Over the last decade, accounts of political censorship and violations of freedom of expression in Turkey have become increasingly widespread. Today, according to PEN International, Turkey has more imprisoned journalists than China and Iran. The country holds nearly one-tenth of the world’s imprisoned writers and intellectuals. Censorship, and a general lack of enforcement of freedom of the press, expression, and assembly, are also prominent in Turkey’s academics and arts. Restrictions on press freedoms seem to stem from the intolerant personality of a prime minister who refuses public criticism, as well as from the complex business links between the ruling Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP, Justice and Development Party) and the media barons who control that sector. For my research, which was funded in part by a grant from the EUCE/ESC, I interviewed lawyers, activists, politicians, academics, and artists about their perspectives on constitutional politics and censorship in Turkey.

The case of Turkey is important because it allows us to approach some fundamental questions about the development of democratic constitutionalism in a majority-Muslim country undergoing a political transition. My research

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On Jan. 16, the EUCE/ESC continued its monthly virtual roundtable series, *Conversations on Europe*, with a videoconference devoted to “The ‘Big Bang’ 10 Years Later: East Europe & the EU After Expansion.” The first *Conversation* of 2014 focused on the 2004 enlargement and assessed the impact of expansion on the entering member states and on the institutions of the EU. Panelists included Geoffrey Harris from the European Parliament Liaison Office, Professor Zoltan Barany from the University of Texas, Professor Jacques Rupnik from Sciences Po, Professor Carolyn Ban, former Dean of GSPIA at the University of Pittsburgh, and Dr. Andrew Konitzer, Associate Director of REES at the University of Pittsburgh. The *Conversation* was moderated by Ron Linden, Director of the EUCE/ESC. The *Conversation* can be seen online at www.youtube.com/watch?v=ufaHAUYKUw0.

**“Collective Memory, Law & the Eurozone Crisis”**

On Feb. 13, Professor Patrick O’Callaghan gave a presentation titled, “Collective Memory, Law & the Eurozone Crisis.” O’Callaghan is a lecturer in the Department of Law at University College Cork in Cork, Ireland. His presentation explored the role of collective memory in the Eurozone crisis from a lawyer’s perspective. The idea of collective memory features prominently in several disciplines but rarely in legal scholarship. O’Callaghan argued that the idea of collective memory can help us to better understand fundamental aspects of the EU treaty framework and secondary legislation, as well as provide instructive insights about the policy responses to the Eurozone crisis.
The Challenge:

In 2004, the European Union welcomed 10 new member states, followed, in 2007, by two more. Ten of these 12 new members were former Communist countries that had gone through the transition to democratic governments and market economies. The European Commission, the bureaucracy of the EU, has a commitment to represent all of the people of Europe and so, for each enlargement, it has systematically recruited new staff members from each new member state. This time was different because of the sheer size of the enlargement and the number of new staff needed. Furthermore, the newcomers came from countries that had been cut off for many years from the west and might be expected to bring different experiences and management approaches.

The Commission’s response to this challenge provided a rare opportunity to examine the approach it took but also the impact of the newcomers on the organization’s culture, which I address in Management and Culture in an Enlarged European Commission: From Diversity to Unity? (Palgrave-MacMillan, 2013). The book is based on field work in Brussels and in Central and Eastern European (CEE) countries over seven years, as well as interviews with over 200 people, and was funded in part by grants from the EUCE/ESC.

The Response:

The first step was to recruit new staff members from each new member state. The Commission set specific hiring targets by country, with a target of almost 4,500 people, close to 20 percent of the number of pre-enlargement posts.

The process of screening candidates and identifying those eligible to be hired, known as the competition, or concours, was complex and slow. It took two years before any applicants were actually brought on-board. The EC then faced the challenge of training, socializing, and integrating them into the workforce, which happened both formally, through training, coaching, and mentoring, and informally within individual work units.

The Results:

Overall, the process was a success in that the total quota was exceeded, except for Poland and the Czech Republic. The majority of new staff were young, spoke multiple languages, had studied or worked abroad, and were well-received. Very few reported facing negative stereotypes or hostility. But for those entering from outside as managers, the process has been much more difficult. The assessment of the new managers has been quite mixed, and some had to overcome skepticism or real hostility. They were seen as “outsiders” who had to figure out how to be accepted and effective in a very complex organizational environment.

The existing EC organizational culture both helped and hindered their entry. The Commission is self-consciously multicultural but also elitist and, in some places, highly competitive. The traditional culture valued policy advocacy over management, although the EC was under pressure to take management more seriously. And it is a southern culture, in which there are formal rules but also ways around them, usually via one’s personal network of contacts throughout the organization. New managers were initially at a disadvantage, lacking a network or an understanding of the informal norms and rules of the game.

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**Upcoming Grant and Fellowship Deadlines**

**FLAS Graduate Student Fellowships**
The ESC is pleased to announce a competition for two fellowships for the 2014-15 academic year. The fellowships will be based on the criteria for Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowships of the US Department of Education but will be supported by University funds. The FLAS fellowship will allow the recipient to devote time to a program of graduate study that must include language study. All languages must be studied in the context of a larger research project/scholarly program that has a European context. Please check with your department about earlier deadlines. For more information please contact Allyson Delnore (adelnore@pitt.edu or 412-624-5404). **Deadline: March 17.**

**EUCE/ESC & ULS 2014 Summer Research Scholar Program**
Through its Summer Research Scholar Program, the EUCE/ESC, in collaboration with the University Library System (ULS) at the University of Pittsburgh, seeks to facilitate and further research on all aspects of European integration and the European Union. The EUCE and ULS are offering short-term (1-4 weeks) research grants covering travel expenses, lodging and a stipend to post-doctoral and senior scholars to be in residence at the University of Pittsburgh. Applicants for the Summer Research Scholar’s Program should be pursuing a research project on any aspect of European integration or the European Union. For more information, please visit the EUCE/ESC website. **Deadline: April 1.**

**ESC European Grants Competition**
The European Studies Center is pleased to announce a second round of competition for Faculty European Grants. The competition is open to full-time faculty affiliated with the EUCE/ESC and will award grants for research-related activities for summer 2014. For more information, please visit the EUCE/ESC webpage. **Deadline: March 31.**

**Essay Winners Announced**
The EUCE/ESC would like to congratulate the following undergraduate students who won the Germany in Europe essay contest:

- **First place** – Jared Abell, “Concerning Proposed and Promised Gender Quotas on German Corporate Boards.”
- **Second place** – Eric Bishop, “Higher Education Reform in Germany.”
- **Third place** – Chris Spivak, “Crafting a Journey: Wenders’ Auteurism.”

The winners were chosen by Dr. Patrick Altdorfer of the Department of Political Science and Dr. Gregor Thum of the History Department. The funds for the contest were provided by the German Information Center USA at the German Embassy as part of their nationwide “Germany in Europe” Campus Weeks initiative.

Other events on campus this year that are supported for with funds from the German Information Center USA at the German Embassy include: the European Cultural Dis/Unification conference, which is co-hosted by the EUCE/ESC and the Department of German; two German Business Panels scheduled for April 1 entitled “The German Business Model and Why It’s So Successful” and “How is Doing Business with Germany Different from Other Countries;” a photo contest for students whose theme is “Finding Europe in Pittsburgh;” and the visit of Sarah Lambert, Deputy Head of the EU Commission Representation Unit in Madrid, who gave the keynote address at this year’s Model EU and met with EU certificate students to discuss EU current events and career possibilities.
This month, EUCE/ESC Newsletter Editor Gavin Jenkins interviewed alumnus Scott Magalich, who graduated in 2011 with a degree in Political Science, a French minor, and a Western European Studies Certificate. Magalich is enrolled at Sciences Po in Paris, and he is earning a Master's degree in European Affairs. He grew up in Saltsburg, PA, and while at the University of Pittsburgh, he was a member of the Student International Relations Society. He also studied in Brussels, where he interned at New Europe, a weekly newspaper.

Q: How did you become interested in European Affairs?

A: I've been interested in European politics for quite a while, at least since I was a teenager. Though, I didn't think about studying it until much later. I actually entered Pitt through the business school, but it took one semester for me to realize it wasn't for me and so I switched to Political Science and focused on Europe.

Q: How did you determine which schools to apply? Why Sciences Po?

A: Once I decided to go to graduate school, I sent an email to [EUCE/ESC Assistant Director] Stephen Lund and asked him for some help on choosing schools because I wasn't sure where to start. I'm the first in my family to graduate from college. He set up a meeting with the head of the Political Science department to discuss what schools I could apply to. I decided on Sciences Po and two schools in the UK. In the end, I decided to go to Sciences Po because it is a two year program (as opposed to just one year) and includes an internship for the final semester. There is also the sad fact that it is cheaper to go to graduate school in Europe than the US, even with paying the international rate.

Q: How did your study abroad trip to Brussels and internship at New Europe help you?

A: It was my first time out of the country, and so the trip to Brussels helped confirm that I wanted to eventually go to Europe. I found the Council on International Educational Exchange program through the Pitt study abroad office and decided on Brussels because it's the capital of Europe, and I thought it would be a good place to go if I was going to study the European Union. The internship was fantastic. While working for the paper, I was able to go to press conferences and to the European Parliament a couple times.

Q: What are your career goals after you graduate from Sciences Po?

A: Once I finish my masters program, I hope to get a job here in Paris. I would like to either work in a think tank or an international organization based here.

Q: What advice do you have for undergraduate students who want to follow your path?

A: My advice would be to make sure it is what you want.

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to do. It’s what everyone says and so it’s a bit of a cliché, but moving across an ocean is not an easy thing to do. There are many websites online to help you through all the ridiculous administrative things you need to do, but actually moving so far away from home to a country that doesn’t speak the same language is not an easy thing to do. You can’t always understand everything, you can’t make the same jokes, and while American culture is well known and exported, it is certainly not the same outside of America. On top of all that, your friends cannot easily visit you and coming home is not as easy for you as it is for a lot of other people who live closer to school. But despite all this, if you really want to go and study in Europe, then it’s a great experience and all of the red tape shouldn’t scare anyone off. It’s definitely possible and there are people and websites to help you get there. €

The Broader Impact:

Given the large number of people entering, one would expect to find some impact on the organization. However, while the CEE countries shared the experience of Communism and transition, they varied dramatically in their past histories and national cultures. Thus, it is not surprising that, rather than sharing a single approach, the new managers actually diversified the management culture, reflecting a wide range of previous work experiences.

When asked, those from “old” member states identified the two most visible changes resulting from enlargement: more women and more English. In fact, the Commission used the enlargement to improve its gender balance, and one positive legacy of Communism was a large number of women with higher education and solid professional experience who were interested in applying. The result was dramatic: 61 percent of new professional recruits were women – over 70 percent for some countries. In contrast, from the “old” member states, on average only 32 percent were female in 2012. What difference did this make? While scholars debate whether women and men managers tend to use different management styles, inside the Commission many people, including senior managers, are convinced that women bring a less combative, more cooperative approach. Several senior women from CEE countries who described their attempts to introduce a more participative and democratic approach said they often were met by skepticism from staff members unaccustomed to such open communication.

My book also explores the cultural, political, and even management effects of the increased use of English rather than French inside the Commission, and the dangers of humor in a multilingual and multicultural environment, but those issues are too complex to summarize here. €

The AKP has ruled Turkey for more than a decade, and it is led and personified by Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Prime Minister Erdoğan has a seemingly insurmountable level of popularity. His power never faced a serious challenge until a corruption scandal that erupted in December, 2013.

Prior to the current scandal, Erdoğan and the AKP were one of the strongest and most successful political party leaderships in the history of Turkish politics. Yet to many observers, the party is an enigma in several respects. The party is socially conservative with a strong religious base, but rejects any Islamist moniker; it engages in both democratic rhetoric and aspects of democratization, but increasingly displays highly authoritarian tendencies. It actively pursued EU membership while also developing stronger ties to its Middle Eastern neighbors. Under AKP rule, Turkey has rapidly undergone massive social, political, and economic changes. In 2007, as part of its policy reforms, the AKP began a process to reform and renew
the country’s 1982 constitution, which is still in effect. That constitution was written by the secular Republican military, which seized state power in a 1980 coup.

I examined individual and organizational-level strategies utilized in dealing with political repression, and whether individuals or organizations choose protest, free expression, or self-censorship. For example, in choosing self-censorship, individuals and organizations limit the expression of their ideas and values in order to avoid the punishing and repressive tactics of the ruling party, but in doing so, implicitly legitimize the ruling party’s agenda.

To understand how the concept of self-censorship as a political choice works within a framework of political repression, freedom of expression, and constitutional democracy, we must understand the costs and benefits individuals and organizations perceive as consequences of their choice to limit their own self-expression. We must also understand the perceived costs and benefits to two other choices: freely expressing one’s views or outright protest or mobilization.

I discovered that the costs and benefits of a particular strategy as perceived by individuals and organizations are subject to the historical experiences of those parties. For example, in Turkey, the individuals can be divided into two groups: those who had a collective memory of previous religious repression by Turkey’s secularist military regime; and those who had no such collective memory of repression. Both groups initially saw an opportunity for the AKP to be Islamic and democratic, and both had an incentive for free expression but not mobilization.

Throughout the tenure of the AKP, however, it became more evident that the party’s reforms for improving constitutional freedom of expression were geared toward the majority religious group: Sunni Muslims. For those who have a collective memory of repression, this is a democratic tit-for-tat: it is perceived as democratic for this group to be favored for free expression of their ideas and values in order to avoid the punishing and repressive tactics of the ruling party, but in doing so, implicitly legitimize the ruling party’s agenda.

While both groups perceive the government as increasingly authoritarian and corrupt, the group without a collective memory of repression of their religious expression saw a much greater cost in their choice of self-censorship over the last decade. One prominent journalist said that the media has “never been in such a moral degeneration,” when it failed to publish stories critical of the ruling government. This perceived cost also becomes an incentive for mobilization in the present.

I found that the payoff ratio of a particular strategy (self-censorship, free expression, or protest) by individuals and organizations was also subject to international influence on domestic politics. When the ruling AKP was pursuing European Union membership more vigorously, individuals and organizations perceived reduced costs in their choice to freely express their views and ideas. As the AKP’s agenda became more focused on the expansion of rights and freedoms for the religious Sunni-Muslim majority only, the ability of Turkey’s quest for EU membership to bolster risk-taking for free expression disappeared. At this point, and before the summer 2013 “Gezi” protests altered the rules of the game, the choice of self-censorship of views critical of the government or ideas contrary to their conservative-Islamic agenda was the perceived “rational” choice.

My interviews showed that after the AKP deprioritized EU membership, and before the collective action of the Gezi protests, self-censorship occurred on the individual and organizational levels in the arts, academia, and in the news media. In the arts, self-censorship occurred in response to threats to privatize after several run-ins between the prime minister and the National Theatre, Opera, and Ballet, which are subsidized by the state. In April, 2012, Prime Minister Erdogan’s daughter was insulted when she attended a play staged by the National Theatre. At the same time, the government deemed the content of several plays put on in the Istanbul Municipality as inappropriate. The Prime Minister then declared his intention to privatize these arts, and to more clearly empower the government to choose the content of the arts that its supports. Artists I interviewed described their
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deliberate choice of artistic content that would not further contradict the government’s conservative preferences.

Events like these in the arts, and in the well-documented control of the news media, inspired protests, which erupted in the summer of 2013. The protests — referred to as “Gezi” for the last green space in Istanbul’s Taksim Square — launched the country’s domestic politics into the international spotlight. Despite the brutality of the police response to the Gezi protests, which resulted in at least eleven deaths and thousands of injuries, the protests had a transformational effect on mobilization and political expression in Turkey. I observed this change when researching the risks individuals were willing to take in exercising their rights to freedom of expression.

Thus, the Gezi protests have seemed to change the rules of the game for political mobilization in Turkey in terms of freedom of expression. Observers noted the creative use of humor and wit as a weapon against an increasingly vicious authoritarianism. While the activists used humor to boost their morale as the protests and police brutality remained out of the domestic press, they signaled their willingness to challenge the government in new ways and began to chip away at the democratic façade that legitimized the government. Though the protests ended, their effects remain in a new readiness of individuals to challenge the government, its power, and its conservative policy agenda.

The government’s heavy-handed response to the Gezi protests reaffirmed a societal belief in the underlying cause of the protests for many observers. This belief is that democracy, as defined by the current AKP government, derives its legitimacy for policy-making exclusively from its electoral (and therefore Parliamentary) majority and not only disregards, but discourages, free public participation in the country’s politics. Particularly unwelcome to the government is participation by those who oppose the increasingly conservative, Islamic-inspired policies of the governing AKP. The effects remain to be seen in the country’s local elections this month and its first popular Presidential elections in August.

I was grateful to receive a grant from the EUCE/ESC to conduct field research in Turkey for my dissertation and to help make sense of these changes. €