

RIGHTS AND EQUALITY

IN CONTEMPORARY
TURKEY

13—15 NOV 2019
HUMBOLDT GRADUATE SCHOOL

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BLICKWECHSEL: CONTEMPORARY TURKEY STUDIES

The interdisciplinary programme 'Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies' explores different aspects of current Turkish society, economy and politics. Through five academic projects, it offers a platform for exchange in a variety of formats and approaches. A coordination team at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin supports the cooperation between the projects and organises events and activities on contemporary issues in Turkey aiming to reach both an academic audience and a broader public.

Within the framework of this programme, Stiftung Mercator funds the academic examination of Turkey in Germany and, simultaneously, the interconnectedness of both countries in the areas of research and teaching. Publicly shared knowledge and insights create new perspectives on Turkey as well as on Germany; it is only through the interplay of both perspectives that a comprehensive picture forms and new narratives emerge.

13—15 Nov 2019

Rights and equality in contemporary Turkey

The conference is organised by the coordination team of the programme "Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies" at the institute for Social Sciences of Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and funded by Einstein Foundation and Stiftung Mercator.

Coordination team:

Ertuğ Tombuş: *Academic Coordinator*

Tuğba Yalçınkaya: *Project Coordinator
and Coordinator for Public Relations and
Academic Communication*

Mathis Gann: *Project Assistant*

Maximiliane Schneider: *Project Assistant*

Former team members:

Bettina Emir: *Project coordinator*

Irmak Ekin Karel: *Project assistant*

Lisa Klein: *Project assistant*

Stiftung Mercator:

David Alders: *Project manager*

Activities implemented by the Blickwechsel coordination team at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin between 2017-2019:

22

Public events have been realised.

16

Off-campus events (film screenings, readings, 'We, the City' conference and more) have taken place.

16

Closed events (workshops, trainings) have been realised.

132

Speakers have attended.

8

Einstein Fellows have joined to the Institute of Social Sciences (ISW) affiliated with the Berlin Institute for Empirical Research on Migration and Integration (BIM), and the Law & Society Institute (LSI).

more than 1.500

Audience members have participated.

12

Cooperation partners have joined in collaboration.

EINSTEIN FELLOWS RESEARCH GROUP

The Einstein Fellows Research Group at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, funded by the programme “Wissenschaftsfreiheit” by Einstein Foundation Berlin, is composed of eight scholars with a background in critical academia in Turkey. The research focus of the group is twofold: Four researchers are affiliated with the Berlin Institute for Empirical Research on Migration and Integration (BIM) and work on forced migration and diasporas. Rising authoritarianism in Turkey is the main research focus of the four scholars who are affiliated to the Institute of Social Sciences (ISW) and the Integrative Research Institute for Law and Society (LSI).

With their research focusing on Turkey the Einstein Fellows Research Group is a valuable contribution to the already established network of the programme “Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies” at the Institute of Social Sciences. Within the framework of this cooperation jointly organized events and collaboration on many different levels are taking place.

Research Group Coordinator: **Anne Berger**

Research Assistant: **Liana Harutyunyan**

Einstein Fellows: **Sinem Adar, Gülçin Balamir Coşkun, Begüm Başdaş, Özgür Çiçek, Tuba İnal-Çekiç, Ayşegül Kars Kaynar, Zeynep Kivılcım, Özlem Savaş**

PROGRAMME

13—15 Nov 2019

13–15 Nov

Exhibition:
Courageous Women: Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey's Academia

by the research project "Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey: Institutionalisation and Transformation" Humboldt Graduate School, Room 122

Rights and equality in contemporary Turkey

WED 13

DAY 1

18:00 – 19:30

Opening-Keynote Lecture by Arjun Appadurai:

The Rise of the Post-democratic State: The Perspective from India

19:30

Reception

THU 14

DAY 2

09:30 – 10:00

Registration

10:00 – 11:00

Welcome

11:00 – 12:30

Panel I: Constitutionalism, Law, and Democracy in Turkey

Chair: Urszula Woźniak (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Maria Abad Andrade (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Ece Göztepe (Bilkent University)

Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Ertuğ Tombuş (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

İrem Tuncer-Ebetürk (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)

12:30 – 13:15

Lunch

13:15 – 14:00

Exhibition Talk: Courageous Women: Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey's Academia

With the attendance of the photographer Seçkin Uçan
Divan, Humboldt Graduate School, Room 122

14:00 – 15:30

Panel II: A Contested Relationship – Narratives in EU/German-Turkish Relations Three Years on

Chair: Anke Schönlau (University of Cologne)
Senem Aydın-Düzgit (Istanbul Policy Center)
Funda Tekin (Institute for European Politics)
Discussants: Moritz Rau (University of Cologne), Özgehan Şenyuva (Middle East Technical University)
Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne)

15:30 – 15:45

Coffee Break

15:45 – 17:15

Panel III: What moves Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey? Dynamics of Institutionalisation

Chair: Yasemin Karakaşoğlu (University of Bremen)
Charlotte Binder (University of Bremen)
Deniz Dağ (University of Bremen)
Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu (formerly Istanbul University)
Discussant: Betül Yarar (University of Bremen)

17:15 – 17:30

Coffee Break

17:30 – 19:00

Einstein Fellows Research Group Panel: Reflections on Authoritarian Governance

Chair: Sinem Adar (Centre for Applied Turkey Studies, SWP)
Gülçin Balamir Coşkun (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
Tuba İnal-Çekiç (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
Ayşegül Kars Kaynar (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)
Zeynep Kivılcım (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

FRI 15

DAY 3

09:30 – 11:00

Panel IV: 'Ne mutlu ateistim diyene' Atheism & The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey

Kaya Akyıldız (Bahçeşehir University)
Ivo Furman (Istanbul Bilgi University)
Pierre Hecker (University of Marburg)
Discussant: Ayşe Çavdar (University of Marburg)

11:00 – 11:30

Coffee Break

11:30 – 13:00

Panel V: Development of Social Rights in Turkey

Chair: Lutz Leisering (University of Bielefeld)
Tolga Bölükbaşı (Bilkent University)
Kerem Öktem (University of Bielefeld)
Discussant: İpek Göçmen

11:30 – 13:00

Closed Workshop: After the European Elections: New People, New Narratives, New Phase in EU-Turkey Relations?

by the project TRIANGLE - Blickwechsel in EU/German-Turkish Relations Beyond Conflicts

13:00 – 13:30

Closing Remarks

13:30 – 14:30

Lunch

PROJECT INFOR- MATION

Opening Lecture by Arjun Appadurai

The Rise of the Post-Democratic State: The Perspective from India in Turkey

Arjun Appadurai is the Goddard Professor in Media, Culture and Communication at New York University, where he is also Senior Fellow at the Institute for Public Knowledge, and Professor of Anthropology and Globalisation at the Hertie School in Berlin. He serves as Honorary Professor in the Department of Media and Communication, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, Tata Chair Professor at The Tata Institute for Social Sciences, Mumbai and as a Senior Research Partner at the Max-Planck Institute for

Religious and Ethnic Diversity, Göttingen. He was previously Senior Advisor for Global Initiatives at The New School in New York City, where he also held a Distinguished Professorship as the John Dewey Distinguished Professor in the Social Sciences. Arjun Appadurai was the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at The New School from 2004-2006. He was formerly the William K. Lanman Jr. Professor of International Studies, Professor of Anthropology, and Director of the Center on Cities and Globalization at Yale University. Appadurai is the founder and now the President of PUKAR (Partners for Urban Knowledge Action and Research), a non-profit organization based in and oriented to the city of Mumbai (India).

Professor Appadurai earned his Ph.D. (1976) from The Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago. He has authored numerous books and scholarly articles, including *Fear of Small Numbers: An Essay on the Geography of Anger* (Duke 2006) and *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minnesota 1996; Oxford India 1997). His books have been translated into French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese and Italian.

Arjun Appadurai has held numerous fellowships and scholarships and has received several scholarly honors, including residential fellowships at the Center for Advanced Study in

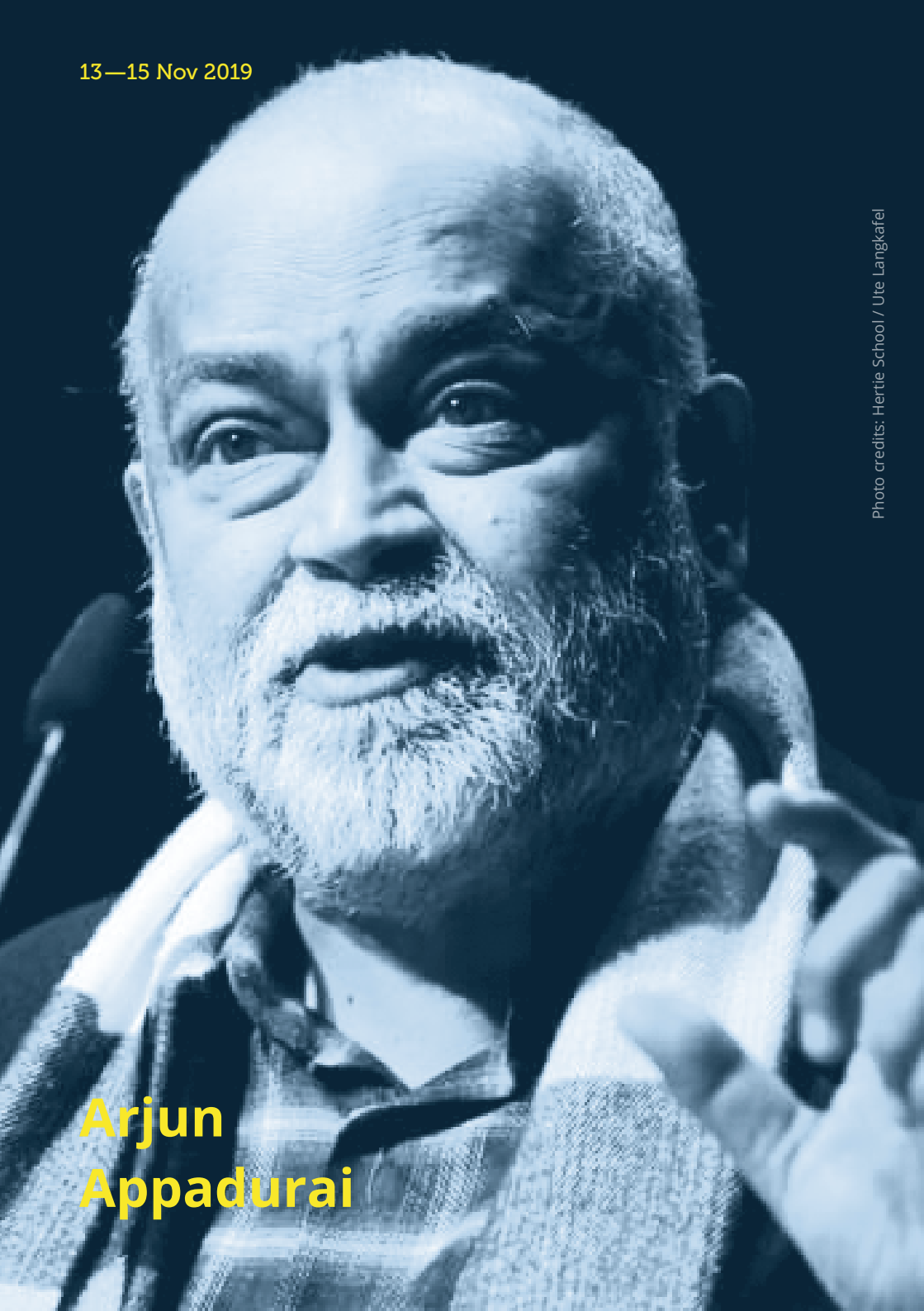


Photo credits: Hertie School / Ute Langkafel

Arjun Appadurai

the Behavioral Sciences in Palo Alto (California) and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. He was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1997.

He has also served as a consultant or advisor to a wide range of public and private organizations, including many major foundations (Ford, MacArthur, and Rockefeller); UNESCO; UNDP; the World Bank; the National Endowment for the Humanities; the National Science Foundation; and the Infosys Foundation. He currently serves on the Advisory Board for the Asian Art Initiative at the Solomon Guggenheim Museum and on the Scientific Advisory Board of the Forum D'Avignon in Paris.

Appadurai's latest book, *The Future as a Cultural Fact: Essays on the Global Condition* was published by Verso in 2013.

Exhibition:

Courageous Women: Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey's Academia

In the exhibition “Courageous Women: Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey's Academia” 26 women academics are portrayed. These pioneers of academic feminism were extremely significant for the establishment of Women's and Gender Studies (WGS) at universities in Turkey. The exhibition gathers a representative group of living and deceased figures among the first generation of WGS scholars from different scientific disciplines. What they all have in common is not only that they have been over 60 years of age but also, and in particular their outstanding contribution to the institutionalisation of WGS.

The foundation of about a hundred Application and Research Centres of WGS at universities in Turkey is just one outcome of their many efforts, combining scientific success with political commitment to fight for women's rights.

The exhibition is an homage to the first generation of Women's and Gender Researchers in Turkey. In addition, it aims to draw attention to the current threatening situation of WGS in Turkey and other countries of the world.

This exhibition was developed in the framework of the research project on “Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey: Institutionalisation and Transformation”. The empirical study examines the institutionalisation and transformation processes of Women's and Gender Studies Centres at universities in their relation to academia, state, and civil society in Turkey.

Panel I:

Constitutionalism, Law, and Democracy in Turkey

Chair: Urszula Woźniak (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Maria Abad Andrade (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Ece Göztepe (Bilkent University), Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), Ertuğ Tombuş (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin) İrem Tuncer-Ebetürk (WZB Berlin Social Science Center)

The panel will discuss some of the predominant research results obtained within the scope of the Research Lab: Constitutional Politics in Turkey. The contributions of the panellists focus on the political role, jurisdiction and decision-making processes of the Turkish Constitutional Court, constitution-making practices as well as the instrumentalisation of obsolete laws as legal devices of democratic decay.

Silvia von Steinsdorff and Ece Göztepe will present their forthcoming book which scrutinises the political role of the Constitutional Court. It analyses the Court's jurisdiction over

the last 60 years and relates it to current political developments in Turkey. Maria Abad Andrade will discuss her forthcoming book on decision-making practices at constitutional courts and on the Turkish Constitutional Court in particular, focusing on the largely unexplored practice of dissenting opinions at the court. Ertuğ Tombuş will examine the constitution-making practices in the history of the Turkish Republic to provide an alternative explanation for the authoritarian foundations of Turkish constitutions that breaks with well-established explanations such as the center-periphery dichotomy or military tutelage argument. Finally, the research lab fellow İrem Ebetürk will shed a light on the particularly high rise of insult proceedings that followed Erdoğan's election as president, thereby problematising the particular role of the insult law in current Turkish politics as a reflection of Turkey's democratic backsliding.

Panel II:

A Contested Relationship – Narratives in EU/German-Turkish Relations Three Years on

Chair: [Anke Schönlau](#) (University of Cologne),
[Senem Aydın-Düzgit](#) (Istanbul Policy Center),
[Funda Tekin](#) (Institute for European Politics)
Discussants: [Moritz Rau](#) (University of Cologne),
[Özgehan Şenyuva](#) (Middle East Technical University),
[Wolfgang Wessels](#) (University of Cologne)

When the research project TRIANGLE started its work in 2017, Turkey's relations with Germany and the European Union were a major topic of discussion. In light of the Gezi protests, the coup attempt, the state of emergency, the constitutional referendum in Turkey and bilateral conflicts on elections campaigns, German-Turkish relations had hit rock bottom.

Meanwhile, with the EU-Turkey statement of March 2016, publicly known as the 'Refugee deal', a new path of cooperation between the EU and Turkey was established.

Three years on, TRIANGLE has investigated the development of narratives and institutions in EU/German-Turkish relations over the project's course. The panel will discuss the preliminary findings based on narrative analyses of different actors in the EU/German-Turkish triangular relationship and their implications for institutional scenarios. Narratives – understood as stories people tell to describe themselves or others – may be precursors to institutional changes and arrangements. The EU-Turkey relations experts, Project Director Dr. Funda Tekin and guest speaker Associate Prof. Dr. Senem Aydın-Düzgit, will share their thoughts on TRIANGLE's findings, and engage in discussion with the project's researchers and the audience.

Panel III:

What moves Women's and Gender Studies at Universi- ties in Turkey? Dynamics of Institu- tionalisation

Chair: [Yasemin Karakaşoğlu](#) (University of Bremen),
[Charlotte Binder](#) (University of Bremen), [Deniz Dağ](#)
(University of Bremen), [Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu](#)
(formerly Istanbul University)
Discussant: [Betül Yarar](#) (University of Bremen)

In this panel, the research team presents their most striking findings from the analysis of empirical data collected in the framework of the project 'Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey: Institutionalisation and Transformation'. Yasemin Karakaşoğlu will introduce the team, the project and its progress, and give an introduction to the 'velvet triangle'

concept developed by Alison Woodward in 2001 that is used as an analytical lens in the analysis of the institutionalisation and transformation processes of Women's and Gender Studies Centres. Next, Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu will present the main characteristics and dynamics of academic structures revealed through expert interviews. Subsequently, Charlotte Binder will talk about the shifts in paradigms in the field of Women's and Gender Studies. Last, Deniz Dağ will underline and pinpoint national and international developments influential in the institutionalisation and transformation processes of the centres. Finally, the project's prime consultant Betül Yarar will discuss and evaluate the project before asking the audience to join the discussion.

Einstein Fellows Research Group Panel:

Reflections on Authoritarian Governance

Chair: **Sinem Adar** (Centre for Applied Turkey Studies, SWP), **Gülçin Balamir Coşkun** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), **Tuba İnal-Çekiç** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), **Ayşegül Kars Kaynar** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), **Zeynep Kivılcım** (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

The panel hosts four Einstein Fellows who are currently based at the Institute for Social Sciences at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin and working on different dimensions of authoritarianism in Turkey. The panel discussion focuses on institutional, political and legal aspects of authoritarianism at different scales. Based on their research areas, fellows will share their reflections on the implications of authoritarian governance for urban governance, media, law, and civil-military relations. The discussion aims to open up an inter-disciplinary space for thinking together these pressing questions of our time.

Panel IV:

'Ne mutlu ateistim diyene'* Atheism & The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey

Pierre Hecker (University of Marburg)

Ivo Furman (Istanbul Bilgi University)

Kaya Akyıldız (Bahçeşehir University)

Discussant: Ayşe Çavdar (University of Marburg)

In this panel results of the research project "'Ne mutlu ateistim diyene' Atheism & The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey" will be discussed. The project investigated contemporary discourses on atheism in Turkey. The relevance of this subject must be seen in the context of Turkey's currently ongoing *Kultur-kampf*. For a considerable period of time now, the country's ruling elite has been striving to establish its culture of a pious conservatism as the

commonly accepted norm in order to consolidate its power in state and society. Morally and religiously sensitive topics such as nudity, sexuality, alcohol consumption, evolutionary theory, or criticism of religion have increasingly been systematically banned from education and the media, while at the same time religious education has been strengthened by the state and religious references have grown more visible in politics and society. The self-declared goal of educating a new, pious generation is contesting the current model of Turkish secularism and the concept of national identity that derived from it. Individual human rights guaranteed by the constitution – in this case namely the freedom of belief and conscience and the freedom *of* and *from* religion – seem to face increasing pressure due to the latest developments. The public visibility of non-religious, atheist lifestyles poses a challenge to the cultural hegemony of pious conservatism and therefore the claim to power of the ruling elite. Demanding public space, consequently, can be an efficient means to lay claim to political power. In this sense, atheism is studied as part of a (counter)hegemonic discourse on the *Politics of Culture*.

* "Happy is the one who calls himself an atheist." Adaption of the phrase "Ne mutlu Türküm diyene" ("Happy is the one who calls himself a Turk"), which goes back to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Until a few years ago, Mustafa Kemal's words have been an integral part of the Turkish Student Oath. In its function as a pledge of allegiance to the Turkish nation, the phrase has to be considered politically sensitive; not only as a reference to Mustafa Kemal, but as a symbol for the denial of cultural pluralism in Turkey.

Panel V:

Development of Social Rights in Turkey

Chair: **Lutz Leisering** (University of Bielefeld),

Tolga Bölükbaşı (Bilkent University),

Kerem Öktem (University of Bielefeld)

Discussant: **İpek Göçmen** (Max Planck Institute
for the Study of Societies)

In this panel, the results of the research project ‘How “social” is Turkey? Turkey’s social security system in a European context’ will be discussed. The project explored Turkey’s changing social policy landscape over the past four decades. Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods to generate original data, the project aimed to understand to what extent the Turkish state assumes a collective responsibility for the well-being of all citizens through providing social security programs in health, pensions, social assistance and unemployment protec-

tion. Changes in social policies thoroughly affect people’s lives, but Turkish social policy rarely figures into European political debates, especially as the recent political developments in Turkey tend to eclipse more mundane topics like social protections. The panel will include presentations on how Turkey’s social security system compares to European social security systems in terms of social spending and social citizenship, and on developments in particular policy areas like social assistance and unemployment protection.

PROJECT SUM- MARIES



Research Lab: Constitutional Politics in Turkey II

Project Team: Silvia von Steinsdorff, Ece Göztepe,
Ertuğ Tombuş, Urszula Woźniak
Student assistant: Jassin Irscheid
Former student assistants: Lorena Herzog,
Felix Ochtrup, Cemre Özveri

Since the failed coup attempt of July 15th, 2016, Turkey's constitutional politics have been in turmoil. Following the state of emergency that had been in force for two years since the coup attempt, numerous executive decrees were issued causing the suspension and dismissal of tens of thousands of civil servants and leading to the partial suspension of the rule of law. This rule by decree has had massive political and social consequences. The implications of these processes in terms of constitutional politics are wide-reaching.

The 2017 constitutional changes and their making during the state of emergency form the point of departure for the work of the "Research Lab: Constitutional

Politics in Turkey". In separate studies conducted in parallel, researchers of the lab from Germany and Turkey analyse the development of the state under the rule of law in Turkey and the diverse challenges it faces from various disciplinary, methodical and thematic angles.

Apart from the failure of the constitution-making process (2011-2013), the analysis of latest constitutional debates amongst others with regards to gender politics and referendums, formed the core of the research lab's first phase. Picking up on this, in its second phase the research lab includes actors and institutions outside the constitution-making in the strict sense. A particular focus is on changes to the rule of law under authoritarian and populist regimes and the wide-reaching effects of the state of emergency. Forms and conditions of parliamentary work, both in present and past, as well as practices of jurisprudence concerning freedom of speech are some of the research subjects in this phase.

The analysis of these aspects allows for deeper insights into Turkey's political processes at the crossroads between democracy and authoritarianism, and offers many starting points for comparative research: The developments in Turkey are compared to other cases historically, regionally and in a problem-related manner. Through regular research lab meetings and the research lab's webpage (<https://www.cpt.hu-berlin.de>), members of the research lab present their work. Public lectures in Berlin offer insights into the lab and its work to the wider public on a quarterly basis.

Research Lab Fellows:

Since 2017, the following fellows joined the research lab with the following projects:

8 post-doctoral fellows:

Aylin Aydın (Yeditepe University): The Impact of Court Packing on De Facto

Judicial Independence in Turkey and Hungary.

Grażyna Baranowksa (Polish Academy of Sciences): Memory laws in Turkey

İrem Ebetürk (WZB) & Defne Över (Göttingen University): Deployment of the

Insult Law in Personalization of Power

Emine Rezzan Karaman (Bilgi University): Saturday Mother's Struggle at the

European Court of Justice

İlker Gökhan Şen, (Zürich University)

Sezen Yaraş (Bilkent University): Gender and the Politics of Constitution

Making Process in Turkey

3 Ph.D. fellows:

Mustafa Mert Alpaz (Bilkent University):

Melis Laebens (Yale University): Leaders with Hegemonic Aspirations

Cem Tecimer (Harvard University): The Rise of Executive Constitutional In-

terpretation

2 M.A. fellows:

Mariana Karkoutly, (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): Syrians in Diaspora seeking for Justice

Mithat Kemal İman, (Middle East Technical University, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin): Constitution-making in Turkey, Civil Society and the Welfare State.

Publications

Articles in Journals/Edited Volumes

- Woźniak, Urszula Ewa (forthcoming) 'Urban Tectonics and Lifestyles in Motion. Affective and Spatial Negotiations of Belonging in an Istanbul Mahalle', in Hilal Alkan and Nazan Maksudyan (eds.) *Close-up Cities: Making and Unmaking of Neighbourhoods in the Middle East, Africa, and South Asia*. Routledge.

- Yaraş, Sezen (2019) 'The Making of the 'New' Patriarch in Women's Self-Narrations of Political Empowerment: The Case of local female AKP Politicians in the Aftermath of 2009 Elections', *Turkish Studies*, 20(2): 273-296.
- Göztepe, Ece (2018) 'Normative Foundations of the Right to Individual Complaint in Turkey with a Case Study on Electoral Rights', *Research and Policy on Turkey*, 3(1): 68-89.
- Göztepe, Ece (2018) 'The Permanency of the State of Emergency in Turkey. The Rise of a Constituent Power or only a new Quality of the State?', *Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft*, 28(4): 521-534.
- Steinsdorff, Silvia von (2018) 'Demokratischer Rechtsstaat und liberale Demokratie: Unscharfe Grenzen im europäischen Verfassungsraum', in Michael Hein, Felix Petersen and Silvia von Steinsdorff (eds.) *Die Grenzen der Verfassung. Sonderband 9 der Zeitschrift für Politik*. Baden-Baden: Nomos (p. 139-152).
- Steinsdorff, Silvia von (2018) '(Verfassungs-)Richterliches Entscheiden', in Christian Boulanger, Julika Rosenstock and Tobias Singelstein (eds.) *Interdisziplinäre Rechtsforschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag (p. 207-226).
- Woźniak, Urszula Ewa (2018) 'The Mahalle as Margin of the State. Shifting Sensitivities in Two Neighbourhood Spaces of Istanbul', *Anthropology of the Middle East*, 13(2): 79-94.
- Tombuş, Ertuğ and Aygenc, Berfu (2017) '(Post-)Kemalist secularism in Turkey', *Journal of Balkans and Near Eastern Studies*, 19(1): 70-85.

Books

- Abad Andrade, Maria, Göztepe, Ece, Petersen, Felix and Steinsdorff, Silvia von (eds.) (forthcoming) *Constitutional Jurisdiction in Turkey: Documentation, Analysis and Evaluations of the Judgements of the Turkish Constitutional Court (1962-2012)*. Baden-Baden: Nomos.
- Yanaşmayan, Zeynep and Petersen, Felix (eds.) (forthcoming) *Regressing Towards Constitutional Autocracy? The Failing of Popular Constitution*

Making in Turkey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Alpbaz, Mustafa Mert, and Göztepe, Ece (eds.) (2017) *Anayasa Mahkemesine Bireysel Başvuru Türkiye Uygulamasının Almanya ve Strazburg Ekseninde Karşılaştırılması [Constitutional Complaint to the Constitutional Court. The Turkish Case in Comparison with Strasbourg and Germany]*. Ankara: On İki Levha Yayıncılık.

Op-Eds and Interviews

- Akal, Değer (ed.) (2019) Alman uzman von Steinsdorff: Türkiye’de anayasal kriz yaşıyor [Interview with Prof. Dr. Silvia von Steinsdorff on Istanbul elections], Homepage: Deutsche Welle Türkiye. URL: <https://www.dw.com/tr/alman-uzman-von-steinsdorff-t%C3%BCrkiyede-anayasal-kriz-ya%C5%9Fan%C4%B1yor/a-48724288-0> (accessed: 23.10.2019).
- Göztepe, Ece (2018) Turkey, the Constitutional Amendment of April 2017 as a Transition to a “State-Presidential System”, Homepage: Resetdoc. URL: <https://www.resetdoc.org/story/constitutional-amendment-april-2017-turkey-crucial-transition-unknown-state-presidential-system/> (accessed: 23.10.2019).
- Laebens, Melis Gülboy (2018) Rafael Correa: Tahttan düşen bir başkanın öyküsü, Homepage: Artı Gerçek. URL: <https://www.artigercek.com/haberler/rafael-correa-tahttan-dusen-bir-baskanin-oykusu> (accessed: 23.10.2019).
- Tecimer, Cem (2018) The Curious Case of Article 299 of the Turkish Penal Code: Insulting the Turkish President, Homepage: Verfassungsblog. URL: <https://verfassungsblog.de/the-curious-case-of-article-299-of-the-turkish-penal-code-insulting-the-turkish-president/> (accessed: 23.10.2019).
- Tombuş, Ertuğ (2018) Autocracy behind a Democratic Facade: The Political Regime in Turkey, Homepage: Civicus. URL: <https://www.civicus.org/index.php/re-imagining-democracy/stories-from-the-frontlines/3529-autocracy-behind-a-democratic-facade-the-political-regime-in-turkey> (accessed:23.10.2019).
- Welty, Ute (2018) Wahlen in Russland [Interview with Silvia von Steins-

dorff], Homepage: Deutschlandfunk Kultur. URL: https://www.deutschlandfunkkultur.de/wahlen-in-russland-putin-nicht-weiter-futter-liefern.1008.de.htm-!?dram:article_id=413353 (accessed: 23.10.2019).

- Woźniak, Urszula Ewa (ed.) (2018) Ein Land im Rechtsvakuum? [Interview with Ertuğ Tombuş and Başak Çalı], Homepage: Rosa Luxemburg Foundation. URL: <https://www.rosalux.de/news/id/38878/ein-land-im-rechtstvakuum/> (accessed: 23.10.2019).
- Şen, İlker Gökhan (2017) Referanduma Karşı AİHM’e Başvurulabilir mi?, Homepage: Bianet. URL: <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/hukuk/185796-referanduma-karsi-aihm-e-basvurulabilir-mi> (accessed: 23.10.2019).

PhD Publications

- Abad Andrade, Maria (2019) *Verfassungsgerichtliche Entscheidungsfindung und Ihre Folgen: Das Türkische Verfassungsgericht zwischen Mehrheitslogik und Konsensverfahren*. (unpublished PhD).



How ‘social’ is Turkey? Turkey’s social security system in a European context

Project Team: **Lutz Leisering,**
Tolga Bölükbaşı, Kerem Gabriel Öktem
Research Assistant: **Cansu Erdoğan**

The research project ‘How “social” is Turkey? Turkey’s social security system in a European context’ explored Turkey’s changing social policy landscape over the past four decades. Combining quantitative and qualitative research methods to generate original data, the project aimed to understand to what extent the Turkish state assumes a collective responsibility for the well-being of all citizens through providing social security programs in health, pensions, social assistance and unemployment protection. Changes in social policies thoroughly affect people’s lives, but Turkish social policy rarely figures into European political debates, especially since the recent political developments in Turkey tend to eclipse more mundane topics like social protections.

In the course of the project, the research team concentrated on a number of issues. We asked how Turkey’s social security system compares to other systems in European and other countries in terms of welfare effort and welfare commitment.

For this purpose, we analysed developments in social spending and social citizenship. We also aimed to understand what happened in key policy areas: How did health, pension, social assistance and unemployment protection policies develop over time? Additionally, we tried to uncover underlying ideas – such as policy paradigms, frames and discourses – that couched and legitimated major social legislation. Finally, we tried to understand who supported and who opposed key government initiatives in social security.

Our research produced rich but also ambivalent findings. With regards to the levels of social spending and the extent of social rights provided by the state, we observed that Turkey has been involved in a slow but remarkable catch-up process. Since 1945 when the first nationwide social security policies for the private sector started, there has been a steady increase in the number of social risks against which people are protected, the number of people covered by social security, and the budget that the state devotes to these purposes. Yet compared to European welfare states, the country remains a welfare laggard with relatively lower expenditures, lower welfare generosity and more people left unprotected.

In specific areas of social policy, we observed profound changes. In the field of unemployment protection, Turkey crucially created an unemployment insurance system in 1999. Yet this insurance pays relatively meagre benefits to a small share of the unemployed, and thus, the unemployment insurance fund amasses a steady surplus. In recent years, this surplus has been used to finance an ever-changing range of policies. With regards

to social assistance, the state has recently institutionalised this policy area, creating a dozen new programmes and starting to pay more generous benefits for specific groups. As a result, Turkey today has an elaborate social assistance regime, albeit a deeply fragmented one which excludes some groups among the poor.

In healthcare, Turkey has succeeded in unifying a system that was deeply fragmented based on occupational status. At the same time, the state fostered the private healthcare sector through private health insurance and private hospitals. This privatisation process resulted in a new kind of fragmentation based on income. Finally, as a pension-heavy system, pensions have long been at the heart of Turkey's welfare state. The country devotes a higher share of its social budget to pensions than any other European welfare state. Despite successive cost-cutting reforms since 1999, the pension system remains comparatively generous.

In a nutshell, 'How "social" is Turkey?' documents significant changes in many aspects of social policy. But what were the driving forces behind these changes? Many significant policy shifts, such as the unification of healthcare or the institutionalisation of social assistance, had actually been long planned by the state bureaucracy. Still, governments had been unwilling or unable to implement them. With the support of international organisations, including the World Bank, successive single-party Justice and Development Party (AKP) governments managed to push forward these radical policy shifts. In some cases, we find that these changes are also linked to policy paradigms that inform policymakers. For instance, the idiosyncratic nature of Turkey's social assistance regime can be better understood if one explores the long-held belief in conservative circles in the special place of charity in Turkish and Islamic history. However, some of these developments seem to also be political responses to electoral pressures. A case in point is the government's recent changes to pension policy to increase benefit generosity significantly just before the last general elections in 2018.

Our findings on the drivers of policy-level change provide leads for focuses of future research. First, the ideational underpinnings of Turkey's changing welfare regime need to be better understood. As our analysis of social assistance has shown, the peculiarities of the regime are tied to broader political discourses and Turkish sociocultural legacies. This might also be the case in other policy areas. Second, research on developments of policies need to be linked more closely to politics. As the example of pensions shows, governments often provide benefits to receive popular support. It follows to ask in what ways Turkey's changing social policies are linked to its changing political regime. Is the expansion of social policy, which we have seen in recent decades, in fact connected to democratic backsliding? All of these topics, we submit, would be significant for future research on the Turkish welfare state.

Publications

- Öktem, K.G. (2018) *Turkey's Social Assistance Regime in Comparative Perspective: History, Administrative Structure, Programmes and Institutional Characteristics*, How 'social' is Turkey? Working Paper I.
- Öktem, K.G. and Erdoğan, C. (2019) *Between Welfare State and (State-organised) Charity: How Turkey's Social Assistance Regime Blends Two Competing Policy Paradigms*, *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*. An extended version has been published as How 'social' is Turkey? Working Paper II.
- Öktem, K.G. (2019) *A Political History of Unemployment Insurance Introduction in Turkey*, How 'social' is Turkey? Working Paper III.



Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey: Institutionalisation and Transformation

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Following the wave of the feminist movement in the 1980s, women's studies as an independent academic discipline became established in the early 1990s at universities in Istanbul and Ankara. The founders were academics who were mostly involved in women's movements.

By the year 2017, about one hundred Women's and Gender Studies Centres (WGSCs) at public and foun-

dation universities existed in Turkey, both in larger and smaller cities. Out of these centres, thirteen WGSCs are included in the research sample for this study based on specific criteria. The research project examines the institutionalisation and transformation processes of WGSCs at universities in their relation to academia, state and civil society in Turkey. For this purpose, the 'Velvet Triangle of Gender Politics' developed by Alison Woodward to conceptualise women's policy networks is used as an analytical perspective.

Based on expert interviews and document collections, the project investigates the statements, websites, activities – such as teaching, research, publications and events, as well as institutional documents from representatives of the selected WGSCs that provide insight into their academic and political motivations. The field is above and beyond the centres but embraces the centres as an institutional form and practice. Centres in this case become just one lens through which to examine the overall picture of women's and gender studies (WGS).

Our research focus concerns 'Application and Research Centres', which are not only the first institutional models through which WGS entered into academia since the early 1990s, but are also dynamic institutional, academic spaces constituted through ongoing contestations among the state, academia and civil society. By focusing on WGSCs in this research, we attempt to explore the ways in which these important institutional units have been established and transformed on the basis of continuing struggles among different influential actors and institutions.

We have several subsequent questions concerning this general process of institutional formation and transformation of WGSCs: What kinds of support and barriers did WGSCs face since their foundations? To what extent have women's movements been and continue to be references to institutionalised WGS? What are the impacts and repercussions of chang-

es in national and international political conjuncture on these centres?

Our study shows that WGS scholars demanded the establishment and struggled for the foundation of the centres. The generation of scholars responsible for their development provided future scholars with the visibility and legitimacy of an autonomous academic discipline with different institutional models. Despite the lack of resources, there has been a considerable amount of literature developed in the field of WGS. On the other hand, changes in activities and discourses, and differences in content and approaches in education and research pose new threats to the field. These developments raise the question: Has there been a critical epistemological break in WGS at universities?

The material analysis recognises different paradigms adopted by WGSCs: modernism, feminism and neoconservatism. Furthermore, we discovered that a predominant political-ideological homogeneity within individual WGSCs does not exist. The selection of the centres' names, topics and terms, such as 'gender equality' instead of 'gender justice', indicates the WGSCs' different approaches to women and gender. Paradigm shifts can be explained through generational belonging, the meaning of academic feminism, the debates within the WGS community worldwide, and the impacts of the civil society and the state.

WGSCs and women's movements in Turkey – as the most prominent civil society actors for the centres – have a close and mutual relationship. In our sample, this closeness was especially strong in civil society organisations with Kemalist, feminist or religious-conservative orientations, and less strong within the LGBTI+ and Kurdish women's movements.

During our study, experts tagged several nationally and internationally influential actors, processes and institutions that have been critical for the institutionalisation and transformation processes of WGSCs. Accord-

ingly, the immense importance of the international network in which Turkey is situated and the changing domestic political climate for the establishment and further development of these academic entities were proven. We draw three main conclusions out of this connection. From the late 1980s to the early 2000s, international conjuncture was the dominant political factor in the institutionalisation processes of the centres: CEDAW, the Beijing Conference of the UN, the EU and the Istanbul Convention. In the post-2010 period, the influence of international conjuncture was gradually replaced by the conjuncture created by the developments in the domestic politics of Turkey: the Approach Document on Gender Equality by the Council of Higher Education, the AKP government's gender policies, the Peace Petition and the state of emergency. In the period from 2017 to 2018, a new institutional landscape for the WGSCs presented two important developments. First, the 'intellectual shrinkage of WGS' despite the numerical expansion of the centres, occurred in terms of personnel and intellectual formation and freedom. Second, the WGS scholars started working to maintain the status quo of the centres. In that sense, WGSCs are 'in retreat and preserve' to protect the field and its institutional space from further shrinkage.

As the research team, we suggest that the following issues need to be addressed and looked into further in their respective research areas:

- The wider implications of the Peace Petition and state of emergency processes on the continuation of WGS research and teaching.
- The state-based agents and mechanisms of familialism in the transformation of WGSCs today.
- The impacts of higher education policies on WGSCs in times of neoliberalism and neoconservatism.

Project's additional activities:

In the framework of the project, lectures on WGS, including the summer school Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey: The Past, Present and Future in July 2019, were implemented. Additionally, the exhibition entitled Courageous Women: Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey's Academia was developed and displayed in Istanbul in the Spring of 2019 and Bremen in the Summer of 2019.

Publications*Articles in Journals/Edited Volumes*

- Binder, Charlotte and Dağ, Deniz (forthcoming) 'Komplexe Relationen zu Frauenbewegungen: Umbrüche und Paradigmenwechsel innerhalb der Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien in der Türkei', in Johanna Chovanec, Gabriele Cloeters, Onur Inal, Charlotte Joppien and Urszula Woźniak (eds.) *Umbrüche – Krisen – Widerstände. Junge Perspektiven der Türkei-forschung*. Wiesbaden: Springer SV.
- O'Neil, Mary and Bencivenga, Rita (eds.) (2018) 'Perspectives on Gender Studies in Turkey. Roundtable. Participants: Zeynep Gülrü Göker, Mary Lou O'Neil and Sevgi Uçan Çabukçu'. *AG About Gender: International Journal of Gender Studies*, 7(14): 208-226.
- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (2017) 'Fatmagül Berktaş: Cinsiyetlendirilmiş bir tarihin peşinde', in Ahmed Şimşek (ed.) *Yaşayan Türk Tarihçiler. İletişim: Ankara* (p. 387-400).
- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (2017) 'Footsteps of Şirin Tekeli', *Journal of Economics*, 536: 3-7.

Books

- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (ed.) (2019) *Türkiye'de Kadın ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Deneyim - Hafıza - Politika*. Istanbul: Derlem.

Working papers/Conference papers

- Dağ, Deniz and Binder, Charlotte (2019, October) *Transitive Identities of Women's and Gender Studies' Scholars in Turkey*. Working and conference paper presented at the conference G19: Rethinking Knowledge Regimes: Solidarities & Contestations, University of Gothenburg, Sweden.
- Dağ, Deniz (2019, July) *Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey: Institutionalisation and Transformation*. Working and conference paper presented at the Summer School: Women's and Gender Studies on Turkey: The Past, Present and the Future, University of Bremen, Germany.
- Karakaşoğlu, Yasemin and Binder, Charlotte (2019, January) *Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien im Spannungsfeld von Akademia, Staat und Zivilgesellschaft in der Türkei*. Working and conference paper presented at the TEZ lecture series, Universität Hamburg, Germany.
- Binder, Charlotte (2018, September) *Inclusion or Exclusion of Knowledge? On the Relation Between Women's and Gender Studies and Women's Movements in Turkey*. Working and conference paper presented at the TUGFOSS Symposium, Potsdam, Germany.
- Dağ, Deniz (2018, September) *State and Academy Relations: Transformation of Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey*. Working and conference paper presented at the Türkologentag, GTOT, University of Bamberg, Germany.
- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (2018, May) *Mapping the level of knowledge in gender studies: a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey?* Working and conference paper presented at the conference: Rights and Equality in Contemporary Turkey: Institutions, Interactions, Discourses, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany.
- Binder, Charlotte (2018, March) *The academic arm of the women's movement? Zum Verhältnis der universitären Frauen- und Geschlechterstudien zu den Frauenbewegungen in der Türkei*. Working and conference paper presented at the workshop: *Türkeiforschung*, Universität Hamburg, Germany.

- Dağ, Deniz (2018, March) Politics of Gender in Turkey – an assessment on the relations of Directorate General on the Status of Women (DGSW) with Women´s Studies Centres in Turkey. Working and conference paper presented at the TEZ-Gender Workshop, Universität Hamburg, Germany.
- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (2017, November) Kadın Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Çalışmalarında Yazılan Tezlerin Haritalandırılması. Working and conference paper presented at the conference: Kadın ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Araştırmalarının Belleği: Deneyim, Birikim ve İmkan, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Binder, Charlotte, Dağ, Deniz and Karakaşoğlu, Yasemin (2017, September) Frauen und Geschlechterstudien in der Türkei: Institutionalisierung und Transformation. Working and conference paper presented at the conference: Aktuelle Herausforderungen der Geschlechterforschung (Actual Challenges to the Gender Research), University of Cologne, Germany.
- Binder, Charlotte (2017, June) Institutionalization and Transformation of Women's and Gender Studies at Universities in Turkey. Working and conference paper presented at the conference: Current Transformations of Gender Studies and Gender Regimes in Turkey, Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, Germany.
- Uçan Çubukçu, Sevgi (2017, June) Academia and Feminism in Turkey: The Case of IU Women's Research Center in the Context of Achievements and Discontinuities. Working and conference paper presented at the conference: Current Transformations of Gender Studies and Gender Regimes in Turkey, Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg, Germany.



TRIANGLE – Blickwechsel in EU/German-Turkish Relations Beyond Conflicts. Towards a Unique Partnership for a Contemporary Turkey?

Project Team: Wolfgang Wessels, Atila Eralp,
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Summary of the project's ideas and implementation

Turkey and Europe share a long history. Through Turkey's membership in NATO and the Council of Europe as well as the association agreement and the accession process, Turkey and the EU have established many coop-

eration and communication channels. Turkey plays an important role for the EU, especially in the fields of migration, security, energy, economic and foreign policy. Germany, in turn, has been an important actor within the relationship of Turkey and the EU, especially since Turkey has expressed its aspiration to become a full member of the EU. Both countries are closely interlinked through the large population of people of Turkish origin living in Germany and tight trade relations. Assuming that German-Turkish relations significantly influence EU-Turkey relations, the TRIANGLE research project investigates the triangular relationship between Turkey, Germany and the EU. The project is a cooperation between the Centre for Turkey and EU-Studies (CETEUS) of the University of Cologne and the Middle East Technical University (METU) in Ankara.

Institutional mapping and narratives

TRIANGLE examined the institutional architecture of the EU, Turkey and Germany and traced the dominant narratives for the EU-Turkey relationship. On the basis of the findings, the project assessed three future scenarios: the resumption of the accession process; the establishment of a unique partnership between the EU and Turkey; and the institutional stagnation and increasingly conflict-ridden relationship with Turkey as a 'difficult partner'.

The project traced the development of different frameworks of institutional relations and cooperation – such as the accession process itself, bilateral summits, meetings at high political level and dialogues on specific policies – against the background of historical institutionalism and path dependencies that helped to understand policy decisions. To further examine the triangular relationship, the project conducted a narrative analysis of the German Parliament, the German government, the EU institutions and the Turkish presidency with the aim of identifying and comparing narratives in the political discourse. The project understands narratives as collective stories or interpretations that have a constituting influence on the reality

we perceive. This way, narratives may be both interpreted as a person's understanding of reality as well as part of a (justification) strategy to achieve certain goals.

Research results and future scenarios

TRIANGLE reflects the developments and narratives while addressing potential future scenarios of EU-Turkey relations. Firstly, from an institutional perspective, a functional relationship in fields of common interests is possible and may provide a short-term effective model. In the long run, the EU and Turkey should aim for a rules-based cooperation to realise common action in fields of global importance where interests do not necessarily converge. Nevertheless, the accession process remains in place as both actors seem to be locked into the accession path for various reasons.

Applying the narrative approach, the Gezi protests of 2013 constituted a turning point in the German Parliament's narrative on Turkey. Members of Parliament criticised the Turkish Government and started to describe Turkey as an unpredictable actor. In the wake of the EU-Turkey Statement on migration, the Joint Action Plan and 2016 as a distinct year of bilateral crisis, MPs across parties tend to agree on what TRIANGLE calls a 'twin-track strategy': while a true accession perspective for Turkey to the EU seems no longer to be valid, the accession path is seen as a means of interim solution to build up new perspectives or partnership models.

The European Council and, respectively, the EU Leaders present an ambivalent agenda: Ankara is both "moving away from the European Union" and a "key strategic partner". The discussion on migration in 2015 and related joint actions brought fresh impetus to the partnership. Yet in 2019, Turkey's ongoing offshore activities in relation to the Cyprus conflict caused another cooling-off and the decision to halt high-level meetings for the time being.

Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's narration of the triangular relationship is multi-faced; dependent on historic, contextual and conjunctural conditions; and is characterised by ambivalence – political rapproches and calls for economic cooperation are both present. Comparison and competition between Germany and Turkey are important elements of the President's speeches. Moreover, while 2013 already constituted a turning point in German narratives, the Turkish President changed his narrative only in 2016 in view of the geopolitical relevance of Turkey for Germany through cooperation on migration and the continued criticism of Turkey's human rights situation.

Drawing from the narrative and institutional analysis of the EU-German-Turkish TRIANGLE, the years between 2013 and 2016 constitute the latest turning point. Narrations on the other's political being are increasingly characterised by conflict, while initiatives and aims to cooperate independently from the accession framework are increasingly present. Consequently, the project argues that some sort of intensive, unique partnership is a likely future scenario as political tensions might continue.

Outlook

TRIANGLE's research has shown how powerful narratives are used by different actors to push political agendas. The turning points identified that led to changing narratives and institutional strategies were events which deeply affected actor's understanding of each other on a geostrategic or political level. Major events may be expected to be the next game changer – Brexit could be one, both on an institutional level and in terms of geopolitical perceptions and narrations. A new partnership structure between the EU and Turkey, regardless of its final constituents, may produce new mutual narratives that should be closely followed.

Contemporary EU-Turkey relations also raise the question as to whether the EU's slowed enlargement effort requires more studies about the EU's differentiated neighbourhood. In the wake of the EU's establishment of the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO), it remains furthermore to be seen to what extent Turkey will be integrated into the EU's security structure.

Publications

Articles in Journals/Edited Volumes

- Schönlau, Anke and Schröder, Mirja (forthcoming) 'German Narratives on the Triangular Relationship in Turkey's EU pre-accession context (1959-1999)', Institut für Europäische Politik: German European Policy Series.
- Weise, Helena and Tekin, Funda (forthcoming) 'From EU-Accession to Unique Partnership – Narratives, Strategies and Scenarios of EU-Turkey Relations in the German Parliament 2002-2018', Institut für Europäische Politik: German European Policy Series.
- Schröder, Mirja and Tekin, Funda (2019) 'Institutional Triangle EU-Turkey-Germany: Change and Continuity', in Ebru Turhan (ed.) German-Turkish Relations Revisited: The European Dimension, Domestic and Foreign Politics and Transnational Dynamics. Baden-Baden: Nomos (p. 31-57).
- Schröder, Mirja and Weise, Helena (2019) 'Auslaufmodell Beitritt? Zur Zukunft der EU-Türkei-Beziehungen', Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft, 29 (1): 95-103.

Books

- Tekin, Funda and Schröder, Mirja (eds.) (forthcoming) The EU-German-Turkish Triangle. Contributions on Narratives, Perceptions and Discourse of a Unique Relationship. Baden-Baden: Nomos.

A

'Ne mutlu ateistim diyene' Atheism and the Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey

Project Team: [Pierre Hecker](#), [Kaya](#)

[Akyıldız](#), [Ivo Furman](#)

Student assistant: [Betül Sakınır](#)

The Politics of Culture in 'New Turkey'

One of the main outcomes of our research is the upcoming book *The Politics of Culture in 'New Turkey'*, which investigates the (counter)hegemonic discourses and practices on culture in present-day Turkey. Over the past decade, Turkey has witnessed an ideological transition negotiated within the realm of culture and facilitated by modern-day myths working to persuade the public into acknowledging the ruling elite's claim to power. In their attempt to create a 'New Turkey', Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's governing Justice and Development Party (AKP) has posi-

tioned Islam at the forefront of (re)inventing Turkish national identity while at the same time putting considerable effort into constructing and claiming ownership of a new national narrative that seeks to glorify and idolise the Ottoman past. In Erdoğan's 'New Turkey', Islam and Ottomanism are two sides of the same coin. Both represent evidence of the ruling elite's will to establish a new form of cultural hegemony and to entrench its political power over state and society.

The ruling elite's strategy of containment is twofold. It consists of the attempt to generate consensus through enforcing its vision of a 'New Turkey' as the commonly accepted norm and, at the same time, of the ability to use conflict as an effective tool of societal polarisation and an instrument to weaken and stigmatise those who are different and do not conform to the ideological precepts of pious conservatism. The regime's effort to rewrite Turkish public memory by promoting its (ideological) narratives through TV series, movies, propaganda videos, school curricula and material culture in urban public spaces, leaves little room for alternative interpretations and cultural difference. Considering president Erdoğan's unrestrained monopoly on power and the restraints on the freedom of (cultural) expression, this process of cultural transformation is most likely to further accelerate.

The Politics of Culture in 'New Turkey' seeks to expose the strategy of Turkey's ruling elite to obtain cultural hegemony and to explore the tactics of cultural resistance developed by the politically weak to counter the ruling elite's dominant culture of pious conservatism. It explores how the AKP's cultural policies are reshaping the everyday lives of Turkish citizens; how changing dynamics of dominance and power are transforming the cultural and social representations in Turkish society; how the spheres of freedom of expression and cultural diversity intersect; and in what way the vision of a 'New Turkey' is narrated to embody, reproduce, accommodate and (re)invent conservative culture in everyday life. Key themes include subculture and the politics of lifestyle, mediating neo-Ottomanism in popular culture,

satire and agitprop in 'New Turkey', civil society and the politics of gender, and 'New Turkey's ethno-religious others.

Working with an international team of young, upcoming researchers, our book is the product of several academic workshops and conference panels. Some highlights include Ivo Furman's 'Battling over the spirit of a nation: attitudes towards alcohol in "New Turkey"'; Ayşe Çavdar's 'Never walk alone: politics of unveiling in "New Turkey"'; Josh Carney's 'Democra-Z: election ads, a failed coup, and zombie politics in "New Turkey"'; Douglas Mattsson's 'Spreading VX-Gas over Kaaba: Islamic semiotics in Turkish black metal'; and Can Evren's 'United against the referee: projecting the nation through soccer in "New Turkey"'. The volume will be available in early 2020.

Atheism, Deism, and Non-belief in 'New Turkey'

Based on a nationwide 'Religious Life Survey' conducted in 2014, the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs placed the number of Turkish citizens who profess Islam at 99.2 percent. The ontological security provided by this number was recently challenged and contradicted by a survey from the polling firm KONDA. Its findings, published in January 2019, suggest that the number of 'atheists and non-believers' in Turkey has more than doubled over the past decade and now constitutes five percent of the population. This dispute over statistics was furthermore preceded by a controversy over the alleged rise of deism and a new wave of secularism spreading among conservative youths. Well-known conservative intellectuals and theologians such as Necdet Subaşı and Ayşe Böhürler raised concerns over the spread of 'religious fatigue' among Turkey's younger generation. Against this backdrop, the present research team consisting of Pierre Hecker, Kaya Akyıldız and Ivo Furman conducted research on the discourse over atheism, deism and non-belief in 'New Turkey'.

Leaving Islam is a highly controversial issue in Turkish society

and those who publicly profess their atheist identity are frequently subject to discrimination and hate speech. The ruling elite's attempt to establish a new hegemonic project based on the idea of pious conservatism has further contributed to perpetuating the already volatile situation of those who claim their right to freedom from religion. Although it has forced many non-believers into hiding, the rise of pious conservatism has also triggered an awakening of atheist activism and yielded the formation of Turkey's first ever Atheism Association. Based on a set of biographical interviews, Pierre Hecker's research focuses on individuals' stories of becoming atheists. The results derived from these interviews reveal a surprisingly heterogenous picture and involve individuals from secular and pious conservative sections of Turkish society. While some of the interviewees had not been socialised into religion at any point during their lives, others described their loss of faith as a result of intellectual engagement with religious sources or even as a direct reaction to the political abuse of religion at the hands of the present government and its supporters.

Within a context where public discussions on organised atheism or the right to freedom from religion are frowned upon and considered taboo, Ivo Furman looked at how Twitter can play a role in facilitating free speech and the expression of counter-hegemonic discourses. Amidst rumours that deism was becoming popular amongst students attending Imam Hatip religious schools in Turkey, the head of the Ministry for Religious Affairs declared such forms of faith to be socially deviant. Soon afterwards, Twitter was abuzz with responses to the controversial statement. Presenting from a dataset of 21,674 tweets, Furman argues that Twitter briefly hosted an 'intimate public', a confessional space for the gesticulation of unconventional religious identities.

The ruling elite's hegemonic project furthermore seeks to affirm a Sunni supremacist vision of Turkish ethno-religious identity. However, the

origins and politics of this Sunni supremacist 'New Turkey' are widely ignored. Kaya Akyıldız investigated the fields where Sunni identity is reiterated through certain policies, discourses and performative acts. In doing so, he relied on an extensive body of media sources and a theoretically-directed, critical survey of secondary literature on 'New Turkey'. He also undertook a thorough historical analysis of archived and published documents produced by selected state institutions, private organisations and international institutions. Based on the results of this research, it appears safe to say that the ruling elite's ambitions for cultural hegemony have triggered a new secularist movement from below whose intellectual roots no longer lie in the Kemalist past alone.

Publications

Working papers/Conference papers

- Akyıldız, Kaya (2019, October) "Know Your Place!" The Politics of Red Lines for Non-Sunni Subjects in 'New Turkey'. Workshop presentation, Orient Institut Istanbul, Turkey.
- Furman, Ivo (2019, October) Conspiracy, Heresy or Secularization? Mapping the Turkish Deism Controversy on Twitter. Workshop presentation, Orient Institut Istanbul, Turkey.
- Hecker, Pierre (2019, October) How I Became an Atheist. Biographical Narratives About Losing Faith in Turkey. Workshop presentation, Orient Institut Istanbul, Turkey.
- Hecker, Pierre (2019, September) Atheismus, Deismus, und der Bedeutungsverlust des Religiösen in der Türkei. Conference paper presented at Deutscher Humanistentag, Hamburg, Germany.
- Hecker, Pierre (2019, February) Islam. The Meaning of Style. Conference paper presented at the Domino Lectures, Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi, Turkey.
- Akyıldız, Kaya (2018, November) Between Fellow Brethren and Blasphemous Atheists: Representations of the Alevi Community in the Rhetoric of President Erdogan and AK Party Notables. Conference paper presented at the MESA, San Antonio, United States.
- Furman, Ivo (2018, November) Internet Troll Humour or Subtle Subversion? Imagining #imamhatiplerkapatilsin as a Counter-Hegemonic Space. Conference paper presented at the MESA, San Antonio, United States.
- Hecker, Pierre (2018, November) Tired of Religion? Becoming Atheist in Turkey. Conference paper presented at the MESA, San Antonio, United States.
- Hecker, Pierre (2018, June) Discourses on Atheism in Turkey. Conference paper presented at the EASR, Bern, Switzerland.
- Akyıldız, Kaya (2018, May) Conspiracy, Perversion or Secularization? Mapping the Turkish Deism Controversy on Twitter. Conference paper presented at the conference: Rights and Equality in Contemporary Turkey: Institutions, Interactions, Discourses, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany.
- Hecker, Pierre (2018, May) Organized Atheism in Turkey. Conference paper presented at the conference: Rights and Equality in Contemporary Turkey: Institutions, Interactions, Discourses, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany.
- Akyıldız, Kaya (2018, February) Advantageous, Privileged, and Hegemonic: A Sketch of Legal/Institutional, Political and Cultural Limits of Sunni Supremacism in Contemporary Turkey. Workshop presentation at the CNMS Marburg, Germany.
- Hecker, Pierre (2018, February) The Politics of Culture in Contemporary Turkey. Workshop paper presented at the CNMS Marburg, Germany.
- Hecker, Pierre (2017, November) From 'Conservative Democracy' to 'Repressive Conservatism.' The Transformation of Turkish Political Islam from a post-15 July perspective. Conference paper presented at the Canada International Conference "Arab Spring and the Quest for New Metaphors: Modernity, Identity and Change", University of Guelph, Canada.
- Hecker, Pierre (2017, May) Die Situation türkischer Universitäten im Ausnahmezustand. Workshop and panel discussion "Ausnahmezustand als

Normalzustand?“, RLS, Marburg, Germany.

Articles in Journals/Edited Volumes

- Akyıldız, Kaya, Furman, Ivo and Hecker, Pierre (forthcoming) 'The Politics of Culture in 'New Turkey', in [Edited Volume].
- Hecker, Pierre (2018) 'Islam. The Meaning of Style', *Sociology of Islam*, 6(1): 7-28.

SHORT BIOS
OF

CONFERENCE
PARTICIPANS

Sinem Adar

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has received a PhD degree (2014) in Sociology from Brown University and a MSc degree (2005) in Development Studies from the London School of Economics. Dr. Adar's research examines struggles over the parameters of inclusion into and exclusion from the political community, and how they shape and are shaped by identification processes. In her dissertation, she has analyzed the emigration of non-Muslims from the once religiously heterogeneous cities of Istanbul and Alexandria while religion became a crucial category in the making of the Turkish and Egyptian national communities. Her work based on this research has so far appeared at various outlets such the Political Power and Social Theory and Sociological Forum. She also writes op-ed pieces that have so far appeared at *Jadaliyya*, *Open Democracy* and *ReSet Doc*.

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Binder earned a master's degree in history and cultural studies from Bremen University in 2009 and specialised in women's and gender studies; higher education studies; social movement studies; contemporary Turkey studies; and qualitative research methods. In her doctoral thesis, Binder compared the (im)possibility of coalitions among multiple women's and gender-based political actors in Berlin and Istanbul through an empirical study. Additionally, with her research team, she conducted the project 'Comparing Women's Movements in Different Cities in Turkey' from 2014 to 2017 and co-founded the researcher network Intersectional Diversity Studies in 2010 at the University of Bremen. In addition to her monograph International Women's Day after the Deconstruction of Gender published in 2017, Binder's articles and book chapters deal with women's and gender movements; studies and politics in Turkey and Germany; coalition building; and gender concepts.

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