



Summer School on Multiple Crises and Contestation of EU Values:

Migration and Enlargement

Istanbul Bilgi University Summer school program, 11-15 August 2025

Venue: Energy Museum Seminar Room

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Overall Program

| | 10.00 - 11.00 | 11.00 - 13.00 SESSION 1 | 13.00 - 15.00 | 15.00 - 17.00 SESSION 2 | 17.00 - 18.00 | 18.00 - 20.00 JOINT SESSIONS: Theme of crisis | ADDITIONAL EVENTS |
|--------|--|--|---------------------|---|---------------------|---|----------------------|
| 11.08. | Welcome Ayhan Kaya Özge Onursal- Beşgül Didem Balatlıoğulları | Turkey, A land of migration from a historicist perspective Ayhan Kaya, BILGI | LUNCH | Turkish Foreign Policy Ozan Kuyumcuoğlu, BILGI | RESEARCH TIME | What (if anything) are EU values? Timm Beichelt, EUV | |
| 12.08. | SITE VISIT: Visiting the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM/SGDD) | | LUNCH | The EU and its relations with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia Timm Beichelt, EUV | RESEARCH TIME | Europe in 'polycrisis' Amelie Kutter, EUV | |
| 13.08. | Wrap-up of the first two days Ayhan Kaya Özge Onursal- Beşgül | Empire & Nation: The Birth of Ukraine Zsuzsánna Magdó, PITT | LUNCH | Identity, Politics, Europe: Imagining Ukraine in Historical Context Zsuzsánna Magdó, PITT | RESEARCH TIME | Mass Migration of Refugees and Externalisation of Migration and Asylum Policies in the EU Ayhan Kaya, BILGI | |
| 14.08. | Wrap-up of the first three days Ayhan Kaya Özge Onursal- Beşgül | The Migration Crisis on the EU- Belarusian Border – A Simulation Game Jarostaw Jańczak, AMU | LUNCH | The Migration Crisis on the EU- Belarusian Border – A Simulation Game Jarostaw Jańczak, AMU | RESEARCH TIME | Whose Values? A Postcolonial Look at the EU and the Global South Nina Sajic, UNIBL | |



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|--------|---|---|---------------------|---|------------------------|---|----------------------|
| 15.08. | Review of the Week Feedback from the participants Ayhan Kaya Özge Onursal-Beşgül | Turkey-EU Relations: A historical perspective Özge Onursal Beşgül, BILGI | LUNCH | European Security and Ukraine Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, BILGI | SUMMER SCHOOL COCKTAIL | | |

Program

Monday 11th August (10.00-20.00)

Welcoming (10.00-11.00)

1st session (11.00-13.00): Turkey: A Land of Migration from a Historicist Perspective

Lecturer: Ayhan Kaya, BILGI

Description

This session provides an historical overview of migration to and from Turkey, establishing the country as a pivotal location for mobility throughout the centuries. From the Ottoman Empire to the modern Turkish Republic, Turkey has experienced various types of migration, including population exchanges, forced displacement, labour migration and asylum movements. Adopting a historicist approach, the lecture explores how these migration patterns have influenced Turkey's demographic composition, political landscape, and identity narratives.

Core Readings

- Ahmet İçduygu (2014). "[Turkish emigration and its implications for the sending and receiving countries](#)", in Michael Bommers, Heinz Fassmann and Wiebke Sievers (eds.), *Migration from the Middle East and North Africa to Europe*, IMISCOE: 99-136.
- Ayhan Kaya (2021). "[Migration as a Leverage Tool in International Relations: Turkey as a Case Study](#)", *Uluslararası İlişkiler*, Vol. 17, No. 68: 21-39.



2nd session (15.00-17.00): Turkish Foreign Policy

Lecturer: Ozan Kuyumcuoğlu, BİLGİ

Description

Over the past 15 years, Turkish foreign policy has undergone significant transformations. Developments in the Middle East, along with shifts in Turkey's domestic political landscape, have played critical roles in shaping these changes. This lecture explores Turkey's evolving foreign policy, with a particular focus on its engagement in the Middle East and the interplay between international developments and domestic political dynamics.

Core Readings

- Yeşilyurt, N. (2024). [*"From 'diplomacy' to hard power? Restructuring, weakening, and sidelining of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs \(2009–2023\)"*](#). *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies*, 25(1), 121–140.
- Özcan, G. (2025). [*"When Joseph left out in the well: the road to Ankara's predicament in Cairo"*](#). *International Politics*, 1–20.

Joint session (18.00-20.00): What (if anything) are EU values?

Lecturer: Timm Beichelt

Description

This lecture provides an overview of the ValEUs project and explores how its scholars approach values as a core component of the European project. A central focus is the gap between the EU's stated ideals — such as freedom, mobility, and solidarity—and the ways in which the EU acts in relation to these values in practice.

Core Readings

- Manners, I. (2002). [*"Normative Power Europe: A contradiction in terms?"*](#), *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 40(2), 235–258.
- Beichelt, T. (2025). [*"Enquiring into European Values from the Young Generation's Perspective"*](#), *ValEUs Young Generation Policy Brief No. 1*.



Tuesday 12th August (10.00-20.00)

Site Visit (10.00-13.00)

Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM/SGDD)

Description

Founded in 1995 in Ankara, the Association for Solidarity with Asylum Seekers and Migrants (ASAM) is an independent, impartial, and non-profit organisation dedicated to supporting individuals in need, particularly refugees, asylum seekers, and migrants. ASAM works across Turkey to provide a wide range of services, including legal counselling, psychosocial support, education, health assistance, and advocacy for human rights and integration. This site visit offers an opportunity to learn about ASAM's fieldwork, organisational structure, and its cooperation with international and national institutions in the context of forced migration. <https://sgdd.org.tr/en/about-us/>

2nd session (15.00-17.00): The EU and its relations with Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia

Lecturers: Timm Beichelt, EUV

Description

This lecture examines the strategic and value-based dimensions of EU enlargement and neighbourhood processes. While earlier rounds of enlargement emphasised values, the Russian war on Ukraine has pushed the EU toward a more geostrategic approach in its Eastern neighbourhood. Using Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia as case studies, the session explores the characteristics and implications of this shift in EU policy.

Core Readings

- Schimmelfennig, Frank & Kakhishvili, Levan (2024). "[Report on EU's enlargement & neighbourhood policy toolbox](#)". *InvigoratEU Project*.
- Genini, Davide (2025). "[How the war in Ukraine has transformed the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy](#)". *Yearbook of European Law*, 2025, yeaf003.

Joint session (18.00-20.00): Europe in 'polycrisis'

Lecturer: Amelie Kutter, EUV

Description

For the past two decades, the European Union and the wider Europe have been struggling with a series of cascading calamities. These have surfaced as financial crisis, migration policy crisis, pandemic, and war; but they have also revealed unease with existing political institutions and globalisation. In this context, the term 'polycrisis' has emerged as a poignant description. But what does it actually mean, other than making an overwhelming sentiment of simultaneous risks and challenges explicit? This session introduces theories of multiple crisis, including Koselleck's semantic models, Gramsci's 'organic crisis' and Polanyi's 'double movement'. They can help to understand the current European conundrum and the reconfiguration of the 'political compact', which had underpinned European integration since the end of the Second World War.



Core Readings

- Rosamond, B. (2017). "The Political Economy Context of EU Crises". In D. Dinan, N. Nugent, & W. E. Paterson (Eds.), *European Union in Crisis* (pp. 33-53). London: Palgrave Macmillan. Available on [TEAMS](#) → 0. Global summer school channel → files → Joint sessions
- Henig, D., and Knight, D. M. (2023). "[Polycrisis: Prompts for an emerging worldview](#)", *Anthropology today*, 39(2), pp. 3-6.



Wednesday 13th August (10.00-20.00)

Wrap-up of the first two days (10.00-11.00)

Lecturers: Ayhan Kaya & Özge Onursal-Beşgül, BİLGİ

1st session (11.00-13.00): Empire & Nation: The Birth of Ukraine

Lecturer: Zsuzsánna Magdó, PITT

Description

“Does Ukraine have a history?” American military historian Mark von Hagen posed this provocative question over thirty years ago. His answer? A resounding ‘no,’ as he considered the intellectual structures of professional history writing in Europe and North America at the time. Since then, more robust research has allowed historians to alter that question: “Does Ukraine have histories?” Yet, despite the growing complexity of Ukrainian historiography in recent years, “empire” and “nation” remain key categories of analysis and debate. We will explore snapshots of Ukraine’s past since the 19th century while anchored in these two categories and ask how processes of state formation are linked to long-term controversies about Ukraine’s existence as well as EU integration.

Core Reading

- Mark von Hagen, “Does Ukraine Have a History?” *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (Fall 1995), pp. 658-673.

2nd session (13.00-15.00): Identity, Politics, Europe: Imagining Ukraine in Historical Context

Lecturer: Zsuzsánna Magdó, PITT

Description

This session examines the shifting imaginaries of Ukraine in European political and cultural discourse, analyzing how historical narratives and migration patterns have shaped external and internal perceptions of Ukrainian identity. Drawing on the imperial, Soviet, and post-Soviet periods, we explore how Ukraine has been variously constructed as a borderland, a geopolitical buffer, and a symbol of European aspirations. The readings highlight how migration, particularly to and within Europe, has been a key site where Ukrainian identity is contested, negotiated, and reimagined. We will critically engage with the ways in which Western narratives have both included and excluded Ukraine from a coherent European identity. Through historical contextualization, students will develop tools to interrogate how identity and politics intersect in shaping the idea of Ukraine in Europe and the idea of Europe in Ukraine.

Core Reading

- Vjosa Musliu and Olga Burlyuk, “Imagining Ukraine: From History and Myths to Maidan Protests”, *East European Politics, Societies, and Cultures* 33, no. 3 (August 2019), 631-655.



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Joint session (18.00-20.00): Mass Migration of Refugees and Externalisation of Migration and Asylum Policies in the EU

Lecturer: Ayhan Kaya, BİLGİ

Description

This lecture aims to give a general account of the state of human mobility from the Middle East since the eruption of the Civil War in Syria in 2011, including how the mass migration of Syrian refugees unfolded in Turkey and Europe over the last migration, and how the EU operationalised its externalisation of migration and asylum policies through the 2016 EU-Turkey Refugee Deal.

Core Readings

- Kaya, A. (2023). ["Influence of Populism on the European Migration Agenda"](#), in IEMed, Mediterranean Yearbook 2023, pp. 322–327.
- Kaya, A. (2023). ["The World's Leading Refugee Host, Turkey Has a Complex Migration History"](#), Migration Policy Institute, 1 November.



Wrap-up of the first three days (10.00-11.00)

Lecturers: Ayhan Kaya & Özge Onursal-Beşgül, BİLGİ

1st session (11.00-13.00) & 2nd session (13.00-15.00): The Migration Crisis on the EU-Belarusian Border – A Simulation Game

Lecturers: Jarosław Jańczak, AMU

Description

Migration policy in borderland regions is often framed as a delicate balancing act between the paradigms of human security and national security. The human security perspective focuses on how systemic measures enacted by the state affect the rights, safety, and overall well-being of individual migrants or potential migrants. In contrast, the national security perspective emphasizes the protection of state sovereignty, strict border control, and the safeguarding of national interests in the formulation of policy.

Recent events along the external - and by extension, internal - borders of the European Union vividly illustrate this ongoing tension. Since 2021, the Polish–Belarusian border has been the focal point of a migration crisis. Thousands of migrants, primarily from Africa and the Middle East and reportedly transported to the border by the Lukashenko regime, have attempted to enter the European Union in search of better living conditions. This situation has placed the Polish authorities in a highly complex position: they must simultaneously fulfil their responsibility to protect national and EU security through reinforced border measures, while also upholding their commitments under international law.

The simulation game "Migration Crisis on the Polish (EU)–Belarusian Border" immerses participants in this multifaceted conflict. Participants assume the roles of key actors involved in the crisis and, based on a prepared scenario, detailed role descriptions, and their own research, engage in negotiations with other stakeholders to seek viable solutions. A designated media team reports on the progress of these negotiations, adding an element of realism and public scrutiny to the simulation.

Core Readings

- Bodnar, A., & Grzelak, A. (2023). "[The Polish-Belarusian Border Crisis and the \(Lack of\) European Union Response](#)". *Białostockie Studia Prawnicze*, 28, 57.
- Forti, M. (2023). "[Belarus-sponsored migration movements and the response by Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland: a critical appraisal](#)". *European Papers-A Journal on Law and Integration*, 2023(1), 22-238.
- Nitzske, A. A. (2023). "[Poland's Response to the Migration Crisis on the Polish-Belarusian Border in the Light of European Union Law](#)". *Athenaeum Polskie Studia Politologiczne*, 79(1), 179-193.



Joint session (18.00-20.00): Whose Values? A Postcolonial Look at the EU and the Global South

Lecturer: Nina Sajić, UNIBL

Description

The European Union often presents its values—democracy, human rights, the rule of law—as universal. But if we take a step back and look at things from the perspective of the Global South, and especially regions like Latin America, we start to see a more complicated picture. In this talk, I'll explore how the EU's value system is still shaped by its colonial legacy and by assumptions that don't always resonate outside of Europe. I'll also reflect on what happens when the EU promotes its norms globally—often with good intentions—but in ways that can come across as prescriptive or even patronizing. This isn't about rejecting those values altogether, but about asking some hard questions: Who defines these values? Whose history and experience are they based on? And what alternative visions—rooted in anti-colonial struggles, social justice, and plural ways of thinking—are emerging from Latin America and the broader Global South?

Core Readings

- Chopin, T. (2025, April). ["To what extent are European values universal?"](#) (Policy Paper No. 285). Jacques Delors Institute.
- Weymans, W. (2023). ["A critical history of the use of 'European values'"](#). In R. Polak & P. Rohs (Eds.), Values - politics - religion: The European Values Study (pp. 95-123). Springer.



Friday 15th August (10.00-20.00)

Review of the Week - Feedback from the participants (10.00-11.00)

Lecturers: Ayhan Kaya & Özge Onursal-Beşgül, BİLGİ

1st session (11.00-13.00): Turkey-EU Relations: A historical perspective

Lecturers: Özge Onursal-Beşgül, BİLGİ

Description

This session examines Turkey's 60-year relationship with the EU, focusing on the role of Europeanisation in its democratisation process. It will analyse key reforms, the dynamics of EU accession, and the influence of EU norms on governance, human rights, and the rule of law. The session also explores the challenges to Europeanisation in Turkey, including democratic backsliding, contested norms, and shifts in political discourse that have led to a more transactional EU–Turkey relationship. The discussion is framed by theoretical and conceptual debates on Europeanisation and de-Europeanisation.

Core Readings

- Alpan, B. (2021). "[Europeanization and EU–Turkey relations: Three domains, four periods](#)". In *EU-Turkey relations: Theories, institutions, and policies* (pp. 107-137). Cham: Springer International Publishing.
- Reiners, W., & Turhan, E. (2021). "[Current trends and future prospects for EU–Turkey relations: Conditions for a cooperative relationship](#)". *EU-Turkey Relations: Theories, Institutions, and Policies*, 397-432.

2nd session (15.00-17.00): European Security and Ukraine

Lecturer: Mehmet Ali Tuğtan, BİLGİ

Description

European Security and Ukraine Description: This session examines the evolving landscape of European security in light of the war in Ukraine. It explores how the war has reshaped security priorities within the EU and NATO, challenged long-standing assumptions about the European security order and accelerated policy shifts.

Core Reading

- European External Action Service. (2022). [Strategic Compass for Security and Defence](#).



Joint session (18.00-20.00) Democratic Backsliding and the rule of law crisis in the EU

Lecturer: Angela Bourne, RUC

Description

The EU's self-identification as a community of liberal democratic states has been shaken in recent years by democratic backsliding in several member states. This lecture explores the impact of democratic backsliding on the EU, and EU efforts to respond to it. It begins with a discussion democratic backsliding in the EU, and the gradual development of an EU rule of law toolbox. Core questions include whether the EU is an appropriate body to respond to domestic political processes, the challenges involved in formulating an EU response, and how the effectiveness of EU responses can be evaluated.

Core Readings

- Coman, R and Buzogány, A (2024) [“The European Union’s Response to the Rule of Law Crisis and the Making of the New Conditionality Regime”](#), Journal of Common Market Studies, Annual Review, 1-11
- Blauburger, M and Sedelmeier, U (2024) ["Sanctioning democratic backsliding in the European Union: transnational salience, negative intergovernmental spillover, and policy change"](#), Journal of European Public Policy, p.1-27



Academic Staff

Dr. **Timm Beichelt** is a Professor of European Studies at the European University Viadrina. With a degree and a doctorate in political science from Heidelberg University, Timm works at the intersection of political science and cultural studies. His teaching and research focus on Democracy and Autocracy in Central and Eastern Europe, European Union Politics, Politics and Football, and Emotions in Politics.

Prof. **Jarosław Jańczak** – Political scientist, Europeanist, and border studies researcher. He is an associate professor at the Department of International Relations, Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań. He has been a scholarship holder and researcher at several universities across America, Asia, and Europe. His academic interests focus on borders and border regions within the context of European integration processes, particularly debordering and rebordering phenomena, cross-border governance, European integration from a micro-scale perspective, cross-border cooperation in Europe, and the EU's neighbourhood policy and external relations. He has authored over 140 academic articles, participated in a similar number of academic conferences, and has been a visiting lecturer at numerous universities. More information: <https://jaroslawjanczak.eu/profile/>

Prof. **Ayhan Kaya** is a Professor of Politics and Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics of Interculturalism at the Department of International Relations, İstanbul Bilgi University; a member of the British Academy, and a member of the Science Academy, Türkiye. He was the Principal Investigator of a 5-year-long European Research Council Advanced Grant project on youth radicalisation in Europe (ERC AdG, 2019-2024, No. 785934). He received his PhD and MA degrees at the University of Warwick, England. Kaya was a guest Professor at Humboldt University Berlin in the 2024-2025 academic year. Kaya was previously a Jean Monnet Fellow at the European University Institute, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, Florence, Italy, and an adjunct lecturer at the New York University, Florence between 2016 and 2017. He previously worked and taught at the European University Viadrina as Aziz Nesin Chair in 2013 and 2024 and at Malmö University, Sweden, as the Willy Brandt Chair in 2011. His research has focused on European identities, Turkish and Moroccan-origin migrants in Germany, France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, the Circassian diaspora in Turkey, the construction and articulation of modern transnational identities, refugee studies in Turkey, conventional and non-conventional forms of political participation in Turkey, and the rise of populist movements in the EU.

Dr. Ozan Kuyumcuoğlu has been working as an Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University since February 2020. He completed his Ph.D. at Yıldız Technical University Atatürk's Principles and History of Turkish Revolution Program in March 2018 with his dissertation titled "The View of Political Elite on Syria in the Late Ottoman and Early Republican Period." He teaches Introduction to International Relations, World Politics, Foreign Policy Analysis, Turkey and the Middle East, and Turkish Politics at İstanbul Bilgi University's Department of International Relations. In his research, Kuyumcuoğlu focuses on the reflection of the system of ideas and values shared by political elites in Turkish foreign policy. Since February 2023, he has been working on the project entitled "Red Sea Geopolitics" in collaboration with the Departments of International Relations at İstanbul Bilgi University and Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg, analysing Türkiye's humanitarian and infrastructure activities in the Horn of Africa.

Dr. **Özge Onursal-Beşgül** is an Associate Professor of European Studies, academic member of the Department of International Relations and Director of the European Institute at İstanbul Bilgi University. Her research focuses on



international organisations, European integration, EU education policy, the social construction of Europe, identity politics and citizenship. She has published extensively on Europeanisation, education policy and the Bologna Process, with a particular focus on Turkey's integration into the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and its interactions with European norms. She was also awarded a Jean Monnet Chair in 2022 with the BILGINormsEU project, which focuses on European norms and their impact on Turkey.

Dr. **Zsuzsánna Magdó** is Associate Director at the University of Pittsburgh's Centre for Russian, East European, and Eurasian Studies, where she manages regional studies programs to support interdisciplinary scholarship and public education on the world regions of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Central Eurasia. A native of Transylvania, she received her Ph.D. in History from the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign with her research focusing on modernity, nationalism, (post)socialism, empire, and religion in Eastern Europe and Russia. Dr. Magdó has published articles in journals and edited collections, most recently "Ferenc Balázs, Transylvaniam, and Global Utopia, 1923-1937" in *Europe Now, Issue 33: A Special Feature on European Art, Politics, and Culture* ed. by Randall Halle (April 2020) and "Romanian Spirituality in Ceaușescu's Golden Epoch: Social Scientists Reconsider Atheism, Religion, and Ritual Culture," in Paul Betts and Stephen A. Smith, eds., *Science, Religion, and Communism in Cold War Europe* (London: Palgrave, April 2016).

Dr. **Mehmet Ali Tuğtan** is Assistant Prof. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan has been a member of İstanbul Bilgi University Department of International Relations since 2008. Mehmet Ali Tuğtan has been the Chair of Bilgi Distance Education Center (UZEM) since August 2017. Majored in international relations and political science in Marmara University, Mehmet Ali Tuğtan has completed his MA in 2000 with the dissertation titled *Emergence of a Post-Cold War European Security Architecture* and his PhD in 2007 with the dissertation titled *Turkish-US Security Relations 1945-2003: A Game-Theoretical Analysis of the Institutional Effect* in Boğaziçi University Political Science program. Dr. Tuğtan's areas of study include Turkish-American Relations, Contemporary World Politics and Security Studies. In addition to several book chapters and articles on these subjects, Dr. Tuğtan has edited a book on the Turkish involvement in the Korean War (*Kore Savaşı: Uzak Savaşın Askerleri*) published in 2013 by Bilgi University press.

