



BİLGİ EUROPEAN INSTITUTE
NEWSLETTER

2023-24 **16**

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Director, European Institute

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Vice-Director, European Institute

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Dear Friends,

It has been 16 years since the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University was established. Those years are gone with many ups and downs in the European integration process of Turkey. As an Institute, we have learned to be resilient and to continue our scientific work. We are happy to share with you our Newsletter 16. This issue contains information on the Institute's research activities, publications, conferences, workshops, graduate programs, social outreach projects, and opinions of our staff, and students.

The newsletter starts with a depiction of our events, blog posts, webinars, workshops, and conferences, together with the composition of our administrative structure. Subsequently, the Newsletter includes a detailed account of Dr. Özge Onursal-Beşgöl's Jean Monnet Chair on Diffusion of Norms and Turkey-EU Relations "BİLGİNormsEU". What follows afterwards is the ongoing projects and activities carried out in 2021-2022 by the European Institute. European Research Council PRIME Youth project and the Horizon 2020 project on migration cover first place in the Newsletter. You can find a detailed explanation of the ERC Advanced Grant research called "PRIME Youth: Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism". On the other hand, you will find some scientific interventions, activities, and tasks undertaken within the framework of these different projects at the European Institute.

The following part of the Newsletter is reserved for different activities, programs, publications, and testimonies revolving around the European Institute. Activities of the German Studies Unit run by Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı, DAAD Fachlektor, such as conferences, roundtables, workshops, and publications, are outlined in this part. You will also read the testimonies of Dr. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, who visited the European University of Viadrina in Germany to take his turn as the Aziz Nesin Chair in European Studies and the testimonies of our MA students in European Studies. The Newsletter ends with a list of publications, conference papers, seminars and activities performed by our colleagues.

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



Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya
Director
European Institute
Istanbul Bilgi University



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About the European Institute

The “European vocation” of BİLGİ has in fact led to the launch of the Centre for European Studies which, later in 2007, became the “European Institute”.

The European Institute undertakes in-depth research on EU politics and policies with a specific emphasis on diversity and pluralism.

Building on EU expertise acquired within BİLGİ, the European Institute is now the primary focus for the interdisciplinary study of processes of integration in the politics, legal systems, society and economies of Europe.

To this end, the European Institute supports interdisciplinary academic programs on EU studies and undertakes interdisciplinary research with primary focus on themes such as processes of integration, Europeanization, multiculturalism, diversity, and construction of European identities.

Besides many other EU-funded (numerous FP7 projects) and international projects, the Institute has been awarded a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence Award (2013), three Jean Monnet Chairs, and several other Jean Monnet modules and two Jean Monnet Learning EU at School Projects.

Recently, the Director of the European Institute Prof. Ayhan Kaya has been awarded an “Advanced Grant” by the European Research Council (ERC),

one of the most prestigious research institutions of Europe, for his project entitled “Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionisation of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe”.

Institute Staff

Prof. Ayhan KAYA (Director)

Dr. Özge ONURSAL-BEŞGÜL (Vice Director, Dept. of International Relations)

Dr. Ayşenur BENEVENTO (ERC Project Research Fellow)

Dr. Metin KOCA (ERC Project Research Fellow)

Dr. Fatma YILMAZ-ELMAS (MATILDE Project, Research Fellow)

Dr. Deniz Güneş YARDIMCI (DAAD Research Fellow, Lecturer)

Emre GÖNEN, MA (Dept. of International Relations)

Laurent BAECHLER (Director of the MAEIS European Integration and Global Studies, CIFE)

Didem BALATLIOĞULLARI, MA (Projects Executive)

Academic Board

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Prof. Erkan Saka (Dept. of New Media and Communication)

Dr. İdil Işıl GÜL (Faculty of Law)

Dr. Büke Boşnak (Dept. Of International Relations)

Executive Board

Prof. Aslı TUNÇ (Dept. of Media and Communication Systems)

Prof. Serdar KARABATI (Dept. of Business Administration)

Dr. Azer KILIÇ (Dept. of Sociology)

European Institute Website: <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr>

About the BİLGİ Fields of Excellence

In order to promote fields at the University that have become advanced in terms of scientific and social effect and ensure that these fields are recognized by all stakeholders, a decision was made to create fields of excellence at BİLGİ.

Not only will every field of excellence demonstrate a pioneering scientific quality in every study they have conducted or will conduct, but they will also exhibit an added value to society and present political suggestions to decision makers during political policy making processes. In other words, the designated fields of excellence will become a different aspect of BİLGİ known to the public.

The fields of excellence will be determined using an interdisciplinary approach and can be from fields of study outlined by departments, centers and/or institutes and can be from current ongoing studies. Additionally, for fields that lie outside of the current research center and research institutes’ areas of study, care should be given to choose pioneering fields that shed light on local and global issues that have become a problem and/or will become a problem in the future.

Pursuant to the review to be conducted by the Rectorate in accordance with the criteria outlined below, within the scope of the selected fields of excellence, the aim is to support not only every type of scientific study, but also studies that create an effect at the social and public level. To this end, the Rectorate will provide every kind of support for applications to be made to external university funds to convert the studies into large scale projects. Additionally, the chosen fields of excellence and the faculty members in these fields will be featured by the University in informative and promotional material distributed to the public and thus ensure they gain greater visibility in the public sphere.

As you are aware, such scientific research and publication focused endeavours like the Scientific Research Projects (SRP), the Research Track and the BİLGİ Research Development Innovation (RDI) have been managed successfully. The difference between BMA and current practices is that fields that have attained a certain level of maturity will become the visible face of the University to the public and will conduct studies that will have a direct influence on society and the public.

For these purposes, two separate applications made by the European Institute for "BİLGİ Fields of Excellence" were also accepted.

The "Radicalization Field of Excellence" has been accepted under the Scientific Impact Focused BMA, and the "European Studies Field of Excellence" has been accepted within the Social/Public Effect Focused BMA.

EUROPEAN STUDIES FIELD OF EXCELLENCE

Turkey’s integration process to the EU gained significant momentum between 1999 and 2005. It brought along significant structural and legal reforms. The accession of Greek Cyprus to the EU in 2004 and the magnitude of the political and economic cost of the negotiations that were initiated in 2005 along with other reasons first led to the scepticism of the political authorities and then the public. At this point, both in the EU and in Turkey, certain political, economic, and social ruptures are experienced. The researchers who work as part of İstanbul Bilgi University European Studies Field of Excellence will continue to contribute to the healthy progression of Turkey’s integration to the EU by organizing scientific activities, meetings, publications, podcasts, television programs, and social media activities in order to directly inform the public especially in those areas that Turkey needs during this period of ruptures. These studies will include issues such as Green Deal, modernization of Customs Union,

foreign trade policy, competition law, visa liberalization, Refugee Deal, dialogue with civil society, gender, lifelong education, migrant harmony policies.

TEAM

Prof. Ayhan Kaya - Department of International Relations (BMA Representative)

Prof. Ayşe Uyduranoğlu - Department of Economics

Assoc. Prof. Kerem Cem Sanlı - Department of Law Faculty Member, Özge Onursal Beşgül - PhD Department of International Relations

Faculty Member, Mehmet Ali Tuğtan - PhD Department of International Relations

Faculty Member, Büke Boşnak - PhD Department of International Relations

Faculty Member, Pınar Artıran - PhD Department of Law

RADICALIZATION FIELD OF EXCELLENCE

The terms radicalism, extremism, fundamentalism, and terrorism are used interchangeably in daily life and scientific literature. This equivalent usage is not surprising considering that we are living in an era characterized by populism and a Cartesian dualist understanding in terms of comprehending and conceptualizing social, economic, and political phenomena. This reductionist tendency also affects scientific thought. In addition to the facts that the scientific research uncovers, current findings demonstrate that policymakers, journalists, and people also use these terms as synonyms to label various social and psychological events. It is observed today that the concept of radicalization has mostly negative connotations. The researchers who work within the Radicalization Field of Excellence aim to discuss the radicalization arguments scientifically on the basis of the findings acquired from the studies that they conducted in Europe, Northern Africa, and Middle East in particular.

TEAM

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, International Relations (Representative)

Prof. Erkan Saka, Media

Assoc. Prof. Hasret Dikici Bilgin, International Relations

Assoc. Prof. Ulaş Karan, Law

Dr. Metin Koca, European Institute, Research Fellow

Dr. Ayşenur Benevento, European Institute, Research Fellow

Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı, European Institute, DAAD Research Fellow & Lecturer

JEAN MONNET CHAIR

Jean Monnet Chair on Diffusion of Norms and Turkey-EU Relations "BİLGİNormsEU"

Özge ONURSAL-BEŞGÜL
İstanbul Bilgi University



Dr. Özge Onursal-Beşgül has been awarded a Jean Monnet Chair in European Union Studies by the European Commission of the European Union (EU). Jean Monnet Chairs are funded under the Erasmus + Programme as three-year teaching and research posts for scholars specialising in European Union studies. Özge Onursal Beşgül will hold the Chair until 2025.

JM Chair on Diffusion of Norms and Turkey-EU Relations aims to focus on how norms at the EU level are constructed, diffused, and contested at the national level in different policy areas. The conceptual framework of norms diffusion will contribute to the diversification of the discussions on EU-Turkey relations,

where most of the focus is on conditionality and change with pressure.

As part of the project, three new courses were launched in the Spring 2022 and Summer 2022 academic terms: "International Organisations and Norms, "Selected Topics in EU-Turkey Relations", and "The EU in the World". During the first six months of the project, "Conversations on Europe and Turkey" seminar series were organised to bring together students with scholars working on contemporary issues in Europe and Turkey. The seminars were online and open to the public. In the coming months, public webinars will be held as well as a new podcast series will be organised. At the end of the project, all the project materials, including the contents of the courses and their outputs, will be shared with the public on the project's webpage. The project's goal, specifically addressing young people relatively new to European studies, is to ensure the emergence of different public perspectives on Turkey-EU relations.

Prof. Ayhan Kaya from the Department of International Relations and Prof. Ayşe Uyduranoğlu from the Department of Economics contribute to the project as senior researchers. The project team also includes Dr Mehmet Ali Tuğtan from the Department of International Relations (expert and advisor), Dr Büke Boşnak from the Department of International Relations (expert), doctoral candidate Veysi Kondu from Boğaziçi University's Department of Political Science and International Relations (expert), Doctoral candidate Bahar Özay from Boğaziçi University's Department of Political Science and International Relations (researcher) and doctoral candidate Suna Gökçe Kızılkaya from İstanbul Bilgi University's Political Science Program (researcher).

➔ Please click [here](#) to reach the details of the BİLGİNormsEU Project.

NEWS AND EVENTS

1 May - 1 June 2023

Jean Monnet Chair

"Conversations on Europe and Türkiye"

The seminar series organised by BİLGİNormsEU Jean Monnet Chair on Norms and Turkey-EU Relations.

Moderator:

Özge Onursal-Beşgül, Jean Monnet Chair

Speakers:

May 11, 2023 | Büke Boşnak

May 18, 2023 | Mehmet Ali Tuğtan

May 25, 2023 | Ayhan Kaya

June 1, 2023 | Ayşe Uyduranoğlu

8 December 2023

Workshop: “Diffusion and Contestation of Norms in Global Governance”

Call for Papers

“Diffusion and Contestation of Norms in Global Governance”

Organised by
BILGINormsEU: JM Chair on Norms and Turkey-EU Relations
European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University
in collaboration with the European Studies Field of Excellence

Workshop Highlights

This workshop focuses on the role of international organisations and the EU in the construction/diffusion of global/regional norms and how these norms are contested globally/regionally.

The workshop papers may focus on such questions as:

- What is the role of non-state actors, including the EU, in norm construction and diffusion in global governance?
- How are norms constructed and diffused? How does change happen, and what are the mechanisms of change?
- How can we methodologically study the construction and diffusion of norms? How can we trace the changes happening due to the norms constructed by non-state actors?
- How are norms contested in the process of diffusion?

Important Dates

- The due date for applications: 16 October 2023
- Announcement of the programme: 1 November 2023
- Workshop: 8 December 2023

For more information:
www.eu.bilgi.edu.tr

Funded by the European Union
European Institute
Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence
BILGI Fields of Excellence
Istanbul Bilgi University

Workshop on **Diffusion and Contestation of Norms in Global Governance** organised by Jean Monnet Chair on Norms and Turkey - EU Relations European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University in collaboration with the European Studies Field of Excellence.

This workshop focuses on the role of international organisations and the EU in the construction/diffusion of global/regional norms and how these norms are contested globally/regionally.

Within the framework of European studies, norm construction/diffusion was focused upon extensively in terms of the Europeanisation literature (see Radaelli, 2003). The process of Europeanisation is an example of an institutionalised form of regional norm diffusion. The EU’s sui generis nature also gives a unique power to it in the global arena: the construction of norms and the transfer of these norms. The Green Deal launched in 2019 is a vital example of this norm construction.

The scholarly works on Europeanisation initially emphasised norm diffusion with pressure, which occurs through the instrument of conditionality in the form of

a top-down process (see Grabbe, 2003). However, the latter literature has indicated that norm diffusion is more complex and dynamic than in the initial Europeanisation accounts (Bulmer & Radaelli, 2004). Diffusion happens horizontally and vertically, from the EU to the national level, from the national level to the EU level, from the national level to other national levels, and from the national to the societal level.

This workshop aims to shed light on this complexity by discussing the different mechanisms through which norms are constructed/diffused and contested by focusing on 1) how change occurs as a result of global/regional norms, particularly in policy areas where there is no direct pressure for change, and also 2) how norms are translated/reconstructed/deconstructed and contested in the process of change. In studying norms and diffusion of norms, we focus on three issues: identifying the global/regional norm in question, tracing their diffusion routes/mechanisms, and locating the actors/agents of the process (see Jacobs, 2015). 3) how norms are contested: actors, strategies and frames of contestation. The mere existence of a norm is not sufficient for change to happen. It is also essential for decision-makers to be aware of a particular norm, and norms, without a doubt, will always be contested in the process.

The workshop also scrutinises the relationship between de-Europeanisation and norm contestation. In polycrisis times, the political dynamics of the multiple and overlapping crises draw potential of current literature on norm contestation (Speyer & Stockmann, 2023; Wiener, 2018) in analysing how a norm is contested (e.g., gender equality, the rule of law, an environmental norm or norms in migration) by the EU and within the wider Europe. Norm contestation has institutional and discursive aspects and is intertwined with processes of de-Europeanisation.

Another tension to be scrutinised in this workshop is the conceptions of the EU as a normative and civilian power. As this dual identity interacts with the fault line between supranationalism and intergovernmentalism, the power relations in the EU affect its identity through some policy areas, such as the refugee crisis. In the face of the influx of refugees, the European Neighborhood Policy is struggling to balance the EU’s normative claims on the one hand and the security and geoeconomic concerns on the other (Manners, 2006; Bachmann, 2013). The resulting policy responses and agreements have been at odds with the EU’s normative aspirations, raising questions about the coherence of its normative power. This workshop adopts an interdisciplinary perspective on norms diffusion and contestation. It aims to bring the non-state actors of world politics to the centre stage by

discussing their role in shaping global governance. The workshop papers may focus on such questions as:

What is the role of non-state actors, including the EU, in norm construction and diffusion in global governance? How are norms constructed and diffused? How does change happen, and what are the mechanisms of change?

How can we methodologically study the construction and diffusion of norms? How can we trace the changes happening due to the norms constructed by non-state actors?

How are norms contested in the process of diffusion?

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- Jacobs, A. M. (2015). Process tracing the effects of ideas. In A. Bennett & J. T. Checkel (Eds.), *Process tracing: From metaphor to analytic tool*. Cambridge University Press.
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- Wiener, A. (2018). *Contestation and Constitution of Norms in Global International Relations*. Cambridge University Press.

Paper proposals

Please send your paper abstract and a short bio to the European Institute (europa@bilgi.edu.tr) Please submit your application as a single PDF file.

Paper proposals should include the following:

Abstracts of 500 words
Short bios of 200 words

Important Dates

The due date for applications: 16 October 2023
Announcement of the programme: 1 November 2023
Workshop: 8 December 2023

The Organizing Committee

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Department of International Relations
Prof. Ayşe Uyduranoğlu, Department of Economics
Assoc. Prof. Kerem Cem Sanlı, Department of Law
Faculty Member, Özge Onursal Beşgül, PhD Department of International Relations
Faculty Member, Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, PhD Department of International Relations
Faculty Member, Büke Boşnak, PhD Department of International Relations
Faculty Member, Pınar Artıran, PhD Department of Law
Faculty Member, Ali Alper Akyüz, PhD Department of Arts and Cultural Management

14 December 2023

Jean Monnet Chair Webinars: “EU Sustainable Blue Strategies and Implications for Türkiye”

Jean Monnet Chair Webinars

EU Sustainable Blue Economy Strategies and Implications for Türkiye

December 14, 2023 - Thursday
17:00-18:00
Online

Moderator:
Özge Onursal Beşgül

Speakers:
Sibel Sezer
Ayşe Uyduranoğlu

European Institute
Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence
Erasmus+
Istanbul Bilgi University

The seminar series organised by BILGINormsEU Jean Monnet Chair on Norms and Turkey-EU Relations.

Moderator:

Özge Onursal- Beşgül, Jean Monnet Chair

Speakers:

Sibel Sezer & Ayşe Uyduranoğlu

NEW PROJECTS

Project Name: (ValEUs) ERASMUS-JMO-2023-NETWORKS

Jean Monnet Policy Debate: Foreign policy issues: Values and Democracy

In recent years, the EU has faced unprecedented challenges to live up to its mission to create a peaceful future based on common values. Despite the incorporation of foundational values into instruments of global governance, societal actors have increasingly opposed both the methods by which the EU propagates its values and the values themselves. Understanding contestations is of utmost importance, not only for the resilience of the EU but also for its future role on the international scene.

ValEUs main objectives are (1) to enquire into the various contestations of the EU values and provide a realistic account of EU Foreign Policy; (2) to learn more about potential and successful counterstrategies to contestations and develop an alternative policy agenda; (3) to promote a new role for universities as responsible actors, as laboratories for democracy and committed partners to endangered regions, such as Ukraine.

ValEUs convenes 21 partner institutions from 18 countries and five continents. All institutions have a strong expertise in EU Studies across a wide range of academic disciplines and share the mission to build collective research capacity (WP3), develop innovative teaching collaboration (WP4) and engage in impactful societal policy debate (WP5), resulting in policy recommendations for EU and non-EU stakeholders. The consortium will create a common Peer Review Platform (WP2), organise academic conferences, co-teaching projects in cooperation with Ukrainian Global University, student laboratories for democratic participation and policy debates with civil society and political stakeholders. Moreover, it will disseminate and communicate project results through the project webpage and effective communication channels targeted to different stakeholders (WP6). Network insights will be published in working papers, policy briefs and a regular newsletter. For a greater public ValEUs will edit a MOOC and a dedicated podcast.

Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute

Team:

Ayhan Kaya
Özge Onursal Beşgül

Project Budget: 1.195.140.00 EUR

ValEUs Consortium Partners:

- 1-STIFTUNG EUROPA-UNIVERSITAT VIADRINA FRANKFURT (ODER), Germany
- 2-UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, USA
- 3-ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITESI, Türkiye
- 4-UNIwersytet im. ADAMA MICKIEWICZA W POZNANIU, Poland
- 5-UNIVERSITE AL AKHAWAYN D'IFRANE, Marocco
- 6-Doshisha University, Japan
- 7-V. N. Karazin Kharkiv National University, Ukraine
- 8-PRIVATE INSTITUTION UNIVERSITY KYIV SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, Ukraine
- 9-Libertas International University, Croatia
- 10- NAZARBAYEV UNIVERSITY, Kazakhstan
- 11-ROSKILDE UNIVERSITET, Denmark
- 12-RUTGERS, THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY, USA
- 13-PANEPİSTİMIO AIGAIU, Greece
- 14-UNIVERSITEIT VAN AMSTERDAM, The Netherlands
- 15-UNIVERZITET U BANJOJ LUCI, Bosnia Herzegovina
- 16-UNIVERSITA DEGLI STUDI DI FIRENZE, Italy
- 17-UNIVERSIDAD DE GUADALAJARA, Mexico
- 18-FUNDACION UNIVERSIDAD DEL NORTE, Colombia
- 19-UNIVERSITE PARIS 8 VINCENNES SAINT-DENIS, France
- 20-SVEUCILISTE U ZAGREBU, Croatia

Project Name: (PLEDGE) Politics of Grievance and Democratic Governance

Contemporary politics is angry and vengeful, with affective polarization and uncompromising antagonisms posing a significant challenge for European democracies and their governance. PLEDGE interprets political grievances as emotional signals of disaffection, frustration and insecurities that can develop into either anti- or prodemocratic outcomes. By engaging in collaborative research design and implementation involving academics, policy-makers, civil society actors, and citizens, the PLEDGE project intends to offer new understanding of anti- and pro-democratic trajectories of political grievances, and to co-create tools and practices of emotionally intelligent and responsive democratic governance and policy communication that promote prodemocratic forms of civic engagement.

The project will provide a framework of the emotional mechanisms of anti- and prodemocratic grievance politics that explain dynamic interrelations between the emotions, values, and identities of citizens and groups, and empirically decode the psychological, sociocultural, and political drivers of these emotional mechanisms into operationalizable measures and indicators, focusing on 11 countries and 3 major crises (pandemic, war in Ukraine, climate/energy crisis).

PLEDGE will achieve these objectives through a cross-national interdisciplinary research project involving 15 partners and its policy outputs, co-created and piloted in design coalitions, will inform democratic innovation of processes and practices and incorporate emotions in the designed-for outcomes, thus improving their efficiency.

Partner Institution: European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University

Bilgi Research Team

Ayhan Kaya (PI ve WP1 Leader)
Pınar Uyan-Semerci
Emre Erdoğan
Researcher

Project Budget: 3.160.000 Euro

PLEDGE Consortium Partners

- 1-HELSINGIN YLIOPISTO (UH), Finland
- 2- LUNDS UNIVERSITET (ULUND), Sweden
- 3-FREIE UNIVERSITAET BERLIN (FUB), Germany,
- 4-ETHNIKO KAI KAPODISTRIAKO PANEPISTIMIO ATHINON (NKUA), Greece
- 5-UNIwersytet warszawski (uniwarsaw), Poland
- 6-VRIJE UNIVERSITEIT BRUSSEL (VUB), Belgium
- 7-UNIVERSITAT DE VALENCIA (UVEG), Spain
- 8-INTERNATIONAL PSYCHOANALYTIC UNIVERSITY BERLIN GGMBH (IPU Berlin)
- 9-ISTANBUL BILGI UNIVERSITESI (BILGI), Türkiye
- 10-TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KUTATOKOZPONT (CSS), Hungary
- 11-PETRO MOHYLA BLACK SEA NATIONAL UNIVERSITY (PMBSNU), Ukraine
- 12-STIMMULI FOR SOCIAL CHANGE (STIM), Greece



European Research Council
Established by the European Commission



NATIVISM, ISLAMOPHOBISM AND ISLAMISM IN THE AGE OF POPULISM: CULTURALISATION AND RELIGIONISATION OF WHAT IS SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL IN EUROPE

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

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

CONTACT BİLGİ PRIME Youth Project

www.bpy.bilgi.edu.tr

[Twitter](#)

[Instagram](#)

Prof. Ayhan Kaya, faculty member of İstanbul Bilgi University's International Relations Department and Director of the European Union Institute has been awarded an "Advanced Grant" by the European Research Council (ERC), one of the most prestigious research institutions of Europe, for his project entitled "Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the

Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionisation of what is Social, Economic and Political in Europe".

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

Research Summary:

The main research question of the study is: How and why do some European citizens generate a populist and Islamophobic discourse to express their discontent with the current social, economic, and political state of their national and European contexts, while some members of migrant-origin communities with Muslim background generate an essentialist and radical form of Islamist discourse within the same societies? The main premise of this study is that various segments of the European public (radicalizing young members of both native populations and migrant-origin populations with Muslim background), who have been alienated and swept away by the flows of globalization such as deindustrialization, mobility, migration, tourism, social-economic inequalities, international trade, and robotic production, are more inclined to respectively adopt two mainstream political discourses: Islamophobia (for native populations) and Islamism (for Muslim-migrant-origin populations). Both discourses have become pivotal along with the rise of the civilizational rhetoric since the early 1990s. On the one hand, the neo-liberal age seems to be leading to the nativisation of radicalism among some groups of host populations while, on the other hand, it is leading to the islamization of radicalism among some segments of deprived migrant-origin populations. The common denominator of these groups is that they are both downwardly mobile and inclined towards radicalization. Hence, this project aims to scrutinize social, economic, political, and psychological sources of the processes of radicalization among native European youth and Muslim-origin youth with migration background, who are both inclined to express their discontent through ethnicity, culture, religion, heritage, homogeneity, authenticity, past, gender, and

patriarchy. The field research will be comprised of four migrant receiving countries: Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, and two migrant sending countries: Turkey and Morocco.

Since the beginning of the project in 2019, we have prepared various reports including literature reviews on radicalisation, focusing on the various approaches to the concept, and literature reviews shedding light on the dynamics of the Moroccan diaspora. Our field researchers have also prepared city narratives providing in-depth reviews on the political, economic, and socio-cultural dynamics in Cologne, Aalst, Lyon, and Amsterdam after WWII.

About the European Research Council

The ERC's mission is to encourage the highest quality research in Europe through competitive funding and to support investigator-driven frontier research across all fields, on the basis of scientific excellence.

The ERC complements other funding activities in Europe such as those of the national research funding agencies, and is a flagship component of Horizon 2020, the European Union's Research Framework Programme for 2014 to 2020. Being 'investigator-driven', or 'bottom-up', in nature, the ERC approach allows researchers to identify new opportunities and directions in any field of research, rather than being led by priorities set by politicians. This ensures that funds are channeled into new and promising areas of research with a greater degree of flexibility. ERC grants are awarded through open competition to projects headed by starting and established researchers, irrespective of their origins, who are working or moving to work in Europe. The sole criterion for selection is scientific excellence. The aim here is to recognise the best ideas, and confer status and visibility on the best brains in Europe, while also attracting talent from abroad. However, the ERC aims to do more than simply fund research. In the long term, it looks to substantially strengthen and shape the European research system. This is done through high quality peer review, the establishment of international benchmarks of success, and the provision of up-to-date

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The ERC aims to:

- Support the best of the best in Europe across all fields of science, scholarship and engineering
- Promote wholly investigator-driven, or 'bottom-up' frontier research
- Encourage the work of the established and next generation of independent top research leaders in Europe
- Reward innovative proposals by placing emphasis on the quality of the idea rather than the research area
- Raise the status and visibility of European frontier research and the very best researchers of today and tomorrow

What is 'frontier research' and what are its benefits?

Today the distinction between 'basic' and 'applied' research has become blurred, due to the fact that emerging areas of science and technology often cover substantial elements of both. As a result, the term 'frontier research' was coined for ERC activities since they will be directed towards fundamental advances at and beyond the 'frontier' of knowledge. The ERC aims to bring about a wide range of benefits in the following ways:

- By creating open and direct competition for funding between the very best researchers in Europe, the ERC will enhance aspirations and achievements. It will enable the best ideas and

talents to be recognised from a larger pool than exists at national level.

- The ERC's competitive funding will be able to channel funds into the most promising new fields, with a degree of agility not always possible in national funding schemes.
- The ERC aims to stimulate research organisations to invest more in the support of promising new talents - the next generation of research leaders in Europe
- On the economic side, the ERC will help nurture science-based industry and create a greater impetus for the establishment of research-based spin-offs.
- From a societal perspective, the ERC could provide a mechanism for investing rapidly in research targeted at new and emerging issues confronting society.

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

#LendThemYourEars



Lend Them Your Ears: Developing an Inclusive Research Activity to Co-Create with our Participants

We designed our research project to understand how European youths, native or migrant-origin, respond to the flows of globalization resulting in de-industrialization, unemployment, depopulation, geographical mobility, social-economic deprivation, spatial deprivation, and nostalgic deprivation

Our participants rely on diverse and occasionally clashing repertoires to express their discontent with the current social, economic, political, and spatial conditions. So far, however, we observed that they do not necessarily speak their minds in mutually exclusive terms.

In our interviews, we frequently come across profound and nuanced expressions that, we believe, are worthy of being shared widely outside of our academic publications. The quotes presented in this section make us think, even though we do not always agree with their content, rhetoric, or the terminology on which they rely. While processing their arguments in various ways in our research, we aim to keep our interlocutors' voices as they want them to be heard as we believe we should be opening up conversations, not closing them down.

As Robert Young pointed out earlier in his seminal work, *White Mythologies* (London: Routledge, 2004: 5), it is not that *they* do not know how to speak, "but rather that the dominant would not listen." In that spirit, we are very excited to introduce this new series where we

share excerpts from our in-depth interviews. Listening and learning should be a staple of public debate. Therefore, we lend our ears to the often overlooked, ignored, unheard, or politically corrected voices. At the same time, this will serve as a platform for students, experts, and stakeholders who seek ways to make our societies more equal.

Adım


Ben üç şey biliyorum;
Dinlemekle dört kılana
anlatacağım.

Özdemir Asaf

Step

I know three things;
I will tell them to the
one who makes it four
by listening.

Özdemir Asaf (Translation: Ayhan Kaya)

Lend Them Your Ears is one of the initiatives we started to share our research participants' unfiltered experiences... You can now access the complete presentation file of LTYE 

<https://bpy.bilgi.edu.tr/media/document/2022/12/15/ltye-pdf.pdf>

Acknowledgements

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Selected Blog Posts from the BPY



Maghreb migration: Policies lacking a compass

Prof. Mehdi Lahlou

BİLGİ PRIME Youth Project Advisory Board Member
University Mohammed V, Morocco

The week of February 21, 2023, [i]

Starting from the beginning of the year, what has been happening in Tunisia with regard to the migration issue is staggering brutality and irrationality on the part of officials – in fact, the Tunisian President – of a country known and recognized until recently, and so rightly, by its wisdom, its humanity and the measure of its leaders.

Attacking migrants, especially those from the African continent, by inviting some extreme right concepts such as invasion, population replacement, and conspiracy is marked by stigmatization and ostracization. In addition, it is totally unfounded and also counterproductive. This is particularly likely to turn against Tunisian migrants and other North Africans around the world—in Europe, among others.

An impulsive approach, weighted with a triple error:

First, regarding statistical data, the number of sub-Saharan migrants in Tunisia is neither millions nor hundreds of thousands. According to the most reliable estimates, it would be between 25,000 and 40,000 people in 2023. Or, at best – if it is allowed to write – less than 0.3% of the total Tunisian population. A rate not very far from what is observed in Algeria as in Morocco.

Then, in terms of objectives, the primary desire of almost all sub-Saharan migrants present in Tunisia, as in Morocco or Algeria, is to find their way to Europe. To the extent that no migrant is attracted by an economic situation that offers neither employment nor a decent income to live on. As all field surveys prove, the Maghreb is the final destination of only a very small proportion of migrants. And, in terms of migration policy, a State governed by the rule of law, or, at the very least, somewhat reasonable, does not combat migration, however irregular it may be, by inspiring in its population feelings of hatred and rejection of foreigners that they would ultimately be unable to curb.

In reality, the response to the official message on migration conveyed since the end of February 2023 was given by Tunisian civil society – e.g., women, young human rights activists, academics, and other trade unionists, etc. – which, while expressing its solidarity with migrants, has enlightened the subject of more rational interpretations and analyses related to the real drivers of migration, particularly in Africa.

And, in fact, if a few tens of thousands of citizens of sub-Saharan African countries seek annually to leave their native soil for Europe or elsewhere, now transiting mainly through the Maghreb, including Tunisia, it is because Africa continues to be this open-pit mine where former European settlers such as Russians, Chinese Americans, and many others, come to use – whatever the discourse used to cover it – by leaving some dust, literally and figuratively, to Africans. The example of Niger, a country of both uranium and poverty, is one of the perfect illustrations. Moreover, such extractive work is not limited only to the subsoil, but extends to the forest, fisheries resources, and increasingly to human skills. Thus, depriving Africa as a whole is one of the main drivers of its future development.

In addition to political factors known to all, which contribute to the widespread work of predation, there are some of the reasons why in 2022, Africa, which represents 18% of the world's population, contributes only less than 3% of the world's gross product. And this is where the real scandal of poverty and migration lies, not elsewhere or so little. This is where the real conspiracy is exercised: transforming Tunisia into an "African country", when it already is by the laws of nature, is not a conspiracy; but removing Africans' economic values while claiming to protect, respect, or

sometimes love them is. Possibly, to attract the most competent – as the strongest were selected before – to cover here and there the job needs of certain economic sectors now called "under stress", especially in a position of a sharp decline in birth rates in most developed countries, both European and Asian.

To put it differently, such a reality demonstrates the essence of what fuels African migration – not considering the effects of global warming or the violence that consumes entire regions of the Sahel and beyond. Thus, any objective analyst is today obliged to note that, from the French ecologist René Dumont and his "Black Africa is off to a bad start" (1962), to the Swiss Jean Ziegler, and his "Low Hand on Africa" (1978), Africa, in its large dimensions, has not changed economically since the independence of the 1950s/1960s. It has only become more numerous and more abrasive... Torn between Bolloré-style tycoons (see the script at the end) and mercenaries' new trend, like the Wagner group, a modernized Russian-style copy of the groups commanded until 1995 by the Frenchman Robert Denard[ii]. Fragmented, as it remains, between Royal Dutch Shell and Total Energies, a group whose 20.8 billion euros in profits made in 2022 exceed the annual budget of several countries from which it extracts "its" oil. Oil is often transshipped fraudulently, to the high seas, beyond the control of the States concerned. In pure trickery, it is as if one leaves a restaurant without paying for his meal, and not just once.

The awareness of these truths, intangible today, requires reversing the reasoning to reverse, as the jurists would say, the burden of proof. In other words, it is a question for the political powers in Africa, including the Maghreb, as in Europe, to ask themselves the real questions to one day provide the right answers. So, who is responsible for what, and what phenomenon is at the origin of what other phenomenon? Clearly, here, with regard to the migration issue, why are these young Africans leaving, and more and more numerous, despite the reinforcements of all borders? And since they are deprived of jobs and reasonable chances of living decently at home, why will we continue discussing economic migration? In this sense, wouldn't so-called economic migrants also be refugees in search of a right? The essential right to live, the right to life.

Of course, such a right is neither easy to support nor easy to achieve. But many means, other than security or

border armor, exist for this. Such means can only be found, when it comes to migration across the Maghreb, at the diplomatic, political, and, ultimately, economic levels, at three levels:

First of all, the means available to the Maghreb countries, from Mauritania to Libya:

As everyone knows, while Morocco was one of the first promoters and signatories (in 2018) of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration, Tunisia endorsed it timidly when Algeria – like Matteo Salvini's Italy or Trump's United States of America or the Austrian far-right government, to name but a few – refused to endorse it. This is because it would limit its sovereignty in terms of managing migration flows at its borders and on its territory. At the same time, starting in 2019, it would be the initiator of what has been happening in recent weeks in Tunisia. In some cases, bad practices seem easier to duplicate than good ones. And not only in terms of migration, in this particular case.

However, building and conducting a common Maghreb migration policy based on reliable and verifiable data is unavoidable. And this is what a group of academics and Maghreb associative and administrative leaders have tackled as part of a research network called NAMAN [iii], founded, precisely in Tunis, in July 2019. This network - totally autonomous both in its approach and its reflection, at least as far as its Moroccan and Tunisian components are concerned - always claimed to maintain that:

- Knowledge of the figures on the ground and the real reasons for migration (economic, social, security, environmental, etc.) is an absolute prerequisite for any policy aimed at managing/administering them in one direction or another.
- Significant and politically sustainable and, above all, enforceable to all the partners concerned, in the rest of Africa as well as in the countries of the European Union, cannot be carried out in the field of migration (as in many other economic, social and security areas) in the countries of North Africa without a Maghreb approach. An approach that considers all the parameters involved, all their implications, and

all their repercussions, on each of the Maghreb countries, but also their Sahelian neighborhood more or more distant.

- It remains necessary to build the Maghreb strengthened by its economic integration and truly democratic institutions. This is needed to improve the standard of living and the living environment of its populations, whose propensity to emigrate irregularly will diminish. This will then serve as a relay of development for the whole of sub-Saharan Africa, from which it will be able to receive and provide a dignified living for a large number of migrants rather than erecting North Africa, from the Mauritania-Senegalese border to the Egyptian-Libyan border, as a rampart or wall of advanced protection of the European space from its external southern border. This goes against the words of thanks to Brussels or Strasbourg.

The means available to Africa as a whole:

Outside its walls in Addis Ababa and outside the statutory meetings of its bodies, the African Union seems to be involved neither in the continent's economic, social, and scientific development nor in the migration problem that deprives its various countries of their vital forces.

However, just as the European Union is gradually being built to protect its economic interests, its productive sectors, its production tools, and its space against "uncontrolled migration", the African Union must be able to draw up rules limiting the unbridled exploitation of the continent's resources, protecting its forests, its coasts, and its soils, its waters; guaranteeing a fair balance between what is taken by foreign companies and what is left to nationals and the budget of local states, between what goes to capital and what goes to work. It must also be able to propose a continental migration policy that better protects the lives and dignity of African migrants – whatever their mode of migration – and that makes it possible to negotiate with Europe different parts of its policy in this area, particularly with regard to so-called chosen migration by putting on the table the principle of compensation, both financially and in the form of technology transfer, covering part of the costs of training African skills incurred by all European economic and social sectors,

from health to catering.

The relations between Africa and Europe, between the African and European Unions

The current management of migration flows from Africa—with the thousands of tragedies, it induces in the Mediterranean—would have little to no significant effect on the ground if it did not take into account the drivers of the two fundamental parameters of population growth and poverty on the continent. [iv] This is what largely determines the propensity of young people to leave their continent. And if the policy does not consider that the control of the demographic variable depends on the reduction of poverty, determined by the adoption of other economic and social policies and new Euro-African relations, the result will not be different from those over the last 50/60 years.

In the context of such a reorientation of development policies in Africa and in view of the new relations to be established between the countries of the European Union and those of the African Union, the global changes in behavior and mentality must be based on the need to:

- To admit that the widening of economic, trade, social, educational, and scientific imbalances between the North and the global South is one of the most important sources of crisis in the African countries with which Europe is in contact or with which (as is the case with some Maghreb countries) it is today linked by various trade agreements or free trade areas.
- To realize that the future of Africa is now a matter of great concern, and not only because of the irregular migration flows it causes. Consequently, the parties must initiate an international plan or program of "Rescue" in favor of the "black continent", like what was for Europe, the American Marshall Plan, at the end of the 2nd World War, which had destroyed it as much as impoverished. Europe is, so to speak, at the gates of Africa and it would be inconceivable for it to consider itself out of reach of the tragedies this continent suffers a little more each year. Africa will remain a matter of great concern if nothing significant is done to help it find solutions to face its multiple crises and if, in the first place, the actors do not cease

the different forms of exploitation to which Africa's multiple resources are subjected.

- To consider that it is better to find the means, within a Euro-African partnership framework, to redirect military and security spending in Africa towards agricultural, educational, scientific development projects, etc., rather than continuing to imply that the security and/or military have solved the problem of terrorism and irregular migration. The availability of financial resources for armies and armaments proves that the question of economic and social development in Africa is essentially a political one.

From all this, it follows that no one is plotting against Tunisia, Algeria or Morocco to transform them into what they already are. Namely, African, Arab and Muslim countries by geography and history. As it is clearly established that the only real conspiracy to which all three of them are subjected, at various levels, is that of their underdevelopment as well as that of the multiple crises – including poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy – that most of the African continent lives with and in parallel with them. Forced migration is only a sub-phenomenon attached to all this. However, no problem is solved if its main variables are not validly and accurately listed, and exposed beforehand.

Vincent Bolloré, a French multimillionaire and now a committed man of the extreme right, took advantage of the wave of privatizations imposed in Africa by the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank and the IMF in the 1990s to win the bet and gradually built his fortune. The group he chairs, Bolloré Africa Logistics – which has enjoyed the support of French presidents of both the right and the left – is important in West Africa in particular. Present in 42 ports, it manages container terminals, from Douala (Cameroon) to Pointe-Noire (DRC), Cotonou (Benin), Tema (Ghana) and Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire). It also operates in 16 container terminals on the continent, through PPPs (public-private partnerships). At the same time, it has a network of 85 maritime agencies: including 74 African agencies, spread over 32 countries. The Bolloré Group is also the main shareholder of Socfin – a holding company registered in Luxembourg – which owns industrial oil palm and rubber plantations in Cameroon, Liberia, Cambodia, and Côte d'Ivoire. Since 2008, the planted areas of Socfin's African companies have increased from 87,000 to more than 108,000 ha between 2011 and 2014. An increase of 24% is at the expense of the local communities' lands, thus multiplying tensions, according to the NGO ReAct. However, if V. Bolloré withdraws from what is

called "hard power" with the activities mentioned above, it remains extremely present on the continent, through the Vivendi group and its subsidiaries, Canal+ and Havas. The latter still allows the businessman to deploy his network, especially via telecommunications and the Internet.

Endnotes

[i] Date of the Tunisian president's statement qualifying migration of African origin of conspiracy against his country. Newspapers.

[ii] Robert Denard (7 April 1929 – 13 October 2007) was a French mercenary. He was involved in many coups d'Etat in Africa from the period of independence around 1960 until 1995.

[iii] NAMAN, initials for Network Academics and Researchers on Migration in North Africa. Network, supported by ICMPD (International Centre for Migration Policy Development), and declined in National Committees in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

[iv] According to the International Migration Organization, 29,000 migrants died trying to cross the Mediterranean between 2014 and the end of December 2022. That's an average of nearly 2,400 deaths per year.



The Market of Religions in Europe: Governments still get it wrong

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January 11, 2023

*This blog post includes short excerpts from [the author's forthcoming publication](#) entitled "Religiosities in a globalized market: Migrant-origin Muslims' self-positioning in Europe beyond the sending and receiving states' politics of religion" in *Nativist and Islamist**

Radicalism: Anger and Anxiety eds. Ayhan Kaya, Ayşenur Benevento, and Metin Koca (London: Routledge, 2023).

In Europe, migrant-origin Muslims are approached by their countries of origin not simply as relatives but also as a means of influencing European politics. Alongside reproducing the community ties, a primary venue for these countries to exert influence in Europe is that of religious repertoires. The countries with ethnically or nationally marked diaspora communities in Europe, such as Turkey and Morocco, export their official religions through theology programs, state-funded mosques, government-backed religious organizations, and charities. Meanwhile, the ideologically and economically self-confident states without a nationally defined community in Europe, like Saudi Arabia and Qatar, target the same migrant-origin communities to spread a more transnational message, be that in the form of (post)Wahhabi-Salafism or Muslim Brotherhood.

Beyond this well-known state-level power politics, less hierarchical and more decentralized religiosities arise among Muslims. Some go for the spiritual, mystical, or esoteric aspects of religion, some prioritize faith-related ethical questions, and others integrate non-religious ideologies in circulation into their religious beliefs (e.g., the vegan Muslims quoting al-Bukhari to argue that animals should never be killed). In this saturation of the religious field, migrant-origin Muslims' socialization at mosques funded by their countries of origin is far from representing a clear-cut process of religious indoctrination. However, their changing needs and interlocution processes with non-Muslims and Muslims of different origins in Europe are overlooked both by the sending states and the receiving states.

The religion market: Neoliberal and Marxist alternatives, and the nuances

First things first: *what does the religion market stand for?* It has been decades since this metaphor became a debate among economists[i] and sociologists of religion, [ii] starting from the Anglo academia. In the neoliberal approach to globalization, the word market symbolizes the free movement of religious repertoires in harmony with the other marketplaces. Assuming religion to be a freely exchangeable commodity, the free-market explanation starkly contrasts with Marxist alienation theories. [iii] Introducing the power relations, the latter

interprets religion as part of the superstructure maintaining the means of domination and, as such, a defect to be surrounded, contained, and eventually overturned—i.e., secularization. However, instead of leading simply to non-religion, secularization coupled with neoliberal globalization contributed to a new market of global religious fundamentalisms decoupled from local-territorialized cultures. Now, the fear of fundamentalism brings together right and left-wing European politics around the desire to build national religions.

Both centralized (i.e., those promoted by the migrant-sending states) and decentralized representations of Islam (i.e., those that appear online or in relatively microcosmic environments) have been taken as threats in Europe: the former as a religious-nationalist foreign infiltration (e.g., “the Gray Wolf radicalization”), and the latter as Pandora’s box, including violent extremisms (e.g., “the ISIS radicalization”). What adds to the confusion is that the former seems to have appeared as a side-effect of the campaign against the latter. An illustration of this degradation is the gradually worsening image of the Turkish High Board of Religious Affairs branch in Germany, the Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs, DITIB. [iv]

Among the organization’s most recent collaborative activities in Europe was providing imams for Germany’s prisons and teachers for religious education at schools.[v] The teamwork is increasingly contested after the failed July 15 coup in Turkey as various authorities from Rhineland-Palatinate, North-Rhine Westphalia, and Baden Württemberg accused DITIB of conducting intelligence activities on behalf of Turkey.[vi] With its spillover effect, a Europe-wide public debate questioned if Erdoğan managed to mobilize his relatively new ultranationalist allies, known as Gray Wolves, with the state-led (DITIB) or private (*Milli Görüş*, en. National Vision) religious organizations. [vii] The funding of mosques from abroad has also been securitized by others in Europe, including German, Austrian, Dutch and Belgian authorities at various administrative levels. [viii] Before all else, Macron promised to build a republican “French Islam.” Not paying attention to the nuances, his policy does not distinguish between Muslim communitarianism and violent religious extremism.

While promoting an imagination of national Islam, the governments overlook the nuances in their migrant-origin citizens’ activities at mosques funded by their countries of origin. In my contribution to [the PRIME Youth edited collection](#), I questioned the relationship between acculturation strategies and migration-related risk factors led by the feelings of discrimination, such as internalizing (i.e., anxiety) and externalizing problems (i.e., aggression). In this contribution, I argue that mosque socialization does not purely signify a religious indoctrination process but often serves as an antidote to total social secession. Rather than a clear-cut religious indoctrination, the gatherings include alternative knowledge claims over intergenerational and gender relations, nationalism and ethnocentrism, and traditions in the country of origin.

Recasting the Community Ties at Mosques

In the PRIME Youth project, the narratives I analyzed made it clear that mosque attendance met “not necessarily a religious need, but a need to belong to something” (Interview-France, 2020, March 6). For instance, one interlocutor recalled her distress with her secondary school teacher who had claimed that “Germans are smarter because of their genes” (Interview-Germany, 2020, September 28). When she reported the incident, the mosque community members believed her account of the incident, whereas the head of the school did not find it convincing.

More broadly, the mosque appears in our interlocutors’ narratives as a reflection of cultural nostalgia, a center of basic services such as funeral procedures, a medium of civic activity to form charities, a place to organize leisurely activities—e.g., kermises and movie days—an economical option for school tutoring, or a political network. Despite frequenting mosques, many interlocutors had problems with the religious expertise claimed by the mosque authorities. A noteworthy illustration is İlayda’s struggle in the DITIB community. “You are born into [DITIB],” said İlayda about her ties with the organization as a Turkish-origin German citizen. The discussion sessions and preaches about the borders of acceptable diversity provoked fundamental disagreements between herself, her parents, and the organization. Although she continued to attend the organization meetings at the time of our interview, she started to “question things they say” (Interview-Germany, August 4).

The diaspora communities also include individuals who problematize the traditions settled in their countries of origin. Instead, they are busy with the relatively decentralized and non-hierarchical approaches to the belief system: “the Turkish nationalists [...] want to help some people prior to others, but this is not what Islam means” (Interview-Belgium, October 23). Especially in topics of religious ethics, our research participants occasionally recalled the intergenerational (e.g., parent-children) and intracommunal (e.g., among Turkish-origin people) tensions.

In conclusion, these arguments have implications for state-led religious reform or conservation projects. A community of believers who feel discriminated against will not accept the terms imposed by the state authorities. After all, these authorities share the blame for externalizing and internalizing problems exemplified above. Structuring national Islams following the state officials’ words is likely counterproductive for the self-identification of migrant-origin individuals. On the other hand, the sending states’ religious personnel, lacking the awareness of European specificities, will not be able to “conserve” their official religion in the diaspora either. Both sides miss the saturation of the religious field in Europe.

Endnotes

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5 October 2022

Seminar

“Approaches to Youth Radicalisation: A comparative glance from the Maghreb to Europe.”

On October 5, 2022, PRIME Youth Advisory Board Member Mehdi Lahlou delivered a speech entitled “Approaches to Youth Radicalisation: A comparative glance from the Maghreb to Europe.” Professor Mounir Zouiten of University Mohammed V (Morocco) acted as the discussant.



Professor Lahlou’s lecture at İstanbul Bilgi University problematized the approaches to youth radicalization, with a particular focus on Morocco and France. Lahlou’s main focus was the weight and evolution of Moroccan migration.

Lahlou’s framework was based on a combination of “external” and “internal” factors behind the radicalization of the Moroccan youth, and the debate centered particularly on Islam. Lahlou argued that many countries in the Maghreb – as in the MENA region - have experienced, from the late 1970s and early 1980s, a rise of religious conservatism coupled with a process of radicalization of a small but increasingly visible part of its (young) population. According to him, the process was embedded in a context marked by international and domestic economic, social, and political developments. Among the external events, the wars of Afghanistan (from the late 1970s to nowadays), as well as the more

recent wars in Iraq (from 2003) and Syria (from 2011), played a role in shaping the Arab (and Muslim) public opinion. Lahlou claimed that world politics experienced a civilizational turn after the 1970s, starting from the Petrol Crisis. The transformation had been amplified by the conjunction of socio-economic and political factors, rendering the arguments on “Political Islam” more attractive for many, especially youth. According to Lahlou, the focus on Islam offers a simple explanation for the suffering of Muslim populations, pointing at their distance from the “true values of Islam” and the hatred of Westerners towards them.

Among the domestic factors are the increase in poverty among the population, the deepening of wealth inequality, youth unemployment, high illiteracy with a burden especially on women, and the weak health system. Lahlou presented lucid examples of how each of these factors led to widespread grievances. Lahlou also mentioned several qualitative, intangible, cultural, and political issues destabilizing “traditional” political parties, including the left-wing parties.

Describing Morocco as one of the main emigration countries to Europe, particularly France, Lahlou argued that radicalization became a matter both in the country and its migrant population elsewhere. Accordingly, most of the young people who left in search of better jobs and living conditions in Europe after the 1980s found themselves working in unskilled, low-paid jobs and living in downgraded neighborhoods. They were being subjected frequently to racism, xenophobia, and stigmatization. Under these circumstances, the first and second generations gradually entered a new phase of downgrading and rejecting foreigners from the Arab world, including Morocco, on the one hand, and identity withdrawal and communitarianism, on the other.

PRIME Youth’s Principal Investigator Professor Ayhan Kaya questioned how the meaning of radicalization changed over the course of five decades. Accordingly, the term was perceived in the 1970s and 1980s as socio-political opposition to the notions of capitalism and democracy. Since then, radicalization has been framed as an Islamist resurgence. Prior to 9/11, radicalization was meant to be Muslims espousing an anti-Western, fundamentalist stance. After 9/11, the term started to be loosely used by some Muslims as a synonym for “anger.”

Professor Mounir Zouiten contributed to Lahlou’s thesis by emphasizing the globalization of social media after the 1990s. According to Zouiten, the “religious revival” among young people is also a result of the “digital alienation,” which caught young people in Morocco in the form of religious radicalization. The trend of religiously inspired radicalization of young people is now fueled through digital platforms (media, social networks, and the Internet). A new form of Muslim radicalism arises in this context, using the Internet as a vehicle for communication and indoctrination.

During the Q&A session, PRIME Youth postdoctoral researcher Metin Koca questioned the ruptures in the last five decades as an alternative to Lahlou’s historical structural analysis. According to Koca, the uncontrollable nature of the digital medium has unintended consequences for countries interested in promoting their forms of Islam. Despite being open to manipulations, this medium ensured that young Muslims in Europe interact with a globally circulating religious repertoire in accordance with their needs in Europe rather than the Saudi or Qatari interests. Koca also questioned the methodological limits of de-Islamizing the public debate through social research. Upon Lahlou’s description of Moroccan society as a religiously conservative one, PRIME Youth postdoctoral researcher Ayşenur Benevento questioned the ways to reverse the ascendancy of such values in Morocco. The meeting participants included the PRIME youth research team in Istanbul and the selected members of the İstanbul Bilgi University International Relations and Sociology Departments. Professor Lahlou and Professor Zouiten had a campus tour before the event.

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Reported by *Metin Koca*, ERC PRIME Youth Project Post-Doc Researcher, European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University.

25 January 2023

Seminar

“Same Same but different? Islamist & Nativist Radicalism”

Ayhan Kaya visited Humboldt University to discuss the co-radicalization in Europe.

On January 25, 2023, the PRIME Youth PI Ayhan Kaya gave a lecture entitled “Same Same but different: Islamist & Nativist Radicalism.”

In the event organized by the Berlin Institute for Empirical Integration and Migration Research (BIM) and the D:ISLAM project, Professor Kaya discussed the current processes of co-radicalization in Europe. The other participants of the organization were the host member Dr Özgür Özvatan (Berlin Humboldt University), the panelists Prof. Gökçe Yurdakul (Berlin Humboldt University), PD Dr Liriam Sponholz (The German Center for Integration and Migration Research, DeZIM), and Dr Cihan Sinanoğlu (DeZIM).

Prof. Kaya has shared with the audience some of the findings of the ERC research and his thoughts about the similarities between nativist-populist youth and essentialist Muslim youth in Europe. Following his

speech, there was a panel discussion with the participation of Prof Gökçe Yurdakul (Berlin Humboldt University), Dr Liriam Sponholz (DeZIM), and Dr Cihan Sinanoğlu (DeZIM). The panel was moderated by Dr Özgür Özvatan (Berlin Humboldt University). Criticizing the neoliberal forms of governmentality that are often based on civilizational rhetoric compartmentalizing what is social into religious and ethno-cultural zones, Prof. Kaya underlined the socio-economic, political, and psychological similarities between these youth groups who have been so far researched by social science researchers in two separate clusters.

Referring to the first-hand testimonies of young European Muslims living in metropolitan cities (Berlin, Cologne, Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels) and young European nationalists living in non-metropolitan towns (Dresden, Aalst, Ghent, Rotterdam, Lyon), Prof. Kaya explained the root causes of their processes of radicalization, alienation, and discontent that lead to a distrust in mainstream politics and political parties, essentialization of ethno-culturalist-nationalist-nativist and/or religious identities, and appeal to the past, heritage, and myths that flatten the difficulties of the present in the age of populism.

Panellists made their remarks about the talk and raised questions to Prof. Kaya. While Prof. Yurdakul raised issues of gender and the role of the state in radicalization processes, Dr Sponholz underlined the prevalence of Islamophobic discourse since September 11, 2001. Dr Sinanoğlu asked where racism stands in all these discussions. There were also some questions asked by the audience, mostly PhD students and post-doc researchers at Humboldt University. Prof. Kaya stated that deradicalization works should be initiated more by the NGOs rather than the state actors because the neo-liberal state often operates as a source of radicalization among both groups. He also stated that there are many terms that should be discussed together with racism, such as discrimination, anti-Muslim racism, new racism, cultural racism, and nativism (soft racism). All these terms refer to different technics of governmentality of the neo-liberal state that either polarises or divides the society.

Prof. Kaya finally talked about the need to mediate between these co-radicalizing youth groups by bringing them together in third spaces where they can

communicate with each other and see that it is not cultural, religious and ethnic differences which set them apart but rather the ways in which the neo-liberal state actors, right-wing populist political parties, and religious-based diaspora politics of migrant-sending countries exploit the socio-economic and political cleavages.



7 March 2023

Seminar

Nativist and Islamist Radicalism in Europe: Anger and Anxiety

Venue: Online and in-Person (PAR.LG.03, Parish Hall, LSE)

Hosted by the European Institute and Contemporary Turkish Studies.



On March 7, 2023, Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya presented the main findings of the PRIME Youth Project at the LSE.

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya delivered a speech at the London School of Economics (LSE) European Studies in London titled "Nativist and Islamist Radicalism in Europe: Anger and Anxiety". The Seminar was held both offline and online with the participation of more than fifty participants composed of post-doc students and scholars specialized in European Studies. The Seminar was moderated by Friedrich Püttmann, a PhD candidate at the LSE, and the discussant was Assoc. Prof. Dr. Katerina Dalacoura, professor of International Relations at the LSE's Political Science Department.

Based on the findings of the ERC AdG research, Prof. Kaya challenged the scholarship that has so far studied European youth in ethno-culturally, and religio-politically divided separate clusters, such as "migrant-origin" and "native" youths. In his talk was an attempt to lay the groundwork by arguing that European youth respond differently to the challenges posed by contemporary flows of globalisation, such as deindustrialisation, structural exclusion, and socio-economic, political, spatial and psychological forms of deprivation and humiliation. Challenging the current uses of the term radicalism interchangeably with extremism, terrorism, fundamentalism, and violence, he too radicalism as a possible quest for the democratisation of democracies rather than a pathological issue. The talk was full of anecdotes from the field research to explain the malaise of both 'native' and 'immigrant origin' youth simultaneously through a single scientific lens by de-culturalising and de-religionising what is socio-economic, political, and psychological in substance.

The discussant, Assoc. Prof. Katerina Dalacoura made her intervention by focusing on the socio-economic and local root causes of radicalisation of youth groups in Europe, and underlined the relational dynamics of the processes of co-radicalisation of European youth in the sample of the research, and asked Prof. Kaya to elaborate on that. In his answer, Prof. Kaya argued that co-radicalisation between Islamist and Islamophobic groups has become prevalent since 9/11, which had a deepening impact on the civilizational rhetoric across the world. There were a few questions from the audience about the translocality, temporality and historicity of the radicalisation processes in Europe, which were also responded to by Prof. Kaya.



Event: <https://www.lse.ac.uk/european-institute/events/europe-at-lse/2022-23/LT/Nativist-and-Islamist-Radicalism-in-Europe-Anger-and-Anxiety>

20 May 2023

Conference

Youth Studies from Turkey to Europe: Unemployment, Migration, Digitalisation and Activism



In collaboration with the members of the **Istanbul Bilgi University "Radicalisation Field of Excellence"** and the European Institute, **the PRIME Youth team** organized a conference for researchers and students interested in youth studies. The conference aimed to discuss the

concepts, theories and methods at the intersection of several fields, including political science, sociology, psychology, economics, social-cultural anthropology, media studies and information technologies. Addressing the recent national and international public debates, we aimed to make an inclusive discussion about the social and political trends in Turkey.

The opening speeches were made by the PRIME Youth principal investigator **Professor Ayhan Kaya**, the PRIME Youth postdoctoral researcher **Dr. Metin Koca**, and the European Institute members **Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı** and **Associate Professor Özge Onursal Beşgül**. The full-day event has been followed by seven panels, with 27 panellists and nearly 50 participants from various academic and civil society organizations.

The main themes of the conference were as follows:

The past and the present of youth studies: Youth studies historically represented several missions. Among them are supporting young people through everyday work and in cooperation with civil society organisations, responding to their needs with a particular focus on unemployment, social inclusion and marginalisation, and facilitating their participation as individuals forming and voicing their demands. Our conference evaluated the current direction of youth studies in Turkey.

Inequalities in the age of virtual reality: The impact of digitalisation on youth is among the subjects of public debate. To what extent are "digital natives", who are believed to benefit from digital media much more than previous generations, able to take advantage of digitalisation's promise to equalise opportunities for education, social participation, negotiation, and consumption? To what extent can "digital immigrants", who organise the lives of the generation born into digital technologies, catch up with developments? Organised at a time when the pandemic has blurred the boundary between the virtual and the real, the conference questioned the possibilities of virtual developments to eliminate the inequalities that affect the daily lives of young people, or to give them a new dimension.

Alienation and migration: While becoming a "migrant depot" for young generations leaving the neighbouring countries, Turkey also became a case of "brain drain".

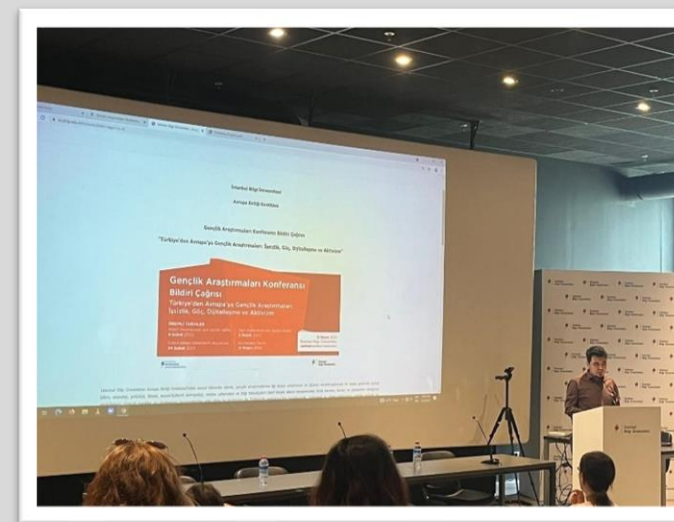
The panellists questioned how to identify the causes and effects behind these processes, leading to concerns in both Turkey and Europe. As part of this endeavour, we questioned how culture shocks, power relations, economic difficulties, and the lack of upward mobility find their place in the narratives of migrants.

Activism and radicalisation: The conference focused on the current forms of youth political activity. We also questioned the intersection of these activities with radicalisation. Meanwhile, the panellists aimed to move radicalisation studies away from the perspective of securitization. As such, they examined the diversity of expressions of young people through feelings of inequality and injustice. Examples of such expressions included offensive humour movements, activist theatre and cinema, climate activism, gender activism and the new activism combined with the new ethnocultural, religious and class-based ideological statements.

Letters and the generation identities: Given their upbringing under the pandemic conditions, their interrupted education life, new interests and curious voting preferences, "Generation Z" has become a unique and monolithic category for many. On the other hand, the boundaries between generations are a product of our collective imagination. Classifications based on the date of birth and indefinite or arbitrarily defined periods lead to concerns "against pseudoscience". Focusing on community and life course research, the conference members evaluated the scientific basis for generational differences.

Report: Metin Koca

The **full report** and **programme** are available [here](#).



Please click [here](#) to access the abstract book (in Turkish) of the conference.

13 June 2023 PRIME Youth Project: Conclusive Final Conference

Venue: Sala del Capitolo
European University Institute, Badia Fiesolana, Via dei Roccettini , San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) – Italy

The ERC-funded PRIME Youth project (Acronym: ISLAM-OPHOB-ISM, number 785934) has reached a milestone with the completion of its final conference on June 13, 2023, at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. The Conference was organized by the Istanbul Bilgi University European Institute and the European University Institute Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS). In the meeting, the PRIME Youth research team shared their main findings and arguments alongside the presentations from esteemed colleagues on the current debates surrounding Islamist and nativist radicalizations



Istanbul Bilgi University **European University Institute** **Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (RSCAS)**

Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalisation and Religionisation of What is Social, Economic and Political in Europe

BILGI PRIME YOUTH

PRIME Youth Project: Conclusive Final Conference

Istanbul Bilgi University, [European Institute](#)
European University Institute, [Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies \(RSCAS\)](#)

Conference Date: 13 June 2023
Conference Venue: Sala del Capitolo
European University Institute, Badia Fiesolana, Via dei Roccettini 9, I-50014 San Domenico di Fiesole (FI) – Italy

Conference Report
3 July 2023

DOI: [10.5281/zenodo.8108495](https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8108495)

The research behind this conference was undertaken as part of a Horizon 2020 research and innovation project called ISLAM-OPHOB-ISM under Grant Agreement ERC AdG 785934.

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Please click [here](#) for the **full conference report** in PDF format.

7 July 2023 PRIME Youth was at the Humboldt University

Metin Koca, PRIME Youth Postdoctoral Researcher, delivered a lecture titled "Religion in Human Sciences and Islam in Europe" as an invited speaker at Humboldt University in Berlin on July 7, 2023. Koca's talk was part of Dr Deniz Güneş Yardımcı's seminar "Berlin in Migration Cinema: From Migrant Ghettos to Culturally Hybrid Urban Districts" in the Berlin Perspectives program for international students.

Koca's talk covered Europe's knowledge of religion through the baggage of different disciplines, from Anthropology to Law. Koca argued that these disciplines and their applications in theory and practice took religion as part of the core concepts "in their DNA:" "religion as ideology" for Political Science, "religion as culture" for Anthropology, "religion as practice" for Law. Taken together, these perspectives reflect the priorities, issues, and complexities of modern thinking. The combination as such, according to Koca, has led many to

call Human Sciences a by-product of “Eurocentrism”. However, Koca also pointed out that the contrasts between disciplines suggest that interpretations coming out of the West are not monolithic and not altogether rejected by the postcolonialist readings of Human Sciences. “It is not a consciously designed system with singular implications for the rest of the world,” Koca concluded.

Focusing on the specificity of Islam in the second part of his lecture, Dr Koca differentiated between the ways of being Muslim and speaking as Muslim in the public sphere. Koca argued that studying Islam in Europe requires engaging with a multiplicity of arguments, not necessarily aligned, in the very different contexts of integration, radicalization, and democratic values. “A proposal that tames radicalization may underpin communitarianism,” Koca argued.

Dr Koca concluded his lecture by pointing out several research trajectories that provide different answers about Islam in Europe, depending on which aspect of religion is under scrutiny. The lecture was followed by a lively Q&A session, in which the participants questioned Koca's contributions along with various visual representations of Islam depicted in migration cinema.



1 November 2023 PRIME Youth Advisory Board Member Prof. Thomas Faist visited Istanbul Bilgi University



Professor Thomas Faist, Advisory Board Member in the PRIME Youth Project, visited the SantralIstanbul campus of Istanbul Bilgi University on November 1, 2023. The visit was part of the ongoing Advanced Grant Project and focused on youth movements and political alliances in Germany. During the meeting that covered the previous and ongoing studies in the project, Professor Faist engaged in lively discussions with the PRIME Youth research team members, including Professor Ayhan Kaya, Principal Investigator, and Postdoctoral Researchers Dr Metin Koca and Dr Ayşenur Benevento.

Professor Faist provided new insights and feedback on the ongoing research concerning social movements and German politics, including new questions regarding how to address the political divisions in post-unification Germany, foster dialogue between culturally and geographically clustered groups, and reconcile spatial and social mobility. During the meeting, the PRIME Youth research team and Professor Faist discussed the main contours of the project, including its strengths and limits in terms of sampling. The group discussed how German governments, the European Commission and NGOs address radicalization among Islamist and nativist groups. The discussion allowed the team to gain a

deeper understanding of the dynamics and implications of youth activism in Germany.

The meeting participants also had the opportunity to exchange ideas and perspectives on the broader implications of these findings for youth engagement and political participation on a global scale. The discussion enriched the ongoing research of the PRIME Youth project and furthered the team's commitment to understanding and promoting youth empowerment and political activism. In addition to the academic dialogue, Professor Faist had the chance to explore the SantralIstanbul campus.

22 December 2023 ZIP Institute visited PRIME Youth Project Team

On December 22, 2023, the [ZIP Institute](#), a Skopje-based NGO, made a visit to Istanbul Bilgi University's PRIME Youth team. The purpose of the visit was to propose a transformative study plan that would empower disadvantaged rural youth from Saraj - Skopje, with a specific emphasis on addressing the growing concern of radicalization, in alignment with the PRIME Youth project's priorities.

During the visit, the members of the Institute were welcomed by the PRIME Youth Principal Investigator, Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya. As part of the program, Dr. Kaya gave a seminar to the young visitors. These visitors are from rural areas in Skopje and are studying radicalization and religious extremism. The seminar aimed to empower these young people, who were selected to take part in the program, providing them with practical tools to address radicalization.

The visit was part of the broader ambitions of the ZIP Institute to enhance youth empowerment by promoting peaceful coexistence among diverse communities. The collaboration with the PRIME Youth project was planned accordingly as a testament to the commitment of both organizations in fostering socio-cultural development and cohesion in the region. In the concluding section of the event, all parties involved expressed their mutual commitment to the objectives of the program.



SPECIAL ARTICLE

Influence of Populism on the European Migration Agenda¹

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

Istanbul Bilgi University

Jean Monnet Chair

Director of the European Institute

Right-wing populist parties and movements constitute a rising force in several EU Member States. At the very heart of the story about the rise of right-wing populism lies a disconnect between the established political parties and their electorates. Right-wing populist parties in particular have gained greater public support in the last decade amidst two crises: the global financial crisis in 2008, and the so-called refugee crisis in 2015. The former created relative socioeconomic deprivation for some Europeans due to ongoing neo-liberal forms of governance, deindustrialization, and internal migration, while the latter has caused a nostalgic deprivation, stemming from the feeling that established notions of identity, nation, culture and tradition have been threatened by demographic changes resulting from the perceived mass migration of refugees from the Middle East and Africa.

The populist spirit has either strengthened many of the former extreme right-wing parties or created new ones. Recent research suggests that these parties and movements are now a durable force in Europe. Right-wing populist parties are no longer only in power in eastern European countries, such as Hungary and Poland, but are also becoming key players in governments in western Europe. All these political changes suggest that these parties and movements may have more potential to become influential political actors in the long term.

The main purpose of this intervention is to assess the relationship between populism and immigration in the

European Union. Based on an extensive review of the literature on the current state of right-wing populist movements in the EU as well as on the findings of comparative fieldwork conducted in five European countries (France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and the Netherlands)^[1] in the first half of 2017, and the findings of ongoing research into the root causes of youth radicalization in European cities (Aalst, Ghent, Rotterdam, Lyon and Dresden),^[2] this article seeks to understand and explain the relevance of the debates on migration, refugees and Islam to the rise of extreme right-wing populism.

The current research demonstrates that populist rhetoric has been mostly accommodated by individuals who live in spatially remote places in Europe (Rodrigues-Pose, 2018). Populist rhetoric is an anti-system discourse used by socioeconomically, politically, spatially and nostalgically deprived individuals with precarious rural or working-class backgrounds (Kalb, 2011), to fight back against the hegemonic strategies of globalism, neoliberalism, EUization, supranational unity and superdiversity. Hence, I assume that sympathizers of right-wing populist movements are mostly resorting to nativist, anti-multiculturalist, and Islamophobic discourses, as they feel challenged by the current dominant streams of globalism that appear in the form of transnational companies, deindustrialization, migration, tourism, borderless economies, mobility and the intensification and condensation of the physical world. Populist sentiments have their own local constraints and sources of legitimation. Since I assume that all populisms are local in essence, this intervention mostly focuses on the analysis of local drivers of right-wing populism emerging in various European cities selected for scientific inquiry in two different and complementary research projects: Aalst, Ghent, Athens, Dresden, Rome, Rotterdam, Toulon and Lyon.

The data presented in this article originate from both desk research and around 260 semi-structured interviews conducted by native and novice researchers who worked under my supervision.

How to Define Populism?

There is no unique definition of the term “populism.” Drawing on the interventions of Edward Shils (1956) in the aftermath of World War II, some scholars take it as *an ideology* (Mudde, 2004; 2007 & 2016). Some scholars have analysed populism as *a strategy*, embodied by various political parties to generate and sustain power by means of plebiscites, referenda and public speeches (Weyland, 2001 & Barr, 2011). Other scholars are more content with defining it as *a discourse* based on the assumption that populism is a part-time phenomenon instrumentalized by populist individuals whenever it is necessary to build up a stronger link with “the people” (Wodak, 2015). Based on a Gramscian interpretation, some scholars, on the other hand, tend to see it as *a political logic* (Laclau, 2005). In his seminal work, Peter Worsley has already stated that populism is not a phenomenon that is specific to a particular region, nor is it the unique bastion of any ideological side of politics (Worsley, 1969). It is rather an aspect of a variety of political cultures and structures. Eventually, following the Marxist scholar Worsley (1964), some others defined populism as *a political style* (Taguieff, 1995; Moffitt, 2016).

In this contribution, I prefer to use an anthropological and spatial definition of right-wing populism, which I think is a discourse for disempowered individuals living in remote places to curb their political, social, economic, spatial and nostalgic deprivation. Anthropological approaches mostly understand populism as “the moods and sensibilities of the disenfranchised who face the disjuncture between everyday lives that seem to become extremely anomic and uncontrollable and the wider public power projects that are out of their reach and suspected of serving their ongoing disenfranchisement” (Kalb, 2011). On the other hand, Andrés Rodrigues-Pose, a geographer, defines populism as a political force that has taken hold in many of the so-called “spaces that do not matter,” or in other words, the remote places that are creating a systemic risk (Rodrigues-Pose, 2018). Right-wing populist votes have been heavily concentrated in territories that have

suffered long-term declines and reflect an increasing urban/rural divide. It is no surprise then to see that right-wing populism has become a recurring phenomenon in remote places such as Dresden, Toulon, Lyon, Antwerp, Aalst, Rotterdam or the Bible Belt cities in the Netherlands, as well as rural and mountainous places that do not matter anymore for the neoliberal political parties in the centre which are heavily engaged in the flows of globalization such as international trade, migration, foreign direct investment and urbanization. The feelings of being left behind in those sometimes geographically and sometimes ideologically remote places that “no longer matter” in the eyes of the political centre may sometimes lead to what one might call “spatial deprivation.” Such feelings of socioeconomic, political, spatial and nostalgic deprivation have been triggered even more after a series of crises, such as the 2015 “refugee crisis,” the Covid-19 pandemic, the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, and the ongoing energy crisis.

A Manichean Understanding: “Us” vs “Others”

Right-wing populist discourse is mostly built upon the antagonism between the constituted “pure people” and the enemies, such as “the Jews,” “the Muslims,” “ethnic minorities,” or “the corrupt elite.” In Europe, this purity of the people is largely defined in ethno-religious and civilizational terms, and rejects the principle of equality and advocates policies of exclusion mainly toward migrant and ethnocultural minority groups. Despite national variations, these parties and movements can be characterized by their opposition to immigration, concern for the protection of national/European culture and adamant criticism of globalization, the EU, representative democracy, the political establishment and mainstream political parties. Populists simply argue that established political parties corrupt the link between leaders and supporters, create artificial divisions within an homogenous people and put their own interests above those of the people (Mudde, 2019).

The immigration issue is central to the discourse and programmes of all radical populist parties in Europe. According to a survey made in the second half of the

¹ Published on 5 July 2023, in the IEMed European Institute of the Mediterranean, <https://www.iemed.org/publication/influence-of-populism-on-the-european-migration-agenda/>

2000s, for instance, voters of such populist parties were significantly more likely to say their country should accept only a few immigrants, or even none: in Austria 93 percent of these voters (versus 64 percent overall); in Denmark 89 percent (44 percent); in France, 82 percent (44 percent); in Belgium 76 percent (41 percent); in Norway 70 percent (63 percent); and in the Netherlands 63 percent (39 percent). In fact, fewer than 2.5 percent of voters of populist extremist parties across six countries wanted to see more immigration (Rydgren, 2008). Regarding immigration in Europe, a more specific form of hostility towards settled Muslim-origin communities can be observed, particularly in the past decade. A large number of voters are anxious about increasing diversity and immigration, which provides the electoral potential for these parties. Anti-immigration sentiments often go together with anti-Muslim racism. For instance, in 1994, 35 percent of the Danish People's Party supporters endorsed the view that Muslims were threatening national security; by 2007 the figure had risen to 81 percent (as opposed to 21 percent of all voters) (Goodwin, 2011). Anxiety is not solely rooted in economic grievances. The support for these parties and public hostility to immigration are mostly driven by fears of cultural and civilizational threats (Kaya, 2019). The discriminatory and racist rhetoric towards the "others" poses a clear threat to democracy and social cohesion in Europe.

Another reliable survey was conducted by Mathew Goodwin, Thomas Raines and David Cutts for the Chatham House Europe Programme, between 12 December 2016 and 11 January 2017, in the immediate aftermath of the "refugee crisis." The online survey was conducted with nationally representative samples of the population aged 18 or over in Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Spain and the UK. The online survey was made with quota sampling (age, gender and region) and the total number of respondents was 10,195.¹³ The survey asked respondents if immigration from Muslim-majority countries should be stopped. An average of 55 percent of those surveyed agreed, 25 percent neither agreed nor disagreed and 20 percent disagreed. According to the survey, 71 percent of people in Poland, 65 percent in Austria, 64 percent in Hungary and Belgium, and 61 percent in France agreed. 58 percent of Greeks, 53 percent of Germans, and 53 percent of Italians also agreed with the question. Support for the ban was

stronger among older populations, with only 44 percent of people aged 18-29 being in favour, while 63 percent of those older than 60 said they agreed with a ban. The notion of a ban was more popular with men and those living in remote, rural and mountainous areas. Urban dwellers and female respondents were less likely to support the move. Education was also a dividing factor. 59 percent of those with secondary-level qualifications opposed further Muslim immigration, while less than half of all degree holders supported further migration curbs. Gender, education, age, region and religiosity play an important role in the perception of European citizens with regard to acceptance and tolerance towards Muslim-origin immigrants and refugees (Kaya and Kayaoğlu, 2017).

Immigrants and Refugees

It is often assumed that the supporters of right-wing populist parties are, by default, anti-refugee individuals. Our research findings indicate that those individuals actually distinguish between economic migrants and refugees when they express their thoughts on migration-related issues. One of the striking commonalities of the interviews we conducted during the fieldwork, held between mid-March and late May 2017, was that a great majority of the interlocutors drew an explicit distinction between immigrants and refugees. Though having great sympathy for the refugees who seek refuge from war zones, they expressed their concerns about the inability of their countries to take care of them permanently. The refugees should be given shelter in their own neighbouring countries, and the European Union Member States should help them out with economic support. Immigrants, on the other hand, are a different category as they are embedded in their countries for decades. They were not treated very sympathetically by the interlocutors as they are perceived "to be seeking to take their jobs" and "to use resources without contributing to their society." There is a common belief that immigrants do not really integrate while taking advantage of public services, such as healthcare and unemployment benefits. As for the immigrants, they are mostly perceived by supporters of right-wing populist parties as an economic burden, and unassimilable because of the civilizational difference resulting from Islam.

For instance, the supporters of the Party for Freedom

(PVV) in Rotterdam mostly agree that they should be "helping the ones in need." The refugees escaping from war, persecution and ethnic cleansing should be given refuge, they believe. However, our interlocutors said that they were unreceptive towards economic migrants, who are believed to exploit the Dutch welfare system. A kind of welfare chauvinism was often expressed by the interlocutors, who mainly complained that immigrants were "exploiting their system." When asked about refugees, a 56-year-old male construction worker in Rotterdam said the following:

"We should let the refugees come in. The others just come here to exploit our system, we should not even let them in... I guess the economic migrants are just here to try their luck, they shouldn't be here at all... When you look here in Rotterdam, the Turkish people sit in their Turkish bars, where only Turkish people go, with no integration whatsoever. They stay close to each other and no outsider is allowed to enter. They don't feel the need to integrate... They think that what we are doing here is crazy, and that image they have will never change. We allow men to marry each other, which is good, but to them, it's crazy and they will always think so. The young Turks are even worse. While their parents or grandparents were grateful that they could come and live here in the Netherlands, they had some respect for us, the young generation doesn't have this anymore, and they don't integrate. It [integration]'s failed, there is no assimilation, but there is segregation or polarization. It's unbelievable (interview with a 56-year-old male, Rotterdam)".

PVV supporters' responses reveal that the main concern was not actually the refugees, but the economic migrants and their descendants. The main problem remains the same in a way – Muslim-origin migrants and their descendants, who "do not integrate," and who construct their own parallel communities. This interlocutor's narrative was representative in the sense that it clearly made a separation between refugees and economic migrants.

It was often implied by the interlocutors that immigration is an inevitable outcome of the processes of globalization, about which they are very critical. The experience of immigration is clearly differentiated from the experience of refugees, in the sense that the former is a permanent action, and the latter is temporary. The

experience of immigration is resented by the interlocutors in terms of its economic and cultural consequences. Economically speaking, immigrants are believed to be exploiting the welfare state regime. Culturally speaking, they are mostly associated with Islam, which is believed to be in opposition to their national values. A 49-year-old male supporter of the Alternative for Germany (AfD) in Dresden refers to the relevance of immigration to globalization as follows:

"The AfD stands for strengthening our national interests. Therefore, we are ending this craze for globalization. Immigration to Germany and in general to Europe needs to be limited. The AfD argues that more German interests should be at the centre of politics, not the interests of the other nation-states. Exactly, it should be the way it is in the United States nowadays. There they are focusing on their own national interests and that is legitimate" (interview with 49-year-old male worker in Dresden, 10 April 2017).

Europe's radical-right parties rejoiced at Donald Trump's win at the American elections held on 8 November 2016 and the UK's vote to leave the [EU](#), hailing both as a victory for their own anti-immigration, anti-EU and anti-Islam stances and vowing to push for similar results in countries such as France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Hungary, Germany and Sweden. The European public is no different from the rest of the world in the sense that it is also becoming more and more polarized between various Manichean readings of society, as in the antagonist dichotomies of "us vs. them", "pure people vs. corrupt elite", "privileged vs. underprivileged", which are interpellated and hailed by populist discourse.

The interviews and supporting evidence revealed that populism is not only a male phenomenon, but it has also become popular among women and LGBTI+ groups taking an oppositional stance against the perceived place of women and LGBTI+ individuals in Islam. The growing popularity of populism among women and LGBTI+ individuals is also observable through their increasing roles in the leadership of populist parties such as the FN in France, and the AfD in Germany.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article has been to address the influence of populism on the European public's

migration agenda. It is often presumed that the affiliates of right-wing populist parties are political protesters, single-issue voters, “losers of globalization,” “Fascists,” “neo-Nazis,” or ethnonationalists. It is also often the case that the analyses of right-wing populist parties and their voters are not differentiated. Both levels of analyses often overlap in the literature, and both actors (parties and voters) are framed in identical ways as if they are both anti-democratic, “Fascists,” and “neo-Nazis.” This article was not about the organized right-wing populist parties, but rather about their voters. The picture seems to be more complex than it is often assumed.

Populist party voters often come from remote, rural and mountainous places in Europe, which are believed “not to matter” anymore for the political centre. Those voters are dissatisfied with and distrustful of mainstream elites, and most importantly they are hostile to immigration and rising ethnocultural and religious diversity. They mostly suffer from ongoing processes of deindustrialization, regional disparities, demographic decline, ageing populations and the disconnect between the centre and the periphery. While these citizens feel economically insecure, their hostility stems mainly from their belief that immigrants are threatening their national culture, social security, community and way of life. Migrants and refugees are perceived by the followers of the populist parties as a security challenge threatening social, political, cultural and economic unity, and the homogeneity of their nation. The main concern of these citizens is not only the ongoing immigration and refugee crisis, but they are also profoundly anxious about a minority group that is already settled in Europe: the Muslims. Anti-Muslim sentiments have become an important driver of support for right-wing populist parties and movements. This means that appealing only to concerns about immigration, such as calling for immigration numbers to be reduced or border controls to be tightened, is not enough. The root causes of such fears have been explained in this article with reference to the interviews conducted with the supporters of right-wing populist parties in Germany, France, Italy, Greece and the Netherlands.

Populist parties seem to be investing in worsening economic conditions, public attitudes to immigration, attitudes in general, and prejudices towards Muslims

and Islam, and capitalizing on public dissatisfaction with the response of mainstream elites to these issues. The views and ideas they espouse cannot be dismissed as those of a marginal minority. It seems that these parties are here to stay. The latest success of the Brothers of Italy, and Sweden’s Democrats in the 2022 general elections in Italy and Sweden, and now the success of the rural-based BBB party (Farmer Citizen Movement) in the Netherlands in 2023 is a good indication of this prognosis. Public concern over immigration and rising cultural and ethnic diversity, anxiety over the presence and compatibility of Muslims, and dissatisfaction with the performance of mainstream elites on these issues are unlikely to subside.

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^[1]The fieldwork was composed of 100 in-depth interviews conducted in five countries within the framework of a Horizon 2020 project entitled CoHERE: Critical Heritages (Grant agreement No. 693289. For more information see the project website: <https://research.ncl.ac.uk/cohere/>.

^[2]The fieldwork of this research consisted of 160 in-depth interviews conducted in Belgium, France, Germany and the Netherlands in two rounds during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021. The research is conducted within the framework of an extensive project supported by the European Research Council’s Advanced Grant Research scheme (Grant Agreement No. 785934). For more information see the project website: <https://bpy.bilgi.edu.tr>

^[3]For more information on the Chatham House Survey see <https://www.chathamhouse.org/expert/comment/what-do-europeans-think-about-muslim-immigration#sthash.QrwHQfPP.dPA8JAoB.dpuf>, last entry 12 March 2023

As of September 2019, **Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı** is the new DAAD lecturer at the European Institute. Within the framework of the agreement between İstanbul Bilgi University and the German Academic Foreign Exchange Service (DAAD), she will advance the European Institute’s relations with German academic institutions, advise on DAAD scholarship opportunities, and pursue original research and will lecture in the International Relations program.

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

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

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

German Television and as a freelance journalist for Business Week (2006 - 2010).

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

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

For more informations about the DAAD, please click [here](#).

DAAD - TÜBITAK PROJECT

"Distant Neighbors: Exploring Political Narratives and Visual Culture in Turkish-German Relations"



Explore Narratives in a Nutshell

This joint project by the European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University and the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research at the University Duisburg-Essen entitled 'Distant Neighbors: Exploring Political Narratives and Visual Culture in Turkish-German Relations' aims to explore the development of Turkish-German relations through a detailed empirical analysis of competing and/or shared political narratives in the German and Turkish context in order to show how they have shaped the contemporary perception of befriended, but rather 'distant neighbors'.

The project that will be conducted between November 2022 and October 2024, is based on previous works and preliminary empirical studies. We use the starting thesis that the various political narratives on the Turkish-German relationship differ between elite and everyday discourses in both countries. Whereas the elite discourses in both countries and their political decision-makers mainly operate with narratives that (re-)produce a distant relationship in terms of pragmatic cooperation and interest-based politics, the everyday discourses and their cultural protagonists (film makers, musicians, artists) share many political narratives and emphasize transnational and culturally hybrid identities in both countries.

The interest in studying both elite and everyday forms of narration derives from the tentative observation that international (i.e. official) relations between Germany and Turkey haven often been strained, while transnational (i.e. society-level) relations may have been much friendlier at the same time. Our loosely comparative study of both arenas will allow us to show 1) how storytelling differs between the elite and

public/societal level and 2) whether identities that emerge in these stories may differ between the official and everyday discourse.

Team

Deniz Güneş Yardımcı - Principal Investigator
Frank Gadinger - Principal Investigator
Katja Freistein - Senior Researcher
Christine Unrau - Senior Researcher
Mustafa Gökcan Kösen - Researcher
Serkan Topal - Researcher

Project Name: Distant Neighbours: Exploring Political Narratives and Visual Culture in Turkish German Narratives

Awarding body: 2531 TÜBİTAK- German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) Bilateral Cooperation Programme

Project duration: 24 months

Contact us: explorenarratives@outlook.com

Project page: <https://explorenarratives.com>

NEWS AND EVENTS

19 July 2023

Workshop

'The Power of Narratives and Visual Culture in Transnational Cooperation: Exploring Turkish-German Relations in Political Life and Everyday Culture'

Venue: Käte Hamburger Kolleg/Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen

The first workshop of the DAAD-TÜBITAK funded bilateral project titled "Distant Neighbours: Exploring Political Narratives and Visual Culture in Turkish-German Relations" held on July 19, 2023, at the University of Duisburg-Essen, brought together scholars, researchers, and experts from various academic disciplines to delve into the multifaceted dynamics of the relationship between Turkey and Germany. Organized by the European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University and the Käte Hamburger Kolleg / Centre for Global Cooperation Research at the University of Duisburg-Essen, this workshop aimed to expand the discourse beyond traditional political analysis that focus on political elites and explore the role of narratives and visual culture in transnational Turkish-German spheres by encompassing a diverse range of cultural and political actors, including civil society movements, activists, filmmakers, novelists, musicians, and artists. The idea is that these actors, operating in loose transnational networks influence political discourses and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of Turkish-German relations.

The interdisciplinary workshop brought together scholars from political science, sociology, and cultural studies working in the field of Turkish-German relations. Participants presented their work in progress, focusing on methodological approaches and empirical cases. The workshop featured four panels, each addressing different aspects of Turkish-German relations. Key themes included transnational environmental activism, radicalization tendencies, diaspora politics, methodological approaches on narrative and visual

analysis and the role of arts in transnational and cosmopolite Turkish-German spheres.

Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı opened the workshop with a warm welcome speech introducing the scope and objectives of the DAAD-TÜBİTAK project and emphasizing the importance of exploring cultural and artistic transnational spheres in Turkish-German relations. The director of the Käte Hamburger Kolleg/ Centre for Global Cooperation Research at the University of Duisburg-Essen **Prof. Sigrig Quack** also welcomed all participants of the workshop underlining the value of research on global transnational cooperations in the context of Turkish-German relations. The first panel *Methodological Approaches on Political Narratives and Visuality* opened with **Dr. Frank Gadinger** and Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı presenting insights into visual culture and narrative analysis, emphasizing their role in studying Turkish-German relations in political life and everyday culture. **Dr. Katja Freistein**, **Dr. Christine Unrau**, and **Dr. Frank Gadinger** delved into methodological approaches of visual narrative analysis, exploring images and political storytelling. The panel ended with **Dr. Hande Parker's** presentation on transnational environmental activism and the search for common ground. Panel 2 on *Contemporary Political Narratives: Populist Discourses, Polarization, and Radicalization Tendencies* started with **Prof. Ayhan Kaya** discussing the role of expressive cultures among nativist and self-identified Muslim youth in fostering radicalisation among co-radicalized youth groups in Europe, followed by **Dr. Yaşar Aydın's** analysis of changing German political narratives regarding Turkey. In her presentation, **Dr. Melis Öneren Özbek** analyzed the intersection of racism, football, and news media, particularly focusing on Turkish-German football players. In the third panel *Diaspora Politics, New Migration Movements, and Transnational Belongings* **Mustafa Gökcan Kösen** provided insights into the emotional landscape of Turkish-German narratives and **Dr.Ceren Kulkul** discussed transnational belonging in the city, focusing on new wave Turkish migrants in Berlin. The last panel *Diversity, Arts, and Transnational Belongings* started with **Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı** exploring transnational aesthetics and narratives in Turkish-German cinema. Using the case of pianist Fazıl Say. **Serkan Topal** discussed classical music concerts as a means of mobilization for civil society. The workshop ended with **Idil Atasoy** examining identity

struggles in the recent wave of artist migration between Turkey and Germany. The day concluded with a workshop dinner, offering participants an informal setting to continue discussions and strengthen collaborations.

The workshop provided a valuable platform for interdisciplinary exchange, fostering a deeper understanding of Turkish-German relations beyond conventional analyses of political elites. By exploring narratives and visual culture in social, cultural, and artistic transnational spaces, the workshop gave significant insights to the complex dynamics of transnational cooperation between Turkey and Germany. The fruitful discussions and diverse perspectives will be compiled into an edited volume, potentially part of the Routledge Global Cooperation Series. The organizers express gratitude to participants for their valuable contributions, fostering an engaging and collaborative environment and to DAAD and TÜBİTAK for making this workshop possible.

The second workshop will be held at the European Institute at Istanbul Bilgi University in spring 2024. For further information, please visit the project website: <https://explorenarratives.com/>



Established in 2008 as a part of the European Institute's various research units and in collaboration with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), the German Studies Unit compliments the existing collaboration with the European University of Viadrina in Frankfurt-Oder, Germany.

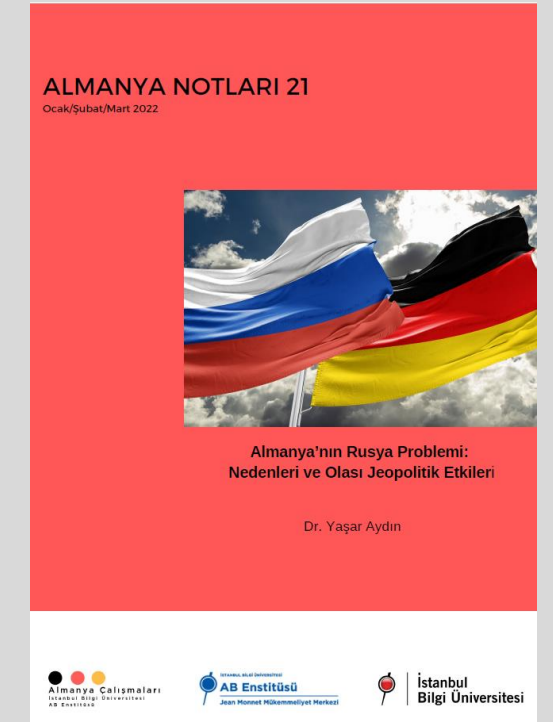
The GSU is built around the idea of fostering Turkish-German relations within the context of the EU by promoting cultural interactions as well as exchange of knowledge and ideas. The key objective is to address recent social, political and cultural debates in German society and bring together researchers, students, policy-makers, stakeholders and the general public to discuss current trends and challenges in both countries and in Turkish-German relations

The GSU has expanded its activities and offers a platform for an interdisciplinary exchange of knowledge, expertise, and experience also beyond academia. The GSUs activities include:

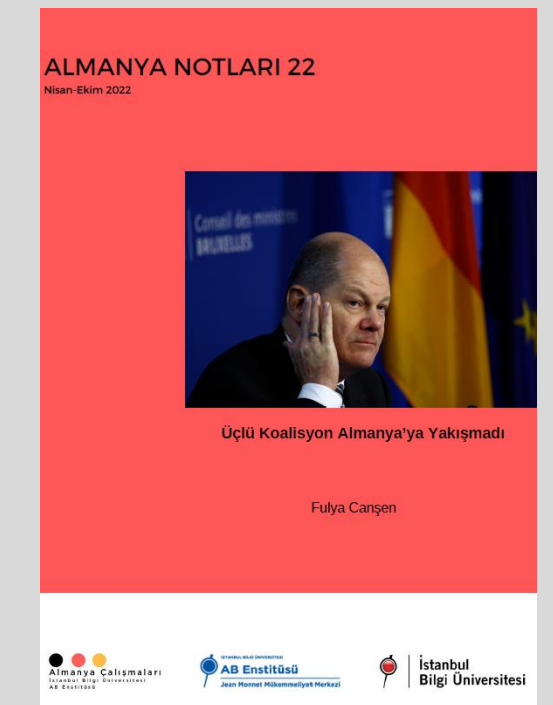
- Articles and op-ed articles in English, Turkish and German
- Outreach activities in form of conferences, workshops and events
- German Studies Seminar Series
- Yearly German Studies Colloquium for graduate students
- Yearly Study Visits for a group of students to Germany
- Information events on study and research scholarships in Germany

As of January 2020, the GSU has restarted its bi-monthly online publication Germany Brief. The well-established initiative Germany Brief continues to update its readers about recent debates in German society. The latest contributions by Dr. Deniz Güneş Yardımcı, Lalla Amina Drhimeur Melanie Weißenberg, Dr. Constantin Schäfer and Dr. Yaşar Aydın focus on current discussions dealing with the rise of right-wing extremism and migration policy in Germany.

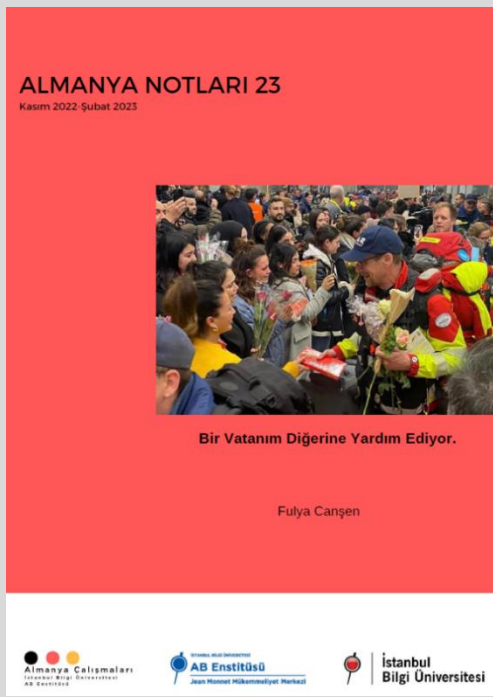
Please click on the pictures, to reach the Germany Briefs.



“Almanya'nın Rusya Problemi: Nedenleri ve Olası Jeopolitik Etkileri” by Dr. Yaşar Aydın



“Üçlü Koalisyon Almanya'ya Yakışmadı” by Fulya Canşen

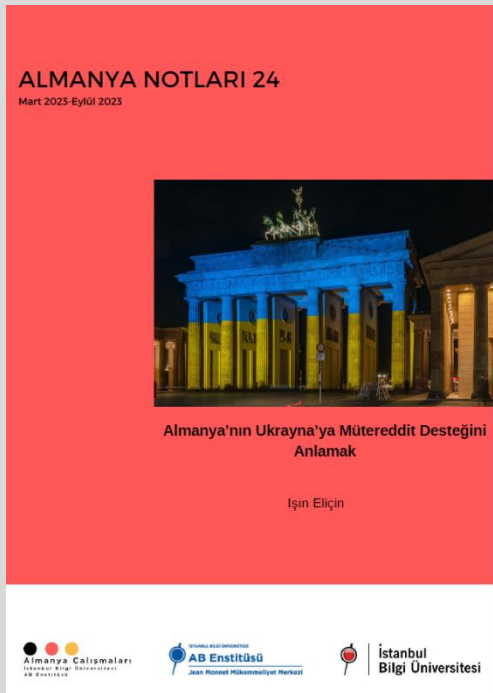


“Bir Vatanım Diğerine Yardım Ediyor” by Fulya Canşen



"European Union-Turkey Relations: Impasse and Ways Out" Interview with Dr. Yaşar Aydın

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“Almanya’nın Ukrayna’ya Mütereddit Desteğini Anlamak” by Işın Eliçin

Aziz Nesin Professorship

Aziz Nesin Guest Lectureship Experience in the European University Viadrina



Mehmet Ali Tuğtan
İstanbul Bilgi University
Department of International Relations

I am a lecturer of international relations specializing in contemporary world politics, traditional security studies and 20th Century political history. I teach in Istanbul Bilgi University Department of International Relations. I am also the chairperson of the Distance Education Center of the university. I am a member of the International Relations Council of Türkiye, the main academic community of IR scholars in the country. I have lectured in the SAREN PhD Program in International Relations in the Turkish Military Academy (Currently the National Defense University).

Germany has a vibrant academic community with very good opportunities for research and a high impact output. Of course, one can observe the shifting fortunes of social sciences academia here as well, but this has been more acute in countries like Türkiye, where public vigilance towards the protection of higher education quality and standards has eroded in the last two decades. As such, it has been refreshing for me to spent a month here in interaction with Viadrina’s academic community and its students.

As predicted by many Türkiye experts, the countries foreign policy has been appreciating towards the West after the elections. Eventhough President Erdoğan remained in power and his republic alliance achieved parliamentary majority running on a highly nationalist-religious and anti-western rhetoric, it was expected that

his government would seek better relations with the West after the elections. This change in foreign policy runs in parallel to a change in economic policy towards more orthodox ways. Both changes stem from the simple need of Türkiye as a middle power to maintain good relations with great powers in a progressively polarizing international atmosphere. This is likely to reflect positively on Türkiye’s relations with Washington and Brussels in the short and intermediate term. In the long term however, the trajectory of relations depend on a convergence of not just interests, but also principles.

My stay in Frankfurt and teaching experience in Viadrina has been great, and I would in particular like to thank the staff and students at KUWI who have welcomed and assisted me during my visit. I hope to meet all of them again, be it here or in Istanbul, but certainly in better times for world peace.

PROGRAMMES ON EUROPEAN STUDIES

BİLGİ MA in European Studies

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

The programs are restructuring and there will be no recruitment to the programs this year.

Viadrina Double Degree MA Program



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

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

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

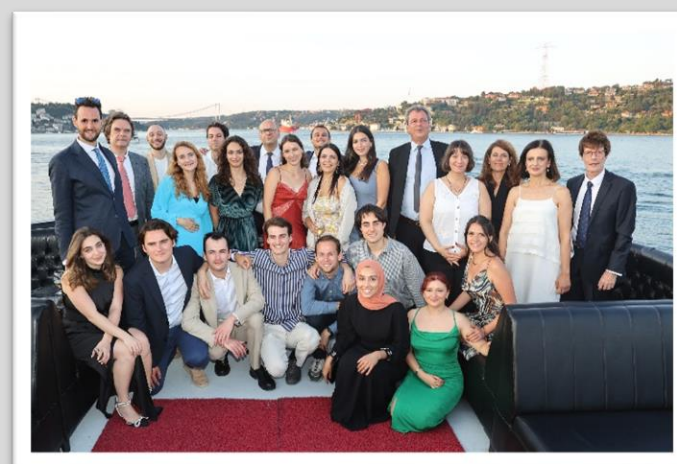
there is always Berlin, only an hour away by train. The programs are restructuring and there will be no recruitment to the programs this year.

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

Master in Advanced European and International Studies (MAEIS)

afeiEEi Centre internationale de formation européenne
Institut européen · European Institute

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



CIFE Graduation Ceremony, 2023

For further information about the CIFE, please visit the website: <https://www.cife.eu/>

FROM OUR STUDENTS



Elifsenä Birođlu
International Relations MA Program

I'm Elifsenä Birođlu, and I am nearing the completion of my master's degree in the International Relations MA Program at İstanbul Bilgi University.

Actually, I am not new to BİLGİ. santralistanbul and the Bilgi IR department have been my home since 2015. As someone who earned both her undergraduate and almost completed master's degrees from Bilgi IR, I am happy to say that this department and the school have changed and transformed me as a whole. I owe a debt of gratitude to my department and my school, which allowed me to have the philosophy of "learning not for school but for life", to be fairer, more equal, more scientific, more critical, and to approach the world with more love. I consider myself especially fortunate to have the opportunity to take interdisciplinary courses during my master's degree. This experience reaffirmed that I had received a world-class education from the beginning. In addition to the quality of education in the courses, I would like to point out that my classmates come from various parts of the world. I can summarize what this means for a student as follows: Lectures where every voice of the world echoes freely and in a highly scientific framework, and very informative breaks! These are great opportunities for someone who wants to grow as a social scientist. And, of course, my

gratitude extends significantly, particularly to the Bilgi EU Institute, for their support in the research I conducted as part of my master's degree.

In my master's thesis, my focus towards the return migration of Süryanis from Europe to their homeland, Midyat. My thesis advisor Prof. Ayhan Kaya, who is also the director of the Bilgi EU Institute, and I transformed my master's thesis into a scientific project. Subsequently, we applied for İstanbul Bilgi University BAP Research funds, and my research was deemed eligible for financial support by the university. With the support of the Bilgi EU Institute and BİLGİ, I carried out my field research in Midyat in July 2023. I visited all Süryani villages in Midyat one by one, and in this context, I held in-depth interviews with many Süryani returnees and officials in the region. The basis of my knowledge in the background of these researches was the studies I did in the EU-themed courses provided by the Bilgi EU Institute. Thus, in addition to political science and international relations, I also benefited from ethnography and anthropology in my thesis, all of which was possible thanks to the support I received from my school.

I look forward to making scientific inferences and publications that I will produce from the outputs of my thesis and research project soon. At this point, I would also like to thank the Bilgi EU Institute team, who always listens to its students, supports them, equips them with knowledge and ethical values, and inspires me by carrying out world-class projects.

I will always talk with great pleasure about being a part of BİLGİ and being "BİLGİLİ!".



Begüm Eren

Double Degree MA in European Studies

result, this ‘bad’ timing had been a bliss for me.

2020-2023 period occupies an important place in my life, and it taught me a lot! However, I would not be as strong if I did not have support from Bilgi. I appreciate the fact that I was able to get in touch with my professors and administration staff easily whenever I needed their help and support. I have always had equal support from both Bilgi and Viadrina which gave me the true impression of being a double degree student.

Bilgi has a special place in my heart by teaching me various of academic skills and Viadrina by allowing me to experience differences. As a border city, Frankfurt Oder offers one the observation of diversity while living in it. Therefore, I highly recommend each participants of this program to attend double degree program. Double diploma opportunity is for sure a cherry on top!

I am Begüm, I am a Turkish student from Bilgi. I started to my master program at Bilgi in 2019 and I finished my studies in 2023 in Viadrina. I finished first two semester at Bilgi and I can genuinely say that even during this short time I have learned a lot. Having a clear schedule for my lectures, productive learning environment, well-organized assignment lists and our professors being always there for us had strong impact on preparing me for a new perspective in my studies.

In 2020, I went to Germany to continue my master degree in European University Viadrina in Frankfurt Oder and honestly this time of my life has been a milestone for me. Unfortunately, I had to travel there during the peak of Corona and as we all experienced it was not a pleasant time for any of us. However, today I see that it was one of the best decisions that I have ever made! Viadrina is in a tiny city which is close to Berlin and probably if I were not there during Corona time, I would not appreciate my location and activities as much. I had a chance to experience a different culture quite in detail. The hardship of the time pushed me to see unappreciated details about the new environment. I always have been a person who is quite open to learn and experience anything new in life. Understanding how one thing works, what are the elements of it, how it is engaged with the environment have been fascinating me. And this time in Germany, I had an unobstructed atmosphere to observe every detail. As a

NEWS, EVENTS and PUBLICATIONS FROM THE INSTITUTE TEAM

Ayhan Kaya

SSCI and Other Articles:

- Kaya, Ayhan (2023). “The Neoliberal Face of the ‘Local Turn’ in Governance of Refugees in Turkey: Participatory Action Research in Karacabey, Bursa” *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, Special Issue on Welcoming Spaces, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-023-01033-9>, Electronic ISSN 1874-6365 Print ISSN 1488-3473
- Kaya, Ayhan and Max Robert-Valentin (2023). “Political Drivers of Muslim Youth Radicalisation in France: Religious Radicalism as a Response to Nativism,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2023.2193734>, ISSN 14782790, 14782804
- Kaya, Ayhan (2022). “Home-State Politics Vis-à-Vis Turkish Emigrants: Instrumentalizing Emigrants,” *Middle East Critique*, 31/4: 327-340. DOI: 10.1080/19436149.2022.2135362

- Kaya, Ayhan and Amina Dhimeur (2022). “[Diaspora politics and religious diplomacy in Turkey and Morocco](#)”, *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, July.
- Kaya, Ayhan and Ayşenur Benevento (2021). “[Epistemic Justice as a Political Capability of Radicalised Youth in Europe: A Case of Knowledge Production with Local Researchers](#)”, Special Issue on Participant Research. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, November.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “[The Use of the Past by the Alternative for Germany and the Front National: Heritage Populism, Ostalgia and Jeanne D’Arc](#)” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, Special Issue.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021), “[Islamist and Nativist Reactionary Radicalization in Europe](#),” *Politics and Governance*, Special Issue on Populism. Volume 9, Issue 3, Pages 204–214, (ISSN: 2183-2463).
- Kaya Ayhan and Alexander K. Nagel (2021). “[Politics of Subsidiarity in Refugee Reception: Comparative Perspectives](#)”, *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, Special Issue.19/3, pp.235-244.
- Kaya, Ayhan, Jais Adam-Troian and Ayşe Tecmen (2021). “[Youth Extremism as a Response to Global Threats? A Threat-Regulation Perspective on Violent Extremism Among the Youth](#)”, *European Psychologist*, 26/1: 15-28.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “[Migration as a Leverage Tool in International Relations: Turkey as a Case Study](#)”, *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Advanced Online Publication, 04 January: 1-19.
- Kaya, Ayhan and Jais Adam-Troian (2021). “[Co-radicalisation of Islamist and Nativist Extremists in Europe: A Social-psychological and Sociological Perspective](#)”, *Journal of Muslims in Europe* 10, 1-36.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2022). “Local Turn in Migrant Integration Practices of Turkey: Syrians in Bursa”, In: Laine, J., Rauhut, D. & Gruber, M. (eds.) *Renegotiating remoteness: Towards enhanced social impact of immigration*.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “How to Prevent the European Public from Conflating Islam and Muslims with Terrorism; and How to Prevent the Muslim-Origin People from Constructing Parallel Communities”, in George N. Tzogopoulos (ed.), *The EU and the Eastern Mediterranean: The Multilateral Dialogue Option*. Nice: CIFE: 67-77.
- Kaya, Ayhan and Alexander K. Nagel (2021). “[Reception Policies, Practices and Responses](#),” In Soner Bartoma and Öner Çetrez (eds.), *Responding to Migration A Holistic Perspective on Migration Governance*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 227-256.
- Kaya, Ayhan, Susan Beth Rottmann, N. Ela Gökalp-Aras, and Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek (2021). “[Turkey: Border Management, Protection, Reception, and Integration of Refugees](#)”, In Soner Bartoma and Öner Çetrez (eds.), *Responding to Migration A Holistic Perspective on Migration Governance*. Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 187-208.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “[How to Prevent the European Public from Conflating Islam and Muslims with Terrorism; and How to Prevent the Muslim-Origin People from Constructing Parallel Communities](#)”, In George N. Tzogopoulos (ed.). *The EU and the Eastern Mediterranean: The Multilateral Dialogue Option*. Nice: CIFE: 67-76.
- Kaya, Ayhan. (2021), “[Identität und Identitätsangebote Diaspora vs. Integrationspolitik](#)”, In Lobna Jama and Yaşar Aydın, eds. “*Graue Wölfe*” *Türkischer Ultrnationalismus in Deutschland*, Bonn, ISBN: 978-3-7425-0682-5, Bandnummer 10682.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “Populist Politics in Europe and Their Impact on EU relations with the Middle East: EU-Turkey Relations as a Case Study”, In Dimitris Bouris, Daniela Huber and Michelle Pace (eds). *Routledge Handbook of EU-Middle East Relations*. London: Routledge.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “Europeanization and De-Europeanization of Turkish Asylum and Migration Policies,” in Wulf Reiners, Ebru Turhan (eds.), *EU-Turkey Relations – Theories, Actors, Policies*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). “Closing the Door to Migrants and Refugees: Assessing Justice in the EU-Turkey Statement,” Michela Ceccorulli and Enrico Fassi (eds.), *EU’s external governance of migration: Perspectives of Justice*. London: Routledge.
- Kaya, Ayhan and Angeliki Dimitriadi (2021). “[EU Turkey relations on migration: transactional partnership](#)”, in Beken Saatcioglu and Funda Tekin (eds.), [Turkey and the European Union: Key](#)

Dynamics and Future Scenarios. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). "Religion and International migration," In Jeffrey Haynes (ed.), *Handbook on Religion and International Relations*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar: 156-170. July 2021.
- Kaya, Ayhan (2021). "Oration of the Nation in Turkey: From Secularization to Re-Islamization," in Timm Beichelt, Clara Maddalena Fryszta, Claudia Weber, Susann Worschech (Eds.) (2021). *Ambivalences of Europeanization Contributions to the new conceptualization of the past and present of Europe*. Pp.123-134. Franz Steiner Verlag. ISBN 978-3-515-12874-2.

Books:

- Zeynep Şahin-Mencütek, Ela Gökalp-Aras, Ayhan Kaya, Susan Rottmann, (2023). *Syrian Refugees in Turkey: Between Reception and Integration*. Switzerland: Springer, IMISCOE. ISSN 2364-4087 ISSN 2364-4095 (electronic) IMISCOE Research Series ISBN 978-3-031-27365-0 ISBN 978-3-031-27366-7 (eBook) <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-27366-7>
- Kaya, Ayhan, Susan Rottmann, Ela Aras, Zeynep Mencütek (2021). "Koruma, Kabul ve Entegrasyon: Türkiye'de Mültecilik", İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Working Papers:

- Kaya, Ayhan (2022). "Türkiye'de Artan Göçmen Karşıtlığının Nedenleri ve Çözümüne İlişkin Politika Önerileri" (Drivers of Anti-Migrant Sentiments in Turkey and Policy Recommendations), EDAM Working Paper Series, İstanbul
- Kaya, Ayhan (2022), "AB-Türkiye Göç Mutabakatı: Tampon Ülke?", TÜSİAD, İstanbul.

Conference Papers:

- "My experience on ERC Project Applications," Lancaster University Research Talks, 10 May 2023, Online Seminar
- "Prime Youth: Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism: Culturalization and Religionization of What is Social, Economic and Political in Europe," LSE, European Institute, London, 7 March 2023

- "Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe, USA, and Turkey," LSE, European Institute, London, 6 March 2023.
- "Turkey – Germany Migration Nexus: Cyclical and Permanent Migration," Migration 2.0 Conference organized by IBB Dortmund, AMIF Project, Dortmund, Germany, 24 November 2022
- "Populism in Remote Places," *Midigo Seminar Series*, 3 November 2022, available at Youtube <https://youtu.be/8YMLAjPQjdw>
- "Neoliberal Local Turn in Migrant Integration Practices in Turkey: Syrians in Bursa," SIPGI Conference, The Role of Political and Social Institutions in the Integration of Refugees into Host Societies, Gothenburg University, Sweden, 24-25 October 2022.
- "Islamist and Nativist Radicalisations in Europe", Online Lecture, Extremebeliefs.com, University of Amsterdam, ERC Starting Grant Project led by Rik Peels, 19 October 2022.
- "Populism in Remote Places," *MATILDE Summer School*, Bussoleno, Susa Valley, Italy, 13-17 June 2022.
- "Nativist and Islamist forms of Reactionary Radicalisation in Europe," Jean Monnet Chair Lecture in EU Norms, İstanbul Bilgi University, Dr. Ozge Onursal's Chair, 27 May 2022.
- "Nativist and Islamist Reactionary Radicalisation in Europe," *Webinar*, Centre for Research in Communication and Culture, Loughborough University, 6 May 2022.
- "Impact of European Populisms on EU's Relations with the Middle East," Webinar on the EU in the World and MENA-EU Relations, *ACES, University of Amsterdam*, 20 April 2022.
- "Nativist and Islamist Forms of Radicalisation," International Migration Academy, Jean Monnet Module, Yaşar University, 8 February 2022.
- "Turkey as the EU's Partner: Lessons from the migration crisis and preparation for the next one", Paper presented in the Webinar organised by Heinrich Böll Foundation in Prag and Euractiv in Bratislava, 26 October 2021.
- "Populist movements, Islamophobia and Responses in Germany", Workshop organized in Berlin AKEBİ e.V. (AktivistInnenvereinigung gegen

Rassismus, Nationalismus und Diskriminierung), 16 October 2021.

- "Populist movements and the migrant communities in Germany", Paper presented in Berlin AKEBİ e.V. (AktivistInnenvereinigung gegen Rassismus, Nationalismus und Diskriminierung), 14 October 2021.
- "Refugees in Turkey", MARUF, Marmara Urban Forum, Marmara Association of Municipalities, İstanbul, Online, 2 October 2021. MATILDE.
- "History of political Islam in Turkey since the 1970s," *Religiously motivated violent radicalisation in MENA region: root causes and policies addressing it 26 May 2021 Online - Zoom - 10.00 - 13.00 GMT A regional workshop* from the GREASE research project organised by University Mohammed V – Rabat, Morocco.
- "Islamist and Nativist Reactionary Radicalization in Europe", Conference Series on Radicalisation, *Bielefeld University*, 10 May 2021.
- "Multilevel Governance of Mass Migration in Europe and Beyond, RESPOND," *SRII Spring and Autumn Lectures 2021*, Narrative and Politics, 20 April 2021.
- "Syrians in Turkey: Prepared to Stay", Seminar for National & Kapodistrian University of Athens, 24 March 2021.
- "Islamist and Nativist Reactionary Radicalization in Europe," *Webinar*, Oxford Brookes University, 22 March 2021.
- "Interpreting IOM's World Migration Report 2020 in Relation to Turkey", Paper presented in Webinar organised by Mirekoç and IOM Geneva, 24 February 2021.
- "Radicalisation among European Youth: Islamophobia vs Islamism", *Lecture* at Humboldt University International Campus, 8 February 2021, 12.00 CET.
- "History of Migration to Turkey", *SGDD/ASAM Summer School*, Migration Academy, İstanbul, 9 August 2022.
- "Nativist and Islamist Forms of Reactionary Radicalism in Europe" Seminar given at the Department of International Relations, Bahcesehir University, İstanbul, 24 May 2022.
- "Populism and Radicalisation in Europe", Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Ankara University Certificate Program, Webinar, 19 April 2022.

- "Reflections on the Impact of COVID-19 Pandemic on the Perception of Refugees in Turkey and Germany," IPC-Mercator Stiftung, 22 March 2022.
- "Reflections on Syrians Barometre," UNHCR, Ankara, 21 March 2022.
- "Municipal Responses to Mass Migration of Refugees in Marmara", Panel organized by the MBB, Marmara Association of Municipalities, Webinar, 16 March 2022.
- "Populism, Radicalism and Islamism in Europe", Jean Monnet Module Talk, Yeditepe University, 3 March 2022, online.
- "Sağlığın Sosyal Belirliyecileri Açısından Göçmenlerin Dayanıklılığı," Paper presented at the 5th International and 23th National Public Health Conference, Online, Turkey (13-18 December 2021).
- "Popülizm ve Radikalleşme", Lecture delivered in the Online Certificate Program organized by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Mersin University, 25 October 2021.
- "Türkiye'de Sosyal Uyum Tartışmaları: Politika Önerileri", *DEVA Partisi Kitlesel Akinlar ve Düzensiz Göç Çalıştayı*, Online, 2 October 2021.
- "Avrupa'da ve Türkiye'de Mültecilerin Uyumunu", *Dünya Mülteciler Günü, Webinar*, Emek Partisi, 20 June 2021.
- "Dünya'da ve Dünyada Günümüzde Mültecilik," *Dünya Mülteciler Günü, Webinar*, Sultanbeyli Mülteciler Derneği, 17 June 2021.
- "Diasporada Kimlik ve Radikalleşme Avrupa'da Türkler," Conference Paper, Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi ve NÜGAM, 21 Mayıs 2021.
- "On Birinci Kalkınma Planı (2019-2023) Dış Göç Bölümü'nün Uygulanmasına Teknik Destek \ Genel Çerçeve: Öncelikler", ICMPD, Ankara, 5 Mayıs 2021
- "Zorunlu Bir Göç Türü Olarak İklim Mülteciliği," UNDP İnsani Gelişme Raporu (İGR) Takip Toplantısı: "Antroposen'de İnsan Hareketliliği", 21 Nisan 2021
- "Kitlesele Göçün Karşıllanması," Mersin Üniversitesi MERGÖÇ Buluşmaları, 7 Nisan 2021.
- "Geçmişten Günümüze Avrupa: Söylenceler, Kimlikler ve Bütünleşme", *Avrupa Bilgi Akademisi*, İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute Certificate Program, 25 May 2021.

- “Suriye Krizi Sonrası Türkiye’nin Göç ve İltica Politikası: Avrupalılaştırma Etkisi?” *Avrupalılaştırma Jean Monnet Modülü Konferansı*, 26 Nisan 2021
- “Radicalisation and Populism in Remote Places in Europe,” *Webinar*, Anthropology Association, İstanbul, 8 April 2021.
- “Syrians in Turkey and Local Municipalities. Mass Migration, Local Responses,” *Webinar* (in Turkish), Mersin University Centre for Migration Studies, 7 April 2021.
- “Zorunlu Bir Göç Olarak Çevresel Mültecilik” İklim Değişikliği ve Göç Konferansı, İTÜ İklim Değişikliği Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, 31 Mart 2021.
- “Diaspora Çerkeslerinin Kimlik İnşası,” Seminar, NART AKADEMİ 2021 - 25 Mart 2021.
- “Diaspora and Radicalisation: Turkish and Moroccan Origin Youth in Europe”, *Lecture* given at the Ankara Social Sciences University, Ankara, Webinar, 19 March 2021.
- "Almanya’da 60 Yılın Öteki Yüzü: Ateşin Düştüğü Yer Hanau Paneli", *Webinar* organized by the Presidency of Turks Abroad (YTB), 19 February 2021.
- “Syrian Refugees in Turkey and the EU”, Speech at Jean Monnet Chair Summer School, MEF University, İstanbul, 5 July 2022.
- “Strategic Temporality in Turkey’s Governance of Syrian Refugee Situation,” Paper presented with Z. Mencütek, Ela Aras and Susan Rottmann in Panel on Temporalities and Politics of Migration in the Middle East, *IMISCOE Annual Conference*, Oslo, 28 June-2 July 2022.
- Discussant in the Panel on "Syrian and Afghan Refugees in Turkey and Abkhazia: Displacement, Repatriation, Transnational Solidarity vs Discrimination, Hate speech", *IMISCOE Annual Conference*, Oslo, 28 June-2 July 2022.
- “A Critical Perspective from Turkey on research,” paper presented in Panel on Rethinking international research partnerships: from old hierarchies to new forms of co-creation,” *IMISCOE Annual Conference*, Oslo, 28 June-2 July 2022.
- “Co-Radicalisation in Muslim Majority Contexts: An Assessment of the term in Turkey,” paper presented with Metin Koca in Panel on Reciprocal radicalisations in southern Europe and Turkey: Conceptual and Empirical Insights, *IMISCOE Annual Conference*, Oslo, 28 June-2 July 2022.

- “Populism in Europe and its Impact on EU-Turkey Relations”, Speech at Jean Monnet Chair Summer School, MEF University, İstanbul, 27 June 2022.
- “Islamist and Nativist Reactionary Radicalization in Europe, *ISPP 2021 Annual Meeting*, Virtual Room 4, 12 July 2021, 13:00-14:20 (CET) Module 59. Political Reactionism and Resentful Affect, Online, 11-15 July 2021.

Keynote Speeches:

- Keynote Speech on “Göç ve İltica Politikalarının Avrupalılaştırması: Yumuşak Güç Olma Arayışları”, Kocaeli University, Conference Global Balance of Power: Turkey and the EU, Online Conference, 11 May 2023.
- Keynote Speech on “The Rise of Civilisational Rhetoric and the Co-Radicalisation of Young Europeans: Islamophobia vs. Islamism?” Uppsala University, The Seventh Interdisciplinary Religion and Society Research Directors Colloquium, Uppsala University, 17-19 April 2023
- Keynote Speech on “Nativist and Islamist forms of Reactionary Radicalisation in Europe,” University of Essex, PhD Student Colloquium, organized by [ESRC Research Centre for Micro-Social Change](#) (MiSoC), 8 June 2022.
- Keynote Speech on “Home-state politics *vis-à-vis* Turkish emigrants: Instrumentalizing emigrants,” International Workshop organised by Coventry University Centre for Peace Trust and Social Relations, GIGA (The German Institute for Global and Area Studies) and London Metropolitan University, 21 May 2021.

Interviews:

- “Avrupa Birliği ve Göç”, IGAM TV, 28 March 2022.
- “Avrupa’nın Göç Politikaları”, *Bianet*, 5 Mart 2022,
- “Geçmişten Günümüze Radikal Kavramının Yapıbozumu” (Deconstructing the term Radical), Webinar, İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute, 24 December 2021.
- “Radikalleşme Kavramının Yapıbozumu”, *Radikalleşme Mükemmeliyet Alanı Webinar Dizisi*, 24 Aralık 2021
- “Sağ Popülizm neden Yükseliyor”, AKEBI; Berlin 26 October 2021.
- “Uluslararası Göç Teorileri”, Science Academy Turkey Summer School, 16 June 2021.

- “Growing pro-Europeanness in Turkey”, Talk in Medyascope with Şükran Şençekiçer, 28 March 2021.
- “Diaspora and Radicalisation: Turkish and Moroccan Origin Youth in Europe”, *Lecture* given at the Ankara Social Sciences University, Ankara, Webinar, 19 March 2021.
- “Right-Wing Extremism in Europe”, Medyascope, with Gülçin Karabağ, 7 March 2021.
- “Nationalism in Europe”, Panel convened by Bahadır Kaleagası and Selim Yenel, MEDIASCOPE, 3 March 2021.
- “Turkey and the World: Islamophobia in Europe”, Medyascope, with Pelin Oğuz and İstar Gözaydın, 25 February 2021.
- “MiReKoc Webinar: IOM World Migration Report: Implications for Turkey”, 24 February 2021.

Podcasts:

- Ayhan Kaya, “Göç Gündemi: Avrupa’da Göç ve Radikalleşme”, IGAMTV, 17 August 2020
- Ayhan Kaya, “İrkçilik”, Sivil Sayfalar, 16 June 2020
- Ayhan Kaya, “Turkish Refugee Crisis is just starting”, Ahval Newspaper, 5 March 2020.
- Ayhan Kaya, “Türkiye ve Göç”, Nereden Başlasam, Mirgün Cabas ve Can Kozanoğlu, 23 March 2020
- Ayhan Kaya, “Populism, Islamophobia and Radicalisation in Europe”, Turkey Talk, 20 January 2020.
- Ayhan Kaya, PODCAST, “Avrupa’da Popülizm ve Kültürel Miras” Daktilo 1984, 14 October 2019.

Projects, Academic and Administrative Positions:

- Project Coordinator: March 2022 – 2025 Jean Monnet Chair on “**Norms and Turkey-EU Relations**” Funded by the European Commission BILGINormsEU / Project: 101047023
- Vice Director of the European Institute and Member of BİLGİ Fields of Excellence: European Studies
- Member of the Quality Assurance Committee in BİLGİ (Representative of BİLGİ European Institute) - from Jan 2022 to the present.
- Co-organiser and chair, Inclusive Higher Education in the Age of Transnationalism Workshop, hosted by Contemporary Turkish Studies of LSE and the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University, LSE, London, 6-7 March 2023. <https://www.lse.ac.uk/contemporary-turkish-studies/past-events/2022-23/turkish-week/202303061000>
- Member of a study group on the European Constitutional process, based on the Chatham House model in collaboration with the Dimitris-Tsatsos-Institute for European Constitutional Sciences of the Fernuniversität in Hagen - from July 2022 to the present <https://constitutionforeuropenetwork.eu>

Publications and Conference Papers:

- “Cumhuriyet’in 100. Yılında Türkiye, AB ve Avrupalılaştırma”, İlk Yüzyılı Biterken Cumhuriyet Konferansı: Demokratikleşme Momentleri, Sıradan İnsanlar ve Siyaset, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 28-30 Nisan 2023.
- Özge Onursal-Beşgül, “Süreç İzleme Yöntemi ile Avrupa Bütünleşmesini Anlamak”, *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, Sayı 51, Özel Sayı 1, pp. Ö301-Ö312, 2022.
- “*Social Inclusion of Refugee Youth in Higher Education: The Role of International Organizations*”, 21. Yüzyılda Uluslararası Göç Konferansı – VI, Yeditepe Üniversitesi KEKAM ve Uşak Üniversitesi Göç Araştırmaları ve Siyaset Uygulama ve Araştırma Merkezi, çevrimiçi, (10-11 October 2022).

- “Türkiye’de Pandeminin Yükseköğrenime Etkileri: Suriyeli Gençler”, paper presented in 4. Küresel Eşitsizlikler Konferansı: Pandemi ve Eşitsizlikler, Altınbaş Üniversitesi, çevrimiçi, (12-13 May 2022).

Invited Seminars:

- Invited speaker - “AB Dış Politikası ve Brexit: Üye Ülkeden, Üçüncü Ülkeye”, POW-EU-R Jean Monnet Module Seminar Series, Kocaeli University, 26 April 2023.
- Online Seminar, International DAAD Academy, “Integration of Refugees into the higher education system in Turkey”, seminar in Online Seminar Series: Integration of refugees into higher education institutions: an international comparison (17 February 2022).

Deniz Güneş Yardımcı

Projects:

- DAAD – TUBİTAK funded Project “Distant Neighbors: Exploring Political Narratives and Visual Culture in Turkish-German Relations” <https://explorenarratives.com/>

Seminars and Meetings:

- The Power of Narratives and Visual Culture in Transnational Cooperation: Exploring Turkish-German Relations in Political Life and Everyday Culture, 19 July 2023, Venue: Horst-Schimanski-Saal <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/news/workshop-the-power-0/>
- SGDD Göç Akademisi Yaz Okulu, “Cinema and Migration” (17 August 2021)
- DAAD Information Event December 2021
- DAAD Information Event August 2022
- DAAD Information Event December 2022
- Germany Brief “Seçime Doğru”
- “60 Years Guestworker Migration from Turkey to Germany” with WDR T24 cooperation (2021).
- Panel Moderator, “Sanat, Kültür ve Göç” at “IV. Göç Çalışmaları Lisansüstü Öğrenci Konferansı”, İstanbul Bilgi University (17 December 2022).

Ayşenur Benevento

Publications:

- Benevento, A., Koca, M. and Kaya, A. (2022) “Coding Manual: Nativism, Islamophobia and Islamism in the Age of Populism”, ISLAM-OPHOB-ISM ERC Project (Number 785934) [Preprint].
- Kaya, A. & Benevento, A. (2021). “Epistemic Justice as a Political Capability of Radicalised Youth in Europe: A Case of Knowledge Production with Local Researchers”, *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*.
- Benevento, A. (2021). “The Necessity to Recognize Processes of Radicalization from a Socio-cultural Perspective”, *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science*.
- Benevento, A., Robert, M.V., Weißenberg, M., Zurbier, M. & Raemdonck, A.V. (Under review). Conducting a Large-Scale Qualitative Research Concerned with Stigmatized Populations: Recommendations to Facilitate Data Collection.
- Benevento, A. (Under review in a Special Issue). In Search of an Appropriate Channel for Voicing Political Concerns: Political Participation Among Radicalized Youth in Europe.
- Benevento, A. & Koca, M. (Under review in a Special Issue). Being Trapped in Homeland, or Belonging There: Mobility and Ownership Claims in the Narratives of Native and Migrant-origin Europeans.
- Benevento, A. (In Press). Can a Woman be Radical by Choosing to Stay at Home or Wear a Headscarf? In Western Societies, She Can. In A. Kaya, A. Benevento, & M. Koca (Eds.). *Nativist and Islamist Radicalism: Anger and Anxiety* (In Press). Routledge.
- Kaya, A., Benevento, A. & Koca, M. (Edited Volume in Press). *Nativist and Islamist Radicalism: Anger and Anxiety*. Routledge.

Speech and Events:

- Ayşenur Benevento, “Radikal Olarak Etiketlenmiş Popülasyonlarla İlgili Etik ve Güçlü Bir Niteliksel Bir Araştırmanın Yürütülmesine İlişkin Öneriler”, Siyasi İlimler Türk Derneği I. Ulusal Siyaset Bilimi Kongresi. 24-25 September 2022.
- Ayşenur Benevento, “Radikalleşmesini Tamamlamış Bireyler(?) Olağandışı ve Olağanın Sorgusu.” European Institute Radicalization Webinar Series.

20 June 2022.

- Ayşenur Benevento, “How does thinking about child/youth ideology shift our perspectives on human development? What kinds of research designs/method can shift us researchers from our ideologies?”, Whose Civic Engagement? Diverse Perspectives, The Graduate Center City University of New York, the USA, 26 April 2022.
- Ayşenur Benevento, “Studying Women’s Radicalization and Its Relevance to Gender Studies” IR 459: Politics in Western and Central Europe, İstanbul Bilgi University, 19 April 2022.
- Ayşenur Benevento, “Conducting a Large-Scale Qualitative Research Concerned with Hidden Populations: Recommendations to Facilitate Data Collection”, The İstanbul Bilgi University Graduate Course: Introduction to the EU, 13 December 2021.
- Ayşenur Benevento, “Can a Woman be Radical by Choosing to Stay at Home or Wear a Headscarf? In Western Societies, They Can”, Workshop on Radicalization and Youth Cultures, Brussels, 26 November 2021.
- Ayşenur Benevento, “Methodological Impediments on Searching Youngsters with Radicalized Beliefs,” Workshop on Islamist and Right-wing Radicalizations, Amsterdam, 23 November 2021.

Metin Koca

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- November 2023: Juxtaposing Violent Extremism and Critical Radicalism in Europe: The role of reflexive awareness in pursuit of religious purity and cultural essence. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*. Taylor & Francis. DOI: 10.1080/21567689.2023.2277466.
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Book Chapters

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- November 2022: Beyond the Continuum: Contrasting Images from Violent and Non-Violent Radicalization. İstanbul Bilgi University, European Institute. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.7281926.

Essays and More Accessible Posts:

- January 2023: The Market of Religions in Europe: Governments still get it wrong. İstanbul Bilgi University: PRIME Youth Website. <https://bpy.bilgi.edu.tr/en/blog/market-religions-europe-governments-still-get-it-w/>
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Reports and Conference Proceedings

- July 2023: PRIME Youth Project Report: Conclusive Final Conference. 3 July 2023. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.8108495
- May 2023: Youth Studies from Turkey to Europe: Unemployment, Migration, Digitalisation and Activism. 22 May 2023. DOI: 10.5281/zenodo.10034188

Organizations and Knowledge Communication

- Religious Moderation into Populist Radical Right in Western Europe. 4th Helsinki Conference on Populism, Emotions and Polarization (HEPP4), The University of Helsinki, 11-13 December, 2023.
- The European Union's Reputation as a Norm Carrier: Assessing the Impact of the Migration Deal on Democracy Promotion. Workshop on Diffusion and Contestation of Norms in Global Governance, Istanbul Bilgi University Jean Monnet Chair on Norms and Turkey-EU Relations, 8 December 2023.
- Religiosities in a Globalized Market. The Forum Series of IKG (Institute for Interdisciplinary Conflict and Violence Research), Universität Bielefeld, 7 December 2023.
- "Unexpected Dialogues on Intolerance", Siyasi İlimler Türk Derneği II. Ulusal Siyaset Bilimi Kongresi, Bilkent University, Ankara, 7-8 October, 2023. (delivered in Turkish)
- "Religion in Human Sciences and Islam in Europe", Humboldt University, the Berlin Perspectives Seminar Program, 7 July, 2023.
- Juxtaposing Violent Extremism and Critical Radicalism in Europe: The role of reflexive awareness in pursuit of religious purity and cultural essence. International Society of Political Psychology, 2023 Annual Meeting. July 2023, Montreal, Québec: Canada. (accepted, but unable to participate due to the organizational restriction on online participation)
- Scientific Organizer of the ISLAM-OPHOB-ISM ERC Project Final Conference at the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies. 13 June 2023.
- Organizer of the Youth Studies Conference at Istanbul Bilgi University. 22 May 2023.
- "Civil Society in Western Europe: Yellow Vests and Networked Social Movements," Civil Society in Comparative Perspective, Istanbul Bilgi University,

31 March 2023.

- "Who demands the Radicalism of the Populist Radical Right?", IR 459: Politics in Western and Central European, Istanbul Bilgi University, 30 March 2023.
- 2022 November "The leader change in the far-right National Rally in France," Anadolu Agency (Anadolu Ajansı), Interview dated 24 November 2022. (Turkish.)

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

'Non scholae, sed vitae discimus'
(learning not for school but for life)



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

Over time İstanbul Bilgi University has grown to encompass 3 campuses that cover nearly a total of 210,000 m², namely Kuştepe, Dolapdere and santralistanbul, where it continues to serve its students and the academic world in Turkey.

Having broken many new grounds in Turkey within 23 years, İstanbul Bilgi University had a long-term partnership between 2006-2019 with Laureate Education, one of the largest international education networks in the world, with the aim of increasing the quality of education and research and becoming a university that can compete globally. In 2019, Can Holding joined the supporters of Bilgi Culture and Education Foundation.

The university currently has more than 20,000 students and more than 60,000 alumni, over 1,000 academicians; 8 faculties, 3 institutes, 3 vocational schools, and 150+ programs that provide education to its associate, undergraduate and graduate students.

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

ACADEMIC PROGRAMMES

Faculties

Faculty of Applied Sciences

- Aviation Management
- Banking and Finance *
- Gastronomy and Culinary Arts
- International Retail Management *
- Logistics Management
- Sports Management
- Textile and Fashion Design
- Tourism Management

Faculty of Architecture

- Architecture
- Industrial Design
- Interior Design

Faculty of Business

- Business Administration
- Economics

Faculty of Communication

- Arts and Cultural Management
- Communication Design and Management
- Digital Game Design
- Film
- Media

Faculty of Engineering and Natural Sciences

- Civil Engineering
- Computer Engineering
- Computer Science*
- Electrical and Electronics Engineering
- Energy Systems Engineering
- Genetics and Bioengineering

- Industrial Engineering
- Mathematics
- Mechanical Engineering
- Mechatronics Engineering

Faculty of Health Sciences

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

Faculty of Law

Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

- Comparative Literature
- English Language and Literature
- English Language Teacher Education*
- History
- International Relations
- Music
- Psychology
- Sociology

Vocational Schools

School of Advanced Vocational Studies

- Accounting and Taxation
- Architecture and Urban Planning
- Computer Technology
- Construction
- Design
- Finance-Banking and Insurance
- Foreign Trade
- Hotel, Restaurant and Catering Services
- Management and Organization
- Marketing and Advertising
- Motor Vehicles and Transportation Technologies

- Transportation Services
- Visual, Auditory Techniques and Media Productions

Vocational School of Health Services

- Child Care and Youth Services
- Dentistry Services
- Medical Services and Techniques
- Property Protection and Security
- Social Services and Consultancy
- Therapy and Rehabilitation

Vocational School of Justice

Institutes

- Institute of Graduate Programs
- European Institute
- Institute of Information and Technology Law

Master Programs

- Accounting and Auditing *
- Architectural Design
- Bioengineering
- Business Law
- Clinical Psychology *
- Cultural Management
- Cultural Studies
- Computer Engineering
- Economics *
- Electrical-Electronics Engineering
- English Language and Literature
- Entrepreneurship and Innovation in Technology
- European Studies *
- Film and Television
- Financial Economics
- History
- History, Theory and Criticism in Architecture
- Human Resource Management *
- Human Rights Law

- Information and Technology Law *
- International Finance *
- International Political Economy *
- International Relations
- Logistics and Supply Chain Management
- Marketing
- Marketing (Turkish) *
- Marketing Communication / Marka Okulu
- MBA
- Media and Communication Systems
- Nutrition and Dietetics *
- Organizational Psychology
- Philosophy and Social Thought *
- Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation
- Public Relations and Corporate Communication *
- Social Projects and NGO Management
- Trauma and Disaster Mental Health *
- Turkish-German Business Law (Istanbul Bilgi University-Cologne University)

Online Master Programs

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

Doctoral Programs

- Business Administration
- Communication
- Economics *
- Electrical and Electronics Engineering
- Political Science
- Private Law
- Public Law

Research Centres

- Center for Atatürk Studies
- Center for Civil Society Studies
 - Child Studies Unit
 - NGO Training and Research Center
 - Social Incubation Center
 - Youth Studies Unit
- Center for Conflict Resolution Studies
- Center for Environment, Energy and Sustainability Studies
- Center for Financial Studies
- Center for Migration Research
- Center for Sociology and Education Studies
- Center for Work Ethics Studies
- Comparative Labor and Social Security Law Research Center
- Competition Law and Policy Research Center
- Cultural Policy and Management Research Center
- Distance Learning Center

Higher Education Studies Research Center

- Human Rights Law Research Center
- Intellectual Property Law Research Center
- Marine Law Research Center
- Murat Sertel Center for Advanced Economic Studies
- Research Center on International Trade and Arbitration
- Turkish Language Teaching and Research Center

Institutes/Graduate Schools

- Institute of Graduate Programs
- European Institute
- Institute of Information and Technology Law

* No new students will be accepted to the program.



**İstanbul
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