parts of Turkey provide unique colours of cultural diversity in Turkey. These pictures matched the central thematic issues of our project that were raised in

different activities, namely, multiculturalism and managing diversity. The general intention of the brochures was to disseminate information to the French and Turkish audience on the value of Turkey's membership to the EU. On this account we found it suggestive to have photos on these brochures that reflect the cultural diversity of Turkey as a plus to the idea of an EU project that values diversity. The texts of both brochures can be downloaded at <http://www.interactproject.org/?m=12>

## The INTERACT Project Website:

Project sub-site

<http://www.interactproject.org>

was launched in November 2008. All the calls for applications and proposals for the project activities had been announced via this website. The website is composed of six sections; i) home, ii) about the project, iii) the team, iv) project documents, v) project activities and vi) research papers. The most active parts of the website are currently the two sections of home and project activities. In the home section, the news and announcements about the project activities are regularly posted, whereas in the project activities section, there is a list of the activities, with links to their contents.

## Joint Research Book Publication

### Forthcoming

As the output of INTERACT's *Joint Research Project*, an edited publication with articles analysing the transformation in regionalisation of three cities is envisaged: Valenciennes of France, Katowice of Poland, and Karabük of Turkey. With this publication, a comparatively larger literature and earlier experiences in cases of French and Polish cities is introduced, providing a fertile ground for policy analysis. As an outcome of this publication, it is expected that the bridge of

dialogue achieved through the research project between the French, Turkish and Polish academia will evolve into policy recommendations, and interaction among the governing actors of the countries. Indeed, there are already encouraging developments taking place in terms of governance cooperation between French and Turkish actors.

The book is being edited by the collaborative work of Prof. Ayhan Kaya and Prof. François Bafoil, and is planned to be published by the end of November 2009. It will be available in Turkish and in English.

## Publication of Project Final Edited Book

### Forthcoming

In the *Project Final Edited Book*, outputs from all the activities of the project will be edited into a compilation, which in a sense will tell the story of the *INTERACT Project*.

Pieces from Prof. Dr. Bertrand Badie and Deniz McDonald will pay tribute to the activities of *Visiting Fellows and Summer School* respectively. Lادن Yurttagüler will be informing about the process, content and lessons learned from the workshop series of *French and Turkish NGO Meetings*. Research studies of *Postdoctoral Research Fellows* Assist. Prof. Dr. Maya Arakon and Dr. Laurent Vinatier, and selected articles from the PhD participants of the two *Expert Task Force* workshops will also be presented.

The book is edited by Asst. Prof. Dr. Senem Aydın Düzgit and Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, and is planned to be published for November 2009. It will be available in Turkish and in English.



# İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

A Member of Laureate International Universities



Istanbul Bilgi University was founded in 1996 as a non-profit institution. With more than 10.000 students and a faculty of around 700, BİLGİ offers undergraduate and graduate programs in the social sciences, economics, business, communications, the arts and law. The language of instruction, except in the Faculty of Law, is English.

Istanbul Bilgi University is an associate member of the European University Association (EUA) and a member of the International Association of Universities (IAU). BİLGİ is also an active participant in the ERASMUS exchange network and has strong

academic affiliations with numerous universities abroad.

In 2006, BİLGİ joined the “Laureate International Universities Network” which provides a quality higher education on an international scale with more than 40 campus-based and online universities in North America, Latin America, Europe and Asia. With more than 130 undergraduate and post graduate (master’s and doctorate) programs in a number of career fields including engineering, education, business, health care, hospitality, architecture, communication and information technology; Laureate

serves more than 550,000 students in 20 countries, ranging from the USA, the UK, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Spain, France, Brazil, Chile and Mexico to China. Laureate is dedicated to helping students reach their highest potential and supporting their achievement of personal and professional goals. Bringing students a global perspective with a blend of multicultural and career-oriented educational experience is one of the cardinal goals of Laureate. Students are given the opportunity to choose from the institutions among the Laureate Network Universities suitable to their desired study program.

<b>BİLGİ Goes Global</b>	<b>Library</b>	<b>Faculty of Architecture</b>
<p>As a member of Laureate International Universities, İstanbul Bilgi University places great importance on the internationalization of its programs, student body and faculty. It offers joint degrees and maintains exchange programs with numerous universities especially in Europe and North America. Encouraging international student and faculty exchange, BİLGİ also offers a wide array of courses in English for international students during the academic year and organizes summer programs for international students at BİLGİ campuses.</p>	<p>BİLGİ Library offers an impressive collection of books, periodicals, e-books, e-journals, academic internet resources, music scores and other printed items. Extensive audio-visual and sound recording collections are also available.</p>	<p>Architecture</p>
<b>Laureate International Universities Network</b>	<b>Residence Halls</b>	<b>Graduate Programs</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• leading global network of 45 institutions of higher education spanning 20 countries with more than 550,000 students worldwide</li> <li>• grants undergraduate, graduate, and professional degrees in over 130 fields of study</li> <li>• a leader in many disciplines, including business, education, health sciences, hospitality, and medicine</li> <li>• facilitates the exchange of ideas among students, faculty, and staff worldwide</li> </ul>	<p>BİLGİ operates residential halls in the center of the city, offering a variety of room choices. The dormitory at Tophane is equipped with kitchenettes, laundry facilities, computer and study rooms. Daily room cleaning, breakfast and shuttle service to campuses are also provided. In 2009-2010 academic year, BİLGİ also opened Tophane Residence and Santral Residence.</p>	<p>LL.M. in Business Law  LL.M. in Human Rights Law  MA in Advertising Design  MA in Banking and Finance  MA in Comparative Literature  MA in Cultural Management  MA in Cultural Studies  MA in European Studies  MA in Film and Television  MA in History  MA in Human Resource Management  MA in International Political Economy  MA in International Relations  MA in Marketing Communication  MA in Media and Communication Systems  MA in Philosophy and Social Thought  MA in Psychology  MArch in Architectural Design  MSc in Mathematics  MBA  e-MBA  MFA in Visual Communication Design  MSc in Accounting and Auditing  MSc in Economics  MSc in Financial Economics  MSc in International Finance  PhD in Organization Studies  PhD in Political Science  PhD in Mathematics  PhD in Economics</p>
<b>Student Life</b>	<b>Academic Programs</b>	<b>School of Advanced Vocational Studies</b>
<p>Students at BİLGİ participate in numerous extracurricular activities, including various student clubs and sports. They are also engaged in university governance via the Student Union. The university provides emergency medical and psychological counseling services free of charge. The “Online Education System” provides students online access to course materials, messages and evaluations from their instructors at their personal computers.</p>	<b>Faculty of Arts and Sciences</b>	<p>Banking and Insurance  Business Administration  Business Administration (Distance Learning)  Finance  Health Services Management  Hospitality Management  Human Resource Management  Information Technologies and Programming  International Trade  Logistics  Media and Communication Technologies  Photography and Videography  Public Relations and Advertising  Radio and Television Programming  Sports Management</p>
<b>Campuses</b>	<p>Comparative Literature  Computer Science  English Language Teacher Education  Financial Mathematics  History  Mathematics  Music  Psychology  Sociology</p>	<p>(0212) 444 0 428  www.bilgi.edu.tr</p>
<p>BİLGİ is a city university with three innovative campuses located in central neighborhoods, offering easy access to social and cultural activities in İstanbul: Santral, Kuştepe and Dolapdere. BİLGİ campuses are equipped to provide for all the academic and extracurricular needs of students. Physical facilities comprise conference halls, film production, post-production, ensemble and recording studios, cinemas, a sports complex and student cafeterias.</p>	<b>Faculty of Communication</b>	
	<p>Advertising  Art Management  Cultural Management  Film and Television  Management of Performing Arts  Media and Communication Systems  Photography and Video  Public Relations  Television Reporting and Programming  Visual Communication Design</p>	
	<p>Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences</p> <p>Business Administration  Business Economics  Business Informatics  Economics  Economics and Management Honors  European Union Studies  International Finance  International Relations  International Trade and Business  Mathematics and Economics Honors  Political Economy and Social Philosophy  Political Science</p>	
	<b>Faculty of Law</b>	
	Law	