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European Institute

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**JEAN MONNET CENTRE  
OF EXCELLENCE**

**BİLGİ EUROPEAN INSTITUTE  
NEWSLETTER**

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Dear Friends,

Welcome to the eighth Newsletter of the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University. This issue contains information on the activities, publications, conferences, workshops, graduate programs, research, social outreach projects and opinions of our students. We want to inform you that we have some new members in the Institute. Prof. Kübra Doğan Yenisey (Faculty of Law) and Assoc. Prof. Ayşe Uyduranoğlu (Department of Economics) joined the Board of European Institute along with the former members of the Board, Prof. Nihal İncioğlu (Department of International Relations), Prof. Yeşim M. Atamer (Faculty of Law), and Prof. Ayhan Kaya (Department of International Relations). We also have a new member in the Executive Board, Prof. Cem Başlevent (Department of Economics), along with the former members, Prof. Alan Duben (Department of Sociology), Prof. Yonca Aslanbay (Faculty of Communications), Prof. Yeşim M. Atamer, and Prof. Ayhan Kaya. We would like to welcome them, and we are grateful for their tremendous support.

The highlight of this year is the Marie Curie project resulting in important findings with regard to the use of EU funds in Turkey. Dr. Claire Visier, who worked at the European Institute for two years produced a remarkable scientific documentation of the ways in which the Instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA) funds contributed to the accession process of Turkey. You will also find some further details about the newly starting research projects of Dr. Cristiano Bee, another Marie Curie fellow, and Dr. Meltem Sancak Finke, a TÜBİTAK research fellow.

Details of our ongoing training program for primary and secondary school teachers in İstanbul, designed in collaboration with the İstanbul Directorate of National Education and the Teachers Academy Foundation (ÖRAV) can also be found in this newsletter. The “Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence” organized two teacher training sessions in June and September and discussed with the teachers the “European Values at School”. Both sessions hosted around 70 teachers who participated voluntarily, and heard seminars from academics as well as from ÖRAV in an interactive manner. The support of the İstanbul Directorate of National Education was remarkable. The project will come to an end in late 2016.

In the meantime, Dr. Kevin Smets (Antwerp University) worked with us as a short-term researcher on Kurdish Transnational Cinema. Thomas Schad, PhD candidate from Free University Berlin contributed to the activities of the Institute by its work on Bosniac diaspora in Turkey. In this issue, you will also find more detailed information regarding these projects.



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# Jean Monnet Projects, Chairs, Events and Modules

## Jean Monnet Center of Excellence Events European Values at School

The European Institute has finished its second year with the project entitled "European Values at School - EUducate". Becoming the fourth university to be nominated as "Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence" in Turkey with the project, many activities have been carried out during the academic year.

The "Jean Monnet Center of Excellence", within the framework of the Life-Long Learning Programme, provides enhanced support for interdisciplinary academic studies and research on European Integration as well as for public activities on Europe and the EU.

## EU Boat-5 with Beyoğlu Municipality

The "EU Boat" project continuing now in the framework of the European Values at School project has reached about 1800 high school students in the 2014-15 school year and more than 5000 students overall with the contributions of academicians. The academicians held seminars on different subjects involving European Values and Europeanness at the high schools within Beyoğlu Municipality.



## EU Boat-5 Roundtable Discussion

On the 10th of June 2015 a roundtable event was organized with 32 "best" students selected among 1845 students who attended the "EU Boat" Seminars in 2014/2015. The definition of "best students" here is used in the sense of the most proactive students during and after the Seminars with whom we stayed in touch by e-mail and SMS. We had the possibility to see the

continuing support for the EU values during a time in which Turkey is struggling with serious problems in and outside of the country. This was an interesting outcome of the whole EU Boat activity this year.



## Teacher's Workshop II&III (June, 2015)

The second "European Values Workshop for Primary, Secondary and High School Teachers" was held on 15-18 June 2015 and 22-25 June 2015 in **santralistanbul** Campus, carried out by the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University in cooperation with the İstanbul Directorate for National Education and Teachers Academy Foundation (ÖRAV).

The workshops started with intensive seminars in the mornings and continued with indoor and outdoor interactive activities in the afternoons. As a result of the first workshop's success in 2014, the interest in the second workshop increased, and more applications were received than expected.

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



## WORKSHOP PROGRAM:

### 1st Day: Monday

#### 09.45 - 10.00 Opening:

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

#### 10.00 - 10.30

Short Survey about EU Perception

#### 10.30 - 12.30

Awareness / Differentness in School Environment  
**Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya**  
(İstanbul Bilgi University)

#### 14.00 - 17.00

Effective Communication I  
(ÖRAV)

### 2nd Day: Tuesday

#### 10.00 - 12.30

Women's Rights, Children's Rights in the EU and Turkey  
**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pinar Uyan Semerci**  
(İstanbul Bilgi University)

#### 14.00 - 17.00

Effective Communication II  
(ÖRAV)

### 3rd Day: Wednesday

#### 10.00 - 12.30

Universality in Curriculums and European Narratives  
**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kenan Çayır**  
(İstanbul Bilgi University)

#### 14.00 - 17.00

Unlabeled Education I  
(ÖRAV)

### 4th Day: Thursday

#### 10.00 - 10.30

Short Survey about EU Perception

#### 10.30 - 12.30

Children's participation at Schools  
**Gözde Durmuş**  
(İstanbul Bilgi University)

#### 13.30 - 15.30

Unlabeled Education II  
(ÖRAV)

#### 15.30 - 17.00

Focus Group and Evaluation

#### 17.00

End of the Program

## A REPORT ON TEACHERS WORKSHOP by Defne Pehlivanoğlu (Intern, Political Science BA Student)

In this certificate program the main idea was to show the participants, who are teachers, the main principles of human rights, according to the European Union (mostly), and how to use these principles with their students in the schools where they worked. In the morning session the teachers who work in İstanbul Bilgi University gave seminars and showed to the participants the main principles of human rights, women & children's rights, awareness in the school, diversity, respect, tolerance, universality in the curriculum and the concept of Europeanness geared toward children's participation in school. In the morning sessions the teachers of İstanbul Bilgi University were actually providing a more theoretical education to the participants. When we talked with the participants, they told us that the morning session were mostly more efficient and more educational, pragmatically for them; because the theoretical education made them think about the things they already know about education and this education helped them critique the ideas that they already had. In the morning sessions the teachers of İstanbul Bilgi University were sharing information but in the class there was also an ambiance where all the participants and teachers could criticize each other and share their own ideas. In the afternoon session there were expert trainers who came from the Teachers Academy (ÖRAV). They also taught the same themes which were in the morning session, but they didn't do it like a seminar, that is, not theoretically, they accomplished it with playing games and with other activities and exercises. So the participants reset the information which they acquired in the morning session. When we talked with the participants, their common idea was that the afternoon session helped them to relearn the information from the morning session, they did it in a more entertaining way and it was very efficient for them. But some participants told us that the afternoon sessions were a bit unnecessarily long (in time), because they thought that playing games so long wasn't efficient for them. They mostly wanted to listen to İstanbul Bilgi University teachers more, because theoretical information helped them to learn and criticize easily. All participants were very happy with these experiences and want to participate in the other education as well. It was an interesting and efficient experience for them. All participants are grateful to everyone who contributed in these certificate programs.

## Some Teachers' Comments:

### 15-18 June 2015

#### Ali Ateş:

The European Values Teachers Training opened up the horizon. The theoretic morning sessions were fruitful for our working area. Children's rights, women's rights, sociology, etc. were seriously effective in improving the teachers. The afternoon sessions were practical, oriented trainings and were also very fruitful. They were more fruitful, I can say, more interactive. I observed that the participants participated more within the training process. Actually, both sessions were completing each other. I think that these trainings should be disseminated further. In my opinion this training should be done at the schools. The more they are done at schools, the higher the participation will be. I thank all the contributors and participants for this organization.

### 15-18 June 2015

#### Füsun Öke:

This 4-day training made me aware of something of which I am a part. I also noticed that some terms are understood in different meanings. I also noticed that the reflections of

those meanings are also very different. I think that I learned many things here. Everything was great; I am so pleased to be here. Thank you.

### 22-25 June 2015

#### Nezahat Akbaba:

First of all I want to say that I found this training very positive. I did not realize how the time passed and I did not want the time to pass. I will categorize the trainings in two: the morning session with the professors were more fruitful. It was fruitful in making me think, make someone thinking, re-thinking. The whole country needs a mental change. The mentality change's major step is the mental change in teachers. Therefore, I think that these trainings will be a start for teachers which will lead to a change for the children and youth in hard times. That's why I find the trainings so fruitful. The practical trainings in the afternoon sessions were like the trainings we had before at schools, so they were not as fruitful as the morning sessions. Of course, there are many things that we learned from the afternoon sessions too. In short, it was great. Thank all the contributors.

22-25 June 2015

**Ömer Durmaz:**

We already had knowledge about all the topics but we had the chance to go deeper into the subjects. Especially the morning sessions were more fruitful. I would like to listen to the professors again. Sometimes, in the daily routine, we lose ourselves. We need someone to push us. This kind of training pushes us and makes us feel stronger. Thank you very much.

### Teaching EU in High Schools (27 December 2014)



The Academic Workshop on the “Perception and teaching of EU in Primary, Secondary and Vocational Schools in Turkey” was held on 27 December 2014, and gathered academics, education experts from the İstanbul Directorate General of National Education, ÖRAV, Post Doc and PhD students from BİLGİ, but also other universities working on the same subject. The discussion between researchers and academics on one side and the education experts and trainers from ÖRAV (including a group of part-time trainers who work in the field as teachers as well) was very fruitful and stimulating and confirmed the findings of the Centre of Excellence’s work with the High School Student Seminars, Teachers Training Workshops and the Lectures.

#### Programme:

**10.30**

“Presentation of the quantitative research on perception of EU among the primary and secondary school teachers”  
**Ayhan Kaya**

**11.00** Coffee Break

**11.30** “Experience of Europeanisation within higher education”  
**Özge Onursal**

**12.00** “Togetherness - through - difference” in classroom communication  
**Ela Topçu, Engin Güven, Yasemin Bozoğlu Erdiñç, Ceylan Çakır Karagüç, Elvan Tongal (ÖRAV)**

**13.00** Group lunch and discussion

**14.00** Presentation of the E-Book selected chapters, animated (scribing technique) lessons, computer games as well as the possible uses through the “Teacher’s Guide”  
**Ayhan Kaya**

**14.30** Presentation by five teachers (ÖRAV Trainers) of how European studies could be included in the curricula of primary and secondary schools in Turkey

**Ela Topçu, Engin Güven, Yasemin Bozoğlu Erdiñç, Ceylan Çakır Karagüç, Elvan Tongal**

**15.30-16.30** Questions-answers and Conclusion

### Teachers Workshop at Akdeniz University Additional Event (13 May 2015)



Akdeniz University European Research Centre and the European Institute of İstanbul Bilgi University organized a teachers workshop on “The European Union in Education and Education in the European Union” in collaboration with ÖRAV (Teacher’s Academy Foundation) on 13 May 2015 in Antalya as an outreach activity of the ECE project.

After the opening speech by Prof. Erol Esen, Director of the European Research Centre of Akdeniz University, Prof. Ayhan Kaya, Director of the European Institute and the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, gave a talk about respect, unity in diversity and interculturalism in the European Union and Turkey.

The talk was followed by ÖRAV’s seminar on “Unlabelled Education (Etiketsiz Egitim)”. The workshop ended with a discussion panel with Prof. Esen, Halil Serkan Korezlioglu, Head of European Union and Foreign Relations Monitoring and Evaluation Department, Ministry of National Education and Selman Cetin, Representative of Antalya, Ministry of EU as well as with Esra Savasan (ÖRAV) and Prof. Ayhan Kaya.

The participants received a Participation Certificate at the end of the Program.

# JEAN MONNET CHAIRS

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



Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit has completed the second year of her Jean Monnet Chair in “EU Political and Administrative Studies”.

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

### Events of the Chair

#### Seminars in the EU Certificate Programme in Collaboration with TUSES II (November 2014)

The second two-day EU Certificate Programme in collaboration with the Turkish Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation (TUSES) was held by the Jean Monnet Chair at İstanbul Bilgi University on November 2014. The topics covered by the Jean Monnet Chair included EU governance, EU-Turkey relations and EU foreign policy.



## Jean Monnet Speaker Series II - DEMOCRACY AND IDENTITY IN THE EU (15 June 2015)

The Jean Monnet Chair of the Department of International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University, Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit, successfully opened the Jean Monnet Speaker Series on June 2015, in **santral** İstanbul Campus with an interesting panel held upon “Democracy and Identity in the EU”. Three discussants with different scientific and professional backgrounds spoke and presented their positions.



- **Prof. Richard Youngs**, Warwick University; Senior Scholar, Carnegie Europe “The EU’s Democracy Challenge”

- **Assoc. Prof. Yaprak Gürsoy**, İstanbul Bilgi University “Democracy in Southern Europe after the Economic Crisis”

- **Selen Lermioğlu Yılmaz**, Director of Legal Studies, Third Sector Foundation of Turkey “Civil Society and Democracy in the EU and Beyond”

Moderated by **Assoc. Prof. Senem Aydın-Düzgit**, Jean Monnet Chair, İstanbul Bilgi University

### Graduate Student Workshop (April 30, 2015) by Senem Aydın-Düzgit

The second Graduate Student Workshop on European Studies was organised by the Jean Monnet Chair on April 30, 2015. The papers that were discussed covered Turkey-EU relations, European identity and EU institutions and policies.



### Seminars for Secondary School Students

The Jean Monnet Chair gave three seminars to ninth-grade students from two schools in the Beyoğlu municipality of İstanbul in March, April and May 2015. The focus was mainly on Turkey-EU relations.



# MODULES

## EU 222: Introduction to European Culture

Ayhan Kaya

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

## EUR 510: Politics of Cultural Diversity in the European Union

Ayhan Kaya

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

## IR 472: Europe and Migration

Ayhan Kaya

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

## IR 479 Islam and the West: Bridging the Gap

Ayhan Kaya

The course, "Islam and the West: Bridging the Gap", is concerned with mapping out the general framework of the issues related to Islam and the European Union members. This course examines, among other topics, the relationship between Islam on the one hand and multiculturalism, Orientalism, Occidentalism, modernization, post-colonialism, post-communism, globalization, mysticism, the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and the Middle East on the other. The course also aims at giving students a comparative perspective on the issues from Andalusia to the Ottoman Empire. An historical account of the early encounters between Islam and the Judeo-Christian West will be provided by examining some fields of interaction in philosophy, science, and education. This will be followed by an analysis of the European perceptions of Islam during the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, paving the way for the modern conceptions of Islam and the Islamic world in the Western hemisphere. Special attention will be paid to the rise of the European civilization as the superior power of the modern

world and its impact on the relation of the two civilizations in negotiating various forms and patterns of encounter, challenge, rejection, reaction, and adaptation.

## EU 411: External Relations of the European Union

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

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

## EUR 505: Selected Topics in EU-Turkey Relations

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

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

## EU 315: EU-Turkey Relations

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

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

## EU 311: Conceptualizing the EU: Institutions, Policies and Political Debates

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

The course is designed to provide an understanding of the political institutions and political processes of the member countries of the European Union and of how the accession process has transformed the governmental institutions, central-local relations, political parties, NGOs and political life in these countries.

## EU 321 EU-Turkey Relations

Senem Aydın-Düzgit

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

# MARIE CURIE PROJECTS



## (Ending Project) "Enlargement and EU funded projects in Turkey: from design to implementation" (EUTUR) - Dr. Claire Visier

The aim of this project (Enlargement and EU funded projects in Turkey: from design to implementation, EUTUR) was to investigate EU projects in Turkey funded under the Instrument of Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA). Highlighting another face of the enlargement, EUTUR permitted to better understand the ongoing process and its stakes. Progression of EU-Turkey political negotiations toward accession is currently very slow. Since the opening of negotiations, in October 2005, only 13 chapters of the Acquis have been opened and only 1 closed. In 2006, eight chapters relevant to Turkey's restrictions with regard to the Republic of Cyprus have been frozen by the EU and seven chapters were vetoed by France or Cyprus. Since 2010, no other chapter has been opened. This does not mean there is nothing happening concerning Turkey's EU bid. Last May 17th, a "Positive Agenda" between EU and Turkey has been launched in order to keep alive the enlargement process. Apart from this new statement, since 2007, both candidate countries and potential candidates have received focused European funding and support through a single channel, IPA (consisting of five components: Transition Assistance and Institution Building; Cross-Border Cooperation; Regional Development; Human Resources Development; Rural Development). EUTUR is not an evaluation of the EU funded projects according to their programmatic objectives: it did not measure if they achieved their intended outcomes. EUTUR rather expected to draw attention to the role and potential impact of a public action tool (the EU funded Projects) on the European governance of the enlargement process on the one hand, on Turkish governance on the other hand. EUTUR scrutinized the policy-making process (between European institutions and Turkish government) that produce EU funded projects and analysed their design (comparing to other candidate countries). EUTUR also looked at the people who are involved in the projects and their practices.



The two year project ended with a roundtable event on September 16, 2015 at **santralistanbul** Campus. Dr. Claire Visier presented her research results about the analysis of the European funded projects in Turkey with a focus on Projects addressing civil society. She presented qualitative and quantitative results, and a discussion and Q&A session followed. The presentations took into account the policy instruments, the concrete techniques used to implement the projects, and help to better understand the type of civil society organisations involved in the European projects and the potential impact of the European funds in Turkey.



### Programme:

14.00 - 14.10

Welcome and highlights of the Project  
**Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya**, Director, European Institute

14.10 - 14.45

Project findings  
**Dr. Claire Visier**, Marie Skłodowska-Curie Fellow

14.45 - 15.30

Discussion  
**Dr. Anouck Gabriela Corte Real**, Project manager of the research program: "Trans-acting Matters: Areas and Eras of a (Post-) Ottoman Globalization", IFEA

15.30 - 16.00

Question and answers

## The Europeanisation of the Organised Civil Society in Turkey: The Case of the Youth Organisations in the Prospect of the European Integration (EUROCS)

- Cristiano Bee

My project is focused on the analysis of active citizenship in Turkey, by looking at different internal political dynamics, such as the events linked with the Gezi protest, and the impact of external processes, such as Europeanisation. Both pose new challenges, but also create new opportunities for the investigation of issues such as political participation and civic and political engagement. As part of my work programme, the first phase of my Marie Curie has been focused on establishing the indicators to study this issue in the Turkish context. In particular, I took inspiration from my previous involvement in the 7FP PIDOP, based on the comparative analysis of political participation and civic engagement in 8 different European countries (Turkey included) that resulted in the publication of a special issue with the Journal of Civil Society recently republished as



an edited volume by Routledge. In the Marie Curie project that is hosted by the European Institute of Istanbul Bilgi University and supervised by Prof. Ayhan Kaya, I decided that it was important to bring things a step forward and to reflect more specifically on different components of active citizenship. My argument is that, in order to gather a profound understanding of active citizenship in Turkey, more information regarding the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of its different components are needed. Up to now most studies mostly looked disjointedly at patterns of civic and political engagement and political participation without providing data on the actual significance of active citizenship.

But what is active citizenship? This is a concept that I have been studying since the early days of my academic career and that is therefore rather central in my work. In trying to conceptualize it I elaborated two working definitions that provide completely different outcomes in terms of research objectives and aims. On the one side, we can think of active citizenship as a practice stimulated by public institutions. In this sense, it is a public policy through which a government, for example, or a local council, or a supranational body, try to promote civic and political engagement in order to shape participatory policy processes and ultimately improve the democratic bases of policy making. In a nutshell, active citizenship is about providing forms of input legitimacy to public policy process by promoting deliberative instruments that imply the wide participation of the civil society. This is a process that the EU in itself has been following through for years and is part of the governance reforms that have been taking place across many European countries. What is particularly relevant in my project in terms of research objectives is the impact of the EU policy towards the civil society in Turkey. Many analysts converge on the fact that this has had the aim to promote democratization and at the same time, it has been key for the Turkish accession process as part of the so-called EU conditionality. At the same time, however, many analysts have correctly argued that this process of promotion has not corresponded in an improvement of the quality of the organizations per se in terms of their actual participation in policy making. In my work I attempt to explore how this public policy has changed practices for activists by stimulating the implementation of key activities in different areas of social policy aimed at increasing social solidarity and at the same time in creating new opportunities for cooperation at the transnational level.

Whilst it is important to note that most research on active citizenship is dealing with this first definition, there are however new patterns of enquiry that need to be investigated and that my project tries to integrate. And this has to do with the second conceptualization that I elaborated upon, where I defined active citizenship as a demand, that becomes particularly important where the civil society express certain claims through different means, by using both traditional and alternative channels of mobilization. In this perspective, active citizenship can in fact be thought of as a bottom-up process where civil society actors engage and participate in the civic and political domains seeking to 'raise their voice', with the scope to shape forms of reciprocal solidarity or to express dissent towards the current political status. This form of active citizenship is expressed outside formal channels of political participation –such as electoral politics- and takes expression thanks to the implementation of various forms of deliberation. The emergence of different cycles of protest in Turkey in the last few years, as well as the enhanced use of social media as an alternative tool of mobilization are rather significant in these terms. Active citizenship corresponds to a demand for democratization and for extending the social

bases for participation in the society. The Gezi park protests in particular are a rather meaningful example where we see the application of this second definition of active citizenship. The laboratory of democracy emerged as a consequence of occupygezi is a clear expression of a process of political deliberation where the current government was openly put into question and an alternative view of the Turkish society was proposed. As it has been widely acknowledged by different scholars, this has fostered a new emerging form of active citizenship.

The empirical investigation of these two definitions is therefore central in my project. This is the reason why the project has the ambition to propose a new multidimensional methodological approach that bridges insights from different disciplines, such as political sociology, social psychology and political psychology. The aim is to look at practices of active citizenship, but also at the determinants, factors and motivations that surround engagement with civic and political matters. In the methodological model that I elaborated I took into account different indicators that are now used for the field work and empirical analysis that I am doing with civil society activists. Preliminary results show that patterns of civic and political engagement are well established in the Turkish context and that active citizenship is a fluid concept to which different activists attach different meanings according to the context they are involved in. The effects of transnationalisation of everyday activities through the participation in key European projects is an important factor in enhancing the recognition of core values such as social solidarity and equality. Processes of bottom-up mobilization, however, are volatile and appear to gain importance only in key moments, when windows of opportunities to initiate processes of social change open up and put into question the legitimacy of the political system to act in matters of public concern.

## TÜBİTAK PROJECTS

### (Upcoming Project) TÜBİTAK - Living with indeterminacy: Not deported but abandoned, being an undocumented migrant in İstanbul Meltem Sancak Finke

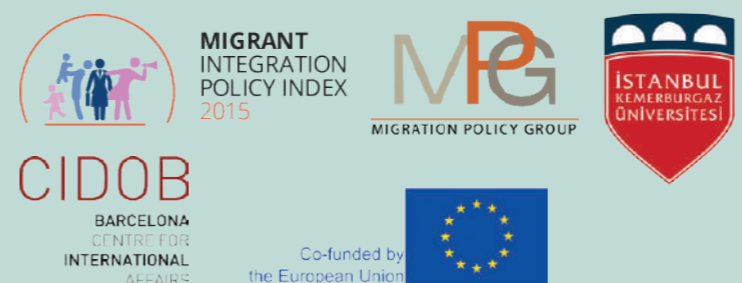
This project is supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) within the framework of the Brain Circulation Scheme Program, co-funded by the European Union. The proposed research is not only a timely one but also reflects Turkey's changing role and place in the world, especially in the last decades. Turkey is going through a remarkable transition from a country of emigration to a country of immigration. People are arriving from a diverse panoply of sites. Specifically, İstanbul has become a meeting point for people who are on the move for a multitude of reasons. This research focuses on how they manage to get along and to become (or not become) part of Turkish society. It also addresses the impact of being "illegal" and how this varies between the different migrant groups. Why and how have



some groups been able to surmount their disadvantaged status and others not? These issues will be investigated during an anthropological field study in İstanbul. The project is hosted by İstanbul Bilgi University under the supervision and cooperation of Prof. Ayhan Kaya. It is conducted in collaboration with the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Halle/Saale, Germany, and the Department of Social Anthropology and Cultural Studies, University of Zurich, Switzerland.

## CONFERENCES, ROUNDTABLES AND WORKSHOPS

### MIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY INDEX 2015 "Integration policies: Who benefits? The development and use of indicators in integration debates" (23 June 2015)



Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015 "Integration policies: Who benefits? The development and use of indicators in integration debates" results for Turkey was presented by MIPEX Representative Thomas Huddleston at an event at İstanbul Bilgi University on June 23, 2015. The event continued with a panel discussion moderated by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University, where Prof. Dr. Bianca Kaiser, Kemerburgaz University, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Saime Özçürümez, Bilkent University, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Uyan, İstanbul Bilgi University and Veysel Eşşiz, Refugee Rights Turkey, evaluated the Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015

for Turkey, and continued with an open discussion where all participants had the possibility to contribute to the debate.

Please follow the link analysis: [www.mipex.eu/turkey](http://www.mipex.eu/turkey) in order to see the results for Turkey of this multinational country. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is the collective work of a multinational team whose centre is in Brussels (mipex.eu). MIPEX has been collecting and analyzing migration policy data on 38 countries including Turkey. The data and analysis for each country is presented every year to the international public, and is a source of important reference for migration experts.

As far as Turkey is concerned, İstanbul Bilgi University's European Institute and Kemerburgaz University became the official partners of MIPEX for Turkey in 2013 and collected contributions from a wide ranging group of experts about the migration and integration laws and their implementation.

### International Conference: Citizenship & Human Security (January 23-24-25, 2015)



The regional/international conference on Citizenship & Human Security, co-organized by the Helsinki Citizens' Assembly, the European Institute & the Human Rights Law Research Centre of the İstanbul Bilgi University was held on 23/24/25 January 2015 in Dolapdere Campus.

The conference was a centrepiece event of a collaborative working process to build a "Citizens' Network for Peace, Reconciliation and Human Security" [cn4hs.org] from below, beyond borders. Our aim was to advocate and mobilize civic action and political change towards "humanizing" security, across practices & interactions of daily life. In that vein, we seek to link "human security"- i.e., safe and dignified individual/collective livelihoods in integrity- with rights/freedoms and democratization vis-a-vis pressures of vicious, unharnessed "development" & state security.

The endeavour is led by hCa (Turkey) in collaboration with five partner organizations, ADP-Zid (Montenegro), CRDP (Kosovo), IRIS (Bulgaria), ORC-Tuzla (Bosnia Herzegovina) and, SeCons (Serbia), in association with AEC (France), ISA (Macedonia) & KEPAD (Greece), along with the guidance & support of prominent scholars from LSE (UK) and from SEERN. The project is funded by the European Commission, co-financed by Open Society Foundation (Turkey) and



the British Embassy in Ankara. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in Turkey, the Human Rights Joint Platform (IHOP) and the Balkan Trust for Democracy have also provided support to project activities.

The conference presented and opened discussion on what has been learned and done so far in the past two years on various dimensions of human security, in particular on “youth & violence”, “violence in the workplace”, and, “displacement as violence”. The program also included sessions on various cycles & axes of violence/insecurity: “globalization, state sovereignty, citizenship”; “grounds of human (in)security”, “discourses/policies of “public order & security”; “corrosion of social policies & (dis)trust in the public system”; “the dimension of ethnicity in tensions/conflicts between refugees/migrants & local communities”, and, “new definitions/practices of citizenship, as a lateral safety net”. The event brought together people from different walks of life across civil society, academia and associated stakeholder groups.



## 23 January 2015, Friday

16.30 - 17.00  
Registration

17.00 - 19.00

Panel discussion:  
Globalization, State Sovereignty, Citizenship & Human Security

- “Humanizing” Security - Ahmet Insel
- Deconstructing the Securitization Discourse vis-a-vis Others - Ayhan Kaya
- Rule of Law & Human Security - Turgut Tarhanli
- Democratization, Rights/Freedoms, Social Peace & Pluralism - Murat Belge
- “Human Security” & the EU Enlargement Process - Jadranka Jelincic

Moderator: **Emel Kurma**

## 24 January 2015, Saturday / 6th Floor, Dolapdere Campus

10.00 - 10.30  
Registration

10.30 - 11.45

Grounds of Human (In)Security / Room #606

- **Contemporary International Economy: Crisis, Trade & Food Security** - Predrag Bjelic
- **Erosion of the “Commons”** - Hande Gülen
- **Developing a Human (In)Security Index: An exercise on regional data in Turkey** - Haluk Levent
- **Human Security in the Balkans & Turkey: Regional Research Findings & Some Highlights for Advocacy** / Mary Martin, Vesna Bojicic-Dzelilovic, Emel Kurma

Moderator: **Stefan Ralchev**

12.15 - 13.30

Group discussions

Moderators: **Svetlana D.-Lukic, Mary Martin, Anna Krasteva**

13.30 - 14.30

Lunch

14.30 - 15.45

Group discussions (cont.)

Moderators: **Nora Ahmetaj, Zeynep Şarlak, Ayşe Çavdar**

16.30 - 17.30

Discourse/Policies of “Public Order & Security”, Corrosion of Social Policies & (Dis)Trust in the Public System

- **A Threat to Sustainable Human Security: Corruption** - Bülent Bali
- **Dimensions/Manifestations of Distrust in Public/Political Authority: Demonstrations in Tuzla** - Miralem Tursinovic
- **Laws of “Public (In)Security”** - Nalan Erkem
- **Paris Suburbs... Nantes Airport Protests... “Charlie Hebdo”... - Bernard Dreano**

Moderator: **Olivera Pavlovic**

## 25 January 2015, Sunday

11.00 - 12.00

“Brunch” at cafeteria, ground floor time for open networking & ad hoc meetings amongst participants

12.00 - 13.30

Refugees/Migrants & Local Communities: Tensions/conflict & the dimension of ethnicity / Room #606

- **Inter-Communal Peace Reconciliation in Balkans** - Nora Ahmetaj
- **The case of Syria: “Balkanization”** - Seda Altuğ
- **Post-conflict Yugoslavia as a “worst practice” for post-conflict Mesopotamia** - Cengiz Aktar

Moderator: **Bulent Bilmez**

14.00 - 15.30

Group discussions moderators: **Nalan Erkem, Tamer Aker, Ayşe Cavdar**

15.30 - 16.00

Break

16.00 - 17.30

Citizenship as our safety net

• **Globalization, Citizenship, New Mobilizations** - Anna Krasteva

• **Can we build our collective/individual security from below?** - Gianluca Solera

• **A New “Europe” and Citizens’ Network for Human Security (“Quo Vadis EU?”)**

Open discussion on advocacy: What Can Be Done? How? Prospects on Knowledge, Civic Intervention & Policy Reforms on Local/Country & Regional Levels

Moderator: **Ahmet Insel**

## “European Union Today” presented by Mr. Henri Vantieghem (15 April 2015)



Istanbul Bilgi University’s European Institute and the Turkey-EU Association held a round table meeting entitled “European Union Today” presented by Mr. Henri Vantieghem, Consul General of Belgium in Istanbul on April 15th, 2015 at **santralistanbul** Campus. The talk was followed by a question and answer session. The participants had the occasion to meet and discuss with Mr. Henri Vantieghem after the conference.



## Seminar: EUROPE: AN INSIGHT ON THE CONTINENT IN CRISIS - Luuk Van Middelaar (14 November 2014)

A panel on “Europe: An Insight on the Continent in Crisis” by Luuk Van Middelaar was held on 14 November 2014 in **santralistanbul**.

Luuk Van Middelaar, speechwriter to Herman Van Rompuy and political philosopher, gave a seminar on “The passage to Europe: How a Continent became an Union?” at BİLGİ’s European Institute to accompany the launch of his book in Turkish language edited by a major editor (İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları) in Turkey during the 2014 İstanbul Book Fair.



Luuk van Middelaar (b. 1973) is a Dutch political philosopher and currently the speechwriter and an advisor to the president of the European Council, Herman Van Rompuy. He published his first book, Politicide, in 1999. Since its original publication, The Passage to Europe has received the Socrates Prize for the best Dutch philosophy book and the European Book Prize 2012 and will be published by İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları in November.

## CIFE–Danube Summer Institute Istanbul Programme (13-15 July 2015)

Texas A&M University visited Istanbul for the second time in the context of the CIFE–Danube Summer Institute Istanbul Program. The program consisted of lectures about “The European Union and its Eastern and Southern Neighbourhood” with contributions from İstanbul Bilgi University’s European Institute. The lectures were given by BİLGİ. Students also had the opportunity to visit some civil society institutions and had some time to tour the city.



## The program was as follows: Monday, July 13

09.30

Welcome by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations, Director of European Institute

10.00 - 11.30

“An overview of contemporary Turkey: State, Society and Culture in Turkey Today” by Prof. Dr. Ayhan Kaya, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations, Director of European Institute

11.30 - 12.30

Lunch

12.30 - 15.00

“Turkey: Politics, Economics, Culture in Historical Perspective” by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Boğaç Erozan, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

15.00 - 16.30

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

## Tuesday, July 14

9.30 - 12.00

“Turkey and the Middle East: Politics and Society in the Middle East, with focus on recent developments” by Can Muslim Cemgil, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

12.00 - 13.00

Lunch

13.00 - 15.00

“EU and its Enlargement Policy the Western Balkans and the Turkish challenge. EU’s Neighbourhood Policy: An overview of EU’s neighbourhood today” by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Senem Aydın, İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of International Relations

15.00 - 16.30

“Social media and its role in shaping freedoms and civil society in today’s Turkey” by Assist. Prof. Dr. Erkan Saka, İstanbul Bilgi University, Faculty of Communication

**Wednesday, July 15**

9.30 - 12.00

- Briefing by Volkan Vural, Ambassador (R), Dogan Holding, Adviser to the President, Former Chair of TUSİAD (Turkish Businessmen’s association) Foreign Affairs Committee
- Visit and briefing at TOG (Youth Volunteers Organisation)
- Visit and briefing at Turkish Armenian Patriarchate

## FRENCH STUDIES

### A BRIEF HISTORY: CHARLIE HEBDO

Dr. Claire Visier



Charlie Hebdo was founded in 1969 under the name of Stupid and Nasty, Hara Kiri Hebdo. It was banned in 1970 because of its first cover dedicated to General Charles De Gaulle’s death “Tragic ball at Colombey (Colombey is the village of De Gaulle; one week before his death a night club there took fire and more than 140 persons were killed): 1 dead”, and was founded again under the name of Charlie Hebdo. It disappeared in 1982 due to its lack of audience and resumed publishing in 1992. The recognition of the journal is not a matter of audience (120,000 at its peak in 1971, only 3,000 in 1981). It is more closely linked to its very specific inscription in the media landscape and the way it embodies some leftist trajectories after May ‘68. Moreover, the newspaper introduced some cartoonists who later became celebrities, and attracted very well-known columnists.

1969-1981: “Stupid and nasty”, an outsider but very emblematic newspaper during its first period, the newspaper claimed to use a “stupid and nasty” black humor: uncompromising, provocative, sexually explicit, often violent and scatological with no moral boundaries. Its co-founder (with Professor Choron), F. Cavanna argued that “nothing is sacred, nothing, not even your own mother, not even the Jewish Martyrs, not even those dying of hunger... laughing ferociously and bitterly at absolutely everything, in order to exorcise the

old monsters. It would pay them too much respect only to approach them with a straight face. It’s exactly about the worst things that you should laugh the loudest, it’s where it hurts the most that you should scratch until it bleeds” (F. Cavanna, *Bête et méchant*, Le Livre de Poche, 1983).

The specificity was not only in tone but also in manner. Although there were many writers, the publication remains in the collective memory as the starting point of many famous cartoonists like Reiser, Cabu, Gébé, Wolinski and Willem. Influenced by American comics (especially Mad magazine) but also following the French tradition of an anti-establishment media, their emblematic drawings were not used as illustrations of articles but as autonomous writing (S. Mazurier, *Bête, méchant et hebdomadaire. Une histoire de Charlie Hebdo (1969-1982)*. Paris, Buchet Chastel, 2009, p. 86). Thus the cover pages of Charlie Hebdo are the showcase of the journal; they symbolize the spirit of the journal. In the early days, the relationship between Charlie Hebdo staff and the traditional press was quite tense and reciprocally loathing: “They have never accepted us. Our flat refusal of any labels, cronyism liaisons even within journalism, paves the way for the disdain of the entire profession”, said Charlie’s journalists (Ibidem, p. 223).

The story of the newspaper is inseparable from the late sixties and seventies in France. It claims to have the cultural heritage of May ‘68. Its free tone crystallized and stimulated the debate about censorship, and paradoxically, the newspaper became famous thanks to its ban, but it has also covered a lot of social issues that were not especially linked to hot political issues. Due to its aversion to values like order, authority and advocacy to powerful groups, and to the political right wing, Charlie Hebdo can be politically qualified as leftist, but the members of the staff were not leftist political activists such as Trotskyites or Maoists, and adopted a very hard-line attitude towards the left political parties. The staff was made up of anarchists, libertarians, ecologists, feminists, anti-clericals and anti-militarists who did not share the same point of view. There was no specific editorial line, and this was accepted and proclaimed. The newspaper also remains famous for its orgiastic and alcoholic editorial meetings. In that sense the newspaper was anti-conformist without being specifically political. Outsider but very emblematic, “It triggers a renewal, defines a new sensibility that addresses the needs of a new segment of the audience” said F. Giroud in 1971 (F. Giroud, quoted in F. Barbant, [Charlie Hebdo, nous nous sommes tant aimés], *Vif.be-L’Express*, [www.levif.be/actualite/international/charlie-hebdo-nous-nous-sommes-tant-aimes/article-normal-360445.html](http://www.levif.be/actualite/international/charlie-hebdo-nous-nous-sommes-tant-aimes/article-normal-360445.html)). Its specificity inspired the first version of the newspaper Liberation (far-left daily newspaper founded by J.C. Sartre and S. July in 1973 in the wake of the 1968 protests) (During the 1980s and 1990s Liberation underwent a number of shifts to take a more conformist center-left position).

The 1973 economic crisis as well as the election in 1974 of V. Giscard d’Estaing definitively closed the era of de Gaulle and opened a new era. The newspaper seemed to be a mismatch with the spirit of this time, and meanwhile Cavanna faced hard times trying to ease the growing internal dissensions. The accession of the left wing to political power definitively drew readers away from the newspaper. The publication of the journal ceased at the end of 1981 due to its lack of readership.

### A process of normalization of the newspaper under P. Val’s management

Charlie Hebdo began publication again in 1992, not as a new newspaper but as a rebirth of the former one. Except for the co-founder, Professor Choron, most of the old staff was part of the new one, completed by newcomers like the cartoonists Charb, Tignous, Riss, Luz, and the economist B. Maris. The new editorial chief, P. Val, was also a newcomer. The layout of the newspaper as well as its spirit remained the same: “There is exactly the same reason to be angry, the law of the powerful one, the same few people that cling to power and decide for millions of others”, said Cabu (F. Roussel, I. Hanne, [“Charlie”, satire dans tous les sens], *Liberation*, 7/01/2015). But in a new social and political period, the newspaper underwent a process of normalization. At the same time it still gave a good overview of the left-wing trajectories.

The new Charlie Hebdo’s publication was very well received (its first issue sold 120.000 copies) and was successful in the 1990s, accompanying and supporting the rise of protest movements. Thanks to the large French domestic social protest movement in 1995 and to the emergence of alter-mondialism (the newspaper is one of the founding members of the very popular French association ATTAC), its readership increased to 90,000. Its strong stand against the far right was also very timely and relevant at this moment. The content of the newspaper evolved, with a larger focus on political news, the recruitment of journalists coming from traditional newspapers and well-known signatures. “Drawings have become more illustrative. Before, the cartoonists let their imagination run free. When they wanted to publish a caricature without any link to the hot news, they did. Now, caricatures are dedicated to the hot news, they have become illustrations” (B. Touverey, [Charlie Hebdo, canal historique, Entretien avec Stéphane Mazurier], *Biblio obs, Nouvel obs. com* 09/01/2015). The internal atmosphere also changed, far from the anarchic joyful mess of the 1970s: Editorial conferences, for example, became much more serious. During that period, Charlie achieved some scoops and definitively turned its back to marginality. “Charlie Hebdo is not Hara-Kiri. It is a political newspaper, left-wing and responsible”, said Cabu (R. Valentin, [Interview avec Cabu], *L’Est Républicain*, 15/09/1996). Comparing the front pages of the 1970s (for example, the treatment of the anti-Semitic wave at the end of the decade) and 1990s, the newspaper quieted down. But it still fought without taboo in turn: militarism, religious fundamentalism, far right, (Corsican or Basque) nationalism, religion, the Pope, the hunters, the toreros, the politicians, and so forth.

At the end of the 1990s, the chief editor P. Val’s political stand and management led to harsh internal fights with a very large impact on the public sphere and on the readership. In 1999, P. Val took a very clear position in the journal’s editorials in favor of the NATO intervention in Kosovo. It then started to be considered by a part of the far-left readership as pro-Atlanticist and an aggressor; meanwhile his position was also criticized within the newspaper. Concerning the left wing coalition in power, a fault-line emerged among the staff separating them between a moderate, soft stand (P. Val’s position) and a more radical one (held by Charb and Siné, for example). The 1999 European elections aggravated the tensions, since P. Val called for a vote to the Green list of Cohn Bendit, a prominent figure of May ‘68, and opened Charlie’s columns to D. Voynet, the Green minister of the environment, and A. Liepietz, another key figure of the French Green Party. While disapproving it, a part of the team decided to publish, without P. Val’s approval,

the result of an internal poll that put the far-left list in first position of intended vote. This triggered a harsh internal crisis, and meanwhile the readership decreased from 70,000 to less than 60,000 copies in one year. In 2000, a new formula was launched by the journal in order to attract new readers. Some of P. Val’s opponents left the newspaper. Bernard Maris and Gérard Biard were appointed as new assistant chief editors, embodying a new Charlie Hebdo style: impertinent but not thoughtless, more political than satirical. Wolinsky explained this process with the following words (B. D’Alguerre, [10 ans de Charlie Hebdo], *Ring, New, culture et société*, 20/06/2002):

“The provocation of the former Charlie was necessary to advocate reforms for abortion or the contraceptive pill. Today, we are fighting for preserving what we gained at this time. Provocation just for provocation makes no sense. Charlie’s vocation is not to be pornographic.”

P. Val’s political position after the September 11, 2001 attacks also generated large internal and external debates. He criticized far-leftist movements for not having condemned the attacks because of their anti-Americanism. Still fighting against neo-liberal globalization and commoditization, he then started to distance himself from alter-mondialism, which he considered to be more and more anti-American and anti-Semitic. At the European Social Forum held in Paris in 2003, he opposed the coming of Tarik Ramadan, whom he considers an “anti-Semitic propagandist”. He denounced “a rhetoric which is the same that was spread all around Europe before the Second World War” and that “must be considered as a cause for concern” (P. Val, [L’antisémitisme n’est pas une marchandise], *Charlie Hebdo*, 5/11/2003). In 2008, P. Val dismissed Siné, one of the newspaper’s famous cartoonists, considering one of his articles to be anti-Semitic. Siné perceived it as a pretext for his firing. The crisis led to extensive media coverage, with many personalities arguing in favor of one or the other. Again, the consequence was a decrease of the audience, which had risen again up to 80.000 and then declined to 55.000.

In March 2006, in relation to the Mohammad cartoon controversy in Denmark, P. Val organized and co-signed with 11 people, among them Taslima Nasreen and Salman Rushdie, a manifest, “Together facing the new totalitarianism, Islamism”, first published in Charlie Hebdo. The manifest goes as follows ([Ensemble contre le nouveau totalitarisme, l’islamisme], *Charlie Hebdo*, 1/03/2006): “After having overcome Fascism, Nazism, and Stalinism, the world now faces a new totalitarian global threat: Islamism. We, writers, journalists, intellectuals, call for resistance to religious totalitarianism and for the promotion of freedom, equal opportunity and secular values for all. The recent events, which occurred after the publication of drawings of Muhammad in European newspapers, have revealed the necessity of the struggle for these universal values. This struggle will not be won by arms, but in the ideological field. It is not a clash of civilizations nor an antagonism of West and East that we are witnessing, but a global struggle that confronts democrats and theocrats. Like all totalitarisms, Islamism is nurtured by fears and frustrations... Islamism is a reactionary ideology which kills equality, freedom and secularism wherever it is present. Its success can only lead to a world of domination: man’s domination over woman, the Islamists’ domination over all the others. To counter this, we must assure universal rights to oppressed or discriminated people. We reject ‘cultural relativism’, which consists in accepting that men and women of Muslim culture should be deprived of the right to equality, freedom and secular values in the name of respect for cultures and traditions.

We refuse to renounce our critical spirit out of fear of being accused of “Islamophobia”, an unfortunate concept which confuses criticism of Islam as a religion with stigmatization of its believers. We plead for the universality of freedom of expression, so that a critical spirit may be exercised on all continents, against all abuses and all dogmas. We appeal to democrats and free spirits of all countries that our century should be one of Enlightenment, not of obscurantism.”

In 2009, P. Val left the newspaper to become the president of the French national radio “France-Inter”; Charb took over his position and refocused the newspaper on a more satirical approach.

### **P. Val or Charlie Hebdo approach towards Islam and Muslims**

P. Val’s period is remembered as a controversial one, with consequences that are still felt today. The 2015 January attacks generated a debate about Charlie Hebdo’s approach toward Islam and Muslims (It is interesting to notice that the debate spread even to the professional academic mailing list of French Political (ANCSMP list) with more than 20 mails exchanged during three days in the first week of March). The political stands of P. Val and also of C. Fourest, who worked for the newspaper between 2005 and 2009, specifically on Islamism, triggered a large debate. Some people accused the newspaper of being racist and Islamophobic. Others considered that the positions of some of the members of the staff cannot sum up the position of a newspaper which is made up of plenty of political identities (far-left, left, anarchy, ecology) and that the magazine did not have a very clear editorial line: “Charlie must be a tool against bullshit. Apart from that, we disagree on everything”, said Luz (F. Roussel, I. Hanne, «“Charlie”, satire dans tous les sens», Liberation, 7/01/2015), referring to the internal fights which sometimes were very harsh. On the 24th of February, two sociologists published a short study of Charlie Hebdo’s front covers between 2005 and 2015 (J.F. Mignot, C. Goffrette, [Non, “Charlie Hebdo” n’est pas obsédé par l’islam], Le Monde, 24/2/2015), showing that only 7% of the front covers were dedicated to religion. Among the 38 front covers mocking religion, 21 are about Catholicism and 7 about Islam. Jews were always laughed at with believers of other religions; 3 covers mocked all the religions.

This debate raises a point that must be highlighted: the question of the context and the contextualization of Charlie Hebdo’s cartoons. As I have shown, Charlie Hebdo is a very specific medium in the French public space. Thanks to its history and to the celebrities who work in the newspaper, it is very famous; meanwhile its regular readership has remained very confidential, and regularly decreased. At the end of 2014, the print run was about 45.000 and only 30.000 were sold every week. Very few French people read Charlie Hebdo, or even have read it at least once. Everyone shapes his own opinion about Charlie through a process that encompasses a more or less important knowledge of the trajectory of the newspaper, the events that have brought the newspaper into the highlights of other media, and the comics or cover pages that have circulated in the web sphere. In that sense, the process of construction of opinion about the newspaper is quite remote from what the newspaper really is. The gap is even worse outside France, because the specificity of the newspaper is taken into account much less. The process of decontextualization is very important to keep in mind looking at the Muhammad cartoons’ controversy. A second paradox needs to be clarified for a better approach to the controversy. On the one hand, due to its history and to its satirical approach, the newspaper still considers itself

marginal (This remains true to a certain extent. For example, the newspaper doesn’t want any advertising, which normally accounts for a large part of the media financing); on the other hand, the popularity of many of its cartoonists and columnists, their insertion in the politico-mediatic scene (Two examples of its insertion among many others: we have noticed that P. Val left Charlie Hebdo to become the director of the first national public radio. President Hollande was directly informed of the 11/01/2015 terrorist attacks by one of the Charlie Hebdo columnists, P. Pelloux, whom he knew very well) nuance this marginality and underlined the process of normalization of the newspaper.

### **CHARLIE HEBDO AND MUHAMMAD CONTROVERSY**

In 2004 the Dutch film director Theo van Gogh was murdered in Amsterdam because of a movie he created that dealt with violence against women in some Islamic societies. The following year, the Danish writer Kåre Bluitgen complained about being unable to find an illustrator prepared to work on his children’s book The Qur’an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad, because of their fear of reprisals. The Danish newspaper Jyllands-Posten then asked the members of the newspaper illustrators union if they would be willing to draw Muhammad, and published 12 cartoons about Muhammad on 30 September 2005. Some of the cartoons were poetic (Muhammad with a walking stick seemingly on a desert trek, with the sun on the left, low on the horizon), some were stylized (the Islamic star and crescent merged with the face of Muhammad). One showed a worried cartoonist hiding the Muhammad portrayal he is doing. Another presented a young boy named Mohamed in front of a blackboard, pointing at a written sentence (in Persian): “The editorial team of Jyllands-Posten is a bunch of reactionary provocateurs”. Another showed Muhammad in the sky welcoming Muslims who had committed suicide attacks and saying that there were no more virgins. One figured Muhammad with a bomb in his turban.

Muslim groups in Denmark promptly reacted to the publication, complaining and holding protests in Denmark. A Committee for Prophet Honoring called for a meeting with the prime minister. Two cartoonists received death threats. A controversy emerged: while the newspaper announced that this was an attempt to contribute to the debate about criticism of Islam and self-censorship, others considered that the newspaper’s intention was only to be provocative. In December, the controversy took on an international dimension. After failing to meet with the Danish government, the Committee decided to gain support and leverage outside by meeting directly with religious and political leaders in the Middle East. Contestation gained a diplomatic international dimension as the 12 cartoons started to be published in different parts of the world, first in Egypt, then in Europe and in the USA. In late January and February 2006, protests against the cartoons were held around the world; some of them turned violent, with at least 200 deaths according to the New York Times (P. Cohen, [Yale Press Bans Images of Muhammad in New Book], The New York Times, 12/08/2009). Danish Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen described the controversy as Denmark’s worst international relations incident since the Second World War.

In France, the issue was covered by all the media and triggered a large debate. The managing director of the daily France Soir (J. Lefranc) was the first to decide, in February, to reprint the cartoons; he was dismissed the following day by the owner of the journal. The mainstream daily newspapers Liberation and Le Monde decided to reprint only some of the cartoons (Le Monde also published an original drawing by

its famous cartoonist Plantu: a cartoonist under the control of an Imam writes 100 times “I mustn’t draw Mahomet”, like a school child. The sentences figure a bearded face). In the international context of the crisis, the French President (and also Bill Clinton and Kofi Annan, general secretary of the UN) said that the newspapers that disseminated the caricatures made exaggerated use of freedom of expression and demanded more responsibility. The famous French NGO against racism, MRAP, considered the cartoons Islamophobic. One week after the publication in France Soir and because of the dismissal of the managing director, Charlie Hebdo reprinted all the 12 Danish cartoons, and dedicated its cover to a Cabu cartoon depicting a sobbing Mohammed with his head in his hands, saying, “It’s hard to be loved by idiots” with the caption “Mohammed overwhelmed by fundamentalists”. 160,000 copies (instead of the 60-70,000 regulars) were printed for this issue that quickly ran out of stock; 480,000 new copies were reprinted.

Following the publication, the Paris Great Mosque and the Union of Islamic Organizations of France sued its editor P. Val, arguing that Cabu’s cartoon and two of the Danish ones created an offensive link between Islam and terrorism and accusing Val of “publicly abusing a group of people because of their religion” (It is interesting to notice that they only complained about 3 out of the 12 cartoons, meaning that the depiction of the Prophet was not a problem in itself). Charlie Hebdo is used to being sued. Between 1992 and 2014, it was taken to court 48 times ([Charlie Hebdo, 22 ans de procès en tous genres], Le Monde, 8/01/2015), mainly by the far right and the Catholic associations, politicians or journalists. 2007 saw the first trial under a charge of Muslim organizations (another one took place in 2013). Whereas the newspaper was almost always condemned between 1969 and 1982, it has been acquitted of charges in 75% of the cases since 1992. This is due to a very protective law concerning media freedom in France, a larger societal and judiciary tolerance, but also a softening of Charlie’s caricatures. Since 2000, the number of trials has decreased. Still, the 2007 one received very important media coverage.

Charlie Hebdo wanted this trial to be a symbol of the freedom of expression. It called on many important politicians, like F. Hollande, first secretary of the Socialist Party F. Bayrou, presidential candidate who claimed its Christianity as witness. Even N. Sarkozy, at this time Minister of the Interior and for religious communities, also presidential candidate, sent a message of strong support that was read during the trial: “I prefer too much caricature to no caricature”. Finally, Charlie was acquitted, considering that “In a laïque and pluralistic society, the respect of all the believers goes together with the freedom of criticism of religions, whatever they are”. The judges also insisted on the fact that blasphemy is not a criminal offence anymore in France. They also took the specificity of Charlie Hebdo into account: “a satirical newspaper that contains a lot of caricatures that no one is obliged to buy or to read, unlike advertising posters or billboards, for example”. They considered two cartoons to be offensive, but only towards fundamentalism and suicide attacks. The statement for the third cartoon (showing the prophet with a bomb in his turban) was a little bit different: the judges considered that it could be seen as an offensive expression towards all the Muslim believers because it equates them to terrorist supporters. But, even though shocking, they considered that it needed to be interpreted in the light of the context: Charlie Hebdo publication did not mean to offend all Muslims but only made a contribution to the current debate about supporters of fundamentalism and violent Islam. This judicial answer was very interesting, placing greater emphasis on the contextualization of the

cartoons. The Paris Great Mosque’s rector was not unhappy with the verdict (Observers consider that the Great Mosque had been pressured into going to court). He underlined that “We have made the same interpretation but the court did not conclude in the same way (...) in another context, it could have decided against the cartoon”. On the contrary, the Union of Islamic Organizations of France denounced a political verdict and appealed against the judgment, unlike the Great Mosque. But the debate went far beyond the French context. P. Val considered the judgment to be a “European victory”, revenge for the murder of Theo Van Gogh and on the absence of reaction after the attacks against Denmark and its embassies which was “a Munich attitude”, he said. In that sense, we can say that P. Val sees Charlie Hebdo as a minority who resists, a kind of “war resister”. After the publication of the caricatures, Charlie Hebdo’s staff received death threats and the newspaper was placed under the protection of the police.

The second step of the controversy took place in 2011. At that time, Val and other polemical journalists (like C. Fourest) had already left the newspaper. On November 2, Charlie Hebdo was fired, just before its 3 November issue was due. The issue was entitled Sharia Hebdo and featured Muhammad as the guest-editor. It took place just after the Ennahda party’s electoral victory in Tunisia, and Libyan leaders’ statements in favor of Sharia and polygamy. The attacks generated a strong solidarity movement with the newspaper. The Charia Hebdo issue ran out of stock. Even if death threats had never stopped since 2006, Charlie Hebdo’s team was really shocked by the attack. “I can’t really understand how a drawing can generate such reaction. It doesn’t deserve death or fire!” said Charb ([Un dessin, ça ne mérite ni la mort, ni un incendie: entretien avec CHarb], La Chaîne Parlementaire, 2013 [www.lcp.fr/videos/reportages/167056-charb-un-dessin-ca-merite-ni-la-mort-ni-un-incendie](http://www.lcp.fr/videos/reportages/167056-charb-un-dessin-ca-merite-ni-la-mort-ni-un-incendie)). Because of the attack, the newspaper had to move, and three persons (Charb, and two other cartoonists, Luz and Riss) were placed under police protection. In 2013, Charb’s name was included in a wanted dead or alive for crimes against Islam article published by Inspire, the terrorist propaganda magazine published by al Qaida. The Charia Hebdo issue has rekindled the debate about Charlie Hebdo’s position towards Islam and Muslims, underpinned by columnists who had left the newspaper. This debate lasted for a long period. In 2013, Charb published a long article in the newspaper Le Monde, entitled “No, Charlie is not racist!” arguing that “the reading of our newspaper is the proof of what we claim [we are not racist] (...), those who dare to say the opposite don’t read us and just rely on disgusting rumors” (Charb, [Non, “Charlie Hebdo” n’est pas raciste !], Le Monde, 20/11/2013). This claim puts the spotlight on the paradox I have already pointed out: the independence of some of the Charlie Hebdo cartoons which are diffused all over the world without any reference (except the name) to what the newspaper is.

Charlie Hebdo has embodied the trajectories of the leftist movements in France since the late sixties with a very specific freedom of speech; in that sense it can be considered a French symbol. Rather controversial, the newspaper has been in the center of a broad debate about the way a religion (Islam), a political phenomenon (Islamism) and one of its components (radical Islamism), believers or just members by origin of this religion (Muslims), a French minority and a world community can be depicted and mocked. “40 years ago, shouting at (...) religions was an obligatory path. The ones who wanted to criticize how the world is run needed to call the main clergies into question. But according to more and more people, we should now remain silent” (Ibidem); Charb summed up the issue but also reduced it, speaking only of “clergies”.

## JANUARY 2015, FRANCE: CHARLIE'S EVENTS

On 7 January 2015, two Islamist terrorists armed with assault rifles and other weapons forced their way into the offices of Charlie Hebdo in Paris. They fired up to 50 shots, initially killing 11 people (including Charb, Wolinsky, Cabu, Riss, B. Maris) injuring 11 others, and shouted “Allahu Akbar” during their attack. A French National Police officer was the last to die as he encountered the gunman shortly after they had left the building. One day after the Charlie Hebdo attacks, another Islamist terrorist shot and killed a municipal police officer. The day after, he entered a Casher supermarket at Porte de Vincennes in east Paris. He killed four people and took several hostages, while the Charlie Hebdo terrorists were also holding hostages. The police assailed the three terrorists on the 9th of January and killed them. After the Charlie attack, 8 January was declared an official day of mourning by President François Hollande, with a minute's silence required in all the public services. On the 9th of January, demonstrations were held in many French cities. Je suis Charlie (French for “I am Charlie”) has come to be a common worldwide sign of solidarity against the attacks. Many demonstrators used the slogan to express solidarity with the newspaper. The hashtag #jesuischarlie quickly trended at the top of Twitter hashtags worldwide following the attack. The United States Embassy in Paris changed its Twitter profile picture to the “Je suis Charlie” placard. Demonstrations spread to other cities outside of France, including Amsterdam, Brussels, Barcelona, Ljubljana, Berlin, Copenhagen, London and Washington. Around 700,000 people walked in protests in France on 10 January. On 11 January, up to two million people and more than 40 world leaders led a rally of national unity in the heart of Paris to honor the 17 victims. 3.7 million people joined demonstrations nationwide.

Three famous French historians, Jean-Noel Jeanneney, Pascal Ory and Michel Winock ([Un jour qui fait la France], Le Monde 11/01/2015, p. 19) agreed on the exceptionality of this 11th January gathering, not only in terms of number of participants (the end of World war II gathered one million people, Victor Hugo's funeral, two million), but also in terms of spatial distribution, international dimension, and Unitarian dimension of the mobilization (the memorable French days are generally more about conflict than they are about Unitarian days, like the three glorious days of July 1830, the 1948 February revolution, May 1968 or the 1984 demonstration against the private school reforms) and France is not really used to such unanimity. This day appears all the more important in the French context of economical, political and social doom and gloom. The demonstrations vigorously contradict the vulgate of the “declinists” that has recently flourished again in France.

But the 11th of January was not even ended before questions arose about the political meaning of this mobilization. “What about tomorrow? What are we going to do” asked an editorialist (X. de la Porte, editorial [Attentats en France: et demain, on fait quoi ?], Rue 89, 11/01/2015). “What is the meaning of this huge demonstration (...)? What kind of France are they announcing? No doubt that it was a very strong time. But, the day after is crucial, when life resumes. Why did we mobilize ourselves this Sunday? What was the meaning of the protest? The question is much more complex than we think it is. Why did people protest: - to send a message to the terrorists. But terrorists don't care (...), one can even say that such a mobilization is the sign of their victory (...); - to defend the freedom of expression. Ok, but is it for this reason that V. Orban came (...)? - To show that France is united. But is France really united? Three

million people in the street; that means that lots of French were not in the street (...), those who don't care, those who disagree, those who don't want to be close to the others. - To show solidarity to the victims and their families: is the more obvious reason, empathy? It is a nice feeling, but just a feeling. Can we turn it into politics? [Ibidem]

Can we make politics from that point on? S. Vanish (historian of the Revolution) interprets the mobilization (S. Vahnish, A. Badiou, [Contre courant], Mediapart, 24/01/2015) as a demonstration of mourning, referring to Mauss's definition of a ritual of symbolic foundation of social groups: in order to create a community, social groups express compulsory feelings to themselves and to the others. In that sense the mobilization touches upon the sacredness of Politics, through the figure of the Republic. It is a refoundation, but it does not have a political meaning by itself, because politics is more about elaboration and development of a line of conflict.

While France is, like other European countries, facing a revival of identities debate, an increase of the Front National and many public denunciations of the so called Islamization process of the society, the political effect of the event is an important issue. Just before Charlie's attacks, the latest media controversy was about the forthcoming novel of the very controversial writer M. Houellbecq. Named Submission, the novel is about the coming into power in France in 2022 of an Islamic Republic, thanks to an alliance between a Muslim party and a centrist party. Even before its launching, the novel generated a huge debate among journalists who got the book, many of them expressing their indignation: “I come from a Muslim culture by chance. I am completely laic, I was sickened by this book (...) I felt offended” said a famous journalist (A. Baddou, [La Nouvelle Edition], Canal Plus, 04/01/2015), “Let's invite Celine” argued another one. It is, of course, impossible to picture what the long term effects of the attacks and this historical mobilization will be. We would like here just to describe the first political responses and the first debates that emerged in the month following the attacks.

### The political answer to the Charlie events

The attacks and the very large mobilization first generated a national unity that made it difficult for any political party to try to take advantage of the event. The management of the three-day crisis by President F. Hollande, Prime Minister M. Valls and the Minister of the Interior B. Cazeneuve and their capacity to organize the hosting of more than 40 world leaders on January 11 has been largely praised. On January 14, for the first time since 1918, all the members of the National Assembly sang the French Anthem. “At this time, you become aware of being a Representative of the people” said an UMP member. The Prime Minister also received an ovation after he honored the victims of the attacks. “For 10 years, I haven't heard such a powerful speech”, declared the President Deputy of the center right party UDI. Members of far left and ecologist parties also took part in the standing ovation that must have been unthinkable one week earlier. On January 19, a poll (IFOP-Paris-Match) gave a percentage of 40% satisfaction with President Hollande, which meant an increase of 21 points! ([Hollande +21 points, Valls +17], Le Figaro, 19/01/2015)

In this atmosphere, the Front National faced some difficulties. Marine Le Pen accused the “UMPS”, which is a contraction of UMP and PS, meaning the parties of the establishment, of exploiting the event and attempting to exclude the FN from the national unity. This stand appeared to be out of step with the huge mobilization. Finally, considering the FN's strategy of normalization, M. Le Pen decided to join the march on

January 11, but not in Paris (that would have meant to be a part of the establishment). She went to Beaucaire, a small town in the South held by a stronghold of the FN, where the demonstration turned into a pro-Marine meeting, a few hundred people shouting “Here, it is our home” (On est chez nous). Compared to the huge unitarian protest, it appeared once again to be out of step. M. Le Pen's message was also ambiguous: on the first evening of the attacks, she claimed the necessity to not confuse fundamentalists with Muslims, but then, she kept advocating that mass immigration paves the way to Communitarianism and fundamentalism. As usual, her father played a non-consensual and more provocative role, questioning the official version of the attacks or saying “I am not Charlie, this anarchist newspaper was the direct enemy of our party”. However, these short-term difficulties did not impact the increase of FN's national audience. On the 1st of February, the candidate of the FN arrived ahead in the first round of legislative by-election in the Doux with 32.6 % of the votes. FN also got 25.29% of the vote in the first local elections held on the 23th of March, 2015.

Even if the president of UMP, N. Sarkozy, has tried to coordinate the multiple and various propositions from the right, the opposition has faced difficulties in challenging the government. President Hollande, the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior have monopolized the media and have concentrated the governmental action on the security issue (which is normally a master issue for the right wing). The government has also focused on the education issue, trying to tackle the question of “living together”.

### The security issue

Well known for his security concerns, Prime Minister M. Valls announced on January 13 a capacity enhancement to fight terrorism and the development of fundamentalist Islam in France. In his speech at the National Assembly, he spoke about ‘a country in war against jihadist and radical Islam”. As the terrorists were known to the police, the question of a potential failure of the security services arose and the public debate focused on a potential French Patriot Act, demanded by a part of the opposition. Using in a classical way the argument of the EU, the Prime Minister argued that France does not have enough autonomy vis-à-vis Brussels and its western allies to duplicate a Patriot Act. On the contrary, others argued that this is thanks to the European Parliament's concerns about fundamental rights of citizens that those rights are taken into account. M. Valls made it clear that in spite of the opposition to a European “Passenger Name Record” (the PNR that allows access to airline records), France will set up its own PNR system. Right-wing parties also asked for more financial resources and investigation power for security services. They also demanded the prevention of the jihadists' return to France by the withdrawal of French citizenship from those with dual nationality, and by the adoption of measures of [national identity] for the French (International conventions prohibit making someone stateless) (as it was used in 1944 in order to punish the French who collaborated with Germany. Viewing the prison emerge as a turning point for criminals becoming terrorists, the opposition also asked for individual cells or specific centers for Jihadists. On January 21, the government announced its plans concerning security, rejecting a French Patriot Act, but focusing on many technical measures in order to show its willingness. In the general context of reduction of public expenses, the government announced 2680 new jobs and 425 million Euros for deployment of the high risk plan Vigipirat, employment in the judiciary and in defense, reinforcement of the police and gendarme security, a law about intelligence service, individual follow-up, de-fundamentalization process and reinsertion of jihadists; and

finally, a terrorist file, fight against internet propaganda, and the development of European cooperation. The Prime Minister also called for an inter-parties brainstorming about the national indignity measure. Except for M. Le Pen, who accused the Prime Minister of missing the point, the government hasn't faced much criticism on this issue. The debate has been much more vigorous concerning the question of “living together” and French laïcité.

### Living together and French laïcité

France was shocked at the discovery that the terrorists were French (Like the terrorist M. Merah who killed seven people in 2009 (three were servicemen and three others Jewish children) in Toulouse) with a very banal trajectory of broken families, school failure, no economic insertion, petty and then more serious crime, jail experience and radicalization in contact with other criminals. While the process of destruction of social links continues to worsen in the poorest neighborhoods, the debate has focused on the suburbs and the failure of the French model of integration. Much more than security, this issue has triggered harsh debates, especially about the way to address the problem. Ideological divisions go far beyond the traditional political cleavages.

Beyond the scenes during the day of protest that were reproduced in all the media, (the accolade between a citizen and a policeman, or between a priest, a rabbi and an imam), the question quickly arose about how representative the demonstration was. Some commentators emphasized the under-representation of youth from the suburbs or of populations with immigrant backgrounds. After the demonstration, reactions started to emerge in social media about people that could not or refused to identify with “Je suis Charlie”, many counter-expressions flourished, like “I am Charlie but”, “I cannot be totally Charlie”, “I am not Charlie”. The media focused on the reactions of “Muslims”, very often seen as a single and united community. Like politicians, they also largely insisted on the disturbances (about 2000) that were noticed in 70 high schools (mainly in the suburbs) during the one minute's silence for the victims of the attacks. People from the opposition accused the Minister of National Education of underestimating the disturbances, of falsifying their number.

The political response to this denial of identification with Charlie was very strong. C. Taubira, the Minister of Justice, issued a circular (Circular, 12/01/2015 - 2015/0213/ab – Ministry of Justice. Objet: infractions commises à la suite des attentats terroristes commis les 7, 8 et 9 janvier 2015) calling for utmost resolve to the offences committed after the attacks. Within 10 days, almost 157 legal actions were instituted, some for Islamophobia, others (about 70) for “defense of terrorism” or “threat to commit terrorist attacks”; 30 people were convicted and 12 people sentenced to several months in jail (S. Faure, F. Durupt, [Cent cinquante procédures en deux semaines], Libération, 19/01/2015). The comedian Dieudonné (Dieudonné is a very famous French comedian. He initially achieved success with a Jewish comedian, Élie Semoun, humorously exploiting racial stereotypes. He campaigned against racism and was a candidate in the 1997 and 2001 legislative elections in Dreux against the FN. Then, his sketch started to “cross the limits of anti-Semitism” and several organizations sued him for incitement to racial hatred. He approached Jean-Marie Le Pen, and the men became political allies. Holocaust denier Robert Faurisson appeared in one of his shows in 2008. Dieudonné was convicted in court many times on anti-Semitism charges. He subsequently found himself banned from mainstream media with increasing frequency, and

many of his shows were cancelled by local authorities) faced charges of defense of terrorism for having written on Facebook, “I feel like Charlie Coulibaly” (the Hyper Casher terrorist) and was later given a two and a half-month suspended sentence to prison. Concerning the disturbances at schools, Minister of Education N. Vallaud-Belkacem said at the National Assembly on the 14th of January:

“Even where there haven’t been disturbances, students have questioned too much. We all have heard “Yes, I support Charlie but’, ‘there is a double standard approach’,’ Why do we defend the freedom of speech in this case (Charlie Hebdo) and not in other ones?’ Those questions are intolerable, especially when you hear them at school, which is in charge of transmission of our values” (www.lcp.fr/videos/reportages/167368-najat-vallaud-belkacem-l-ecole-est-en-premiere-ligne-elle-sera-ferme).

This stand has been largely put to debate, some considering it as an authoritarian conception of the freedom of speech, as a summons to being “Charlie”. This focalization on school and students who contest it is linked to the very strong French feeling of the failure of one of the most important republican institutions: the school that is not able to give every child the same chance of success, which reinforces social and territorial inequalities. Beyond the school, it is the state’s incapacity to keep the republican values of freedom, equality and fraternity alive. In that spirit, on January 20, M. Valls made a very firm speech, denouncing an ethnic, social and territorial apartheid in the French suburbs. Using for the first time the concept of “apartheid”, the Prime Minister meant that the process of segregation is produced by the policies. The opposition reacted strongly, accusing M. Valls of insulting the Republic. Despite this speech, the government did not focus on the processes of segregation or racialization, discrimination and production of inequality that occur in the suburbs and toward the migrants and descendants of migrants. All this comprehensive debate was condensed in the reaffirmation of French laïcité.

A few days after the attacks, the French people discovered in the mainstream media programs that showed that other European countries did not share the same definition of freedom of speech. Invited to Sky News, which had banned “irreligious” and satirical images of Mohammed and the cover of the post-attack edition of the magazine, a cartoon depicting Muhammad weeping at the murders and saying, “All is forgiven”, C. Fourest, a former journalist of Charlie Hebdo, tried to explain how “crazy” it was that certain newspapers and media in the United Kingdom would not show the cover. At this point, she reached down and pulled up a copy of the Charlie Hebdo image. The camera cut away. “Sky News has chosen not to show that image” the presenter said before going on to apologies to “any viewers who may have been offended” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XMbwcBYTODI>). This event shows two different approaches to freedom of speech: one which is based on an “ethic of conviction”, the other which is based on an “ethic of responsibility” (D. Fassin, [“Charlie”: éthique de conviction contre éthique de responsabilité], Libération, 19/01/2015). Other radio programs in the days after the attacks explained how secularism was experienced in very different ways throughout European countries.

However, political responses to the attacks, especially concerning the schools, led to an overdose of Laïcité, without very much deep questioning of the notion and current definition of it by the French. For example, the “11 measures for a large mobilization at school for Republican values” (www.education.gouv.fr/cid85644/onze-mesures-pour-

un-grande-mobilisation-de-l-ecole-pour-les-valeurs-de-la-republique.html), presented by the Minister of Education on January 22nd, consisted of one day of Laïcité at school, the training of 1000 ambassadors of Laïcité; a charter of Laïcité signed by students and parents, and training of civic reservists, among others. In the name of laïcité, and just before local elections, a mayor decided to ban the replacement meals (when pork is served) at school. N. Sarkozy declared on television (five days before the elections) that he supported this decision and that he was in favour of the ban of the headscarf at the University. He also said that he had changed his mind in favour of the assimilation process rather than integration.

Some articles nevertheless put this reaffirmation of laïcité based only on an ethic of conviction in question. Some explain how laïcité can be humiliating for teenagers when they just perceive it as a requirement of negation of what they are, as something which is imposed and not built. Some teachers, working not only in the suburbs but also in more mixed high schools, describe in a very interesting way what happened in their class after the attacks:

“My school, which is not in a suburb, is not under the spotlight. But here, like elsewhere, teenagers are always questioning the framework when it is imposed. They are always suspicious towards mainstream speech and reluctant to accept some fallacious reasoning. This is in a way rather reassuring. Instead of being shocked that students are not all Charlie, we should thank their ability to think beyond collective emotion” (...). “I started explaining to them the sophism that consists of a connection between the denunciation of the attacks and an adherence to the editorial line of Charlie Hebdo” (...) As soon as, as a teacher representing the School institution, I explicitly authorized the expression of a critical discourse about the editorial line of Charlie Hebdo, the students who were sucked into the sophism (built by the injunction of being Charlie) stopped feeling uncomfortable. Then, they were able to get rid of the “barbarian” attitude they had when they entered the course (...) this attitude was the logical consequence of an absurd injunction (...) When we order people to be Charlie, without any discussion about the meaning of this slogan and the meaning of the identification with Charlie... who from the students or the School institution does not understand what is freedom of speech and critical judgment? It is the institution that produces (the disturbances) and builds them as a public issue, focusing on descendants of migrants as threats to the Republic” (M. Leray, [Je suis Charlie... ou pas, disent mes élèves de lycée. Ils ont raison de s’interroger], L’Obs, Le plus, 16/01/2015).

Although in an inappropriate manner, teachers also explain how disturbances could reveal very complex questions. Beyond the emotion of the first days, Charlie events have raised many complex questions that have been at the center of many private discussions (not only within the population of the suburbs, migrants and descendants of migrants, or teenagers) and public debates: How can we understand this huge mobilization while many massacres or many deaths occur everywhere and every day? Why is Dieudonné’s humor considered racist while Charlie Hebdo’s is not? Are terrorists monsters, or are they just normal human beings? If they are normal human beings, what are the reasons for their violence? Socio-economic? Political? Religious? What are the relationships between Islam, Islamism, and radical Islamism? How is the French context (in terms of freedom of expression, in terms of minorities) connected to the world context (in terms of the process of globalization and circulation of information, in terms of radical Islamism)?

Some answers are more obvious than others, some are more controversial than others, but all the questions are worthwhile. The reaffirmation by imposition, and not by reconstruction, of one of the major values of the French Republic, laïcité, does not pave the way for these needed and valuable questions. “Laïcité today is the fear of the other (...) The concept has become an impediment that prevents the students from seeing, reading the world, and from thinking about the future” (B. Mabilon Beaufis, G. Zoïa, La Laïcité au risque de l’autre, ed. de l’Aube, 2014).

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# FROM OUR STUDENTS

**Larissa Meltem Ordu – MA Double Degree European Studies (İstanbul Bilgi University/ Viadrina University Frankfurt Oder)**



Being the child of a Turkish father and a German mother, the Double Master Degree Program perfectly fits into my curriculum. Already during my Bachelor studies in European Studies at Passau University, I developed a deeper interest in EU-Turkey relations. After dedicating my BA thesis to Turkey's EU democratization in the course of EU accession negotiations and an internship in Brussels, I knew that I wanted to stay in this field of studies and that my Turkey adventure was not over yet. So I decided to apply for this Double MA Degree Program and luckily, I was accepted! Both the year in Frankfurt (Oder) and the year in Istanbul was an enriching experience in both a personal and an academic way.

I appreciated the international atmosphere and the good teaching quality at İstanbul Bilgi University. The European Studies students are lucky to be directly connected to the European Institute, which is engaged with EU politics and policies with a specific emphasis on diversity and pluralism.

In Senem Aydın-Düzgüt's course, I deepened my knowledge about the EU-Turkey relations and we critically evaluated the current status of this long-lasting and controversial relationship. The class of Cemil Boyraz provided me with a detailed knowledge about past and current issues in Turkish politics and Turkish foreign policy, which was up to then a totally new academic field for me. Thus, I got a much better understanding of Turkey, her history, people and political culture, which is indispensable for analyzing current domestic events.

Ayhan Kaya's courses taught me to evaluate political events from a more critical, sociological approach, which is an important change of perspective for a student of political sciences. In his class, we analyzed phenomena like Islam in Europe, Political Islam, EU cultural policies as e.g. multiculturalism and the Turkish diaspora in Europe. These topics evoked my special interest and made me re-think mainstream popular opinion on Islam and on migration issues in Europe.

Especially nowadays, with religious extremism and global migration being such salient issues, it is important to study these topics from an alternative point of view and to not stop questioning how the mainstream media and politicians

present us certain events. Or - to quote my professor - it is our duty to "seek the invisible behind the visible" in order to get a grasp of the truth!

I am grateful that my stay at İstanbul Bilgi University broadened my horizon and made me more open and sensitive for cultural and religious matters. And I also want to thank the team of the European Institute for always having time for their students and providing them with good advice!

**Şeyma Yılmaz – MA Double Degree European Studies (İstanbul Bilgi University/ Viadrina University Frankfurt Oder)**



I was always looking for a graduate program that offered a double major in European Studies. After consulting with the European Studies department at İstanbul Bilgi University, I was informed that there was a partnership with Viadrina European University in Frankfurt/Oder, Germany. This was a perfect fit for my academic interests as I could pursue an opportunity to study in Germany while maintaining my studies in Istanbul. Following my third year of my undergraduate career, my interest in European Studies grew significantly, specifically relating to Germany. After I graduated from İstanbul University with my degree in Translation and Interpretation Studies in German and English; I was able to apply my skills by working under a European Union sponsored project administered via an Anglo-German partnership. Following the completion of the project, I had a longing to go back and pursue further studies.

During my time at İstanbul Bilgi University and Viadrina European University, both universities always provided me quick and helpful responses to any questions I had. My professors demonstrated their passion and proficiency in their field and I can attribute much of my knowledge of the fundamental structures of European Union as well as Turkish-European relations. Through this program, I was able to live and study in a less metropolitan, border city such as Frankfurt/Oder. I have been able to truly understand the socio-economic and cultural exchanges between Germany and Poland. In Frankfurt/Oder, I was able to experience a microcosm of human experience whereas I am not sure I could have obtained the same experience in Berlin or Munich. I would highly recommend this double major program because it allows a real "on-the-ground" experience in societal interpretation and how to look at the world outside of one's comfort zone. It enables one to be more analytical and critical in viewing the application of European relations and how we, as cultural ambassadors, can construct bridges of understanding and peace.

**Oğuzhan Usta (European Union Club, Chairman, BA Student in International Relations)**

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



What we did?

### Interpret A New Era in EU-TURKEY Relations

With the last progress report of the European Union, we entered a new era between TR and EU. This relationship between TR-EU which is the subject of world politics, heats up because of the resistance of the member countries. The internal condition of the EU and the economies of member countries are the topics that are negotiated continuously. The other topics negotiated are the crisis of Greece, and help that was applied, the power of the EU, its influence and field. This event was organized by European Union Club and Jef's representative of Turkey Genç Avrupalılar association.



**Speakers:** Dr. Ebru Turhan, Zerrin Keskin, Melih Özsoz, Dr. Özge Zihnioğlu, Dr. Can Baydarol, Emre Gür

### Next Generation Meetings

In the First Panel of this series that we called "Next Generation Meetings" we included some journalists. The topics that we discussed were generally Turkey, World politics and EU politics. After the discussion we did Q&A's for every subject. We plan to hold these "Next Generation meetings" annually.



**Speakers:** Mehmet Altan, Cafer Solgun

# PUBLICATIONS

## Books

**Turkey and the European Union**  
**Senem Aydın-Düzgüt, Nathalie Tocci**  
**Palgrave Macmillan**



This book by two leading experts provides a comprehensive analysis of Turkey's relationship with the European Union, set in its regional and international context. It provides three analytical lenses through which the relationship might be understood - Turkey as an enlargement country, as an EU neighbour and as a global partner.

*Turkey and the European Union focuses on the five pillars that help define the relationship: economics, migration, security, democracy and human rights, and culture and identity. It shows how the differing perspectives on Turkey's role can influence events and developments in these areas, and it traces the profound fluctuations in relations, from the Association Agreement of 1963, to the candidacy for full membership of 1999, to the limbo of today.*

Turkey continues to be a critically important country for the European Union. The relationship has consequences that are both ideational, embedded in history, politics, identity and culture, and material, relating to economics, energy and security. In examining this complex relationship, this book addresses a key issue for Europe's future, and does so in a fashion that is both sophisticated and accessible.

## About the Authors

Senem Aydın-Düzgüt is an Associate Professor and Jean Monnet Chair in International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University, Turkey. She is the author of *Constructions of European Identity: Debates and Discourses on Turkey and the EU* (Palgrave, 2012).

Nathalie Tocci is Deputy Director of the Istituto Affari Internazionali, Italy, and Advisor on International Strategies to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. She is also Editor of The International Spectator. She held previous research posts at the Transatlantic Academy, USA, the European University Institute, Italy, and the Centre for European Policy Studies, Belgium.

## Working Paper 8

The Rediscovery of the Balkans? A Bosniak figuration in the third space between İstanbul and Sarajevo by Thomas Schad (PhD fellow from Freie Universität Berlin)

## SHORT NEWS...

Dr. Peter Widmann, DAAD Lecturer at BİLGİ's European Institute and the International Relations Department has left and continues his career in a different field as of mid-July, 2015 at Philipps University in Marburg where he will coordinate the internationalisation of the university's doctoral programs. We thank him for all his works and contribution, and wish him continued success in his life.

Thomas Schad, PhD fellow from Freie Universität Berlin, joined the CE team as affiliated fellow. He will be working on the "Bosnian Diaspora in Turkey" and doing research on connected issues during his six-month stay with BİLGİ.

### 3 February 2015

Steven Van Hecke, assistant professor in Comparative and European Politics at the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Leuven (Belgium) and former visiting fellow at the Robert Schuman Institute for Advanced Studies of the EU, gave a seminar on "Political Parties in Europe, right-wing extremist rise" at BİLGİ's European Institute.

### 9 April 2015

The Minister for Innovation, Science and Research of North Rhine-Westphalia, Svenja Schulze, visited BİLGİ and held a day of talks and meetings (including the European Institute and CE) within the framework of BİLGİ's collaboration with DAAD, whose cornerstone is the DAAD Visiting FachLektor Project with the European Institute's German Studies (Assist. Prof. Dr. Peter Widmann).

### 1 July 2015

A meeting was held (after numerous contacts initiated by the İstanbul Şişli Municipality's EU Centre where a former BİLGİ EU Studies MA Programme Graduate is working as an expert,) a meeting to discuss the extension of the EU Boat Seminars to Şişli Municipality High Schools in 2015 (this is one of the measures we are working on as alternative solution to be able to meet our project objectives), where Ayhan Kaya, Gulperi Vural and Asli Aydin met with Simten Birsoz and Goksu Dinc. Further contacts ensured the agreement of principle on both sides on the collaboration which will start with a meeting with the Directors of all secondary schools in Şişli Municipality to be held early September 2015. After this meeting where the Directors will be informed about our ECE project and the EU Boat Seminars it is hoped to start the seminars (in addition to Beyoğlu Municipality) in Şişli Municipality Schools in October 2015.

### 9 July 2015

A meeting with the management of the İstanbul Beyoğlu Municipality's Youth Centre who is a partner supporting the CE project, especially the "EU Boat" activity where EU seminars are given to high school students from the secondary schools and vocational schools within the Municipality, was held in order to discuss the challenges and difficulties in meeting the target numbers and the frequent last-minute cancellations of the seminars especially during local or national election periods. Ayhan Kaya, Gulperi Vural, Asli Aydin from the CE and Adnan Yener (Director) and Gaye Babacan from the BMYC worked on a calendar for the coming academic year and discussed how to minimise cancellations.

A meeting with İstanbul National Education Directorate General's Research Strategy Department was held in order to present the positive results and pave the way forward to the activities for the last year of the CE project. Director Murat Adali and new Project Liaison Figen Sekin (the present project liaison Sevgi Sabanci who has given considerable support to the ECE was nominated to Ankara in June 2015) expressed their satisfaction with the ongoing project activities and proposed to sign an extension of the present collaboration agreement with BİLGİ in order to be able to carry out further activities in cooperation with the ECE.

### Aziz Nesin Professorship



Assoc. Prof. Esra Arsan was awarded the fifth Aziz Nesin Professorship by the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt-Oder in 2015. She spent a month in Viadrina where she taught an MA course on "Press Freedom in Turkey" in June. This course investigated the democracy crisis, media, and power and hegemony relations in contemporary Turkey. Assoc. Prof. Esra Arsan received her Ph.D from the Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Journalism at Marmara University, Turkey. She has worked as a lecturer in journalism at İstanbul Bilgi University, Turkey, between 1998 and 2012. Currently, as a member of the Institute of Social Sciences, she is working for the Cultural Studies program at the same university. She is a former Fellow of Thomson Reuters Institute of Journalism in Oxford University, UK. Her research interests are political communication and the practice of political journalism in Turkey. She is currently working on the cultural narratives of war and peace in Turkish news media. Esra Arsan is also a well-known media and social media critic in Turkey and her articles on journalism and press are published in many newspapers, magazines, web sites; she also has published a number of books on the same subjects.

## İSTANBUL BİLGİ UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1996 with the motto "We learn for life, not for school", İstanbul Bilgi University is a city university intertwined with İstanbul's vibrant cultural life and in close connection with the business world. BİLGİ is renowned for qualified international education and career opportunities as the only member of Laureate International Universities in Turkey.



Since its founding, BİLGİ has attempted to establish a cultural and scientific community that promotes tolerance and respect for a diversity of individuals with different lifestyles, beliefs and ways of thinking within the framework of contemporary universal values, while at the same time maintaining strong ties with all segments of the society. The BİLGİ community includes more than students: it also includes faculty, alumni, families, employers and neighboring communities where BİLGİ is located. Today BİLGİ represents a sound and distinct attitude in the academic and intellectual life in Turkey with its more than 24,000 graduates, more than 20,000 students and nearly 1,000 academic staff. Functioning under the aegis of the Turkish Council of Higher Education, BİLGİ is an individual full member of the European University Association (EUA) and a member of the International Association of Universities (IAU). With nearly 350 exchange agreements in Europe, BİLGİ is also an active participant in the Erasmus exchange network and has strong academic affiliations with numerous universities abroad. In 2006, BİLGİ joined the Laureate International Universities network, which provides quality higher education on an international scale with more than 60 accredited campus-based and online universities throughout North

America, Latin America, Europe, Northern Africa, Asia and the Middle East. With this collaboration, BİLGİ students are able to be a part of an educational network which includes the University of Liverpool in the UK; Kendall College, Santa Fe University of Art and Design, San Diego NewSchool of Architecture and Design, and Walden University in the USA; Ecole Supérieure du Commerce Extérieur in France; Business, Information and Technology School in Germany; Universidad del Valle de México in Mexico; Universidad Europea de Madrid in Spain. BİLGİ seeks to educate freethinking, creative, intellectually curious and enterprising individuals who will contribute to a world in which knowledge is the primary driving force in society, where knowledge is accessible to all and, indeed,

in which access to it has come to be seen as a fundamental human right. BİLGİ holds a primary responsibility for providing, maintaining and further developing an academic environment in which both students and faculty members are able to engage in learning and the production of knowledge at the highest level. BİLGİ offers more than 150 programs in its six faculties, two schools, two vocational schools and two institutes. The medium of instruction at BİLGİ is English. Before being admitted to their degree programs, students must demonstrate their proficiency in English. Students whose level of English is not sufficient to begin undergraduate study will have to enroll in the English Language Preparatory Program.

BİLGİ has three innovative campuses on the European side of İstanbul, the 2010 European Capital of Culture. Located in central neighborhoods, the three BİLGİ campuses - **santralistanbul**, Kuştepe and Dolapdere - offer easy access to social and cultural activities in İstanbul. Kuştepe Campus is located in Şişli, the center of İstanbul's business life, and Dolapdere Campus, an award-winning campus for its architectural design, is only ten minutes away from Taksim, the heart of the art scene, social activities and city life. santralistanbul Campus is an arts and culture complex



# ACADEMIC PROGRAMMES

## FACULTIES

### Faculty of Architecture

Architecture  
Industrial Design  
Interior Design

### Faculty of Business

Business Administration  
Business Administration (BİLGİ-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) \*  
Business Administration (Honors) \*  
Business Informatics  
Business-Economics  
Business-Economics (BİLGİ-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) \*  
Economics  
Economics and Finance (Honors)  
Economics and Management (Honors)  
International Finance  
International Trade and Business  
Marketing  
Political Economy and Social Philosophy\*

### Faculty of Communication

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

### Faculty of Engineering and Natural Sciences

Civil Engineering  
Computer Engineering  
Computer Engineering (BİLGİ-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) \*  
Computer Sciences \*  
Electrical and Electronics Engineering  
Electrical and Electronics Engineering (BİLGİ-University of Liverpool / Dual Degree) \*  
Energy Systems Engineering  
Financial Mathematics\*  
Genetics and Bioengineering  
Industrial Engineering  
Mathematics  
Mechanical Engineering  
Mechatronics Engineering

### Faculty of Law

Law

## SCHOOLS

### School of Applied Sciences

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

### School of Health Sciences

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

### School of Sports Sciences and Technology

Sports Management

### School of Tourism and Hotel Management

Gastronomy and Culinary Arts  
Tourism and Hotel Management

## ASSOCIATE DEGREE PROGRAMS

### Vocational School of Justices

Law

### School of Advanced Vocational Studies

Accounting and Tax Applications  
Accounting and Tax Applications (Evening Education)  
Aircraft Technology  
Aircraft Technology (Evening Education)  
Architectural Restoration  
Architectural Restoration (Evening Education)  
Banking and Insurance  
Banking and Insurance (Evening Education)  
Business Administration  
Business Administration (Distance Learning)\*  
Civil Air Transportation Management  
Civil Air Transportation Management (Evening Education)  
Civil Aviation Cabin Services  
Civil Aviation Cabin Services ((Evening Education)  
Construction Technology  
Construction Technology (Evening Education)  
Culinary  
Culinary (Evening Education)  
Fashion Design  
Fashion Design (Evening Education)  
Finance\*  
Graphic Design  
Graphic Design (Evening Education)  
Health Services Management\*  
Human Resource Management\*  
Information Technologies and Programming\*  
International Trade  
Logistics  
Maritime Transportation and Management

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

### Vocational School of Health Services

Anesthesia  
Anesthesia (Evening Education)  
Audiometry  
Audiometry (Evening Education)  
Child Development  
Child Development (Evening Education)  
Dental Prosthetics Technology  
Dental Prosthetics Technology (Evening Education)  
Dialysis  
Dialysis (Evening Education)  
Electroneurophysiology  
Electroneurophysiology (Evening Education)  
First and Emergency Aid  
First and Emergency Aid (Evening Education)  
Medical Imaging Techniques  
Medical Imaging Techniques (Evening Education)  
Medical Laboratory Techniques  
Medical Laboratory Techniques (Evening Education)  
Occupational Health and Safety  
Occupational Health and Safety (Evening Education)  
Operating Room Services  
Operating Room Services (Evening Education)  
Opticianry  
Opticianry (Evening Education)  
Oral and Dental Health  
Oral and Dental Health (Evening Education)  
Pathology Laboratory Techniques  
Pathology Laboratory Techniques (Evening Education)  
Perfusion Techniques (Evening Education)\*  
Perfusion Techniques \*  
Physiotherapy  
Physiotherapy (Evening Education)  
Radiotherapy  
Radiotherapy (Evening Education)  
\* No new students will be accepted to this program.  
\*\* The program will accept students upon the approval of Higher Education Council.

## MASTER PROGRAMS

### Graduate School of Sciences Programs

Double Degree MA in European Studies (İstanbul Bilgi University and Europa-Universität Viadrina Frankfurt-Oder)  
e-MBA English  
e-MBA Turkish  
Joint LL.M in Turkish-German Business Law (İstanbul Bilgi University-Cologne University)  
LL.M / MA in Information and Technology Law  
LL.M / MA in Law (Business Law/Human Rights Law)  
MA in Banking and Finance  
MA in Banking and Finance Online  
MA in Clinical Psychology  
MA in Comparative Literature

MA in Cultural Management  
MA in Cultural Studies  
MA in European Studies  
MA in Film and Television  
MA in History  
MA in Human Resource Management  
MA in Human Resource Management Online  
MA in International Political Economy  
MA in International Relations  
MA in Islamic Finance Online\*  
MA in Management Information Systems  
MA in Management Information Systems Online  
MA in Marketing  
MA in Marketing / Next Academy  
MA in Marketing Communication  
MA in Media and Communication Systems  
MA in Organizational Psychology  
MA in Philosophy and Social Thought  
MA in Public Relations and Corporate Communication  
MA in Sociology  
MBA  
MFA in Visual Communication Design  
MSc in Accounting and Auditing  
MSc in Economics  
MSc in Energy Systems Engineering  
MSc in Financial Economics  
MSc in International Finance

### Institute of Health Sciences Programs

MSc in Dietary\*  
MSc in Health Services Management  
MSc in Health Services Management Online\*  
MSc in Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation  
\*Waiting for approval.

### Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences Programs

MArch in Architectural Design  
MArch in History, Theory and Criticism in Architecture  
MSc in Energy Systems Engineering  
MSc. in Construction Management  
MSc. in Electrical-Electronics Engineering  
MSc. in Intelligent Systems Engineering  
MSc. in Mathematics

## DOCTORAL PROGRAMS

### Graduate School of Sciences Programs

PhD in Business Administration  
PhD in Communication  
PhD in Economics  
PhD in Political Science  
PhD in Public Law  
Private Law

### Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences Programs

PhD. in Mathematics



Yılda  
1 değil,  
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**LAUREATE** INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES