



Hochschule für öffentliche  
Verwaltung und Finanzen  
Ludwigsburg  
University of Applied Sciences



**INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR  
ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK  
BETWEEN THE EU, TURKEY AND GERMANY**

**ABSTRACT BOOK**

2016

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND  
LEGAL FRAMEWORK BETWEEN THE EU, TURKEY AND  
GERMANY

26 November – 02 December 2016

Ludwigsburg, Germany

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

&

University of Applied Sciences Ludwigsburg

## **Organizing & Scientific Committee of the Seminar:**

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Prof. Dr. Stefan Faiß (University of Applied Sciences Ludwigsburg)

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**INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND LEGAL FRAMEWORK  
BETWEEN EU, TURKEY AND GERMANY**

**26 November – 02 December 2016**

**Ludwigsburg, Germany**

**SEMINAR PROGRAM**

**Saturday, 26 November 2016**

10:30 Arrival in Stuttgart

13:30 Stuttgart and Esslingen Tour

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**Sunday, 27 November 2016**

Free Day – Study for presentations.

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**Monday, 28 November 2016**

10.00 Welcome presentation about Baden-Württemberg and the University of Applied Sciences in Ludwigsburg, Dorothee Staiger/ Head of International Office

10.30 Introduction of Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Zerrin Dağcı

11.00 Campus tour with Prof. Stefan Faiß

11.30 Welcome Speech: Rector Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Ernst

12.00 Lunch Break

**Session I: 14:00 – 16:00**

**The Legal, Fiscal and the Institutional Structure of the European Union**

**Moderator: Dr. Osman Tezgel**

**Christopher Müller**, The “classic” European institutions: European Court of Justice, European Parliament, Council of Ministers, European Commission and European Court of Justice: structure, functions and procedures

**Natalie Haas**, The legislative process in the EU under the Lisbon Treaty

**Maria Holzner**, EU - Financial and Budget Constitutions

**Theresa Laile**, The Council of Europe

**Sven Behle**, The “exotic” European institutions of the EU: European Investment Bank (EIB), European Central Bank (ECB), Transport of hazardous goods within the EU (ADR); European Economic and Social Committee (EWSA), European Court of Auditors (ERH): structure, functions and procedures

Discussion: 15:30 – 16:00

16.00 Coffee Break

**Session II: 16:30 – 18:00**

**Inequality, Political Problems and the Economic Crisis in the European Union**

**Moderator: Prof. Stefan Faiß**

**Berk Orkun İsa**, Prospects of The New Industrial Revolution for Europe: Possible Effects of Industrial Revolution and an Alternative Approach to Inequality Problem.

**Marie Messner** The role of the European Central Bank in the current crisis – significance of the European Financial Stability Facility (ESFS) and European Stability Mechanism (ESB)

**Cansu Tekin**, As a Tool of Political and Economic Struggle; Housing Question in Germany and Turkey: A Comparative Analysis

Discussion: 17:30 – 18:00

18.00 Meet and Greet with the German students from HVF Ludwigsburg organized by the students' representatives

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**Tuesday, 29 November 2016**

**Session III: 10:00 – 12:30**

**The Common Issue for Turkey, Germany and the EU: Refugee Crisis**

**Moderator: Prof. Dr. Jörg Dürrschmidt**

**Dr. Nuri Yesilyurt**, Syrian Crisis and the Future of Turkish Foreign Policy

**Elif Tahmiscioğlu**, EU-Turkey Relations in The Context of the European Union's Securitized Irregular Migration Policy and Turkey as a Transit Country

**Aini Putri Wulandari**, Refugee Crisis in Turkey and Europe: Prioritizing the Solution and its Implementations

**Silke Hils**, Strategies of local Integration – the case of employment programs for recognized refugees in Stuttgart

**Victoria Ziehr**, Protection of fundamental rights by the EU (significance for the European political strategies regarding asylum seekers and refugees)

Discussion: 12:00 – 12:30

12.30 Lunch Break

**Session IV: 13:30 – 15:30**

**Comparative Analysis on Turkey and EU Relations**

**Moderator: Prof. Dr. Çınar Özen**

**Levent Demirelli**, Liberalization and Privatization of the Rail in Turkey: a Comparison with the Railway Packages of European Union

**Buket Ökten**, Shifting from Europeanisation to de-Europeanisation in Turkey, AKP's Changing EU Policy

**Edo Kanlic**, Complexity of Turkish and EU Relations: Partnership for Future or Interest-Driven Relation

**Ulucan Öztürk**, Freedom of Expression on the Edge of Hate Speech - a Comparative Analysis of Turkish and German Media Discourses Concerning Refugees

**Markus Eichhorn**, The instrument of Pre- Accession Assistance (IPA) – Stabilizer for the complex relationship between the EU and the Republic of Turkey

Discussion: 15:00 – 15:30

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**Wednesday, 30 November 2016**

**Session V: 10:00 – 11:00**

**Moderator: Dr. Nuri Yeşilyurt**

**Prof. Dr. Çınar Özen**, Reconsidering Turkey - EU Relations: New Foundations for Post-Transatlantic Order

Discussion: 10:30 – 11:00

11.00 Coffee Break

**Session VI: 11:30 - 13:00**

**EU – Turkey Relations: Future Perspectives**

**Moderator: Dr. Başak Bak**

**Sebastian Fiebelkorn**, Europe's future – the Lisbon Treaty as a “European Constitution”

**Paul Wiethölter**, Turkish entry into the EU – Political and Legal situation

**Philip Kohlhaas**, Brexit – and what's next?

Discussion: 12:30 – 13:00

13.00 Lunch Break

14.00 Discussion with German politicians about the perspective of the Turkish entry into the European Union (Paul Simon aus Mannheim)

**Thursday, 1 December 2016**

09.00 Trip to Strasbourg followed by a guided tour of the European Parliament  
Guided Tour through Strasbourg

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**Friday, 2 December 2016**

Departure → End of the study trip

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# **ABSTRACTS**



# **COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ECONOMICAL STRUCTURES: FUTURE OF EUROPEAN UNION AND TURKEY**

Berk Orkun Isa

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

This article's main aim is to present the economic factors which EU member countries and Turkey possess, identifying the factors that the former and the latter have in common, their recent trade and production performances, economic policies and government strategies, effects of recent recession on leader countries of EU (Germany and France) and possible solutions. European Union's and Germany's prospects of leading the fourth industrial revolution, focal points of smoothing the effects on labor force integrations, business cycles and productivity of upcoming new wave. and what future holds for EU-Turkey relations by the means of economics. This article also aims to show in which ways leading EU countries can be a role model for a developing Turkish industry and importance of cooperation in between.

## **KEYWORDS**

European Union, Turkey-EU Relations, International Trade, Economical Relations, Industrial Revolution, Recession, Comparative Analysis.

# **AS A TOOL OF POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE, HOUSING QUESTION IN GERMANY AND TURKEY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSES**

Cansu Tekin

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

Theoretically, the issue of housing question and urban development had been discussed by different approaches from 1850's up to the present. However, instead of detailed historical and theoretical analyses, this study will focus on David Harvey's approach. With 1970's, modern urban sociology emerged with its new type of analysis which uses city and the capitalist production process as its two inter-related subjects. That approach, mainly lead by Henry Lefebvre, Manuell Castells and David Harvey, criticizes Chicago School and especially their main point which sees inequalities and contradictions as a natural result of urban development. Called Neo-Marxist approach takes city as a separate and distinctive analysis entity and sees city and urban development from the point of capital accumulation processes. In this regard, while Harvey makes analysis of housing and city mostly on the base of geography, When we look to Harvey in a detailed way, he emphasizes that space is produced socially and finance capital should be handled together with rent. Capitalist accumulation specifies production and consumption area in the cities. According to him, consumption areas are densified in cities while production areas became scanty. At the same time, this process can be named as a "creative destruction" by using Schumpeter analogy. Interestingly, Harvey used this terminology to clarify growing city life. By this terminology, Harvey alleged for being productive consumption-production chain cities constantly demolished and rebuilt.

In terms of the scope of this study, modern urban theories suggest a framework for comparing housing problem in Turkey and Germany. Firstly, we can argue that economic growth and capitalist production in Turkey are mostly provided by construction sector and those intensive construction activities represent to production of consumption spaces. Also, Harvey's creative destruction approach seems a proper way when Turkey's progress in housing sector is evaluated. Secondly, application of TOKI project in Germany is another major point of that work. Correspondingly, solutions of housing oversupply problem in Turkey and housing deficit problem in Germany while

taking account of the housing projects and their targeting social groups in both countries could also be seen from the point of this theoretical framework.

For this work, comparative-analytical approach will be applied. As it is mentioned above, Germany and Turkey will be two main cases in this study. Since the major emphasis point of the work is the housing question, this concept will be examined with both historical socio-economical aspects. In the first part, Harvey's creative destruction approach is suitable. Rent, social justice and capitalist accumulation in cities are fundamental analyses points in study. In the second and third chapter it is dealt with historical development of urbanization and housing policies in Turkey and Germany. In the fourth chapter, Socio-economical aspect of housing policies in two countries will be evaluated in a comparative way.

In general, primary sources such as academic journals and books on the issue of construction sector in Turkish and German housing policy and urbanization theories and secondary sources like official statements, newspapers, current and former economic activities and scholars. Also statistics, data, tables or figures from different institutions like WB, IMF, DESTATIS and TUIK will be widely used in that work.

# **SYRIAN CRISIS AND THE FUTURE OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY**

Dr. Nuri Yeşilyurt

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

This paper aims to analyse the effects of the Syrian Crisis on Turkish foreign policy. It does so by focusing on the importance of Syria for Turkish Foreign policy in general, the state of Turkish relations before the outbreak of the Crisis in 2011, and evolution of Turkish foreign policy towards the Syrian Crisis since 2011. Overall, the paper argues that Turkey's recent military adventures in Syria (Operation Euphrates Shield) puts Ankara in a very precarious situation in the region. Firstly, it has the potential to create novel problems in Turkey's relations with major regional and global powers. Secondly, it is an indication of Turkey's transition from being a soft-power oriented actor to a hard-power one in the Middle East, but this transition is not welcomed by many actors in the region.

## **KEYWORDS**

Turkish Foreign Policy, Middle East, Syria, Turkey

# **EU-TURKEY RELATIONS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN UNION'S SECURITIZED IRREGULAR MIGRATION POLICY AND TURKEY AS A TRANSIT COUNTRY**

Elif Tahmircioğlu

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

Turkey has been known as an emigration country for a long time. The main reason of this was worker migration flows from Turkey to Europe by the early 1960s and 1970s. However, today Turkey should be considered as a transit country rather than a sending country. Turkey is in the epicenter of the Afro-Eurasian geography that makes Turkey an important country for the European migration regime. "The irregular migrants using Turkey as a transit route to Europe are mostly nationals of Iraq, Iran, and Syria, Afghanistan and Pakistan. After the eruption of the Syrian Civil War in March 2011, the numbers of irregular migrants and refugees steadily increased. In the spring and summer of 2015, Europe faced an upsurge in refugee numbers. Sea borders between Turkey and Greek islands, which are the last stop of Eastern Mediterranean route, are the most active irregular migration corridors.

In EU- Turkey accession negotiations irregular migration is always debated because combating with irregular migration is vital to EU's migration policy. The EU-Turkey Readmission Agreement and EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan are signed in order to deal with irregular migration. The readmission method and refugee deal are strongly criticized because it is not compatible with refugee and human rights. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees expressed legal considerations on the deal based on international and European refugee and human rights law.

In this context, the main objective of this study is to focus on the migration policy of the EU towards irregular migrants and refugees and its impact on the EU-Turkey relations. The main objective of this study is to focus on the migration policy of the EU towards irregular migrants and refugees and its impact on the EU-Turkey relations. Since the beginning of Turkey-EU accession process,

migration has been a vital topic. In this paper, the Copenhagen School's theory of securitization, which builds on speech act and Paris School's approach to securitization, which builds on practices are used as conceptual tools to explain EU's security framing of irregular migration. The securitization of EU's irregular immigration policy are analysed for the period of last 16 years starting with 1999 Tampere Conclusions. Then the paper looks on how this policy affects Turkey-EU Relationship since Turkey assumed candidate status.

## **KEYWORDS**

EU-Turkey Relations, Irregular Migration, Securitization, Migration Crisis

# **REFUGEE CRISIS IN TURKEY AND EUROPE: PRIORITIZING THE SOLUTION AND ITS IMPLEMENTATIONS**

Aini Putri Wulandari

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

The escalating number of refugees which started in the beginning of 2015 and is caused by the conflicts of the Syrian Civil War shocks the international community. There is a highly intense flow of the refugees to such neighbouring countries as Lebanon, Jordan, and Turkey. The world cannot be at ease when the problem becomes severe as the flows started to cross the continent. Refugees decide to flee their home country to Western Europe by crossing the Mediterranean through Turkey in hope that they can build a new life. As a transit country, along with the Balkans, Turkey has made highly appreciated efforts to manage the booming flows before there were any managements conducted between the countries involved. However, this cannot be handled by one or two states only, as the number of refugees finally has created the more vicious conflict of humanitarian rights which is known as the refugee crisis.

To manage the refugee camps, Turkey was allocating funds from its own budget. However, funding aids were decided last November 2015 when Turkey and the European Union came to an agreement through the “EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan”. Furthermore, the EU also added certain implementations to the agreement, as for example providing the Facility for Refugees in Turkey, as explained in the European Commission. However, a debate over the plan has arisen, as many observers and scholars are voicing criticisms regarding the efficiency of the implementation of the plan’s policies. These critics analyse these problems and offer their recommendations to remedy them.

This paper agrees with how the international community is eager to observe and recommend the policies for building an understanding of how to manage the crisis effectively. These can be counted as the feedback from the international community. However, not to be sided to any parties, it is also necessary to criticize both the policies and the common recommendations offered. The author gives importance to some papers written by Turkish and International research institutions, along with articles written by international media such as, USAK Policy Brief by the International

Strategic Research Organization and Syrian Refugees in Turkey by the Migration Policy Institute that have the firmest recommendations compared to other papers.

This paper identifies the major and minor problems that can be taken from the policies and the recommendations offered by those papers and articles. The identified major problem is briefly recognized as the parties' different interests on handling the crisis and lack of respect to the immediately needed humanitarian aid and international unity. However, the minor problem is based on each party's foreign policy. Focusing on Turkey, the minor problem is the interest in strengthening Turkey and EU relations.

This paper's primary consideration, as it is for the other academicians and observers, is again to criticize the offered solutions to the crisis made by the international community. It finally questions whether it is more important to prioritize the management or to blame the decisions that have already passed in order to satisfy national interests.

**KEYWORDS**

Syrian Civil War, Syrian Refugee Crisis, Turkey-EU Relations, EU-Turkey Joint Action Plan



# **STRATEGIES OF LOCAL INTEGRATION – THE CASE OF EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS FOR RECOGNIZED REFUGEES IN STUTTGART**

Silke Hils

Ludwigsburg University of Applied Sciences – Public Administration and Finance

## **ABSTRACT**

The paper's title is "strategies of local integration - the case of employment programs for recognized refugees in Stuttgart" and is made up of four parts. Part One deals with the subject of eligibility: as integration into the German labor market is mainly achieved through measures in accordance with Social Code Book Two, the refugees have to be eligible for those measures. To achieve eligibility for those so-called unemployment benefits II, they have to hold a residence permit that allows for unrestricted access to the labor market. Thus, the preconditions for and details of the possible residence permits are explained. Part Two gives an overview over available measures within the framework of Social Code Book Two whereas Part Three gives an insight into the workings of the competent authority in the area of Stuttgart, namely the Jobcenter Stuttgart. It covers the matter of the founding of the new department 'migration and participation' and its cooperation with other departments within the job center as well as the cooperation between the so-called integration specialists, i.e. the case managers, and the refugees. Finally, the integration measures already taken or at least initiated are discussed, namely a variety of language classes as well as cooperations with renowned companies hopefully eventually resulting in the refugees' employment subject to statutory social security contributions.

# **LIBERALIZATION AND PRIVATIZATION OF THE RAIL IN TURKEY: A COMPARISON WITH THE RAILWAY PACKAGES OF EUROPEAN UNION**

Levent Demirelli\*

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University

## **ABSTRACT**

Liberalization and privatization of the railway has been one of the crucial and challenging issues since 1990 in Europe where most of the railway services formerly had been offered by the vertically integrated state enterprises. First formal step, which had been taken by European Union (EU), begun with the publication of a White Paper (Communication on a Community Railway Policy) in 1990 which was only and directly about the railway, and followed by 91/440/EEC Directive in 1991 that legalizing the principles propounded in White Paper. These formal steps were also followed by three railway packages, in 2001, 2004, 2007 and the fourth one is still in the phase of preparation. All aims liberalization and privatization of the railway in Europe by ensuring the financial and commercial independence of state enterprises, separating the infrastructure from the operation and bringing the rights of access for private companies to the infrastructure. Railway reform that designed by EU does not only include privatization and liberalization by fragmentation of the vertically integrated state enterprises and opening the infrastructure to private companies, but also aims to accomplish the integration of the market by matching the legal and technical framework, i.e. interoperability, in member and candidate countries. Turkey, as a candidate country, endeavors to harmonize its internal legal system with the EU's, thus railway sector in general and one of large-scale public enterprises Turkish State Railways (TCDD) have both gone in to a new period in the last years. TCDD was established as a public monopoly in 1927 in parallel with the nationalization of the railway networks that had been formerly owned by private and foreign companies. It was formed as a vertically integrated public enterprise that had all direct and in-direct components for producing railway service by itself. Although some efforts had been seen for liberalizing the railway sector and privatizing TCDD, in fact the process started with the privatization or shutting down of the assets or units which were in-direct for the service (hospital, hotels etc.) by Justice and Development Party (JDP) which have had the power since November 2002. The decree law of 655 in 2011 and the act of 6461 in 2013 have opened a new period for the

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railway service, and aimed to liberalize and privatize the direct components of the service. The decree law of 655 has removed the public monopoly, liberalized the sector and formed the units in the Ministry of Transport responsible for ‘the regulation and the audition’ of the services. The act of 6461 is about TCDD directly and aims preparing it for the privatization through fragmentation of vertically integrated structure. This paper aims to give a full brief about the liberalization and privatization methods that been used, process and the current state of the railway sector in Turkey comparatively with the related legal framework of EU which called Railway Packages.

**KEYWORDS**

European Union, Liberalization, Privatization, Railway Packages/Policy, Turkey, Turkish State Railways.

# **SHIFTING FROM EUROPEANIZATION TO DE-EUROPEANIZATION IN TURKEY: AKP'S CHANGING EU POLICY**

Buket Ökten

Ankara University

## **ABSTRACT**

The European Union (EU), Europeanization and EU-Turkey relations and their effects has widely been studied by many Turkish and foreign scholars since recently. Nevertheless, unpredictable transformation of Europeanization is relatively a new concept which has begun broadly studied upon. Turkey has been experiencing European Union membership dilemma since the very beginning of EU history. AKP the ruling government of Turkey since 2002, had a pro- EU policy when it first came to power. AKP government handled the continuing Europeanization process which at most experienced from 1999-2005 with the declaration of candidacy status and beginning of accession negotiations. Turkey entered a new political period with the reform process. In this period, Europeanization process was successfully continued because of strong EU conditionality combined with Turkey's motivation about EU. The reform process continued from 2005 to 2011 in a rather slower pace. Concerning AKP's policies it can be argued that AKP chose to Europeanize not widely as EU expected; rather selectively in the areas that fits with AKP. With AKP's third election victory in 2011, Turkey met a relatively new concept: "De-Europeanization" which can broadly be defined as the decrease in motivation about EU. It is not very far away that Europeanization was used as a positive concept mainly associated with development. It was not thought to have negative results or to give birth to de-Europeanization. After 2011, de-Europeanization process showed itself with slow Europeanization by which AKP defended as the reason of weakened EU conditionality. This article argues de-Europeanization is influenced by both EU and domestic factors, combining both the demotivation of the government about EU and the weakened EU conditionality which make Turkey's membership a never-ending process. In this context this article first aims to define Europeanization and de-Europeanization processes under the influence of domestic factors (i.e. AKP government policies) and EU conditionality. Article then gives details about the transformation process from Europeanization to de-Europeanization in Turkey by deeply analyzing domestic factors under the effect of EU conditionality. Being aware of the fact that international relations is a rapidly changing area, the article defends that government preferences are very decisive about orientation of the politics. It is seen that although AKP started

highly motivated about EU reforms, it then gradually slowed down the reform process selecting the reforms which suited more with its politics. Behind the weakened EU conditionality, de-Europeanization process accelerated since 2011. Article concludes that AKP government used extending membership process as a policy tool in order to stay in power putting forward EU's vetoes and blocked accession process.

**KEYWORDS**

Turkey; AKP Government; European Union; Europeanization; De-Europeanization.

## **TURKEY – EU: IN A RELATIONSHIP, BUT IT IS COMPLICATED**

Edo KANLIĆ

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

### **ABSTRACT**

If we analyze EU enlargement policy toward Eastern Europe countries after the Cold War, we will see that Turkey is an exception in lot of aspects. While post-communist states such as Poland or Slovenia easily found their seats at the European table, Turkey who was a loyal ally to the West for decades still waits for its membership. Reasons for this complicated relationship are on the both sides, starting with prejudices that ‘Turkey is less Europe than others’ as well as ‘European Union is the Christian Club’.

Although borders of the European continent are still unspecified, Turkish European identity became questionable in some Member States last decade. At the same time, Turkey as the world’s 16th and Europe’s sixth largest economy is the inevitable economic and political partner for the EU. Since 1920’s Turkey tries to become the regional leader with its ‘Westernization’ policies. Turkey left Ottoman traditional policies, declared secularism as its fundamental principle and became a member of the Western organizations such as NATO and the European Council trying to shape its position in the modern international system. Despite its development and growing economy, foreign policy toward Cyprus is one of the main reasons why some Member States oppose Turkish accession to EU. As results of the civil-military relations, a few military coups were the reasons of political instability in Turkey. It also affected Turkish EU integration process violating democracy as one of the fundamental principles of Union. Despite all these events EU membership is important at the agenda again after Turkey became a candidate country in 1999 and started negotiations for membership in 2005. Considering that Turkey started its relations with the European Economic Community in 1963 signing the Ankara Agreement, applied for the full membership in 1987 and still is not member of the EU, decreasing support for EU integration among Turkish citizens is understandable.

Syrian and Ukrainian crises put Turkey to the focus of international politics again. The biggest humanitarian crisis after the Second World War started when millions of Syrian refugees found EU as their survival from the five-year civil war and started to use Turkish territory to reach EU.

European countries understood they cannot solve this problem without Turkey as their main regional partner in the Middle East. After round of meetings EU gave financial support and unlocked some chapters in negotiations process with Turkey. In exchange Turkey will close its borders with EU for refugees and make better control system. Ukrainian crisis showed up European dependence on Russian gas and imposed Turkey as an inevitable connection with alternative gas supplies from the Middle East and Central Asia.

In either way, cooperation between Republic of Turkey and the European Union is from high importance for both sides. They have to meet each other because ignorance is the reason of all misunderstandings and stereotypes in previous collaboration. If both sides recognize Union as an economic more than political organization, only then integration will be successful.

# **FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION ON THE EDGE OF HATE SPEECH: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TURKISH AND GERMAN MEDIA DISCOURSES CONCERNING REFUGEES**

Ulucan Öztürk

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

As of 2016, Europe is facing the largest refugee crisis since the Second World War whereas Syrian refugees constitute the largest group. The recent statement, which addresses refugee crisis, between Turkey and EU is also drawing attention to this actual issue. In terms of number of refugee arrivals, Turkey and Germany are among the most effected host countries. This human mobility is not only limited to crossing state borders, but also more critically merges people of different economic, social, ethnic and religious backgrounds which inevitably yields certain reactions from local people due to these inherent differences. One way of studying these reactions is to analyze certain discourses of media as a representative and directing agent of community. At this point, certain concerns regarding these media discourses could emerge as it might be difficult to distinguish between freedom of expression and hate speech. This demanding nature of distinguishing between freedom of expression and hate speech is implicated in several cases of European Court of Human Rights (ECHR). In order to study such discourse both mainstream and local media discourses in Turkey and Germany would be thoroughly analyzed in their original languages, in Turkish and German respectively. Via conducting such media discourse analysis, this study aims to reveal whether agents follow the obligations derived from the International Bill of Human Rights and European Convention on Human Rights. The judgments of ECHR regarding the balance between Article 9, Article 10, Article 14, and Article 17 of European Convention on Human Rights will be used as the reference points in the analysis. In the light of international norms and ECHR judgments, it is hypothesized in this paper that in both Turkey and Germany there are numerous cases where media discourses exceed the limits of freedom of expression and fall into the category of hate speech.

## **KEYWORDS:**

Discourse Analysis, Media, Migration, Human Rights, Hate Speech



# **THE INSTRUMENT FOR PRE-ACCESSION ASSISTANCE (IPA) – STABILIZER FOR THE COMPLEX RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EU AND THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

Markus Eichhorn

Ludwigsburg University of Applied Sciences – Public Administration and Finance

## **ABSTRACT**

Recent developments in the EU and in the Republic of Turkey give rise to three major questions: Quo Vadis EU? Quo Vadis Republic of Turkey? And derived from that: Quo Vadis EU-Turkey cooperation? All of these questions currently have to remain unanswered. Nevertheless, the EU and the Republic of Turkey sustain the accession talks. In this context I will introduce the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA). It is the EU's financial instrument to fund projects and institutions in enlargement countries in order to prepare them for an EU membership. Legal background, aims, implementation and projects are examined as well as chances which result from this means for future relationship. Based on a short overview of recent developments (e.g. Brexit, migrant crisis and military coup attempt in Turkey) I will compile arguments why the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance could be an important platform for discussing future partnership.

# **RECONSIDERING TURKEY-EU RELATIONS: NEW FOUNDATIONS FOR POST-TRANSATLANTIC ORDER**

Prof. Dr. Çınar Özen

Ankara University Faculty of Political Science

## **ABSTRACT**

Since the end of the Cold War, transatlantic relations that emerged as a security based political and economic community in the West in the aftermath of Second World War, has entered an era of rapid transformation. The state of affairs regarding the tensions in transatlantic relations which are now defined openly as a “transatlantic rift”, can be argued to have evolved to the point of a post-transatlantic order. The major causes for the tensions which paved the way for the transatlantic divorce have been discussed vividly by a number of growing scholars since the beginning of 2000’s. One of the structural effects of the disintegration of transatlantic order can be argued to have been the resurgence of regionalism in the politics of the countries previously tied strongly by a wide web of institutions. While regionalism in world politics seen as a growing trend since the end of the Cold War triggered by the end of bipolarity, has been an important locus of research, the tendency and effects of regionalism within the transatlantic community have remained largely unexplored. On the other hand, these effects when analyzed have been defined by an unproportional attention given to US-EU relations. Thus drawing on this large body of work focusing on the “transatlantic rift”, which we argue to have evolved into a post-transatlantic order, we aim to shift attention to the structural effects of post-transatlantic order defined by a growing trend in regionalism in Turkish-EU relations.

The argument is that “Turkish revisionism” can be better understood not as a “axis shift” attributed primarily to the identity politics associated with AKP, but to the structural effects of regionalism forces unleashed by the post-transatlantic order. The main flaw of the “axis shift” approach (which has become the dominant approach) in analyzing Turkish foreign policy and the new positioning of Turkey in world politics, is that it tries to explain structural conditions and features of Turkey in international politics, by making them an effect of identity politics (constructivism largely defined).

# **DIE ZUKUNFT EUROPAS – DER VERTRAG VON LISSABON ALS “EUROPÄISCHE VERFASSUNG”**

Sebastian Peter Fiebelkorn

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## **ABSTRACT**

Durch die große Erweiterung der Mitgliedsstaaten der Europäischen Union zwischen Mitte der 90er Jahre und Anfang der 2000er, besonders durch die EU-Osterweiterung im Jahr 2004, als mit einem mal zehn neue Mitgliedsstaaten aufgenommen wurden und die Europäische Union somit auf nunmehr 25 Mitgliedsstaaten angewachsen war, wurde immer klarer, dass die EU dringend institutionelle Reformen unterlaufen musste, um auch bei größerer Mitgliederzahl noch handlungsfähig zu bleiben. Eine Modernisierung war bis dahin weder durch den Vertrag von Amsterdam (1999 in Kraft getreten), noch durch den Vertrag von Nizza (2003 in Kraft getreten) wirklich gelungen<sup>1</sup>. Darum wurde zwischen Oktober 2003 und Juli 2004 von einer gemeinsamen Regierungskonferenz ein Vorschlag für einen Vertrag über eine gemeinsame Europäische Verfassung erarbeitet. Erstmals in der europäischen Geschichte sollten somit der Großteil der europäischen Staaten durch eine gemeinsame Verfassung geeint werden. Das Ziel des Verfassungsentwurfes war es vor allem, dass die EU „demokratischer, transparenter und effizienter“<sup>2</sup> werden sollte. Der Vertrag über die europäische Verfassung ist schließlich im Oktober 2004 von den Staats- und Regierungschefs der einzelnen Mitgliedsländer unterzeichnet worden und konnte im Januar 2005 auch im Europäischen Parlament eine Mehrheit erlangen. Die Verfassung musste somit nur noch von allen Mitgliedsstaaten nach dem jeweiligen demokratischen Verfahren ratifiziert werden. Und genau hierbei scheiterte der Versuch der Europäischen Union eine Verfassung zu geben. Während 16 Länder den Vertrag bereits gebilligt hatten, wurde dieser durch Volksreferendum am 29.05.2005 in Frankreich und am 01.06.2005 in den Niederlanden von den Bürgerrinnen und Bürgern dieser beiden Länder abgelehnt<sup>3</sup>.

# **DIE „KLASSISCHEN“ ORGANE DER EU: PARLAMENT, MINISTERRAT, KOMMISSION UND EUROPÄISCHER GERICHTSHOF - AUFBAU, FUNKTION UND VERFAHREN**

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## **ABSTRACT**

Gemäß Artikel 13 des Vertrages über die Europäische Union von 1992 (EUV) verfügt die Europäische Union über 7 Organe, die den politischen Willen der EU bilden, äußern und rechtlich umsetzen. Hierbei handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um das Europäische Parlament, den Rat (Europäischer Ministerrat), die Europäische Kommission und den Europäischen Gerichtshof (EuGH).

Auf diese Organe wird sich diese Präsentation im Folgenden fokussieren. Der Vollständigkeit halber seien daneben noch folgende weiteren Organe erwähnt: Der Europäische Rat (Art.15 EUV) besteht insbesondere aus den Staats- und Regierungschefs der 28 EU-Mitgliedstaaten, dem Präsident des Europäischen Rates sowie dem Präsident der Europäischen Kommission. Der Europäische Rat legt die allgemeinen politischen Zielvorstellungen und Prioritäten der EU fest, bestimmt also deren politische Agenda. Die Europäische Zentralbank (Art. 282 ff. AEUV – Vertrag über die Arbeitsweise der Europäischen Union) mit Sitz in Frankfurt (derzeit Präsident Mario Draghi), deren Aufgabe die Wahrung der Preisstabilität im Euroraum ist (Art. 127 AEUV). Der Europäische Rechnungshof (Art. 285 ff. AEUV) mit Sitz in Luxemburg (derzeit Präsident Vitor Manuel da Silva Caldeira) prüft, ob die Buchführung und die Einnahmen/Ausgaben (Haushaltsführung) der Europäischen Union und ihrer Organe rechtmäßig, ordnungsgemäß und wirtschaftlich sind.