

**IME**

**WP 5 'Identity construction programs of the state and the EU:  
Case Study Phase I'**

Prepared by

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

and

Ayşe Tecmen

May 2010

Contract No: SSH-CT-2009-215949

## **INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL PROMOTION: EUROPEANISATION OF TURKEY**

This paper is composed of two parts. The first part will focus on state and the actors that are active in the process of identity formation with a particular emphasis on higher education and the European Union Mission in Ankara. In doing so, the paper will first revolve around the construction of the modern Turkish citizenship with an historical perspective, and then it will discuss transformation of higher education in Turkey with respect to the ways in which Turkishness and Europeanness have been reflected by the higher education machinery. The first part will end up summarizing the activities of the European Union Delegation in Ankara with a special focus on the public activities underlining European norms and values. The second part will focus on the state and non-state sponsored promotion activities of Turkey in the European Union countries. In order to reveal the state sponsored activities, a discursive analysis of the speeches of various statesmen like the President, Prime minister, Foreign Affairs Minister and the Culture and Tourism Minister. Besides, some in-depth interviews were held with the representatives of a few non-state actors in order to map out the way they see the promotion activities.

This report aims to discuss the ways in which both internal and external identity construction efforts were held by various actors in Turkey: state actors, civil society actors and the EU delegation. In terms of internal identity construction, the focus was placed on education, particularly, higher education with emphasis on the reforms following the establishment of the Council of Higher education in 1981, and implementation of the Bologna process. In doing so, primarily policy documents were analyzed, while an extensive literature review was conducted with regards to the peculiarities of the Westernization of education. In analyzing the EU actors in the internal promotion of identity, we observed a considerable lack of resources, both in terms of policy documents and literary analysis. Moreover, the policy documents that were available were descriptive in nature. In order to compensate for this scarcity, the official website of the Delegation of the European Commission in Turkey was examined in order to provide an analysis of the target groups and the activities chosen to appeal to these groups.

In terms of external identity construction programs, we have found that there is a lack of academic research in this field. Firstly, we analyzed the European Union Communication Strategy of Turkey via policy documents. The newly established Yunus Emre Institutes were selected to bring comparability to our research on account of their counterparts in European states. Since these Institutes are considerably recent, we were not able to obtain any academic research, hence we analysed the official bulletins as well as the law governing these Institutes. Following these state efforts, we wished to focus on projects which are formulated and sponsored by Ministries and carried out by civil society actors. As such, Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts' Season of Turkish Culture in France and European Capital of Culture 2010 projects were analysed in greater detail. Due to the lack of policy documents and research, we conducted four interviews with individuals from civil society organizations to provide insight with regards to the current promotion activities carried out by civil society organisations.

### **PART I: INTERNALLY ORIENTED IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS**

#### **A. Construction of Turkish Citizenship through Higher Education by the State**

There is a long-lasting debate over the definition of Turkish citizenship, for instance "while some argue that the formal definition of Turkish citizenship is based on territoriality rather than ethnicity (Kirişçi 2000), for some, Turkish citizenship oscillates between political and ethnicist logic (Yeğen 2004; Kadioğlu 2007). The historical evidence shows that citizenship policies of

Turkey were civic republican in rhetoric. For instance, Turkish Citizenship Law of 1928, No. 1312 put into effect on January 1929 gave citizenship to all those residing within the boundaries of the republic on the basis of *jus soli* principle. However, it has gradually become ethno-cultural in nature embraced by *jus sanguinis* principle. Retrospectively speaking, ethnic groups in Turkey such as Kurds, Circassians, Alevis, Armenians, Lazis and Arabs have developed various political participation strategies *vis-à-vis* the legal and political structure and delimitations. While the Turkish Republic was being built up in the 1920s, the republican political elite were highly engaged in a strong ideology of majority nationalism, which promoted the formation of an ethnically and culturally homogenous nation. In the beginning of the Republican era, most ethnic groups preferred to incorporate themselves into this nation-state project and discourse; they abstained from declaring their ethnic identities in public and considered themselves as one of the constituents of the Turkish Republic. The defining distinctiveness of the early Republic was Turkification policies, which sought the dominance of Turkishness and Islam as the defining elements in every walk of life, from the language spoken in the public space to citizenship, national education, trade regime, personnel regime in public enterprises, industrial life and even settlement laws (Yıldız, 2001). Having an imperial legacy, many such new regulations and laws referred to a set of attempts to homogenise the entire nation without any tolerance for diversity and difference (Turkish History Thesis of 1932, Sun Language Theory of 1936, Settlement Laws of 1934, and Wealth Tax of 1942). It is highly probable that the underestimation of ethnic diversity among the Muslim population of the Republic was due to the preceding Ottoman *Millet* system borrowed by the republican political elite because this system did not consider ethnic differences among Muslims. All Muslims, regardless of their other differences, belonged to the one and the same 'Muslim nation'. Paradoxically, the successful nature of the Turkish revolution/rupture lays in the continuity of the Ottoman notion of *millet* (Kaya, 2004: 149). The ongoing legacy of the Ottoman *Millet* system is still evident in the nationalist discourse of mainstream political elite ranging from the Justice and Development Party to the Republican People's Party and the Nationalist Action Party, who have a tendency to limit the boundaries of the Turkish nation only with the Sunni-Muslim Turks. Thus, for instance non-Muslims are not included in this ethno-culturally and religiously defined nation. This is one of the challenges Turkey is recently facing in the process of European integration.

Citizenship education is one of the fundamental means of identity construction in Turkey, therefore, before proceeding with our literature review on higher education, we should briefly examine how the notion of citizenship as well as Turkish national identity are constructed prior to higher education. Citizenship education in Turkey has its roots in the Constitutional Monarchy (*Mesrutiyet*) period beginning in 1908. While examining the *malumat-ı medeniye* books and the citizenship course books, Füsün Üstel finds out that citizenship education is primarily framed within the individuals' duties to the state, and secondarily their rights. She emphasizes that *malumat-i medeniye* courses, which set the precedent for the citizenship courses, were instated to provide a "common sense of belonging and a feeling of allegiance" against those challenging the central authority while instilling a sense of Ottoman identity (Üstel, 2004: 35-40). According to Birol Caymaz, in the last years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic, "the education system, which was more and more monopolized, modernized and nationalized by the state, was designed to set up an institutional structure where the feeling of being a part of the political community was manufactured and spread across the country" (Caymaz, 2008:195).

Similarly, Üstel (2004)'s study on the citizenship education during the Ottoman Empire and subsequently in the Turkish Republic prove a continuous indoctrination of individuals' duties to the state. In doing so, she argues that the state used ethnicity, culture, history and the like to create a sense of national identity. It seems that the objectives of citizenship education have changed significantly. Drawing upon Üstel's work among others, Çayır and Gürkaynak (2008: 51) summarize these changes as follows:

“In 1926 the new primary school program stated its objective as “raising good citizens”, the 1929 program as “raising people, physically and psychologically fit to be Turkish citizens”, the 1936 program as “raising republican, statist, secular, revolutionary citizens.”<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, Üstel argues that one of the most significant changes in citizenship education occurred in the late 1930s, with the primary school program introduced by the CHP; and primary schools became the production centre for ‘*milli yurttaş*’ (national citizen) thus education served as an instrument of homogenization (Üstel, 2004:138). Although the Primary School Program of 1936 foresaw several amendments to the previous Program of 1926 while clearly integrating the principles of republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, laicism, revolutionism into the program. Furthermore, the Program also foresaw further emphasis on national history. In the 1950s with the transition to the multi-party system, the general democratization of the country was reflected in the educational system and in the textbooks. The making of a good citizen was rooted in industriousness, studiousness, working hard and being someone with a sense of responsibility (Yücel, 1998; Üstel, 2004; and Çayır and Gürkaynak, 2008:52).

In 1964, Turkish Citizenship Law, No. 403 amended the Turkish Citizenship Law of 1928, No. 1312. The new Law regulated the acquisition and loss of Turkish citizenship but it did not allow dual citizenship. Together with the military coup in 1960, a more “rights-based” understanding of citizenship with its universal connotations and the understanding that democracy is a way of life could to be found in the content and in the spirit of the texts (Üstel, 2004; and Çayır and Gürkaynak, 2008: 52).

In 1968, the Primary School Program was revised in light of the growing emphasis on democracy. The program was still very eclectic, with remains of a nationalistic structure and a newly acquired spirit of freedom and solidarity found together in the texts. Füsun Üstel recalls that this program promoted the active, reflexive and participating citizen, and was the most democratic program in the entire history of the Republic (2004: 261). However, in 1973 this program was changed again, with the reemphasis on the well-known discourse on “upholding of Turkish nationalism”, “respect for Turkish moral values” and the like (Çayır and Gürkaynak, 2008:52-53). Drawing upon the nature of the Turkish education system in the late 1970s and early 1980s as nationalistic, Mardin (2008: 279) argues that nationalism took precedence over social values thereby creating an organic solidarity. With respect to the 1980s, Üstel observes that the emphasis of citizenship education became “ethno-cultural”. Furthermore, the founding principles of Turkish citizenship were divided into two categories: the *material* and the *moral*. The material elements encompassed language and religion while common history and culture constituted the moral elements (Üstel, 2004:289). Hence, the leitmotiv of the curricula was to celebrate the synthesis of Turkish and Islamic elements.

Starting from the 1980s, with the growing aspirations for globalization and EU membership, human rights were integrated into the citizenship education curriculum. In response to the appeal by the United Nations for the implementation of human rights education at national level, Turkey formed a National Committee on the Decade for Human Rights Education in 1998. The Committee suggested to install a course entitled Citizenship and Human Rights Education for the 7th and 8th grades. Following the suggestion this new course came into being in 1998. According to Çayır and Gürkaynak, the 8th grade curriculum and the third chapter of the citizenship book for this grade is the most problematic because this chapter situates Turkey in the contemporary world in relation to themes such as national security, threats to national unity, terror, state authority and citizenship responsibilities (Çayır and Gürkaynak, 2008:54). An

analysis of the 8<sup>th</sup> grade curriculum<sup>2</sup>, reveals that the main topics can be summarized as follows: duties and rights of Turkish citizens, understanding of Atatürk's principles, the importance of national solidarity, understanding of human rights with emphasis on the institutions and the principles, the significance of national security, the role of Turkish Armed forces, understanding of anarchy and terror with emphasis on the goals of internal (identified as separatist threats, which aim to weaken Turkish economy and national solidarity while taking advantage of the element of fear) and external threats (also identified as separatist threats, which aim to overthrow the regime and how certain countries and arms and drug dealers support them). Accordingly, Çayır and Gürkaynak (2008) argue that internal enemies refer to Kurdish and Islamic movements, external enemies refer to neighbouring countries, particularly textbooks of National Security Studies course taught since 1926 identify Greece and Armenia. Similarly, Üstel (2004) argues that since the 1980s, the elements of threat and danger through the identification of internal and external threats serve to establish a homogeneous and organic society based on Turkish nationalism and Islamic religiosity.

In what follows, we have provided an overview of Turkish citizenship in primary education in order to reveal the periodic changes in the meaning of being a Turkish citizen. Accordingly, these periods are also significant in terms of the reforms in Turkish higher education institutions. As such, the University reforms in Turkey can be perceived as systematic attempts to model the educational system in line with westernization. According to Öncü, the educational reforms which were held in 1933, 1946 and 1981 coincide with the changes in national political dynamics while the primary objective persists to be *Westernization*. Despite the fact that domestic and international context significantly differed during the times of these reforms, they all shared one crucial common denominator: they have all been legitimized on the basis of "Western models". To put it differently, the political choices have always been made both among academics and also politicians in the impartial language of alternative "Western models" (Öncü, 1993:144). The same discourse of Westernization is also visible in the two other educational reforms, which took place in 1991 and 2000s, which respectively introduced the establishment of Foundation universities and the introduction of Bologna Process. Hence, the construction and reconstruction of an ideal Western-type university has always been the core element of the discourse of academic reforms throughout the Republican era.

### **1900-1933: From Istanbul *Darülfünun*<sup>3</sup> to Istanbul University**

After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, in accordance with the new state ideology, the first major step in education was the Law on Unification of National Education No: 430, which was put into force on March 3, 1924 (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*). The Law abolished *madrassahs*<sup>4</sup> and unified all educational institutions remaining within the borders of the Republic under the Ministry of National Education. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there were three attempts to establish a higher education institution. In 1900, Abdulhamit II founded the *Darülfünun-i Şahane*, which was later renamed Istanbul *Darülfünun*, and it incorporated five faculties: Medicine, Natural Sciences, Law, Literature and Religious Studies (Dölen, 2009; and Öncü, 1993).

Following the University Act of 1933 Law No. 2252 passed on July 31, 1933, the name of *Darülfünun* was changed to Istanbul University and subsequently, the university remodelled the

---

<sup>2</sup> The text of the 8<sup>th</sup> grade curriculum is available at: <http://www.meb.gov.tr/duyurular/Planlar/8Sinif/8vatandaslik.pdf> (in Turkish only)

<sup>3</sup>*Darülfünun* is an Arabic word, and it literally refers to the House of Multiple Sciences. In literature, *Istanbul Darülfünun* and *Darülfünun* are used interchangeably.

<sup>4</sup>*Madrassah* is an Arabic word, which literally means a place where both religious and secular learning/studying is done.

institution to reflect its Western counterparts. While the replacement of the *Darülfünun* with Istanbul University is commonly referred to as a “reform”, Dölen argues that it was in fact a “revolution” (Dölen, 2009:29). His categorization follows the reasoning that the “reform” was a rather radical one, which was subsequently associated with Atatürk and his principles, thereby making the above mentioned classification a part of the Kemalist revolution. In relation to that, the establishment of Istanbul University coincided with the turmoil in Europe, as a result of which Jewish scholars/professors and those who came to Turkey by reason of their political affiliations were joined the cadres of the University. In the following years, French and English scholars also joined the cadres as well. Istanbul University was then principally built upon the German academic model, which entailed faculties acting independently and without any coordination (Öncü, 1993:150). Eric Zürcher perceives the University Act of 1933 as a means of opening the way for Kemalist scholars, while depicting the role of German scholars. All in all, the closing down of the *Darülfünun* could be framed within the scope of Westernization as it was no longer able to live up to the expectations of rapid westernization and modernization. In other words, it failed to echo the official ideology of the newly established Turkish Republican state (Öncü, 1993:151).

### **University Act of 1946: University as a tool for universal mobility**

The second stage of University reforms took place in late 1940s and early 1950s. Following the University Act of 1946 No. 4936 passed on June 13, 1946, the Ministry of Education granted autonomy to three higher education institutions: Istanbul University, Istanbul Technical University and Ankara University (Öncü, 1993:155). As the politics of social inclusion became pivotal in Western Europe in the aftermath of the World War II, Turkey was also influenced by this trend. In such an international context, education became enveloped in an ideology of universal mobility and opportunity, an equalizer of social distinctions and the route to individual success (Öncü, 1993:158). Education was also very clearly perceived to be the main driving force of modernization and Westernization in Turkey.

In the 1950s, as a result of the transition to the multiparty system, the emphasis on the democratic system led to the establishment of a few new universities: Karadeniz Technical University (1955), Atatürk University (1957), Ege University (1955), and Middle East Technical University (METU) (1956). In the 1950s, the Marshall Plan led to a new phenomenon in Turkish higher education system. While the “German Model” stayed intact in some universities, this period was also marked by the rise of the “American model”. For instance, Atatürk University located in Erzurum was initially funded by the U.S, and METU’s teaching language was chosen to be English (Öncü, 1993:159-160).

This period of Democratic Party rule is also known to be the period of populism (Zürcher, 2003) leading to another significant occurrence in the early 1950s, which was the reintroduction of compulsory religion courses in the secondary education, Imam Hatip Schools and Theology Faculties into the educational system in accordance with Article 4 of the Law on the Unification of Education (1924). The Article authorized the Ministry of Education to establish schools for students who will be trained to undertake religious services, such as that of *imam* or *muezzin* (the one calling the believers to come to prayer) upon graduation. In the 1930s and 1940s the regime’s attitude towards religion had become extremely repressive, but after the introduction of multiparty politics in 1946 both ruling and opposition parties started to court the Muslim vote and the CHP (Republican People’s Party) itself became more tolerant towards religion in 1947. The party reintroduced elective religious education in schools and training establishments for preachers. Ankara University announced the establishment of a Faculty of Divinity and in 1949 the tombs and shrines were allowed to reopen. At the same time the CHP tried to guard against any religious reaction in politics by enacting article 163 of the penal code (removed in 1991),

which strictly prohibited propaganda attacking the secular character of the state (Bayrakdar, 2006: 233).

Against this background characterized by economic crisis, ideological polarization, class conflicts and youth movements, the military intervened in 1971 in order to suppress leftist upheavals. The university reform was also abandoned. On 14 June 1973, the National Assembly accepted the Basic Law on National Education No. 1739, which brought about some palliative regulations to come to terms with political, social and economic divisions generated by uneven growth. These regulations also included some attempts to depoliticize universities, an act to be complemented by the next military coup held in 1980. What was underlined by the National Assembly regulations was “to increase the welfare and happiness of the Turkish citizens and Turkish society, and to support and facilitate economic, social and cultural development in national unity and integration, and finally to make the Turkish nation a constructive, creative and distinguished partner in modern civilization.”<sup>5</sup>

### **The 1980s: Turkishness and Islam in the age of neoliberalism**

In 1981, The Council of Higher Education (YÖK) was established as an autonomous body in accordance with the Articles 130 and 131 of the Turkish Constitution and the Higher Education Law No. 2547). All academic appointments and promotions to start with the selection of Rectors became contingent upon the approval of YÖK. As the 1980 Military Coup was legitimized on the assumption to halt social and political cleavages which became very visible in the Turkish society, YÖK was also designed in a way to contribute to this objective by means of depoliticizing universities and equipping the university students with Kemalist principles. Article 4 of Law No. 2547 states the aims of higher education as the following: **a)** To educate students so that they: (1) will be loyal to Atatürk nationalism and to Atatürk’s reforms and principles; (2) will be in accord with the national, ethical, human, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish Nation and conscious of the privilege of being a Turk; (3) will put the common good above their own personal interests and have full devotion to family, country and nation; (4) will be fully conscious of their duties and responsibilities towards their country and will act accordingly; (5) will be objective, broad-minded, and respectful of human rights; (6) will develop in a balanced way, physically, mentally, psychologically, morally, and emotionally; and (7) will prove to be good citizens contributing to the country’s development and welfare and at the same time acquire the necessary knowledge and skills for their future vocations; **b)** To enhance the welfare of the Turkish State as a whole, conducive to national and territorial indivisibility; to implement programs contributing to the economic, social and cultural development of the country; and to ensure that students are constructive, creative and outstanding participants in contemporary civilization (Law No. 2547, Article 4).

To the same effect, Article 5, paragraphs (a) and (b) of Law No. 2547 state that “Higher education is organized, planned, and programd in accordance with the following basic principles: (a) To ensure that students develop a sense of duty in line with Atatürk’s reforms and principles, loyal to Atatürk nationalism; (b) National culture integrated with universal culture, will be developed and fostered in keeping with Turkish mores and traditions so that the students develop a strong sense of national unity and solidarity. Similarly, Article 2 of the Basic Law on National Education (Law No. 1739) amended in 1983 states that Atatürk nationalism and Atatürk’s reforms and principles will constitute the foundation of national education.

The Law, which still serves as the foundation of the YÖK and the principles of higher education, emphasises Atatürk, his principles, while instilling a sense of *national pride*. While this law does

---

<sup>5</sup> Official Website of the Ministry of National Education. National Education at the Beginning of 2002. Available at: [http://www.meb.gov.tr/Stats/apk2002ing/apage29\\_48.htm](http://www.meb.gov.tr/Stats/apk2002ing/apage29_48.htm)

not foresee internationalist ideals or mobility for students and academics, Article 4(c) and 11(a) foresee cooperation of national higher education institutions with international institutions, while Article 26 ties professorship to international research standards. Although universal ideals and principles are not included in the founding law, they have been recently integrated to the education system as a part of the Bologna Process, a point we shall come back shortly. Another problem that was visible in the 1980s was the state aid provided for the private schools. Ercan maintains that in the 1980s class differences had become even more apparent where this dynamic was reflected in the high schools system indicated by the growing hierarchy between private and public high schools (Ercan, 1999:32).<sup>6</sup> In parallel to this development, in 1984, Bilkent University was established as Turkey's non-profit foundation university. Although the number of universities had risen significantly, they were not able to satisfy the growing demand (Bayrakdar, 2006:189). Foundation universities, which were organized in accordance with the 1991 Reform Act on Foundation Universities, were planned to fill in the gap in the supply side of the university education.

### **1991: Reform Act on Foundation Universities**

On 5 April 1991, the National Assembly accepted a new Reform Act on institutions of higher education established by foundations. The rise of foundation universities was welcomed in parallel with the changing attitudes towards private ownership of universities. The main rationale of the Reform Act was to integrate industry and universities through the establishment of foundation universities as well as to increase the university education supply for the growing number of high school graduates. Despite the fact that foundation universities only recruit less than 10 % of the overall university level student population, they have managed to attract good quality academics from public universities. The Reform Act has also paved the way for the opening of some foundation universities critical to the conventional Kemalist ideology in a way that promotes Islamist ideology. As Islam has undeniably become visible in all spheres of Turkish political life since the early 1990s, the headscarf issue and the issue of Imam Hatip High school graduates' entry into University entrance exam and access to higher education without any restrictions regarding their department preferences have become very pivotal issues in Turkey. These debates have coincided with the secularist / Islamist divide in Turkey, which has become even more apparent in the European integration process deepened since 1999 Helsinki Summit of the European Union.

In accordance with the 1991 University Act on Foundation universities, the numbers of foundation universities have increased significantly, as such the numbers were: 1 in 1984, 3 in 1993, 8 in 1996, 15 in 1997, 20 in 1999, 25 in 2006 and 30 in 2007, and 45 in 2010 (<http://www.yok.gov.tr>). Nevertheless, there is a visible inequality in the distribution of students as such, 40% of the students are registered to the following four universities: Yeditepe (Istanbul), Bilkent (Ankara), Başkent (Ankara), İstanbul Bilgi University (Istanbul). While in some foundation universities the ratio of teaching staff per student is closer to that of the public universities, the overall difference in the ratio between public and foundation universities is explanatory of why some foundation universities are preferred by the applicants. Accordingly, the preference rates are indicative of the quality of education as well. In terms of academic publications, foundations universities are the top four universities in general, while in 6 foundation universities have been placed in the top 10 with regards to the publications per person (YÖK, 2007).

---

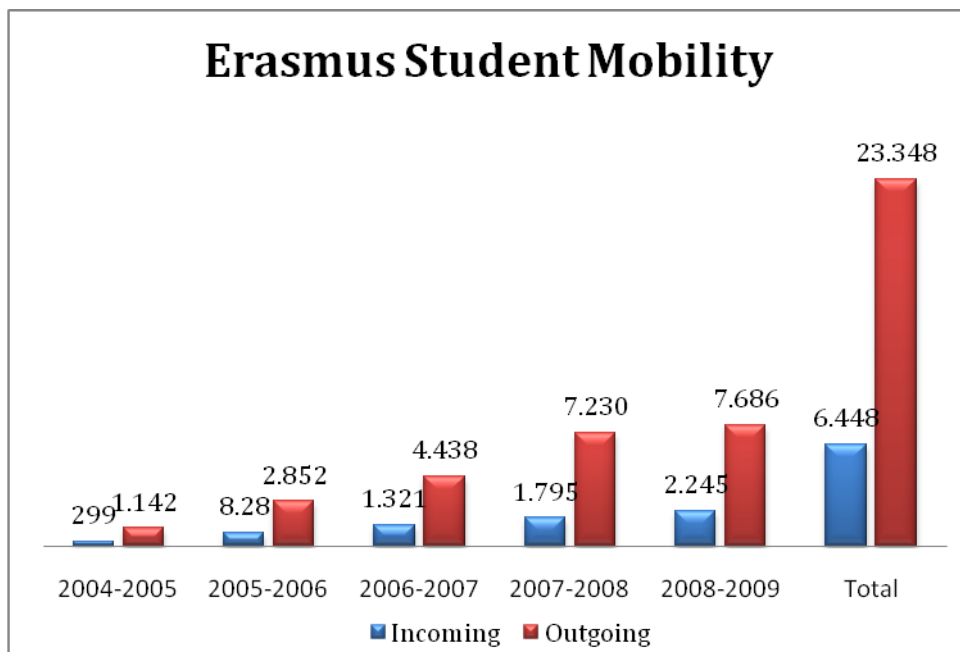
<sup>6</sup> In terms of state funding of higher education institutions, YÖK Report (2007) denies these arguments.



## Europeanization of Turkish Higher Education: Bologna Process

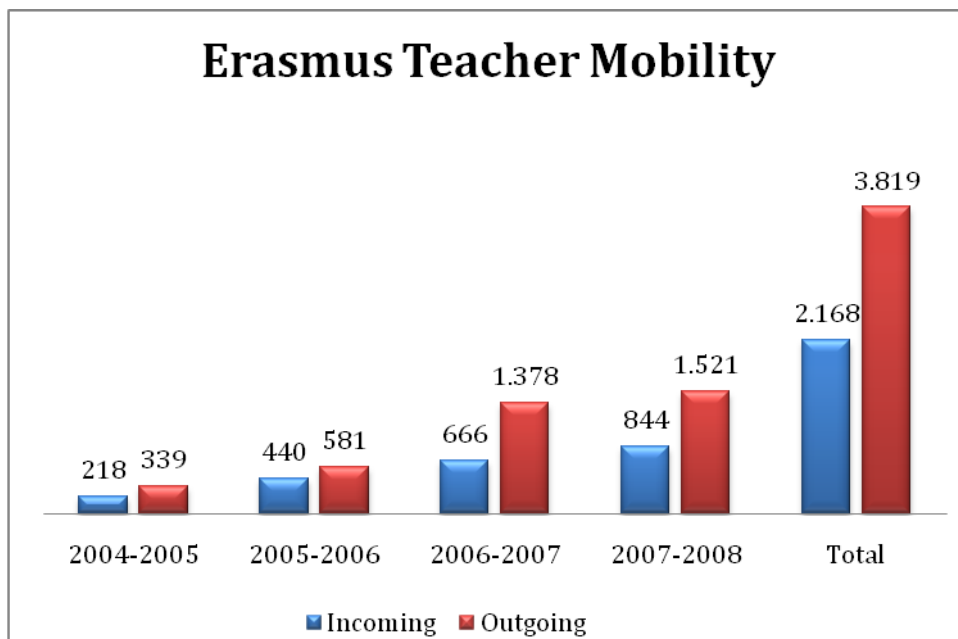
The standardization efforts proposed by the Bologna Process are not just about Europe but rather about Europe's aim to become a stronger force in the process of globalization (Blitz, 2009; and Keeling, 2006). As such, internationalisation of education, among other policies, is often perceived as a reflection of the influence of global forces on domestic policies. James and Mok (2003) provide a definition of internationalisation, which can be applicable to the Turkish case.<sup>7</sup> As we have seen in the case of the University Act of 1933, with the formation of Istanbul University, the main goal of the new higher education system was to model Turkish education after its counterparts in Europe. As it was apparent in Öncü (1993) and Dölen (2009)'s works, the Turkish model was supported with the involvement of foreign professors from Germany, France and England, and in the 1950s with the rise of the American aspirations. In parallel to that, while the proliferation of foundation universities had already intensified the use of English in education, even some state universities began teaching in English.

OECD report on internationalisation and student mobility reveals that the concentrations of incoming and outgoing students vary among countries as well as regions. It seems that Turkey exports its students and academic staff rather importing them (Mızıkacı, 2005:71). The statistics show that, between 2004 and 2009, the total number of incoming Erasmus students has been 6.448 while the number of outgoing Erasmus students is 23.348. In terms of academic teacher and staff mobility, between 2004 and 2008, the total number of outgoing individuals is 3.819 while the number of incoming is 2,168. In comparison to the student mobility figures, Turkey can still be considered a "sending" country.



Source: Erasmus Statistics, Erasmus student and teacher mobility. Available: [http://ec.europa.eu/education/programs/llp/erasmus/stat\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/education/programs/llp/erasmus/stat_en.html)

<sup>7</sup> Alternative definitions of the internationalization process are available in Mızıkacı's article.



Source: Erasmus Statistics, Erasmus Student and Teacher Mobility.<sup>8</sup> Available: [http://ec.europa.eu/education/programs/llp/erasmus/stat\\_en.html](http://ec.europa.eu/education/programs/llp/erasmus/stat_en.html)

In line with the Bologna Process, Mızıkacı (2005: 72) observes a shift from bilateral cooperation programs to multilateral cooperation programs owing to European integration process. In her research on Turkey's status within the OECD countries, she observes that Turkish students study mostly in Germany and the USA, followed by France, Austria and UK, where state and public funding is available for foreign students. From the OECD countries, most of the incoming foreign students in Turkey are from the Russian Federation, Jordan and Greece (Mızıkacı, 2005:73-74). We should also note that the Bologna Process Reports of 2005, 2007 and 2009 identify the issue of financial inequality as a problem for both on the national level as it pertains to notion of equal access for students from different socio-economic backgrounds and as a problem for international mobility since students require scholarships to afford their tuition and living expenses for exchange programs.

In terms of internal mobility, Mızıkacı notes that the rise of foundation universities, internal mobility has risen as well. She argues that foundation universities have been able to provide students with scholarships, further training abroad, employment in associate companies and due to their established reputation, they have been attracting students who would previously prefer to study abroad (Mızıkacı, 2005: 75). Furthermore, Erasmus student and academic mobility program and the Bologna process have radically altered the university structure in Turkey. The scope of Europeanization embedded in these programs emphasized the change of the institutional structure shaped by policy transfer, which made the student mobility and the transformation of curriculum easier (Stolle, 2009). Maja Stolle (2009) has revealed in her study that the idea of *Europeanization* triggered a wide range of mobility initiatives in Turkish universities and forced them to professionalize the organization of student mobility. However, Özge Onursal is now drawing attention to the discursive shift in Turkish higher education circles with regard to the promotion of Bologna process due to both rising Euroscepticism and the stretching of the Bologna space. She states that the term *Europeanization* is now hijacked by the term *internationalization*, and that the Rectors prefer to use a discourse underlining that "Bologna process is designed to create world citizens". This line used to be like "Bologna process is designed to create European citizens" Özge Onursal says. (Personal interview, 10 March 2010,

<sup>8</sup> For the 2008-2009, statistics regarding Erasmus Teaching staff mobility could not be obtained.

Istanbul).<sup>9</sup> In order to understand this the significance of the terminology, we should note that under JDP, Turkey has become more active in establishing relations with regional actors, while growing emphasis has been placed on multilateral relations with actors from the Middle East, Africa and Russia. Subsequently, we can observe that the EU is not perceived as the sole anchor anymore. Therefore, the term internationalization is preferred to Europeanization since the latter implies an attachment to one particular region. Recently, Europeanization of Turkish higher education system through Bologna process and Erasmus exchange program has also produced something extra with respect to the student and teaching staff mobility in Turkey: Farabi<sup>10</sup> Exchange Program. This Program aims that university students and teaching staff members continue their education and training at an institution of higher education other than their owns during a period of one or two semesters.<sup>11</sup>

#### **A. Internally Oriented Identity Construction Programs: EU Delegation**

EU Delegation in Turkey organizes various events particularly oriented towards children and youth to promote the EU and increase awareness. One of the several efforts of the Delegation aims to inform children about the EU through a humorous character, symbolically named “Turkish delight” (*Lokum*)<sup>12</sup>, which is known as the symbol of “Turkish hospitality”. In addition to establishing a website which aims to familiarize children with the EU and current environmental concerns such as global warming via humorous and informative online children’s books and games, the Delegation also organizes events, such as performances and puppet shows. The website primarily aims to educate children the geography of Europe, local cuisines, sports, arts, nature and architecture particular to member states while providing general insight into the principles and history of the Union. The notions of innovation, unity, creativity and productivity are emphasized as the foundations of the EU which is illustrated as a ‘family’. The character frequently underlines the diversity within the Union and the prospective contributions of Turkey while presenting the notions of peace, quality and freedom. Furthermore, the image of Turkey as an outsider is not present in the adventures of this character, as such; it presents all the states as having different cultural and historical features which make up and contribute to the ‘family’.

The objectives of the promotions oriented towards children and youth are similar in that they are both founded on relaying social principles while emphasizing cultural diversity. For youth, the Delegation provides information on educational opportunities in Europe and regularly organizes innovative events such as quiz shows to test students’ knowledge on the EU as well as story competitions. One such example is the nation-wide story competition for high schools students organized in 2009 to encourage the youth to contemplate on EU’s founding values, such as “freedom, equality and solidarity.”<sup>13</sup> To the same effect, the Delegation provides a brief history of the EU on its website, which states that: “Europe has accommodated different civilizations and cultures for centuries. A portion of each member state’s population is composed of people from states in proximity which it has close and historical links. The EU perceives ethnic and cultural

---

<sup>9</sup> Özge Onursal is writing her PhD on the Europeanization of Turkish Higher Education at Istanbul Bilgi University.

<sup>10</sup> Farabi is a scientist and philosopher who lived in the 9th and 19th Century. Some sources claim that he was Arabic origin, and some others Turkic origin.

<sup>11</sup> <http://farabi.yok.gov.tr/?page=yazi&i=58>

<sup>12</sup> Official Website of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. Children’s Section. Available at: <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/kids.html?LanguageID=1> (Available in Turkish only)

<sup>13</sup> Official Website of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. News Archives. Available at: [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/News\\_Achieve/November08,17november08.html](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/News_Achieve/November08,17november08.html)

diversity as an imperative value and strives to develop the tolerance, respect and mutual understanding taught by Europe's long history."<sup>14</sup>

Moreover, the European Union Information Centres of the Delegation (EUIC) and the Chambers of Commerce which cooperate with the Centres actively participate in the promotion of the EU at local level. Although most of these events are in the form of information sessions and the implementation of the *acquis* on the local levels, in some activities one can observe an approach which underlines the shared values of Europe and Turkey thereby eradicating the image of Turkey as the 'other'. One such example is the panel on the "Philosophy of Mevlana-Rumi and the Common Values of the European Union" organized in Konya by the EU Info Relay Office of Konya Industry Chamber on September 20, 2009. The objective of the panel was to present the philosophy of Mevlana, while emphasizing "common cultural legacy of humanity", and indicating the common values of peace, equality and unity which are present in the principles of both the EU and Mevlana. Another innovative example is the contemporary art exhibition of Asli Deniz Helvacioğlu, titled "Get Closer" presented at the Ankara EUIC in 2007. Helvacioğlu, indicated that: "The thematic axis of the exhibition is established by the definition of the 'other' based on the prejudices of the differentiated individuals. Those icons also make a reference to the relations between Turkey and the European Union. In order to eliminate the prejudices and misconceptions of the man on the street, an environment for intercultural dialogue should be provided."<sup>15</sup>

Furthermore, there are also several conferences that are organized frequently to increase NGO networking abilities, as well as informing the society on global issues such as human rights, climate change and child labour which aim to raise awareness and relay the policies of the Union. These events mostly focus on the integration of Turkish civil society organization to the European networks as well as encouraging the implementation of the social and legal framework of the EU. The delegation also as an A-Team (A is the abbreviation of Avrupa, Europe), which is composed of Turkish experts on the EU. These experts are being invited by the Delegation to different cities and events in order to give talks about different aspects of the EU. A great portion of these events take place at the universities.

The European Union Delegation in Ankara is recently organizing a series of public events within the framework of *Civil Society Dialogue: Culture Bridges*, whereby the Delegation invites various literary figures such as Günther Grass to get together with their Turkish counter partners, the first of which was recently held at Istanbul Bilgi University on 17 April 2010. Jean Pierrini, the Ambassador of the EU in Ankara, is heavily engaged in arts and literature, which he believes is something connecting Turkey into the EU.

The Cultural Bridges Program is an initiative of the EU, under the Civil Society Dialogue in Turkey which was a part of the 2006 pre-accession assistance. The program is based on establishing bilateral cooperation programs between the cultural offices and institutes in Turkey with their counterparts in Europe. The programs are carried out with the cooperation of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey and Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.<sup>16</sup> According to leaflet of the program these organizations include: "EU Literature Goes to Turkey,

---

<sup>14</sup> Official Website of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. Youth Section. Available at: <http://www.avrupa.info.tr/youth.html> (Available in Turkish only)

<sup>15</sup> Official Website of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey. News Archives. Available at: [http://www.avrupa.info.tr/News\\_Archive/Eyl\\_2007,Eyl\\_15.html](http://www.avrupa.info.tr/News_Archive/Eyl_2007,Eyl_15.html)

<sup>16</sup> We should note that this program aims to carry out parallel projects in Turkey and in participating European countries. Although we preferred to discuss this program in this section, we should also note that the Cultural Bridges Program is one of the most discernible projects which reveals the intermingling nature of internal and external identity promotion programs.

Turkish Literature Goes to Europe” organized by the Göethe Institut, “My City” organized by The British Council, “KaleidescopeEurope” organized by the Italian Cultural Institute and “Digital Bridges”<sup>17</sup> organized by the French Cultural Institute.

The project titled “EU Literature Goes to Turkey, Turkish Literature Goes to Europe” (March 2009-October 2010) aims to establish familiarity of both Turkish and European literature while establishing a EU library on wheels which will tour in Turkish cities, which will then transform into a Turkish library on wheels to reflect the works of contemporary Turkish authors in participating EU countries (Press release of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey dated 30 April 2009). Similar to our argument in the EUCS, this project is also significant in its emphasis on contemporary Turkish literature.

“My City” project (March 2009 – February 2011) will take place in Konya, Mardin, Trabzon, Çanakkale and Istanbul. The project anticipates engaging the youth (ages 11 to 18) in discussions about their cities via cooperation between European and local artists. Parallel activities will take place in Berlin, Dortmund, Helsinki, London, Vienna and Warsaw. Most significantly, there will be symposiums on “city branding and identity, city-based festivals, etc...” (Press release of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey dated 30 April 2009). In this regards, we can observe that “branding” of cities, which have been exclusive to Istanbul has been enhanced to include other cities which is relevant in reflecting the heterogeneity of local cultures in Turkey.

“KaleidescopeEurope” (March 2009 – December 2010) is anticipated to include operas, photo exhibits and documentaries to draw attention to the common root of Mediterranean cultures. An interesting aspect of the project is the depiction of the Hittite culture and arts to influenced European culture through Greeks and Romans (Press release of the Delegation of the European Commission to Turkey dated 30 April 2009). In that regard, we should note that the accentuating of the commonalities between the Turkish culture and the European culture is a very important discourse. As we will discuss further in the section on Yunus Emre Institutes, the efforts of the state are mostly confined to the common heritage discourse with regards to the shared history within the Ottoman Empire, while civil society organizations have recently began to underline the commonalities between Turkish and European cultures.

---

<sup>17</sup> This project will not be discussed in this report because it is mainly a trans-national multimedia and the events that it aims to cover will be discussed later in the report. According to the website and the leaflet of the “Digital Bridges” project (July 2009 – February 2011), it is organized to cover the cultural events such as the Turkish cultural season in France, the European Capitals of Culture 2010 –Istanbul, Pécs and Essen – and the activities organized by other EU cultural institutes in Turkey. In order to do so journalists from Turkey, Romania and France will participate in the Project.

## PART II. TURKEY'S EXTERNAL PROMOTION

### A. State Actors

#### Turkey's European Union Communication Strategy (EUCS)

Turkey's European Union Communication Strategy (EUCS) was prepared by the Secretariat General for European Union Affairs (SGEUA)<sup>18</sup> in Ankara in 2009, and provides the guidelines that Turkey is planning to follow as of 2010. It is important to note that the EUCS has a specific emphasis on giving a prompt response to "defamatory campaigns"<sup>19</sup> carried out in the internet, and through films and media. The strategy is very adamant in utilizing the media as a means to inform the European and Turkish public on Turkey's accession while improving the representation of Turkey in the EU and vice versa. Interestingly, the strategy also calls for the creation of a "Turkey Brand", which will inform the Europeans about Turkey's image. Moreover, in order to promote Turkey, the strategy calls for the use of modern technological tools such as establishing informative websites and popular social networking sites including facebook and twitter. More interestingly, the strategy also has an "advertisement" aspect, which calls for the use of multiples means of media to inform the European society about Turkey's candidacy to the EU.

While the strategy incorporates the media, business organizations and civil society actors, it also underlines the importance of "cooperation between universities, promotion of academic and student exchanges" and "increasing the number of the Turkish universities which benefit from the EU education/exchange programs" (EUCS, 2010:12). In that regard, it is possible to see that internal and external promotion of programs converge with regards to the significance placed on cooperation between universities and mobility. Interestingly, during our interviews, we were informed that Turkey can benefit from the use of visuals and the translation of literary works. In line with these suggestions, the strategy also calls for the use of visuals, while stating that "promotion and translation of important literary works of Turkish literature" (*ibid*, 14) and "incentives to make films about relations and shared values between Turkey and the EU" (*ibid*, 15). In terms of the translation of Turkish literary texts, we have also found that there are current initiatives such as the Yunus Emre foundation founded by the state which will be discussed in the next section.

Another important point is that "special days" such as 23 April, 9 May, 19 May, 29 October will have an EU dimension and "Traditional Turkish Days" will be organized in the member and candidate countries (*ibid*, 16). Moreover, in addition to strengthening institutional support for Turkish membership, the strategy also attempts to accent the importance of Turkish and European public opinion, which is also emphasized by the Minister for EU affairs and Chief Negotiator Egemen Bağış who stated that "in the long run, the component which should be *conquered* is the people who construct the EU". From this statement combined with the references to the media in the EUCS, it is possible to infer that there is a growing emphasis on the EU public opinion while most of the EU actors in Turkey focus on the institutional aspects of candidacy, for instance, most of the documents found on the official website of the emphasize

---

<sup>18</sup> SGEUA was established in connection with Prime Ministry with Law 4587 published on Official Journal on 4 July 2000, and now it is attached to one of the State Ministries For the European Union Communication Strategy see <http://www.abgs.gov.tr/abis/?l=2>

<sup>19</sup> The term "defamatory campaigns" is a direct quote from the EUCS, however the document does not define what constitutes as such. Furthermore, it also does not designate an institution (state or EU) that has the responsibility of identifying such "defamatory" campaigns. Therefore, we have preferred to use this term since it is recurring throughout the text without any undue assumptions.

the implementation of the *acquis*, hence the EUCS is one of the few documents which focus on the Turkish society and public opinion.

We can identify this document as a rupture since the in and of itself it represents a break from the “cradle of civilizations” discourse which emphasizes the Ottoman history of the country, that has been very prominent in the external promotion programs of Turkey and Turkish identity. The wording of the EUCS reveals a clear emphasis on Turkey, as such the strategy calls for the establishment of a “Turkey brand”, “Turkish Days” at schools, promotion and translation of important literary works of Turkish literature and most interestingly cooperation with Turkish Airlines (THY) to establish country specific advertisement. Therefore, one can argue that greater emphasis is placed on modern Turkey as opposed to the emphasis on the Ottoman period.

### **Yunus Emre Foundation and Institutes<sup>20</sup>**

For the last decade there have always been some suggestions from the academics, business circles and NGO representatives to the state that there should be a new institutional structure introducing Turkish culture, society and language to the outside world. The suggestion was pursuing a structure mainly dominated by the civil society actors. Recently such an institution was founded by the Turkish state for such a purpose. The Yunus Emre Foundation was established as a state foundation under the Law No. 5653 on May 5, 2007, with its headquarters located in Ankara. Article 1 of the Law identifies the purpose of the Act as the following:

“The purpose of this Act is, to introduce Turkey, its cultural heritage, the Turkish language, culture and art, and enhance Turkey’s friendship with other countries, increase cultural Exchange, in that regard to present domestic and foreign information and documents on Turkey to the benefit of the world, to serve those who wish to receive an education in the fields of Turkish language, culture and arts, to establish a Yunus Emre Research Institution in Turkey and a Yunus Emre Cultural Centre abroad...” (Law No. 5653, Article 1)

Currently, there are two Yunus Emre Institutes, one in Sarajevo, Bosnia Herzegovina and one in Tirana, Albania. As President Abdullah Gül has stated most of the cultural activities carried out by the embassies within the scope of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have been insufficient, and Yunus Emre Institutes will continue to complement state’s efforts while serving as a counterpart for Goethe Institutes, British Council, Cervantes Institute, French Cultural Centre, Italian Cultural Centre and others. Accordingly, in promoting these institutions President Gül emphasizes that “These centres are Turkey’s invisible power. I mean preserving the vitality of her cultural heritage is Turkey’s biggest power. Not many countries have this power. We should appreciate its worth” (Presidency- 11.12.2009). Similarly, in his opening speech on May 7, 2009 in his opening speech in Ankara, Prime Minister Erdoğan stated that:

“For thousands of years, we have been the carriers of a unique civilization, history and heritage that in which we have moulded and collated different cultures, different civilizations along with our own culture. Turkish is not the communicative language of the people living on these lands. Turkish is also a language of science, at the same time a language of arts and a language of literature. Turkish is the language of Yunus Emre, Pir Sultan Abdal, Karacaoğlan, Fuzuli, Baki, Nazım Hikmet, Necip Fazıl” (Yunus Emre Bulletin 1, No: 1, 2009:4).

The name of the institutions is also significant in that Yunus Emre is believed to be the pioneer poet of contemporary Turkish language. His name has been used as a symbol for the Institutes.

---

<sup>20</sup> Yunus Emre was a Turkish poet and Sufi mystic from the 13<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> century.

As the above mentioned quotes indicate, there is a growing emphasis on the Turkish language as well as Turkology studies. As previously noted Yunus Emre Institutes are rather new, therefore, there is no academic research on this specific establishment. However, the institutes have been discussed in newspapers and the Foundation publishes bulletins which is informative on its activities as well as the opening speeches made by government officials. From these resources, it is possible to infer that there are three main discourses, which are: the importance of Turkish culture as it pertains to the notion of cradle of civilizations, the locations of the existing institutes as they were within the Ottoman territories and the importance of Turkish language, which is also reflected in the name of these institutes.

In the Yunus Emre Bulletins, there is a repeated reference to the cultural heritage of Turkey. The most common element is the notion that Turkish culture is a reflection/amalgamation of several different cultures and civilizations. This approach is very common in most state initiatives regarding Turkey's promotion abroad. On May 7, 2009, during his opening speech of the Yunus Emre Foundation in Ankara, Chairman of the Yunus Emre Foundation Board of Trustees and Minister of Foreign Affairs Ahmet Davutoğlu stated:

“This foundation has two important standing goals. First, to enable the meeting of our national culture with the universal culture, and increase its influence in universal culture.... In history, very few nations that have directly encountered different cultures and civilizations, have sometimes become the subject of those civilizations, sometimes generated cultural blends from these civilizations, sometimes participated in intense and active communication as our nation has” (Yunus Emre Bulletin 1, No: 1, 2009: 6).

Corresponding to the cultural heritage approach, the locations of the Institutes reflect the common cultural heritage approach with a neo-Ottoman undertone. As previously stated, these institutions are located in Sarajevo and Tirana. These locations were in fact chosen on purpose to strengthen the common heritage discourse. Nevertheless, while there is wide-spread emphasis on the agreement that future Yunus Emre Institutes will be established in Western European cities, İlber Ortaylı, a famous historian, underlines that these Institutes should not be limited to Europe. In his article dated December 13, 2009, Ortaylı emphasizes that while these institutions will be established in focal European cities, “what is really necessary is to establish these institutions in the Arab world, Central Asia and Russia and more importantly researchers can work and reside in these institutions” (Milliyet-13.12.2009). Such a discourse is in tune with the newly emerging discourse addressing at Turkey's becoming a soft power in its neighbourhood covering the Middle East, Balkans, North Africa and Caucasus (Orhan, 2009). Joseph Nye (2004: 5) defines soft power as “the ability to shape the preferences of others”. In other words, it refers to the ability to shape the ways in which the others act, think, imagine and perceive by means of cohesive instruments such as the ideological instruments of the state (popular culture, media, church, education institutions). Lifting visas with the neighbouring countries like Syria, Lebanon, Egypt and Iran, Turkey is willing to increase its political and cultural impact in the region. When considered in combination with political communication processes such as the heroification of Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the Muslim world after Davos meeting, President of USA Barack Obama's priority visit to Turkey, the affects of Turkish popular culture definitely warrants an investigation. It seems that Turkey's ruling political elite have invested in a culturalist and religious discourse to promote Turkey in the region as well as in the EU. However, there are some other initiatives generated by the civil society organizations, which tend to use a different discourse in their promotion activities.



## B. Civil Society Actors

### Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı- IKSVM)<sup>21</sup>

Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (hereinafter IKSVM), founded in 1973, is one of the organizations, which actively participates in the promotion of Turkey abroad, particularly in Europe. Bige Örer, the director of International Istanbul Biennale, noted that the “The festivals between 1973 and 2003 were attempts to organize interdisciplinary events in Istanbul that are similar to their counterparts in Europe. In effect, it was also an attempt to share the cultural structure of Europe.” With the increased social and political attention to Turkey’s EU membership, 2004 marks the start of IKSVM festivals in Europe, particularly, in Western European countries such as Germany, Belgium and Italy. Moreover, the festivals organized by this foundation follow a multi-disciplinary approach, in order to reflect the traditional and modern arts in Turkey. In terms of the festivals organized in Europe, Bige Örer stated that while political relations are important in Turkey’s international image, these festivals also aim to introduce Turkey and Turkish culture abroad in order to reveal the modern face of Turkey (Personal interview, Istanbul, 19 February 2010).

A close look at the promotional texts of festivals organized in Europe reveals that IKSVM combines both the contemporary and traditional arts in their activities. Due to word constraints, we will not be able to analyse all of the festivals. The festivals, which will be discussed in this section, are as follows: (1) “*Şimdi*” NOW Festival, 2004, Berlin; (2) *Bozar*, 2004- 2005, Brussels; (3) Venice, 2008-2009, Venice; and (4) Season of Turkish Culture in Europe, 2009-2010, France.

“*Şimdi*” NOW Festival took place in Berlin between August 27 and September 4, 2004. According to the IKSVM website: The festival program was able to reveal Turkey’s most distinctive feature as the host of continuous interaction between Eastern and Western cultures through its program which reflected the traditional and innovative aspects through humour and joyous genre. Accordingly, the genres included popular music, traditional Turkish music, Thracian music as well as early Ottoman music.

Similar to the “*Şimdi*” NOW festival, the promotional text for the *Bozar* festival which took place between October 6, 2004 and January 16, 2005 in Brussels published on the IKSVM website states the following: “Turkey... A cradle of culture between the East and the West... Through its geographic position it has been the meeting point for many civilizations for years, today it hosts more than 72 cultural communities...” As it was apparent in the case of Yunus Emre Institutions, there is an emphasis on Turkey as a country that has harvested the Western with the Eastern cultures which is commonly emphasized along with the country’s geographic location which serves as a metaphorical ‘bridge’. Additionally, since the *Bozar* festival coincided with increased momentum for Turkey’s candidacy to the EU, such political events are also incorporated in the promotion of the festival. In other words, while the promotion of “*Şimdi*” NOW and *Bozar* festivals both follow the cradle of civilizations approach, there is an inclusion of political state of play in the *Bozar* festival. Moreover, *Bozar* festival is also very important due to the visuals used in the brochure because as it was noted during our interview the festival brochure has pictures of Turkish delights, which has become a convenient and familiar symbol for Turkish hospitality. However, Bige Örer noted that the visuals partially depend on the partner choices, in that regard she stated:

“As IKSVM, we do not have a specific message that we would like to relay but sometimes there can be discourses that intensify certain prejudices. For instance, some festival

---

<sup>21</sup> The information in this section has been collected from the IKSVM Website and the written material, such as articles and brochures provided by IKSVM.

visuals depict Turkish delights and İznik (Nicea) potteries. In that sense, the partner choices play an important role (Personal interview, Istanbul, 19 February 2010).

Venice 2008 festival, which took place between November 4, 2008 and February 1, 2009 in Venice, is noteworthy in that it did not only feature traditional and contemporary Turkish music but also contemporary Turkish movies. Although Turkish movie festivals are organized in Istanbul regularly, IKSŞ is one of the few organizations that carry this to an international dimension. However, we should also note that these movies are recent productions which focus on themes such as the struggles of individuals as it pertains to city and rural life in Turkey, love stories during the Ottoman era, life and music in a southern city under the military government. Therefore, these movies do not only reflect the capabilities of Turkish movie industry but also the social and cultural concerns in Turkey. Moreover, the festival program also included a section on the stories of Nasreddin Hodja, who is known in Turkish folk culture for his humorous wise tales, which relay moral messages. Bige Örer's observations during the interviews in reference to traditional shadow theatre (*gölge oyunu*) can also be applied to folk stories. She stated that "I should note that some festivals still have shadow-theatres as a part of the event but they are not thought of as a separate unit, municipalities tend to think of these theatres as a separate unit. However, our Foundation has a clientele with middle-class background, which has distinct preferences, but we have several attempts to broaden our clientele." Although these art forms are not widely represented in international festivals, *Karagöz*, a form of shadow theatre, minstrel tradition (*Âşıklık*), the arts of the *meddah* (public storytellers) and the Mevlevi sema ceremony are on the UNESCO's intangible heritage list.

The most recent festival organized by IKSŞ is the Season of Turkish Culture in France, which included an estimated 450 to 500 separate events. In comparison to the previous IKSŞ festivals in Europe, Season of Turkish Culture in France is significantly different. While the previous events mostly emphasize Turkey as a bridge between the East and the West via the traditional and contemporary arts in Turkey, this festival is noticeably oriented towards Europe, with several anticipations ranging from bettering diplomatic relations to promoting tourism. The festival mainly targets to reflect Turkey's cultural diversity and to emphasize Turkey's possible contribution the future of European culture through a comprehensive activity program, and to reflect the dynamic face of modern Turkey's energy, creativity, diversity in the field of culture and arts through activities in different disciplines.<sup>22</sup>

Since the Season of Turkish Culture in France is the most recent project with various aims, we conducted interviews with Özlem Ece who is the General Coordinator of *La Saison de la Turquie en France* and Deniz Ova who is the project leader of international projects. Accordingly, Özlem Ece noted that IKSŞ and the French partners had different visions about the promotion of the festival. On a related note, Deniz Ova indicated that these festivals do not necessarily choose to reflect the traditional or the modern aspects of Turkey and Turkish arts but rather to combine both (Personal interview, Istanbul, 19 February 2010). Another interesting observation during the interview was that some artists do not wish to be regarded as representatives of a certain culture but rather be regarded for the universality of their art. An important point, which should be emphasized, is the fact that, as we have noted in the case of Erasmus mobility, there is a visa problem that restricts the Turkish participants in international festivals in a way that leads them to be reminded of their Turkishness and their non-Europeanness.

A close look at the promotional texts of IKSŞ reveals that the foundation uses several discourses which depend on the content of the festival and the political environment of the time, while there is a repetitive reference to Turkey as bridge between the East and the West and an emphasis on Turkey's historical richness; some festivals also promote the culture of diversity

---

<sup>22</sup> Official Website of IKSŞ. Available at: <http://www.iksv.org/detayfr.asp?id=243>

and tolerance. Nevertheless with the promotion of the Season of Turkish Culture in France, and to some extent the *Bozar* festival, there is a gradual shift from these discourses to Turkey's cultural diversity, openness to change and the dynamic nature of the Turkish culture as a contributor to European and world cultures.

One should not also underestimate the fact that recently various artists of Turkish origin living in the European Union countries have made a great impact on the changing perception of Turkey among the European public. For instance, Fatih Akın, a German-Turkish film director, Ferhan Özpetek, an Italian-Turkish film director, have made a positive impact on the Turkish image in Europe. Nobel Prize winner, novelist Orhan Pamuk, has also contributed to the positive imagery of the Turks in Europe.

### **Branding Istanbul: European Capital of Culture 2010**

Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture is the most recent project, which has limited activities towards Turkey's promotion abroad. In line with the emphasis on the cultural diversity and the cross-roads between the East and the West, the slogan for this project is "Istanbul, a city of four elements", which are earth, air, water and fire.<sup>23</sup> These elements are chosen to reflect the rich history of Turkey and the emphasis on Anatolia as the birthplace of western philosophy. This is an attempt to integrate Turkey into the western civilization originating from ancient Greek heritage. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the activities within the framework of this project are targeted towards Istanbul, thus the activities on the international level are very limited. In reference to the growing emphasis on Istanbul, which has been criticized during our interviews, he stated that "As I always say, I cannot think of a Europe without Istanbul. Therefore, holding this meeting in Istanbul and bringing together different colours and civil society organisations of Turkey is an Istanbul declaration. This is a call for the EU."<sup>24</sup>

As noted by Zümray Kutlu, a member of Anadolu Kültür, "Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture is a project which began as a civil society initiative but it is now being carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism." She continued that while the project initially aimed at branding Istanbul with its cultural and historical prosperity, "the frequent references to *"Mevlana-Rumi"* and the Alliance of Civilizations contradict with the goals of the Capital of Culture project" (Personal interview, 17 February 2010). What is underlined by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism again in the ongoing project is the cultural and religious distinctiveness of Turkey, as the bearer of Turco-Islamic civilization.<sup>25</sup>

With regards to this aim, we should remind that "branding" of Turkey<sup>26</sup> was discussed in the EUCS 2010, this Project applies the same branding principle while narrowing it to Istanbul. Additionally, the emergent emphasis on print and visual media which constituted one of the fundamentals of EUCS is also present in this case. Furthermore, since Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture Project is coordinated by Minister in charge of European Union negotiations, Minister of Internal Affairs, Minister of Finance, the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Governor

---

<sup>23</sup>Official Website of Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture. Application documents, Available at: [http://www.en.Istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010\\_images/gp\\_540557.pdf](http://www.en.Istanbul2010.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ist2010_images/gp_540557.pdf)

<sup>24</sup> Conference titled "New EU Strategy and the Accession Negotiations Process". Grand Cevahir Hotel. Istanbul, February 13, 2010.

<sup>25</sup>Official Website of Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture. Available at: <http://www.en.Istanbul2010.org/AVRUPAKULTURBASKENTI/avrupakulturbaskentleri/index.htm>

<sup>26</sup> Branding of Turkey has become very visible through the ongoing promotion activities of the Turkish Airlines funded by the state. Being the official sponsor of the Barcelona and Manchester United football teams as well as enlarging its international fleet, the Turkish Airlines tends to underline the branding of "Turkish" rather than using cultural and civilizational elements.

of Istanbul, Metropolitan Mayor of Istanbul, Chairman of Advisory and Executive Boards, similar undertones with the government initiatives are to be expected. Moreover, according to Stokes (1999), Istanbul has not always been emphasized to such an extent, he argues that in the construction period of the modern imagery, the initial emphasis was on Ankara, the capital of Turkey, which constituted the ideal representation of modernity after the establishment of the Republic. Nevertheless, as Martin Stokes (1999) observes, while the Ottoman and Islamic connotations that are attached to Istanbul were once ostracized, currently the government's promotion of Istanbul, particular in Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture emphasises the cultural heritage of the city while drawing extensive attention to these elements.

## **Conclusion:**

This paper discussed the ways in which the state actors (universities) have so far shaped the Turkish citizenry with respect to formation of national and European identities since the beginning of the Republic. The emphasis was laid on the aftermath of the 1980 military coup and the Bologna process. It was revealed that higher education institutions have always been squeezed between the two contradicting discourses: *parochialism* (Islamization and Turkification) and *Europeanism* (secularization and internationalization). 1990s have witnessed a deeper process of internationalization and Europeanization of higher education together with an ethno-religious discourse underlining a Turkism-Islamism synthesis. Turkish universities have been actively engaged in the Bologna process and very supportive of the Erasmus exchange program. Student and academic staff mobility has been in favour of outgoing ones. It is evident that all the universities including the ones in the countryside have experienced a process of internationalization and institutionalization with regard to student and staff mobility. However, rising Euroscepticism in Turkey has also changed the process of Europeanization in the universities. Now, activities made in the Bologna process are being presented by the Rectors as activities of internationalization, but not of Europeanization. And, the discourse of raising Europeans is now replaced by raising world citizens. On the other hand, European Union activities held by the Delegation in Ankara have been very carefully designed in a way that combines the European values together with the local Turkish values affirming the unity-in-diversity approach. The Delegation is recently using arts and culture to promote the EU in Turkey, bringing artists and literary figures together.

In the second part, state and non-state actors' promotion activities in the European countries were discussed referring to the discourses of ruling political party elite and of the members of some non-governmental organizations. It was revealed that the AKP has recently generated a religious/civilizational discourse to promote Turkey in the EU with a neo-Ottomanist revival. In doing that, it seems that the ruling party is more concerned with reviving its hegemony in its region rather than advocating Turkey in the EU. On the other hand, the non-state actors are more engaged in using a universalist discourse in promoting Turkey abroad. Instead of reproducing stereotypes they are more occupied with activities concealing the modern, dynamic and universal aspects of Turkey. Unlike the official discourse emphasizing the *difference* between Turkey and the EU, they are more in tune with the discourse of *similarity*.

Most significantly, our research has shown it is not a simple task to separate internal and external promotion of Turkey and Turkish identity. In that regard, we have observed that programs carried out by the EU, such as the EUCS and Cultural Bridges aim to promote a mutual understanding of both Turkish and European cultures. Accordingly, these projects carried out in concert with each other promote Turkey in EU while promoting the EU in Turkey focus on commonalities of both cultures. The internal and external programs of the state on the other hand, seem to be less comparable in the sense that we have to underline the heterogeneity of state actors. In other words, in terms of education, while we have underlined the rise of Euroscepticism in favour of internationalization, in terms of external promotion, we have seen

that while the state prefers a religious/civilizational discourse, programs of the civil society organizations carried out in concert with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Culture and Tourism are oriented towards European countries. Eventually, one should also refer to the dynamics between the EU and state actors with regard to the internal and external promotion activities of Turkey. Some of the programs undertaken by the European Delegation such as inviting major European journalists and literary figures (Günther Grass, 15 April 2010) to Turkey complements the activities of the Turkish state and the NGOs with regard to the external promotion of Turkey. What is also complementary is the close cooperation of the current EU Delegation under the Ambassador Marc Pierrini with the Turkish universities, NGOs and the EUGS in Ankara.

## Sources:

Altınay, Hakan (2008). "Turkey's Soft Power: An Unpolished Gem or an Elusive Mirage?", *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 10, No. 2: 59.

Bayrakdar, Deniz (2006). "Turkish Academics in Europe: Autumn Tale," in V. Tomusk (ed.) *Creating the European Area of Higher Education; Voices from the Periphery, Higher Education Dynamics Series*, Vol. 12. Springer Publications: Netherlands.

Blitz, Brad K. (2009). "From Monnet to Delors: Educational Co-operation in the European Union," *Contemporary European History*. Vol. 12, No. 2: 197-212.

Bologna Process National Report of Turkey 2004-2005.

Bologna Process National Report of Turkey 2005-2007.

Bologna Process National Report of Turkey 2007-2009.

Çayır, Kenan and İpek Gürkaynak (2008). "The state of Citizenship Education in Turkey: Past and Present". *Journal of Social Science Education*. Vol. 6, No.2: 50-58.

Caymaz, Birol (2008). "Education in Turkey", in Arnd-Michael Nohl, Arzu Akkoyunlu-Wigley, Simon Wigley (eds.) *European Studies in Education* Vol. 26. Waxmann: Germany.

Dölen, Emre (2009). *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1: Osmanlı Döneminde Darülfünun 1863- 1922*. İstanbul Bilgi University Press: İstanbul.

Ercan, Fuat (1999). "1980'lerde Eğitim Sisteminin Yeniden Yapılanması: Küreselleşme ve Neoliberal Eğitim Politikaları," in Fatma Gök (ed.) *75 Yılda Eğitim*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları: İstanbul.

Kadıoğlu, Ayşe (2007). "Denationalization of citizenship: the Turkish experience", *Citizenship Studies*, Vol.11, No.3 (July): 283-299

Kaplan, Sam (2006). *The pedagogical state: education and the politics of national culture in the post-1980 Turkey*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, California.

Kaya, Ibrahim (2004). *Social Theory and Later Modernities: The Turkish Experience*. Liverpool. Liverpool University Press.

Keeling, Ruth (2006). "The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda: the European Commission's expanding role in higher education discourse," *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 41, No. 2: 203-223.

Kirişçi, Kemal (2000). "Disaggregating Turkish citizenship and immigration practices," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 36, 3: 1-22.

Mardin, Şerif (2008). "Geleneksel Seçkin Eğitiminin Yinden Kurulamaması," In Mümtaz Türköne and Tuncay Önder (eds.). *Türk Modernleşmesi Makaleler 4*. İletişim Yayınevi: İstanbul.

Mızıkacı, Fatma (2003). "Quality Systems and Accreditation in Higher Education: an overview of Turkish higher education". *Quality in Higher Education*, Vol. 9, No. 1: 95-106. Carfax Publishing.

Mızıkacı, Fatma (2005). "Prospects for European Integration: Turkish Higher Education," *Higher Education in Europe*. Vol. 30, No. 1: 67-79.

Nye, Joseph S. Jr. (2004). *Soft Power: the Means to Success in World Politics*, New York: Public Affairs.

OECD (2004) Policy Brief: Internationalization of Higher Education.

Official Website of Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture. Available at: [www.Istanbul2010.org](http://www.Istanbul2010.org)

Official Website of Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı- IKS*V). Available at: [www.iksv.org](http://www.iksv.org)

Official Website of the Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Available at: [www.kultur.gov.tr](http://www.kultur.gov.tr)

Öncü, Ayşe (1993). "Academics: The West in the Discourse of University Reform," in Metin Heper, Ayşe Öncü and Heinz Kramer (eds.) *Turkey and the West: Changing Political and Cultural Identities*. I.B. Tauris and Co: London.

Orhan, Oytun (2009). "Turkey's Soft Power in the Middle East: The Example of Turkish Television Soap operas" Available at: <http://www.asam.org.tr/tr/yazigoster.asp?kat1=5&ID=2453>

Secretariat General for European Union Affairs (2010). *Turkey's European Union Communication Strategy* (EUCS). Ankara.

Stokes, Martin (1999). "Sounding Out: The Culture Industries and the Globalization of Istanbul," in Çağlar Keyder (ed.), *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.: Maryland, USA.

Stolle, Maja (2009). "Student Mobility in Progress: Reforms in Anatolian Universities," *Unpublished MA Thesis*, Istanbul Bilgi University and European University of Viadrina (March).

Üstel, Füsün (2004). *Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde: II: Meşrutiyet'ten bugüne vatandaşlık eğitimi* (In Pursuit of the Ideal Citizen: Civic Education from Constitutional Monarchy to Today). İletişim Yayınları.

Yeğen, Mesut (2004). "Citizenship and Ethnicity in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 6: 51-66.

Yıldız, Ahmet (2001). *Ne mutlu Türküm diyebilene: Türk ulusal kimliğinin etno-seküler sınırları (1919-1938)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

YÖK (2007). *The Higher Education Strategy of Turkey*. Ankara.

YÖK (2007). *Vakıf Üniversiteleri Raporu* (Foundation University Report) YÖK: Ankara.

Yunus Emre Bulletin 1 (2009), Year 1 No: 1, September 2009. Grafiker Ltd. Şti.: Ankara.

Yunus Emre Bulletin 2 (2009), Year 1 No: 2, December 2009. Grafiker Ltd. Şti.: Ankara.

Zürcher, Erick Z. (2003). *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: I.B. Tauris Publishers.

## **ANNEX I**

### **Activities held by the EU Delegation and Other Institutions in Turkey on the Europe Day May 9, 2009**

#### **1. EU INFO RELAY NETWORK EUROPE DAY ACTIVITIES 2009**

##### **Bursa**

04-05.05. 2009 Joint platform of the university youth and the NGOs during the European integration period

08.05. 2009 Seminar on "Security Forces and the EU Integration Process"

##### **Denizli**

07.05.2009 Networking Event in Denizli Public Library with Mobile Library during "National Library Week" and also in May

05-07.05.2009 Stand Opening in Pamukkale University Career Days

##### **Diyarbakır**

06.05.2009 STAND Activity for the Europe Day Diyarbakır EU Information Relay Office activities

##### **Izmir**

07-08.05.2009 Stand opening in Manisa

##### **Konya**

06.05.2009 Training Program for Local Audiences- EU Agriculture Policy Conference

##### **Trabzon**

12-13-14.05.2009 Young Inventor Temel and Fadime

##### **Gaziantep**

09.05.2009 Visit to Gaziantep Oncology Hospital Children Service with Nilüfer Açıkalın – Presentation and Children's Play

##### **Antalya**

08.05.2009 Lokumla Avrupa'ya – 9 May Europe Day  
Altinova Yenigöl Primary School/ Antalya



## 2. Other Activities by the Presidential Office, European Delegation, the Universities, and the NGOs.

- President Abdullah Gül has made a statement to celebrate the Europe Day of the nation. <http://www.haberfx.net/cumhurbaskani-gulun-9-mayis-avrupa-gunu-mesaji-haberi-36320/>
- EU Delegation in Ankara gave a reception, and several ministers, politicians, academics, bureaucrats, diplomats of the EU countries were in attendance. <http://www.haberajans.com/habereGit.php?haberUrl=http://www.haberler.com/ankara-da-avrupa-gunu-kutlandi-haberi/>
- European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University has organized a Book Launch on the occasion of the Europe Day. <http://eu.bilgi.edu.tr/default.asp?lid=tr&m=0>
- Kadir Has University in Istanbul organized a conference together with Business organizations. <http://www.khas.edu.tr>
- Izmir Economy University organized a panel with students to celebrate the Europe Day. <http://ekoab.ieu.edu.tr/eng/>
- Edirne European Information Office organized a conference to celebrate the Europe Day. <http://www.abvizyonu.com/avrupa-birligi/9-mayis-avrupa-gunu-kutlaniyor.html>
- KAGIDER (Women Entrepreneurs' Association) published an EU advocacy advertisement on the mainstream newspapers.

## ANNEX II

Questions presented to the interviewees:

- 1) Can you inform us about the content and the execution of the project you are currently involved in?
- 2) Is it possible to associate your current project with external promotion of Turkey?
- 3) In your opinion, what is the perception of Turkey your project aims to create?
- 4) What are the promotional projects that you are aware of? Can you asses these projects?
- 5) What can you say about the external promotion activities carried out by government agencies and NGOs? Can you share your views on this issue?
- 6) In your opinion, what approaches and goals should be pursued in the external promotion of Turkey?

## **Interview I**

Date of Interview: 17 February 2010

Name of the Interviewer: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

Name of the Interviewee: Zümray Kutlu

Name of interviewee's employer: Anadolu Kültür

Organizational position: Project Coordinator, Local Cultural Policy

I currently work on the Local Cultures program, which was launched in 2004. This project began following Anadolu Kültür's cooperation with European Cultural Foundation (ECF) and the initial project was drawn upon the experiences of ECF in eastern Germany. The first step was to bring the cultural and artistic institution in Istanbul; nevertheless representatives from other cities were also present at the meetings. Representatives from Kayseri and Kars expressed their interest in becoming a part of the project; therefore these cities were incorporated into the project as well. In terms of execution, we mainly work with focus groups on how to promote these cities. Although our Project did not move forward easily in Kayseri, our progress in Kars was more successful. After we identified that Kars did not have any promotional material, we published a book on Kars written both in Turkish and in English. Additionally, residents of Kars established a Kars City Guide in the form of a website accessible at [www.karskentrehberi.com](http://www.karskentrehberi.com) to promote the city and their culture.

The project continued with the involvement of four cities namely, Çanakkale, Mersin, Edirne and Antakya. These cities were chosen subjectively and upon the solicitation of city representatives. The project is supported by the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs MATRA fund and it is composed of four partners: Istanbul Bilgi University being responsible for documentation, Boekman Foundation being responsible for publishing the findings, Anadolu Kültür and ECF being responsible for carrying out the fieldwork. In the fieldwork stage we in close in collaboration with the municipalities and local civil society organizations.

In terms of the execution of the fieldworks, MATRA was in favour of employing their experts in the fieldwork, but in order to facilitate better communication we preferred to work with Turks. Eventually, Euro-Turks occupying governmental positions were chosen to carry out the fieldwork. As a result of the fieldwork, one important finding was that promotion of Turkish culture should also include Euro-Turks who have been residing in foreign countries in order to inform them about the social and cultural changes that Turkey has experienced over the years.

One of the benefits of this project was to draw attention to Turkish cities other than Istanbul. The events organized in the selected cities were able to provide the participants with the chance to get acquainted with Turkey and Turks in general. Also, Boekman Foundation published annual reports on the selected cities. Subsequently, the project was able to establish a network between these cities and the foreign project partners, which enabled city representatives to communicate with our European partners directly.

An interesting experience that I should mention is my personal opinion about the perception of Turks in Arab countries. During a meeting in Damascus which was

comprised of civil society representative in Arab countries, I felt that I was perceived more as a European than as a middle eastern.

Moreover, in addition to the reports of the Ministry and the Council of Europe on the compendium process, we are currently preparing our own report to complement the compendium process.

First, through the city visits with European nationals, the project was able to reflect that Turkey is not limited to Istanbul. Second, the “copy and paste” image of Turkey, referring to the idea that Turkey was borrowing from the Balkan culture, was shattered. Through informing the participants on regionalization, we were able to show the distinct dynamics of the cities, which consequently illustrated the heterogeneity of Turkish culture. Currently, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism is carrying out several projects, most of which follows the alliance of civilizations discourse.

One of the other civil society organizations which promotes Turkish culture with creative projects is Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı*- IKSVA) but I believe that they should integrate national dynamics more into their promotion. Additionally, there are several performance centres, which provide alternatives to the tiresome official discourse. In that regard, most of the current promotional projects use the “Çan, Ezan, Hazzan”<sup>27</sup> expression, which illustrates the overemphasis on cultural tolerance.

In terms of literature, the statements of Orhan Pamuk on the Armenian Genocide and Nuri Bilge Ceylan’s reference to “my lonely and beautiful country” during his acceptance speech at the Cannes Film Festival are very important but these assertions are limited to an elitist outlook. In terms of cinema, the German Film Festival, the works of Fatih Akin, and the artists in Kreuzberg are important elements in promoting Turkish culture. In conclusion, the image of Turkey presented by Turkish exchange students in foreign countries as well as the refugees/asylum seekers in foreign countries can be analyzed further.

“Istanbul 2010: European Capital of Culture” is a project which began as a civil society initiative but it is currently carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. In that regard, the frequent references to “*Mevlana*” and the Alliance of Civilizations contradict with the goals of the Capital of Culture project.

In terms of the promotion of Turkish culture; youth and children should be targeted to a greater extent. More visuals such as images and arts should be utilized in Turkey’s promotion. In addition, Turkish texts should be translated into foreign languages; in particular more children’s books should be translated.

## **Interview II**

Date of Interview: 19 February 2010

Name of the Interviewer: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

Name of the Interviewee: Bige Örer

---

<sup>27</sup> This expression was used in the title of a documentary on the city of Antakya. It refers to the religious diversity and tolerance in Antakya.

Name of interviewee's employer: Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı*- IKSŞ) )

Organizational position: Director, International Istanbul Biennial

I am the director of Biennial projects carried out by IKSŞ. Our projects focus on modern visual arts. In essence, our festivals abroad are a result of collective efforts.

IKSŞ was established in 1973, which coincides with the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Republic. The festivals between 1973 and 2003 were attempts to organize interdisciplinary events in Istanbul that are similar to their counterparts in Europe. In effect, it was also an attempt to share the cultural structure of Europe.

In the 1980s, the festivals were separated in terms of artistic disciplines. For instance, in 1984 cinema, in 1987 biennial and later on music and jazz branched out as distinct disciplines. In between 1980s and 2000s, these disciplines were able to accumulate their own spectators. These festivals are reflective of the Europeanization of cultural environment.

I should also note that all of our festival partners are from Europe. For instance in 2007, a network for Biennials was established with the cooperation of organizations from Liverpool, Istanbul, Berlin, Athens and Leon in order to share our experiences. In this sense, it is possible to say that there is a west oriented approach in forming partnerships.

For instance, although there were shadow-theatres in the initial Istanbul Festivals, they are not organized anymore. These theatres are not a priority, but I believe that some viewers would be interested in them. I should note that some festivals still have shadow-theatres as a part of the event but they are not thought of as a separate unit, municipalities tend to think of these theatres as a separate unit. However, our Foundation has a middle class following, which has distinct preferences, but we have several attempts to broaden our followers. Nevertheless, there is a production and consumption of high-culture.

Since 2003, we have more international events, due to the increasing momentum of the EU process. The Ministry believes that politics can change everything but I believe that is not the case. There are many countries that are still not aware of Turkey, for instance Spain and there are many countries who still perceive Turkey through the prism of immigrants. Our events aim to show the modern face of Turkey and we receive several requests from European cities to organize events. In organizing cultural events, the budget and communication with the partners are very important.

Our events have two target groups, the citizens of the host city and the Turkish-origin individuals residing in that city. Sometimes as a natural result, there are more Turkish individuals attempting these events. Although the intent is not to strengthen Turkishness, sometimes it is an inevitable outcome.

As IKSŞ, we do not have a specific message that we would like to relay but sometimes there can be discourses that intensify certain prejudices. For instance, some festival

visuals depict Turkish delights and İznik potteries. In that sense, the partner choices play an important role. Sometimes it is necessary to capture the differences between cultures. IKSŞ is an innovative and avant-garde foundation, and our partners are those that can be inspired by our work or those that follow a similar strategy. We do not emphasize that East and through our partnerships we show the changing culture of Turkey.

In the “Turkish Season in France” project, we experienced certain difficulties stemming from the strained political relations between Turkey and France. We were trying to counter this conjuncture but these problems inevitably influence the events.

There should be more cultural institutions promoting Turkey. We should also inform Euro-Turks about the changes in Turkey. We also need bottom-top funds because funding can be problematic. In foreign countries, private institutions fund such events but we have trouble finding financial support for Turkish artists. Another important problem is entry to the foreign countries; most Turkish artists have trouble getting a visa to attend the festivals. I believe that in finding new approaches we should think in micro and macro terms.

### **Interview III**

Date of Interview: 19 February 2010<sup>28</sup>

Name of the Interviewer: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

Name of the Interviewee: Özlem Ece

Name of interviewee’s employer: Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı*- IKSŞ)

Organizational position: General Coordinator, La Saison de la Turquie en France

Name of the Interviewee: Deniz Ova

Name of interviewee’s employer: Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı*- IKSŞ)

Organizational position: Project Leader, International Projects

**D.O.:** Currently, for 2010 we do not have any other festivals besides “La Saison de la Turquie en France”. Our next festival will be in 2011. We received several requests from Scandinavian countries, such as Finland and Denmark. In 2011, we also think of organizing a festival in Germany.

**Ö.E.:** “La Saison de la Turquie en France” commenced in July 2009 and it is intended to finalize at the end of March 2010. The project is composed of 450 to 500 separate projects. I should note that IKSŞ is the institution appointed by the Ministry to carry out these events.

**Ö.E.:** We aimed to reach a very large target group for this project and we managed to reach them. In terms of the promotional approach and influence of our French partners in the project, we wanted to underline Turkish youth and dynamism, our French partners wished to follow a rather oriental approach. We did not want to counter their approach but rather balance it. We did not follow one certain tone in our visuals and contemporary arts promotions. We did not just emphasize cultural heritage. We were

---

<sup>28</sup> This interview was conducted simultaneously with both interviewees present.

able to provide communication between Turkish and French institutions. We also aimed to bring Turkish and French youth together and emphasize their similarities.

**D.O.:** We wanted to show how we experience these differences, which comes forth on its own. We do not wish to imitate European music but rather show that we can unite the traditional and the modern. I believe that we have found a partial balance between these two elements.

It is also important to note that we come across Turkish artists who refuse to participate in the festivals for the purpose of promoting Turkey. They wish to emphasize the universal nature of arts rather than representing the local.

In terms of the progress of our partnership, we are moving from bilateral relations to multilateral relations.

#### **Interview IV**

Date of Interview: 10 March 2010

Name of the Interviewer: Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya

Name of the Interviewee: Ozge Onursal Besgul

Name of interviewee's employer: Istanbul Bilgi University

Organizational position: Lecturer, International Relations Department and European Institute

Questions presented to the interviewee:

- 1) In your experience, how is the Bologna process framed? Accordingly, how does Euroscepticism influence this perception?
- 2) In your opinion, how does globalization and Europeanization play into the perceptions of the academic circles?
- 3) What factors influence the tendency to frame the Bologna process in terms of internationalization as opposed to Europeanization?

Turkey's participation in the Bologna Process dates back to 2001 which was initiated with the "Implementation of Bologna Process in Turkey" project. Accordingly, several institutional reforms have been implemented. First, the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) established various commissions and working groups for the implementation of the Process. Currently, Universities have units to act as liaisons with the YÖK, as well as International Relations Offices, they are also required to establish "Academic Assessment and Quality Improvement Board" for the assessment of the institutions' external and internal quality procedures. Also, as of 2009, all Universities are required to establish a Bologna Coordination Commission for the implementation and monitoring of Bologna reforms. Second, National Teams of Bologna Promoters which was established in 2004 encompass academicians selected by the Council who contribute to the implementation of the Process.

In terms higher education, important Bologna reforms have been implemented in Turkey. However, these structural reforms have been rapid, and currently there is no indication that these reforms have been internalized. Questions still remain whether these reforms can be considered Europeanisation. Also, there are different arguments about the motivation behind the implementation of these reforms. For instance, Mızıkacı argues that Europeanisation is often perceived as a means to enhance growth and

competition in the market. Therefore, the general perception of Europeanisation as a superficial and market oriented process is also reflected in higher education reforms.

In terms of Euroscepticism, it is important to emphasize that the terms “Europeanisation” and “EU” were knowingly left out during the launch of the reforms. This was an informed decision aimed at preventing the possible repercussions of associating the Bologna Process with the EU and Turkey’s accession process. Accordingly, we can say that the rise of Euroscepticism has significantly influenced the framing of the Bologna Process.

Most interestingly, in Europe the Bologna Process was established as a response to internationalization. However in Turkey, it is perceived as a process of internationalization, which is highly correlated to the rise of Euroscepticism.