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**JEAN MONNET CENTRE
OF EXCELLENCE**

**BİLGİ EUROPEAN INSTITUTE
NEWSLETTER**

CONTENTS

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JEAN MONNET PROJECTS, CHAIRS, EVENTS AND MODULES	2
MARIE CURIE PROJECTS	10
CONFERENCES, ROUNDTABLES AND WORKSHOPS	13
ACADEMIC AWARDS AND HONOURS	19
GERMAN STUDIES	19
FRENCH STUDIES	21
MA PROGRAMMES IN EU	25
FROM OUR STUDENTS	26
PUBLICATIONS	28
SHORT NEWS	28
İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY	29
ACADEMIC PROGRAMMES	30

Dear Friends,

Welcome to the seventh Newsletter of the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University. This issue contains information on the activities, publications, conferences, workshops, graduate programs, research, social outreach projects and opinions of our students. The highlight of this year is the revision of the e-book for high-school pupils, which is now accessible on our website: <http://dijitalavrupa.bilgi.edu.tr>. The revised version includes five new animations on women, children, environment, diversity and mobility, and education, and it includes one computer game specially designed for the young generations. Teachers Academy Foundation, ÖRAV, was very collaborative in the simplification of the language of units in the book.

“Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence” organized two teacher training sessions in June and September to discuss “European Values at School” with the teachers. Both sessions hosted around 60 volunteer teachers, and they attended interactive seminars with academics as well as ÖRAV. The support of the İstanbul Directorate of National Education was very remarkable. The project will continue for two more years.

İstanbul Bilgi University has already been awarded three Jean Monnet Modules for highly specialised teaching on EU development in the fields of political science, economy and international relations, as well as two Jean Monnet Chairs within the European Institute and the Department of International Relations in 2011 and 2013.

In addition to other news and activities that you will see in the Newsletter, we also would like to inform you that we have a new Marie Curie Fellow, Dr. Cristiano Bee (University of Surrey), to work on new global social movements in the Turkish and European context. Dr. Peter Widmann (DAAD Fellow) continues to do his research on Turkey-EU relations from the mediatic angle. Assoc. Prof. Alper Kaliber, a Marie Curie Fellow, has completed his research on the Kurdish Question and he is now teaching at Kemerburgaz University. Dr. Claire Visier (Université de Rennes 1), another Marie Curie Fellow, continues to investigate EU projects in Turkey funded under the Instrument of Pre - Accession Assistance. In the meantime, Dr. Kevin Smets (Antwerp University), is also working with us as a short-term researcher on Kurdish Transnational Cinema. In this issue, you will find the various contributions of our researchers.



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Jean Monnet Projects, Chairs, Events and Modules

Jean Monnet Center of Excellence Events European Values at School

Istanbul Bilgi University's European Institute has been awarded "Jean Monnet Center of Excellence" in 2013 with its three-year-long project entitled "European Values at School - EUducate". Having received a very high score during the evaluation process, BİLGİ thus became the fourth university to be nominated as "Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence" in Turkey as a result of intensive academic work on European Integration since 1996.

The "Jean Monnet Center of Excellence", which is the latest award received by BİLGİ within the framework of the Life-Long Learning Programme, will provide enhanced support for interdisciplinary academic studies and research on European Integration as well as for public activities on Europe and the EU.

European Values at School project's launch conference was held in Santral Campus (February, 2014)

The Projects launch conference was held in February 2014 with the participation and high interest of high school students, teachers, and academicians. The opening speech was delivered by the Rector Prof. Dr. Remzi Sanver, who expressed his happiness and pride at BİLGİ's European Institute having achieved the Center of Excellence status.





His speech was followed by that of Dr. Muammer Yıldız, Director of İstanbul Directorate General of National Education, explaining the importance of education in the integration process.

Director of the European Institute Prof. Ayhan Kaya presented the results of the survey that was conducted to learn the



perception of the high school teachers about the EU at the very beginning stage of the project.

The results showed that a large majority of teachers supported Turkey's EU candidacy and that an even larger group (75%) believed that the close link between EU membership promoted universal values such as human rights, civil liberties and women's and children's rights. The results were discussed in detail by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayır, Head of Sociology Department from İstanbul Bilgi University and Dr. Emel Uysal, Senior Trainer from the Foundation of Teachers' Academy (ÖRAV) and Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya. The conference ended

with a lively Q&A session. Academicians, students, teachers, NGO's and members of the press attended the launch.

This EU-funded three-year project specifically aims at generating contents and pedagogical tools and training seminars for enhancing European values such as democracy, fundamental liberties and equal opportunities among primary, secondary and vocational school teachers and students in İstanbul.

After the presentation the guests had some time to discuss the project and the presentation while having coffee in the foyer area.

EU Boat-4 with Beyoğlu Municipality

The "EU Boat" project continues now in the framework of the European Values at School project. After three successful years, the European Institute enriched the seminar series with the contribution of academicians. In EU Boat-4, every week a different BİLGİ academician visited a high school within Beyoğlu Municipality and held a seminar on different subjects involving European Values and Europeanness. At the end of the EU Boat-4 seminar, over 700 students, and in total over 3500 students of all the EU Boat seminars have been reached. The seminar series will continue with EU Boat-5 in the 2014 - 2015 School year.



Teacher's Workshop I&II (June, 2014 – September 2014)



The first “European Values Workshop for Primary, Secondary and High School Teachers” was held on 23-24-25-26 June 2014 in Santral Campus in the framework of the “European Values at School” project, carried out by the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University in cooperation with the İstanbul Directorate for National Education, Teachers Academy Foundation (ÖRAV) and Beyoğlu Municipality Youth Center.

The workshops started with intensive seminars in the mornings and continued with indoor and outdoor interactive activities in the afternoons. As a result of the first workshop's success, the interest in the second workshop increased, and more applications have been received than expected.

The second workshop was held on 08-09-10-11 September 2014 again in Santral Campus. The teachers expressed their satisfaction and said that they hope such kind of training will continue in the future.

At the end of both workshops, the participants gave each other their certificate of participation.



WORKSHOP PROGRAM:

1st Day: Monday

09.45 - 10.00 Opening:

Targets of the Training
Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (İstanbul Bilgi University)

10.00 - 10.30

Short Survey about EU Perception

10.30 - 12.30

Awareness / Differentness in School Environment

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (İstanbul Bilgi University)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Murat Paker (İstanbul Bilgi University)

Erçin Kimmet (ÖRAV)

14.00 - 17.00

Effective Communication

Dr. Burcu Güngör Cabbar (ÖRAV) /
Dr. Emel Uysal (ÖRAV)

2nd Day: Tuesday

10.00 - 12.30

Women's Rights, Children's Rights in the EU and Turkey

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Uyan Semerci (İstanbul Bilgi University)

14.00 - 17.00

Compete with Resistance

Erçin Kimmet (ÖRAV)

3rd Day: Wednesday

10.00-12.30

Tolerance Narratives in the EU and Turkey

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (İstanbul Bilgi University)

14.00-17.00

Rules and Implementation Steps

Dr. Burcu Güngör Cabbar (ÖRAV) /
Dr. Emel Uysal (ÖRAV)

4th Day: Thursday

10.00-12.30

Universality in Curriculums and European Narratives

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayır (İstanbul Bilgi University)

13.30 - 15.30

Managing the Team and Learning Leadership

Erçin Kimmet (ÖRAV)

15.30 - 17.00

Focus Group and Evaluation

17.00

End of the Program

JEAN MONNET PROJECT



“Enhancing Learning EU at School: A Follow-up Project for Digital European Union” (ending project)

The European Institute developed the “Digital EU: An e-book for Primary and High Schools in Turkey” in 2012 aiming to help develop a sense of European citizenship based on understanding and respect for human rights and democracy, and to encourage tolerance and respect for other peoples and cultures among young people. The e-book was also a response to the need for IT-based learning materials for teachers and students.

In 2014 the project team (BİLGİ's European Institute, İstanbul Directorate General for National Education, Teachers Academy Foundation - ÖRAV-, and Beyoğlu Municipality's Youth Centre obtained a further grant from EU's Jean Monnet Learning EU at School program in order to improve the content, methodology, design and add new visual materials to the e-book produced in 2012. Based on feedback from pilot workshops with high school students and teachers, five new animation videos based on scribing technique, an interactive game, simplified language and an accompanying Teachers Guide are only some of the innovations that have gone into the E-Book II. The aim of this project was to improve the content, design and teaching methodology of the e-book produced in the framework



of the 2011 - 2012 project. Therefore, the project was based on the lessons learned from the previous project*. An initial workshop was conducted with various stakeholders who took part in the project, especially those teachers who used the e-book in classrooms. This workshop aimed to learn from the production process as well as from the use of the material in the field.

In order to improve the pedagogical approach, the project increased the number of interactive and visual materials in the e-book. An animated movie with scribing technique was produced in the previous project (<http://digitaleurope.bilgi.edu.tr>). The technique of these videos was found to be very successful during the pilot phase by the students;



therefore their numbers have been increased in e-book II. In order to increase the interaction an online game was also produced. A teacher's workshop was conducted in order to carry out a pilot implementation phase in the classrooms by the teachers.

The e-book II is available for computers, tablets and androids and is also accessible freely from the internet for all. The e-book II is downloadable on <http://dijitalavrupa.bilgi.edu.tr>.



Final Launch Conference was held on 24 September 2014, santralistanbul



The project ended with a final conference on 24 September 2014 with the participation of Prof. Remzi Sanver, the Rector of İstanbul Bilgi University, Serkan Gür, İstanbul National Education Deputy Director, and Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute, to discuss the impact of the project and demonstrate the results. The enriched e-book and the new teacher's guide was presented.

High school students and teachers participated in the conference and tested the e-book II.



Jean Monnet Project: "Digital European Union: An e-book for high school students in Turkish"

*Previous project



In 2013, we presented the "Digital European Union: an E-Book for Primary School and High School Students in Turkish" which is the outcome of a one-year project completed by the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University in collaboration with the İstanbul Directorate of National Education, and financed by the European Commission within the framework of the Jean Monnet Life-Long Learning Program.

The project aimed to increase the level of participation in EU related processes and to reduce prejudices towards the EU among citizens of Turkey by enhancing the knowledge and awareness among young citizens of Turkey of issues related to the European integration.

This aim was achieved by the publication of a digital textbook (E-BOOK) addressing students

between the ages of 13 to 18, aiming to develop and deliver appropriate pedagogical content and new didactic material for the teaching of European integration at the level of primary and secondary school students and teachers in Turkey.

The "Digital European Union: e-book for Primary high school students in Turkish" is an "open source" resource and is accessible via a web site (<http://digitaleurope.bilgi.edu.tr>) for online use. It is also downloadable to enable offline use and a version compatible with tablet computers which we hope will be included by the Turkish Ministry of Education on the "recommended reading" list and reach all primary and secondary Schools (FATİH Project).

JEAN MONNET CHAIRS

Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism - Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

The Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism by Prof. Ayhan Kaya successfully ended in 2014 August. The chair aimed to provide students with a better understanding of the European integration process through supporting research, the enhancement of university networks and funding various teaching activities. The subsidized teaching activities primarily consisted of Jean Monnet Centers of Excellence, Jean Monnet Chairs, European Modules and permanent courses on European Integration.

The Chair offered permanent courses on European Integration at undergraduate and postgraduate levels and concentrated entirely on European integration.

Events of the Chair Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya held the 2nd Jean Monnet Student Workshop (May 13, 2014)



After having organized the first Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism Student Workshop in 2013, the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University was happy to hold its second workshop in May 2014. The student workshop was organized in the form of a round-table discussion and participants were selected from undergraduate as well as graduate programs from İstanbul Bilgi University and other universities in Turkey. A wide range of subjects were presented, which covered issues such as mobility, diversity, citizenship, minorities, identities, education, tolerance, coexistence, cohabitation, multiculturalism and interculturalism. The program had been subdivided into three panels.



The first panel was led by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, and devoted to the field of

“EU at large“ and covering the following issues:

“Construction of European Identity: the Metaphors that European Union Lives By” Patrycja Hala, İstanbul Bilgi University, International Relations

“Understanding the European Identity Underlying the Turkish Identity” Bahar Cansu Kara, İstanbul Bilgi University, European Studies,

“What will be the European Union’s Next Move towards Presumed Polarisation and Intolerance in Turkish Society?” Burcu Yiğiter, Boğaziçi University. The second panel was led by the PhD Candidate in Political Science of İstanbul Bilgi University, Melanie Weissenberg,

and covered the field of “Migration, Mobility, Gender and Diversity“:

“Minorities in Turkey: Status and Rights of Minorities on the Road to EU” Ayşegül Uçkun, Ankara University, European Union and International Economic Relations,

“The Perceptions of Armenian People in Turkey” Tuğçe Erçetin, University of Essex, Political Science,

“The Turks and the Germans. How does the German domestic integration politics influence the perspective on Turkey’s EU accession?” Marleen Winter, Double Degree Student İstanbul Bilgi University - European University Viadrina Frankfurt Oder, European Studies.

The last panel was devoted to the issues of “Education, Gender and Socialization“ and was led by the PhD Candidate of Political Science of İstanbul Bilgi University Sernaz Arslan:

“Pluralism and Gender Equality in the EU” Hena Kadic, İstanbul Bilgi University, International Relations,

“Gender in International Migration Studies and Migrant Women’s Position in the European Union” Leyla Yıldız, İstanbul Bilgi University, International Relations,

“The Linkage Between Multiculturalism and Higher Education in Turkey-EU Relations” Güzin Aycan Öztürk,

Marmara University, Department of Political Science and International Relations in Sociology,

“Right Based Child Policies in Turkey from European Union Perspective” Esra Ceran Akgül, Marmara University.

As the emphasis of the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism is on the matters of social cohesion, the students were able to present and discuss their works on the relevant issues, which are believed to be very relevant for the Turkey-EU Relations in general, and for the Turkish context in particular.

The second Jean Monnet Student workshop again was a great success and we kindly thank all the participants for their great efforts and contributions to it.

Jean Monnet Chair in EU Political and Administrative Studies - Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın - Düzgüt

Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın - Düzgüt has finished the first year of her Jean Monnet Chair in “EU Political and Administrative Studies”.



The aim of the project is to spread and enrich the teaching, research and reflection on European integration studies at BİLGİ and strengthen its position as a focal institution in European integration studies in Turkey. There is a gradual weakening of interest in the European integration process among Turkish students in parallel to the growing disinterest in the EU among Turkish society at large over the recent years. The project rests on the core theme that Turkish students, members of civil society groups and other professionals need to be better informed about the European integration project with a particular focus on the debates over the EU institutions and policies, EU’s external relations, European economy, European identity and democracy at a time when the existing prejudice and disinformation about the EU fuelled by the Eurocrisis is on the rise.

**Events of the Chair
Seminars in the EU Certificate
Programme in Collaboration with
TUSES (November, December,
2014)**



A two-day EU Certificate Programme in collaboration with the Turkish Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation (TUSES) was held by the Jean Monnet Chair at İstanbul Bilgi University on 30 November 2013 and 8 December 2013. The topics covered by the Jean Monnet Chair included EU governance, EU-Turkey relations and EU foreign policy.

Jean Monnet Speaker Series I - European Foreign Policy in Troubled Times (May 13, 2014)

The Jean Monnet Chair of the Department of International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University, Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit, successfully opened the Jean Monnet Speaker Series on May 28th, 2014, in Santral



Campus with an interesting panel held upon 'European Foreign Policy in troubled times'. Three discussants with

different scientific and professional backgrounds spoke and presented their positions. The introduction was held by Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit. Prof. Meltem Müftüler-Baç, Jean Monnet Chair ad person at Sabancı University, started with the topic, 'The Limitations of Enlargement as a Foreign Policy Tool'. Secondly, Prof. Knud-Erik Jørgensen, teaching at Aarhus University/Denmark, presented his positions about 'European Foreign Policy as Policy and Politics'. He was followed by the final speaker, Sinan Ülgen, Chairman of the Center for Economics and Foreign Policy Studies, talking about 'European Security and Defense Policy'.

Prof. Meltem Müftüler-Baç analyzed the current situation with regard to



EU-enlargement policies, also referring to the Turkish example. She further explained the status quo of the so called 'leftovers' of the EU enlargement process such as the Balkan states and Iceland, pointing out the problems and chances of their further integration and suggesting a differentiated accession mode which would give new stimulus to the currently non-developing integration process. However, there would still be the possibility of accession perspective in the long term. Prof. Knud-Erik Jørgensen followed with the subject of 'European Foreign Policy as Policy and Politics'. He stated that Europe has experienced much worse 'troubled times' in history and that actually today's European diplomacy and foreign policy is fairly underestimated. Furthermore, Jørgensen expressed optimism,



and argued that in EU's history, 'troubled times' have always led to the most successful reform efforts and movements.

Finally, Sinan Ülgen presented the topic of 'European Security and Defense Policy' and gave a 'security perspective' on Europe's foreign policies. He outlined that there should not be a confusion of responsibilities between NATO and EU. The EU in contrast to NATO has never had the task of 'collective defense'. Above all, there is no 'Article 5' as it is the case in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. He concluded that there are two main functional aims regarding EU's foreign policy: firstly, to strengthen the soft power of the Union and secondly, to stabilize democracy and democratic values.

The three excellent presentations resulted in the opening of an interesting debate discussing the status of European foreign policy.

Graduate Student Workshop (June 6, 2014) by Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın - Düzgit

A Graduate Student Workshop on European Studies was organised by the Jean Monnet Chair on 6 June 2014. The papers that were discussed covered Turkey-EU relations, European foreign policy after the Arab Spring, European identity and EU institutions and policies after the crisis.





Seminars for Secondary School Students

The Jean Monnet Chair gave two seminars to ninth-grade students from two schools in the Beyoğlu municipality of İstanbul on 18 December 2013 and 9 April 2014. The focus was mainly on Turkey-EU relations and EU after the crisis.

MODULES

EU 416: European Political Economy Durmuş Özdemir

This is the core course of the fourth-year BA in European Studies. It attempts to convey how the relationship between state and economy in Western, Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe has evolved over the post-war period. The course aims to provide students with both a deep analytical understanding and a systematic treatment of empirical issues related to the evolution of the European political economy. Topics include: the state and economy in Europe, economic theory and policy in Europe, the political economy of European integration, the political economy of EU enlargement, monetary union, the creation of a single market, the Lisbon process and the democratic paradoxes of the EU.

EU 222: Introduction to European Culture Ayhan Kaya

This course gives a broad outline of the basic structures and topics of Europeanization, European culture and identity as they have been constructed throughout history. It is an introduction to the different historical constructions of 'Europe' with their ramifications for the global order from the early Middle Ages to our times. The course also sheds light on the notions of feudalism, democratization and enlightenment,

which are essential components of the European political culture.

EUR 510: Politics of Cultural Diversity in the European Union Ayhan Kaya

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

IR 472: Europe and Migration Ayhan Kaya

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

IR 479 Islam and the West: Bridging the Gap Ayhan Kaya

The course, "Islam and the West: Bridging the Gap", is concerned with mapping out the general framework of the issues related to Islam and the European Union members. This course examines, among other topics, the relationship between Islam on the one hand and multiculturalism, orientalism, Occidentalism, modernization, post-colonialism, post-communism, globalization, mysticism, the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Middle East on the other. The course also aims at giving students a comparative perspective on the issues from Andalusia to the Ottoman Empire. An historical account of the early encounters between Islam

and the Judeo-Christian West will be provided by examining some fields of interaction in philosophy, science, and education. This will be followed by an analysis of the European perceptions of Islam during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, paving the way for the modern conceptions of Islam and the Islamic world in the Western hemisphere. Special attention will be paid to the rise of the European civilization as the superior power of the modern world and its impact on the relation of the two civilizations in negotiating various forms and patterns of encounter, challenge, rejection, reaction, and adaptation.

EU 411: External Relations of the European Union Senem Aydın - Düzgit

The objective of this course is to offer an all-round introduction to the nature of EU external relations, the actors, instruments and the interaction within the wider international context. The course will cover basic terminology, history, the institutional framework, and foreign policy issue areas. In addition, the topics of the EU's identity as an international actor and of the Europeanisation of foreign policies are addressed. Students learn to apply this knowledge through an in-depth analysis of EU relations with a third country.

EUR 505: Selected Topics in EU-Turkey Relations Senem Aydın - Düzgit

This course is a core interdisciplinary MA module which focuses on the various dimensions of the relations between Turkey and the EU, including democracy, foreign policy, economy, the customs union, immigration, public opinion and identity through the lens of contemporary theoretical debates on European integration.

EU 315: EU-Turkey Relations Senem Aydın - Düzgit

This undergraduate course analyses and studies the political and economic relations between Turkey and the EU dating back to the Association Agreement of 1963. Particular attention will be paid to democratisation, foreign and security policy, the Cyprus conflict, customs union, immigration and public opinion.

EU 321 EU-Turkey Relations Senem Aydın-Düzgit

This course provides an overview of EU-Turkey relations since the early days of the integration process. It will explore the impact of the international context and domestic considerations on the depth and pace of Turkey's alignment with the EU. Special emphasis will be placed on Turkey's recent attempts at political and economic transformation in pursuit of EU membership. The course structure is designed to reflect both the legal framework and the changing political dynamics of this uneasy relationship.

MARIE CURIE PROJECTS

“Europeanization of Public Debates and Civil Society in Turkey” (EUROCIV) - Assoc. Prof. Alper Kaliber (Ending Project)



A report by Mareike Rump (Intern, European Institute)

The European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University held an interview with Mr. Alper Kaliber to report about his past two years, the project and its outcomes. The Marie Curie Project was launched in September 2012 and is supported by the European Commission within the context of the 7th Framework Programme.

Kaliber's project aims to explore the impact of the EU and other institutions, norms and policies of European integration on the politically mobilized civil society in Turkey. It investigates how and in what ways the EU-required legal and constitutional reforms of the freedom of association and assembly have affected the political and structural conditions in which Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) operate in Turkey. Throughout the project Dr. Kaliber conducted nearly 40 interviews

with civil society activists, intellectuals, journalists and researchers based in İstanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakır. A final one-day event at İstanbul Bilgi University will present the results of the project at the end of this year.

“The upcoming ending of the project does not conclude my research on the issue”

Our first question to Mr. Kaliber was his personal view on his project, i. e. how he feels regarding the upcoming end of the project and what he thinks about the results he has gained. “EUROCIV will be officially completed on 31 August 2014”, he stated. “Yet, I will continue with my research on Europeanisation of politically mobilized civil society and of the core public debates in Turkey. These public debates mainly revolve around the Kurdish question/the Resolution Process and political Islam/secularism issue. These issues are still hot topics in the political agenda of the country”.

The project, its aim and its outcomes

The project first explores which CSOs are involved in the core public debates in Turkey. It then investigates how the CSOs react to and make use of the EU/European context to increase their influence and to promote their political agenda “There are two important debates in this project. The Kurdish debate and the debate on secularism.” More important from my personal view was the Kurdish question, because there exists an ongoing resolution process and the issue was debated in all kind of circles in society”, he explained.

For the evaluation of the outcomes there are several important aspects. Generally, the CSOs who have a political agenda benefited extensively from the EU-reform process. Especially the legal and constitutional amendments made between 2001 and 2005 extensively broadened the political space for civil society in Turkey. “Nevertheless, these reforms didn't sort out all the problems of CSOs. There are still pressures on the CSOs; for instance, social activists may be judged and even imprisoned” he continued.

Changes in the conditions of Civil Society Organizations

In the 1990s the conditions for CSOs, in particular for those in the southeast region, were thoroughly different from now. Back then, there were warlike circumstances, including killings of

human rights activists, and violence was part of the daily life. “This situation changed a lot”, Mr. Kaliber added. “Right now there are mainly two kinds of pressures. Firstly, the Turkish government tries to make CSO's align with its policies. Secondly, the bulk of the civil society organisations are not included in the political consultation process of the government.”

Expectations of the project and surprising outcomes:

There is one outcome which had not been expected to change to such an extent: the view of the Turkish government on Europe and the decreasing optimism regarding Europe in general. Mr. Kaliber mentioned an interview he had held in 2008 when the situation was more optimistic and the atmosphere very positive. The Turkish activists' approach was different and they had the perspective that the EU and the Turkish government were actually listening to what they say. “The whole atmosphere was more optimistic”, Mr. Kaliber explained. Nowadays, CSO's are sceptical of the Turkish government; even those CSOs who were closer to the government before are distancing from them now, especially after the Gezi Park events. The CSOs are also skeptical about Turkey's integration to the European Union.

CSOs distancing from the EU-integration process

“The Justice and Development Party (AKP) government had a very active lobbying at the EU and especially when it came into power, the trust of them in the EU circles was very high”, Mr. Kaliber said. The AKP governments tried to demonstrate to the Europeans that they are different from the previous Turkish governments, that they are solving problems that other Turkish governments did not solve before and that everything would be better. To give an example, Mr. Kaliber mentioned the Human Rights Association (İnsan Hakları Derneği (IHD), which was continuously consulted by the EU officials before 2005. Yet, in the first years of the AKP governments, the EU built up trust on the reform process in Turkey and distanced itself from IHD-like CSOs. The EU officials even blamed some CSOs for exaggerating what is happening in the southeast. In parallel to this attitudinal change, the European funding provided to the politically mobilized CSOs drastically diminished. Yet, after 2010 everything has reversed again. The Turkish government has

lost much of its credibility in the eyes of the European institutions. The EU officials resumed the consultation process with civil society organisations leading to amelioration of the relations between these two and increase of the European funding.

The scepticism remains, the majority of the society does not trust in Europe any more

The mood of CSOs did not essentially change after 2010; the atmosphere in Turkey in regards to Europe is still sceptical. If the resolution process turns out to be successful, it would be mainly because of domestic initiatives rather than through influence by the EU or another external power, explains Mr. Kaliber. This is a widespread conviction among the CSOs which I have interviewed. Not only is the government distancing itself from the EU, but wide segments of Turkish society lost their interest in EU membership. "Nowadays in Turkey no one really cares about Europe", says Mr. Kaliber, "there is a radical retreat of Europeanisation as a normative and political context, a process affecting civil society actors as well". The EU is not seen as a support any more and even the most opposing CSOs do not believe in the integration process with the EU as an instrument of democratization. For various Kurdish CSOs, the political line adopted by the EU seems to be too similar to that of the Turkish government as far as the Kurdish issue is concerned. The reason lies in the ways in which relations are established in international politics. "The CSOs are of the opinion that for the EU leaders, state-based interest relations have a priority over other concerns, e.g., relations with civil societal actors".

What Europeanization stands for in the project EURO CIV

Dr. Kaliber's research employs a broader definition of Europeanization than the mainstream understanding. In the relevant literature, the term Europeanization often refers to a top-down process through which the EU changes the national political systems. "I am conceptualizing Europeanization as a context rather than a process involving norms, values, policies and institutions. European norms and values are (re)-constructed through both European and national level public debates. In Turkish and other national contexts, the more references are made to Europe in public debates, the deeper the penetration of Europeanization can be expected. If the social and political actors of public

debates do not make reference to European norms, then one can talk about the retreat of Europeanization."

Expectations before and after the project: "EU is not seen as a normative power any more"

"I was expecting these results in the beginning of the project", explained Mr. Kaliber, "but in the end they turned out to be even sharper than I imagined before. There is a significant retreat of Europeanization. Currently, the CSOs are convinced that the EU process is not a credible instrument for them to articulate and justify their political agenda. In some cases, mentioning the EU may even be counterproductive." Before the 2000s, for the Kurdish CSOs and human rights activists the situation was much different. When widespread violations of human rights were a common practice in the southeast of Turkey, the EU/Europe was perceived as a kind of rescue to mitigate the scale of human rights violations.

The weak civil society of Turkey

When we asked Mr. Kaliber what other outcomes would be important to him, he mentioned two aspects: one general and one specific. The general one is that CSOs in Turkey, as social and political actors, are still weak (particularly apart from those in Ankara and Istanbul). There is a good number of civil society organizations in Turkey. Yet they have neither a sufficient capacity nor enough instruments to influence decision-making processes. They are challenged by numerous difficulties in making their voices heard. A fact that makes this absence of instruments even more difficult is the fragmentation among the CSOs themselves.

This relates to the specific aspect. According to Dr. Kaliber, there exists a very vibrant life of social activism in the regions densely populated by Kurdish people, especially in Diyarbakır. These CSOs often collaborate with each other; yet some Islamic and other CSOs which are criticizing the Kurdish movement are complaining about their exclusion from the current resolution process. In fact, this complaint may well be generalized for all civil societal actors in Turkey. CSOs often argue that more transparency is needed in the negotiations conducted between the Turkish government and Öcalan, and they demand better instruments to work as a pressure group, more integration into the political processes and they want to be accepted as

advocacy groups defending peace and democracy as it is the case in democratic European countries.

Finally, we thank Mr. Alper Kaliber for the interview and wish him all the best for the future and his upcoming research.

"Enlargement and EU funded projects in Turkey: From design to implementation" (EUTUR) - Interview with Dr. Claire Visier



A report by Mareike Rump (Intern, European Institute)

Mrs. Visier, what are the aims of your project and why is the issue of a high relevance for you?

My project aims at looking at the EU-Turkey enlargement from another point of view than the macro one of political negotiations. Focusing on the Pre-accession assistance and at the projects funded by the EU in Turkey, I look at a more daily and bottom side of the enlargement process. Since the progress of political negotiations is very slow, it is a good way to understand what is it going on about EU-Turkey relations.

Your project is an ongoing project; anyway, can you summarize preliminary results for us?

Pre-accession assistance is a very specific field that doesn't suffer too much from the slowing down of the negotiations. Many projects are still funded in a large range of fields. No matter their country's stand about enlargement towards Turkey, European partners are still largely involved in the projects. A very specific community has emerged in Turkey, with a high expertise; it is very well socialized to the EU's procedures and way of doing. But I am still wondering if, and to what extent, there is a spread

of this knowledge and skills beyond this very specific pre-accession field to a broader administrative field, for example. I also wonder if there has been a widening of this very specialized and specific community.

At the beginning of your project-period, progression of EU-Turkey political negotiations toward accession was rather slow. What do you think about the current status?

The process has remained very slow. However, EU is still part of the discourse and the agenda of the Turkish government. On the last 27th of August, Ahmet Davutoglu stressed in his speech at the AKP convention (that elected him as the new President of the Party) that “EU will remain a strategic target for Turkey”. Before the elections, European diplomats told me how pro-active the Turkish diplomats were in pushing for negotiations. After the Gezi protests, Turkish government even succeed in diffusing a new approach of them. The methodology of negotiations changed after the accession of East and Central European countries. Opening a new chapter was not anymore considered as a first step to move forward on the alignment to the *acquis*, but rather as a positive result of a good (or high) compliance to the *acquis*. After Gezi protests and the strong criticisms held by European Countries and the EU, the Turkish government proposed to open chapters on Judiciary & Fundamental Rights and Justice, Freedom and Security in order to put more pressure on Turkey. That means a reverse understanding of the opening of a new chapter, not as a reward, but as a tool to push for progress in the alignment. This point of view was taken over by many European leaders. But until now, it hasn't been followed by concrete facts. The positive climate fostered by the signature of the readmission agreement last 16th of December was followed by a political deterioration of the relations, with the scandal of corruption and the massive “purge” within the administration, and the non-ratification of the readmission agreement (finally ratified last June). Of course this political situation postponed once again the negotiations issue.

One also has to keep in mind that negotiations are an interactive process. Enlargement issues are not on the current EU's agenda. The new head of the Commission, J.C. Yunker, has declared that there won't be new enlargement during its term, while the Enlargement's portfolio has been delegated to J. Hahn, an Austrian from

the Austrian People's Party and the EPP, which are not very well known for their enthusiasm toward Turkey's accession.

How do you see the relation between Pre-Accession Assistance and other enlargement frameworks so far?

Enlargement is made of what I call three frameworks: the diplomatic one of the negotiations, the politico-administrative one which is the daily work of the Turkish European Ministry in close contacts with sectorial Ministries to move forward in normative alignment; the third one is the one of financial assistance of the pre-accession. The narrative of the Enlargement policy presents them as three parts of a same integrated logic. Pre-accession assistance helps the country to adopt and implement the *acquis communautaire*; once adoption is rather good, negotiations can go ahead. In reality, the three frameworks are not so integrated. Each one has its own logic, its own timing, its own characters and its own governance, which leads to a disconnection between them. Concerning the Pre-accession Assistance, the very long timing of programming, selecting and contracting phases (at least three years between the formalization of an idea and the beginning of the implementation of the project) does not match with the political timing of negotiations (which are much more dependent on “windows of opportunity”). In addition, the people involved in the Pre-accession projects that I have met never refer to the negotiations. Within the European Ministry, people working outside the projects department do not pay too much attention to the Pre-accession assistance.

If there is no coherence of the enlargement frameworks, does Pre-accession assistance affect the process?

The answer to this question is very often given from a project's output-oriented evaluation. Many evaluations show that from one project to another, results can vary a lot.

My approach is different: rather than outputs, I decided to concentrate on the making of the projects. From their programming to their design and their implementation, European funded projects required a very high expertise of the European mechanisms and procedures (one of the objectives of the Pre-accession assistance is to prepare candidate countries for the intra-European management of funds and project based policies). From

what I have observed until now, I cannot conclude that Pre-accession assistance is a tool of socialization to European norms and values, but it is definitively a tool of socialization to European procedures and way of doing. What I still don't know is if there is a spread of this knowledge and skills beyond the Pre-accession assistance field and beyond the people in charge of the pre-accession assistance. If there is, that will mean a real effect of Pre-accession assistance on the process of enlargement. If there is not, that will mean that Pre-accession assistance remained, as other form of “development assistance”, a specific field totally independent, with no link with enlargement process or Europeanization process.

Your project implies both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Was that a great challenge for you?

It was, and it still is! I started with the quantitative approach, but working on my data base, I realized that I didn't choose the good criteria that I need for my analysis (the ones that I took were very closed to the European Commission criteria which have been built for an outputs evaluation analysis). So I started to change some of them, but it affected all the encoding process. As I went ahead in the qualitative research I discovered other criteria that I also need! So I decided to stop the encoding process, and to wait for the first result of the qualitative research... I am now working again on the quantitative part of my research.

Finally we would like to take a look in the future. How will the upcoming year of the project look?

In 2014, first term of the Instrument of Pre-accession (IPA 1) that runs the Pre-accession assistance ended, was replaced by IPA 2. Even if the logic of the instrument remains the same, its mechanisms and procedures have been changed. The European justification of the changes is to be more efficient. It will be interesting to see if these changes affected, and in what senses, the community involved in EU funded project; that must be updated and need to find the resources (mostly in time) for this updating.

UPCOMING PROJECTS

The Europeanisation of the Organised Civil Society in Turkey: The Case of the Youth Organisations in the Prospect of the European Integration (EUROCS) - Cristiano Bee Background and general objectives



The overall objective of the project is to shed new light regarding the positioning of the civil society in a country that has long been negotiating its access to the EU. The project will be based on a policy analysis of the Youth policies, by employing an innovative methodological approach that takes into consideration the operationalisation of the analytical concept of europeanisation into four main typologies (that are 'policy europeanisation', 'political europeanisation', 'societal europeanisation', and 'discursive europeanisation') that will drive the field work to be conducted along two years of time. The key research question that the project investigates looks at the interaction between NGOs, activists and policy makers both at the European level and in Turkey, in order to gather new theoretical knowledge regarding the development of the process of Europeanisation, the development of practices of civic engagement and active citizenship and the social representation of Europe by the various policy actors involved in the research. The project combines different quantitative (surveys) and qualitative (semi structured interviews, discourse analysis of policy documents) modalities of data collection and analysis that will be adapted under the lenses of different disciplines that are overall grounded in the European Studies area, but bring their own specific contribution into the field (such as political sociology, public policy analysis, international relations, and social psychology). This

approach is going to characterize the policy analysis that will be employed in this project, providing thereby the present proposal with a strong multidisciplinary focus.

The research project is aimed at analysing the process of europeanisation of the Organised Civil Society in Turkey -with a particular focus on the organisations working in the Youth sector- by looking at the reframing of theoretical and methodological models that focus on the establishment of public engagement and active citizenship at the EU level. The approach undertaken in the present proposal is meant to shed light on both the bottom-up and top-down dynamics of the europeanisation process, by overcoming the present shortcoming of the literature that mostly focuses on the impact of the EU's policymaking at the domestic levels.

Conferences, Roundtables and Workshops

BİLGİ Faculty of Law at the World Trade Organization (WTO) Chairs Programme



Assistant Professor Pinar Artiran, a member of İstanbul Bilgi University Law Faculty, has been admitted to the World Trade Organization (WTO) Chairs Programme and thus became one of the twenty-one WTO chair holders worldwide.

The WTO Chair Holder position that will be held by Asst. Prof. Dr. Pınar Artiran from BİLGİ Faculty of Law aims at supporting and promoting trade-related academic activities by universities and research institutions

in developing and least-developed countries. The project of BİLGİ Faculty of Law that was awarded the WTO Chair entails establishing an operational Research Centre on International Trade and Arbitration within the period of 2014-2018.

WTO Chairs Programme, this year moving to its second phase, started in 2009 with 14 countries, and only seven institutions were selected for the second phase of the Programme in May 2014. Assistant Professor Pinar Artiran of İstanbul Bilgi University Law Faculty, who has been successful after a long selection process, said: "Award of the Chair title is a proof of İstanbul Bilgi University's international success and its competence in international trade law. Through the projected activities of our research centre, we are planning to help shape an efficient and sustainable international trade policy on matters related to international trade law, arbitration and WTO in Turkey and in our region in the broader sense. In this context, we shall collaborate with other academic and research institutions, chambers of commerce, consultancy firms which are active in the area of international trade and thus are stakeholders. WTO Chair title is a very important and precious achievement, not only for İstanbul Bilgi University but also for Turkey with the leading position that it assumes in its region". The new Research Centre on International Trade and Arbitration will organize training programs within and outside the university, and trade and arbitration related research will be undertaken. By signing bilateral exchange and cooperation agreements with the other six WTO Chair Holder universities of the second phase, the international exchange of information will be encouraged. This project will thus further strengthen Turkey's leading position in its region.

WTO REGIONAL TRADE POLICY COURSE for CEECAC Countries (August 4 - September 26, 2014)

Asst. Prof. Dr. Pınar Artiran, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law



The 2014 edition of the “WTO Regional Trade Policy Course”(RTPC hereafter) for Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus countries was held between 4 August - 26 September in İstanbul, organized in partnership with İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law, the World Trade Organization and the Ministry of Economy of Republic of Turkey. This was the fifth occasion to benefit from the partnership that had successfully delivered two short courses of four and five weeks duration, held in 2010 and 2011 respectively, as well as the first and second RTPCs of seven and eight weeks duration in 2012 and 2013.



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The RTPC aims at deepening the participants’ understanding of the functioning of the WTO, its rules and procedures, and at developing their capacity to find relevant information and documents on WTO-related issues, including the use of the WTO legal texts, and developing a network between the participants as well as the WTO experts and regional experts. This course offers basic training to government officials from Central and Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus Countries on the WTO, its Agreements and other related issues, including the Doha Development Agenda (1). It is delivered, through a combination of lectures, co-lecturing with academics and interactive exercises. The purpose

is not to form specialists in each area of activity of the WTO but rather to ensure that participants are thoroughly exposed to all WTO-related matters.

The course, conducted in English, was attended by 27 government officials from 14 countries, namely Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Georgia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Montenegro, Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Turkey, Ukraine and Uzbekistan. The selected government officials who successfully accomplish the program shall be entitled to attend the three-month Advanced Trade Policy Course in Geneva.



The opening ceremony of the course was held with the opening speeches of Dean Prof. Turgut Tarhanlı, Director General for Agreements Mrs. Elçin Edis from the Turkish Ministry of Economy and Mrs. Janet Chakarian-Renouf, Head of the Regional Trade Policy Course and Technical Assistance Outreach Unit in the Institute for Training and Technical Cooperation of the WTO at Santral Campus on the 4th of August.

Selected participants benefited from the training program offered jointly by the WTO experts and the university professors. WTO experts deliver general information regarding the agreements and the regional academics provide the participants with the regional perspective and their related experience. The program is administered by Asst. Prof. Dr. Pinar Artıran from İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law, who has been appointed as the Academic Coordinator of the RTPC by the WTO.

The University also supported the activity in several ways by: providing free access to its libraries and its Faculty of Law; releasing university professors to co-deliver the modules on International Trade Theory, Dispute Settlement, Regionalism and review sessions; releasing the Academic Coordinator from her teaching

obligations for a period of eight weeks; assigning a postgraduate student to provide any assistance that the Academic Coordinator might need throughout the event and manage the Virtual Classroom set up by İstanbul Bilgi University; and organizing and hosting two academic roundtables.



Two roundtables were organized during the RTPC. Those events were open to the public and tackled timely issues such as “Dumping, Subsidies and Safeguards in World Trade: Business Meets Trade Policy Makers, Regulatory Agencies and Practitioners” and “International Trade and Arbitration: A Comparative Analysis”. The first roundtable took place on the 3rd of September at the İstanbul Elite World Hotel, Taksim, on the topic of “Dumping, Subsidies and Safeguards in World Trade”, where along with WTO Counsellor Mr. Hiromi Yano from Rules Division department, Mr Aytaç Yenel, Deputy Director General, Exports of the Turkish Ministry of Economy, Mr. Alan Yanovich, Senior Counsel at Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, Mr. Fabrizio Di Gianni who is a partner in Van Bael & Bellis, Associate Mrs. Diane MacDonald from Baker & McKenzie, Mr. Namık Ekinci, Board Chairman of Turkish Steel Exporters Association and Mr. Serdar Koçtürk, Vice Chairman of Turkish Steel Exporters Association, took part as speakers and Asst. Prof. Pınar Artıran from İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law acted as the moderator of the roundtable. The roundtable that was open to the public was held with a lively discussion involving the participants, the wider audience and the press. The second roundtable was held on the 19th of September 2014 on the topic of “International Trade and Arbitration”, with Mrs. Victoria Donaldson, Chief Legal Officer, WTO Appellate Body Secretariat, Prof. Bilgin Tiryakioğlu, Bilkent University, Faculty of Law, and Asst. Prof. Dr. Pinar Artıran, who took part in the roundtable debate to give accounts of WTO Dispute Settlement System, World Bank ICSID Arbitration and WIPO Arbitration and Mediation Center services, respectively.

Similar to the previous roundtable, the participants engaged in a lively discussion.



The closing ceremony of the Course took place at the DoubleTree by Hilton İstanbul Old Town Hotel, where the certificates of attendance were conferred by Mrs Janet Chakarian-Renouf and Mr Samer Seif El-Yazal from the WTO Secretariat and Asst. Prof. Dr. Pinar Artiran on behalf of İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law.

The RTPC for CEECAC 2014 Edition that took place in İstanbul in partnership with the WTO, İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law and the Turkish Ministry of Economy from 4 August to 26 September 2014 was greatly appreciated by the participants, who praised the enriching nature of the entire programme, the usefulness of embedded side events (two roundtables and the field trip to the İstanbul Atatürk Airport Customs Facilities), the efficiency of the Virtual Classroom set up by İstanbul Bilgi University IT Unit, and the high quality of the presentations; they expressed their sincere belief that these types of activities are very helpful and constructive for their future work. Following the final exam that was conducted at the end of the two-month Course, seventeen participants were issued diplomas, seven of whom were also awarded a diploma with distinction.

In conclusion and in light of the evaluations received from both the participants and the WTO trainers and regional academics, it is the Academic Coordinator Asst. Prof. Dr. Pinar Artiran's opinion that the 2014 RTPC for CEECAC had a very successful outcome thanks to the well-chosen participants, a well-designed programme and the proper arrangements made with the University, the Turkish government and the WTO, and thus fully achieved its immediate objectives in all the fields sought after.

(1) Turkey, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ukraine, Belarus, Russian Federation, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Afghanistan, Kyrgyz Republic, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Islamic Republic of Iran, Montenegro.

Panel on the “Patterns of Administration in the Ottoman/Turkish State” (May 27, 2014)



The European Institute and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence of İstanbul Bilgi University on May 27th, 2014, successfully held a Panel on the “Patterns of Administration in the Ottoman/Turkish State” in Dolapdere Campus. Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute and Jean Monnet Chair of the Department of International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University, gave a short introduction to the subject.

Afterwards, Dr. Elise Massicard, working for the Fransız Anadolu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, started the panel with the headline “Order and compromise?: Reassessing state-society relationships in Turkey and the late Ottoman Empire” and presented the book: *L’art de l’État en Turquie: Arrangements de l’action publique de la fin de l’Empire ottoman à nos jours*, Karthala, 2013 (edited by E. Massicard, M. Aymes and B. Gourisse). Dr. Claire Visier, European Institute at İstanbul Bilgi University, followed with a speech about “The European pre-accession policy towards Turkey: When process of transfer produces content



of transfer” and as the final speaker, Dr. Alper Kaliber, European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University, presented the topic “The Evolution of State Society Relations throughout the Ottoman-Turkish Modernization”.

The different perspectives upon the subject outlined above all the continuities and disruptions in the administration and bureaucracy of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish state. Finally, an interactive debate took place showing the great interest of the audience as well as the fact that this topic is still of great relevance in contemporary times.



Timetable:

14.00-14.15 Introduction and moderation: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya (European Institute, Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, Dept. of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University)

14.15-14.35 Dr. Elise Massicard, IFEA, Fransız Anadolu Araştırmaları Enstitüsü “Order and compromise?: Reassessing state-society relationships in Turkey and the late Ottoman Empire” - Book Presentation: *L’art de l’État en Turquie: Arrangements de l’action publique de la fin de l’Empire ottoman à nos jours*, Karthala, 2013, edited by E. Massicard, M. Aymes and B. Gourisse

14.35-14.55 Dr. Claire Visier, European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University “The European pre-accession policy towards Turkey: When process of transfer produces content of transfer”

14.55-15.15 Dr. Alper Kaliber, European Institute, İstanbul Bilgi University “The Evolution of State Society Relations throughout the Ottoman-Turkish Modernization”

15.15-16.00 Discussion

Biennial Meeting of the International Academy of Commercial and Consumer Law (IACCL) July 16-19, 2014

The 17th Biennial Meeting of the International Academy of Commercial and Consumer Law (IACCL) was held in İstanbul on July 16-19, 2014 and was hosted by İstanbul Bilgi University, Faculty of Law. The organizing committee consisted of Professor Anthony Duggan (University of Toronto) in his capacity as President, Professor Arcelia Quintana-Adriano (National Autonomous University of Mexico) as President-Elect and Professor Yeşim M. Atamer representing the hosting institution.

IACCL was established in 1983 at the National Autonomous University of Mexico. Since then the Academy has been regularly organizing biennial conferences hosted in different universities, such as University of Innsbruck (1984), Harvard Law School (1986), the University of Melbourne (1988), Oxford University (1990), the University of Stockholm (1992), Saint Louis University (1994), Bar-Ilan University (1996), Bond University (1998), the Dickinson School of Law at Pennsylvania State University (2000), Max Plank Institute for Comparative and International Private Law, Hamburg (2002), the Riga Graduate School of Law (2004), the University of Texas at Austin (2006), the University of Bamberg (2008), the University of Toronto (2010), and the National Autonomous University of Mexico (1983 and 2012).

The main topic of the 17th Biennial Meeting of the IACCL was "Freedom of Contract vs. Control - The Need to Limit Party Autonomy". In 2½ days the topic was highlighted from different angles in different sessions on the concept of freedom of contract, control of contract terms, banking and payment law, international trade, private international law, arbitration, dispute resolution, secured transactions, commercial and corporate law and bankruptcy and insolvency. Representatives of 18 different countries and almost all continents were present at the meeting and contributed to a lively scientific discussion. The proceedings of the conference will be published in the Penn State Journal of Law & International Affairs.



Comparative Corporate Governance Certificate Program was held 17-26 April 2014 at İstanbul Bilgi University

İstanbul Bilgi University Faculty of Law offered a certificate program in English regarding Comparative Corporate Governance held by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Carsten Gerner-Beuerle from the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The main purpose of the program was to examine and discuss advanced issues of corporate governance on a comparative and interdisciplinary basis. In particular, agency problems between shareholders, the management and other corporate actors were identified and solutions to these conflicts discussed. In this regard, American and English laws representing the Common Law tradition and German and French laws representing the Continental European tradition were analyzed. In addition, supra-national initiatives such as harmonizing measures of the European Union and international corporate governance standards were discussed.

The program was not only aimed at those interested in a comparative and interdisciplinary analysis of contemporary issues of corporate governance, but also those who would like to be able to make an assessment and interpretation of Turkish corporate governance rules in a global context.

Encounters with Europe in an Era of Democratic Stagnation in Turkey 2nd EUROPEAN WORKSHOPS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (EWIS) -

Assoc. Prof Alper Kaliber & Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın Düzgüç



The workshop entitled "Encounters with Europe in an Era of Democratic Stagnation in Turkey" was held within the context of 2nd European Workshops in International Studies organised at Gediz University in Izmir between 21 and 24 May 2014. Seventeen participants from various countries presented and discussed their papers during the workshop.

When the Islamist-rooted Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in November 2002, it initiated a vigorous campaign to accelerate Turkey's pace toward Europe. Yet, the post-2005 period has been marked by the retreat of Europeanization, by Euro-fatigue and postponement of the



implementation of EU reforms by the incumbent governments in Turkey. This retreat manifests itself in the 'significant slowdown in the reform agenda', the eventual freezing of accession negotiations with the European Union (EU) and growing suspicion on the part of Turkish society regarding the EU membership. This process of de-Europeanization coincided with the period when the polarization between conservative and secular segments of Turkish society has further aggravated and Turkey has increasingly been turning to an authoritarian regime under the AKP governments. For many, widespread prosecution of political activists and journalists, the legal and de facto restrictions before the freedom of press, expression and assembly, the use of disproportionate force by the police against protestors and demonstrators, criminalization of some publications and certain forms of political activism symbolize the return of authoritarian and repressive policies. The anger and resentment against the government's policies and the prime minister's way of policy making culminated in mass demonstrations which boiled over onto the streets of Turkey over the next four months in the name of 'Gezi protests'. The EU did not avoid stressing its concerns over the worsening level of democratic rights and freedoms and criticizing the Turkish government unequivocally for its harsh reactions against its opponents. In fact, the EU's reactions to the government's handling of the 'Gezi protests' culminated in the postponement of the opening of one chapter of accession negotiations which have remained frozen since 2010.

Against this background, the workshop explored the recent manifestations of Europeanization and/or de-Europeanization in different aspects of Turkish politics and policy, i.e. foreign policy, social and economic policies, democratization and party politics, legal and constitutional processes and minority policies. It assessed the current state of Turkey's relations with Europe and the EU with a particular emphasis on their domestic implications in Turkey. The workshop also sought to answer the following and related questions: Can any correlation be established between the retreat of Europeanization and the erosion of the democratic credentials of the regime in Turkey? Can Turkish society's growing suspicion on the EU membership be taken to mean that

Turkey is distancing itself from Europe? Do national political and societal actors in Turkey still need European values, norms and institutions to explain and promote their political agenda?

How does Turkey's growing distance from Europe impact on Turkey's foreign policy in its wider neighbourhood?

Given the current stalemate in Turkish-EU relations, political and social grievances leading to large public debates regarding democratic credentials of the regime in Turkey, the topics covered in this workshop were very timely and relevant. Participants included post-graduate students, senior academics, independent researchers and civil society activists working on such issues as Europeanization, Turkish-EU relations, Turkish domestic politics and foreign policy.

CIFE -Danube Summer Institute İstanbul Programme (11-18 July 2014)



Texas A&M University visited İstanbul in the context of CIFE-Danube Summer Institute İstanbul Program. The program consisted of lectures about "The European Union and its Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood" with contributions from İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute. The lectures were given by BİLGİ academicians as well as by guest academicians from Marmara University. The program ended with a roundtable discussion with young BİLGİ academics.

Students also had the opportunity to visit some civil society institutions and had some time to tour the city.



The program was as follows:

- Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, Department of International Relations, Director of European Institute and Jean Monnet Chair - "State, Society and Culture in Contemporary Turkey: Europeanization or De-Europeanization?"



- Assoc. Prof. Dr. Senem Aydın, Department of International Relations, Coordinator of MA Program in European Studies, Jean Monnet Chair - "EU Enlargement Policy"

- Asst. Prof. Dr. Boğaç Erozan, Department of International Relations - "Brief introduction to Turkey: its political and economic development, its social structure"

- Assist. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, Department of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University - "Transatlantic relations and Turkey in the framework of international developments"

- Assist. Prof. Dr. Erhan Doğan, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Marmara University - "Turkey's EU Policy and Accession Negotiations"



- Assist. Prof. Dr. İbrahim Mazlum, Marmara University - "Politics of Energy Security in the EU, the Wider Euroasian Region and Turkey"

- Assist. Prof. Dr. İnan Rüma, Department of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University.

- Assist. Prof. Dr. Cemil Boyraz, Department of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University.

- Assist. Prof. Dr. Erkan Saka, Department of Communication, Coordinator of Public Relations and Corporate Communication, İstanbul Bilgi University.

- Ebru Kunt Akın, MA Department of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University - "Roundtable with Young Academics: Resilience and Social Movements in the Region: Ukraine, the Balkans and Turkey"

Contemporary Turkey at a Glance II - Turkey Transformed? Power, History, Culture

Speakers & Moderators

Kerem Altıparmak | Senem Aydın Düzgüt | Ayfer Bartu Candan | Craig Calhoun | Suraiya Faroqhi | Nilüfer Göle | Ayhan Kaya | Çağlar Keyder | Fuat Keyman | Elise Massicard | Nils Muižnieks | Kerem Öktem | Esra Özyürek | Pınar Uyan Semerci | Cihan Ziya Tuğal | Meltem Ersoy

Panelists

Birce Altıok | Şafak Baş | Kristen Biehl | Bülent Bilmez | Zerrin Özlem Biner | Christiane Czygan | Sara-Marie Demiriz | Tim Dorlach | Esin Düzel | Elif Gözler | Azat Zana Gündoğan | Umut Gündüz | Gerda Heck | Ebru İlhan | Ayşegül Kars Kaynar | Sinan Karşıyaka | Magdanela Kirchner | Jean-Baptiste Le Moulec | Ceren Lord | Chiara Maritato | John McManus | Nicolas Monceau | Gül Berna Özcan | Erol Ülker | Lisa Ahsen Sezer | Kerem Yıldırım | Mine Yıldırım | Aylin Yıldırım Tschoepe | Meltem Yılmaz Şener | Deniz Yonucu



Program

09:30 - 10:00 Registration

10:00 - 10:30 Welcoming Remarks

Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University
Daniel Grütjen - Network Turkey
Esra Özyürek - London School of Economics
Fuat Keyman - İstanbul Policy Center

10:30 - 11:15 Panel: Gezi and Beyond

Fuat Keyman - İstanbul Policy Center
Nilüfer Göle - Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
Craig Calhoun - London School of Economics

Moderator: Elise Massicard - Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique

11:30 - 13:00 Session I

Panel I

Turkey and its Neighbors

Birce Altıok - Koç University
Sinan Karşiyaka - İstanbul Bilgi University
Re-calibrating the Turkish Foreign Policy after the *Arab Spring*: From Pro-activism to Uncertainty by Easing off Ideational and Liberal Goals
Jean-Baptiste Le Moulec - Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes
A Turkish Epistemic Community: Sociology of a Foreign Policy Brainstorming
Magdalena Kirchner - German Council on Foreign Relations
Şafak Baş
Chaldiran 2.0: Conceptualizing Iranian-Turkish Relations after the Arab Spring
Chair
Senem Aydın Düzgüt - İstanbul Bilgi University

Panel II

Democratization and Institutional Reform

Nicolas Monceau - University of Bordeaux
State and Religion: the Evolution of Secularism in Turkey
Official ideology, Political Polarization and Social Perceptions
Ceren Lord - London School of Economics
'Path-dependent Path-shaping': Situating Change under the AKP
Kerem Yıldırım - Koç University
Clientelistic Linkages and the Turkish Democracy
Ebru İlhan - Eczacıbaşı Group
Plugged Out: AKP's Mishandling of Turkey's Economic, Political and Social Adaptation to the Digital Era
Chair
Fuat Keyman - İstanbul Policy Center

13:00 - 14:30 Lunch Break

14:30 - 16:00 Session II

Panel III

Public Space and Contestation

Azat Zana Gündoğan - University of Michigan,
Divergent Forms of Contestation against Urban Transformation Projects in the İstanbul City-region: The Role of Ethnicity and Political Memory in Grassroots Mobilization
Deniz Yonucu - Boğaziçi University
From Center to Margin: Rethinking the Gezi Uprisings with İstanbul's Alevi Neighborhoods
Zerrin Özlem Biner - University of Cambridge,
What is Hidden beneath the Wall Surrounding the Mor Gabriel Monastery? Consolidating Borders between Self and Other, Self and the State
Chair

Ayfer Bartu Candan - Boğaziçi University

Panel IV

Diasporas and Transnationalism

Kristen Biehl - University of Oxford
Contested Homes: Social and Spatial Encounters with Difference in a Migrant Hub of İstanbul
John McManus - University of Oxford
Exploring Virtual Diasporic Space: Examples from European Beşiktaş Fans
Aylin Yıldırım Tschoepe - Harvard University
Locating the German Turks: Transnational Return Migration and Constructions of Culture, Identity and Space
Gerda Heck - University of Göttingen
Worshipping in the Hotel Golden Age
Chair
Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University

16:00 - 16:30 Coffee Break

16:30 - 17:30 Concluding Panel

Senem Aydın Düzgüt - İstanbul Bilgi University
Ayfer Bartu Candan - Boğaziçi University
Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University
Fuat Keyman - İstanbul Policy Center

Chair: Pınar Uyan - İstanbul Bilgi University

October 19, 2014

9:30 - 10:30 Keynote Speech

Cihan Ziya Tuğal - University of California, Berkeley

10:45 - 12:15 Session III

Panel V

Historical Perspectives

Christiane Czygan - University of Hamburg

The Ruler and the People: Shifting Paradigms in Ottoman Ruler Poetry from the 15th to the 19th century

Sara-Marie Demiriz - University of Münster

Pledging Allegiance to the Nation: Celebrations of the Nation in Atatürk's Turkey

Erol Ülker - İstanbul Kemerburgaz University

Turkish National Movement, Mass Mobilization, and Demographic Change in İstanbul, 1922-1923

Chair

Suraiya Faroqhi - İstanbul Bilgi University

Panel VI

Political Economy

Tim Dorlach - Koç University
Social Neoliberalism in Comparative Perspective: Changing Patterns of Inequality during the AKP Era
Lisa Ahsen Sezer - London School of Economics

The Political Economy of Business Associations in Turkey: Social Movement Tactics, Social Networks, and Regional Development

Meltem Yılmaz Şener - İstanbul Bilgi University

AKP's Implementation of a Risk Management Project of Project of the World Bank: Creating Entrepreneurial or Charity Dependent Poor People?

Gül Berna Özcan - Royal Holloway University of London

Umut Gündüz - İstanbul Technical University

Changing Business-Politics Connections Under Political Islam: The Case of Energy Privatisations

Chair

Çağlar Keyder - Boğaziçi University

12:15 - 13:30 Lunch Break

13:30 - 14:30 Keynote Speech

Nils Muižnieks, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights

14:45 - 16:15 Session IV

Panel VII: Rule of Law

Elif Gözler - University of Exeter
Turkey's New Constitution Making Attempt and the Participation of Minority Organizations during the Public Consultation Process

Ayşegül Kars Kaynar - Middle East Technical University,

Political Trials and Second Jurisdiction of the State: Normalcy of the Exception

Mine Yıldırım - Norwegian Helsinki Committee

The ECtHR- An Effective Agent of Domestic Change in the Context of the Protection of Freedom of Religion or Belief in Turkey?

Chair

Kerem Altıparmak - Ankara University

Panel VIII: Identities and Transgressions: Religion, Ethnicity, Sexuality

Chiara Maritato - University of Turin
Reassessing Turkish Social Assistance in the Light of Religious Female Engagement: Female Preachers (vaizeler) between Spiritual and Social Support

Esin Düzel - University of California
Getting Beautiful in Diyarbakır: Changing Moral and Political Landscapes in Post-Conflict Kurdish Culture

Bülent Bilmez - İstanbul Bilgi University
Coming to Terms with the Future: Collective Memory Politics on Dersim Massacre (1937-38) and (un)willingness to Confront the Religious and Ethnic Complexity in Turkey

Chair

Esra Özyürek - London School of Economics

16:15 - 16:45 Coffee Break

16:45 - 17:45 Concluding Panel

Kerem Altıparmak - Ankara University
Suraiya Faroqhi - İstanbul Bilgi University

Çağlar Keyder - Boğaziçi University
Esra Özyürek - London School of Economics

Chair

Kerem Öktem - University of Graz

17:45 - 18:00 Closing Remarks

Meltem Ersoy - Network Turkey

Ayhan Kaya - İstanbul Bilgi University

Academic Awards and Honours

The Young Scientists Award Program (GEBIP)

Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın - Düzgit, Department of International Relations and Assoc. Prof. Alper Kaliber, Marie Curie Fellow, European Institute have been awarded the Turkish Academy of Science Awards 2014.



Launched in 2001, this award program is one of the first of its kind in the world. The objective of TÜBA-GEBIP is to foster young, outstanding scientists who are at the stage of establishing their own research programmes in Turkey after finishing their post-doctoral research activities. TÜBA supports these scientists for a period of three years and helps them set up their own research groups at a stage when they are in need of incentives.

The selection procedure among GEBIP candidates has very high standards. The GEBIP program aims to set up a kind of Young Academy of scientists under the age of 40. Aside from a grant provided for a period of three years, a member of the Academy is assigned as the mentor, and an environment of solidarity and interaction is created through joint meetings held with Academy members.



GERMAN STUDIES

Between Europeanization and populist calls for renationalisation Germany, the EU and the normality of crisis after the European elections - Dr. Peter Widmann and Mareike Rump (co-author)



The list of words that made it from German into English contains expressions with rather unpleasant implications, like "Blitzkrieg", "Hinterland" or "Angst". In spring 2014 English language media borrowed a new German word that was not as gloomy as some other loanwords but turned out to be divisive: "Spitzenkandidaten" (leading candidates) became a concept that gave the campaigns for the European Parliament elections in May a new spin – much to the enchantment of those who believed that a personalisation of the campaigns could attract more voters, stimulate competition of political parties and strengthen European democracy.

Others, among them Angela Merkel and David Cameron, apparently took the Spitzenkandidaten idea as a coup attempt of a European Parliament trying to disempower heads of states and governments. The major party groups based their campaigns on the announcement that voting for a leading candidate – Jean-Claude Juncker for

the European People's Party or Martin Schulz for the Social Democrats – is deciding for a President of the European Commission – a choice that up to that time was made by European leaders and then approved by the Parliament. After Chancellor Angela Merkel failed to prevent a campaign based on a leading candidate, her national campaign team chose to virtually ignore Jean-Claude Juncker. The German Christian Democrats based their campaign on Merkel's popularity even though she herself did not stand for election.

Nevertheless, the supporters of the Spitzenkandidaten strategy succeeded. Despite the discontent among some of the European leaders, Jean-Claude Juncker became designated President of the Commission, equipped with a legitimacy less dependent on the heads of state and government than that of his predecessors. In two respects the campaigns of this spring can be considered as an instance of Europeanization: First, a pattern known from domestic campaigns in member states has been Europeanized, i.e. transferred to a European level. And second, this might result in a lasting gain in power of the Parliament and the Commission, those two institutions that represent the supranational logic in the Union.

The Spitzenkandidaten campaigns have been a reaction to the popular feeling of a democratic deficit of European policy making and to the declining voter turnout in the past. Europeanizing the practices of national campaigns seemed to be the proper treatment. In this regard the story fits into a historical pattern. Time and again Europe's political elites have reacted to challenges and crisis with Europeanization strategies.

Many examples could be quoted, most importantly the program for completing the internal market, outlined in the Single European Act 1986 and leading to the Maastricht Treaty, a program that was a reaction to the crisis of the European economic model based on constant growth that had proved to be out-of-date in the 1970s. A more recent example is the present consensus among European elites that the common currency needs a far greater European coordination of budgets, economic policies and regulations of financial markets. As it has often been stated, crisis is the basic mode of the European integration project's evolution.

What is new is the degree to which Europeanization is politicised and contested in the domestic arenas of

the member states, even in a state like Germany, where being pro-European is a core element of the country's reason of state. The EU has become tangible for citizens in the form of a common currency, open borders in the Schengen zone, but also in intolerable levels of youth unemployment in southern member states. From a democratic and pluralist perspective politicisation is desirable. Presenting European integration as something without any alternative hardly complies with the ideals of a rational and democratic decision-making process.

The results of this May's European Parliament elections reflect this politicisation, albeit in a way that dedicated Europeans find frustrating. The Eurosceptic camp has grown, especially on the right side of the political spectrum. Germany got off comparatively lightly with the anti-Euro "Alternative for Germany" (Alternative für Deutschland) finishing in fifth place with 7 per cent after the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, the Greens and the Left. In other countries results shook the political publics. The United Kingdom Independence Party (27,5 per cent), the French Front National (25,0 per cent) and the Danish People's Party (26,6 per cent) came in in first place and humiliated mainstream parties of the left and right centre.

The "Alternative for Germany" (Alternative für Deutschland): a new challenge from the right

The "Alternative for Germany" (Alternative für Deutschland, AfD) was founded in February 2013 and took part in elections for the German parliament for the first time in September 2013. The party describes itself as neither right- nor left-wing. Nevertheless, Euro-scepticism was the party's essential issue represented in the media mainly by its leader Bernd Lucke. The party aims for the dissolution of the Euro-Zone and a return to national currencies, "sincerely worried about the misguided political and economic development in Germany and in the European Union", as it says on its website. According to political analysts the party will try to establish itself as an alternative to the right of the Christian Democrats. The party claims to have more than 14 000 members. Its board members are Bernd Lucke, Frauke Petry and Konrad Adam. The national party is organized in 16 regional associations („Landesverbände“) following Germany's federal structure, and in regional sections according to the subdivision of administrative districts.

It was only a poor consolation that a low turnout had inflated Europe's

nationalists to a size larger than life. The consequences for the European parliament itself might be limited since the pro-European party groups, the centre-right European People's Party, the Social Democrats, the Liberals and the Greens still have a solid majority, so that the populists' noise will be greater than their influence. The main impact might be felt in the domestic arenas.

In the member states two diverging developments become visible. On the one hand, the Europeanization of decision making and governance is backed by those parts of the populations who feel that they benefit from the free movement in the common market and from a decreased significance of national borders. Many of these dedicated Europeans are equipped with a high formal education, they speak a second or even third language, go abroad as Erasmus students, for business, conferences and cultural events.

On the other hand, there are those who experience Europeanization as an opaque process and a threat. A twofold feeling of insecurity has seized these population segments: Economically, Europeanization is perceived as a form of globalisation that weakens welfare states and the barriers that once protected national job markets and social security systems. Culturally, the process is seen as a danger to familiar national traditions as it facilitates migration, strengthens the rights of immigrants and transfers decision powers to Brussels. These feelings are widespread not only among the low educated and marginalized, but also among parts of the middle classes stricken with fear of social decline.

Populist parties capitalize on these perceptions. They seem to be especially strong in those countries like France and the United Kingdom where established centre-right parties are weakened by inner conflicts. However, there is an additional reason why populists have an easy job of it. As a reaction to the challenge from the right, large sections of Europe's elites did not come up with much more than the mantra that Europe has to be better explained. The rhetoric rests on the assumption that Europeanization is good for everybody, and that the trouble just is that some have not grasped it. The political establishments blocked out the fact that a political, social and economic process like Europeanization can create winners and losers. As a consequence, they have not tried to find a language to communicate with the losers and those who fear to be soon among them, with those whose educational background or circumstances do not

put them in a position to profit from the freedoms of a common market and open borders. Although the populists have not much more to offer than a reactionary evocation of a better past, many of their voters seem to appreciate that somebody expresses their fears – and the resentments that come along with them.

Taking comfort from the fact that the conditions have been exceptionally good for right-wing populist parties in the last months would be short-sighted. Indeed, the populists benefitted from internal problems of mainstream centre-right parties, the financial crisis and its social consequences, and, to top it all, from the instability in Ukraine and the Middle East that strengthened isolationist tendencies in European states. Still, the populists are here to stay, because their existence is based on a persistent cleavage that stretches across European societies.

Prof. Bernd Lucke, 52, is a professor for economics at the University of Hamburg. He was one of the founders of the AfD and is the party's leading figure. In the 2014 European Parliament Elections he was the leading candidate, now he is the head of the AfD delegation and a member of the board of the European Conservatives and Reformists parliamentary group. Dr. Frauke Petri, 39, is a chemist and entrepreneur who conducted a successful campaign for the AfD in the elections in Saxony in August 2014. As the leader of the party in Saxony she was the top candidate and is now leading its parliamentary group.

After its first success in the German National Parliament Elections in 2013, where the party received 4,7% of the votes (due to the five-percent threshold not enough to be represented in parliament), the AfD won 7 out of 96 German seats in the elections for the European Parliament in May 2014 and joined the - dev European Conservative and Reformists group.

That also applies for Germany, as parliamentary elections in three East German Länder showed in August and September this year. The anti-Euro “Alternative for Germany”, founded only one year before, came off with 9.7% in Saxony, 10.6% in Thuringia and 12.2% in Brandenburg. The party's combination of Euro-scepticism, the call for a tougher handling of immigration and its anti-elite attitude attracted voters from many backgrounds. The new party's success is a peculiar challenge for the Christian Democrats, who have moved to the political centre in the past years under Angela Merkel and relinquished many conservative core beliefs like compulsory military service, the support for nuclear energy

or the categorical rejection of double citizenship.

Still, that the populist right in Germany is considerably smaller than in France or the United Kingdom is mainly due to the Christian Democrats. Compared to the conservative mainstream parties in other European countries their cohesion power is far greater. As a catch-all party the CDU can still attract voters from the centre to the right. But the Christian Democrats might not succeed in completely preventing the emergence of a competitor to the right in the long run as they did in the past. The populist success in Europe is bad news for EU-Turkey relations which are strained anyway. At least on the level of public rhetoric, nationalist, culturalistic and isolationist voices in Europe will become louder. The main question for the future will be if the established mainstream parties in Europe will be up to reconnect with those who feel left behind in the rapid changes European societies are going through.

FRENCH STUDIES

Hollande's visit to Turkey - Dr. Claire Visier



French President F. Hollande came to Turkey on 27th and 28th of January 2014. It was the first official visit by a French head of state in 22 years. He came accompanied by a large delegation consisting of seven ministers (Foreign Affairs, Army, Foreign Trade, Industrial Renewal, Agriculture, Energy, Higher Education & Research), Presidents of Parliamentary French-Turkish friendship groups, representatives of major French companies. The visit was designed to repair the nations' frayed ties under the presidency of N. Sarkozy, whose strong views against Turkey's bid for EU membership strained relations between the two capitals. Paris aims at putting relations back on track and tapping Turkey's economic potential, as the visit featured the signing of a number of agreements on cooperation in various fields.

Focusing on French and Turkish media coverage of the event, I would like first to point out how the visit has been perceived in both countries. The comparison reveals an interesting asymmetry in the way media handle the information. Before the visit, the French press had produced quite a lot of articles. Most of them were rather pessimistic, stressing all the difficulties and traps of the visit. In Turkey, Hollande's coming was officialized very late (just five days before his visit), and the Turkish press did not pay too much attention to the forthcoming visit, much less than to the French President's personal problems with his partners... During his time in Ankara and then in İstanbul, the French media did not much cover his visit. On the first day of his visit, the publication of the latest unemployment rates in France (an issue that is at the top of the President's internal agenda) largely vanished the Turkish issue. At the same time, Turkish media coverage largely increased. The evaluation of the visit was quite positive and optimistic. From these observations one can assess the success of the visit. Then, putting it in a broader European context, I will try to go beyond the impact on media in order to evaluate what could be the long term effects of the visit.

Media, transceiver of population concerns « Turkey, Hollande steps into a (political) minefield » (Le Figaro, 26/01); « Turkey, Hollande's visit on the background of political crisis » (Le Monde, 26/01); « F. Hollande in Turkey: a sensitive travel » (Le Point, 27/01)... Reading French headlines on the eve of Hollande's trip, his visit, which had been scheduled in November 2013, appears to be delicate and tricky because of Turkey's current political situation and the forthcoming French local and European elections.

First, the articles pointed out that Hollande will be the first major Western leader to visit Turkey since the Gezi Park protests. Furthermore, the visit will take place in the growing turmoil and uncertainty about the course of Turkey. In December 2013 a big corruption scandal erupted at the top of the state, launched by the judiciary power. It triggered a harsh government reaction with massive waves of purges within the Police Department and the judiciary system and a bill giving the executive authority over judges and prosecutors. One week before Hollande's coming to

Turkey, Erdoğan, who was on a visit to EU institutions in Brussels, was told that his bill extending control over police, judges and prosecutors ran afoul of European constitutional norms on the

separation of powers. In this political context, while Hollande stresses the need to close N. Sarkozy's era, to move forward with bilateral relations and to strengthen the links between France and Turkey, his visit may be at risk of being seen as a support to Erdoğan. This difficulty has really been taken into account by the French State, which hesitated to cancel the visit until the last moment.

The French press also insisted on French political context. Municipal elections will be held in March, and will be followed by European elections in May. The context of electoral campaign does not seem to match very well with a state visit in Turkey. Although N. Sarkozy has played a key role in the construction of the Turkey issue as a public concern in France, its political withdrawal did not affect the image of Turkey. The specific frame of the Turkey issue in France goes back to the beginning of the 2000s. In 2002, V. Giscard d'Estaing, former President of France, President of the Convention on the future of Europe, was one of the first leaders to take a strong political stand against Turkey's EU membership. In a backdrop of Convention debating on EU's future, his main concern was not Turkey but the EU; his position was not a real stand against Turkey but rather a strategic attempt to legitimize the European Union project. The very strong impact of V. Giscard d'Estaing's claim in both European and French polities showed the power of the Turkey issue used as a resource. Following that, in 2004, several French politicians opposed Turkey's EU membership in order to mobilize French citizens for the European elections. Some of them also started to use this political resource within the national French political competition, as it is symbolized by N. Sarkozy's stand against Turkey as a way to oppose President Chirac (who claimed to be in favor of the membership) and put forward his own candidacy for presidential elections. In parallel to this politicization, and as a result of it, the media started to increase their coverage of the Turkey issue, whereas the number of books and journal special issues about Turkey dramatically increased during this period. Regardless of the type of books (essays, scholars...) they all focused on the political debate about Turkey's bid to the EU. Most of them framed the debate through a perspective of identity: What is Europe? What is Turkey? Can one match with the other? In the context of the emerging public debate about achievement of enlargement toward Eastern European countries, the Turkey issue has been

framed within the French public sphere as a radical other. Indeed from these years, definition of EU identity mainly focused on frontiers. Considering borders of the EU, allows defining it not per se but from the outside (what EU is not). "Turkish identity" can fluctuate from one definition to another, but Turkey definitely remains the other. In this context of salience of identity debate in the French public sphere, Turkey's EU bid gradually vanished from the politicians' strategies, to become an issue that they couldn't manage as they wanted to. The issue rose not only as a resource but also as a handicap for French polity. As soon as Turkey comes to the agenda, politicians must take a stand on it, paying attention to its potential effect on the "public opinion".

Hollande's visit is not an exception. Aiming at a renewal of French-Turkish bilateral relations means to take a stand on Turkey's EU accession after the harsh opposition of N. Sarkozy. President Hollande already lifted the French veto on chapter 22, on regional policy, allowing the accession talks to restart last November. But he had not unblocked the four other chapters vetoed by France. French media warned of the potential effect of supporting Turkey's EU bid on the forthcoming French elections. Doing that, media contribute to keeping alive the very high sensitivity of the French opinion to Turkish issues. One week before the visit, "Valeurs Actuelles", a very conservative weekly French newspaper, published results of a poll it had specially commissioned: "French opinion on Turkish EU membership". The poll reveals that 83% of the French are against Turkey within the EU. "After his disastrous choice about Syria, François Hollande embarks France on a new fuzzy adventure, with uncertain potential outcomes, and in total contradiction with the expectations of the public opinion" concluded the article³. The results of the poll have been quoted by all the other newspapers.

In the context of the emerging public debate about achievement of enlargement toward Eastern European Country, Turkey issue has been framed within the French public sphere as a radical other

The media also worried about the heated Armenian issue. Articles stressed on the one hand, the French Armenian community's opposition to Turkey EU's bid. Boosting the Turkey-EU issue could have a negative impact on the behavior of local Armenian communities for

the next local elections. On the other hand, media also raised the fact that bilateral relations are at risk with any French move forward with "Armenian genocide". Although it is a demand of the French Armenian Diaspora, it would meet with furious reaction in Ankara (as did the 2008 bill about the penalization of denial of Armenian genocide).

¹B. Ç. Tekin, (2010), *Representations and Othering in Discourse: The Construction of Turkey in the EU Context*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 268p.

²C. Visier, « *La Turquie: instrument de politisation, objet de politisation* », *European Journal of Turkish Studies [Online]*, 9 | 2009, <http://ejts.revues.org/3709>

Focusing on challenges and underlining the bad timing of the visit, French media did not even question the reason why this timetable had been chosen. Since his election, F. Hollande had said he would come to Turkey. When the visit was scheduled, last November, of course the corruption scandal had not yet erupted, but Gezi events had already happened and local elections in France had been planned... And the high degree of politicization of Turkish issues was well known! One part of the answer to this question could be that this calendar was the less bad option. Postponing it until after local elections could have been even worse: Armenian communities aside, French sensitivity to Turkish issues is less important for local elections than for European ones. Then, the 2015 horizon with the hundredth anniversary of the Armenian "Genocide" makes it much more difficult to be at the forefront of France-Turkey relations. Another part of the answer could be that the President also expected some positive effects by planning his trip before local elections, and the Armenian issue may paradoxically be one of them. Known for its Armenian sensibility, F. Hollande's visit could be shown as a way to encourage Turkey to face the Armenian issue and then become a signal towards the French Armenian community, which has a real electoral influence at the local level (Armenian associations state that around 600,000 Armenian people live in France, divided in three main regions: Paris, Lyon and Marseille).

French media didn't adopt a critical point of view about the visit and only captured the part of his discourse that arouses much interest among French audiences. At the opposite end, Turkish media has largely covered the event. Different parts of the visit were

broadcast on television; newspapers followed and talked about the program of the President: meetings with A. Gül and R.T. Erdoğan, joint press conference with A. Gül, meetings with K. Kılıçdaroglu, H. Dink's family, meetings with TÜSIAD and other representatives of Turkish business, Economic Forum, address/speech at the University of Galatasaray, Medal Ceremony with the singer Candan Erçetin.

Finally, the French press underlined the economic aim of the visit. Expressing his regrets over the decline of French market share in Turkey (which dropped to 3% in 2012, down from 6% in 2002), F. Hollande vowed to reverse this situation. Various agreements to be signed and organization of a French Turkish Enterprises forum were planned. Media considered this economic shape of the visit mainly as a way to escape from the trap of the visit.

Most of French media frame of the visit was rather pessimist and skeptical⁴. Focusing on a very short time context, they did not expose all the ins and the outs of the visit, like the normalization process which was started two years ago, or the potential benefit of it. In so doing, they reflect and also participate in shaping French perception of Turkey as a warning and a difficult issue. As we have already said, the Turkish press did not pay attention to the visit before it happened. Much more was said about the love affair of the President than about his visit. Newspapers only emphasized that it would be the first official French state visit since that of F. Mitterrand in 1992, apart from the 5-hour visit of N. Sarkozy in 2011, which was taken very badly in Turkey as a sign of the former President's contemptuous attitude. This relative silence demonstrates that bilateral French-Turkish relations are no longer considered essential in Turkey.

³*Europe : les Français disent non à la Turquie », Valeurs Actuelles, 23-29/01/2014, 4026, p. 36/37.*

⁴*A. Bonzon was the only one I find that took an opposite stand. For instance, she pointed out that the protocol will help F. Hollande. Focusing on his relations with his counterpart, A. Gül, will avoid him to face too much and to be seen too much with R.T. Erdoğan. "Mais que F. Hollande va-t-il donc faire en Turquie?" 27/01/2014, Slate, <http://www.slate.fr/story/82695/francois-hollande-turquie> (connection on 27/01/2014)*

The success of the visit

It is of course too early to assess the impact of the visit. At least, in regard to French and Turkish newspaper coverage, the visit has been a success. The media coverage in France has been very light. On the first day of the visit, the latest rates of unemployment were announced in France. Declarations of the President from Ankara, and then İstanbul, on this issue, which is at the top of his internal political agenda, partially vanished the rest of the visit. But the weak coverage can be considered an asset: it has allowed President to escape from a too-high media focus on the Turkey issue and its potential bad effects. Furthermore, French media did not adopt a critical point of view about the visit and only captured the part of his discourse that arouses much interest among French audiences. At the opposite end, Turkish media heavily covered the event. Different parts of the visit were broadcast on television; newspapers followed and talked about the program of the President: meetings with A. Gül and R.T. Erdoğan, joint press conference with A. Gül, meetings with K. Kılıçdaroglu, H. Dink's family, meetings with TÜSIAD and other representatives of Turkish business, Economic Forum, Address/speech at the University of Galatasaray, Medal Ceremony with the singer Candan Erçetin. No matter their ideological position, media's point of view was rather positive. According to their editorial policy, they picked up different moments of the visit, underlying its benefits.

The Turkey-EU issue was the main issue raised by media in France and in Turkey, mainly through the coverage of the joint press conference held by A. Gül and F. Hollande. French and Turkish newspaper shaped this information in a very different manner. French media quote F. Hollande's declaration about the negotiation process "no date [of the end of the process] has already been fixed... and we are far from it (...) we don't know how the process will end ... if it ends, there will be a referendum (...) there is no need to frighten, French people will anyway have the last word".⁵ All the headlines focus on the referendum: "Hollande promises a referendum about Turkey and the EU" (Libération, 27/01; Le Figaro, 27.01; Le Monde, 29/01); "Turkey, Hollande Bring out the weapon of the referendum" (Le Parisien, 27/01). Doing that, French media participate in defusing French fear about Turkey's membership.

The Turkey-EU issue was the main issue raised by media in France and in Turkey, mainly through the coverage of the joint press conference held by A. Gül and F. Hollande. French and Turkish newspaper shaped this information in a very different manner

⁵*Since 2004 and the modification of the French Constitution, a referendum is required to ratify a Treaty of accession. However, if 3/5 of the MPs or 3/5 of the Senators ask for it, the treaty may be ratified by the congress with a majority of 3/5 of those present.*

Turkish media also quoted the reference to referendum but emphasized another part of F. Hollande's speech that insisted on the need to pursue the negotiation process. Governmental press emphasized: "Hollande: France is ready to open a chapter" (Aksam, 28/01); "Chapters must go on" (Sabah, 27/01). They also underlined Gül's position: "EU is a strategic goal for us. Even if we succeed completing the negotiation process, there is no guarantee of being a member of the EU (...) Turkey has undertaken the technical process of compliance with the *acquis*. I wish there won't be any political mortgage in these negotiations. At the end of this process, Turkish people will also have to choose. (...) I hope everybody will be reliable to its promise (...) I wish there won't be any obstacle on the path toward negotiation". From these declarations, they concluded a lift in the EU-Turkey process.

Newspapers close to the Gülen movement and from the liberal opposition also underlined the French President's will to go further on the EU negotiation process, but put it in a political context. Radikal, Zaman, Today's Zaman, and Taraf stressed F. Hollande's concern about the respect for rule of law, freedom and independence of justice. "Especially concerning rule of law and judicial independence, negotiations must be opened and should progress. This will be for the benefit of Turkey". Radikal editorialist, M. Yetkin considered that "Turkey's democratic and economic merger process to the EU is in the interests of almost everyone".⁶ On the second day of the visit Hürriyet welcomed the reference to the Gezi's protest made by the French President during his speech at the University of Galatasaray: "French President F. Hollande: last events showed a dynamic Turkish youth".⁷

Newspapers close to the Gülen movement and from the liberal opposition also underlined the French President's will to go further on the EU negotiation process, but put it in a political context. Radikal, Zaman, Today's Zaman, and Taraf stressed F. Hollande's concern about the respect of rule of law, freedom and independence of justice.

The EU was not the only issue raised in different media. The Armenian issue was also raised by many of them. When titles were written about this issue ("Hollande: We will comply with the Law" (Radikal, 20/01), "Hollande: law must be implemented" (Radikal, 27/01), "Important explanation about the law on deny" (Sozcu, 27/01), "Collision on Genocide" (Hürriyet 27/01), most of the articles were only a report of the joint press conference. Few of them added a comment about the divergence of view of A. Gül and F. Hollande, but insisted that F. Hollande didn't speak about "genocide". Even if M. Yetkin assessed that there was no change concerning the French policy on the Armenian issue, even when the media reported the meeting with H. Dink's widow and son, there was no anger at all in the words.

The economic issue was echoed by newspapers, but without too many details. Media reported the various economic-related schedules of the visit, stressed the French wish to discuss the commercial relations and Gül's aim to increase the bilateral exchanges up to 20 billion dollars. The pro-governmental newspaper Sabah emphasized F. Hollande's statement about the Turkish economy "Hollande: France is looking at you with admiration" (29/01).

The media also talked about the recent agreement for the building of Turkey's second nuclear plant by Japan and French Areva companies, but did not give further details about the agreements which were signed during the visit. A single exception was in Cumhuriyet, which dedicated a long article to bilateral cooperation on defense. Regardless of the exact content of the economic issue, the most important seemed to be the intention and the common position of the two leaders. The Syrian issue was also mentioned in order to underline the shared point of view of the two Presidents.

Some critics have also merged from one paper to another that can be summed up by the statement of pro-European francophone intellectual, G. Aktar. In Today Zaman he argued that "On the subject of Turkey's accession

to the EU, Hollande employed one of the French right's anti-Turkish tactics by calling for a popular referendum (...) It is difficult to conclude that President Hollande is well-advised here, unless the French left is now openly on the same wavelength as the French right with regard to Turkey's EU bid". The Turkish version of his article, published in Taraf ("President Holland") was even harsher. Talking about the nuclear agreement, he concluded: "France with Japan will be the brokers of this catastrophe. Instead of genocide, nuclear power plant! What is the level of insanity? ". Anyway, the rather positive coverage of the visit and the very moderate comments on it contrast a lot with the hostility developed by some media against France a few months ago about French military intervention in Mali. On the French side, a strange article about "F. Hollande's frolic mood in Turkey" was published in Le Monde on the second day of his visit. "The President who "ended his life together" with Valérie Trierweiler by press release four days earlier and officially failed, Monday, Jan. 27, to keep his promise to reverse the unemployment trend, is clearly in top form. More jovial than ever..." (28/10). Very ironic, the article can also be seen as recognition of F. Hollande's skill to make less tense a situation considered to be highly complex. It is of course impossible to assess the concrete effects of the visit but at least F. Hollande succeeded in defusing bilateral relations.

⁵Since 2004 and the modification of the French Constitution, a referendum is required to ratify a Treaty of accession. However, if 3/5 of the MPs or 3/5 of the Senators ask for it, the treaty may be ratified by the congress with a majority of 3/5 of those present.

⁶"Fransa, AB ilişkisinde kilit önemde", Radikal, 28/01/2014.

⁷"Gezi'yi selamladı", Hürriyet, 29/01/2014.

⁸12 agreements, protocols or declaration have been signed during the visit: Turkish Ministry of energy and GDF Suez; MÜSIAD and General Confederation of Medium and Small Enterprises; French Agency for Development and Turkish Treasury for a project of sustainable development of Forests; French National Research Agency and Tübitak; rail transportation; customs; Ministries of Agriculture; Joint declaration about cooperation in the energy field; cooperation agreement in the energy field; Türksat and Eutelsat; Sanofi and Koç University.

⁹"Assessing Hollande's visit", Today Zaman, 29/01/2014.

New perspectives on EU?

Beyond bilateral relations, I would like to focus on A. Gül's and F. Hollande's declarations about Turkey and the EU, that can be seen, in the current political context, as a renewal in the interpretation of the enlargement policy.

In the middle of 2000, the end of the East European Countries process accession, the beginning of the identity crisis of the EU (symbolized by the abortion of the Constitutional Treaty) and the focalization on the so-called "specificity" of the Turkish case had led to the decline of the enlargement issue on the European political agenda. Although the policy is still alive, its methodology has been completely transformed. Since 2006, enlargement policy is no more conceived as a support for countries in their way to accession but rather as a way to evaluate the degree of compliance with European standards and norms of countries which may join the EU. The focus on adoption of the *acquis communautaire*, and the formalization of benchmarks for opening and closing chapters have transformed the process. The end of the process, the accession, is dependent on a very high degree of compliance which is guaranteed by a step-by-step process and a very strict conditionality. Conditionality is no longer a reward but a pre-requisite to progress in negotiations. Member states, which have reaffirmed their power on the policy, used their veto in a strategic way to control the process. Turkey is not an exception but rather an extreme case of what one can call a vicious circle. Meanwhile some member states denied its right to become a full member; the absence of perspective has gradually pushed aside of the AKP agenda the EU issue. The non-commitment of Turkish government has slowed down the process; meanwhile the weakness of the process didn't prevent the government from turning into a more authoritarian way of running the country. The enlargement process was almost dead.

With the Gezi protest and then the current political crisis in Turkey, debate has emerged in European circles about the opportunity to go further on negotiations. In line with the ongoing enlargement methodology, some people are set against the opening of new chapters, arguing that Turkey is getting farther and farther from European norms.

Turkey is getting farther and farther from European norms. But others have voiced the opinion that

opening chapters could be a tool to put pressure on the government. Talking about Chapters 23 and 24, F. Hollande took this stand. But this position doesn't match with the logic of the current methodology of the enlargement policy that considers the opening of a chapter as a reward and as progress in the enlargement process. A. Gül's assertion during the press conference has paved the way toward another interpretation of the policy. A. Gül insisted on the distinction between the process of compliance to European norms and standards on the one hand, the accession to EU on the other hand, giving the example of Norway. Disconnecting the negotiation process and accession, he reassured the ones who are opposed to Turkey membership. But he also allowed to consider the negotiation process apart from the enlargement methodology drawn in the middle of 2000. He got back the offensive on the front of negotiations, demanding a real commitment of the member states and gave legitimacy to the ones who ask for opening new chapters. The meeting between A. Merkel and R. T. Erdoğan, one week after the visit of F. Hollande, and their common statement about the potential opening of Chapters 23 and 24, endorsed this new interpretation of the negotiations process.

Although accession is currently no longer seen as an aim in itself, the negotiation process remains the framework of a policy named "Enlargement"! Without making any clear decision about Turkey's candidacy, European Union is still committed in this policy. Nobody knows what will be the outcome of the process... prevent the

MA PROGRAMMES ON EUROPEAN STUDIES

BİLGİ MA in European Studies

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

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

Viadrina Double Degree MA Program

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

With 30% of foreign students from over 70 countries and an extensive network of partner universities, European University Viadrina is one of the most international universities

worldwide. The study courses and university degrees are internationally acknowledged. Its atmosphere is personal and warm, and with excellent student support and guidance European University Viadrina is able to offer outstanding study conditions. Viadrina is located at the German-Polish border, only one hour by train from Germany's capital, Berlin.

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

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

Master in Advanced European and International Studies – MAEIS (İstanbul – Nice – Berlin)

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 İstanbul, Nice and Berlin, complemented by a study trip to the European and international organisations in Strasbourg, Brussels and Geneva.

For further information please visit: www.ie-ei.eu
http://www.ie-ei.eu/en/3/description_21-1

FROM OUR STUDENTS

Ralf Rebmann - MA Double Degree (İstanbul Bilgi University/Viadrina University Frankfurt Oder)



Studying European Studies at the İstanbul Bilgi University and being able to participate in the double-master program between the BİLGİ and Viadrina University is a great opportunity to learn and deepen the knowledge about numerous topics linking Turkey with other countries in and around Europe.

The İstanbul Bilgi University offers many courses and very good study conditions, including plenty of workplace and several libraries, helpful staff at the student affairs office, off campus access to e-journals and e-books, sport facilities, student clubs and, with BİLGİ Tömer, its own Turkish language program.

While studying at the İstanbul Bilgi University, I could gain many insights with regard to Turkey's historical and political development, its approach to different issues like identity and minorities and its relation to neighbouring countries in the European Union and the Middle East. Other courses covered questions about cultural and ethnical diversities in the European context; transnational migration and how European governments deal with these issues. I could especially benefit from discussions in class and with fellow students from Turkey and other countries. Following the news about recent domestic Turkish politics was interesting and challenging; and there was a lot to talk about:

The Gezi protests and their aftermath, a government crisis involving corruption allegations, the re-shuffling of the Turkish judiciary, a massive transfer of police officers and prosecutors, the censorship of YouTube and Twitter. Within these months Turkey has seen two elections and one winner.

In class, we discussed these issues within the scope of European Studies,

like Turkey's accession process to the EU, questions about human rights and democratic consolidation and the future of EU-Turkey relations. After all, being able to witness these events from within the country, talking and listening to friends, taxi drivers or street vendors, was a valuable experience and helpful to understand these dynamics.

In the end, it was İstanbul itself that contributed to my experiences in the field of European Studies. İstanbul sometimes feels as busy as a beehive. Like a hub, it attracts people "en route" and still provides space for the ones to follow, it swallows new arrivals and forces old residents to move, it creates and conceals biographies on their way between Baghdad and Berlin, Aleppo and Amsterdam.

Questions of identity, recognition and tolerance become very visible here – like the student from Damascus, who you meet in a bar tonight and who is thinking of going to Stockholm tomorrow; or the artist from Germany, who finally gets to know the country where his father was born.

Five friends and fellow students will soon leave to Germany to start their double master degree in Frankfurt/Oder. Some of them will be living in Frankfurt/Oder itself, which is at the border to Poland, others might move to Berlin. Like İstanbul, both cities can tell similar stories about people on the move, about borders and how it feels to be on one side or the other. I am looking forward to hear from them and I hope their impressions and experiences will be as inspiring as the ones I had in İstanbul.

Leyla Şimşek - MA in European Studies



After getting my bachelor degree in one of the basic sciences I decided particularly to study a multi-disciplinary program to gain well-rounded perspectives. The curriculum of European Studies Master Program at İstanbul Bilgi University was perfectly suited to my ideal. The brand identity

of a university was another measure for me to decide on my education. During my university education I was away from İstanbul. Therefore, I was unaware of the education sector in İstanbul. When I started my career in İstanbul, I noticed that all publications I read, all particular projects I heard of or all activities I had an invitation from were bearing İstanbul Bilgi University's sign. These also are manifestation of İstanbul Bilgi University's academic success for me. Of course, Turkey's political agenda on the EU in recent times had a undeniable impact on my decision.

Let me say something about the qualifications of the lecturers and lectures. During my education in European Studies Master Program at İstanbul Bilgi University, both European Studies Institute and its academic staff met my expectations. The Institute lecturers kept their offices open. Whenever I had a question I could visit our lecturers without waiting office hours – mostly that's not looked on lightly by lecturers. I am welcomed with love. They gave me a chance to ask more questions and we got started on academic conversation. Moreover, well-selected readings for classes and the project I wrote at the end of the program offered me different perspectives.

Although, I had a good job, I knew that a master degree would increase my chances of getting a better position. Then, this educational achievement gave the opportunity of having had good innings in my career.

With all these pros, the University and the Institute created a sense of belonging for me. Finally, I am proud of being a İstanbul Bilgi University graduate as much as I am proud of being a Middle East Technical University graduate.

**Mareike Rump
Intern at the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University:
Getting an inside view on Turkey-EU relations**



My name is Mareike Rump and I have been an intern at the European

Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University for four months. İstanbul Bilgi University is known for its good education and independent research and since I am highly interested in European-Turkey relations, the European Institute seemed very interesting to me. After my internship acceptance, I successfully applied for a Leonardo Da Vinci scholarship – a program of the European Union to support the international exchange of graduated students (now part of Erasmus Plus) - and began my internship in April 2014. I was not only impressed by the European Institute and its work but also by the warm welcome at the Institute as well by İstanbul and the Turkish country in general. During my internship, I participated in the ongoing implementation of the European Institute and its current projects. Moreover, I assisted and attended in some of the numerous seminars, lectures and workshops held at İstanbul Bilgi University. As a main part of my internship, I was dealing with the projects of the Jean Monnet Chair 'European Values at School' and 'Enhancing Learning EU at School: A Follow-up Project for Digital European Union'. Additionally, I could assist the DAAD-Fellow Dr. Peter Widmann in his research about German studies which was at that time mainly dealing with euroscepticism and populist parties in Germany and Europe. Finally, I assisted in developing the content of the new website for the Institute and in the writing and revising of the Institute's yearly Newsletter.

The daily life in the institute gave me a very good impression about University life and research in Turkey and I could learn a lot about Turkey-EU-relations, politics, Turkish language and culture. Attending Turkish classes and the international atmosphere in the institute, moreover, helped me to progress my language and intercultural abilities. All these activities made me profit enormously from my internship – not only professionally but also personally and for my life.

Finally, I want to say thank you to everyone in the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University, for all the support and all the great experiences I had! Teşekkür ederim ve yakında görüşmek üzere, umarım!

Oğuzhan Usta European Union Club



The European Union Club was established by Oğuzhan Usta in 2013. The Club aims, not just to enlighten students on the European Union, but also calls students who belong to this family to live University life to the fullest. Besides participating in most of the international events in the University, we provide opportunities to work with the student clubs of other universities in the scope of current issues and international subjects. Other than panels and conferences organized by this family, social responsibility projects will be planned and personal development education will be received.

What we did?

The European Union's Turkey Certificate



The Progress Report of the European Union to Turkey were discussed, and conclusions were reached on the questions: "What was missing? What should be done?"

Speakers;
Prof. Dr. Ayhan KAYA
Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın DÜZGİT
Assoc. Prof. Esra ARSAN
Dr. Can BAYDAROL

Mobilization and Riots in the Globalized World



Riots began recently, set in a great location in the world, increasing day by day: "what would be the result?" was a discussion of how the world would change.

Speakers; Prof. Dr. Murat BELGE
Journalist Mete ÇUBUKÇU
Dr. Emre ERDOĞAN
Asst. Prof. Şadan İnan RÜMA
Ebru Kunt AKIN

Climate Change and Turkey



Climate-altering factors that gradually changed the world, Climate Change effected by People. Listeners were informed by speakers. Emphasized the importance of tree planting; through climate change, the world will change. Speakers; Prof. Dr. Levent KURNAZ
Asst. Prof. Sezai Ozan ZEYBEK
Dr. Nilüfer ORAL
Dr. Nilüfer TALU
Deniz ATAÇ

Social Responsibility Projects (planting seedlings, creating a library, etc.)



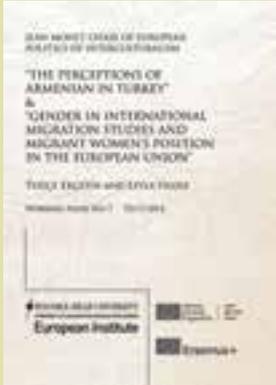
PUBLICATIONS

Books



Kaya, Ayhan (Ed.); İçduygu, Ahmet; Triandafyllidou, Anna; Akkan, Başak; Karcı Korfalı; Isık, İ. Emre; Südaş, İlkey; Yeğenoğlu, Meyda; Uyan Semerci, Pınar; Aydın Düzgüt, Senem; Yılmaz, Volkan (2014): Farklılıkların Birlikteliği: Türkize ve Avrupa'da Birarada Yaşama Tartışmaları. Hiperlink: İstanbul.

Working Paper 7



This Working Paper consists of two papers written by Tuğçe Erçetin and Leyla Yıldız within the framework of the 2nd Jean Monnet Student Workshop organized by the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism run by Prof. Ayhan Kaya at the Department of International Relations and the European Institute. The Workshop was organized in May 2014 at the Dolapdere Campus of İstanbul Bilgi University, and both BA and MA students from the fields of European Studies, Politics, International Relations, Anthropology, Sociology, Cultural Studies, Law, and Translation Studies were present to submit their academic papers on the following issues with regard to the Turkish accession process into the European Union: mobility, diversity, citizenship, minorities, identities, education, multiculturalism and interculturalism. As the emphasis of the Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism is on the matters of social cohesion, the students were expected to discuss their works on the relevant issues, which are believed to be very relevant to Turkey-EU Relations

in general, and for the Turkish context in particular. Some of the papers were published on the website of the Jean Monnet Chair (<http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/news/jean-monnet-student-workshop-13-may-2014/>). The first paper by Tuğçe Erçetin discusses some of the cultural/political/juridical/social issues of the Armenian-origin citizens through their experiences and perceptions in Turkey. The second paper by Leyla Yıldız, on the other hand, discusses gender and migration in the European context. I would like to thank both authors for their contribution to this issue. And I believe that their enthusiasm and dedication will be a good example for all our students.

Short News...

Assoc. Prof. Yaprak Gürsoy



Yaprak Gürsoy, Department International Relations and Coordinator of MA in International Relations Program earned her Associate Professorship title.

Some of Yaprak Gürsoy's research and teaching interests are: Regime Change, Democratization, Civil-Military Relations, International Relations Theory, European Politics (Western Europe, Southern Europe), European Union (Enlargement, Neighbourhood Policy, Foreign & Security Policy), Turkish Politics, and Greek Politics.

Kevin Smets as a new visiting researcher at the European Institute



Kevin Smets is a visiting researcher at the European Institute. Kevin received his PhD at the University of Antwerp in 2013 with a study on Turkish and Moroccan diasporic film cultures. He currently holds a postdoctoral fellowship of the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO) for a research project on Kurdish media, migration and conflict. His current interests include media and conflict, audience research, cinema, ethnography and cultural studies. Kevin has been a visiting professor at Free University Brussels as well as a visiting researcher at Bilkent University (Ankara) and the School for Oriental & African Studies (London). For publications see <https://antwerp.academia.edu/KevinSmets>.

New Website!

The European Institute web site has a new-design and is compatible with iPads and mobile phones. Check out the new web site on <https://eu.bilgi.edu.tr>

Aziz Nesin Professorship



Prof. Dr. Serhan Ada was awarded the Aziz Nesin Professorship by the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt-Oder (2013 June), and he taught an MA course on "Turkish Cultural Policy in the European Context". Moreover, in the framework of the speaker series on "Diversity, Migration and Identity" of the Azz Nesin professorship, he successfully held a seminar on "Cultural Policy Making and Civil Society: Turkey and the Arab World in comparison".

İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

Functioning under the aegis of the Turkish Council of Higher Education, BİLGİ is an individual full member of the European University Association (EUA) and a member of the International Association of Universities (IAU). With nearly 350 exchange agreements in Europe, BİLGİ is also an active

fundamental human right. BİLGİ holds a primary responsibility for providing, maintaining and further developing an academic environment in which both students and faculty members are able to engage in learning and the production of knowledge at the highest level. BİLGİ offers more than



Founded in 1996 with the motto 'We learn for life, not for school', İstanbul Bilgi University is a city university intertwined with İstanbul's vibrant cultural life and in close connection with the business world. BİLGİ is renowned for qualified international education

participant in the Erasmus exchange network and has strong academic affiliations with numerous universities abroad. In 2006, BİLGİ joined the Laureate International Universities network, which provides quality higher education on an international scale with more than 60 accredited campus-based and online universities throughout North America, Latin America, Europe, Northern Africa, Asia and the Middle East. With this collaboration, BİLGİ students are able to be a part of an educational network which includes the University of Liverpool in the UK; Kendall College, Santa Fe University of Art and Design, San Diego NewSchool of Architecture and Design, and Walden University in the USA; Ecole Supérieure du Commerce Extérieur in France; Business, Information and Technology School in Germany; Universidad del Valle de México in Mexico; Universidad Europea de Madrid in Spain.

150 programs in its six faculties, two schools, two vocational schools and two institutes. The medium of instruction at BİLGİ is English. Before being admitted to their degree programs, students must demonstrate their proficiency in English. Students whose level of English is not sufficient to begin undergraduate study will have to enroll in the English Language Preparatory Program.

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



and career opportunities as the only member of Laureate International Universities in Turkey.

Since its founding, BİLGİ has attempted to establish a cultural and scientific community that promotes tolerance and respect for a diversity of individuals with different lifestyles, beliefs and ways of thinking within the framework of contemporary universal values, while at the same time maintaining strong ties with all segments of the society. The BİLGİ community includes more than students: it also includes faculty, alumni, families, employers and neighboring communities where BİLGİ is located. Today BİLGİ represents a sound and distinct attitude in the academic and intellectual life in Turkey with its more than 20,000 graduates, more than 16,000 students and nearly 1,000 academic staff.

BİLGİ seeks to educate freethinking, creative, intellectually curious and enterprising individuals who will contribute to a world in which knowledge is the primary driving force in society, where knowledge is accessible to all and, indeed, in which access to it has come to be seen as a



ACADEMIC PROGRAMS

Faculty of Architecture

Architecture
Industrial Design
Interior Design

Faculty of Arts and Sciences

Comparative Literature
Computer Sciences*
English Language Teacher Education
History
Financial Mathematics*
Mathematics
Music
Psychology
Psychology (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Sociology

Faculty of Communication

Film and Television
Photography and Video *
Media and Communication Systems
Media and Communication Systems (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Television Reporting and Programming
Game Design and Development**
Visual Communication Design
Arts and Cultural Management
Management of Performing Arts
Advertising
Public Relations

Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences

Business Administration
Business Administration (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Business Administration (Honors)
Business Informatics
International Finance
International Trade and Business
Marketing
Business - Economics
Business - Economics (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Economics
Economics and Finance (Honors)
Economics and Management (Honors)
Political Economy and Social Philosophy*
European Union Studies
International Relations
Political Science
Political Science (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *

Faculty of Engineering

Civil Engineering
Computer Engineering
Computer Engineering (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Electrical and Electronics Engineering
Electrical and Electronics Engineering (BILGI-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) *
Energy Systems Engineering
Genetics and Bioengineering
Industrial Engineering
Mechanical Engineering
Mechatronics Engineering

Faculty of Law

Law

School of Applied Sciences

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

School of Health Sciences

Health Management
Nursing
Nutrition and Dietetics
Occupational Therapy
Perfusion
Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation

School of Tourism and Hotel Management

Gastronomy and Culinary Arts
Tourism and Hotel Management

Vocational School of Justice

Law

School of Advanced Vocational Studies

Aircraft Technology
Aircraft Technology (Evening Education)
Banking and Insurance*
Business Administration
Business Administration (Distance Learning)*
Civil Air Transportation Management
Civil Air Transportation Management (Evening Education)
Civil Aviation Cabin Services
Civil Aviation Cabin Services ((Evening Education)
Finance*
Health Services Management*
Human Resource Management*
Information Technologies and Programming*
International Trade
Logistics
Maritime Transportation and

Management
Maritime Transportation and Management (Evening Education)
Media and Communication Technologies*
Photography and Videography
Public Relations and Advertising
Radio and Television Programming
Sports Management*
Tourism and Hotel Management*

Vocational School of Health Services

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

MASTER PROGRAMS

Graduate School of Sciences Programs

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

MA in Banking and Finance
MA in Banking and Finance Online
LL.M / MA in Information and Technology Law
e-MBA

MSc in Economics
MSc in Energy Systems Engineering
MA in Philosophy and Social Thought
MSc in Financial Economics

MFA in Visual Communication Design
MA in Public Relations and Corporate Communication

LL.M / MA in Law (Business Law/ Human Rights Law)

MA in Human Resource Management

MA in Comparative Literature

MA in Clinical Psychology

MA in Cultural Management

MA in Cultural Studies

MArch in Architectural Design

MBA

MA in Media and Communication Systems

MSc in Accounting and Auditing

MA in Organizational Psychology

MA in Marketing / Next Academy

MA in Marketing

MA in Marketing Communication

MA in Film and Television

MA in History

Joint LL.M in Turkish-German Business Law (Istanbul Bilgi University-Cologne University)

MA in International Political Economy

MSc in International Finance

MA in International Relations

MA in Sociology

Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences Programs

MSc. in Intelligent Systems Engineering
MSc. in Electrical-Electronics Engineering

MSc in Energy Systems Engineering

MSc. in Mathematics

MArch in History, Theory and Criticism in Architecture

MArch in Architectural Design

MSc. in Construction Management

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DOCTORAL PROGRAMS

Graduate School of Sciences Programs

PhD in Economics

PhD in Communication

PhD in Business Administration

PhD in Public Law

PhD in Private Law

Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences Programs

PhD. in Mathematics

* No new students will be accepted to this program.

** The program will accept students upon the approval of Higher Education Council.





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