



INSTITUTO SUPERIOR
DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
E POLÍTICAS
UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA



TURKEY AT 100: (DIS)CONTINUITIES AND (DIS)CONTENTS

Lisbon, 8-10 February 2023

FINAL PROGRAM

Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas
Pólo Universitário do Alto da Ajuda
Rua Almerindo Lessa
1300-663 Lisboa
Portugal

8 FEBRUARY	
<p>9:00 AM – 9:15 AM CONFERENCE OPENING</p> <p><i>Ricardo Ramos Pinto, President of ISCSP</i> <i>Nuno Canas Mendes, President of Orient Institute</i> <i>Teresa de Almeida e Silva, Vice-President of Orient Institute</i> <i>Isabel David, conference organizer</i> <i>Kumru F. Toktamis, conference organizer</i></p>	
<p>9:15 AM – 11 AM</p> <p>SESSION 1: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF (RE)CONSTRUCTING NATIONHOOD</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Kumru F. Toktamis</p> <p>Cities with mosques, adhan, and spirit: The Islamist nationalist counterproject to Kemalist modernity <i>Kerem Öktem (Ca' Foscari University of Venice)</i></p> <p>The Statist Limits of the “Turkishness Contract” Thesis <i>Ilker Cörüt (Potsdam University)</i></p> <p>“Victory grows with each defeat”: Fabrication of security discourse in Turkish cross-border operation videos <i>Ece Nirun (CETOBaC, EHESS)</i></p> <p>“Hundred Years of Violence: Minorities in Turkey at its Centennial” <i>Fatma Müge Göçek (University of Michigan)</i></p>	<p>9:15 AM – 11 AM</p> <p>PARALLEL SESSION 2: FRAMING TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Isabel David</p> <p>Between Postimperial and Postcolonial Anxieties: Turkish Foreign Policy in the early Republican and the AKP Era <i>Aslı Ilgit (Çukurova University) & Özlem Kayhan-Pusane (Işık University)</i></p> <p>Research works of Turkish geopolitics at the end of the 20th century: attempts to theoretically substantiate Turkey’s leading role in the region and the world <i>Ruben Safrastyan (National Academy of Sciences of Armenia)</i></p> <p>The populism-foreign policy nexus in contemporary Turkey <i>Tamás Dudlák (Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest)</i></p> <p>Constructing the Emotional Knowledge of the EU in the Turkish Academia <i>Çiğdem Nas (Yıldız Technical University) & Betül Ayanoğlu (Yıldız Technical University)</i></p>
<p>11 AM – 11:15 AM – COFFEE BREAK</p>	
<p>11:15 AM – 1 PM</p> <p>SESSION 3: DYNAMICS OF DE-DEMOCRATIZATION</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Ayça Alemdaroğlu</p> <p>Democrats and (Un)Democratic Possibilities in Turkey’s Early Cold War Era, 1945-1960</p>	<p>11:15 AM – 1 PM</p> <p>PARALLEL SESSION 4: STRATEGIC AUTONOMY AND DEPENDENCE IN TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Ruben Safrastyan</p>

<p><i>Reuben Silverman (Stockholm University)</i></p> <p>The Revival of Peker’s Party State System under Erdoğan: Turkey’s All-powerful Presidential System as an Executive Coup <i>Devrim Şahin (Cyprus Policy Center) & Ahmet Sözen (Eastern Mediterranean University)</i></p> <p>Authoritarian party presidentialization and regime change: a party politics perspective on rising competitive authoritarianism in Hungary and Turkey <i>Hakan Yavuzyilmaz (Baskent University)</i></p> <p>Theoretical Approaches to the Transformation of the State in the Course of the Regime Change in Turkey <i>Özgür Salmanoğ (Westfälische Wilhelms-University of Münster)</i></p>	<p>A delicate balancing act: Turkey’s energy strategy, Europe and the war in Ukraine <i>Marian Karagyozov (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences)</i></p> <p>The Turkish armaments industry and the tension between strategic autonomy and political-economic ratio <i>Axel Gehring (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation)</i></p> <p>How can difficulties in implementing the Turkish-Chinese energy partnership be counterbalanced? <i>Gerardo Encinas (ISCSP-University of Lisbon)</i></p> <p>Ideology and Turkey’s international image: study on Turkey’s changing image in China <i>Mengqi Sun (Durham University)</i></p>
<p>1PM – 2:15 PM - LUNCH BREAK</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">2:15 PM– 4 PM</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SESSION 5: OPPORTUNITIES OF RESISTANCE</p> <p><u>Chair</u>: Fatma Müge Göçek</p> <p>The Resilience of Resistance: Turkey during the Erdogan Years <i>Louis Fishman (Brooklyn College)</i></p> <p>Medical Doctors as Intellectuals in anti-democratic context: Emotions of protest in physician's mobilizations during the pandemic in Turkey <i>Deniz Günce Demirhisar (IFEA, Istanbul, & CETOBAC, Paris)</i></p> <p>The Rural in the 21st century Turkey: resisting extractivism and rural-based accumulation <i>José Ribeiro (METU)</i></p> <p>Dying Young: Death and Democracy in the Republic <i>Ayça Alemdaroğlu (Stanford University)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">2:15 PM – 4 PM</p> <p style="text-align: center;">PARALLEL SESSION 6: TURKEY AS A REGIONAL POWER</p> <p><u>Chair</u>: İlgin Erdem</p> <p>The Globalization of the Turkish maritime power under AKP: From a continental power towards a global sea power? <i>Gabriela Anouck Corte-Real Pinto (Noria Think Tank)</i></p> <p>Religious soft power in Turkey’s kin state policy in the Balkans. The role of Turkish state actors in the Muslim Communities in Kosovo and Dobruja (Romania) <i>Adriana Cupcea (Romanian Institute for Research on National Minorities)</i></p> <p>Power, Aid and Business: the power competition of elites behind Turkish development cooperation – a case study in Ethiopia <i>Jülide Asci (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona)</i></p>
<p>4 PM – 4:15 PM – COFFEE BREAK</p>	

4:15 PM – 6 PM

SESSION 7: POLITY AND CIVIL SOCIETY

Chair: Kumru F. Toktamis

Public sphere, recognition, resonance

Zeynep Savaşçın (Galatasaray University)

A Shift in Conceptions of Justice in Turkey since 2015

Nazan Üstündağ (Gerda Henkel Stiftung Fellow) & Ilgin Erdem (CUNY College of Staten Island)

The responsibility of young generations for National myths in Turkey

Hakan Seçkinelgin (LSE)

Revisiting a worn-out concept: Civil society and democracy during the AKP era

Ülker Sözen (Leipzig University)

A new rupture in Turkish modernization: 2023 elections

Hasan Gönder (University of Szeged)

9 FEBRUARY

<p align="center">9 AM – 10:45 AM SESSION 8: CONSOLIDATION OF NEOLIBERALISM DURING THE CENTENNIAL</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Sebnem Altunkaya</p> <p>The Discontents of Authoritarianism in Neoliberalism: Contradictions between State and Capitalist Class in Turkey after 2018 <i>Alp Kayserilioğlu (Universität Tübingen)</i></p> <p>Turkey at 100 Without Subject and Paradigm: Restoration under Financial Slide <i>Gizem Sema (Transparency International Turkey)</i></p> <p>Limits of Neoliberalism and Conservatism on Cities in Turkey <i>Berrin Koyuncu (Hacettepe University)</i></p> <p>Developing the Peri-urban: Slow City, Slow Food, and Women’s Entrepreneurship <i>Damla Isik (Regis University)</i></p>	<p align="center">9 AM – 10:45 AM PARALLEL SESSION 9: FEMINISM VS. AUTHORITARIANISM</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Gamze Cavdar</p> <p>Penetration to Define: Regulation of Gender and Sexuality from Atatürk’s Laicism to Recep Tayyip Erdogan’s Yeni Türkiye <i>Ece Gürleyik (New York University)</i></p> <p>Beyond Laicism/Islamism: The Affective and Emotive Dimension of Secular Feminist Coalitions Under AKP Rule in Turkey <i>Pinar Dokumaci (University College Dublin)</i></p> <p>The sexual contract of capital accumulation in Turkey <i>Gülnur Elçik (Feminist activist)</i></p> <p>Against the Backdrop of the “Native and National Values” Debate: Feminist Mobilizations Around the International Conventions <i>Elif Ege (Independent Researcher)</i></p>
<p align="center">10:45 AM – 11 AM – COFFEE BREAK</p>	
<p align="center">11 AM – 12:30 PM SESSION 10: EXPLAINING HEGEMONY</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Kumru F. Toktamis</p> <p>“We still have problems with the ruling in the social and cultural field”. Genealogies of AKP’s Cultural Hegemony from Nation-Building to Neoliberal Islamism <i>Deniz Parlak (European University Viadrina)</i></p> <p>Now is the time of Monsters: Erdogan’s Regressive Caesarism. A Gramscian Reading of Contemporary Turkish Authoritarianism through Academic Freedom <i>Sevgi Doğan (Scuola Normale Superiore)</i></p> <p>Hegemonic Crisis and the Response of the Bourgeoisie in the 1990s. The Case of the New Democracy Movement in Turkey</p>	<p align="center">11 AM – 12:30 PM PARALLEL SESSION 11: SURVIVING ANTI-GENDERISM</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Ece Gürleyik</p> <p>Anti-Genderism as an Authoritarian Instrument: The Case of Turkey <i>Gamze Cavdar (Colorado State University)</i></p> <p>Varieties of Opposition to Gender Equality and Feminist Counter-Discourses in the Context of Turkey’s Authoritarian Turn <i>Didem Unal (University of Helsinki)</i></p> <p>Finding the Man in the Court: A Critical Legal Approach to Good Conduct Abatement <i>Hazal Bozkurt (Central European University)</i></p>

<p><i>Gökhan Demir (University of Padova)</i></p> <p>The “New Culture” of “New Turkey”: AKP’s Cultural Policy (2013 – 2023) <i>Erdem Çolak (METU)</i></p>	<p>Authoritarian Populism, Nationalism, and Gender from the Perspective of Childcare Policy in Turkey <i>Hakan Yavuzylmaz (Başkent University) & Berrin Koyuncu (Hacettepe University)</i></p>
<p>12:30PM – 1:45 PM - LUNCH BREAK</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">1:45 PM – 3:30 PM SESSION 12: THE POLITICS OF CULTURE</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Murat Akser</p> <p>Protest and Psychedelia: Ideologies in Turkish Anatolian Rock Music, 1960’s to Present <i>Şebnem Altunkaya (Georg August University Göttingen)</i></p> <p>Transformation of Antisemitic Discourse in Turkey with Political Islam: Antisemitism in Cartoons <i>Emirhan Aldinç (Galatasaray University)</i></p> <p>Dance and Dissent: Re-choreographing heritage in the public space <i>Sevi Bayraktar (University of Music and Dance Cologne)</i></p> <p>Conquering the Contemporary Art in the “New Turkey”: Yeditepe Biennial I, II <i>Sevim Burulday (Freie Universität Berlin)</i></p> <p>Negotiating the Public Space: Entanglements Between Secularism and Populism in Turkey’s Theatre Scene <i>Zeynep Uğur (CESPRA, EHESS)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">1:45 PM – 3:30 PM PARALLEL SESSION 13: RESILIENCE OF THE LGBTQ COMMUNITY</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Ahu Karasulu</p> <p>Feminists and LGBTQs as an Agent of Marginalisation in AKP’s New Turkey <i>Duygu Altınoluk (Kilis 7 Aralık University) & Bayram Koca (Kilis 7 Aralık University)</i></p> <p><u>Reading (into) Rainbows: Children, the LGBT movement, and economies of perversion in Erdogan’s Turkey</u> <i>Emrah Yildiz (Northwestern University)</i></p> <p>What does Queer Mean in Turkey? <i>Ipek Sahinler (University of Texas at Austin)</i></p> <p>Beyoğlu: a spatial resource for queer exiles in Turkey? <i>Öykü Aytaçoğlu (Paris 8 University)</i></p>
<p>3:30 PM – 3:45 PM – COFFEE BREAK</p>	
<p style="text-align: center;">3:45 PM – 5:30 PM SESSION 14: ISSUES OF MIGRATION AND REFUGEES</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Zeynep Savaşçın</p> <p>The transformation of the asylum regime in Turkey in a constant state of exception <i>Ezgi Öziş (Galatasaray University)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: center;">3:45 PM – 5:30 PM PARALLEL SESSION 15: SPACE AND POWER</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Isabel David</p> <p>“All at the same table”: a nightlife of bureaucrats, politicians, businessmen and <i>kabadayıs</i> in Istanbul <i>Ahu Karasulu (Independent Scholar)</i></p>

<p>Central Asian Domestic Workers in Turkey: Migration and Its Ramifications <i>Imge Tuğçe Bağır (Hacettepe University)</i></p> <p>Ukrainian refugees in Turkey: legal status and expectations from the state <i>Yuliya Biletská (Karabük University)</i></p> <p>Humanitarian food assistance to Syrian refugees in Turkey: modalities, challenges, fluctuating cooperation between domestic and international actors <i>Sára Gibárti (Hungarian Academy of Sciences)</i></p> <p>Depoliticization of Syrian Migration in Turkey <i>Damla Posta (Central European University)</i></p>	<p>The hinge of Taksim: Readjusting a landscape for a reimagined narrative <i>Amir Khagani (Florida International University)</i></p> <p>Visiting Democracy and Liberties Island <i>Aslı Altınisik (Freie Universität Berlin)</i></p> <p>The CUP's and JDP's Kurdish Policy as an Indicator of Continuity in Turkish State <i>Savaş Dede (Ankara University)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: center;">5:45 PM-7:15 PM KEYNOTE SPEECH</p> <p style="text-align: center;">1919-1923 as Future of Present: Do We Need a New Foundational Narrative? <i>Taner Akçam (UCLA)</i></p>	

10 FEBRUARY

10 FEBRUARY	
9:15 AM – 11 AM SESSION 16: OPPOSITION STRATEGIES	9:15 AM – 11 AM PARALLEL SESSION 17: KURDISH POLITICS THEN AND NOW
<p><u>Chair:</u> Hakan Seçkinelgin</p> <p>The unrecognised but changing role of opposition political parties in electoral autocracy and democracy—the cases of Hungary, Turkey and Poland <i>Gulay Icoz (Middlesex University)</i></p> <p>Changes and Continuities in Opposition Discourse: Politicizing Corruption Ahead of 2023 Elections <i>Seda Demiralp (Işık University)</i></p> <p>Trajectories of Intra Party Democracy (IPD) in the post-2002 political scenario in Turkey: the case-study of the Republican People’s Party of Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu <i>Carlo Sanna (University of Cagliari)</i></p> <p>The logic of political survival in local government: a comparison between Oeiras and Ankara <i>Isabel David (ISCSP-University of Lisbon), Carla Guapo Costa (ISCSP-University of Lisbon) & Duygu Cihanger Ribeiro (METU)</i></p> <p>Competing views among the Left during the 1960s and Beyond: Cyprus as an Ideological Background <i>Nikos Christofis (Shaanxi Normal University)</i></p>	<p><u>Chair:</u> Nazan Ustundag</p> <p>Competing and collaborating nationhoods in post-World War I Ottoman territories: Xoybun as the strategic alliance of the Kurds and Armenians <i>Kumru F. Toktamis (Pratt Institute) & Sedat Ulugana (EHESS- Paris)</i></p> <p>Loss and Re-making of the Public and Private Home in Sur, Diyarbakır, 2016-2020 <i>İclal Ayşe Küçükkirca (Humboldt University)</i></p> <p>Counterinsurgency and Spatial Subjugation through Urban Destruction and Redevelopment in Sur, Diyarbakır <i>Diren Tas (Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich) & Arjin Tas (Central European University)</i></p> <p>Under the Same Sky: Life Imprisoned Kurdish Literature in Turkey as a Means of Resistance <i>Dilek Hattatoğlu (Independent Scholar) & Ahu Karasulu (Independent Scholar)</i></p> <p>Kurdish Documentary Cinema in Turkey as an Actor Demanding Justice <i>Nilgün Yelpaze (University of Marburg)</i></p>
11 AM – 11:15 AM – COFFEE BREAK	
11:15 AM – 1 PM SESSION 18: HUMAN RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP	11:15 AM – 1 PM PARALLEL SESSION 19: KURDS IN CONTENTION THEN AND NOW
<p><u>Chair:</u> Nikos Christofis</p>	<p><u>Chair:</u> İclal Ayşe Kuçukkirca</p>

<p>100 Years of Christians in Turkey: Continuity, Change, and Challenges to Ethnoreligious Identity <i>Lisa Di Carlo (Brown University)</i></p> <p>The Republic of Turkey and Its Citizens: Centennial Reflections <i>Ioannis N. Grigoriadis (Bilkent University)</i></p> <p>Impunity Policy in Turkey and Victims' Right to Know the Truth <i>Ekin Emek Berber (Human Rights Association) & Günizi Satar (Human Rights Association)</i></p> <p><u>Privileged hope in the shadow of indefinite waiting: Turkish medical doctors' pursuit of a better a life in contemporary Germany</u> <i>Erkan Tümkaya (University of Cologne)</i></p> <p>Solidarity and 'memory from below' - the entanglement of past and present in social struggles in Turkey <i>Johanna Bröse (University of Cologne)</i></p>	<p>War of Independence or Civil War? Greek-Kurdish Collaborations in 1920-1921 <i>Murat Issi (University of Crete) & Kumru F. Toktamis (Pratt Institute)</i></p> <p>Iran-Turkey identity policy towards Kurds; assimilation to denial policy <i>Faezeh Ghasemi (Tehran University)</i></p> <p>Between opportunity and necessity – a century of insecurity driven Kurdish Migration <i>Karol Kaczorowski (Cracow University of Economics)</i></p> <p>The indefinability of the Turkish-Syrian border and the consolidation of the state of exception <i>Gabriele Leone (University of Lapland)</i></p>
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1PM – 2:15 PM - LUNCH BREAK

<p align="center">2:15 PM– 3:45 PM</p> <p align="center">SESSION 20: THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS IN DE-DEMOCRATIZATION</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Isabel David</p> <p>Democratization of Turkish Media: A New Century of Opposition and Resistance? <i>Murat Akser (Ulster University)</i></p> <p>Normalization of the exception. Evolution of the Emergency Rule in Turkey (1980-2018) <i>Gizem Özkut (Autonomous University of Barcelona)</i></p> <p>The eternal candidate: Turkey and European Union's accession <i>Alice Cunha (NOVA University Lisbon)</i></p>	<p align="center">2:15 PM– 3:45 PM</p> <p align="center">PARALLEL SESSION 21: RELIGION IN MOVEMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS</p> <p><u>Chair:</u> Kumru F. Toktamis</p> <p>Against the 'Exception' Thesis: Rethinking Turkish Secularism through the Diyanet <i>Berna Zengin Aslan (Özyeğin University)</i></p> <p>Monastic Avoidance: Piety and Ambivalence amongst Followers of Fethullah Gülen in Turkey <i>Caroline Tee (University of Chester)</i></p> <p>"Making hicret": migration, religion and homing among pious Turkish Muslim women in Brazil <i>Liza Dumovich (Centre for Middle East Studies at Universidade Federal Fluminense)</i></p> <p>Nostalgic (Dis)Continuities of the Turkish Village in Contemporary Turkey</p>
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	<i>Nathan Young (The Ohio State University)</i>
3:45 PM – 4 PM – COFFEE BREAK	
4 PM – 5.45 PM ROUNDTABLE - "TURKEY: AFTER ERDOGAN" <i>Sinan Ciddi (Marine Corps University), Berk Esen (Sabanci University), Kumru F. Toktamis (Pratt Institute) & Lisel Hintz (Johns Hopkins University)</i>	