

RIGHTS AND EQUALITY IN CONTEMPORARY TURKEY: INSTITUTIONS, INTERACTIONS, DISCOURSES

**BLICKWECHSEL:
CONTEMPORARY TURKEY STUDIES
CONFERENCE | 24-25 MAY 2018**

HUMBOLDT GRADUATE SCHOOL, FESTSAAL
LUISENSTR. 56, 10115 BERLIN

**MAY 24
THURSDAY**

9:00 - 9:30

Welcome

9:30 - 11:00

Opening Panel

Ayşe Buğra, Boğaziçi University

The question of rights and equality in social policy: Some observations on the case of Turkey

Başak Çalı, Hertie School of Governance and Koç University

Feebleness of constitutional rights in Turkey

Chair: **Ertuğ Tombuş**, Humboldt University Berlin

11:00 - 11:15

Coffee Break

11:15 - 13:00

Panel I:

Discourses and Paradigms on Women and Gender in Contemporary Turkey. How do they interact?

Chair: **Yasemin Karakaşoğlu**, University of Bremen

Speakers:

Sevgi Uçan Çubukçu, (formerly) University of Istanbul

Mapping the level of knowledge in gender studies: a mirror of women's radicalism in Turkey?

The commencement of women's and gender studies at universities in Turkey took place in the early 1990's. This field was recognized as an interdisciplinary academic field; graduate programs were opened and also many courses were given at undergraduate level. There is no doubt that these developments were one of the biggest achievements of women's movement in Turkey. Within a quarter of century, deepening, diversifying and a widespread knowledge accumulation has been comprised. An important part of this knowledge consists of theses that were written in master and doctoral programs in the field of women and gender studies. This study will analyze the knowledge that

academic feminism has generated since the 1980's, by screening the theses that were written by the students in the field and a mapping of these theses will be made. Questions will be raised about the political and historical context of academic feminism within the framework of different categorization, classification and symbols.

Fatmagül Berktaş, University of Istanbul

Reflections on the Deterioration of Gender Equality and Increasing Conservatism in Turkey

Violence against women in Turkey is increasing, so does the conservative political discourse. Are these two facts mutually related? Is deepening of the gender gap due to Islamisation or are we witnessing a masculinist restoration? Assuming that women's rights are in a jeopardy can we start a constructive dialogue and consequently bring together women of all persuasions in the struggle for protecting their rights and furthering them? Can we and should we seek men's support and involvement in this struggle? In this paper I shall share some insights about these difficult questions in the hope of opening a fruitful discussion.

Betül Yazar, University of Bremen

A Brief Historical Review of AKP's Neoliberal Mode of Governing Gendered Bodies

As it is generally known, governing women's bodies and sexualities appears as the main tool of the AKP (Justice and Development Party) for consolidating its neoliberal and neoconservative regime. The AKP's politics are geared towards ensuring pervasive control of women's bodies, sexualities, and subjectivities, yet we also know that the AKP owes its political power too much to its female voters. In order to explain this seemingly contradictory situation, first of all, there is a need to place our analysis in time. Secondly, it is important to understand the AKP's neoliberalism as a complex articulation of different discourses which have been very productive in developing different modes of female subjectivities and in appropriating not only conservative but also some feminist and progressive concepts such as democracy and rights. This paper aims to disentangle the intricate and diverse narrative lines that appear like a patchwork in the AKP's gender politics.

13:00 – 14:00

Lunch

14:00 – 15:30

Panel II: Freedom of Religion in Turkey

Chair: **Ivo Furman**, Istanbul Bilgi University

Speakers:

Pierre Hecker, University of Marburg

Organized Atheism in Turkey

Based on a nationwide “Religious Life Survey” conducted in 2014, the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs gave the number of Turkish citizens who profess Islam with 99.2 percent. The survey, which was used to underscore the dominant role of Islam in Turkish society, came only months after a group of activists established Turkey’s first representative body for non-believers and atheists. The foundation of Ateizm Derneği (‘Atheism Association’) thus marked the birth of organized atheism in Turkey. Since then, its main aim has been to bring together atheists from around the country and to create an interest group that would defend the right to the freedom from religion in the face of increased pressure on non-believers in Turkish society. While atheism itself is not covered by any law or legal regulation within the jurisdiction of Turkey, article 216/3 of the Turkish penal code provides for punishment for “any person who openly disrespects the religious belief of a group.” In the present political situation, which is characterized by a transition from parliamentary democracy toward an authoritarian regime, public confessions of non-belief appear enough to constitute a crime under this law, which can be observed in connection with a series of trials against outspoken atheists in recent years. This paper will not only explore the present situation of non-believers and atheists in Turkey, but also discuss in how far the public visibility of non-belief poses a challenge to the ruling elite’s dominant culture of pious conservatism. Furthermore, it will talk about the future prospects for organized atheism in Turkey.

Kaya Akyıldız, Bahçeşehir University

Ivo Furman, Istanbul Bilgi University

Conspiracy, Perversion or Secularization? Mapping the Turkish Deism Controversy on Twitter

On the 13th of April 2018, Ali Erbaş, the head of The Directorate of Religious Affairs made the following statement regarding rumors that deism was becoming a popular belief amongst students attending religious schools (İmam Hatip Okulları) in Turkey: "None in our pious community gives credit to such deist heretic and void interpretation of belief. No one has the right to smear our youth and our people by claiming becoming deist. Especially, after my firm stand, I am expecting no one amongst our youth and the pious community would have the slightest interest in heretic and void deist philosophical thoughts." Soon afterward, Twitter was abuzz with more than 8,000 users sending more than 11,000 tweets regarding the statement in less than 24 hours. This paper will present the positions and themes by using computational data collection strategies to amass a dataset and applying modularity algorithm based on social network analysis to cluster the communities actively discussing the deism issue. The most striking finding of the study is rather than discussion or some sort of exchange of ideas the deism issue sparked a colossal controversy through which antagonized positions of conspiracy, heresy, and secularization were cemented on Twitter.

Jeremy Walton, Max Planck Institute

Foreclosed Futures? Reflections on the Recent Past of Turkish Muslim Civil Society

In the wake of the coup attempt of 15 July 2016, Turkey has witnessed yet another dramatic restructuring of the relationship between state and civil society. If the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) and its predecessors were the beneficiaries of a "passive revolution" (Tuğal 2009) in the 1990s and early 2000s that resulted in a post-Kemalist recalibration of civil society and state interests, this revolution has become far more "active" in recent years. In this presentation, I reflect on the consequences of the recent, post-coup consolidation of state power on the AKP in relation to Muslim civil society organizations in Turkey. I do so primarily in reference to my recently published monograph,

Muslim Civil Society and Religious Freedom in Turkey (Walton 2017). In light of Turkey's recent political sea change, I revisit the three major currents of Turkish Muslim civil society that I discuss in my book: the Nur Community (Nur Cematti, Nurculuk), the Gülen Movement (Gülen Hareketi), and Alevism (Alevilik). While Gülen civil society institutions have experienced the most extreme consequences of the aftermath of 15 July—they have been declared illegal and dismantled, categorized under the encompassing rubric of FETÖ (Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü, the Fethullah-ist Terror Organization), Nur and Alevi foundations and associations have also undergone significant recalibrations. As a conclusion to my discussion, I reflect on the current trajectory of Muslim civil society in Turkey on the basis of my preliminary comparison between the pre- and post-coup situations of the institutions with which I conducted research.

15:30 - 15:45

Coffee Break

15:45 - 17:15

**Panel III:
Rights, Equality and Constitution in Turkey:
From Reform to Emergency**

Chair: **Ece Göztepe**, Bilkent University

Speakers:

Oya Yeğen, Sabancı University

Glass Half Full: Drafting Fundamental Rights in the Turkish Constitution-Making Process of 2011-2013

The 2011-2013 attempt at drafting a new constitution resulted in consensus on 60 articles, most of them involving fundamental rights and freedoms. Political parties' reluctance to move away from their initial narrow party positions and policy preferences precluded the commission from achieving consensus on major political issues such as citizenship, unitary state, form of government and education. Besides achieving consensus on fundamental rights and freedoms, the commission also agreed on less controversial issues such as personal data protection and utilization of the coasts and a limited number of neutral provisions on the judiciary and

legislative branches. A detailed analysis of the content and the process of drafting the agreed articles reveal that the interplay of initial momentum of writing a historical document, diffusion of constitutional rights and specifically Europeanization of rights in the Turkish context, and the commission's utilization of incremental method techniques helped the AUK overcome the shortcomings of process, as well as participants' reluctance to compromise.

Zafer Yılmaz, University of Potsdam

The State of Emergency, New Phase of Authoritarian Constitutionalism and Changing Political Regime in Turkey

Turkish democracy has been passing through one of its deepest crises after the failed coup in 2016. Right after the failed coup, the AKP government started a comprehensive restoration process to restructure the state and society in Turkey. This restoration process has been organized around the declaration of the state of emergency, massive purges from the state, restriction of basic rights and freedoms and increasing suppression of public space. Even if the declared aim of the state of the state of emergency was to bring stability, it appears that these measurements have just been targeting the promotion of regime changes by altering the institutional configuration of state power and suppressing oppositional political activity. The authoritarian policies gained new momentum with the recent constitutional referendum and intensified the structural transformation of the politics in Turkey. In order to comprehend the social and political consequences of this new episode in the "permanent" crisis of democracy, this presentation aims to discuss the institutional and political analysis of recent political, social and judicial developments with a focus on the changing relationship between legality and legitimacy. It will be asserted that this new episode of authoritarian constitutionalism, which includes comprehensive legal amendments and institutional changes have been arranged to implement a regime change and transform not only the institutional configuration of state power but also state-citizen relations.

Didem Yılmaz, Bahçeşehir University

Human rights under emergency, emergency for human rights?

This research focuses on how the state of emergency regime impacts human rights protection. It examines whether an instrument, envisaged within the framework of a constitutional order, and aimed at protecting democracy from threats can, itself, pose a threat against human rights. Building on the European Convention of Human Rights system and presenting a comparative study of French and Turkish constitutional law and practices, this research seeks to answer the following question: what is the boundary between protection and violation of human rights under the state of emergency? First, the study will discuss constitutional and conventional limits to the conditions under which exemptions might be made to human rights. For this purpose, it will compare Article 15 of the Constitution of Turkey and the European Convention to examine the conditions under which the respective laws allow for the declaration of a state of emergency. It will then analyse the procedures of parliamentary oversight, comparing Turkish and French constitutional law. Overall, this analysis aims to determine the legality of the derogation of the human rights under the state of emergency. Second, the study will then discuss the role of judicial protection when limits to derogation are exceeded. It will study the effects of the judicial review on protection of human rights during a state of emergency focusing on the Turkish Constitutional Court decisions based on constitutional review. Finally, it will scrutinize the judicial protection through the individual complaint procedure outlined by the Turkish and European courts decisions in the light of some specific human rights. This analysis will highlight the crucial function of these kinds supplementary remedies for the protection of human rights under conditions of state of emergency.

17:15 - 17:30

Coffee Break

17:30 - 19:00

Keynote Lecture

Rıza Türmen,

former judge of the European Court of Human Rights

Right to Have Rights in the Turkish Context

Chair: **Silvia von Steinsdorff** (Humboldt University Berlin)

**MAY 25
FRIDAY**

9:00 - 10:30

**Panel IV:
Social Rights in Turkey in a Comparative Context**

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

Speakers:

Mine Eder, Boğaziçi University

Leaking at the seams: Political economy of welfare provision in Turkey

This paper tries to elaborate and address on three fundamental paradoxes in Turkey's welfare provision mechanisms. One is that despite extensive privatization of the some of the public services, overall social expenditures and state's involvement in welfare provision have remained rather high. Second is that despite proliferation and recalibration of social assistance programs and other welfare instruments/institutional designs, welfare provision mechanisms in the country have persistently and predominantly remained centralized. Finally, a classic paradox of access versus quality in welfare provision is at work in the country, particularly in health care and education. The paper explores several political rationalities as to why Turkey's welfare transformation has proved so tumultuous despite a long-standing single party government in the country.

Lyle Scruggs, University of Connecticut

Globalizing Social Policy: New Worlds of Welfare for the Twenty-first Century

This paper suggests a return to thinking much more globally and historically about welfare state policy. Much of the current debate about the welfare state is wedded to theories refined for the experiences of states in Europe and their major settler colonies (i.e., United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand). As such, this field may have become irrevocably sealed off from developments outside of that limited context.

While an emerging literature is examining social policy in other countries, it may be suffering from the early stages of a tendency to expand domain restrictions, that is, resolve discrepancies between theory and data by “refining” the sample downward, rather than refining the model. The paper argues resuscitating the social scientific idea that theoretical development should seek explanations that accommodate more cases, not mainly to develop an explanation for each of a smaller and smaller subset of cases.

Tolga Bölükbaşı, Bilkent University

Welfare Effort and Social Rights in Turkey's Welfare State: Welfare Laggard Catching Up?

In this paper, we trace the development of the Turkish welfare state over the last four decades. We aim to answer three sets of questions concerning the direction and nature of change in Turkey's welfare state: How has government's commitment in the form of 'welfare effort' evolved? Do trends in social rights corroborate those findings? And has the welfare state gone through any transformation in terms of its program structure? We answer these questions by analyzing two sets of data: social expenditures based on newly published data from the OECD's Social Expenditure Database and original social rights data we generated for three databases: Social Citizenship Indicator Program (SCIP), Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset (CWED) and Social Assistance and Minimum Income Protection Interim Dataset (SaMip). To summarize vast amount of data in a comprehensible manner, we use various indicators of welfare effort and compute Decommodification Index and Benefit Generosity Index scores. We arrive at three sets of findings. First, social expenditures show a secular trend of expansion over the last three decades despite significant structural changes and recurrent economic crises. Second, these changes are paralleled in the overall expansion in social rights through increasing coverage and new programs. Finally, this expansion has resulted in a limited transformation solidifying around a 'pension-heavy' welfare state, even pension-heavier than welfare states in Turkey's Southern European neighbors. Based on these findings, we conclude that similar to other 'welfare laggards', Turkey's welfare state has been gradually 'catching up' with European welfare states.

10:30 – 10:45

Coffee Break

10:45 – 12:15

Panel V:

**F(e)uture Scenarios for EU-Turkey Relations –
Blickwechsel or Business as Usual?**

Chair: **Wolfgang Wessels**, CETEUS, University of Cologne

Speakers:

Funda Tekin, CETEUS, University of Cologne

F(e)uture Scenarios for EU-Turkey Relations

Building on research of the Horizon 2020 research project “The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios” (FEUTURE) this contribution will discuss the following three elements: (1) What are the main drivers of EU-Turkey relations and why are certain drivers more relevant for the relationship than others; (2) What is the most likely scenario for the future relationship and how is it constituted; (3) what implications does the scenario have for the EU and Turkey alike and what kind of Blickwechsel would be required.

Ebru Turhan, Turkish-German University Istanbul

The Future of EU-Turkey Relations and Critical Junctures

The contribution will elaborate on the uniqueness of the critical crossroads the EU-Turkish dialogue has recently encountered, illustrate the gradually increasing construction of EU-Turkey relations outside the framework of Turkey’s EU accession process and, consequently, discuss the possibilities of an “extended” external differentiated integration between Turkey and the EU. In doing so the contribution will take into account the already existing models of external differentiated integration between the EU and third countries as well as the particularities of Turkey’s dialogue with the EU. Throughout the presentation special attention will be given to Germany’s role as a key driver in the (re)making of EU-Turkey dialogue.

Özgehan Şenyuva, Middle East Technical University

The Future of EU-Turkey Relations and Blickwechsel

The presentation will focus on public opinion in Turkey towards the European Union in particular and towards the notion of Europe in general. Going beyond statistical analysis on changing levels of support for membership, the paper argues that the public in Turkey has outreached the traditional evaluations of membership as a good or bad thing. As a repercussion of the periods of convergence and divergence in the last two decades and the over politicization of the accession negotiations, culminating to a de-facto suspension of Turkey's membership process, Turkish public opinion displays deep levels of mistrust to the EU, withdrawing their support. As the EU membership remains as a permanent target in Turkish political narratives, the frustration towards Europe is channelled from the EU to individual member states, in particular towards Germany by the same politicians aiming for utilizing this frustration for political gains. Thus, Turkey-EU-Germany relations and the future of these relations have to take Turkish public opinion and its negative stand into consideration.

12:15 - 12:45

Closing Remarks

Ertuğ Tombuş, Humboldt University Berlin

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Kaya Akyıldız

Kaya Akyıldız was born and raised in Turkey. He got his B.A. from METU Political Science Department and earned his M.A. degree from Bilkent University. He completed Ph.D. at Binghamton University in 2011. He currently works as at Bahçeşehir University Sociology Department.

Fatmagül Berktaş

Fatmagül Berktaş, Professor Emerita of Political Science and Women's Studies, former Head of the Political Science Section at the Faculty of Political Sciences of Istanbul University has published several articles and contributed chapters in books both in Turkey and abroad. Her published books include *Being a Woman, Living and Writing* (in Turkish, Pencere Publishing, Istanbul, 1991), *Woman in the Face of Monotheistic Religions* (in Turkish, Metis Publications, Istanbul, 1996), *Women and Religion* (BlackRose Books, Montreal, 1998), *The Gender of History* (in Turkish, Metis Publications, 2003), *El Huviyye en Nisaiyye 'abr et Tarih* (Dar Kreideh Publishing, Beyrouth, 2009), *The Call of Politics* (in Turkish, İstanbul Bilgi University Publications, 2010), *Loving the World in the Present, Hannah Arendt's Political Thought* (in Turkish, Metis Publications, 2012). She is also the editor of *The Position of Women in Turkey and in the European Union: Achievements, Problems, Prospects* (Ka-Der Press, 2004) and was one of the curators of the exhibition "Dream and Reality, Modern and Contemporary Women Artists from Turkey" (İstanbul Modern, 16 September 2011-22 January 2012).

H. Tolga Bölükbaşı

After having earned his BSc and MSc degrees in Economics from the Middle East Technical University and Ankara University, Dr. Bölükbaşı received his Ph.D. in Sociology from McGill University in 2007. He returned home to the Center for European Studies at the Middle East Technical University (METU) as a Post-Doctoral Fellow. He then joined the

Department of Political Science and Public Administration at Bilkent University in 2009 where he has been since then. Dr. Bölükbaşı's research focuses on political economy of welfare state reform, Europeanization of socio-economic governance in the EU and in Turkey, and comparative European labour markets. Dr. Bölükbaşı is co-editor of *Europeanization of Public Policy in Southern Europe: Comparative Political Economy from the 2000s to the Crisis* (Routledge, 2014). He is completing a book manuscript titled *Euro-Austerity: Comparative Political Economy of Welfare State Reform* for University of Toronto Press. His articles appeared in *Journal of European Public Policy*, *Journal of European Social Policy*, *Comparative European Politics*, *European Political Science*, *South European Society and Politics*, *Uluslararası İlişkiler/International Relations and Current Politics and Economics of Europe*. Dr. Bölükbaşı has been guest researcher at the Institut d'études européennes at l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, Max Planck Institute for the Study of Societies, Cologne, Zentrum für Sozialpolitik at Bremen University, the Swedish Institute for Social Research at Stockholm University and Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim. Most recently, he was a Fulbright Senior Fellow at the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies of Harvard University.

Ayşe Buğra

Ayşe Buğra received her PhD in Economics from McGill University. She is currently an Emeritus Professor at Bogazici University and an affiliate of the Bogazici University Research Center Social Policy Forum which she co-founded in 2004. She has taught and published in the areas of development studies, social policy, state-business relations, and the socio-economic history of modern Turkey. She is currently working on questions of equality and politics of social policy. Ayşe Buğra is a member of the Science Academy, Turkey. She is also a member of the scientific advisory board of REASOPO (Réseau européen pour l'analyse des sociétés politiques), and the Advisory Council of the International Karl Polanyi Institute.

Başak Çalı

Başak Çalı is Professor of International Law at the Hertie School of Governance and Director of the Center for Global Public Law at Koç University, Istanbul. Her research interests are international law, human rights law, and the prospects of global public law in a multi-level legal order. Çalı is the Secretary General of the European Society of International Law, Editor-in-Chief of Oxford University Press United Nations Human Rights Case-Law Reports, a Fellow of the Human Rights Centre of the University of Essex and a Senior Research Fellow at the Pluricourts Centre at the University of Oslo. She has been a Council of Europe expert on the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) since 2002. She has trained members of the judiciary and acted as a litigation advisor and trainer to non-governmental organisations and lawyers on European and comparative human rights law. She received her PhD in International Law from the University of Essex in 2003.

Mine Eder

Mine Eder is a professor at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Bogazici University in Istanbul. She has written extensively on various dimensions of Turkey's political economy with particular emphasis on politics of welfare provision, poverty and informality. Her recent work focuses on urban transformation and urban growth and its political implications. Ein bisschen Text hinzufügen

Ivo Furman

Ivo Furman is an assistant professor at the department of Media at Istanbul Bilgi University. He completed his PhD in Sociology at Goldsmiths College, University of London in 2015. His most research has been supported by numerous institutions including the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC), the Danish Agency for Science and Higher Education, and Stiftung Mercator. He recently completed a 2-year research grant funded by the Turkish Science and Technology Foundation (TUBITAK). His research interests include computer assisted methods focusing on Twitter, digital sociology, sociology of data and data journalism. His upcoming publications are "Algorithms, Dashboards and Datafication: A Critical Evaluation of Social Media Monitoring" which will be featured in Palgrave Macmillan's Technologies of Labour and the Politics of Contradiction

(2018) and “the Refugee Crisis in the Digital News: Towards a Computational Political Economy of Communication” (2018) which will be featured in Political Economy of Communication (POLECOM) journal.

Ece Göztepe

Ece Göztepe earned her BA and LL.M. in law/public law at the University of Ankara/Turkey. She obtained her PhD in German and European public law from the University of Münster/Germany and has been meanwhile a postgraduate fellow of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Afterwards she worked as a research fellow at the Institute for Political Sciences at the University of Münster where she offered courses on gender studies, the juridical and political system of Turkey as well as theories of democracy (2002-2005). As of September 2005 she has been teaching Turkish and comparative constitutional law at the Law Faculty of the Bilkent University (Ankara/Turkey). She has been awarded with the research scholarship of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH) and serves since 2014 as ambassador scientist of the AvH. Her research and teaching interests focuses especially on constitutional review, citizenship, democracy and legitimation, political rights, gender equality, European public law with special emphasis on sovereignty, integration theories and European identity.

Pierre Hecker

Pierre Hecker is a senior researcher and lecturer at the Department of Islamic Studies at the Centre for Near and Middle Eastern Studies (CNMS) at Philipps-Universität Marburg.

Yasemin Karakaşoğlu

Education and academic positions: M.A. Master of Arts, Turcology and Modern German Literature, University of Hamburg (1985-1991) and University/Ankara (Turkey) (1989); PhD University of Essen (1995-1999), Faculty of Education; 1991-1995 Research Assistant at the Center for Studies on Turkey (ZfT)/Institute at the University of Essen; 1996- 2004 Research Assistant at the Department for Educational Sciences, Chair for Intercultural Education/University of Essen; Professor for Intercultural Education, University of Bremen (since October 2004), Faculty of Educational Sciences; Vice Dean of Faculty of

Educational Sciences (2009-2011); Vice Rector for International and Diversity, University of Bremen (2011-2017). *Current research interests:* Transnationalism, Intercultural Education and Diversity Management in Schools and Institutions of Higher Education, Islam as a Factor of Multiculturalism in German schools, Women's movements and Women's and Gender Studies in Turkey. *Current related academic/civic activities (selection):* Member of the Panel of Experts of the German Foundations for Integration and Migration (2009-2015), Member of the Panel of Experts of the Otto-Benecke-Foundation, Member of the Scientific Board of the Freudenberg-Foundation, Weinheim/Germany, Member of the Foundation Board of the University of Hildesheim, Member of the Board of Governors of BAU International University of Applied Sciences in Berlin (2013-2017), since 2016 Member of the Board of Directors of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD); since 2008 Member of the "Rat für Migration e.V." (Council for Migration - Association of 150 migration researchers in Germany).

Lutz Leisering

Lutz Leisering is professor of social policy in the Faculty of Sociology, Bielefeld University, Germany, and founding member of the Institute for World Society Studies. PhD (econ.) at the London School of Economics, Diplom (MPhil) in sociology at Bielefeld University and in mathematics at Bonn University. He has published empirical, theoretical, and comparative studies of social policy in Europe and the global South, especially on old-age security, social assistance, international organizations, and the global diffusion of ideas. Countries covered include Germany, Britain, China, South Africa, Turkey, and the BICS countries, plus quantitative comparative studies of all countries in the global South. National and international policy adviser.

Lyle Scruggs

Lyle Scruggs is Professor of Political Science at the University of Connecticut, where he is also an affiliate of the Economic and Social Rights Group in the Human Rights Institute. He is Director of the Comparative Welfare Entitlements Dataset. He received his PhD at Duke University in 1998. In addition to his work on social policy, Professor Scruggs is an affiliate of

Silvia von Steinsdorff

the Center for Environmental Science and Engineering at the University of Connecticut, where he works on public opinion about energy and climate change and the impact of advanced technologies on social policy, work and inequality.

Silvia von Steinsdorff holds a Professorship of Comparative Political Sciences and the Political Systems of Eastern Europe at the Institute of Social Sciences, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin since 2009. Since 2015, she is also the director of the Berlin Graduate School of Social Sciences (BGSS) at Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin. Her research covers different areas of comparative institutional analysis with a regional focus on Russia and other post-soviet countries as well as Turkey. Currently she is working on constitutional politics and rule of law concepts under the framework of "authoritarian constitutionalism", linking research on democratic and non-democratic systems.

Özgehan Şenyuva

Özgehan Şenyuva is an Associate Professor in the International Relations Department at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, where he works extensively on public opinion, Turkey-European relations and the politics of European football. He has extensive experience in research projects, and was the principal investigator for the FREE: Football Research in an Enlarged Europe (free-project.eu), a pioneer FP7 project that was completed in 2015. He was also part of the FP7 SAHWA project (Researching Arab Mediterranean Youth: Towards a New Social Contract) (sahwa.eu), publishing numerous policy papers, reports and articles on Arab-Mediterranean Youth. He is currently one of the principal investigators of a large scale Horizon 2020 research project: FEUTURE - The Future of EU-Turkey Relations: Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios (feuture.eu). His book (co-authored), Turkish Public and Elite Perceptions on Turkey-NATO Relations (in Turkish) was published by Bilgi University Press in 2014. Özgehan Şenyuva is also a member of the Pool of European Youth Researchers of the European Commission and the Council of Europe.

Funda Tekin

Funda Tekin, Vice Director of Centre for Turkey and EU Studies at University of Cologne, holds a PhD from the Faculty of Management, Economics and Social Sciences at the University of Cologne. Fields of her research and expertise include EU enlargement in general and EU Turkey relations in particular, the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice, flexibility and differentiation of EU integration, the Faded value of Europe as well as Euroscepticism. During her appointment as research assistant at the Jean Monnet Chair of Political Science at the University of Cologne Tekin has been involved in various research projects funded under FP5, FP6 and FP7 (FORNET, CHALLENGE, MERCURY). She has published on flexible integration, BREXIT, various aspects of the AFSJ and decision-making procedures in the EU. From November 2005 to July 2009 Funda Tekin was the Project and Financial Manager of the FP6 Network of Excellence "EU-CONSENT". Tekin is also Project Director of various large and multilateral consortia: "The Future of EU-Turkey Relations, Mapping Dynamics and Testing Scenarios" (FEUTURE, H2020), the Jean Monnet Network "Enhancing Visibility of the Academic Dialogue on EU-Turkey Cooperation" (VIADUCT) and the research project "TRIANGLE - Blickwechsel in EU/German-Turkish Relations Beyond Conflict: Towards a Unique Partnership for a Contemporary Turkey?" funded by Stiftung Mercator. Additional affiliations are the Centre international de formation européenne (CIFE) where she leads as Senior Researcher FEUTURE's dissemination work package and Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin where she is Senior Research Adviser. Funda Tekin has been appointed Director of Institut für Europäische Politik, Berlin, starting July 2018.

Ertuğ Tombuş

Ertuğ Tombuş holds a Ph.D. in political science from Bilkent University. He is a Research Associate at the Department of Social Sciences, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin and the academic coordinator of Blickwechsel: Contemporary Turkey Studies Program at Humboldt University. Before joining Humboldt University, he taught at Columbia University, The New School for Liberal Arts, Eugene Lang College, Western Connecticut State University, the State University of New York, and Izmir University of Economics. He is the managing

Ebru Turhan

editor of *Constellations: An International Journal of Critical and Democratic Theory* since 2009. He was a visiting research fellow at Northwestern University and Yale University and he earned M.Phil. in Sociology from the New School for Social Research, M.Sc. and B.Sc. in political science from Middle East Technical University.

Ebru Turhan works as the Deputy Head of the Department of Political Science and International Relations at the Turkish-German University of Istanbul. She is also the Coordinator of the Jean Monnet Module “INSITER-Inside the Turkey-EU Relations” (www.insiter.tau.edu.tr), co-financed by the European Commission. Between September 2013 and November 2014 Turhan was a Mercator-IPC Fellow at the Istanbul Policy Center (IPC) in the thematic area of EU/German-Turkish relations. Her current research interests lie in EU-Turkey affairs, the institutional architecture of the relations between Turkey and the EU/Germany, external differentiated integration, the German “factor” in EU-Turkey relations, refugee crisis / visa liberalization dialogue and German-Turkish bilateral relations. Turhan received a joint Master’s degree in Contemporary European Studies from the University of Bath, and a doctorate degree in Political Science from the University of Cologne in 2012. From February 2006 to September 2013, Turhan worked at the Berlin Representation of the Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), where she held the position of Senior Expert and Project Manager.

Rıza Türmen

Rıza Türmen is a former Judge of the European Court of Human Rights and former MP from Izmir in the Turkish Parliament, from the Republican People’s Party.

Dr. Türmen graduated from Istanbul University Law Faculty in 1964. He completed his lawyer's training in the Istanbul Bar Association. He received a master's degree in law from the McGill University, Montreal, and a doctoral degree in international relations from the Political Science Faculty of Ankara. In 1966, he joined the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1978, he became Turkish representative to the Internal Civil Aviation Organization. In 1985, he was appointed Turkish Ambassador to Singapore. From 1989 to

1994, he served in Ankara as the Director General in charge of the Council of Europe, Human Rights, the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United Nations. He was the Head of the Turkish Delegation to the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993. In 1994, he became Ambassador of Turkey to Switzerland and in 1996, Ambassador of Turkey to the Council of Europe. In 1998, Dr. Türmen was elected as the Turkish Judge to the European Court of Human Rights and served at the Court for 10 years until 2008. Upon returning to Turkey, he became a columnist at the daily newspaper Milliyet. In 2011, he was elected as an MP from İzmir for the main opposition party - Republican People's Party. He is the recipient of the Lawyer of the Year Award given by the Turkish Bar Association in 2009, the Distinguished Service Award by the Middle East Technical University in 2009, and the Freedom of the Press Award by the Turkish Journalists Association, also in 2009. He also received the Distinguished Service Award from the Cagdas Yasami Destekleme Dernegi, a non-governmental organization active in the field of education of girls of poor families in Turkey. He is the author of many articles and book chapters on human rights and democracy. He recently published a book on "Human Rights in Turkey" with the title of "Power of the Powerless".

Sevgi Uçan- Çubukçu

Sevgi Uçan-Çubukçu completed her Master's degree at the Bosphorus University with the thesis titled "Turkish Feminist Movement in the 80's: A Study on Two Feminist Journals: Kaktüs and Feminist". After studying for Ph.D. in LSE and SOAS (London) in 1999 as a "visiting research fellow, She completed her Ph.D degree at the Istanbul University, at the Faculty of Political Science, Department of International Relations in 2002 with her dissertation titled "Social Democracy in Post-Industrial Society: The 'New' British Labour Party and the 'Third Way'". She worked as a research assistant, Dr. at the Faculty of Political Science, Department of International Relations, at the Istanbul University. She became an Assoc. Prof. at the same Department in 2009 and worked there until 2017. She was the Vice Director at the Women's Research and Education Center, Istanbul University between 2008-2013 and Director at the Center between 2013-2016. She has many published articles in refereed

national and international journals. She has also book chapters published in national and international books. She worked on national and international projects mainly in the field of women and gender studies. She was in the editorial board membership in national refereed journals. Her academic interest areas are political science, international relations, women's movement in Turkey, gender and feminist theories. She is currently teaching Cultural Studies at the Mimar Sinan University, Department of Sociology. She is conducting a project titled as "Gender and Women's Research Centers at Universities in Turkey: Processes of Institutionalization and Transformation in an Interdisciplinary Field Between Government and Autonomy", in cooperation with Bremen University-Mercator Foundation. She is a member of the Association for Support and Training of Women Candidates- KA-DER, and member of Women's Library and Information Center Foundation.

Jeremy F. Walton

Jeremy F. Walton is the leader of the Max Planck Research Group, "Empires of Memory: The Cultural Politics of Historicity in Former Habsburg and Ottoman Cities," at the Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity (MPI-MMG) in Göttingen, Germany. Prior to his current position, he held research and teaching fellowships at the Center for Advanced Studies of Southeastern Europe at the University of Rijeka, the CETREN Transregional Research Network at Georg August University of Göttingen, Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, and New York University's Religious Studies Program. He received his Ph.D. in Anthropology from the University of Chicago in 2009. Dr. Walton's first book, *Muslim Civil Society and the Politics of Religious Freedom in Turkey* (Oxford University Press, 2017), is an ethnographic exploration of the relationship among Muslim civil society organizations, state institutions, and secularism in contemporary Turkey. He has published his research in a wide selection of scholarly journals, including *American Ethnologist*, *Sociology of Islam*, *The Cambridge Journal of Anthropology*, and *Die Welt Des Islams*. "Empires of Memory," which Dr. Walton designed, is an interdisciplinary, multi-sited project on the cultural politics of post-imperial memory and history in eight former Habsburg and Ottoman

cities: Vienna, Istanbul, Budapest, Sarajevo, Trieste, Thessaloniki, Zagreb, and Belgrade. His research in the context of "Empires of Memory" examines the ambivalent legacies and modes of amnesia that emerge from specific sites of memory in each of these cities.

Wolfgang Wessels

Wolfgang Wessels holds a Jean Monnet Chair ad personam for Political Science and is Director of the Centre for Turkey and European Union Studies (CETEUS) at the University of Cologne. In 2011 he was awarded for 'Lifetime Achievement in Contemporary European Studies' by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES). In 2015 he was awarded with the "Universitätspreis Forschung" by the University of Cologne for his excellence in research and in 2016 with the "Vision for Europe" award by the Prague European Summit. Prof. Wessels is co-editor of the "Jahrbuch der Europäischen Union" (35th Edition) and the "Europa von A-Z, Taschenbuch der europäischen Integration" (14th Edition) and has published widely in leading journals and edited volumes. He is involved in several research and teaching networks such as FEUTURE, THESEUS, PADEMIA and OPAL. He is the Chairperson of the Executive Board of the Institut für Europäische Politik (IEP, Berlin) and of the Executive Board of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA, Brussels). Since 2010 he is Vice-President of the German consortium for the foundation of the Turkish-German University, Istanbul. His areas of research include the political system of the European Union, the role of the EU in the international system, the deepening and widening of the EU, modes of governance as well as theories and strategies of European integration.

Betül Yarar

Until the first of September 2016, Betül Yarar had been working as a Professor of Communication Faculty at Gazi University, Ankara, Turkey. But at this date, when she was on her due for lecturing in a summer school at Science Po Lille (France) as a visiting scholar, she was dismissed from her position with the use of a special decree by the AKP government. For this reason, after she finished her academic program in France, she came to the University of Bremen as a Phillipp Schwartz Fellow by Alexander Von Humboldt

Foundation. Since February 2016, she has been carrying her academic life here at the University of Bremen, Germany. She received her MA in sociology, Essex University, UK, 1994 and her Ph.D. in sociology, Lancaster University, UK, in 2000. Her Ph.D. thesis was "Politics and Popular Culture: A Case Study on the Relationship Between the Rise of the New Right, Football, and Arabesk in the 1980s in Turkey. After her Ph.D., she has continued to work on popular culture and its relation to politics (particularly neoliberal politics in Turkey). Later she enlarged her areas of interest and began to work also on new social movements, feminist movements, feminist theory, and body politics particularly all in the context of the history of modernization and neoliberalism in Turkey. In this respect, she had given courses on various feminist issues such as "gender and violence", "gender and body politics" at the University of Ankara, Women's Studies MA Program, Turkey. Also, she has conducted various national and international research projects and written articles both in English and Turkish on the related topics. Recently she has started to work on "Neoliberal-Neoconservative Body-biopolitics of AKP and Counter-Strategies of Feminist Groups in Women's Movement in Turkey".

Oya Yeğen

Oya Yeğen holds a PhD from Boston University and is a visiting assistant professor of Political Science at the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences of Sabanci University. She is the recipient of Dr. Yavuz Abandan Constitutional Law Award for her work on constitutional courts in Chile and Turkey. Her research interests include processes of constitution-making, judicial politics and authoritarian constitutions. Thessaloniki, Zagreb, and Belgrade. Her research in the context of "Empires of Memory" examines the ambivalent legacies and modes of amnesia that emerge from specific sites of memory in each of these cities.

Didem Yılmaz

Didem Yılmaz obtained her LLM and PhD degrees in public law from Galatasaray University. Her research in the field of comparative law focuses on electoral management and control bodies, legislative process and opposition. She is an associate professor at Bahçeşehir University and is a member of the Research Association of constitutional law in Turkey.

Zafer Yılmaz works as a visiting scholar at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Potsdam University. He is affiliated at both the Centre for Citizenship, Social Pluralism and Religious Diversity and the Chair of Sociology at the University of Potsdam. He works currently on the rise of authoritarianism, transformation of the rule of law and citizenship in Turkey. He has published a book on the concept of risk and poverty alleviation policies of the World Bank and several papers on new poverty management, social policies, family policies and new Islamic charity mentality in Turkey. His latest publications include "The AKP and the Spirit of the 'New' Turkey: Imagined Victim, Reactionary Mood, and Resentful Sovereign," *Turkish Studies* (2015), and "'Strengthening the Family' Policies in Turkey: Managing the Social Question and Armoring Conservative-Neoliberal Populism," *Turkish Studies* (2017); "The AKP and the new politics of the social: fragile citizenship, authoritarian populism and paternalist family policies", in Gregor Fitzi, Jürgen Mackert and Bryan S. Turner (eds.), *Populism and the Crisis of Democracy. Volume 3. Migration, Gender and Religion*. London: Routledge (to be published in June 2018).

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