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Introduction

Teaching and Learning 'Europe' in 'the Periphery': Disciplinary, Educational and Cognitive Boundaries of European Studies

Başak Alpan and Thomas Diez

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Abstract

This introductory article argues that there is a need to introduce a renewed approach to the field of European Studies which takes into account various perspectives from the 'periphery' to unfold complexities and challenges of teaching and learning 'Europe' away from the immediate geographical and conceptual focus of the European studies. By elaborating on the notion of 'periphery' and exploring how European Studies resonate beyond 'the centre', we aim to explore the complexities and challenges of European Studies in its relationality of the broader processes such as EU accession and global university education. This endeavour will contribute to the ongoing disciplinary debate on the future of European Studies as well as the introduction of new methods of teaching and knowledge production by presenting alternative narratives on the challenges of European integration and Europeanisation in the 'periphery'.

Keywords

Periphery; European Studies; De-centring; Teaching and learning Europe; Curriculum; EU accession

DE-CENTERING THE TEACHING "EUROPE"

Research and teaching on the European Union and the European integration process has been a largely Eurocentric exercise. While this may seem hardly surprising, it has significant and problematic consequences. Within the EU, the disciplinary navel-gazing of European Studies has led to a lack of critical perspectives, a linkage of policy advice and analysis, and a bias towards the existing modes of EU governance. Outside the EU, and specifically in the immediate neighbourhood, EU scholarship has been dominated by research and material produced within the EU, reinforcing dependency structures and the model that European integration has set. Alternatively, those critical of the EU, rather than constructively engaging with European governance, often tended to be drawn too quickly into simplistic discourses of power politics and imperialism, covering up rather than illuminating the nuanced and differentiated way in which the EU and European integration have been part of a postcolonial predicament.

Much of this has been tied to an unreflective belief in the idea of normative power Europe (Manners 2002), which all too often has led to a *"mission civilisatrice"* (Nicolaïdis, 2015). European integration has been taught to promote the EU and its historical development, as a way that others should follow. In particular in the EU near abroad, future elites were to be "socialised" into EU institutions and procedures, to be "prepared" for future membership. In the context, "Europe" and the EU have often been equated. This left little room for critical engagement, for local perspectives, or for a dialogue between different visions of integration and trans- or supranational forms of governance.

To some extent, EU institutions have realised the deficiencies of such an approach and have thus sponsored a number of projects to investigate how the EU is seen from outside. However, the aim of these projects was not so much to engage in dialogue than to improve the EU's standing and thus ultimately an exercise in the context of public diplomacy, even though the research as such has often taken a more critical stance.

What is missing for the time being is a critical assessment of how "Europe" is taught in the EU neighbourhood, i.e. in those spaces that are often represented as the "periphery" or as "liminal", and how this "periphery" is constructed in this context. This is thus the main aim of this Special Issue. In the following, we first set out in more detail the context and challenges of teaching Europe in the "periphery", before outlining the core questions that we would like to address. We end with an overview of the contributions to this special issue and an overall assessment of their findings.

CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES

Teaching never takes place in a vacuum and is always subject to a range of discursive, societal and political influences. This is all the truer in relation to teaching processes and institutions that are social and political in their very nature. A such, European Studies is a discipline which is 'always already there and still in formation' (Calhoun 2003). Yet the process of its continuous formation needs to be scrutinised more than they have been done in the past.

A first influential factor in the development of European Studies is the being "always already there" – the traditions of thought existing within the discipline, the concepts that have been established, the works that are seen as canonical. These definitions of core concepts, theories and publications give meaning to a "discipline" – they have a disciplining force. Yet they also instil and reproduce biases, power structures, and marginalisation. Analysing the teaching of European Studies thus needs to investigate the core concepts and theories taught, the textbooks used, and ways in which these reproduce existing power structures.

Second, teaching "Europe" is always shaped by political realities. The structural differences and divergent trends within European integration, frequently described as a fracture along North-South, East-West or centre-periphery lines, thus create a challenge to teaching and learning European integration in diverse settings which are at different points of the integration process. The picture gets more complicated when it comes to teaching European Studies in "the periphery" where linkages to Europe and the EU in particular are not yet settled and remain contested, making European integration even more of a moving target than it is anyway. In membership candidate countries, European Studies faces the danger of being defined by the problem of how the country in question is doing with regard to the EU accession rather than an autonomous scientific discipline.

Third, teaching (as much as research) takes place within structures of research and education. The relevance of the centre-periphery framework to education has generically been used to analyse the relationship between universities in industrialised countries and those in the Third World as well as universities within nations (Galtung 1971, Altbach 1981; 1998). In this framework, universities in the international knowledge equation are stratified into "centre" and "periphery". The centre, mostly located in developed Western countries, plays the dominant role in giving directions and providing research, whilst the peripheral universities in the Global South only 'copy developments from abroad, produce little that is original, and are generally not at the frontiers of knowledge' (Altbach 1998: 20). Thus, it has been argued that being in the 'periphery' means being marginal to 'knowledge empires' (Altbach 2007). Arguably, global science (which is also understood as a centre-periphery hierarchy) 'remains structured by a Euro-American inclusion/exclusion binary that operates at two levels: first, in the determination of what is included in the global system; and second, in the ordering of value inside it' (Marginson and Xu 2021: 7). This structure is grounded in history, resource inequality, institutions, and language, cultural homogeneity and research agendas (Marginson and Xu 2021).

Approaches which have criticised the field of IR to be an essentially Western discipline also echoed similar arguments to the above centre-periphery framework. This tendency overlaps with a call for the creation of a post-Western IR that reflects the global and local contexts of the declining power and legitimacy of the West (for a good debate on post-Western IR, see Owen et. al. 2017). The suggestion here is to introduce a more global and distinctly post-Western IR that takes into account both the contemporary shifts in power away from the West and the legacies of the West in the ways in which international politics is talked about (discourses) and enacted (practices) (Owen et.al. 2017: 280). This is also reflected in knowledge production in the "periphery". For instance, in line with the international academic division of labour, IR scholars from Central Eastern Europe as well as Turkey and Russia are discouraged from theoretical contributions (Drulak 2009: 170). They tend to be invited to international projects as regional experts who can provide local data but from whom no theoretical contributions are expected. Here, the metaphor of the centre imposing its theoretical frames on the periphery is in order, especially given the importance of theory in the Western IR discipline (Waever 2007).

Last but not least, teaching "Europe" is shaped by the broader global context, the developments in the global economy and the prevailing structures of international society. For instance, there is already a pressing challenge faced by the higher education globally posed by the need to answer to the needs of a knowledge society. The increasing commodification of university education and a substantial rise of the flow of students across national borders are significantly influencing the way we study social phenomena. 'The extensive international comparisons of educational achievement are spurring new and often globally converging policy responses' and shift the research agendas of a variety of disciplines including social sciences (Gopinathan and Altbach 2005: 118).

Departing from the claim that teaching and learning "Europe" in its "periphery" needs a critical and multi-faceted perspective which would unpack the notion of 'Europe' and the process of European integration as well as the educational and pedagogical dimensions of

the European Studies, this Special Issue intends to explore this puzzle of "periphery" (which is the common concern in all contributions of the Issue) through two dimensions: First, it is necessary to take stock of the geographical and conceptual limits of 'Europe' and European Studies through contextualising 'Europe' as a region and European Studies as an academic discipline and how this is reflected in textbooks, syllabi and other teaching material. How can we make sense of "Europe" as a region and in terms of centre-periphery axis? How does European Studies resonate beyond the "centre"? Secondly, we also need to take a look at the practical and empirical hurdles of teaching and learning Europe beyond the immediate geography of the EU. Could we possibly uncouple practical hurdles of the EU integration process from academic research on "Europe", especially in the "periphery" where these hurdles are most intensely experienced?

We argue that we need a renewed approach to the field of European Studies which takes into account various perspectives from the "periphery" to unfold the complexities and challenges of teaching and learning "Europe" away from the immediate geographical and conceptual focus of established European Studies. By elaborating on the notion of "periphery" and by tackling with the conceptual categories of "periphery" in Europe, we will aim to explore the complexities and challenges of studying and teaching Europe and the European integration process in its relationality to broader processes such as de-Europeanisation and EU accession. This endeavour will contribute to the ongoing disciplinary debate on the future of European studies as well as the current "future of Europe" debates by presenting alternative narratives on the challenges of the European integration and Europeanisation in the "periphery".

CORE QUESTIONS

Against this background, the core research questions of this Special Issue will be reflecting the overall concern of addressing the challenges of teaching and learning "Europe" in the "periphery" as follows:

1- How can we make sense of the conceptual category of "periphery" within the framework of European studies? (conceptual)

2- What are the challenges of producing knowledge on the European integration in the "periphery"? (epistemological)

3- How can we develop new and innovative teaching curricula and provide a thorough understanding of specific topical European integration issues which takes into account various perspectives from the "periphery"? (educational)

4-To what extent can this endeavour of focusing on teaching and learning "Europe" in the "periphery" speak to the ongoing "Future of Europe" debate? (conversational)

THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO THIS ISSUE

Against this background, the contributions in this issue address various aspects of teaching and learning "Europe" in the "periphery" at various settings in line with the research questions framed above. Makarchev and Troncota's article aim to problematise the educational aspect of Europeanisation in Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries by focusing on the promotion of EU studies in higher education institutions. Through qualitative data from reports of four EU-funded cooperation projects developed by the University of Tartu (Estonia) in partnership with other EU-based and non-EU universities from the EaP and two student focus group interviews, the authors critically explore how the EU is taught in the Eastern neighbourhood, focusing on local perspectives on EU-funded projects in higher education. The teaching of the European integration is also the departure point for Boschetti, who focuses on the representations of Europe in history textbooks at Italian secondary schools. Her paper looks at how the idea of "a centre of an integrated Europe" is presented to pupils in Italy, thereby assessing the links between EU integration and Italian domestic and foreign policies. After outlining the historical development of the introduction of EEC/EU as a topic, Boschetti focuses on content, lexical and visual analysis of Italian textbooks, chapters or paragraphs dealing directly with European integration in

particular. On a different note, teaching of EU law in Turkey is at the core of the article by Çakmak, Özçelik and Akdemir, which explores how the process of Europeanisation and legal and political language of reforms envisaged by the Copenhagen Criteria are taught at Turkish higher education institutions. Through a review of the EU law curriculum at universities and by comparing EU law to European Studies courses in general, the authors attest that the European Studies curricula in Turkey do not pay particular attention to the teaching of the EU law *par excellence*, and instead pursue a historical assessment of Turkey-EU relations or an advanced analysis of the EU polity itself. This, according to the authors, shows how Europeanisation is viewed and defined in Turkish European Studies curriculum, which lacks a particular analysis and review of the EU *acquis per se*. Parker's piece develops a rather more general perspective on "peripheral thinking" on the EU, by focusing on teaching the EU at a "new periphery": Brexit Britain. Through adopting a 'critical-pluralist approach', the paper suggests that a 'question driven approach' might be one pedagogically practical way of presenting such a plurality to the students of European Studies. Parker suggests presenting to students a range of legitimate questions related to the EU as object of study, thereby permitting them to explore various theoretical approaches to the study of the EU. In particular, the paper focuses on how Brexit was used to critically engage with mainstream theories of European integration and draw students' attention to a range of various political arguments and normative perspectives on the EU in the university classrooms in the UK. Last, but not least, departing from the challenges of knowledge production "in the periphery", Turhan and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm explore the degree of 'epistemic injustice' featured by the discipline of European Studies in Turkey, through a mapping exercise of the evolution of EU-Turkey studies after 1996 until today. The authors draw on a dataset involving 300 articles on EU-Turkey studies published in 26-SSCI indexed journals to scrutinize the extent of epistemic diversity persisting in the discipline. They argue that in order to overcome the epistemic injustice in EU-Turkey studies, the discipline should place greater emphasis on the explanatory power of unorthodox IR theories that locate this very relationship within the multilateral system and the global political order and include more unconventional, avant-garde research topics into its research agenda.

CONTRIBUTION

This Special Issue is not the first endeavour to introduce a critical perspective to European Studies. Different ways of approaching the teaching and the learning of European Studies, which reflect the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary nature of the discipline, have been proposed by various studies starting from the early 2000s (Field 2001, Gonzalez and Wagenaar 2005, Manners 2009, Bache 2004). More recently, more critical approaches to European Studies have been aired, with the aim to provide the discipline with 'another European trajectory which have been largely excluded and left unheard in mainstream discussions over the past decade of scholarship and analysis' (Manner and Whitman 2016: 3). For instance, a JCMS 2016 Special Issue titled, 'Another Theory is Possible: Dissident Voices in Theorising Europe' rightly aimed to address the analytical and normative crisis of the European Studies. Nevertheless, this volume did not include any authors from outside the EU. Perhaps, it is about time to propose a critical account which would include plural perspectives exploring the centre-periphery divide and inviting alternative voices on European studies from the 'periphery' to the debate to be able to question *the ceteris paribus* assumptions of European Studies (Manners 2007: 77).

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Research Article

Europeanisation through Education: Promoting European Studies in "Eastern Partnership" Countries

Andrey Makarychev and Miruna Butnaru-Troncota

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Abstract

Educational practices are instrumental in the transfer of European values beyond EU borders. Our aim is to problematize Europeanisation through education in the Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries by studying the promotion of EU studies in higher education projects funded by the Erasmus + programme. The paper discusses the educational dimension of Europeanisation in EaP countries from three interrelated perspectives - social constructivism, the Foucauldian concept of governmentality and a post-structuralist reading of centrality and marginality. We specifically focus on a series of international projects developed by the University of Tartu (Estonia) in partnership with other EU-based and non-EU universities from the EaP. We used qualitative data from reports of 4 EU-funded cooperation projects and also students' views obtained in 2 focus groups that explored how the EU is taught and discussed. In the end, the added value of the article is that it offers a critical view on teaching the EU in the Eastern neighborhood, focusing on nuanced local perspectives on the challenges of Europeanisation through education.

Keywords

Governmentality; Higher education; Europeanisation; Eastern Partnership; Erasmus Plus

INTRODUCTION

The field of European Union (EU) studies includes not only theories of EU integration, but also analyses of how the EU is being taught in different educational spaces. Seen from the sociological perspective of people-to-people contacts, the field of education is crucial for Europeanisation in non-EU countries. In the last decade, there were increasing critical accounts on how we study the EU through constructed representations. Parker (2008) and others stressed the need for moving beyond the EU-centric perspective in analysing the EU and including other 'marginal' voices in scholarly accounts to better scrutinize the normative 'center' of the EU. In this context, critical approaches to the European integration emerged under a new field of Critical European Studies (Bigo et al 2021). Based on this perspective and as is already discussed in the Introduction to this Special Issue, teaching and learning about the EU is as politicised as the EU itself. This is valid in EU member states, and even more so in the countries outside the EU, aspiring to either membership or closer relations with the EU. As part of this 'revision' of European studies, it was argued that the dominant academic practices tend to privilege particular methodologies and approaches, and have determined a dominant set of experiences in the study of Europe, leaving little space for non-EU scholars' "dissident voices" (Manners and Whitman 2016). Most recently Europeanisation scholars' theoretical developments in and around the EU focused also on the various forms of contestation over the EU or of distancing from the EU's institutional or normative structures (Gürkan and Tomini 2020) for which the concept of 'de-Europeanisation' opened a new research avenue (Müller et al. 2021). The multiple crises that have hit the EU since the global financial crackdown onwards have led scholars to conclude that there are numerous limits to the Europeanisation research agenda and the so-called 'good weather literature' needs to be adapted to the ways these crises have re-shaped the EU itself and reset its interactions with non-EU countries. Gürkan and Tomini (2020) and Saurugger (2014b) showed how the explanatory strength of the concept of Europeanisation might be limited to analysing the EU's impact mainly during 'good times', as opposed to crises. In this context, this article intends to discuss the importance of political contexts in which EU-based universities promote European studies–grounded disciplines in non-EU neighbors and partners, with a special focus on Eastern Partnership (EaP) countries.

From a geopolitical perspective, EaP covers six countries – Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan - all sharing a post-Soviet background, but in the meantime remaining dissimilar regarding their positioning towards Europe. What in 2009, at the time of launching the EaP project, was hoped to be a relatively cohesive bunch of partners and neighbors with European aspirations, became a fragmented regional grouping shaped by two interlaced dynamics. One is a broadly defined Europeanisation whose forms range from symbolic affinity with European culture (Azerbaijan) to long-term institutional and normative commitments through Association Agreements (Ukraine, Moldova and Georgia). Another dynamic is fostered by a series of military conflicts, which is the direct opposite to the entire philosophy of EU's normative power. There is a significant degree of geopolitics behind EU's actions to advance Europeanisation in its Eastern Neighborhood, which became more visibly after the annexation of Crimea in 2014. The major sources of military insecurity are direct outcomes of Russia's invasions in Georgia (2008) and Ukraine (since 2014), along with the continuing stationing of Russian troops in Transnistria. The military standoff between Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno-Karabakh is another conflict that pits the two EaP countries against each other. The authoritarian retroversion of the Lukashenka regime in Belarus to the point of becoming an object of severe EU sanctions

is one more factor that sets limits to spreading EU norms and values as a core element of the EaP.

There are different policy fields analysed from a Europeanisation perspective in the literature. Education is one of them, particularly in qualitative-based analyses. There is an extensive literature focused on the Europeanisation of higher education, that argues that for more than three decades EU's Erasmus programme contributes to deepening European integration (Huisman, Luijten-Lub and van der Wende, 2005; Curaj et al 2015; Marques, Zapp and Powell, 2020). Beyond the student mobilities, there are now other EU-led programs, such as the Jean Monnet Actions or Academic Networks aimed at increasing cooperation between the educational systems of member states and third countries in order to modernize curricula and promote EU studies in non-EU countries. In this article we plan to look closer at power asymmetries within Erasmus cooperation projects and their impact on how the EU is taught outside the EU. The discussion is geopolitically relevant because the EU and its Eastern neighborhood go through a challenging period, with domestic evolutions and security threats that resulted in increasing differentiation between EU's partners.

What is missing from the current scholarly debate is a critical account of local perspectives on EU studies and the way they are taught in non-EU countries (Alpan and Diez, 2022). Going beyond the fact that students and professors from EaP countries have the opportunity to travel to and interact with other peers in EU universities, we believe that a more nuanced discussion on how this cooperation reproduces certain geopolitical biases or informal power structures is needed. We presume that educational practices are instrumental in the transfer of European values beyond EU borders. Consequently, we look at Europeanisation through education from both sides - from the position of EU-based universities that spread good practices of management, teaching and learning, and from the viewpoint of their non-EU partners with whom meanings of Europeanisation are shared and who are expected to become main beneficiaries of spill-over effects in knowledge transfer. The assumption that the ambivalent relations between the EaP countries and the EU during the last five years were reflected in the promotion of EU studies in these countries needs to be further investigated. In this context, we analyse practical details of the implementation of various EU-sponsored projects fostering higher education institutions, particularly those having strong research and policy-related components.

From a post-structuralist perspective, Europeanisation also entails new symbolic dynamics that mark the complex center-periphery relations in Europe. Parker (2008) proposed an important theoretical problematisation of EU's geopolitical identity by exploring the center-periphery relations in Europe. This article plans to build on this understanding of the EaP region as a political construct resulted from a renegotiation of EU's center-periphery relations, where higher education plays an important role, as it contributes to the production of representations and discourses among students and professors. As part of this critical discussion of EU studies both teaching and learning in specific regional contexts require further problematisation. In this light, the article is centered on the following research question: how center-periphery relations are constructed and enacted in teaching and learning about the EU in EaP countries?

There are numerous analyses looking at different experiences of students in Erasmus exchange programmes in connection with the European identity (Van Mol, 2013; Zichner & Vladislav, 2016; Udrea, 2016). To add a different perspective to this strand in the literature, we approach Europeanisation in a more critical way, and adopt an interdisciplinary

perspective that combines socio-constructivist analyses on Europeanisation mechanisms in education, interpreted through the concept of governmentality and post-structuralist accounts on center - periphery relations. In this context, there are a series of other critical issues to be addressed in correlation with our main research question: how Europe-related subjects in political studies and international relations resonate beyond the EU educational space? How do engagements with educational programs in different post-Soviet countries affect EU-based universities? How does the exposure to EU integration narratives change attitudes and identities in non-EU countries? How does Europeanisation operate in collaborative transnational education projects through socialization and the spillover effects of social learning during the interactions between EU-based professors teaching EU studies in countries of EaP? We are thus interested in analysing mainly alternative narratives on the challenges of Europeanisation in the EU's Eastern neighborhood, and further reflecting on if and how they reproduce existing power structures. Thus, it is suitable to look at cooperation projects in higher education as channels of communication and engagement of EU-based educational and academic institutions with the spaces where Europeanisation takes place. In order to tackle these questions, we organized the article as follows:

The first section reviews the relevant theoretical discussions on Europeanisation and asymmetry of power, focusing on three interrelated perspectives: the social constructivist understanding of Europeanisation as identity transfer through social learning; the Foucauldian concept of governmentality; and the post-structuralist discussion on centrality and marginality. The second section consists in a methodological note explaining the main sources of our qualitative data - reports of 4 EU-funded cooperation projects and students' views obtained in 2 focus groups that explored how the EU is taught and discussed. Next, the case study section is divided in two parts: the first discusses the objectives, implications and opinions of the beneficiaries involved in the selected Jean Monnet projects, both in EU-based universities and their partners from EaP countries. In the second part we extend our analysis to students' perspectives on their mobility experiences in European universities. For that, we applied as main interpretive research methods participant observation and two focus groups with students studying EU-related disciplines: one in Tartu (Estonia, 8 participants) and one in Lviv (Ukraine, 8 participants) that were organised in person between August and September 2021. The article was also updated with a short section with reflections on the ongoing war in Ukraine (as of May 2022) and how it impacts higher education practices in the selected international cooperation projects. In the last section we conclude outlining how these engagements with educational programs in different EaP countries affect EU-based universities, and further reflect on how this alters the field of EU studies.

EUROPEANISATION AS EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE: THREE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Since the 2000's the concept of Europeanisation was and still continues to be one of the most debated and contested concepts in European studies. In this section we discuss the educational dimension of Europeanisation from three interrelated theoretical perspectives. We start with the social constructivist conceptualization that looks at European integration as a social construction constantly changing through social interaction between various actors who construct, diffuse and contest EU norms, and we apply this to the field of higher education. Then we complement this approach with the Foucauldian concept of governmentality that is helpful for highlighting the salience of the administrative and managerial

side of knowledge transfer and cross-border mobility among educational institutions. Finally, we refer to some ideas embedded in a post-structuralist understanding of centrality and marginality as mutually correlative and constitutive characteristics of spatial relations applicable to the field of this study.

Building Europeans Outside the EU: The Social Constructivist Perspective

Europeanisation is predominantly understood as the adoption of EU-aligned regulations and norms, reflected in discourses and practices. Rational choice-based theories propose a rather rigid view of Europeanisation, as they look mainly at such quantifiable effects of EU's interaction with partner countries as liberalization of the visa regime, progress of cooperation with the EU institutions through "action plans", adaptation of the *acquis communautaire* and EU's financial aid in different policy sectors. In contrast, constructivists look at non-quantifiable mechanisms of Europeanisation, such as the circulation of ideas, promotion of values, building features of a European identity and various norm transfers (Troncotă 2016). While rationalist institutionalist accounts have for almost two decades dominated the scholarly debates on Europeanisation, constructivists argued that beyond many other things, European integration transforms collective identities and lets non-EU citizens 'become Europeans'. In this theoretical strand, the EU is seen as a discursive force that shapes identities and determines states and citizens alike to act in a certain way (based on European values) by categorising their actions through its own criteria. In other words, Europeanisation is not something to be measured, but rather a process that can be closely observed looking at its manifestations in time and space as intersubjective interactions between actors inside and outside the EU (Troncotă 2016).

European studies scholars have recognised the importance of social constructivism for a better understanding of Europeanisation, a process through which new supra-national institutions and social identities emerge, as well as existent local institutions and identities transform (Wiener, Borzel and Risse 2019). Europeanisation is thus seen from the perspective of social learning in which Europeans become socialised in the EU polity through internalisation of EU norms, which influences the formation of actors' interests and identities (Risse 2004; Saurugger 2014). The basic premise of a constructivist understanding of Europeanisation is that all three dimensions of the EU - polity, politics, and policy - are social constructs, context-dependent and go through an ongoing process of change and adaptation (Christiansen et al. 2001; Saurugger 2014). As such, the impact of Europeanisation on European societies is largely determined by the extent of and the ways in which the EU is interpreted, represented and used by domestic actors (Kaliber 2013). The complex process of Europeanisation involves EU institutions and social norms influencing citizens' daily practices and social interactions. The constitutive effects of EU norms make actors socialise in European contexts to learn the rules of appropriate behaviour in the Union, becoming more Europeanised, and constructing their identity as Europeans (Borzel and Risse 2003; Risse 2004; Saurugger 2014). Constructivist authors highlighted the constitutive effects of Europeanisation not only at elite level, but also on ordinary citizens' identities (Risse 2019). They showed that we ought to look not only at the ability of EU institutions to shape decisions, but also at their motivations, ideas and preferences in justifying the EU's actions. Accordingly, "the EU not only increasingly regulates the daily lives of individuals in various respects; it also constitutes 'Europe' as a political and social space in people's beliefs and collective understandings" (Risse 2019: 156). Thus we will look at Europeanisation in the EaP region as a two-way process of building European citizens outside the EU.

These social learning effects of Europeanisation are seen in constructivism as instances of 'horizontal Europeanisation' related to cross-border (inter-)actions of people through transnational communications and cooperation, migration and youth mobility, city twinning etc. From this point of view, students and professors from EU and non-EU universities working together provide a relevant space for problematising Europeanisation. There is a growing literature studying the impact of European exchange programmes on European citizenship and a shared sense of European identity (Udrea 2016; Gorgos, Vătămănescu and Andrei, 2016; Van Mol 2018). Yet recent studies pointed out that the role of education in the promotion of fundamental values in Europeanisation beyond the EU's borders has not yet been systematically examined: "This perspective broadens the current understanding of Europeanisation away from an elite-focused process towards a more 'everyday' conceptualization of Europeanisation that relates to and investigates how the European integration process affects citizens, their political behavior, and attitudes" (Slootmaeckers and O'Dwyer 2018:408).

The role of student exchanges in fostering a shared sense of European identity is one of the main claims of EU-funded programmes. There are studies focused on the importance of student mobility in promoting European values (Mutlu 2011; Öner 2015), discussing how Erasmus exchange programmes facilitate interactions between citizens from EU and non-EU states, how this contributes to their sense of 'community' and promotes a shared European identity (Stoeckel 2016). We will contribute to a different strand in the literature, looking more at power asymmetries within Erasmus cooperation projects and their impact on how the EU is taught outside the EU.

The Governmentality Perspective

Governmentality is usually discussed as a productive form of power and as a means to achieve greater freedom of action through knowledge-based practices based on the logic of the market and liberal political economy (Collier 2009). It implies a specific type of power relations grounded in socially, culturally and heuristically constructed practices of knowledge production, communication and meaning making, whose mechanisms significantly differ from sovereign power (Ettlinger 2011). The cognitive aspects of governmentality constitute spheres where educational practices are produced, generated and shared (Peters 2009), which becomes critical in situations of expanding the geographies of Europeanisation. Therefore, governmentality should not be understood in a narrow - technical, administrative and managerial—sense, and ought to embrace symbolic and cultural components (Weidner 2009). Governmentality scholars "are occupied with how the practices of government are intertwined with specific regimes of truth and the vocation of numerous experts and authorities" (Inda 2005: 8).

As seen from Michel Foucault's perspective, governmentality questions the idea of power derived only from the state. The state apparatus is neither the source nor the warrantor of power, but rather an outcome, an effect of more complex administrative, managerial and disciplinary relations. Governmentality mostly operates through (self-)regulative incentives and implies risk assessment, rational calculation, best practices promotion and transfer, fostering competitiveness through indexing, benchmarking, and other empowerment techniques. It exemplifies a technocratic model of steering and incentivizing grounded in rationalization of policy making in many spheres. Governmentality tools do not impose power, but rather help to optimize the limited resources. In this respect, "studies of governmentality have been extremely helpful in illuminating the "soft" or "empowering" mechanisms of power, demonstrating in what ways individuals and social groups

are governed by freedom and choice" (Lemke 2013, 37). Governmental mechanisms incorporate communicative and transformative power with its spill-over effects in such policy spheres as anti-corruption, transparency and accountability, anti-discrimination, civil service, intellectual property rights, public procurement, environmental protection, energy efficiency, and, of course, education.

Neoliberal governmentality can be part of a foreign policy strategy. The EU's agenda of external governmentality includes sharing best practices, learning at a distance, promoting innovative educational and academic programs, along with measures of conflict resolution / reconciliation / prevention through dialogue / communication and democratization. Governmentality packages offered to EU partners are grounded in a liberal political agenda of secularism, tolerance and multiculturalism; the externalization of these norms includes transformative impact over neighbors, modernization assistance with respective commitments (through the principle of conditionality), and visa liberalization as a special prize.

Initially, Foucault, the author of the concept of governmentality, analyzed liberal regimes grounded in knowledge-based technologies of power, as well as political rationalities of governance on a society-level that allows for the extension of European norms and values to other regions. As a response to the popularity of the concept, there were scholarly attempts to extend it from its traditional grounding in liberal societies respectful of human freedoms to all rationalized forms of power relation (Merlingen 2003). From this perspective, the governmentality approach should not start by assuming that policy actors have liberal intentions or qualities. Governmentality ought to be seen as a broad analytical framework that allows one to grasp how different agents (organizations, institutions, state bodies, etc.) utilize instruments of governance as power tools. Thus, the expansion of the notion of governmentality beyond the liberal West unveils a scope of diverse forms of governance, which fully applies to EaP countries.

The Making and Unmaking of Centers and Peripheries

Another source of theoretical inspiration for this research comes from the concept of "marginality" developed by Noel Parker (2008) and a group of his colleagues in postmodernist / poststructuralist scholarship. Within the frame of this discussion the European core is usually associated with a set of normative features – from principles to values – constitutive for the post-Cold War European identity-in-the-making. The key characteristic of the margin is the in-between location: margins are in a sense simultaneously "in" and "out", and they might (re)negotiate their belonging to the space controlled by "their" core and demand advantages for normative loyalty. Non-EU margins in Eastern Europe and the South Caucasus wish to join the core from geographically peripheral positions through taking normative commitments and associating themselves – both symbolically and, when possible, institutionally – with the EU. The EU contributes with financial assistance to EaP countries to promote reforms, influence policies, institutions, laws and enhance the ensuing transformations towards a democratic model. As part of the EaP policy dynamics, the 6 countries were expected to create mutual commitments to build common values and actions for reaching good governance, the rule of law and the promotion of market economy and democratic principles. Most analyses conclude that these countries were engaged in very different processes with different outcomes (Emerson et al, 2018; Been, Zweers and van Loon, 2021). Scholars have also pointed that differentiation and flexibility are two constants of the first decade of the EaP (Korosteleva et al. 2020).

Yet the core/margins relationship is not unidirectional, and countries that are (perceived as) non-central and thus weaker position themselves as belonging to Europe's normative

space and capable in one way or another of reshaping Europe. Looking at Eastern Europe and Southern Caucasus from the perspective of European Studies, one may assume that the portrayal of these regions is heavily embedded in the legacy of Western geopolitical and geographic categorization. EaP countries are objects of the EU's normative investments, yet their integration with the Euro-Atlantic core has always been precarious and ambivalent. Consequently, EaP countries are often regarded as peripherals of different centers, which is consequential for teaching international politics and European Studies, since many elements of the liberal international order - such as multilateralism, the primacy of institutions and rule-based policies, or human security concerns - are not at the heart of the regional agendas. The prevalence of bilateral relations over multilateral and institutional policies (Makarychev and Kruessmann 2019: 11) underscores the specificity of the post-Soviet region, and many project participants from EaP countries, instead of unconditionally accepting the EU primacy, advocate for finding a proper space for "Eastern" particularities in university curricula: in the words of a Georgian expert, "We need to look at our countries as laboratories of political development because here you can in a short time see developments that are no longer present in Europe'' (Next generation… 2018).

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

We problematise Europeanisation as a process of transferring EU values in the Eastern neighborhood through the promotion of EU studies in higher education. In particular, we are looking at four specific EU-funded international projects developed by the University of Tartu in partnership with other EU-based and non-EU universities from the EaP. Mechanisms of Europeanisation are interpreted and contextualized using qualitative methods analyzing the transnational integration of norms in teaching EU studies and collaboration between students and teaching staff from different EU and non-EU member states.

As empirical material, we used three types of primary sources: a. web-based information about the projects under consideration, b. the respective project final reports, and c. opinions and perceptions on the topic obtained in two focus groups with international students. The focus groups were organised in English, in person in autumn 2021 - one with students studying in Lviv where a EU-funded project helped to open a new master's program in Baltic – Black Sea Studies, and another with students from EaP countries in Tartu. These primary qualitative data were instrumental for understanding participants' perceptions of European Studies as an academic and normative realm, and for exploring political dilemmas that both teaching staff and students have to face as part of their study mobilities. Our analysis is divided into two clusters. The first one summarizes the analysis of three Erasmus Plus and Jean Monnet projects in which EU-based universities were sharing their expertise with partners from EaP countries. The second cluster reflects on Eastern European and South Caucasian students' perceptions of their experiences of participation in mobility programs and studying in a multicultural environment. We used numbers to identify each participant's quote, in order to anonymize their identities (see Annex).

CASE STUDY - PROBLEMATIZING THE PROCESS OF TEACHING EU STUDIES IN THE EASTERN NEIGHBOURHOOD

> "Culture and science are at the core of our European project as a way of going beyond borders. So culture and science are not some kind of accessory in the European idea.
>
> They are indeed a genetic element of the European project. They also show us what can be achieved when people meet and inspire each other."
>
> José Manuel Durão Barroso, President of the European Commission (2014)

Understood as diffusion of European ideas, norms and practices, education for Europeanisation is explicitly mentioned both in the EU's official policy documents related to higher education and in the EU's representatives' public speeches. The EU sees itself as 'a community of values' (Oshri, Sheafer and Shenhav 2016) promoted externally via education, culture and science, amongst other means. In January 2016 the European Parliament adopted the Ward Report on the promotion of EU values through intercultural dialogue, cultural diversity, and education (European Parliament 2016). As President of the Commission, Jose Barosso highlighted the need to include cultural dimensions (and thus education) within the work of the European External Action Service and EU representations throughout the world (Barosso 2014). From a financial perspective, currently the EU's overall budget for the Erasmus Plus programme has significantly risen - from €14.7 billion for the previous multi-annual framework (2014-2020) to €26.2 billion for the next one (2021-2027) (EACEA 2021). Moreover, from a political perspective education is seen as fostering a shared sense of belonging or constructing a European identity, as voiced in Emmanuel Macron's speech at the Sorbonne in September 2017, and his plea to create "European universities".

Of course, at the policy level these measures for enhancing educational cooperation in Europe are far older than the above-mentioned recent initiatives. The Bologna process, the inter-governmental initiative launched in 1999, which aims to ensure the comparability of higher education qualifications, the creation of a common European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and a European Research Area (ERA), along with mobility programmes (for example, the Erasmus programme for students or the Marie Skłodowska-Curie scheme for researchers) are illustrative of this idea. All of these actions aim to strengthen the "European educational dimension" and thus to bolster Europeanisation, transforming non-EU citizens' collective identities (Carlson, Eigmüller and Lueg, 2018). In this context, Slootmaeckers and O'Dwyer (2018) have discussed the potential of higher education as a new avenue to analyze the transformation of attitudes within the Europeanisation agenda.

With funding from the Erasmus + programmes of Jean Monnet Actions, academics in the field of European studies from non-EU countries are encouraged to propose projects in cooperation with universities from EU countries. Since 2015, this specific type of funding has been available for all six EaP countries: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. Between 2015 and 2018 the budget allocated to EaP countries allowed establishing a total of 1 514 projects for bilateral partnerships that plan to organise mobility for almost 25 000 students, researchers, and staff (EuNeighbors.eu 2019).

Particularly in the EaP region, this dominant approach of 'top-down Europeanisation' assumes that future elites are to be socialised into EU institutions and procedures, to prepare for future membership through EU-funded international projects. Moreover, the focusing of the EaP Platform 4 on "Mobility and People-to-People Contacts" is an illustration of this

logic of educational setting as a platform of EU norms transfer. EaP Platform 4 covers a wide array of policy dialogues on education, youth, culture, research and innovation, migration, mobility and border management between EU and EaP countries. This specific field was included after the EaP was launched (in 2009): the Panel on Education, Culture and Youth was endorsed by the EaP Summit in 2017 as part of the renewed EaP architecture. EU policy makers realised that a more direct focus on education, employability, culture and youth will better address local needs of the EaP populations.

Of all the Erasmus + programmes Jean Monnet (JM) activities are directly focused on the field of EU studies as they foster transnational academic networks. JM networks funded by the European Commission aim to develop EU studies worldwide by promoting cooperation between students and staff in teaching and researching European integration. These types of projects are relevant vehicles of Europeanisation in the EU's Eastern neighbourhood, but they can also illustrate other features of the process. On the one hand, these projects contribute to Europeanisation in EaP countries because they stimulate the feeling of belonging to the EU and boost the trust in the European project. On the other hand, these projects allow participants in different countries to face biases and limitations in defining EU values that are adapted to their own surroundings. Europeanisation is not the only discourse, particularly in a region where other alternative 'discursive entrepreneurs' – such as Russia, Turkey or China - are contesting the EU's legitimacy. As previous research shows, Europeanisation proves to be more than a one-way street as conventional approaches described, since there are contrasting views between EU's normative expectations and local realities as seen by civil society representatives (Buzogany 2018). Recent studies also showed that there are diverse and nuanced reactions to the EU's institutionalised norm transfer attempts in the EaP, and there is plenty of geopolitics involved in the process (Korosteleva 2017). Alternative narratives of this 'norm transfer' include contestation and resistance to EU values, leading non-EU citizens to question the fundamental aspect of EU's foreign policy which is its role as a transformative power produces positive outcomes (Alpan and Diez 2014; Yılmaz 2015; Alpan and Ozturk 2022). Going beyond the fact that students and teaching staff from EaP countries have the opportunity to travel to and interact with other peers in EU universities, we believe that a more nuanced discussion on how these cooperation projects reproduce certain logics and rationalities of governmentality is needed. Next, we assess these 'alternative narratives' in our selected case study.

PROBLEMATIZING EUROPEANISATION IN INSTITUTIONAL COOPERATION PROJECTS

The four projects we analyse in this subsection are based on consortia of EU-based and EaP countries-located universities (see Annex). One project - titled "Possibilities and Limits, Challenges and Obstacles of Transferring Best Practices and Experience to Moldova's and Georgia's Pre-accession Process" (EU-PREACC) - was implemented in 2013-2017 by a consortium of four participants representing EU-located universities (Tartu and Vilnius) and their non-EU partners in Chisinau and Tbilisi. The project activities were designed in line with the much-discussed vision of the Baltic states as EU's communicators with the EU's eastern neighbors and facilitators in their Europeanisation endeavors.

Another project - titled 'Developing European Studies in the Caucasus' (DESCnet, 2015-2018) was aimed at promoting the teaching of Europe-related disciplines in the region and

establishing the Association of European Studies in the Caucasus (AESC). The project consortium consisted of a group of EU-based universities (Tartu and Graz) and their partners from Yerevan, Tbilisi, Baku, Pyatigorsk and Istanbul.

The third project - "Rethinking Regional Studies: the Baltic - Black Sea Connection'', RRS, 2017-2021 - has established a new MA program on Baltic - Black Sea Studies at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv. Within the project framework, EU-based universities (Tartu, Poznan, Lund and Kaunas) were cooperating with their Ukrainian partners from Lviv, Kyiv, Odesa and Mariupol.

The fourth project - "Academic Responses to Hybrid Threats", WARN, started in 2019 and brought together a consortium of EU-based participants from Finland, Estonia, Portugal and France, and their partners from several Ukrainian universities. The overall goal is to improve Ukrainian universities' curricula of disciplines related to security in general and, in particular, relations with Russia through the prism of European standards of teaching subjects related to hybrid threats, including fake news and disinformation campaigns.

Our insiders' analysis of the practical implementation of these four projects led to two mutually correlative observations. First, the EU studies - based disciplines, when taught in and for EaP academic audiences, are instrumentally adjusted to the political and security agendas of the neighboring countries. Second, the bulk of the projects' participants perceive the gained advantages from the viewpoint of governmentality, rather than in the categories of European values.

When it comes to the first argument, it is largely based on the multiple forms of flexible adaptation of the European studies agenda to the practical needs of the countries in question. EU-PREACC was targeted at assisting Moldova and Georgia in adapting the standards of Europeanisation through academic and educational activities (Final Report Summary 2017); and the RRS project was primarily keen on borrowing EU's expertise in teaching regional integration, particularly in the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea regions.

Of particular interest in this regard is the WARN project that focuses on integrating in Ukrainian universities' syllabi a specific dimension of European experience of dealing with peace and conflict resolution. Conceptually, the project builds upon the idea of resilience that implies a shift of responsibility towards social and professional groups and communities. The crux of the matter is the construction of resilient subjects who accept the necessity to change themselves in response to these uncomfortable new conditions. In the governmentality literature, resilience is a central element of the EU's policies capturing 'a middle way' between demands to engage in *Realpolitik* and the normative commitments constitutive for EU identity. For some, it is a new type of soft power the EU uses for raising its international traction and appeal to other countries (Giusti 2020).

We understand resilience not simply as a set of 'passive'/reactive governmental policy tools, but primarily as a generator of new policy practices, experiences and subjectivities. This approach is instrumental in demonstrating how resilience reinforces certain groups and their agendas, opens new spaces for their social and political initiatives and actorship, and produces new incentives for an enhanced non-state agency. Resilience operates as an endurance of democratic mechanisms, the sustainability of welfare institutions and mechanisms of sociocultural adaptation of the population to the state of exception. This approach, being harmonious with the idea of governmentality, is helpful for a better understanding of how the implementation of the resilience agenda engenders new social roles, creates new publics and requires new forms of communication with new audiences whose actorness is critically important for successful crisis management strategies.

By the same token, resilience shapes the ongoing transformations within the neoliberal international order (Mavelli 2019). Resilience is much less concerned with liberal ideology and values than with effectively tackling new security challenges as it causes shifts from an idealistic to a pragmatic view of international politics. Unlike the liberal paradigm, resilience does not exaggerate the cognitive abilities of human beings (Chandler 2014). Thus, resilience as a policy paradigm admits that society need to adapt to the complexity of the world. In this light, the focus on resilience is harmonious with the concept of post-liberalism that is discussed as a new conceptualization of changes taking place within the liberal order (basically a shift from pursuing a value-based normative policy to developing effective policy technologies). WARN serves as a good illustration of a practical niche for this approach in the realm of EU-Ukraine project management.

As for the second conclusion, we claim that it is the governmentality framework that defines the dominant attitudes of projects' beneficiaries to Europeanisation. In this sense, the normative and axiological foundations of Europeanisation are translated through the prism of good management practices in higher education and their concomitant effects. Video testimonials of the RRS project participants give a clear picture of the priority given to capacity enhancement, team building, budget management, e-learning, improving language skills, acquiring new teaching techniques, and raising visibility of their universities and attractiveness for international students (Video Testimonials… 2020).

Illustrative in this respect is the DESCnet project. AESC publications point out that regional educational spaces in the Black Sea region ought to become "a forum within which technical aspects of European integration are taught in order to ensure policy relevance and sustainability" (Newsletter 1, 2016). In particular, this is the case of developing curricula on anti-corruption policies and public integrity (Newsletter 3, 2016). Another good example of a norm that requires the application of the governmental - in the Foucauldian sense - approach is a discussion on teaching politically controversial issues in a multicultural environment that was launched within the framework of DESCnet. The discussion came under the rubric of "European Studies Experiences" and exposed a typical shift from the logic of norms and values (freedom of expression, multiculturalism) to the logic of educational governmentality. What usually starts as a normative and identity-ridden issue of free speech, often moves towards striking a balance between divergent interpretations of political and security arguments in a multicultural classroom. The following opinion nicely illustrates the technique of normalization beyond identity transformations:

> "*If I'm very direct about it, the compromise that may be found is a balance of forces on each community. It's not going to be a synthetic compromise of ideas. It is going to be that 51 percent of these people are ready to do it, come to an agreement, and then we decide that we are going to do this and hopefully, move forward with this. The other 49 percent will slowly find new ways of channeling their energy. I think that's kind of what happens in these things, and we get that 51 percent together*" (Interview with Vello Pettai, 2017).

Another discussion illustrative of the huge potential for governmentality approaches concerns the concept of e-governance and digital state. In the opinion of a Georgian participant of a project, "there is no research to determine whether the models of e-voting or e-medicine are relevant for Georgia, how costly they are, and whether we could really afford it. In Estonia one can find research-based answers to these specific questions. Sometimes, in non-EU countries there is a deficiency of data to study" (Next Generation … 2018). This

opinion confirms that what the grant-making institutions might perceive (or wish to be) as an identity-driven change in the direction of a more mature Europeanisation, might be appraised by local recipients of EU policies as a set of technological innovations that remain country-specific and largely value-neutral.

PROBLEMATIZING EUROPEANISATION IN THE VIEWS OF STUDENT MOBILITY BENEFICIARIES

In this section we summarize students' perceptions of the Europeanisation- through-education paradigm. This analysis is based on primary qualitative data obtained from two focus groups we conducted in Lviv and Tartu in September 2021, where all together 16 students have participated and shared their views on four clusters of issues that, to our mind, are insufficiently studied in the existing literature.

First, we discussed how different is teaching European Studies in an EU-based university and beyond the EU. Usually respondents pointed to a greater freedom of expression in EU-based universities, more interaction with the teaching staff and respect to students' opinions. "In Belarus we mostly receive knowledge, here we speak up, and this might entail some confusion", a student from this country acknowledged. Yet in the meantime, students from post-Soviet countries studying in the EU have a sober assessment of the state of affairs within Europe: "We do know what happened to the Central European University", a participant from Azerbaijan mentioned, and added a remark about a "negative Europeanisation" that might entail "too much of liberalism, which for some non-EU students might be an issue".

Secondly, we proposed to the students to discuss how EU-based universities profit from enhanced contacts with non-EU partners. How does close involvement of non-EU participants change the discipline of European Studies? Do they bring a different outlook on Europe, open up new themes and new controversies? There was a consensual understanding within both focus groups that mobility and exchange programs serve bilateral interests. International students and scholars bring different perspectives in the classrooms, which enriches the teaching process. For EU-based universities the growing diversity gives a first-hand and detailed knowledge of the events in the EaP region and insights from the partner countries, along with experiences of teaching controversial and politically explosive issues in a potentially divided audience. "It is important to bring our non-democratic experiences into the "democratic bubble" of the EU, since here many can't even imagine how things might be in the east. In this sense we have an advantage over those who possess purely theoretical types of knowledge", a student from Belarus posited. "I was the first Belarusian many of my interlocutors in Europe ever met. It is hard to explain what we went through, we human beings from Belarus'', her compatriot added. Therefore, the educational space functions as a series of meeting points connecting both academic and vernacular experiences of cross-border encounters that are important from the communicative perspective.

Our third inquiry was about the potential for raising the visibility of EaP countries in the EU as an outcome of EU-sponsored exchange programs. Unexpectedly, this question sparked some controversy. On the one hand, some participants from EaP countries agreed that their educational experiences might be helpful for a better recognition of their countries in Europe, which is fully consistent with the policies of their foreign ministries. On the other hand, some respondents expressed their skepticism about the general interest in Europe to their countries of origin: "Why should Europeans pay more attention to us?", a

Ukrainian participant of the Lviv workshop rhetorically asked. This apparently was not a stand-alone remark; it rather reflected a strong - and very much self-inflicted - sense of marginalization of peripheral countries and universities in the pan-European context.

There are many factors working against visibility as a booster for partner countries' political capital. According to one report, some partner universities "did not indicate their progress status", while others were "not leading any activities of their own", which might be explained by a lack of human resources for fostering visibility and poor experience of participating in consortium-based international projects. Another big challenge is the quality of texts meant for publication in peer reviewed international journals. "It is often downright impossible to "translate" a scholarly analysis written in the post-Soviet tradition into a paper for an international journal" (Newsletter 2, 2016), an Austrian coordinator of an EU-funded project acclaimed. In the educational sphere, as his Georgian colleague presumed, "the main challenge is managing the expectations of foreign exchange students studying in Georgia. They're not used to the local culture of (not) doing things, including in universities. They will most likely be surprised to see there is no projector in the class or that you have to switch the classrooms often, or the professor doesn't' show up on time etc. Administrative issues are less organized and communicated than in their home universities. Also language is an issue since foreign students often speak better English than Georgians on average" (Tangiashvili 2018).

When it comes to student mobility, obviously more students from EaP countries prefer to study in the EU than the other way around. What we have found out in the process of research is that after the crackdown on the opposition in Belarus in 2020 some students from this country were facing negative attitudes when moving to a European country. According to one testimony, "we are treated as savages who escaped from the dictatorial regime… People here see us as if we were coming from Northern Korea. They can make jokes about us. When I was arranging my apartment rental, I was asked: Do you have money for that? I am not sure that students from Austria or France would have been asked similar questions". Another student shared her personal story: "In the admittance letter I was asked primarily to do my payment first. And the visa for my daughter was denied, which put me in a situation of a refugee".

It is at this point that something completely opposed to the value of visibility pops up in students' narratives: "Sometimes I try to hide where I am from to avoid repetitive spicy questions I am tired of". As another participant of the focus group put it, "We want so much to study and learn, but we feel some kind of pressure on us, as if we are less valuable". Yet another voice extended this argument further on: "Some of us did have an inferiority complex when travelling and studying abroad, while our colleagues and interlocutors from Europe did show their superiority. People here are stigmatized and often ashamed of their identity and origins. And they do know that Polish or Estonian diplomas have a higher value".

Finally, based on the previous questions, we asked students' opinions about whether exchange and mobility projects in the sphere of European Studies with non-EU partners diminish academic hierarchies or create new "soft hierarchies"? By "soft hierarchies" here we mean role and status distinctions between EU-based universities as project initiators, reporters to grant making institutions, quality controllers and financial supervisors, and their partners from EaP countries who often see their roles as secondary recipients of European charity.

On the one hand, collaborative projects give non-EU universities a chance to upgrade their infrastructure and educational standards and become peers with their counterparts. Yet on the other hand, many gaps remain in place. The structure of EU-funded projects implies that EU based partners share their knowledge and expertise, while non-EU partners are learners and recipients, which many of our respondents considered logical: "Conditionality implies that you set the rules. If you have money, you define these rules". One of the project reports made this clear by stating that its key objective was to transfer experiences of reforms in Latvia and Estonia for Moldova and Georgia during the pre-accession phase of their transition (EU-PREACC Report). More specifically, as the project report says, the representatives of partner universities have familiarized themselves with various managerial and administrative practices that are in use at Baltic universities: due to the extended mobility opportunities provided by the project Georgian and Moldovan universities were "able to develop their research capacities, upgrade the study programs and, in general, become more competitive". No changes in EU-based universities were either needed or reported (DESCnet Report); however, as we could learn from the debate on teaching sensitive issues and integrating students from 'risk countries', EU-based universities hosts of the growing numbers of foreign students face new challenges of diversity in the classrooms that need to be properly addressed.

THE RUSSIAN WAR IN UKRAINE: REVERBERATION FOR TEACHING AND STUDYING EUROPE

The invasion of Ukraine launched by Russia on February 24, 2022, when the initial plan for this paper had been already completed, became what foresight analysis would qualify as a "black swan" – an unlikely yet enormously consequential event. Despite its unexpected and irrational nature, the military invasion and its effects have corroborated our argument of a fundamental importance of the geopolitical dynamic for the process of Europeanisation in the education field, and the war's impact is an unfortunate and painful illustration of that.

There are two contexts in which Russia's war against Ukraine fits in our reasoning. One is a matter of content: the beginning of the war required fast readjustment of many teaching courses dealing with foreign policy analysis, international relations and world politics. Based on our own experiences and those of our colleagues, from the first day of the Russian aggression it became obvious that interactively teaching subjects related to the EU and its neighbourhood policy without close engagement with the developments in the battlefields becomes unsustainable. For many of the university teaching staff this was their first and highly challenging experience of integrating the ongoing war events into their regular classes in political science and security studies. The war has obviously raised the demand for including a military factor into the analysis of EU's eastern neighborhood. In this sense the Russian invasion in Ukraine became a major game changer for the entire EU, which – as we have assumed in the theoretical part of this paper – proves the constitutive importance of European margins and their ability to reshape the plethora of characteristics pertaining to European identity, security, and borders.

Secondly, the war in Ukraine rendered meaningful and rather controversial effects on the educational milieu and procedures that were discussed above. On the one hand, some EU-funded and Ukraine-focused projects were suspended from the beginning of the aggression by requests of lead partners. In particular, this was the case of the WARN project; according to the formal note circulated among consortium partners, the project activities

can be resumed after the suspension by a written request and an update to the project plan, which can also be done retroactively, once the situation allows this without waiting for formal permission. On the other hand, from the end of February 2022 dozens of European universities started opening new study and job opportunities for Ukrainian students and researchers using either their own resources, or applying for auxiliary targeted funds from the EU Commission as extensions of the ongoing project budgets. The new inflow of Ukrainian scholars into the European educational and academic institutions will undoubtedly improve the quality of Ukrainian studies as a research field distinct from the generalized "post-Soviet studies" – a discipline that, as many deem, after the Russian – Ukrainian war ceased to exist as designed and understood after the fall of the USSR. Multiple forms of assistance to Ukrainian students – from everyday psychological counselling to new stipends for young Ukrainians – have clearly attested to the strong normative commitments inherent in European educational culture and guiding universities' responses to the Russian aggression.

In the meantime, the ongoing war in Ukraine has triggered the discontinuation of educational and academic contacts with Russian and Belarusian partners. This affected some exchange students who have already started their studies in European universities. Apart from that, some European universities have announced their refusal to accept students from Belarus and Russia for the next academic year, which sparked a discussion between those pundits and educators who believe in the importance of maintaining educational contacts for fostering political changes in these two countries in the future, and their opponents who advocate for isolating these countries from Europe on all possible accounts. The political core of this debate boiled down to disagreements on a key issue of whether disengagement and re-bordering is a better strategy than the continuing engagement with Russian and Belarusian academic communities as parts of civil societies.

CONCLUSIONS

Mobility programmes and academic networks in higher education funded by the European Commission are an insightful venue for studying Europeanisation. Constructivist analyses of Europeanisation in higher education focus on the transnational socialization of political elites. We aimed to extend this research to universities that teach EU studies to both EU and non-EU students. One of the main assumptions of this article was that teaching and researching the EU in countries outside the EU cannot be perceived as a neutral or apolitical topic, as lecturers, researchers and students engage in knowledge production, which can differently affect the overall educational dynamics around EU-related academic topics. We explored this assumption with illustrations from the EaP region, where it proved valid. This process is currently profoundly marked by Russia's war in Ukraine, where geopolitical markers that actors hold in the field of academia represent an even more puzzling yet fascinating venue of critical inquiry.

In this article we reflected on two aspects of the process that we interpreted using an interdisciplinary theoretical perspective. On the one side, we looked at the active agents of Europeanisation that were identified within EU-based universities and expected to spread good practices of management, teaching and learning in the analysed international projects funded within the Erasmus + framework. On the other side, we scrutinized the voices of the subjects of this process, including the viewpoints of their non-EU partners with whom meanings of Europeanisation are shared and who are expected to become main beneficiaries of spill-over effects in the knowledge transfer facilitated by EU institutions.

We presented analytical accounts from EU member states' experiences (mainly Estonia) as viewed from several university consortia, and discussed the contextual and political nature of knowledge transfer. Our database contained web-based resources reflecting the content of several Erasmus projects implemented by the University of Tartu over the last 5 years, along with project reports submitted to grant making organizations and interviews with students from different EaP countries.

The way non-EU students get engaged with the EU as part of their studies matters for an in-depth understanding of Europeanisation in higher education. Data from our two focus groups with students confirmed that beyond formal policy settings, Europeanisation also takes place within knowledge transfer mechanisms and it is influenced by subjective actors' positions. These knowledge transfer processes start in the classroom, from interactions between peers and with lecturers, and continue beyond the classroom, in informal environments. All these layers are relevant for the construction of representations on the EU among non-EU students. Moreover, data revealed that as various crises that affected the EU in the last decade and the ways in which its relations with its Eastern neighborhood were challenged by major geopolitical events - starting from the 2008 war in Georgia until the most recent war in Ukraine - were all reflected in the studied teaching and learning experiences in different EaP countries. In the study, we observed that the process of Europeanisation understood as an education practice of identity building requires constant updates, revisions, critical insights and it can be to some extent distorted by various political positions of the main actors involved. Actors' self-reflections proved also critical for a deeper understanding of how they view transformations of themselves and their institutions as part of Europeanisation. In this context, the article focused on the role played by EU-funded academic projects linking EU-based and non-EU universities in order to observe these invisible mechanisms of Europeanisation at work. Our assumption is that the knowledge transfer process at the heart of numerous Erasmus + international cooperation projects relies to a great extent on the EU's reputation in the neighborhood and on the actors' intersubjective relations. In this vein, we looked at how the EU is discussed in discourses and enacted in practices of higher education cooperation projects, using an interdisciplinary analytical framework connected to critical theory. The added value of the article is that it offers a critical view on teaching about the EU in the Eastern neighborhood, focusing on local perspectives on EU-funded projects. In the process of drafting this analysis Russia's invasion in Ukraine started, and we believe the topic of promoting European studies in EaP countries is and will remain of critical interest for the future. Another added value is our additional observations on how EU-funded projects in Ukrainian universities after February 2022 were impacted by the current war.

In the end, we would like to streamline three arguments that were central for our analysis. First, in most cases EU-funded programs in the sphere of higher education are instruments of Europeanisation, broadly understood in a socio-constructivist that includes important communicative, discursive, cultural and societal dimensions. The way the main actors engage in the process involves both assimilation, appreciation combined with self-reflection, critical reflection and contestation**.** Based on the experience of non-EU universities participating in projects of this sort, we argue that their implementation, on the one hand, creates powerful spill-over effects, yet, on the other hand, produces new 'soft hierarchies' boiling down to structural factors of unequal resource distribution, role assignment, and professional statuses. Secondly, the export-oriented European studies programs both adapt to local conditions on the ground (from business cultures, professional ethics, formal

and informal rules to post-colonial sensitivities) and simultaneously contribute to the process of discursively reshaping the post-Soviet space through its fragmentation into regional geoeconomic / geocultural clusters. Thirdly, the visibility achieved due to promotion of European studies in each of these clustered areas 'bounces back' in the sense of opening up EU-based universities to more intense professional contacts with their eastern colleagues and the growing interest from non-EU students to study in EU-based partner universities. For the latter, this trend strengthens their expertise in Eurasian and Oriental studies, yet in the meantime also makes them face a challenge of reorganizing and readjusting the teaching content for an increasingly diverse community of international students with dissimilar ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds.

These observations should be tested also on different non-EU countries interactions in order to discuss how it impacts the field of EU studies beyond the EaP countries. In terms of avenues for future research we believe that these three arguments should open a future critical discussion on the role of academic structuring of political discourse in the post-Soviet space, and the interplay between regionalist and nationalist perspectives that frame how EU studies are being taught outside the EU.

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APPENDIX

Primary Sources - As Part of the Study, Two In-Person Focus Groups That Were Organised and Facilitated by the Authors:

- one focus group in **Lviv (Ukraine)** with 8 participants (end of August 2021) - with:
- 6 students from Ukraine;
- 1 from Hungary and
- 1 from Japan;
- one focus group in **Tartu (Estonia)** with 8 participants (end of September 2021) with:
- 3 students from Belarus (Participants 1, 2 and 3 - all quoted in the paper)
- 1 from Azerbaijan (Participant 4 - quoted in the paper)
- 2 from Georgia (Participant 5 and 6 - only nr 6. quoted in the paper)
- 2 from Moldova (Participant 7 and 8 - not quoted).

Secondary Sources: Reports of the Main Erasmus Projects Included in the Analysis:

Final Report Summary (2017) - EU-PREACC (Possibilities and limits, challenges and obstacles of transferring CEE EU pre-accession best practices and experience to Moldova's and Georgia's pre-accession process), available at https://cordis.europa.eu/project/id/318911/reporting/es

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Research Article

Teaching European Integration in Italian Upper Secondary School

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Abstract

An extensive study of the representations of Europe in history textbooks has been conducted with regards to Italian lower secondary school (Pingel 1994, 2000, 2003a, 2003b; Cajani 2003). These studies have included considerations upon the history of European integration, although this was not their exclusive topic. To date, however, few pieces of research have addressed how the history of European integration is dealt with in Italian textbooks for upper secondary school (Accardo, Baldocchi 2004; Challand 2009). The present paper examines how curricula and textbooks portray the integration process in upper secondary school. It focuses on the position they attribute to Italy in different phases and the extent to which they use recent findings of historiography.

Keywords

Textbooks; European integration; History education; Upper secondary school

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s the increasing efforts to promote a European dimension in education made both by the Council of Europe and the EEC/EU (Ryba 1992; Stradling 2001; Cajani 2003; Paoli 2010) have resulted in a growing interest of researchers in history education towards the representations of Europe at school (Pingel 1994; Pingel 2000; Pingel 2003a; Soysal and Schlisser 2005). Transnational identities, including the European one, have become one key topic in textbook and curricula studies (Szakács 2018), opening the way to comparative research projects and giving prominence to issues related to Europe and European integration in single-country studies. Textbook studies have shown that the scope for topics of European relevance and, among them, for the integration process has increased over the decades due to long-term developments in didactics (Pingel 1994: 11). Indeed, the purposes attributed to history as a school subject have varied. In the 19th century, State-sponsored schooling played a pivotal role in the process of nation-building as a tool of socialisation of national histories and construction of shared memories (Ascenzi 2009; Seixas 2018). However, during the 20th century, the relation between school history and nation-building became more complex, and international pressures affected the aims and approaches to history teaching. As a result, although history continued to be related to individual identity and collective memory (Carretero and Rodríguez-Moneo and Asensio 2011), three competing paradigms of the relation between identity and memory have been identified in school curricula. School history can focus on a 'well-defined narrative' made of events and actors relevant at a national or supernational scale, disciplinary competencies or 'critical historical scrutiny' of memorial cultures of students and societies (Seixas 2018). The balance between these three components has wide-ranging implications for what and how the subject is taught.

In different countries, like Spain (Pingel 2000: 19) and France (Garcia, Leduc 2003; Legris 2014), there have been controversies about the feasibility of contemporary history that affected the collocation of the process of integration as part of history or citizenship education classes. In Italy, contemporary history has been controversial since the defascistization of schools (Ascenzi 2007) and re-emerged periodically as the battleground of 'history wars' (Cajani, 2019a). Analyses of Italian textbooks for lower secondary school proved that they tend to provide an instantaneous picture of present-day Europe. The process of integration is reduced to background information for citizenship education rather than interpreted as a relevant process in contemporary history (Pingel 1994: 12, 21).

Regarding upper secondary school, some studies highlighted that the portrayal of European integration could serve to self-enhance the nation, as in the cases of France (Sakki 2014; Soysal, Bertilotti, Mannitz 2005) and Romania (Szakács 2018: 131-174). Whereas in the case of France EEC/UE becomes a projection of a French construction, in Romania and Italy it has represented a significant Other for the evolution of a discourse of national identity (Challand: 2009). However, Italian textbooks began to move from this approach in the early 2000s, and there is little research on textbooks published after the school reform of 2010 and the outbreak of the economic crisis in 2007-2008. These events were likely to affect the representations of the EU. Indeed, the school reform ended more than 25 years of debates on the education system that involved the content, methods and aims of history teaching. On the other hand, the economic crisis opened the way to new forms of criticism of the integration, sometimes broadly referred to as Euro-scepticism (Pasquinucci and Verzichelli 2016).

This paper addresses the question of how recent textbooks present the European integration process to secondary school pupils. It applies the centre-periphery framework (see Alpan and Diez, in this volume) to textbooks widespread in use in 2018 in Italy to further articulate the question: do they clearly identify a centre of an integrated Europe? And what is the position that Italy occupies? Does this position change in different phases of integration and, if so, when, and how?

Former research applied the concept of periphery in textbook analysis to countries of contested or recent EU membership – as Greece, Spain, Turkey, Bulgaria (Antoniou and Nuhoglu Soysal 2005; Pereyra and Luzón 2005; Pilbrow 2005) – or Russia (Maier 2005). However, these studies did not focus on upper secondary school and gave cursory examination of the integration

process *per se*. On the contrary, the present paper applies this framework to a founding member of the EEC/EU and focuses on the links between EU integration and Italian domestic and foreign policy to explore how the interaction between these different levels is presented to pupils. Textbooks have been chosen as a source to study social representations of European integration because they are the products of processes of negotiations of knowledge (Christophe 2014: 1), which involve political authorities, writers, teachers, pupils and families, and academic historians. In fact, textbooks are not neutral responses to school curricula (Roldán Vera 2018: 107) but an interpretation of them that reflects the writers' view of the discipline of history and the expectations of their audience (Klerides 2010: 41). Textbook authors, as well as teachers, are interpreters of the curriculum, who implement the decisions about educational goals taken at the macro level of Ministerial policies (van Akker, 2003). Since textbooks mainly follow the national syllabus, a discussion of the place of European integration in post-war history syllabuses for upper secondary schools has been presented at the beginning of the paper. I put into evidence the controversies over contemporary history and the adoption of a disciplinary approach to teaching to evaluate how they affected the discourse about the second half of the 20th century. Indeed, the scope of the narrative in a textbook changes if it aims at informing a passive reader or providing materials for modelling the practice of disciplinary history.

Moreover, content analysis has evaluated the use of historiography. The progressive opening of archives, which are subject to more restrictions than abroad, and the institutionalisation of the history of European integration in Italian universities (on European Studies in other academic contexts, see Süleymanoğlu and Turhan in this volume) have supported new lines of research and contributed to the emergence of an autonomous subject (Laschi 2008). During the 2010s, Italian historians have increasingly investigated the external relations of the EEC/EU (Bitumi and Laschi and D'Ottavio 2008), and they have attempted to overcome the academic competition between international relations and contemporary history that affected the field (Laschi 2019). They have stressed the engagement in European integration as the most relevant feature of the country's foreign policy after the Second world war (Varsori, 2010: 23), the mutual relation between foreign and domestic policy (Neri Gualdesi 2004; Craveri and Varsori 2009), and the political implications of specific European policies (Laschi 2008).

The sources used for the study are chapters or paragraphs dealing directly with European integration and national history[1] in a sample of history textbooks for upper non-vocational secondary schools, which are attended by 87% of pupils enrolling in secondary schools in Italy (Miur 2021). The paper analyses only history textbooks because the subject is compulsory in the last year of all non-vocational secondary schools. Conversely, only a minority of technical schools include a course of geography, which proved to be relevant to understand the symbolic construction of European identity and the portrayal of the EEC in Italian lower secondary school (Cajani 1994: 392, 404), and presents the EU to French pupils in *Première* (Blanc 2013). Until 2019, civic education was taught by history teachers and had a strong connection with history, thus the analysis considered materials of civic education included in history textbooks.

Political and administrative curriculum decision-making and textbook narratives are investigated in two sections. The first one outlines the development in history syllabuses, focusing on the importance of the history of the second half of the 20th century and the introduction of EEC/EU as a topic. The second one focuses on content, lexical and visual analysis of textbooks. I will argue that the representation of European integration offered to Italian secondary school pupils emerges from two contrasting narratives, which make it ambivalent. For each of these narratives, the question about the position of Italy has been posed, putting into evidence people, factors and events that receive more attention in texts or visuals. On the one hand, a linear and optimistic narrative focuses predominantly on the beginnings of the process and presents it as incontrovertible. On the other hand, the description of present-day limits and crises of the EU does not contextualize them in medium-term developments. Both make little use of updated historiography.

THE EMERGENCE OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION IN HISTORY SYLLABUSES

A brief overview of the evolution of history syllabuses in Italy in the post-war period is necessary to appreciate the introduction of European integration as a topic and the factors that limited its relevance. After the Second World War, there were three waves of change of history syllabuses: in the early 1960s, between the 1980s and the early 1990s, and during the fifteen years 1996-2010. New syllabuses were approved in the early 1960s and in 2010, but changes occurred also in the absence of any formal reform of the secondary school system, because schools introduced 'experimental' programs (Polesel 2005). With regards to history, experimental syllabuses issued at the beginning of the 1990s stressed the importance of understanding history as a discipline and studying contemporary history. According to the national syllabuses for secondary schools in the immediate post-war, teaching should cover the history of the 20th century not beyond the end of the First World War (Ascenzi 2007). The rejection of the preeminent role of contemporary history contradicted not only the Fascist approach (Ragionieri 1952: 334), but also a long-lasting tradition rooted in the Liberal Age. Between 1960 and 1962, the introduction of the study of contemporary organisations for international cooperation in all secondary schools and the rejection of a nationalistic myth were relevant innovations (Silvani 2005: 185). In upper general schools, teachers should open their courses explaining the Restoration instead of the American Revolution to deal with the most recent events (D.P.R. 1457/1960). Moreover, the foreword of the syllabus for technical institutes recommended efforts in teaching contemporary history, in contrast to former habits (D.P.R. 1222/1961). However, a nation-centred view still prevailed, and history teaching continued to be informed by approaches introduced or strengthened during the Fascist regime (Di Pietro 1991). In addition, the 'shift from teacher- to pupil-centred and from expository towards investigative learning' (Cajani 2019: 5) witnessed by Western societies from the 1960s did not occur. Because of the failure of upper secondary school reforms in 1978, 1983 and 1986 (Di Pietro 1991), only educational experimentation, formally introduced in 1974 and thoroughly developed by the newly established Brocca Commission at the end of the 1980s, compensated for the lack of root-and-branch reform.

The documents published by the Commission were intended to guide planning, teaching and, partially, assessment. European integration was introduced as a compulsory subtopic of international politics and economics in three-year courses and mentioned in the syllabus for five-year courses as an example of possible content in the section about *Competition and détente*. The interpretative nature of history and its epistemology received wide attention. During the 1980s, a series of new textbooks published by Bruno Mondadori followed this trend of change in history education and focused on the disciplinary practice of history, including 'history workshops' with critical reading of primary and secondary sources (Cajani 2019b: 127). However, this approach did not become mainstream among teachers, and the Brocca Commission had only an indirect impact on general secondary schooling because of the failure of the reform of the education system. Indeed, in 1993 the end of the shortest legislative session in the history of Republican Italy prevented both the long-waited for law of reform to come into force and a proposal for a European history course presented by the Lega Nord to be discussed[2]. The commission reports inspired the syllabuses for vocational institutes in force between 1992 and 1997, and those for technical institutes issued in 1994 and 1996 (Cajani 2010: 21).

The re-proposal of a course of European history in 1994 was not examined again, because the new legislative session (the 12th) prematurely ended in 1996. In the following years, the issue of European history emerged with regards to polemics about European identity and 'roots', but no one else submitted a proposal for a course separated from that of general history.

A new phase seemed to begin for history teaching in 1996: a law of school system reform was presented the first day of the legislative session and approved in February 2000 (L. 30/2000). Meanwhile, the left-wing Minister of Education Berlinguer established that history syllabuses for the final year of secondary education should cover only the 20th century, as happened in schools that adopted the experimental Brocca's syllabus. At the time, in the rest of upper general secondary schools, which still followed the 1960 syllabus, teachers covered in the fifth year the period from the 1820s to the 1980s, whereas in technical secondary schools the 1961 syllabus

prescribed to start from 1848. In both cases, teachers were expected to deal with the European communities as the last topic of the year.

Thus, Min. Berlinguer's choice left more time to investigate the European integration process in all secondary schools. As a result, Italy became closer to France and Germany, where the history of the 20th century – including the most recent events – had received more extensive treatment at least since the 1980s. Despite some criticism from right-wing historians, this innovation was maintained. Berlinguer's decree was a turning point for Italian teachers (Silvani 2005: 202), but feasibility of teaching contemporary history remained a topic of controversy (Rinaldi and Ziruolo 2000: VIII) and teachers felt unconfident about how to teach the EU integration or did not deal with this topic at all (Silvani 2001). Moreover, a supernational approach to history was not a relevant criterion to choose textbooks (Silvani 2001).

Few months after the approval of the general reform, Berlinguer's successor, De Mauro, who had been one of the members of the Brocca Commission, designated a committee to write new syllabuses. Some of the most relevant aspects of the Brocca history syllabus were maintained, i.e. the relevance of 20th-century history, the understanding of history as a discipline, and teachers' role in planning in-depth studies during the last three years of five-year courses. Berlinguer-De Mauro's reform was a general reform of all school grades and introduced some crucial changes. Cajani (2019a) thoroughly discussed the failure of this reform, which was abrogated before coming into force in July 2001 by the new right-wing Minister of Education Moratti (Dal Passo, Laurenti 2017: 124). Two main features of this proposal raised a wave of protest, namely the study of contemporary history in the first two years of high school and the shift from a national-Eurocentric to a world perspective. Critics argued in favour of history as a tool for creating collective identity rather than developing disciplinary habits of mind. The idea of history as a grand narrative promoting social cohesion and a sense of belonging gained momentum with regards to the European dimension in education. One manifesto against the reform claimed that Italian identity was part of Western European identity, and Western Europe was 'a civilisation autonomous from Greek-byzantine and Islamic worlds' (Arnaldi Arnaldi and Bevilacqua and Firpo and Fonseca et al. 2001: 111). In this perspective, knowledge of Greek-Roman and Medieval history was crucial for Italy 'but also from the perspective of building a European identity' whose boundaries coincided with a very limited Western Europe.

The authors of this manifesto wrote a very synthetic syllabus. They suggested that during the first two years of secondary school Citizenship education could compensate for knowledge of contemporary history dealing with topics as 'national and European parliamentary institutions, the European Union, parliamentary assemblies (ONU, FAO, UNESCO, etc.)' (Arnaldi and Bevilacqua and Firpo and Fonseca et al. 2001: 111). Despite labelling this subject as 'Citizenship and historical education', this proposal may imply a shift from a historical understanding of the unification process to a knowledge of present-day institutions.

Minister Moratti, elected in 2001, presented a history syllabus that reintroduced the study of the last quarter of the 19th century during the last year of upper secondary school and stressed the role of religion in history. European integration was mentioned among the contents of history but received more attention under Citizenship education. In Citizenship education classes, pupils should learn the principles of the European constitution with regards to 'spiritual and moral heritage of Europe', Europeanism and the roots of contemporary debates about Europe in 'the historical heritage of classical antiquity, Christianism and other religions' (D. Lgs. 17 ottobre 2005, Allegato C2 29). Another government takeover prevented this syllabus from coming into force.

Between 2010 and 2012, new syllabuses were issued for all upper secondary schools, and they are still in force in upper general and technical schools. Looking back at the effects of governments' turnovers in the 21st century on Italian school system, a comprehensive reform took place between 2004 and 2012. However, it did not overcome the differences between upper general and technical/vocational education, modify the organisation of upper secondary school nor challenge the Euro-centric approach to history. The history syllabus issued in 2010 for upper general secondary schools includes a general introduction common to all subjects, specific guidelines for each subject and learning objectives. However, it is flexible enough to allow

teachers to construct their own scheme of work. Provided that there is not a fixed list of topics for a national examination in history in Italy, the oral examination at the end of upper secondary school focuses on topics that have been selected by teachers. The guidelines for the reform of technical institutes issued in 2010 (grades 9th and 10th) and 2012 (grades 11th-13th) emphasise that the relevant contents are offered as suggestions for teachers and schools, which are free to plan their educational offer. So, teachers' interpretation of the curriculum is crucial to attribute relevance to one or another topic. During the emergency due to the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021, the oral examination temporarily centred around an individual project (Bianchi 2021).

Although the syllabus is a recommendation without a strictly prescriptive character, the version for upper general secondary schools lists some topics claiming that teachers could not leave them aside. Italian and European history constitute two different topics, although the learner profile states that Italian history must be understood in the European and international context (Indicazioni nazionali Allegato A 2010: 3). The history of extra-European countries should be taken into consideration as a general framework, but there is clearly no attempt to include world history.

According to the learner profile for upper general secondary school, relevant historical knowledge refers to events, places, and personalities, whereas processes and concepts are not mentioned. The guidelines for history widen only partially this approach. The epistemology of history as a discipline is ignored and teaching history is equated to the illustration of a succession of events (Grazioli, 2010: 26). With regards to teaching approaches, the learner profile for upper general secondary school limits the use of laboratory to scientific subjects (Indicazioni Nazionali Allegato A 2010: 1).

Thus, the debate of the 1980s and 1990s seems to have had little impact on the formal curriculum. Understanding history as a discipline, the variety of its methods and its dual nature of narrative and research receive little attention. The learner profile includes only a reference to source analysis, even though the text highlights that teachers could complement their work by broadening its scope and method. Here again, guidelines for history open a different perspective, but they adopt tentative language (Indicazioni nazionali 2010: 18). In contrast, the guidelines for the reform of technical institutes argue that teachers should adopt innovation in didactics to improve the quality of learning and are encouraged to apply active learning approaches and laboratory teaching. However, cognitive objectives receive less attention in comparison with upper general secondary school, while the syllabus emphasises the ethical dimension of history and its role in developing citizenship.

An analysis of the polemics about the release of new syllabuses shows that the study of the process of integration, even though not ignored, never attracted much attention. Teachers have had increasing opportunities for devoting time to tackle the issue, but the approach tended to focus on citizenship education. Besides, when the debate questioned the national frame, it put emphasis on world history in contrast with Eurocentrism but results in this direction were poor.

TWO NARRATIVES OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

As the previous section demonstrates, there were scarce signs of progress towards a global frame in history teaching in Italy. The shift from national to global perspective failed in France (Hymans 2005: 67) and Germany too (Fuchs 2006), but the analysis of history textbooks in both countries has shown greater attention to the history of European integration in comparison with Italian ones (Challand 2009: 79; Nuhoglu Soysal and Bertilotti and Mannitz 2005: 13). It is worth noting that there is a highly fragmented free market of textbooks in Italy, and the tendency to fragmentation has risen over recent years (Mannelli, Tuccari 2004). Top 10 textbooks for upper secondary school are used by about 40% of students.

Analysing ten among the most adopted Italian textbooks for upper secondary school in half of the cases the percentage of pages dealing with the integration process is between 1.8 and 4.8%, which correspond to a minimum of 7 and a maximum of 40 pages, the others being below. This

datum confirms a growing interest trend in the history of European integration beginning in the 1990s but is still lower than in France and Germany (Challand 2009).

The fact that the current syllabus for upper general secondary schools suggests considering Italian history in the second half of the twentieth century as a topic on its own may contribute to explaining the overall low percentage of pages dedicated to the European construction. Indeed, most textbooks combine European and global history, leaving aside national history and devoting one or two chapters to it. Only a couple of cases isolate the European dimension and take the integration process as the frame of developments in Western European countries. One single book, even though among the most appreciated by teachers in technical institutes, includes national history in a European frame. International comparison of textbooks for lower secondary schools showed that textbooks usually have two distinct narratives for national and European history. They leave to teachers and pupils the task of relating the two levels (Pingel 2000: 36), and often they do not have a distinctive chapter for the process of integration. Italian secondary school textbooks conform to this European trend and exacerbate it.

A second factor to be considered is that ancient and modern history maintain more relevance in Italian syllabuses than in other countries. A recent paper that considered seven textbooks in widespread use in upper secondary school concluded that the balance between pages dealing with the first part of the twentieth century is usually around 55%, reaching a maximum of 68% (Marcellini, Portincasa 2020). The fact that the prescription of covering only the 20th century during the last year of secondary school has not shifted the balance towards the second half of the century affects the teaching of the integration process.

Looking closer at how integration is portrayed, I suggest identifying two different narrative strands. The first one may be called the narrative of success, the second one the narrative of frustration. The narrative of success presents European integration as a succession of steps that outline a linear path towards an enlarged and stricter union offering advantages to its members. The narrative of frustration focuses on the failures of the European Union to deal with 21st century crises. The narrative of frustration does not necessarily express an overall negative judgment on the process of integration. Rather, it focuses on the last 20-25 years and points out the weaknesses of the EU as a matter of fact, conveying the idea of an unfulfilled potential, whose failure is not fully explained. There is typically a gap in the discourse of the textbooks, which ignore the developments of the Communities from the 1960s to the 1980s or summarise them without prompting any reflection.

As emerged in other studies which have examined different narrative strands in this specific literary genre, the two narratives 'do not appear as distinct semantic configuration. Rather, they tend to be tightly interwoven and not easily distinguishable' (Klerides 2010: 33). So, Italian textbooks represent integration as a long and difficult process, slowed down by national egoism, but the only difficulties they actually analyse date back to the 21st century, with some exceptions (Castronovo 2017; Brancati and Pagliarini 2015; Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019). The portrayal of the Union as an economic giant but a political dwarf, which is common in French and German textbooks (Sakki 2014: 41-42), applies only partially to the Italian case because the economic crisis of the 2010s puts into question the economic success of the integration too.

If we apply the centre/periphery framework to the narratives of success and frustration, the position of Italy appears different in the two cases.

The first way to give importance to Italy in the process of integration is by stressing the relevance of the contribution of Italian federalism at its beginnings. A reference to federalism is always present, and Spinelli is a figure mentioned in seven out of ten cases (Calvani 2016; Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015; Gentile and Ronga 2017; Castronovo 2017; Brancati and Pagliarini 2015; Bertini 2015; De Luna and Meriggi 2018), an excerpt of *Manifesto of Ventotene* is offered to pupils for source analysis (Calvani 2016; Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015; Brancati and Pagliarini 2015; Bertini 2015; De Luna 2018a), and sometimes he is represented in a picture (Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015; Gentile and Ronga 2017). Federalism in the 20th century emerges as an Italian contribution because only one author mentions federal movements outside Italy (Gentile and Ronga 2017: 352). All textbooks apart from one (Borgognone and Carpanetto

2017) list Alcide De Gasperi among the supporters of European unity. This approach, which emphasises the ideal of integration, is indebted to the first phase of Italian historiography and the history of political thought. It distinguishes Italy from the other members of the Union, whose textbooks usually do not include an illustration of federalism (Hartmann and Montlahuc and Rogozi and Stergers 2017: 15).

Although this approach highlights an Italian contribution to the process of integration, it is not enough to speak about a central role of the country. Indeed, even if textbooks mention De Gasperi, nothing is said about how he acted in favour of the integration process. For instance, the European Defence Community receives little attention in four books (Bertini 2015, Calvani 2016; Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019; Castronovo 2017) – the others not mentioning it at all. Only one book incidentally refers to the project of a political community promoted by De Gasperi (Castronovo 2017). In addition, when they deal with the history of post-war Italy, most textbooks exclusively focus on domestic politics. Apart from the choice of Atlanticism made by Christian-Democrats, only two textbooks illustrate Italian foreign policy after the Second World War (see below).

A second approach, derived from economic history, emerges as a background of some narratives when they deal with the 1950s. They emphasise the role of Italy as a driver of economic recovery in Europe. This second strand points out the economic 'miracles' of Italy and Germany (Calvani 2016; Gentile and Ronga 2017; Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015), makes scarce (Gentile and Ronga 2017; Calvani 2016) or no reference to France (Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015), and shows a lack of interest towards the Franco-German relation. In this case, regarding the 1950s, Italy is portrayed as a leading country at the centre of the process.

The purpose of establishing a new basis for the relation between France and Germany seems to be irrelevant in some textbooks that, despite mentioning Schuman, simply list the succession of ECSC, EEC (Lepre and Petraccone and Cavalli and Testa, L. et. al. 2015) and eventually Euratom (De Luna and Meriggi 2018) without any reference to the foreign policy of the two countries. This is strikingly different from the representation of the process in French and German textbooks, which are France-centered or adopt the Franco-German relation as a key topic (Sakki 2014). Instead, these textbooks do not identify a centre or driver of the process of integration.

The use of impersonal forms or the lack of explicit agents when the authors describe events that are stated to be turning points materialise the abstract character of the integration process and contribute to depicting it as external to national politics and, somehow, lacking an active agency. For example:

The great results achieved by the ECSC encouraged the Six [personified agent] to continue in the way of complete integration of their economies resolutely. In a few years, a crucial turning point in the process of European economic unification took place [impersonal verb]: the institution of the European Economic Community in 1957 [process]. (Calvani 2016: 484)

From a lexical point of view, the process seems irresistible: the ECSC was 'not temporary', set up 'not by chance'; it was 'a great project' which had 'triumphal developments' and reached results so good to be 'inconceivable' (Calvani 2016: 485). In the following decades, the establishment of the EMS, the direct elections of the MPS, and the Single Act's approval are not attributed to any agent pursuing any interest: they merely took place.

This linear and optimistic interpretation of the integration process is supported by the choice of pictures and their captions: for instance, the Six are represented riding a tandem bicycle 'because they ought to pedal in synch' (Calvani 2016: 484). Other pictures include a poster in favour of 1995 enlargement, the ECNR and the euro symbol. As in German textbooks of the 1990s (Challand 2009: 75), the support for European integration appears unconditional and there is no discussion of oppositions or alternatives. This approach can open up to unresolved ambivalences. For instance, another textbook describes the process of integration as 'complex' (it. *intricato*, De Luna and Meriggi 2018: 429), but to make sense of this adjective pupils can refer only to the fact that in the 1990s 'the economies of different countries ought to become more similar' to introduce a single currency and to 'growing difficulties in achieving a political dimension' (De Luna and Meriggi 2018: 464-465) in the 21st century. Nothing in the 'steps'

between 1979 and 2004 is described as posing significant challenges: Western Europe went through an 'economic rise' and became 'an economic colossus' (De Luna and Meriggi 2018: 464).

The contrast between a long period of expansion and development, without opposition and rest, and present-day crises that 'open a future of uncertainties' (De Luna and Meriggi 2018: 465) characterises other textbooks, especially those with short narratives. A sense of predetermination emerges, because until the 1990s, the integration is a destiny that ambiguously intertwines the federalist and functionalist projects (Bertini 2015: 280). Although some textbooks mention 'difficulties' in the process of integration, the only period analysed at most is the end of the 20th century.

Conversely, three textbooks, which devote more space to the topic, give wider attention than the others to the events from the 1960s to the 1990s and support the narrative with a picture of Kohl and Mitterand at Verdun (Brancati and Pagliarini 2015; Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019; Castronovo 2017) and one symbolising the Erasmus project (Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019; Castronovo 2016). The authors stress the role of the Franco-German relations to shape the effective form of integration in 1951, sidelining Italy despite the usual mention of De Gasperi. However, they deal with Italy in different ways. One of them gives preeminence to the Franco-German relations in the whole process (Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019); another focuses on Franco-English conflicts in the 1960s and Franco-German tandem in the 1980s (Brancati and Pagliarini 2015), the third one recalls the relations between European and national scale both in the chapters about integration and in the ones about national history (Castronovo 2017: 733). The difference emerges more clearly looking at the treatment of Italian foreign policy.

As stated above, the very existence of a subparagraph about this topic is significant. In the chapters about national history, the textbooks of the sample mention the efforts to enter the eurozone, but only one of the three longest explains the foreign policy of the government led by Bettino Craxi and relates it to integration (Castronovo 2017: 733). No one investigates the whole issue of the existence of a national élite adopting an externally-imposed economic discipline to overcome domestic political impasse – i.e. 'external constraint'/'vincolo esterno' (Ginsborg 1997; Dyson, Featherstone 2007). So, recent research in international relations does not constitute a reference for the narrative of integration in secondary schools. Italy is usually represented as lacking an agency in foreign policy and, specifically, in the process of integration, with a single exception.

These findings align with the results of textbook analysis on the representation of Italian domestic policy during the age of Berlusconi (Brusa 2021). With regards both to domestic and international dynamics, recent historical debates do not shape the discourse of textbooks, which tend instead to echo polemics on national media. The most detailed textbook provides, at the same time, evidence of the limited interaction established between global, European, and national scales. In this case, the use of punctuation deserves some consideration: in the section about the process of integration, the author uses brackets to add links with Italian history. On the one hand, this is the longest chapter about the European integration among those considered and the author always pays attention to stress the contribution of different countries and the variety of forms of European construction. Although the author includes a double page of discussion about Germany as the economic 'motor of Europe' and its controversial political leadership, which puts the country at the center of EEC/EU, he offers a balanced exposition (Castornovo 2017: 650-651). Indeed, when dealing with the 1940-50s he evaluates the Benelux, ERP, Council of Europe and ECSC, EDC; in the 1960s, he discusses Fouchet's plan and De Gaulles' politics; in the 1970s he relates the European currency snake both to the devaluation of the dollar and to domestic economy. When dealing with last forty years, the paragraphs about domestic policy in UK, West Germany and France are included in the chapter about the European integration, marking a difference with other textbooks. Also, this is the only case in which the will of international political rehabilitation explains the pro-European choice of Italian government. On the other hand, brackets show that the writer is adding extra content, less important than the rest of the sentence.

With regards to the developments in the integration after Maastricht, all textbooks put Italy at the margin. They depict it as a country affected by the process rather than an active force (Calvani 2016; Fossati and Luppi and Zanette 2015; Gentile and Ronga 2017; Lepre, Borgognone and Carpanetto 2017; Bertini 2015) or simply ignore its position (Bertini 2015; Brancati and Pagliarini 2015; De Luna and Meriggi 2018). Thus, when dealing with the 21st century, in some textbooks, Italy is mentioned because it is one of the 'least virtuous' countries (Gentile and Ronga 2017: 629; Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019: 727; Castronovo 2017: 654, 663), has had a precarious financial situation comparable to that of Greece and has suffered from the measures of austerity (Borgognone and Carpanetto 2018: 818).

When textbooks look at and beyond the borders of Europe, the external relations of the EEC/EU remained a topic mostly ignored and limited to current urgencies. Some textbooks report objections to the admission of Turkey, claiming that religious differences and poor respect of human rights are the main obstacles to its membership (Bertini 2015: 501) and adding considerations about geography (Borgognone and Carpanetto 2017: 781) or international relations with the USA (Castronovo 2017: 662). Moreover, a few textbooks include scattered references to recent international crises in Syria and Ukraine (Gentile and Ronga 2017: 631; Bertini 2015: 505; Bresciani and Palmieri and Rovinello and Violante 2019: 714). The relations between the EU and Africa are considered only with regards to migratory pressure, as far as it affects Italy as 'the gateway to Europe' (Lepre and Petraccone and Cavalli and Testa, L. et. Al. 2015: 550) and points out the ineffective management by the EU (Gentile and Ronga 2017: 630).

Overall, the role of the EU as a global actor is represented as marginal. Deeper cooperation in the common foreign and security policy appears desirable, as in French and German textbooks (Sakki 2014: 44), but little or no discussion of this aspect exists. For instance, one textbook comments on an excerpt of the Treaty of Maastricht arguing that 'Among the principles of the Treaty, the EU has pursued only the economic one. Indeed, the EU has not been able to develop a common foreign and security policy nor a judiciary and penal system' (Borgognone and Carpanetto 2017: 780). This sentence is intended to elicit 'interpretation and reflection' from pupils, but the exercise does not include any material to evaluate or discuss the topic.

The approach to enlargements is another interesting example of the contrast between a pre-21st century linear and optimistic narrative and a 21st-century troubling one. Some textbooks reach the highest point of synthesis by providing only non-commented maps showing the progressive enlargement of the EEC/EU. Few cases refer to British negotiations or divergence of economies in the 1980s: only 2004 and 2007 enlargements posed some challenges for the vast majority. Migration and economic crisis, with the euro described as 'an economic and political bet' that has not achieved its results, are blamed for putting the EU in a crisis of system, which Brexit symbolises.

The withdrawal of the United Kingdom shows that the EU is 'in danger' as clearly stated by the closure of one chapter: 'The challenge of the European Union seems to be at a crucial point, with a concrete risk of failure which, for the very first time, puts its existence into doubts' (Gentile: 631). This very negative outlook deserves attention. Ten years ago, an analysis of the representation of European construction in French, German and Italian textbooks claimed that 'Europe's existence, both as a political entity and as an idea or discourse, is widely asserted, acknowledged and sometimes taken for granted' (Challand 2009): after the economic crisis of 2008, taking the Union for granted did not seem obvious anymore.

The great emphasis on the present-day crisis, on the one hand, may be an attempt to match learners' interests and involve them in the learning process with positive results. On the other, however, provided that the historical perspective is limited, and the controversial turning points are not explored, this approach falls behind critical understanding of current problems.

CONCLUSION

The representations of European integration that Italian students are likely to meet in upper secondary school tend to present it as a process detached from national history and with poor

effects on global scale. The vicissitudes of history syllabuses at the beginning of the 1990s showed that, despite volatile proposals of introducing a course of European history, European integration remained a secondary topic in history textbooks. The role of Italy in the integration appears limited to the very beginning, consisting in an ideal contribution that has been overcome by events or in an economic boost that has long run out. This is not because Italy is portrayed as a proper periphery of the integration process, but rather because the process of integration itself is presented as an inevitable and linear path whose developments cannot be explained by the interests of clearly identified agents. Despite a few cases that explains the role of Franco-German relations and some of the interests of other countries, both history of international relations and history of the policies of the EU find little reception in Italian textbooks. The functioning of European institutions is described to provide information to future citizens, but their originality and limitations are not explained on the basis of historical contextualisation. As a result, although Italy is claimed to be a driver of European construction and poses itself at the centre of the process at its origins, the evolution of European integration appears to be abstract, and the country is a passive subject in the process. This is true especially with regards to the passage from EEC to EU. Since the negotiations of the Treaty of Maastricht Italy attracts attention as far as it belongs to the economic periphery of the EU, and textbooks stress its difficulties in coping with the financial parameters.

Some of the problems in teaching EU integration are the same that characterise the teaching approach to the whole second half of the 20th century. For instance, the understanding of history as a discipline, which gained momentum between the end of the 1980s and the 1990s, gave way to a greater emphasis on narrative. Despite the increasing presence of sources in textbook exercises on EU integration as well as other topics, their role is more that of illustrating the narrative rather than providing materials for history workshops. At the same time, a focus on present-day issues without a longer historical perspective favours teaching approaches that pursue objectives of citizenship rather than historical education. As a result, the process of integration is not investigated in its complexity throughout the decades nor from the perspective of different countries involved. Rather, it is briefly described focusing on few turning points that are weakly related to each other.

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ENDNOTES

[1] The scope of the present paper is limited to textbooks dealing with the second half of the 20th century and adopted in the final year of secondary school. It might be worth extending the research to investigate the approach used in textbooks toward Italy's European and international role when dealing with previous periods of history. In this case, textbooks for the last three years of secondary school should be analysed.

[2] Since 1989 the different regionalist parties and movements established in Northern Italy had supported the European integration to oppose Roman centralism (Fazzolari 2019).

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Research Article

Teaching EU Law in the periphery: Outlook in Turkey

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Abstract

This study extensively reviews the EU Law curriculum in Turkish higher education institutions and further draws conclusions on the state of this curriculum as compared to the general EU courses. Based on the findings and the conclusions, the authors then discuss the factors for the inertia to place greater emphasis upon teaching the EU Law with reference to how Europeanization has been understood and interpreted in Turkey. The findings suggest that the reforms have not been appropriately backed by the curriculum and that Turkey has acted in conformity with its own peripheral agenda rather than committing itself strongly to internalize the EU legislation and incorporate it in its entirety into its legal domain.

Keywords

EU Law; Teaching; Turkey; Intergovernmentality/supranationality; Europeanization/de-Europeanization

INTRODUCTION

Copenhagen Criteria, often cited in political and academic debates in Turkey as the basis of accession to the EU, still remain relevant, particularly in the case of Turkey's admission, despite substantial additions and revisions to the conditionality mechanisms. The criteria, setting out political and economic conditions, as well as pointing out to the administrative and institutional ability to implement the *acquis*, or the EU Law in general, have been extensively discussed and often taken into consideration in the introduction of reforms towards membership. Thus, a basic understanding of what the criteria entail, their translation into the legal and political language of the reforms and accompanying efforts to adhere the rules associated with them constituted the very basis of how Turkish political and academic elites define the process of Europeanization.

Additionally, it is possible to infer that this definition of Europeanization suggests that full membership in the EU requires a major transformation in "policy, politics and polity"[1] domains (Bulmer and Burch 2000; Börzel 2005: 49) so that compliance with and adaptation to the EU is ensured. However, a review of the high education curriculum reveals that courses on the EU offered at the Turkish universities focus on the political and economic aspects of the EU, and particularly on the Turkey-EU relations from a historical perspective in evaluation of the improvement/deterioration of the bilateral ties. Based on this analysis, it is also possible to note that IR and Political Science departments offer advanced level EU courses, without paying strong emphasis upon the EU Law. Law Departments, on the other hand, mostly offer elective courses on the EU Law which, however, do not appeal to the future lawyers or jurists since these courses are not considered as part of an impressive legal career. This is also partly because not only institutional law but also EU substantial Law plays a limited role in the law enforcement process in Turkish Law and therefore has a limited role in general legal practice. Therefore, it appears that how Europeanization is viewed and defined is missing a very mandatory component: while the EU acquis is analyzed, reviewed and studied in political circles in times of reforms, higher education institutions make little room and place almost no emphasis upon teaching the EU Law.

This study extensively reviews the EU Law curriculum in Turkish higher education institutions and further draws conclusions on the state of this curriculum as compared to the general EU courses. Based on the findings and the conclusions, the authors then discuss the factors for the inertia to place greater emphasis upon teaching the EU Law with reference to how Europeanization has been understood and interpreted in Turkey. The findings suggest that the reforms have not been appropriately backed by the curriculum and that Turkey has acted in conformity with its own peripheral agenda rather than committing itself strongly to internalize the EU legislation and incorporate it in its entirety into its legal domain.

EUROPEANIZATION IN TURKEY: COPENHAGEN CRITERIA AS LEGAL/POLITICAL BENCHMARK

Turkey's quest for EU membership has been motivated by pragmatic and practical factors, particularly within the government circles. In other words, membership in Western institutions, more specifically in the EU, has been viewed as a major contribution to the preservation of territorial integrity and to the advancement of its political interests, thus normative requirements being attached less significance. This position has been in some instances consistent with the priorities of the EU when its procedures and processes revealed a stance of intergovernmentality rather than supranationality.

Most analytical works tend to consider the EU as a global political/economic giant, comparable to, in terms of their role in the conduct of international affairs, the United States, Russia and China. Such depiction implies that the EU has inherent aspirations to interfere with major upheavals and assume certain responsibilities in connection with its big power status (see for example, Heisbourg 2010; Hill et al. 2017). In other words, from a power-focused theoretical perspective, the EU is considered as having motivations

to make itself engaged with what is taking place in the form of a revolution or a dramatic change not only in its near abroad but also in the entire world.

The EU, from a more norm-focused perspective, may also be viewed as a major norm maker and promoter in regional and international politics (for a detailed discussion on EU's normative foreign policy, see Tocci 2008). As a political construction of universal norms such as democracy, transparency, respect for human rights and equality, the EU commits itself through its legal and political documents and instruments, as well as actions, to defending and promoting these values and norms in its own political domain, as well as in the outer polities. The first analysis implies that the EU can and should act on its 'power arsenal' which draws the limits and boundaries of its sphere of action in its external relations. The second, on the other hand, suggests that it may have intrinsic advantage (and even moral obligation, some might say) in responding to crises that require concerted action. This dichotomy stems from the two dynamics and interplays that have played a role in the construction of the EU: intergovernmentalism and supranationalism (Moravscik 1995; Sandoltz and Sweet 1998). Currently, most analysts refer to the EU as a supranational organization; but in some instances, and areas, the impact of intergovernmentalism resurfaces and becomes visible. Basically, intergovernmentalism informs that both the members and the EU as a representative of their interests places primary emphasis upon protection of the EU interests and benefits whereas supranationality underlines that the EU should promote and spread norms out of responsibility even if it means that such action undermines the immediate interests of the members.

A review of the structure and outlook of the EU (both in terms of legal and political appearance) reveals that the Union is beyond a conventional intergovernmental organization. Above all, the idea of political unity and integration is well-entrenched in the legal texts which allows the EU bodies and institutions, acting on behalf of the people, to conclude international agreements that generate legal obligations. Reference to the popular consent is also apparent in the decisions regarding the foreign policy domain where the wishes of the constituents are prioritized as evidenced in the defined role for the Parliament in case of acceding to international treaties. The normative (thus supranational) tendency is more accentuated in this field whereas, in the identification of the direction of foreign policy, the governments are given a more precise role and power which then reflects the significance of intergovernmentalism in this particular field. Under Article 22 of the Treaty on European Union, the European Council sets out the strategic interests and goals of the EU. The Council, representing the governments of the member states and making its decisions unanimously, envisages a political framework of the EU's external relations with other states or regions. This suggests that the Council may reflect the concerns and priorities of the member states. However, the intergovernmentalism of the role attached to the Council is restricted by Article 21 of the Treaty on European Union which presents a general vision and approach to be upheld in the conduct of foreign relations. This general vision is somehow different from the traditional national foreign policy perspectives and the approach specified in the legal texts of the EU that all member states agreed to uphold is relevant not only to specific regions or states but also encompasses global problems that concern the entire world. In other words, the EU defines some global roles for itself in its external relations some of which may require normative action and response (see Çakmak 2021).

The vision that the Council is expected to consider implies that the EU, in its external relations, needs to adopt a normative stance. In other words, the values and principles that the EU emphasizes hold a pivotal place and may be used as means and catalysts of change in a given foreign political context. The EU has so far relied on these instruments, acting carefully not to appear as interventionist, and seems to have placed emphasis upon elements of some sort of soft power that would ensure acknowledgement and incorporation of its values and principles.

In addition, even though it is safe to argue that the broad authorities of the European Council in prescribing the future direction of foreign relations imply some sort of intergovernmentalism, these authorities are restricted in different parts of the EU legislations, thus requiring the Council to consider the inherent values and principles that make up the normative identity of the EU. Additionally, the supranational nature of normativity in EU actions is further backed and accentuated in the legal basis of foreign policy and security identity which is underlined in Article 24 of the Treaty on European Union as follows:

1. Within the framework of the principles and objectives of its external action, the Union shall conduct, define and implement a common foreign and security policy, based on the development of mutual political solidarity among Member States, the identification of questions of general interest and the achievement of an ever-increasing degree of convergence of member states' actions.
2. The Member States shall support the Union's service in a spirit of loyalty and mutual solidarity and shall comply with the Union's action in this area.

Whether or not democracy promotion falls within the agenda of EU's external relations remains ambiguous. However, it is clear that democracy is one of the determinants and constituents of the EU law as the idea of union is based on the protection and recognition of the rights of all popular actors and groups in the continent and on the identification of instruments to ensure their participation in legal and political processes. Strong emphasis has been placed upon democracy in the enlargement and deepening processes in the EU history, and this has been evidenced by the conditionality clauses and requirements that prospective members needed to implement before gaining access to the EU; these requirements have had transformative impacts upon the candidate states which rearranged their domestic political structures to meet the democratic standards that the EU prescribed as conditions. Additionally, democracy has played a role of a permanent reference in the construction and implementation of the EU Law. Democracy and a number of other relevant values are explicitly mentioned in Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union as foundational basis of the EU:

> The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.

The values and principles the EU considers fundamental for its existence have over the time created a broad political and legal culture within the EU, including its members as well as its institutions. Adoption and evolution of this culture is also in line with the aims of the EU which are provided in details in Article 3:

> In its relations with the wider world, the Union shall uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens. It shall contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

All these norms and values have also been defined as legal obligations in other legal documents of the EU, thus creating a fairly normative basis for integration. In other words, the aims specified in the EU legislation are not mere standards and expression of unsubstantiated aspirations, but are formal legal obligations that should be considered in external relations as well.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: INTERGOVERNMENTAL TURNS IN TURKEY-EU RELATIONS AND STATE OF EU STUDIES

The intergovernmental relationship between Ankara and Brussels is not only confined to simple domestic and foreign affairs of each side since "the EU–Turkey relations impact the wider neighborhood and the global arena, be it the conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, the transatlantic security agenda, or the implementation of the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development" (Turhan and Reiners 2021: 2). Moreover, as a member of several multilateral institutions such as Organization for Co-Operation and Economic Development (since 1948), Council of Europe (since 1949), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (since 1953), Turkey has competences in acting on other multilateral institutions side by side with the EU or the EU member states, some of which exclusively affect the institutional, legal, political structure of Turkey. In this respect, teaching, learning and researching about the EU studies in general and the EU law are valuable assets for the epistemic community in Turkey.

Although theoretical approaches and the methodological choices on the impact of the EU in Turkey are different, after the Helsinki Summit of 1999, the Turkish case has generally been analyzed within the context of EU conditionality, which is characterized by a normative and legalistic agenda (Bölükbaşı et al. 2010). Some scholars alternatively suggest that conditionality is not sufficient to pinpoint the depth of EU impact on the Turkish domestic arena as it has just coupled with Turkey's democratization process (Tocci 2005; Müftüler-Baç 2005). Ulusoy (2005) believes that "the European impact on Turkish politics is much more profound than the framework of conditionality and it goes to the core of the political structure in Turkey". It may be the reason that Kaliber (2008) called attention to a distinction between EU-ization as a formal alignment with the EU's institutions, policies and legal structure and Europeanization in a wider context. In such a distinction, the latter makes references to other Europe-wide institutions and different societies' diverse perceptions of and experiences with Europe. Therefore, a new research generation regarding Turkish-EU relations emerged to explain the domestic change in a given policy domain.

Bölükbaşı et al. (2010: 465) point out that political science in general and European studies in particular are relatively new fields of study in Turkey and that research in these fields tend to be legalistic rather than empirical. What they suggest is that an emerging sub-field of Europeanization can be the launch pad of more empirical and comparative case-study research on Turkey. Another necessity for scholars within this so-called new generation of Europeanization studies is to focus on other societal actors whose interests have been disregarded throughout Turkish-EU relations. Some scholars, for instance, consider that Turkey's aspiration for the EU was a top-down and elite driven project in which other societal actors have been excluded (Müftüler-Baç 2005: 17; Tocci 2005; Öniş 2009). In seeing this, Diez *et al.* (2005) attest four distinct types of Europeanization (policy-, political-, societal- and discursive-Europeanization). They argue that so far studies for the Turkish case have been largely confined to a policy and political Europeanization.

This paper does not seek to cover the entire debate about the evolution of Europeanization or EU studies in Turkey. However, it argues that in parallel with the development of Turkey-EU relations, academic interest has followed a similar trajectory. Retrospectively speaking, it is usually acknowledged that the EU-Turkey relationship has been progressed in ebbs and flows fashion (Narbonne and Tocci 2007). This makes one to consider that the temporality dimension of the bilateral relationship matters in order to make a fine-grained analysis. Timing is also important dimension as it suggests that the strategic importance of EU–Turkey relations in (geo)political, economic, and societal terms does not exhibit a clear, linear developmental path (Turhan and Reiners 2021: 2). Although this is not a paper to trace the evolution of the bilateral relations between the EU and Turkey, what is important here is that the temporality affects the interests given to the learning and teaching of the EU law in Turkey. What temporality suggests is that the EU accession process in Turkey has gradually evolved over the course of time. This

has often resulted in the limitations of grasping the impact of the EU in actual practice in Turkey.

The gradual change may be analyzed under three distinct periods after the Helsinki Summit of 1999 due to the nature of sources of changes and of the relations with the EU (Özçelik 2019). These periods are defined as follows: *Europeanisation as democratization* (1999-2002); *proto-Europeanisation* (2002-08) (see Griffiths and Özdemir 2004) and *de-Europeanisation* (2008 onwards). Starting from Turkey's first application for associate membership to the European Economic Community in 1959, Alpan (2021) proposes four time periods: *Europeanization as Rapprochement* (1959-1999); *Europeanization as Democratic Conditionality* (1999-2005); *Europeanization as Retrenchment* (2006-2011) and finally *Europeanization as Denial* (2011-2020). Although our special emphasis is on the last (de-Europeanization) (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016), or what Alpan (2021) considers *Europeanization as Retrenchment* and *Denial*, we admit that such periodization neither seeks to simplify the complex process of historical evolutions, nor aims to create artificial periods against continuity and change. The intention is simply to present how continuity and change in terms of the nature of bilateral relations have developed after the Helsinki Summit of 1999 and therefore to review the EU Law curriculum in Turkish higher education institutions in order to draw conclusions on the state of this curriculum as compared to the general EU courses.

The period of 1999-2002 covers the fragile coalition government, the economic crisis of 2001 and Turkey's intensive democratization process in terms of human rights and the Kurdish issue. Although the impact of the EU on Turkish politics has been intensified by the early years in the post-Helsinki era, reforms mainly targeted the economic development of the country, democratic improvement and human right issues along with the enhancing the capacity of undertaking the EU acquis. This implies that the EU's major concern was whether Turkey could fulfil the community's standards in line with the Copenhagen Criteria. Besides, in this period, the coalition government was highly fragmented with their perceptions regarding the EU-induced reforms. It is more likely that faced with Euro-sceptic and highly nationalist right-wing coalition partners, the Nationalist Action Party, in government, the Commission preferred to emphasize urgent radical political reform in areas such as democracy and human rights at the beginning of the process. For instance, the Turkish Grand National Assembly approved 34 constitutional amendments in this period, most in the areas of human rights, laws regarding Penal Code, and the anti-terror law. Consequently, the period of 1999-2002 was largely one of 'Europeanization as Democratization', or in the words of Diez et al. (2005), of 'the political Europeanization', and/or *Europeanization as Democratic Conditionality* (Alpan 2021).

By the landslide victory of the Justice and Development Party (hereafter AKP, in Turkish acronym), Ankara's strong commitment to implementing the Copenhagen criteria after two years of intergovernmental bargaining opened a new era in bilateral relations (between 2002 and 2008). By this new era, the EU had become a major international source of change and had greater impact on domestic change. While the incumbent government, as a single ruling party, had the necessary power to adopt EU regulations and/or comply with the EU's expectation, the former president, Ahmet Necdet Sezer along with the main opposition party (CHP, Republican People's Party) were strong veto players. This period is seen as one of proto-Europeanization or what Öniş (2009) describes as the 'golden age of Europeanization', despite the powerful veto players. The proto-Europeanization period has witnessed a breakthrough in terms of both societal and transnational interaction not only among the business elites, but also among a wide range of organizations, universities, environmental groups, students and other segments of society (Eralp 2008: 164). Because of this growing interaction, the EU has appeared on the agenda in every sphere of life, and is no longer treated solely as a foreign policy implication. Considering the EU as an important opportunity structure in terms of new economic resources and institutional links, a large number of Turkish universities have responded to these developments by implementing a number of community programs,

establishing EU research and liaison units, recruiting experts for EU matters and interacting with their counterparts and potential partners in the EU arena (in terms of exchanging staff and students under the Erasmus program).

While Turkey appeared to be on the right track and started to progress ardently towards the accession negotiations between 2002 and 2010, a rather different picture started to emerge in the ensuing years. Due to the problems that emerged both in Turkey (e.g. the evasion of signing the additional protocol with Cyprus[2]; shift in Turkish foreign policy dimension towards the neighboring countries) and in the EU (e.g. political behavior of Germany and France on Turkey-EU relations; the enlargement fatigue of the EU, and more recently Euro-zone crisis), the accession negotiations proceeded slower than expected (Eralp 2008; Börzel and Soyaltın 2012). Furthermore, the politicization of conditionality and de-facto conditions together with an overemphasis on open-endedness not only has disturbed the Turkish audience and aroused suspicions of a hidden agenda (Aydın and Esen 2007:129), but it has also caused a cleavage within the political elites between reform-oriented and pro-European forces and hard-liner Republicianists holding a veto position against structural changes (Schimmelfennig *et al.* 2003: 507).

As a reaction to such tension in the accession process, 'public support for EU membership appears to have declined by a considerable margin'[3] and the present government appears to have lost some of its enthusiasm and its initial reformist zeal (Öniş 2006). The credibility and intensity of the EU accession process has subsequently seen a considerable decrease (Eralp 2008; Saatçioğlu 2010). More importantly, a great number of technical issues and standards relating to legal system in Turkey have not yet disseminated to the lower levels due to reservations on many accession chapters[4]. In fact, the speech addressed by PM Erdoğan in the Azerbaijani Parliament in 2005 has already signaled the new period. In that speec, Erdoğan publicly announced that:

Turkey should be accepted into the EU. If not, we will change the name of the Copenhagen criteria to the Ankara criteria and continue with the reforms. [...] no turning back on the road that Turkey has been taking to integrate with Europe, and there are no other alternatives.[5]

Apart from the poor credibility of the EU accession process and the incomplete accession chapters, suggesting for a new type of bilateral relationship (e.g., privileged partnership) has also considerably reduced the pulling effect of Europeanization. This has correspondingly hampered any genuine shifts towards disseminating the EU acquis in Turkey. More importantly, Turkey, especially since 2010, has been going through a different foreign policy orientation. This has signaled a shift from one-dimensional foreign policy (relations with the West) to a more multi-dimensional one. This new foreign policy approach has not only reduced the interest of many academics in EU issues but also impacted on the direction of their teaching and research portfolio.

REVIEW OF THE EU LAW CURRICULUM IN TURKEY

Turkey started accession talks with the European Union on 3 October 2005. The basic values that determine the direction of the accession negotiations are contained in three major documents: The Copenhagen Criteria, the Negotiating Framework Document and the Treaty of Lisbon, all referring to evaluations and values regarding the legal and political conditionality of membership in the Union. More specifically, the Copenhagen Criteria indicate the existence of stable institutions in the country that guarantee democracy, the rule of law, respect for human and minority rights. Negotiation Framework Document, on the other hand, marks the implementation of the Copenhagen political criteria without exception, the deepening and internalization of political reforms, and the adoption and implementation of the EU acquis. Treaty of Lisbon points out that the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of minorities.

Teaching the EU law in Turkey has direct relevance to the framework of the membership talks with the EU, as in most cases affected by how membership is perceived in the bureaucratic community and how in some instances, this perception fails to grasp what the supranational tendencies within the EU dictates. More concretely, the political positioning within the bureaucratic and government circles in Turkey in respect to the EU membership talks often considers the scope of the parts of the "acquis" that defines the strictest legal obligations that barely meet the membership requirements. Courses focused on EU-Turkey relations, but also general EU law courses, make references to the EU acquis as common rights and obligations that are binding upon all EU members. Courses taught at law schools adopts a strict definition of the EU law, thereby covering the primary legislation and the legal acts that the EU institutions adopt. With rare exceptions, these courses fail to take the EU law as a body of law that encompasses all the rules of the EU legal order, the general principles established by the European Court of Justice, as well as the international agreements concluded between the EU and non-member states and intergovernmental organizations.

A review of the EU Law courses offered in higher education institutions in Turkey reveals that teaching the EU Law has not become an integrated part of the curriculum and that neither the students nor the teaching body of these institutions consider it an essential matter of training and career-building. Additionally, even when they are offered, the EU Law courses have been given relatively less significance, compared to others in the course listings. Further findings also suggest that the EU norms, as reflected in the way the EU Law courses are taught, have not been properly elucidated and internalized. While normative adaptation appears to be a primary requirement for a successful integration with the EU, the case of teaching EU Law in Turkey shows that there is huge disparity between the normative agenda inherently embedded in the EU Law and how it has been understood in the Turkish higher education institutions.

Prior to the Helsinki Summit of 1999, only a few selected universities in İstanbul and Ankara pioneered the EU studies in Turkey. For instance, the Institute of European Studies at Marmara University (İstanbul) and European Union Research and Application Center (ATAUM) in Ankara were founded to offer post-graduate education and research in EC affairs shortly after Turkey's membership application to the European Community in 1987. These two institutes are the first academic institutions established in Turkey with a focus on European Studies. Nevertheless, even earlier than that, thanks to the academic staff who had introduced EU Law and as a Master's program in Ankara University back in 1980s, where EU Competition Law had been one of the key elective topics offered in the EU Law and Commercial Law graduate programs at the school since 1980's. In fact, the EU (then named EC Law) had been the unique example of EU Law being a specific post graduate program in the curricular in a non-member state. Each institute still offers graduate programs in "EU Law," "EU International Relations" and "EU Economics and Finance." Galatasaray University, Middle East Technical University, Dokuz Eylül University are those which have established specific courses, centers and research units just before the Helsinki Summit of 1999. However, with the euphoric moment of the Helsinki Summit in 1999, the EU studies in Turkey and Turkish case in Europe gained importance for research purposes (Başar 2020: 168). The prospect of EU membership had its own attractiveness to build up a career on this path for many university students because many ministries, public institutions, local administrations and research institutions affiliated with universities started to call for posts for those who have sufficient expertise and knowledge in the EU. By the establishment of the General Secretariat for European Union affiliated to the Prime Ministry with the Law No. 4587 on July 4, 2000, the need for EU expertise was further accentuated. Realizing that Turkey's adaptation to the EU legislation, judicial and administrative practices, several universities started to include different courses related to the EU studies such as Turkish-EU relations, EU Integration, EU Law, Law and institutions of the EU and so forth. These courses were usually taught at the leading universities in Turkey as a compulsory course.

Our review shows that not all IR departments or Law Schools offer EU Law courses. It appears that the IR programs have been devised to have a focus on the EU as it is obviously considered an essential part of the IR curriculum.[6] (it seems that the author, in addition to the Law schools, only focuses on the IR depts. Nevertheless, there are also a fairly limited number of Political Science and Public Administration Dept. (such as at METU) where EU Law has long been one of the elective courses offered for the Dept. and also for all the faculty students in addition to the ADM students. Those IR courses with special emphasis upon the EU mostly cover the political and economic aspects of the Union, and historically surveys the dynamics that played role in the EU-Turkey relations. With very few exceptions, the IR programs do not have separate EU Law courses, nor do the other EU courses place emphasis upon the normative/legal basis of the EU processes, practices and institutions.

Offered as senior-level courses (mostly for third- or fourth-year students), the EU courses in IR departments, in most cases, fail to engage with what the EU legislation and institutions have been devised to achieve, and instead refer to what might be called the intergovernmental setting and outlook of the EU and how it relates to the case of Turkey. More specifically, rather than paying attention to the normative aspirations of the EU and its supranational tendencies, as well as the regulatory power of its institutions and actions, these courses restrict the study of the EU to its intergovernmental elements which seem to better explain how Turkey views Europeanization from a pragmatic and utilitarian approach.

In essence, the case is not much different in the law schools some of which offer EU Law courses, mostly as electives rather than compulsory part of the law-training. It appears that the EU Law does not constitute one of the primary columns of legal training which may be partly explained by the lack of overall interest in international law curriculum because it is not required to have a certain grasp in this field to build a remarkable career, either as practicing lawyer or as public servant (judge or prosecutor). However, lack of interest in the "international" in legal training becomes even more obvious in the case of teaching/learning the EU Law. Where they are offered as electives, a very small portion of the cohort enroll in the EU Law courses simply because they are not of great use.

It should be noted, however, that career concerns of the law school enrollers might be cited as only as a partial explanation for the lack of attention to the EU Law in the law school curricula of the Turkish universities. Given that the curricula in higher education institutions of Turkey are not often shaped by the demands and needs of the students, and are developed and administered from a centralist point of view that considers the official narrative, it is possible to argue that both the Higher Education Council (YÖK), authorized to supervise the teaching activities and outcomes in universities as a constitutional body, and the university administrations make an informed and deliberate choice of not incorporating the EU Law courses into the mainstream curricula of, even the law schools.

Even though the universities are legally allowed to make their individual decisions of drawing the curricula, it is still possible to argue that the YÖK is influential in a number of fields that fall within the scope of its competence. The Council authorizes the introduction, merger and cancellation of new faculties, vocational schools, research centers, institutes, departments, diploma programs and distance education schemes at the universities. Additionally, the Council decides, based on recommendations forwarded by the university management, for the introduction of graduate programs. As noted, however, the universities have discretion to draft their own curricula and incorporate the courses they seek to teach into them. The impact of the Council upon the teaching tendencies at the universities is, therefore, indirect and reflective of how the dominant orientation at the top bureaucracy is interpreted by the affiliate bodies and how it is diffused throughout the lower segments of the bureaucratic structure. In other words, the universities are not truly autonomous as they are attentive to the changes in crucial

policies. Their autonomy is further restricted by the broad authorities attached to the rectors/chancellors who are, based on YÖK's recommendation, appointed by the president.

The academic community places emphasis upon the analysis of the functioning of the Accession Negotiations, the legal and political effects of the above-mentioned conditionality in Turkey, and Turkey-EU relations. As shown in the appendix, courses on the EU Law and Turkey - EU Relations courses at the Higher Education level in Turkey are included in the curricula of the International Relations and Law departments. A review of these courses reveals that the subject matters the EU considers as relevant to the basic values are rarely included in the contents. Some examples include the course on Turkey-European Union Relations: Legal Dimension, offered at Ankara University Faculty of Law, that discusses the functioning of accession negotiations, a course on the European Union Law, offered at Galatasaray University Faculty of Law, that analyzes the basic values of the EU and fundamental rights in EU Law , the Human Rights and European Integration, taught at Koç University, that focuses on the European Union and its policies seeking to universalize the concept and implementation of human rights.

However, aside from these exceptions, the majority of the EU Law courses offered in law programs of Turkish universities depict the EU as a formal intergovernmental organization that features complicated processes and institutions, and attempt to clarify the roles and functions of these institutions and the interactions between them and the member states, as well as how the outputs of the EU bodies and actions are implemented within the EU and across member states. In other words, these courses do not make any attempt to discuss the ontological basis of the EU Law and what it has been generated to achieve on a normative basis, thus failing to review the EU as a norm-maker and promoter. The typical contents of these courses include a brief and chronological survey of the development of the EU law, with references to the adoption of certain treaties and their institutional implications and to the changes they brought about, as well as the division of labor between the EU institutions, particularly the European Court of Justice and its caselaw. Thus, it appears that the EU Law courses offered in law schools at the Turkish universities adopt a fairly legalistic approach that often ignores the political implications. Additionally, they also fail to analyze the ideational and historical roots and sources of the law-making within the EU, thereby contributing to the flawed and inadequate interpretation of Europeanization. In some respects, the EU Law courses offered in law schools are consistent with those offered in IR programs as the latter also miss the point that the EU is political and legal construction that has been in the making of a comprehensive and intricate process. Avoiding to discuss the supranational nature of at least some aspects of the EU Law and what it has generated in concrete outcomes is consistent with the official interpretation of the foreign relations which also seems to have been endorsed and confirmed in academic circles as well. With some minor exceptions, the EU Law courses, and the general EU courses, rely on a state-centric approach that is extremely susceptible to the proper identification and preservation of national interests, regarded as the bedrock of the IR analysis within the Turkish academic community.

DECODING THE PERIPHERALITY IN EU LAW CURRICULUM

A review of the Turkey-EU relations, particularly when looked from the Turkish perspective, reveals that the political aspects of the process have been clearly underlined and emphasized upon. This has been the case despite normative/legal transformations in the EU legal/political domain and their expected transformative impacts upon the domestic legislation and policy-making in Turkey. As a result, engagement with the EU has been viewed as an intergovernmental endeavor among the political elites of Turkey which the academic community has also endorsed in its research agenda, as well as teaching portfolio. This is why Europeanization has been mostly associated in academic

circles with pragmatic gains for "us" (often vaguely used to denote the "nation" and the "state").

As a direct outcome of this intergovernmental approach, the EU membership has been a matter that the bureaucratic elites dealt with, often in reference to legal requirements that overlooked what membership normatively entailed. The institutional setting within Turkish bureaucracy in response to the EU demands underlined as conditions to be met for full membership, thus, paid attention to the process as a purely legal/intergovernmental endeavor without considering the politically/structurally transformative implications. The academic institutions (the law schools in particular, because of its relevance to the discussion in this paper) seems to have adopted the same line of approach. Those academic institutions that offer EU Law courses view both the EU membership and the EU law-making as a bureaucratic/technical issue. In some instances, these courses attempt to address part of the complexities and intricacies associated with this issue whereas in most cases, the curriculum prefers a superficial and generalized instruction for the audience.

Coupled with the lack of general interest in the EU among college students, especially in times of stalled membership talks between Turkey and the EU, this superficiality generates an unsubstantiated knowledge basis. Consequently, a number of law school/IR department graduates receive their advanced degrees without having even a basic grasp of how the EU functions and delivers its predefined roles. Based on observations based on direct interaction with college students, we, for instance, have realized that many often confuse the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) with the EU Court of Justice, and the Council of Europe with the European Council or the Council of the EU, or assume that the ECtHR is an EU institution.

As a complementary observation, particularly in times of what might be called de-Europeanization currents in Turkey, it is possible to argue that the disinterest in the EU Law courses becomes more than obvious; in such instances, it appears that the curricula in law schools make little room for EU Law course offerings, with only a few schools, listing the EU Law in their compulsory-course clusters. The higher education institutions in Turkey, including the IR departments and law schools, show the least of interest in disseminating knowledge of the EU law and the EU conception of law-making among the students. However, there are examples demonstrating that some legal scholars publish monographs focusing on the technicalities of some aspects of the EU Law (see Reçber 2016, Akdoğan 2020, Güneş 2011, Bayram 2011 and Özcan 2005). Such inclination suggests that at least part of the law community is academically interested in the EU Law, mostly for promotion purposes.

This is quite understandable since the EU Law and a number of EU-related subjects are listed as academic fields for the applicants by the Inter-University Board, responsible for the administration of granting associate professorship that is considered a remarkable milestone in the career path for the academic community. The European Union Law, in this list, appears as a field of the legal studies, for which legal scholars may publish their works to get promoted. The European Union is listed as field of the Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences, and features the European Law as a sub-field. The European Union Law as a sub-field is also listed under the field of Public Administration. Interestingly, the field of International Relations does not list the European Union Law as a sub-field.

Table 1: EU-related academic subjects/fields listed by the Inter-University Board of Turkey to grant associate professorship

Area of studies	Main field	Sub-field
Legal Studies	European Union Law	European Union Law
Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences	European Union	Economics of the EU

Area of studies	Main field	Sub-field
		European Union Law EU-Turkey Relations History of Europe European and Area Studies Turkish Foreign Policy
Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences	Public Administration	European Union Law
Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences	Political Processes and Institutions	European and Area Studies
Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences	Political History	EU-Turkey Relations History of Europe
Social, Humanistic and Administrative Sciences	International Relations	EU-Turkey Relations European Studies

Source: Official webpage of the Inter-University Board of Turkey, https://www.uak.gov.tr/Documents/docentlik/2021-mayis-donemi/2021M_BilimAlanlariAnahtarKelimeler_08052021.pdf, accessed 29 October 2021.

Overall, there are more than 20 fields/subfields of specialization, officially designated by a central administrative body, for which academics would seek promotion. In other words, those academics and scholars who develop interest in the European affairs have a diverse set of opportunities to build a professional career. The increased number of career options in European studies is a direct outcome of the Europeanization in Turkey which has an impact upon the content of the list cited above. It is a potentially useful insight to underline that the list remained almost unchanged despite de-Europeanization in politics.

Additionally, it is striking to note that the EU Law is referred to in the list as a main field of legal studies, thus holding an equal status of International Relations. However, this is not the actual case in the teaching domain. Despite that it is a main field designated for academic promotion, the European Law is taught at law schools (not all of them) mostly as an elective course; and where it is taught as a compulsory course, the European Law still does not constitute a salient part of the law curriculum. The status of the EU Law as a teaching module is even bleaker and less accentuated in the IR departments. Not only the EU Law is not listed as a sub-field by the Inter-University Board, but also it is not part of the IR curriculum in the higher education institutions of Turkey.

Therefore, it is only expectable to see growing number of publications, mainly in form of monographs, addressing different aspects of the EU Law within the legal community in Turkey. Even though the initial enthusiasm to include EU-related fields in the list referred to above is attributable to the constructive sentiments towards the EU and the membership process, this enthusiasm has never been translated into an initiative to revise the curriculum in a way to offer EU Law-related courses for the college students. A plausible explanation would suggest that because the EU membership process and Europeanization has been conceived in reference to an intergovernmental perspective in Turkey, the higher education administration, as a public institution, acted in consistency with the overall interpretation of the bureaucratic and political elites, and thus revised the administrative outlook accordingly. And since Europeanization has not been understood as a process of norm-diffusion and dissemination, the curricula in the Law Schools and the IR programs have not been dramatically altered to offer a wide range of the EU Law-related courses.

This review suggests that the EU Law courses offered in Turkish universities fail to grasp the supranational and normative elements in the EU Law and tend to present the intergovernmental aspects as the legal basis of full membership in fulfilment of the Copenhagen Criteria. However, this goes against the very core of the EU Law which places emphasis upon the values and standards as objective benchmarks that have generated legal/normative obligations safeguarded under the EU Law for the member states and prospective members as well. An intergovernmental characterization of the Europeanization, however, misses the foundations of the EU institutions and law-making.

The values upon which the EU is founded (also referred to above) are more than nonbinding standards (see Çakmak 2021: 20-45). In fact, the EU, under its own laws and regulations, is expected to take action in case these values have been violated by its members which agree to comply with objective legal obligations associated with them. Compliance with these supranational values is supervised in two different forms. First, membership in the EU requires full observation of and respect for these values; second, the member states are also required to honor their obligations as they relate to the values and norms of the EU Law. Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union spells out the measures and sanctions to be enforced in case of violation as follows:

1. On a reasoned proposal by one third of the Member States, by the European Parliament or by the European Commission, the Council, acting by a majority of four fifths of its members after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament, may determine that there is a clear risk of a serious breach by a Member State of the values referred to in Article 2…The Council shall regularly verify that the grounds on which such a determination was made continue to apply.

2. The European Council, acting by unanimity on a proposal by one third of the Member States or by the Commission and after obtaining the consent of the European Parliament, may determine the existence of a serious and persistent breach by a Member State of the values referred to in Article 2, after inviting the Member State in question to submit its observations.

3. Where a determination under paragraph 2 has been made, the Council, acting by a qualified majority, may decide to suspend certain of the rights deriving from the application of the Treaties to the Member State in question, including the voting rights of the representative of the government of that Member State in the Council.

4. The Council, acting by a qualified majority, may decide subsequently to vary or revoke measures taken under paragraph 3 in response to changes in the situation which led to their being imposed.

In addition to the core values, the EU Law is also based on recognition and strengthening of participatory democracy. In other words, a strong institutionalized democracy that ensures direct participation of people in government is specified as an objective obligation for both member states and the prospective members, as underlined in Article 10 of the Treaty on European Union:

1. The functioning of the Union shall be founded on representative democracy.

2. Citizens are directly represented at Union level in the European Parliament.

Member States are represented in the European Council by their Heads of State or Government and in the Council by their governments, themselves democratically accountable either to their national Parliaments, or to their citizens.

3. Every citizen shall have the right to participate in the democratic life of the Union. Decisions shall be taken as openly and as closely as possible to the citizen.

4. Political parties at European level contribute to forming European political awareness and to expressing the will of citizens of the Union.

The EU Law curricula, however, overlook the values and democratic norms enshrined in the EU legislation and the fact that certain legal obligations, as well as concrete measures and sanctions in case of their violation by member states, have been identified and enforced as part of the broader EU Law. A review of the EU Law courses reveals that the content does not make any significant attempt to properly identify a legal dimension attached to the norms and values of the EU Law and the democratic standards it is set to achieve. Overall, this refers to a major intergovernmentality/supranationality divide in the EU-Turkey relations, and how this divide reflects upon the teaching of the EU Law in Turkish universities.

CONCLUSION

An analysis on teaching the EU Law in Turkey allows us to draw conclusions that are consistent with the overall intergovernmental stance of the Turkish political elites and the bureaucracy vis-à-vis the EU membership bid, and also with the analysis of the "anchor/credibility dilemma" (Uğur 1999). Our discussion refers to how Turkey has understood this bid and how it has formulated its reform processes and recalls that Turkey's engagement with the EU has often been driven by pragmatic considerations rather than normative adaptation. Moreover, this pragmatic stance has also been endorsed by the administrative bodies that govern and regulate the higher education domain. The vast majority of the universities in Turkey, being influenced by the official narrative and interpretation of the Europeanization, adopted a teaching approach on the EU Law that did not attempt to address the supranational/normative elements as the basis of the EU law-making, and of requirements for full membership.

In other words, the way "Europe," and more particularly the EU Law, has been taught in Turkey concurs with what is being criticized in the introduction of this Special Issue, (Alpan and Diez 2022) that European studies is extremely Eurocentric. The modality by which the EU Law is taught and presented in Turkish higher education system is far from being Eurocentric, instead exhibiting domestic elements of concern and priorities. However, as opposed to what is being proposed in the same introduction, the content of the EU Law education in Turkey cannot be properly characterized as an endeavor of critical engagement. Overall, the EU Law curricula in Turkish universities reveal strong emphasis and consideration of intergovernmental priorities and pragmatic tendencies.

In times of strongly perceived Europeanization, the universities have introduced a number of initiatives, mostly in forms of launching EU-related projects, or exchange programs, as well as sponsoring publications. But this interest in the EU affairs has not been translated into a rich teaching agenda that focused on the very core of the EU values and principles. Courses on general EU politics and Turkey-EU relations have been incorporated in the IR curricula which remained almost unchanged despite the currents of de-Europeanization within the political circles and the general public. However, these courses did (and still) discuss the superficial legalities and structural outlook of the EU as an institution, or the linearity of the bilateral relations between Turkey and the EU as a political process. Such a discussion is devoid of references to the normative core that contributed to the evolution of the EU as a supranational political/legal entity.

The authors, in this article, suggest that the disparity between Turkey's interpretation of the EU Law with particular reference to the case of teaching the EU, and the normative objectives enshrined in the EU institutional and legal setting is attributable to the failure of the political and bureaucratic elites to recognize the supranational inclinations and evolution of the EU and to their imagination and characterization of the relations with the EU from an intergovernmental perspective, despite that even by late 1980s, the EU "has progressed far beyond the essentially intergovernmental nature of most international organizations and has incorporated many supranational characteristics into its structure and operation" (Nugent 1989: 320). This may also be relevant to the general outlook of the determinants of Turkish foreign policy (see Aydın 1999, 2000, 2003 and Müftüler-Baç 2011) which mainly seek to maintain territorial integrity and enhanced national security

through a sense of Westernization that recognizes Turkey's security concerns and contributes to the consolidation of its strategic interests.

Some peripheral factors that are of secondary salience to explain the state of teaching the EU Law may also be cited. For practical reasons, law school students do not find the EU Law courses appealing and useful since, unlike the case in member states where the EU Law "becomes a mandatory requirement for those intending to enter the legal profession" (MacLean 1994: ix), they are not an essential part of what they should study extensively to become a good lawyer or a prosecutor/judge serving in the public offices. For this reason, the EU Law courses, if offered at all, may only serve the purpose of receiving extra credits to fulfill graduation requirements.[7]

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ENDNOTES

[1] The 'polity' domain covers national governance systems, administrative structures and the executive, legislative, and judicial authorities of the country in question. The 'policy' domain refers to the broader legislative framework, such as the economy, agricultural, justice, and home affairs policies of the country in question. Finally, the domain of 'politics' concerns the political parties, political actors, elections, and public opinion of the country (Bache and Jordan 2006, cited in Alpan 2021).
[2] The Cyprus issue stands in the heart of Turkey's accession process with the EU, for the rich account on this issue, see (Christou 2003, 2013).
[3] In the latest survey conducted by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK), public support for EU membership has decreased around 25 % between 2004 and 2012. While 70.2% of people supported the EU membership in 2004, this has decreased to the level of 45.4% in 2012. For more detail see 'Life-Satisfaction Survey of 2012', www.tuik.gov.tr.
[4] Only one chapter, Science and Technology, has been so far closed. Twelve Chapters are open but still under observation. Two Chapters were invited to be presented and Turkey has presented its negotiation position. Eight chapters are reserved as the additional protocol with Cyprus the opening criterion for these chapters. 10 chapters are still being discussed in the Council.
[5]For the summary of PM Erdoğan's speech, see the Journal of Turkish Weekly, http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/14088/erdogan-copenhagen-criteria-would-become (accessed on 1st March, 2013).

[6] It should be noted, however, that there are, may be very few, Political Science and Public Administration Dept. (such as at METU) where EU Law has long been one of the elective courses offered.
[7] The authors would like to point out that Turkey is sui generis with its circumstances that regardless of the discrepancies stated above, probably it is the only non-member country where the EU Law has long been in the curriculum of the law schools (in some public universities such as METU, Ankara University, Marmara University, and in some private universities such as Yeditepe, Bilkent and Bilgi universities).

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APPENDIX

Table 1: Higher Education Institutions in Turkey Offering EU Law courses (Elective/Compulsory) and Contents of the EU Law Courses offered at Turkish higher education institutions

IS: Institutional Structure, DM: Decision Making, JO: Judicial Order (Intergovernmental elements)

D: Democratization/Democracy, HR: Human Rights, EID: European Identity (Supranational elements)

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
Afyon Kocatepe University	Law	European Union Law	C	X	
Altınbaş University	Law	European Convention on Human Rights	E		X
Altınbaş University	Law	European System of Human Rights Convention	E		X
Altınbaş University	Law	European Union Law	E	X	
Altınbaş University	IR	European Integration	C		
Abdullah Gul Univ.	IR	EU Foreign Policy			
Abdullah Gul Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Akdeniz University	Law	Economics of EU	E		X
Akdeniz University	Law	Institutional Law of EU	E	X	
Akdeniz University	Law	EU Criminal Law	E	X	
Akdeniz University	Law	Substantive Law of EU	E	X	
Akdeniz University	Law	EU Refugee Law	E	X	
Akdeniz University	Law	Turkey-EU Cooperation Law	E	X	
Akdeniz University	Law	EU Tax Law	E		X
Akdeniz University	IR	History of EU Integration			
Akdeniz University	IR	European Studies			
Anadolu University	Law	European Union Labour Law	E	X	
Anadolu University	Law	European Union	E	X	
Anadolu University	IR	European Union			
Anadolu University	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
Ankara Science Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Univ.	IR	Institutional Structure of the EU			
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Univ.	IR	European Security			
Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Univ.	IR	EU Foreign Policy			
Ankara Medipol Univ.	Law	European Politics	E	X	
Ankara Social Sciences Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Ankara University	Law	Economics of the EU	E		X
Ankara University	Law	Turkey and the European Union	E	X	
Ankara University	Law	Institutional Law of the EU	E	X	
Ankara University	Law	European Union Law	E		X
Ankara University	Law	Turkey-EU Relations: Legal Aspects	E	X	
Ankara University	Law	Substantive Law of the EU	E		X
Ankara University	Law	European Private Law	E	X	
Ankara University	IAW	European Conventions Law	E	X	
Ankara University	IR	European Integration			
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	Introduction to European Union Law	E		X
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	European Union Law*	E		X
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	European Economic Law*	E		X
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	Comperative Tax Law in the EU	E		X
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	EU Corporate Law*	E	X	
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	EU Labour Law	E	X	
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	Law	Case-Law of the European Court of Human Rights *	E	X	

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	IR	History Of Europe			
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt Univ.	IR	Modern Eastern Europe			
Antalya Science Univ.	IR	European Union: History and Integration			
Antalya Science Univ.	IR	European Union Foreign and Security Policy			
Antalya Science Univ.	IR	Social and Political History of Modern Europe			
Ardahan Univ.	IR	European Union			
Atatürk Univ.	Law	EU Law	E		
Atılım Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	X
Atılım Univ.	IR	Foreign Policy of the EU			
Atılım Univ.	IR	European Union			
Avrasya Univ.	IR	European Union			
Avrasya Univ.	IR	European Integration Theories			
Avrasya Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Aydın Adnan Menderes Univ.	IR	European Political Integration			
Aydın Adnan Menderes Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Aydın Adnan Menderes Univ.	IR	EU Turkey Economic Relations			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	Law	EU Law	C		
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	EU Institutions			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	Justice, Freedom and Security in the European Union			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	The Single Market and the Four Freedoms			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	European Union History			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	European Integration Theories			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	Foreign Relations of the European Union			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	Competition Policy of the European Union and State Aids			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	Current Issues in European Union Politics			
Bahçeşehir Univ.	IR	European Union Project Management			
Balıkesir Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Bandırma On Yedi Eylül Univ.	IR	EU Law and Institutions			
Bandırma On Yedi Eylül Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Bandırma On Yedi Eylül Univ.	IR	EU Security and Defense Policy			
Bandırma On Yedi Eylül Univ.	IR	European Union Theory and History			
Başkent Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law			
Başkent Univ.	Law	Council of Europe Human Rights Law and Turkey	C	X	
Başkent Univ.	Law	European Union Economy	E	X	
Başkent Univ.	IR	European Union			
Başkent Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Integration			
Beykoz Univ.	IR	Policies and Institutions of the European Union			
Beykoz Univ.	IR	Selected Topics in European Politics			
Beykoz Univ.	IR	European Law			
Bitlis Eren Univ.	IR	EU and Turkey			
Bitlis Eren Univ.	IR	EU and Institutions			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Current Issues in European Integration			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	European Security			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Human Rights Jurisprudence in the European Union Context			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Introduction to European Integration			

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Turkey and the European Union			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Comparative Political Economy of Europe			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	European Integration in Western Political Thought			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	European Foreign and Security Policy			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	European Union Institutions and Policy Making			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Topics in European Integration			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	Issues of Culture and Identity in the European Union			
Boğaziçi Univ.	IR	European Union Law			
Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Bolu Abant İzzet Baysal Univ.	IR	European Union Foreign Policy			
Bursa Technical Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Bursa Uludağ Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Bursa Uludağ Univ.	Law	Turkey-EU Relations	E	X	
Bursa Uludağ Univ.	Law	European Union Jurisdiction	E	X	
Bursa Uludağ Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Bursa Uludağ Univ.	IR	Security and Defense Policy of The European Union			
Çağ Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Çağ Univ.	IR	EU Policies			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	EU Institutions			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	Democracy in Europe			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	European Politics			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	European Integration and the EU			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Çanakkale On Sekiz Mart Univ.	IR	EU Institutions			
Çankaya Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Çankaya Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Çankaya Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Çukurova Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Çukurova Univ.	IR	European Union			
Çukurova Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Çukurova Univ.	IR	European Union Law			
Çukurova Univ.	IR	EU Competition Policy			
Dicle Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Doğuş Univ.	IR	Politics and History of European Integration			
Doğuş Univ.	IR	European Security			
Dokuz Eylül Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Dokuz Eylül Univ.	Law	European Convention of Human Rights and its Practice	E	X	
Dokuz Eylül Univ.	Law	Turkey-EU Association Law			
Ege Univ.	IR	European Integration and The EU			
Erzincan Binali Yıldırım Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Eskişehir Osmangazi Univ.	IR	European Union Studies			
Eskişehir Osmangazi Univ.	IR	Economics of the EU			
Eskişehir Osmangazi Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Fatih Sultan Mehmet Vakıf Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Galatasaray Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Galatasaray Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
Galatasaray Univ.	IR	EU History and Institutions			

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
Giresun Univ.	IR	European Union			
Hacettepe Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Hacettepe Univ.	Law	International and EU Social Policy	E	X	
Hacettepe Univ.	IR	History and Politics of European Integration			
Hacettepe Univ.	IR	European Integration in Theoretical And Applied			
Hacettepe Univ.	IR	EU in World Politics			
Hacettepe Univ.	IR	European Security			
Hakkari Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Hakkari Univ.	IR	EU Integration			
Hakkari Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Haliç Univ.	IR	International Policy of the European Union			
Haliç Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Hasan Kalyoncu Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Hasan Kalyoncu Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E	X	
Hasan Kalyoncu Univ.	Law	European Company Law	E	X	
Işık Univ.	IR	European Union Politics			
Işık Univ	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Ibn Haldun Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İnönü Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E	X	
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Univ.	IR	Public Policy Making in the European Union			
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Univ.	IR	Government and Politics in Central and Eastern Europe			
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Univ.	IR	European Union			
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Univ.	IR	European Union Foreign Policy			
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent Univ.	IR	Current Issues in European Union Politics			
İstanbul Aydın Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İstanbul Ayvansaray Univ.	IR	European Union Politics and Governance			
İstanbul Ayvansaray Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
İstanbul Ayvansaray Univ.	IR	European Union Security and Foreign Policy			
İstanbul Esenyurt Univ.	IR	European Integration History			
İstanbul Gedik Univ.	IR	History and Latest Developments of European Union			
İstanbul Gedik Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
İstanbul Bilgi Univ.	Law	European Union Institutions	E		
İstanbul Bilgi Univ.	Law	Introduction to EU Law	C	X	
İstanbul Bilgi Univ.	Law	The Impact of EU Law on Turkish Legislation	E	X	
İstanbul Bilgi Univ.	Law	Harmonization in European and International Private Law	E	X	
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	Introduction to European Union: History, Institutions and Politics			
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	European Security and Defence Policy			
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	International Migration in Europe			
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	International Politics of Central and Eastern Europe			
İstanbul Kültür Univ.	IR	European Culture			
İstanbul Medeniyet Univ.	Law	European Union Law	E	X	
İstanbul Medeniyet Univ.	Law	Practice of Human Rights in European Law	E		X
İstanbul Medeniyet Univ.	IR	European Integraton			

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
İstanbul Medeniyet Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
İstanbul Medipol Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İstanbul Medipol Univ.	IR	EU Politics			
İstanbul Medipol Univ.	IR	The European Union and German Domestic And Foreign Policy			
İstanbul Okan Univ.	Law	Int.to EU Law	E	X	
İstanbul Okan Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E	X	
İstanbul Rumeli Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
İstanbul Rumeli Univ.	IR	Security and Defense in the European Union			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	Law	European Union Competition Law	E	X	
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Judgment	E	X	
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	Law	European Union Private Law	E	X	
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	Law	EU Law			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	European Union Politics and Policies			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	European Union in Global Politics			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	Enlargement of the EU			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	EU Law			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	European Integration			
İstanbul Zaim Univ.	IR	Comparative European Politics			
İstanbul Univ.	IR	Future of EU: Security, Economy and Transatlantic Relationship			
İstanbul Univ.	IR	Organizational Structure of EU			
İstanbul Univ.	IR	Politics in the EU			
İstanbul Univ.	IR	Turkey and EU			
İstanbul Univ.	IR	European Integration and EU			
İstanbul Univ.	Law	European Union Law-Institutional Structure	E	X	
İstanbul Yeniyüzyıl Univ.	IR	European Integration Process			
İstanbul Yeniyüzyıl Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
İstanbul Yeniyüzyıl Univ.	IR	EU's Foreign Relations			
İstanbul Yeniyüzyıl Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	Anthropology of Europe			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	External Relations of the European Union			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	Issues in EU Politics			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	History and Politics of European Integration			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	Introduction to European Cultures			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	Conceptualizing the EU: Institutions and Policies			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	European Union Law			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	European Political Economy			
İstanbul 29 Mayıs Univ.	IR	Environmental Politics and Policies in the European Union			
İstanbul Ticaret Univ.	Law	European Union Law	E	X	
İstanbul Ticaret Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
İstinye Univ	IR	Basic Principles of the EU			
İstinye Univ.	IR	EU and Turkey Relations			
İzmir Demokrasi Univ.	IR	Current Issues in EU Integration			
İzmir Demokrasi Univ.	IR	EU's Energy Policies			
İzmir Demokrasi Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
İzmir Ekonomi Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
İzmir Ekonomi Univ.	Law	European Union Competition Law	E	X	
Kadir Has Univ.	Law	European and International Media Law			
Kadir Has Univ.	Law	European Union Law			
Kadir Has Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Kadir Has Univ.	IR	European Union and Turkey Relations			
Kadir Has Univ.	IR	The EU in the World			
Kafkas Univ.	IR	EU Law and Politics			

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Kahramanmaraş Sütçü İmam Univ.	IR	EU Politics			
Karabük Univ.	IR	European Union Project Management			
Karabük Univ.	IR	European Union History			
Karabük Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Karadeniz Technical Univ.	IR	Turkey and European Union			
Kastamonu Univ.	IR	European Integration Process			
Karamanoğlu Mehmet Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Kırıkkale Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Kırıkkale Univ.	Law	Turkey-EU Relations	E	X	
Kırıkkale Univ.	Law	European Union Public Law	E	X	
Kırıkkale Univ.	Law	European Community Law	E	X	
Kırıkkale Univ.	Law	European Union Private Law	E	X	
Kırıkkale Univ.	IR	Integration Theories and European Unification			
Kırıkkale Univ.	IR	Turkey - the European Union Relations			
Kocaeli Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Koç Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Koc Univ.	Law	European Union Economic Law	E	X	
Koc Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E		X
Koc Univ.	Law	Transnational and European Criminal Law And Procedure	E	X	
Koc Univ.	Law	International and European Contract Law	E	X	
Koc Univ.	IR	Government and Politics of the Western Europe			
Koc Univ.	IR	Institutions and Politics of the European Union			
Koc Univ.	IR	Religion and Politics in Europe			
Koc Univ.	IR	Human Rights and Europe Integration			
Koc Univ.	IR	European Foreign Policy			
Koc Univ.	IR	Politics of European Integration			
Koc Univ.	IR	Europe in the Global Context			
Koc Univ.	IR	Political Economy of the EU			
Manisa Celal Bayar Univ.	IR	European Union Politics and Turkey			
Mardin Artuklu Univ.	IR	Europeanism			
Mardin Artuklu Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Mardin Artuklu Univ.	IR	EU Institution			
Mardin Artuklu Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
Mardin Artuklu Univ.	IR	Foreign Policy of the EU			
Marmara Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Marmara Univ.	IR	USA-EU Studies			
Marmara Univ.	IR	EU, International Trade and Development			
Marmara Univ.	IR	EU and the Global South			
Marmara Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
MEF Univ.	Law	European Convention on Human Rights and Control System	E		X
MEF Univ.	Law	The Regime of Rights and Freedoms of the European Convention on Human Rights	E		X
MEF Univ.	Law	European Administrative Law	E	X	
MEF Univ.	Law	Freedom of Political Parties within the Framework of the European Convention on Human Rights	E		X
MEF Univ.	Law	Introduction to EU Law	E	X	
MEF Univ.	Law	Law and Religion in Europe	E		X

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
MEF Univ.	Law	Structure and Law of the European Union	E	X	
MEF Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
MEF Univ.	Law	EU Consumer Law	E	X	
MEF Univ.	Law	Comparative ADR Practices in Europe, the U.S. and Turkey	E	X	
Mersin Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Univ.	IR	Institutional Structure and Law of the European Union			
Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli Univ.	IR	EU Foreign Policy			
Ondokuz Mayıs Univ.	Law	Introduction to EU Law	C	X	
Ondokuz Mayıs Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU relations			
Ondokuz Mayıs Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Middle East Technical Univ.	IR	History of the European Union			
Middle East Technical Univ.	IR	European Union in World Affairs			
Middle East Technical Univ.	IR	Institutions and Policies of the European Union			
Middle East Technical Univ.	IR	Process of European Integration			
Middle East Technical Univ.	IR	Institutional Law of the European Communities			
Özyeğin Univ.	Law	European Union Organization and Law	C	X	
Özyeğin Univ.	Law	European Union Economic Law	E	X	
Özyeğin Univ.	Law	EU-Turkey Association Law	E	X	
Özyeğin Univ.	Law	Turkish and European Union Competition Law	E	X	
Özyeğin Univ.	Law	European Union Company Law	E	X	
Piri Reis Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Osmaniye Korkut Ata Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
Osmaniye Korkut Ata Univ.	IR	European Security and Defence Policy			
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Univ.	Law	Turkey-EU Relations	E	X	
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Univ.	IR	European Security			
Sabancı Univ.	IR	European Union: Politics, Policies and Governance			
Sabancı Univ.	IR	European Foreign Policy			
Sakarya Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Sakarya Univ.	IR	Current Issues of the European Union			
Sakarya Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Selçuk Univ.	Law	Introduction to EU Law	E	X	
Selçuk Univ.	Law	European Court of Human Rights Judgment	E		X
Selçuk Univ.	Law	Constitutional System of the European Union	E	X	
Selçuk Univ.	IR	European Union			
Selçuk Univ.	IR	EU Environment Law			
Selçuk Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
Süleyman Demirel Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Süleyman Demirel Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Süleyman Demirel Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
TED Univ.	IR	European Politics			
Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Univ.	IR	European Integration			
Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Univ.	IR	EU Law			
Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Univ.	IR	Turkey-EU Relations			
TOBB Economy and Technology Univ.	Law	Law of European Union	C	X	

Name of the University	Name of the Department	Name of the Lecture	Compulsory/ Elective	IS, DM, JO	D, HR, EID, SUP
TOBB Economy and Technology Univ.	Law	EU Law and EU Policies	E	X	
TOBB Economy and Technology Univ.	Law	Law of the European Convention on Human Rights	E		X
TOBB Economy and Technology Univ	Law	International Policies of Europe and European Project Management	E	X	
Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa Univ.	IR	European Integration Process			
Tokat Gaziosmanpaşa Univ.	IR	EU and Turkey			
Trakya Univ.	IR	Political Structure of the EU			
Trakya Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			
Türk-Alman Univ.	Law	European Law History	C	E	
Türk-Alman Univ.	Law	European Law	C	E	
Türk-Alman Univ.	Law	European Law and International Law	C	E	
Türk-Alman Univ.	Law	Turkey-EU Association Law	C	E	
Türk-Alman Univ.	IR	Current Issues in Turkey and European Relations			
Türk-Alman Univ.	IR	Political and Administrative Structure of the European Union			
Türk-Alman Univ.	IR	European Integration Theories			
Türk-Alman Univ.	IR	EU Foreign and Security Policy			
Türk-Alman Univ.	IR	Current Political Issues for Germany, Turkey and the European Union			
Trabzon Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Ufuk Univ.	Law	EU Law	E	X	
Ufuk Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E	X	
Üsküdar Univ.	IR	European Integration Process			
Üsküdar Univ.	IR	EU's Foreign Relations			
Üsküdar Univ.	IR	EU and Turkey			
Yaşar Univ.	Law	European Human Rights Law	E		X
Yaşar Univ.	Law	Private Law of the European Union	E	X	
Yaşar Univ.	Law	European Union Jurisdiction System and Procedure	E		X
Yaşar Univ.	Law	Institutional Law of the European Union	E	X	
Yaşar Univ.	Law	European Contract Law	E	E	
Yeditepe Univ.	Law	EU Law	C	X	
Yeditepe Univ.	IR	European Union			
Yeditepe Univ.	IR	EU-Turkey Relations			

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Research Article

Teaching the European Union in Brexit Britain: 'Peripheral Ideas' at a 'New Periphery'

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Abstract

This contribution to the Special Issue focuses on how we might incorporate 'peripheral thinking' on the EU, with a particular focus on teaching the EU at a 'new periphery': Brexit Britain. First, it considers the limits of 'mainstream' approaches to teaching the EU in the context of what now feels like an almost permanent crisis, pointing to the importance of engaging with a 'cognitive periphery' that includes critical approaches to the EU and integration. Second, it argues in favour of a 'critical-pluralist' approach: that is, an approach that fully engages with that periphery as part of a broader commitment to scholarly pluralism. It suggests – with reference to my work on an EU politics textbook – that a 'question driven pedagogy' might be one pedagogically practical way of presenting such plurality to our students, particularly via independent reading and large-group teaching. Finally, the paper turns to consider how we might use the small-group classroom to deepen student learning in accordance with such an approach, drawing on my experience of developing a 'Brexit role play' in the context of teaching the EU in Brexit Britain.

Keywords

European Union; Periphery; Dissident voices; Teaching theory; Pedagogy; Brexit

INTRODUCTION

Teaching the EU is a challenge even in 'normal' times. Its institutions are complex, its history is widely debated and debatable and the academic and theoretical concepts deployed in its study are forever multiplying, as are the range of disciplines interested in it as object of study. Cutting through this complexity in order to render the EU intelligible and digestible is a challenge for teachers of EU politics (see Parker 2016; Bijsmans and Versluis 2020). What we are able to cover in our teaching is, of course, always audience and context specific. It is dependent on the prior knowledge of students, on the nature of the programmes we are teaching (undergraduate or postgraduate), and on whether the EU is taught in the EU or in non-EU contexts. For most of us teaching the EU, our own course or module will form just one small part of a broader programme of study. As such, tough choices need to be made in terms of breadth and content: trade-offs must be made between complexity and pedagogical appropriateness; differentiating between student abilities and interests will be important; a balance must be struck between coherence and facilitating processes of independent, problem-based and interest-led learning. These various difficulties are compounded in a context of what feels like a permanent crisis in/for the EU. Those crises render the EU an 'unsettled' object of study, but an interesting one for our students. At the same time, they bring to the fore a range of important critical and normative questions.

Against this backdrop, in a first step, this paper restates and updates an earlier argument, that 'peripheral', 'dissident' or 'critical' approaches (Manners and Whitman 2016) ought not – and cannot easily – be neglected in the classroom (Parker 2016). In particular, it is suggested that, in the current context, it makes little sense to narrate integration only in terms of a 'mainstream' history and theory, conceived as encompassing a range of approaches that adopt a broadly liberal and pro-market understanding of integration and the EU. Such approaches – manifest in both mainstream theories of European integration and in political science engagement with the EU as a polity – tend to adopt a progressive teleology (Gilbert 2008), implicitly (and sometimes explicitly) presenting the EU as a normative good; a 'post-Westphalian' model (Manners 2002) to aspire to and a champion of liberal norms in the world (see Alpan and Diez, this Issue). But such a liberal vision has, inter alia: neglected colonial legacies in European integration (Hansen 2002); overlooked the sovereign practices of the EU itself, captured in the label 'Fortress Europe' (Vaughan-Williams 2015); regarded a 'market Europe', rooted in 'orthodox' liberal economic thought, as an irrefutable normative good (Parker and Rosamond 2013); and, intimately related to the prior points, excluded many voices from beyond a geographical core EU (Alpan and Diez, this Issue).

That said, in a second step it is argued that it would be a mistake to merely replace the 'mainstream' with 'peripheral' thinking and thereby impose a new teaching mainstream. As argued with reference to recent work on an EU politics textbook (Bulmer et al, 2020), both the teacher and student of the EU should adopt a 'critical-pluralist' approach: that is, an approach that is aware of and ready to engage with a plurality of perspectives, including critical insights. Such an approach is instrumentalised in the textbook and in my own large-group teaching via the adoption of a 'question-driven' pedagogy, which involves presenting a range of legitimate questions that have been posed in relation to the EU as object of study. It is an approach which empowers students to explore, in more or less detail, a range of different theoretical approaches and normative positions depending on their interests, political commitments and background abilities. In particular, it gives them license to ask the critical questions that cannot be easily ignored in the context of multiple and multiplying challenges for the EU.

In a final step, the paper considers how such an approach might be embedded in the small group classroom via the use of 'active' or 'problem based' learning methods, focusing on my own personal reflections of teaching the EU at a 'new periphery': in Brexit Britain. While that context presented important challenges and dilemmas for teachers of EU

politics, Brexit as a case-study offers an important tool for pursuing the aforementioned critical-pluralist approach. The paper discusses, in particular, how a 'Brexit role play' was used not only to develop knowledge and understanding in relation to the UK case, but also to critically engage mainstream rationalist theories of European integration, explore 'new' theories of (dis)-integration, and, more generally, consider a range of political arguments and normative perspectives on the contemporary EU.

EMBRACING THE COGNITIVE PERIPHERY IN EU STUDIES

A 'mainstream' or 'orthodoxy' in EU political studies has 'disciplined' the subject area, with implications for the teaching of the EU (Manners and Whitman, 2016). However, that mainstream has itself shifted over time. This article concurs with Rosamond (2007; see also Manners and Rosamond 2018; Alpan and Diez, this Issue) that such a shift has happened as a consequence both of historical real-world events in EU politics and a disciplinary politics within the broader social sciences that has impacted on approaches to EU politics. Thus, for instance, the emergence of International Relations (IR) theories of integration were in one sense a response to the very fact of early integration in Europe, particularly following the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community. But their form owed much to the backgrounds and academic socialisation of its key proponents, who sought to produce, in particular, generalisable theories of IR. A later turn to consider the EU as a political system (for instance, Hix 1994) can similarly be related to, on the one hand, the increasing 'thickness' of integration itself – the increasing resemblance of the EU to other (usually national) political systems – and, on the other hand, to the growing importance of political scientists and comparative politics scholars in the field of EU studies and a desire among some to 'professionalize' the field (Manners and Rosamond 2018).

Notwithstanding the differences between IR and political science approaches, running through this contemporary 'mainstream' in EU studies is a more profound background liberal, cosmopolitan or 'rationalist' bias (see, for instance, Ryner 2012). As per Rosamond's insights, that bias is also rooted in a combination of both a 'real world' logic – of US hegemony and Cold War and early post-Cold-War politics – and a 'disciplinary' and 'disciplining' socialisation of scholars in the (western) academy, which is influenced, of course, by those broader political dynamics. The normative biases in such theory have often been concealed with allusion to a 'scientific' aspiration, aimed at constructing theories which profess to capture some 'reality' of the social world: for instance, in our case, explaining the drivers of integration, or the functioning of institutions. But as Cox's (1981) famous dictum has it, "theory is always for somebody or some purpose."

Take, for instance, a neoliberal institutionalist perspective in IR, which, in response to a realist perspective, emphasised, inter alia, that states would focus on absolute gains in the course of repeated interactions: in short, their self-interest is conceived in terms which cohere with a liberal economic rationality (Keohane 1988). While ostensibly descriptive of the 'real world', such theory implicitly supported an ontology rooted in *a particular* utility maximising conception of self-interest. Similarly, Moravcsik's (1997) related attempt to produce a 'non-ideological liberal international relations theory' can be regarded as oxymoronic. Despite its delusions of objectivity, it is underpinned by a highly ideological conception of the history of liberal internationalism as an essentially pacifying unfolding. As Jahn (2009) states of his theory:

The substantive picture which emerges is … one of linear historical development from the initial recognition of the rationality of market economy and government by consent through their progressive realization in domestic settings to their gradual change of the nature and principles of international politics. And in those areas in which the liberal

principles have been most fully realized, they have led to peace, prosperity, and cooperation in international affairs.

A broad narrative of this sort is present – albeit sometimes thinly concealed – in mainstream histories and theories of European integration. Both Haas's neofunctionalism and Moravcsik's (1998) liberal intergovernmentalism broadly suggest this kind of an unfolding towards ever greater market integration and cosmopolitan outcomes, even as they disagree on the importance of different actors (respectively, non-state actors and states) in driving that process.

While political scientists shifted the focus away from theorising integration towards a concern with European institutions, the underlying assumption is that those institutions would (and, indeed, should) pursue market integration to the end of utility maximisation (prosperity) and peace. To offer one clear example, contemporary regulatory governance theorists of the EU such as Majone (1996), highlighted its market-making function and the primary importance of its 'output legitimacy'. The explicit assertion in Majone's work that the EU's function *should be*, primarily, to maximise market efficiencies is one that was implicitly shared by many other political science scholars of the EU. Indeed, it has been commonplace to defer to the discipline of economics – particularly what is variously characterised as a neo-classical, neo-liberal or ordo-liberal orthodox economics – on questions of the organisation of a European market and money, while political studies has confined itself to questions of how integration has progressed, who has driven the process and how EU institutions function (Ryner and Cafruny 2017).

Similarly, mainstream historical narratives have often failed to question the aforementioned teleology. Early twentieth century wars and the Cold War are typically taken as the starting point – the origin story – from which processes of progressive and irenic market integration rationally emerged, giving integration an 'aura of success' (Gilbert 2008). Internal political power struggles involving economic winners and losers are frequently written out of that history. And a broader historical and geopolitical perspective pointing to *very particular* Atlanticist or US interests and – in more recent times, a neo-liberal rendering of such an agenda – have typically been written out of the mainstream (albeit peripheral voices have made such connections: Cafruny and Ryner 2007, Ryner 2012, Van der Pijl 1984, Lavery and Schmidt 2021). Moreover, Europe's colonial past (and, indeed, present) has, with a few notable exceptions (Hansen 2012; Bhambra 2021), been conspicuously absent in much of the study of the EU and integration. And yet the end of colonialism – signalled most dramatically by the 1956 Suez crisis – was an important 'functional' and geopolitical driver of integration; colonial wars (in Indochina and Algeria) were ongoing even as the first steps in the integrative European 'peace' project were taken; and colonial legacies shaped, and continue to shape, post-war EU interactions with African and many other countries, especially through development, trade and (increasingly) migration policies (Hansen and Jonsson 2014; Snyder 2019).

Teaching and textbooks on the EU have often reflected these omissions. They have, in short, unquestioningly mirrored, rather than challenged, the aforementioned 'market cosmopolitan' bias. As such, students of the EU have, in the past, often been led to regard integration as an unproblematic unfolding towards ever greater and rational international cooperation, in contradistinction to the security dilemmas that realists have long-claimed dominate the international realm. Such hagiographical analyses closely align with the EU institutions' own narrative histories and expert reports. Indeed, through various mechanisms, "EU studies interacts with and provides knowledge for the EU itself" (Rosamond 2016: 32). More critical accounts – including neo-Marxist and post-colonial – have, it should be noted, always existed, but they have too-often been consigned to a periphery in terms of, *inter alia*: research funding, publishing activities, policy engagement and, most significantly for current purposes, attempts to map the field of EU political studies in the context of teaching.

Such exclusions, when manifest in our teaching, risk de-politicising the EU and in so doing closing students' minds to the always-already contested nature of European integration. But the discipline cannot be – and, indeed, has not been (Manners and Whitman 2016) – impervious to broader political and societal shifts. In Rosamond's terms, an interconnected combination of 'real world' events (notably repeated 'crises' of/in the EU) and an opening of the scholarly mainstream to an intellectual 'periphery' have led to an increased politicisation, including of the theories and ideas that have been at the core of EU studies. The various recent crises in the EU – including eurozone, refugee, Brexit, pandemic and Ukraine/Russia – can each be connected to a broader crisis of the 'market cosmopolitan' bias. Indeed, the failure of the EU as (neoliberal) market to deliver the prosperity (both material and imagined) upon which political integration has depended has opened the way for a range of peripheral voices on the EU to make their mark on (and adapt) the mainstream. In the 'real world' of politics, populism and nationalism – in some cases taking a 'hard' eurosceptic form – has made a discomforting return (Hopkin 2020), with Brexit the starkest manifestation for the EU. Correspondingly, in the world of scholarship, the teleological assumptions of the mainstream have been questioned, leading some (including some emanating from that mainstream) to openly contemplate in recent times the possibility of 'disintegration' and reflect on the circumstances in which it might occur (Webber 2019; Hoghe and Marks 2019). These broader shifts have made it increasingly possible and legitimate to integrate a long-neglected cognitive periphery (or set of explicitly critical approaches) into teaching-related contributions (among many others, Bulmer et al. 2020 (Chapter 4), Manners, 2007, Rosamond, 2013, Manners and Whitman 2016).

NURTURING A 'CRITICAL-PLURALIST' APPROACH TO EU POLITICS

But how might we seek to include a broad array of critical voices in our teaching? How might we overcome the tension between the desire to expose students to these critical voices and the practical and pedagogical constraints of teaching (some of which are described in Introduction)? If we do embrace these critical perspectives, is it possible or desirable to do so by eschewing the 'mainstream'? In this section I describe how these questions were tackled in the context of recent updates to a co-authored textbook, *Politics in the European Union* (Bache et al. 2015; Bulmer et al. 2020), which also informed my own approach to large-group teaching of EU politics.

The organisation of teaching material replicates in many respects a broader dilemma for the field of EU studies itself: in short, to what extent to define in precise terms a legitimate toolkit or approach to study or, conversely, to what extent to leave open this definition in the name of intellectual inclusivity, curiosity and pluralism. The latter approach was the one adopted in the textbook. The point, from this perspective, was not to try to impose upon students various 'critical' approaches that eschew the mainstream. Rather, the aim was to present a full range of approaches that was inclusive of the critical and thereby encourage a curiosity about the links, tensions and various relationships between them.

We emphasise in the book that, "to adopt a critical approach is not necessarily to reject a mainstream approach, or vice versa" (Bache, et al., 2014:80). What I have called in this chapter a 'critical-pluralist' perspective is one that might recognize the differences between the 'mainstream' and 'critical' in terms of Robert Cox's (1981) differentiation between 'problem-solving' and 'critical' theory. While the former views the broad structures of the social and political world as a given in order to focus on specific problems or issues within that pre-defined world, a 'critical theory' points to the mutability and alterability of that broader social and political world in an attempt to contemplate more fundamental or radical change. I have sometimes described this difference to students in relation to a game: problem solving is about strategizing within pre-defined rules of the game, while critical theory often seeks to fundamentally change those rules. If we accept the

importance of both of these functions then it can be made clear that scholars and students of the EU do not necessarily need to place themselves definitively within or in opposition to either of these camps.

The book articulates this divide between 'mainstream' (problem-solving) and 'periphery' (critical) in terms of their underlying positivist and post-positivist ontologies and epistemologies. Positivist and post-positivist positions are presented in the textbook as ideal types on the extremes of a continuum, with individual scholarly contributions lying somewhere along this continuum, as shown in Table 1 (reproduced from the textbook). It is noted that "it is a matter for significant debate as to where these are most appropriately placed" and that, "individual scholars identifying with any given approach may consider their own work to be positioned differently and have a far more nuanced understanding of their ontology and epistemology than the table suggests." (Bulmer et al. 2020: 68). Thus, while a selection of theories that are dealt with in the textbook are listed on this continuum, students are encouraged to view this as but *one provisional attempt* to map the theories in this way.

Table 1. Reproduced from Bulmer et al. (2020: 4). Those in bold are dealt with in Critical Perspectives, Chapter 4

	ONTOLOGY **Nature of (social) reality**	**EPISTEMOLOGY** **What knowledge is/ how knowledge acquired**	**Continuum** **(from positivist to post-positivist)**
Positivism	FIXED Rational actors Exogenous preferences	Objective Observation	Liberal Intergovernmentalism Rational Choice Institutionalism Neo-functionalism Historical Institutionalism Sociological Institutionalism Social Constructivism Critical Political Economy Critical Social Theory Critical Feminism Post-Structuralism
Between Positivism and Post-Positivism	(MOSTLY) CONSTRUCTED Exogenous and endogenous preferences	Mixed methods encompassing a concern with discourse/ ideas Objective Observation	
Post-positivism	CONSTRUCTED Shifting preferences Socialisation/ Learning	Discourse, Language analysis Subjective/ Normative Observation	

Students with an interest in the interconnected questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology may be encouraged to regard mainstream theory with greater circumspection; as part of the very knowledge-power nexus that has been constitutive of the EU. While a 'problem-solving' theory that takes certain structures as a given may do so innocently – in many instances it will be in large part the consequence of a particular intellectual socialization – some students may feel the need to explore the nature and effects of those very structures. Other students might regard the assumptions of the mainstream as permitting the development of a clearly discernible and parsimonious disciplinary framework (Moravcsik, 1997:515-6) which is particularly amenable to positivist tools of investigation. But they should be encouraged to at least recognise the normative underpinnings of such a position: to reflect upon the notion that 'theory is

always for someone'. It would certainly be legitimate for them to subsequently support a broadly liberal cosmopolitan normative position, which, following from functionalist thinking, might be regarded as securing cooperative and irenic possibilities (while maximising utility) in international relations (Keohane, 1988). But it would be more problematic (in my view) if they regarded such theory as 'non-ideological' (Moracsik, 1997).

The fostering of a reflective critical-pluralist engagement on the part of our students may be feasible on some standard political science degrees, especially where links can be developed with other modules. Those might include International Relations Theory and/or Methodology modules – where critical approaches might have already been discussed – or (International) Political Economy modules – where the attempt to emphasise the interconnected nature of economics and politics has long been present. But in some contexts (and for certain students), such detailed theoretical engagement may be overly ambitious given the aforementioned constrained syllabus, the modularisation of programmes (which can impede the development of links between modules) (Bell and Wade 2006), and variable student abilities/interests when it comes to questions of theory. In other words, a detailed discussion of problem solving versus critical theory – and of ontology and epistemology – may be beyond the constraints of many syllabi and beyond the abilities/interests of many students.

One solution to such pressures (discussed in greater detail elsewhere: Parker 2016) is to adopt a 'question-driven' approach to our teaching. In short, by presenting a range of legitimate and interesting questions in relation to the EU as object of study, we can present a more accessible overview of the disciplinary terrain. In the latest two editions of our textbook (Bache et al. 2015; Bulmer et al. 2020), we took inspiration from other teaching tools (particularly Wiener and Diez 2007, but also Edkins and Zehfuss 2013, Korosteleva 2010) to provide such an approach. More specifically, we present the broad theoretical terrain that has emerged in the sub-discipline of EU studies in terms of a series of questions that have been posed by thinkers in relation to the EU and its antecedents (see Table 2).

Table 2. Reproduced from Bulmer et al. (2020: 3). (Adapted from Diez and Wiener (2004: 7))

Phases in Theorising and Key Questions			
Phase	When	Main questions	Main Theories
Promoting peace through integration	1920s onwards	How can peace be achieved in Europe (and beyond)? How can nationalism be overcome?	Federalism Functionalism
Explaining integration	1950s onwards	How can integration processes be explained? What are the drivers of European (dis)integration?	Neo-functionalism (late 1950s) Intergovernmentalism (1960s) Liberal intergovernmentalism (1990s) Postfunctionalism (from late 2000s)
Analysing the EU as political system	1990s onwards	How does the EU and its governance work? How do its institutions work? What kind of political system is it? How can political processes be described?	New institutionalism Policy networks Multi-level governance

Phases in Theorising and Key Questions			
Analysing consequences of EU	1990s onwards	What is the impact of the EU on member states? What are the consequences of the EU for democracy and legitimacy?	Europeanisation Normative/ democratic theories Disintegration literature
Critiquing EU and/or 'mainstream,' approaches to its study	Late 1990s onwards	Which ideas /ideologies predominate in the EU? How and why? Where does power lie within the EU? In whose interest does the EU act and with what political and social consequences?	Social constructivism Critical political economy Critical social theory Gender approaches Post-structural approaches

As Table 2 shows, various theories can be linked to one or more questions. This is clearly a rather stylized presentation of EU politics scholarship and theorizing. It aims to strike a balance between the complex realities of EU political studies and the need to give students a preliminary sense of both the evolution and the plurality of questions posed within the field. The pedagogical advantage of presenting the discipline in this way is that it offers the possibility (for teachers and students) of a relatively straightforward rendering of the disciplinary history of EU political studies. In practical terms I have used adaptations of the table in large-group teaching (often an online recorded lecture that students can engage with 'asynchronously') as a 'scene-setting' slide or handout. It offers a general overview of the range of questions that scholars have posed about the EU and its antecedents (without necessarily even mentioning all of the theories). The list of questions is a resource to which I return throughout a module of study in order to consider in ever-greater depth how a particular question/theory might be applied to a particular empirical topic of study. It is hoped, in particular, that the list of questions may be useful in pointing to the range of ways in which it is possible to think about the EU, even if students ultimately engage with issues of theory indirectly or to a limited extent. In considering more recent events in the EU it will certainly be important to at least point out the growing salience of the normative and critical questions towards the bottom of Table 2; questions about democracy, legitimacy, power, knowledge and ideology.

In the latest edition of the aforementioned textbook, an attempt is made in many of the policy specific chapters to consider those critical questions and make connections with more critical theories. Students are still encouraged to deploy mainstream theories in order to tackle such questions as 'How can integration in a particular policy area be explained and which actors are driving these processes?' and 'How do the EU's different institutions and multi-level actors interact in a particular policy domain?'. But they are also encouraged to ask normative and critical questions such as, 'Whose interests does the particular course of integration serve in a particular policy area and whose are challenged or undermined?'. You could say that we take some steps towards 'mainstreaming' critical voices in the textbook beyond the standalone chapter on 'critical approaches' (much as Rowley and Shepherd (2012) argue for the mainstreaming of gender in teaching IR).

Thus, for instance, in chapters on the core economic policies of the EU dedicated to the single market, EMU and trade policy, while considerable attention is given to scholars that seek to explain integrative processes in these domains, space is also dedicated to considering broader normative and ideological contestation in economic policy. Links are made with the critical political economy literatures discussed in the 'critical approaches' theory chapter and important potential links between these policy areas are also indicated. Attention is given to critical and normative questions in other areas too. Thus, not only do we explore the evolution of policy areas such as Justice and Home Affairs (now the Area

of Freedom of Security and Justice (AFSJ)), the Common Foreign and Security Policy and Enlargement, we also point to the critical literatures that have engaged with these policy domains. For instance, we highlight that post-structural scholars have explored the ways in which the EU's policies on AFSJ paradoxically rely on security and bordering practices with various effects; questions about the fundamental nature of EU power in the world are considered in relation to the EU's CFSP; and it is highlighted that questions about the geographical, political and social limits of the EU arise in relation to enlargement. Relevant links are made between these sections and the Critical Perspectives chapter in the Theory section of the textbook. The underlying purpose is to draw attention to the ways in which the alternative questions raised by critical approaches in relation to the EU in general can be applied in particular empirical cases.

REALISING A 'CRITICAL-PLURALIST' APPROACH AT/ON A 'NEW' EU PERIPHERY

The foregoing makes the case for a 'critical-pluralist' approach to teaching the EU, which incorporates 'peripheral' voices, or 'critical' ideas and questions, while maintaining a commitment to intellectual pluralism. It suggests that a question driven pedagogy – deployed in an EU politics textbook and adaptable to large-group teaching or lectures – might offer a fruitful way of instrumentalizing pluralism in the context of various pedagogical and practical constraints. Emphasising the plurality of legitimate questions that have been posed in relation to the EU as object of study empowers students to think about particular empirical issues or cases from a range of perspectives, promoting a culture of student-led or independent learning. But the promotion of a 'critical-pluralist' approach of the sort advocated is best achieved by combining student reading (such as the textbook) and large-group lectures, with small-group active learning methods.

Indeed, if we structure student learning by presenting a plurality of approaches in a textbook/large-group context then we are effectively *giving license* to independent and flexible thought and learning. But it is through the development of small-group 'active' or 'problem based' learning methods (Kaunert 2009; Bijsmans and Versluis 2020; Sebastião and Dias-Trindade 2021) that we enable students to actually *become* independent learners. Such methods include debates, tasks of various kinds and simulations, the benefits of which have been widely documented in the education literature. Such activities and the learning independence that they foster, are effective in supporting processes of iterative and cumulative learning; they can promote an important shift from 'surface' to 'deep' understanding; they permit the development of a range of transferable research and employability skills; and, if well designed, they can be enjoyable for both students and teachers (on which, see Kaunert 2009, Baroncelli et al., 2014, Dingli et al., 2013, Giacomello, 2012, Jozwiak, 2013, Korosteleva, 2010, Lightfoot and Maurer, 2014, Usherwood, 2014).[1].

Brexit was a deeply challenging moment for many teachers of the EU in the UK, particularly with respect to (often negative) public and government attention on EU scholars (Fazackerley 2017). But in terms of teaching our students it at once represented an opportunity (for one recent reflection, see Mahony 2020). Given its clear relevance for students of the EU based in the UK – indeed, when asked most of my students in recent years cited Brexit as the primary reason for choosing to study the EU – the UK's departure from the EU has proved to be a popular, and therefore motivating, focal point around which my own active learning strategies were developed (Kember et al. 2008).

In the context of my own teaching I developed a 'Brexit role play' aimed at bringing to life and deepening engagement with normative debates on the EU and encouraging critical engagement with theories of integration (that had already been covered to some extent in lectures and independent reading). The activity requires the students to take on the roles of a range of relevant UK civil society organisations and institutions in the context of

an imaginary government-initiated series of committee meetings aimed at establishing a UK negotiating position with the EU. In a spirit of co-creation, students are asked if they want to take on the role of a particular organisation, although I ensure that the organisations selected represent a plurality of positions on Britain's EU membership/ future relationship. Students work in pairs, researching the positions of their organisation and producing a policy brief outlining their organisation's position (a compulsory, but non-assessed piece of work). Thereafter, they participate in the committee, which is structured via a series of topics of more or less interest to the various organisations, arguing the particular case of their own organisation. I have chaired these sessions in recent years in the context of online delivery, but prior to that (pre-pandemic) they were chaired in-person by a local former MEP who attended the sessions (and also, following the role play, offered feedback to students on their policy briefs and presentation skills). Among a number of other organisations, students have represented: the Confederation of British Industry (CBI); the Trade Union Congress (TUC); National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT); Institute of Economic Affairs (IEA); and Migration Watch (MW).

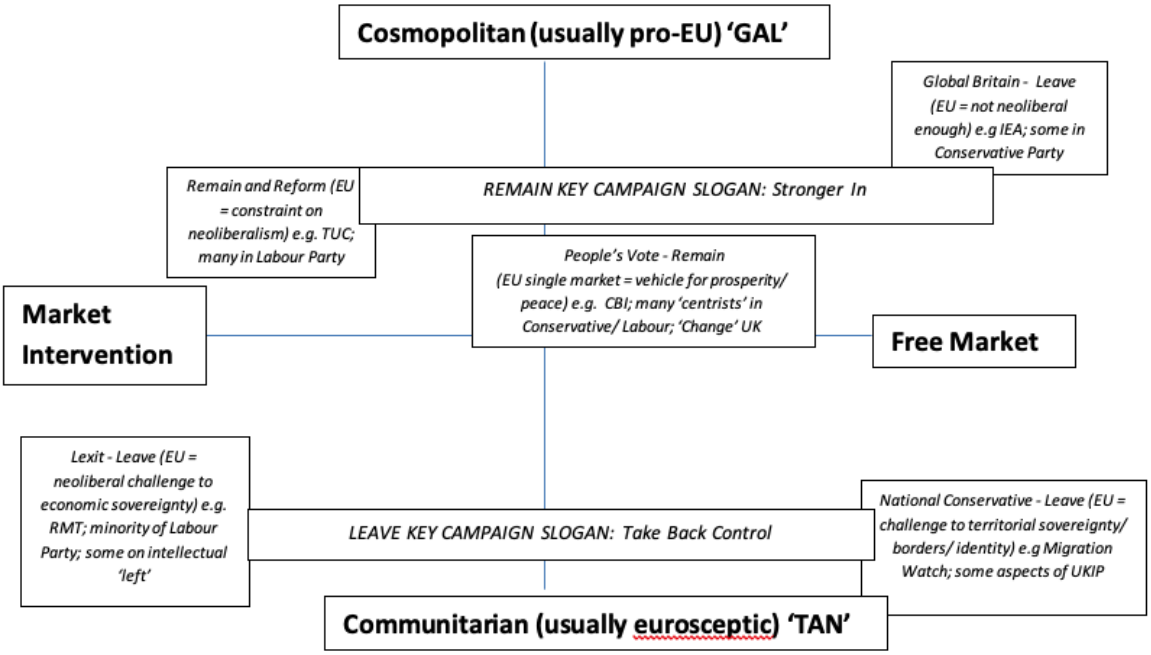
I use the role play as an entry point for various further discussions aimed at embedding the learning acquired from lectures and reading. In a debrief session we first consider what kind of negotiating position ought to emerge from our committee meeting. Invariably that process has led to a negotiating position in favour of a 'soft Brexit', aligned with the interests of the more powerful lobbying organizations (such as the CBI) which would mean ongoing UK single market membership (although, it should be noted, that this need not be the outcome). Whatever the outcome, this part of the debrief provides an opportunity to collectively consider 'actually-existing-Brexit' (a 'hard' Brexit) with a focus on the Trade and Cooperation Agreement, and to compare that with our own negotiated outcome.

Second, and relatedly, such reflections provide the opportunity for critical (re)-engagement with a mainstream integration theory covered earlier in the module. Students are asked, for instance, to consider what neofunctionalism and liberal intergovernmentalism would make of the Brexit vote and subsequent decision to leave the single market. This permits a critical discussion of the various (aforementioned) market rationalist and pluralist assumptions inherent in those mainstream theories of integration. More concretely, why would it be that the government did not adopt the position favoured by the major UK economic interests? In short then, Brexit serves as a case study for pointing to the potential explanatory limits of mainstream theories and as an entry point to consider alternative theoretical approaches. Those alternatives include, of course, the aforementioned recent or 'new' explanatory theories that take more seriously, inter alia, public opinion, domestic politics (variously labelled 'nationalist' or 'populist') and political economy; among others, post-functionalism (Hooghe and Marks 2019), variations of hegemonic stability theory (Webber 2019), 'critical integration theory' (Bulmer and Joseph 2016) and various critical political economy analyses (e.g. Hopkin 2020).

Finally, some of the core claims associated with these new theories – in particular the idea that "the European Union is no longer insulated from domestic politics; domestic politics is no longer insulated from Europe" (Marks and Hooghe 2009) – can of course be animated via further consideration of the particularities of the UK case and Brexit. In my own classroom, this has involved a collective mapping of key political actors in accordance with the emerging political cleavages identified in much of this 'new' theorising: for instance, an intersecting 'left-right' and 'GAL-TAN' cleavage (Marks and Hooghe 2009). These processes of mapping and visualisation can have important learning benefits creating 'aha' moments for many students (and, indeed, academics) (e.g. Donnelly and Hogan 2013). As shown in Figure 1, which serves as an illustrative example of such a mapping exercise, the organisations represented in the role play can be mapped along with various other relevant actors. For instance, the CBI might be identified as close to a mainstream Remain/ *Stronger In* position; the TUC close to a so-called *Remain and Reform* position; the RMT close to a *Leave/ Lexit* position; the IEA close to a *Leave/ Global Britain* position; and *MW* close to a *Leave/ 'nationalist-conservative*' position.

The background reading that the students are asked to do for this exercise takes in the broader politics and political economy of Brexit (using, among others: Gamble 2019). It also includes reflection on UK public opinion, in accordance with postfunctionalism and other 'new' theories. Reading on that has included a short but impressively clear and insightful blogpost on the Brexit referendum result by Finlayson (2016), which is used in conjunction with a Financial Times article that identifies 'Six Tribes of Brexit' (Burn Murdoch 2017). Among others, the excellent book 'Brexitland' (Sobolewska and Ford 2020) is recommended as further in-depth reading for those with a particular interest in the political sociology of Brexit. That said, students are also actively encouraged to explore their own sources – and to explore different disciplinary perspectives – with a view to their development as independent researchers.

Figure 1. Mapping the Brexit political terrain in the classroom



In summary, active learning methods such as the one outlined can help to foster a critical-pluralist approach of the sort advocated. Concretely, such methods help to reinforce and embed learning through empowering students, while at once nurturing transferable skills. In the current case, the Brexit role play led to various learning outcomes: knowledge on the specificities of Brexit; critical understanding of mainstream theories and deeper understanding of 'new' theories of (dis)integration; and provides a general sense – for the most part absent in the highly polarised *public* 'Leave-Remain' Brexit debate – of the complexity of normative debates and positions on the contemporary EU. It was particularly effective in allowing an iterative movement from theory to concrete practice and back again, and in so doing, fostering deeper learning. At the same time, it facilitated the development of research, negotiation, collaboration and presentational skills that are invaluable for our students.

In practice, I have adapted and tweaked the role play with different groups over the years since Brexit and allowed discussions to flow in very different ways (that do not always cover all of the learning outcomes discussed above). Indeed, there is always an element of risk in deploying such methods and a need for the teacher to be flexible and adaptable, both in the moment and from one group to the next. But, in my experience, any risks have been hugely outweighed by the rewards.

CONCLUSION

This paper sought to do three things. First, it made a case for a critical-pluralist approach to teaching the EU, which is inclusive of voices and perspectives that, until recently, could be legitimately regarded as 'peripheral' to the sub-discipline. It explained the importance of such an approach in relation to a need to *re*-politicise the EU as object of study that has been prone to *de*-politicisation (both in the real-world of EU politics and the academic study of it). Second, it discussed how such an approach might be realised in the context of the pedagogical and practical constraints of our teaching practice; constraints that all University teachers inevitably encounter in some form. Drawing on my experience of co-authoring a textbook on EU politics (Bulmer et al. 2020; Bache et al. 2015) and a previous intervention on teaching EU politics (Parker 2016), it pointed to the value of a critical-pluralist approach and a 'question driven pedagogy'. Such an approach allows students to appreciate the wide range of legitimate questions that have been (and can be) asked in relation to the EU as object of study. Depending on their interests, politico-normative commitments and abilities, students may or may not consider in greater detail some of the theoretical approaches – both 'mainstream' and 'peripheral' – that have posed such questions, as well as considering the various debates between them. A commitment to a critical-pluralism in teaching the EU gives students the *license* to think differently; to be independent thinkers and learners.

In a final step, the paper considered how we might take this commitment further, enabling students to actually *become* independent learners and researchers in the context of small-group teaching. The evidence in favour of active learning methods – which, *inter alia*, help to embed understanding, bring to life knowledge and nurture transferable skills – is extensive. Drawing on my experience of teaching the EU at the EU's 'new periphery' (the UK) in the context of Brexit, I showed how a 'Brexit role play' was deployed in order to critically engage with mainstream theories of integration; deepen an understanding of 'new' theories of (dis)integration; and develop a broader sense of the complexity of normative arguments for/against a contemporary EU than the polarised public Brexit debate allowed.

These reflections and experiences may be of direct interest and relevance to teachers of the EU in the UK. But they may also be of use to teachers in various other national contexts, whether member states, or – linking to the broader Special Issue – states in more established regions of a so-called 'EU periphery'. In all such cases a question driven pedagogy might be deployed, especially in large-group settings. Pointing to a plurality of approaches to the EU as object of study, inclusive of peripheral perspectives, students will be empowered and encouraged to engage critically with issues that align with their own interests. Thereafter, it may be possible to bring to life a critical-pluralist approach through the active learning methods advocated in small-group contexts, using 'Brexit' and/or other case studies of domestic political entanglement with the EU that are more pertinent to the local context.

To advocate the pluralisation of teaching on EU politics, inclusive of a so-called cognitive periphery, is not to advocate a form of learning that has no clear teacher-led structure or a sense of the disciplinary mainstream (as in extreme versions of 'problem based learning'). It does not involve, for instance, a maximalist embrace of student-led or problem-based learning, because students – particularly in a context of assessed learning that is here to stay in most national contexts – often want and even require some such structure (Bijsmans and Versluis 2020). A textbook, minimal assigned readings, and lectures can help to provide students with that structure. The point, nevertheless, is to ensure that students are increasingly empowered and encouraged to explore beyond and even critique those structures (and to ensure that they are rewarded for so doing). The central value of the aforementioned approach – in whatever context it is pursued – is that it has the capacity to foster a 'critical pedagogy' (Freire, 1998) which seeks, among other

things, to depose the all-knowing teacher and contest reified disciplinary – and associated political – boundaries.

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ENDNOTES

[1] For a useful list of articles on teaching the EU, see, https://sites.google.com/site/psatlg/Home/resources/journal-articles/europol

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Research Article

In Search of Epistemic Justice in the EU's Periphery: A Research Synthesis of EU–Turkey Studies

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Abstract

As relations between the European Union (EU) and Turkey have progressed, so has the body of literature on the relationship – to the extent that we can now identify 'EU–Turkey studies' as a boutique sub-discipline of EU studies. This article provides a systematic mapping of the evolution of EU–Turkey studies from 1996 to 2020 in order to explore the degree of epistemic diversity featured in the discipline as an indicator of epistemic (in)justice. Utilising the research synthesis technique, we analyse a novel dataset involving 300 articles published in 26 SSCI journals to scrutinise the extent of epistemic diversity in the discipline. Our mapping reveals two central features of EU–Turkey studies. First, the transformation of the discipline has largely been contingent on critical milestones in EU–Turkey relations. Lately, increasing conflictual dynamics in bilateral relations resulted in diminishing scholarly commitment to studying EU–Turkey relations. Second, epistemic diversity has remained fairly limited given the lack of geographic diversity in authorship, the accumulation of the publications in specific journals, and the segregated co-authorship clusters that limit the amalgamation of different ideas and values. At the same time, knowledge production in EU–Turkey studies has been mainly Eurocentric, due to the almost exclusive use of grand and up-and-coming theories/concepts of European integration, while the proliferation of issue areas since the launch of the discipline has not culminated in a strong focus on non-traditional, avant-garde research topics as such. To ensure epistemic justice in the discipline, EU–Turkey studies should place stronger emphasis on unconventional issue areas and on the explanatory power of mainstream and unorthodox (IR) theories that have the potential to explore the relationship within the context of the multilateral system in which EU–Turkey relations increasingly operate.

Keywords

Epistemic justice; EU–Turkey relations; Epistemic diversity; Centre-periphery; Research synthesis; EU studies

INTRODUCTION

As the European Union's (EU) capabilities expanded from the economy to a wide array of policy areas, EU studies has transformed 'from boutique to boom field' (Keeler 2005: 563) since the early 1990s. The discipline covers a wide range of political, administrative, social, and regulatory issues and is being taught within the framework of various programs in universities in Europe and beyond. The editorial introduction of this special issue highlights that EU studies is largely shaped on the periphery by political realities and the neighbourhood's relations with the EU, rather than being treated as an autonomous scientific discipline. As such, the 'scholarly contingency' in EU studies which ensures that 'scholarship does not proceed with free agency but is bound by various conditions' (Rosamond 2007: 232) is particularly foregrounded in peripheral analyses of the EU. At the same time, the peripheral, scholarly view of the EU has been co-constitutive of the analyses of the centre scholarship by engendering self/other dynamics and comprised learning processes (Bilgin 2021).

Turkey can be treated both as a central and as a peripheral state – an 'in-between state', so to speak, located at the semi-periphery (Wallerstein 1976: 465). This is because of two distinct features of its relationship with the West, and specifically with the EU. First, Turkey possesses a 'liminal' identity, driven by its unique location between the East and the West, enabling the country to rely on different components of its identity in the West and in the East in quest of numerous goals (Rumelili and Suleymanoglu-Kurum 2017). At the same time, Turkey's dual identity propels the stigmatisation of its Western and Eastern identities and the ambiguities over its 'Europeanness'. Second, the EU–Turkey relationship evolved from two separate, yet interrelated, tracks featured along the centre–periphery axis: association/partnership and membership. Turkey signed the Association Agreement with the then European Economic Community (EEC) in 1963 in pursuit of deepening economic relations with the Community through the establishment of a customs union. As Turkish policymakers realised that the Association Agreement positioned Turkey primarily as a peripheral state, they applied for full membership in 1987. The EEC did not approve Turkey's full membership at the time but did not dispute its centrality either, as it granted Turkey official candidate status in 1999 and started its accession negotiations in 2005. This led to the framing and provisional positioning of EU–Turkey relations closer to the centre along the centre–periphery axis. At the same time, Turkey's gradually weakening membership prospects since the late 2010s, coupled with both sides' steadily diverging normative and (geo-)strategic preferences (Reiners and Turhan 2021a), recently reinvigorated Turkey's peripheral status.

The puzzling co-existence of both longevity and complexity in the EU–Turkey relationship propelled a rich body of literature on the topic and its dissemination through a wide array of established journals to the extent that we can enunciate the strong presence of 'EU–Turkey studies'. EU–Turkey studies operates both as a sub-discipline of EU studies and as a medium through which the EU/Europe is studied in Turkey. EU–Turkey relations – until very recently – progressed within the context of accession discussions based on the 35 negotiating chapters of the EU acquis, which encompass a wide range of issues, from environment to education, agricultural development to competition policy, so the discipline should be strongly interdisciplinary. However, teaching about the EU in Turkey is mostly stuck within the narrow confines of high politics, with introductory courses on the political system of the EU or elective courses related to foreign and security policy, wider neighbourhood, or migration. This trend is also echoed in the central focus of Jean Monnet Actions carried out at Turkish universities and co-financed by the European Commission with a view to enhancing epistemic diversity in the teaching about the EU in the periphery. Yet only around 20 per cent of all Jean Monnet modules in Turkey have dealt with unconventional issue areas such as gender policy, identity, social policy, and good governance (Tokgöz 2021).

In order to unpack this special issue's central question of how 'Europe' is taught in the periphery, it is essential to engage in a critical assessment of knowledge sources, due to the growing trend toward research-informed teaching in higher education pedagogy (Evans et al. 2021: 525). For the very basic reason that research and teaching are inextricable in higher education, we focus on research as our unit of analysis in this article to understand how the EU/Europe is taught in Turkey. As the peripheral view on EU studies is largely influenced by ebbs and flows in the respective countries' relations with the EU, we provide a systematic and comprehensive mapping of the evolution of EU–Turkey studies from 1996 to 2020. In doing so, we also respond to the invitation by Bilgin (2021) to study the periphery as the "constitutive outside". We apply research synthesis technique to a novel dataset, presenting information on 300 peer-reviewed articles published in 26 SSCI-indexed journals. Following the overall concerns of this special issue and Turkey's fluctuating position along the centre–periphery axis, we are specifically interested in scrutinising the extent of epistemic justice featured in EU–Turkey studies which concerns the epistemic hierarchisation of knowledge sources in the centre–periphery relationship (Fricker 2007; Medina 2013).

In doing so, we explore the shifts and continuities in the degree of epistemic diversity intrinsic to the discipline. We argue that epistemic diversity and epistemic justice are co-constitutive and can best be measured by indicators such as the geographic diversity of the knowledge sources and authorship, conceptual/theoretical approaches, issue areas, participation of women in the discipline, and collaborative spirit in the field. Such a theoretical take on EU–Turkey studies, fused with a systematic, empirical inquiry of the discipline helps us understand whether studying the EU in the periphery allows for the development of authentic, local perspectives in the periphery, and whether the scholarly inquiry of EU–Turkey relations features a centre–periphery divide. Whereas centre relates in this study – in line with the introductory article of this special issue (Alpan and Diez 2022) – to the EU- and Anglo-American knowledge systems and geo-epistemologies (e.g., (co-)authorship, journals, institutions, theoretical approaches and so forth), periphery circumscribes all knowledge systems and geo-epistemologies outside the EU- and Anglo-American epistemic structures.

The article proceeds as follows. The next section contextualises epistemic justice and diversity in the framework of the centre–periphery divide. We then present the research design and the data collection. The ensuing section maps the state of authorship, collaborative efforts, journals, and the patchwork of theoretical/conceptual approaches and central issue areas in EU–Turkey studies, taking into account the distinct eras of the discipline. In the final section we synthesise the key findings and propose a way forward to promote epistemic justice and diversity in EU–Turkey studies.

EPISTEMIC JUSTICE AND DIVERSITY IN THE CENTRE–PERIPHERY HIERARCHY

Teaching and learning about the EU along the centre–periphery axis requires adequate attention to epistemic diversity. Kotzee (2017: 329) defines epistemic diversity as the 'diversity in educationists' beliefs and belief systems, research methods and methods of inquiry, research questions and cultures'. Yet, integrating diversity into the classrooms appears to be a major challenge due to the lack of diversity in knowledge sources.

Lack of epistemic diversity is captured with the term 'epistemic injustice'. Scholars of epistemic (in)justice underline the persistent need for the plurality of the ways of knowing (Mantz 2019) which led many European universities to focus on non-Western, post-Western and non-European or global perspectives (Çapan 2017). Miranda Fricker (2007) defines two kinds of epistemic injustice. The first is the testimonial injustice that occurs when some knowers are given lower credibility due to prejudice against them. Credibility assessment, at least in Western societies, tends to favour powerful groups or those

privileged in society, such as male, middle-class, and white people over young or old women (white or of colour) (see McConkey 2004; Fricker 1998), or secular women over conservative women in Muslim societies (Cin and Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2021). Testimonial injustice is highly relevant to the division of labour in knowledge production patterns in centre–periphery hierarchy similar to the North–South binary (Marginson and Xu 2021: 7) and the West/non-West divide (Xu 2021) as it spatializes episteme and creates hierarchies between different geo-epistemologies (Wemheuer-Vogelaar et al. 2020: 19).

Eurocentrism (defined as a civilisational context that includes Europe and North America) manifests itself in epistemic hierarchisation whereby Anglo-American geo-epistemology is treated as the 'centre'. The UK and the US host the top ten publishers and headquarters of major scientific databases, and supply the majority of journal editors and peer reviewers (Marginson and Xu 2021: 7). This leads to the prioritization of knowledge produced in this geo-epistemological context (Wemheuer-Vogelaar et al. 2020: 19). From the perspective of testimonial injustice, this would mean that knowers in the periphery and non-Anglo-American geo-epistemologies are regarded as incompetent and their scientific inquiry is assessed against the centre by an inner community of scientists who claim that they make an exclusive contribution to legitimate knowledge (Walker and Boni 2021: 6). This arguement is originally put forward by postcolonial scholars and framed as 'epistemic violence' due to the imposition of a particular, namely Western-centric knowledge. This creates knowledge hierarchies and marginalizes the agency of non-Western regions in knowledge production (Spivak 1994).

In fact, in their earlier analysis, Fricker (1998: 170) notes that there is likely to 'be some social pressure on the norm of credibility to imitate the structures of social power'. Therefore, we can confidently argue that testimonial injustice emerges when scholars in the periphery rely exclusively on the issues, concepts, theories, and methodologies that are widely believed to be valid in the centre to gain credibility and recognition as knowers. As such, testimonial injustice creates 'epistemic frontiers', which cause peripheral scholars to be treated as though they are incompetent to assess or theorise (Mignolo and Tlostanova 2006), and marginalizes these geo-episetemologies.

The second form of epistemic injustice that Fricker (2007) draws attention to is hermeneutical injustice, which arises when a group – through being denied equal participation in the generation of social meaning – is deprived of the ability to understand and give meaning to its experiences and express them to others convincingly. In hermeneutical injustice, the 'speakers' knowledge claim falls into a blank gap in the available conceptual resources' and blocks their capacity to understand and interpret their experiences (Fricker 2007: 3). As Xu (2021: 6) notes, 'some concepts only exist in specific contexts, thus become unthinkable, unimaginable, incommensurable and incomprehensible to others even with an open mindset and humbleness to learn'. Hence, certain communities are prevented from exercising a distinctive voice and participating in meaning-making and meaning-sharing practices (Medina 2017: 42; Fricker 2013). Peripheral scholars are rather encouraged by their 'central peers' to apply the theoretical and conceptual frameworks or issues widely debated by the Western scholarship as a top-down process through a 'one-size-fits-all' approach. This is a way for them to imposing their own way of thinking on others through modern education (Saurin 2006). Yet, these concepts and variables may not be entirely applicable or helpful to explicate domestic processes in the periphery, and result in the epistemic silencing of scholars and people in non-Western contexts.

Although knowledge production has become more multipolar with the diversification of countries of origin from 2000 to 2018, Eurocentric inquiry, primarly Anglo-American thinking, prevailed and the agency of the scholars on the periphery has been widely suppressed (Marginson and Xu 2021: 7-11). The centre imposes its research agenda on the periphery, leading them to focus on 'problems affecting mostly rich countries' (Vessuri et al. 2014: 649) or becoming blind to the needs and interests of the periphery (Olechnicka

et al. 2019: 102-3) and thus perpetuating geo-epistemological biases (Wembheuer-Vogelaar et al. 2020: 19). Such biases result in the suppression of subaltern knowledges, conceptualized as epistemic violence (Spivak, 1994) and "epistemicide" (Santos et al. 2007).

Epistemic injustice can best be altered by epistemic diversity, which allows for the contestation of substantive, methodological, and political distortions of the mainstream, and makes room for the application of non-Eurocentric knowledge to a non-Western context (Medina 2013: 12). Such efforts to create an epistemically diverse approach to understand the world by pooling different experiences into the debate is captured by the concept of 'worlding', a form of resistance to epistemic violence, implying that 'we are all engaged in imagining and creating worlds'(Wæver and Tickner 2009: 9). This has been the main objective of the scholarship on decolonizing knowledge that challenges the 'West and the rest' dichotomy (Jones 2006). Within the body of this literature, Saurin (2006: 32) determines four criteria to assess the coloniality of knowledge in a discipline: i) the proportion of publications taking non-Western states as the historical reference or the objective of inquiry; ii) the proportion of work published in Western journals or publishing houses, iii) the number of theoretical approaches that are Western in origin or deviation, iv) the proportion of authors from non-Western countries who have published in the specialised journals. In addition to the aforementioned criteria, Mahr (2021: 38) pays attention to the importance of the context in which scientific knowledge is produced. In some contexts, knowers' social positions matter, which requires integrating viewpoints of knowers of different genders, social, racial, and ethnic backgrounds into science. In other settings, it may be necessary to emphasise and foster different styles of reasoning.

As Grosfougel (2013: 88) notes, encouraging a knowledge production process where 'many defines for the many' would help finding different responses and solutions to similar problems. Given Turkey's position of being both a central and a peripheral state, as a result of its dual and liminal identity and the evolution of EU–Turkey relations on two distinct paths of association/partnership and full membership, EU–Turkey studies as a sub-discipline of EU studies should incorporate significant epistemic diversity. For instance, trying to understand and explain such a multifaceted relationship only with the theoretical/conceptual insights from Western/European knowledge systems or based on an asymmetric distribution of authorship in favour of one side would contribute to epistemic injustice not only in the sub-discipline itself but also in the broader EU studies.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND DATA

Taking into consideration its orderly coverage of around 3,400 influential journals across 58 social science disciplines (Clarivate 2021), accompanied by its easy accessibility (Bunea and Baumgartner 2014), we benefitted from the Web of Science's (WOS) Social Science Citation Index (SSCI) to engender a plausibly far-reaching, illustrative sample of EU–Turkey studies. We are aware of the inherent dilemmas of studying only articles published in SSCI journals as SSCI indexing system – an arrangement largely compiled by the journals of the three largest publishing houses (Informa, Sage, and Wiley) (Demeter 2019) – itself operates as a way of centering academic studies and creating centre-periphery relations. Yet, such inherent dynamics of global knowledge production as reinforced by the SSCI indexing system can only be unpacked by analysing and revealing such epistemic injustices within this indexing system itself.

We adhered to a criterion sampling technique that allows for the establishment of clear-cut, pre-determined criteria with a view to generating a comprehensive yet attentive sample of peer-reviewed articles with a central focus on EU–Turkey relations (Suri 2011). We first retrieved all 297 SSCI journals (as of December 2020) in the fields of 'Political Science', 'Area Studies', and 'International Relations' from WOS, in view of EU studies'

partial and somewhat complementary operationalisation within these disciplines (see, e.g., Cini 2006; Keeler 2005), which is also true for EU–Turkey studies. This way we reduced the probability of misguidedly omitting any major journal with a high number of publications on EU–Turkey relations. With a view to inspect whether we have left out any important journal in other subjects such as sociology, education, history, and so forth with a meaningful number of articles on EU-Turkey relations we made a double-check. Our inquiry demonstrated that there are exceptionally few articles on EU-Turkey relations published in journals other than those included in our dataset. We then delved into the 'aim' and 'scope/overview' segment of each journal, as described in the corresponding journal homepage, and excluded any journal that did not feature any reference to 'Turkey' and/or 'EU/Europe' in the respective segment. We systematically reviewed each issue of the remaining journals by looking in the abstract and title of each article for a combination of the following keywords 'EU/Europe/European' AND 'Turkey/Turkish'. In a final step, we removed all articles that did not primarily focus on EU–Turkey relations. While we do not argue to cover the whole universe of EU–Turkey Studies, this labour-intensive practice resulted in an across-the-board, thorough sample of the literature on EU–Turkey relations, covering 26 SSCI journals (with impact factors ranging from 7.339 to 0.250) and 300 articles published from 1 January 1996 (after the entry into force of the EU–Turkey Customs Union on 31 December 1995) to 31 December 2020 (see Appendix).

With a view to providing a systematic assessment of the extent, evolvement, and limits of epistemic diversity in EU–Turkey studies, the study utilised the research synthesis technique. Research syntheses concern systematic, integrative reviews of the literature in a given discipline, research field, or issue area to create generalisations about the field. They mostly keep track of the theoretical approaches and research designs utilised, provide a critical assessment of the research carried out in the field, and pinpoint avenues for a future research agenda (Cooper and Hedges 2009: 6). They aim to generate new knowledge and awareness about the discipline or topic of interest based on a sampling, evaluation, and data combination of the existing literature (Suri 2011). Mindful of our research question and objective of the synthesis (Wilson 2009), we coded the 300 articles included in our representative sample of EU–Turkey studies for the following dimensions: a) name of the author(s); b) country of institution to which author(s) are affiliated[1]; c) gender of author(s); d) publication year; e) theoretical/conceptual approach; f) main issue area; and g) single- vs. co-authorship. The coding process also benefitted from a periodisation as it reveals the way EU–Turkey relations have been studied in different periods, featuring distinct milestones, and maps the shifts and continuities in EU–Turkey studies. Accordingly, we systematically reviewed the sampling in three periods: 1996–2004 (positive turn in bilateral relations from the initiation of the EU–Turkey Customs Union to the EU decision to open the accession negotiations with Turkey); 2005–2012 (from the opening of accession negotiations to the gradual slow-down of Turkish accession process amid 'selective' Europeanization (Alpan 2021) in Turkey); 2013–2020 (formulation of EU–Turkey relations increasingly outside the accession context and growing trend toward conflictual relations between the EU and Turkey). (See similar periodisations in Reiners and Turhan 2021a.)

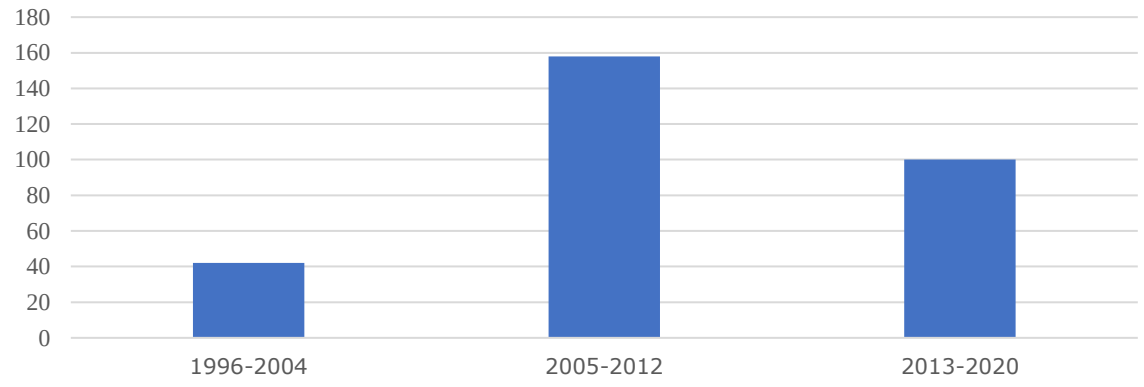
EU–TURKEY STUDIES AND ITS THREE ERAS: SHIFTS AND CONTINUITIES IN EPISTEMIC DIVERSITY

Our sample includes a moderately large number of articles on EU–Turkey relations which have been disseminated through a wide array of journals, including those 'devoted mainly or exclusively to EC/EU studies' (see for details Keeler 2005: 553). This denotes that EU–Turkey studies secured its position as a distinct, discernible, and prolific 'boutique' sub-discipline of EU studies over the years. At the same time, as shown in Figure 1, which provides data for the number of articles published in selected periods, key turning points in EU–Turkey relations and Turkey's fluctuating positioning along the centre–periphery

axis have largely accounted for the phases of growth and change in the status of the discipline.

Of the 300 articles included in our sample, 42 were published in the period from 1996 to 2004. The empirical drivers of the take-off era of EU–Turkey studies were the entry into force of the EU–Turkey Customs Union on 31 December 1995, the confirmation of Turkey's candidacy status by the EU in 1999, and the December 2004 European Council decision to open the accession negotiations with Turkey. These significant steps in EU–Turkey relations and the strengthening of Turkey's EU membership prospects reinforced Turkey's anchorage to the EU through an exhaustive reform process (Müftüler-Baç 2005). Accordingly, Turkish state actors' willingness to present themselves as central European actors in the liminal spaces generated by the EU accession process (Rumelili 2012) promoted the emergence of scholarly interest in studying EU–Turkey affairs. The dawn of the field and gradual upsurge in scholarly output are even more visibly manifested in data related to the rate at which articles were published. Whereas from 1996 to 1999 only 1.3 articles were published on average per year, following the approval of Turkey's candidate status by the EU the scholarly community published, from 2000 to 2004, on average 7.4 articles per year with a key focus on the bilateral relationship.

Figure 1 Number of articles according to selected periods



The period from 2005 to 2012 marked the golden age or the boom era of EU–Turkey studies, with the number of articles published in this epoch rising to 158, from 42 in the previous era. This exhibited a remarkable 276 per cent increase compared to the scholarly output accomplished during the take-off era. As a consequence of the accession negotiations with Turkey kicking off in October 2005, Turkey's full membership in the EU appeared to be feasible – if only for a short period of time – despite the 'ambivalences that characterized the opening of negotiations' (Lippert 2021: 285) such as the special arrangements incorporated into the negotiation framework with Turkey. This stimulated an intensified scholarly interest in analysing EU–Turkey relations from the angle of EU widening.

Articles published in the golden age of EU–Turkey studies inspected a wide array of elements, salient events, and trends related to Turkey's EU accession process, inter alia, the central features of EU conditionality and enlargement policy vis-à-vis Turkey (e.g. MacMillan 2009; Saatçioğlu 2009) and Europeanization processes in diverse policy areas in Turkey (e.g., Müftüler-Baç and Gürsoy 2010; Buhari-Gülmez 2012; Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2019). In this vein, the overlapping of the boom era in EU–Turkey studies with the prospect of Turkey moving closer to Europe along the centre–periphery axis, foregrounds the contingent nature of the discipline in the sense that scholarship on EU–Turkey relations has been driven by the realities and milestones of EU–Turkey relations. At the same time, throughout this period, the enduring ambiguities over Turkey's 'Europeanness' incorporated the case of EU–Turkey relations 'in the literature on European identity and normative debates about the future direction of the European polity' (Aydın-Düzgit and

Rumelili 2021: 73) which further enriched the field with differing starting points and theoretical approaches.

It is possible to argue that technological diversification and greater accessibility and connectivity of scholars worldwide (Marginson and Xu 2021) also facilitated the expansion of scholarly output in EU–Turkey relations, which holds the potential to reduce testimonial injustice by increasing the visibility of diverse knowledge sources. Such disciplinary expansion can also lessen hermeneutical injustice, as connectivity paves the way for greater collaborative spirit, allowing for the scholars in the centre and periphery being exposed to each other's authentic ideas and concepts. This can lead to the diminishing of the conceptual 'blank gaps' in the discipline (Fricker, 2007: 3). Yet, as we show in the succeeding sections of our analysis, in the case of EU–Turkey studies, the expansion of scholarly output did not necessarily culminate in a proportional proliferation of the epistemic diversity in the discipline.

The scholarly contingency of EU–Turkey studies played out in a similar fashion throughout the stagnation era which has continued from 2013 to 2020, when EU-Turkey relations became contested and conflictual, and marked by debates on 'shift of axis' underlining Turkey's retrenchment from the EU (Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2019). As shown in Figure 1, this period featured an approximately 37 per cent decline (from 158 to 100) in the number of articles in comparison to the boom era. The discipline suffered from a precipitous downturn, particularly from 2017 onwards, with the number of articles published per year closing to that of the take-off era. Whereas in 2016, 21 articles with a central focus on EU–Turkey relations were published, this number abruptly dropped to 11 in 2017, 8 in 2018, 10 in 2019 and 7 in 2020. This finding contradicts Marginson and Xu's (2021: 9) recent analysis, which illustrates the overall growth of science with scholarship from diverse countries of origin from 2000 to 2018. Given this fact, we contend that there is a geometric decline in EU–Turkey studies.

The declining academic devotion to the study of EU–Turkey relations has specifically taken place in conjunction with the onset of a period of palpably departing paths for the EU and Turkey in various contexts. Turkey's progressive 'de-Europeanization' throughout the last decade, a process that involves 'the loss or weakening of the EU/Europe as a normative/political context and as a reference point in domestic settings' (Aydın-Düzgit and Kaliber 2016: 5), the EU's increasing interest in 'thinking out of the accession box' (Turhan 2017) and growing geopolitical rivalries and competing positions in the EU's southern neighbourhood (i Lecha et al. 2021) engender Turkey's retrenchment from the EU (Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm 2019). Our data illustrate that as Turkey's prospects of full membership started to wane, Turkey's perceived status as a peripheral country foregrounded, and conflictual relations with the EU surfaced, the crisis in bilateral relations somewhat curtailed the scholarly interest in EU–Turkey studies for the time being.

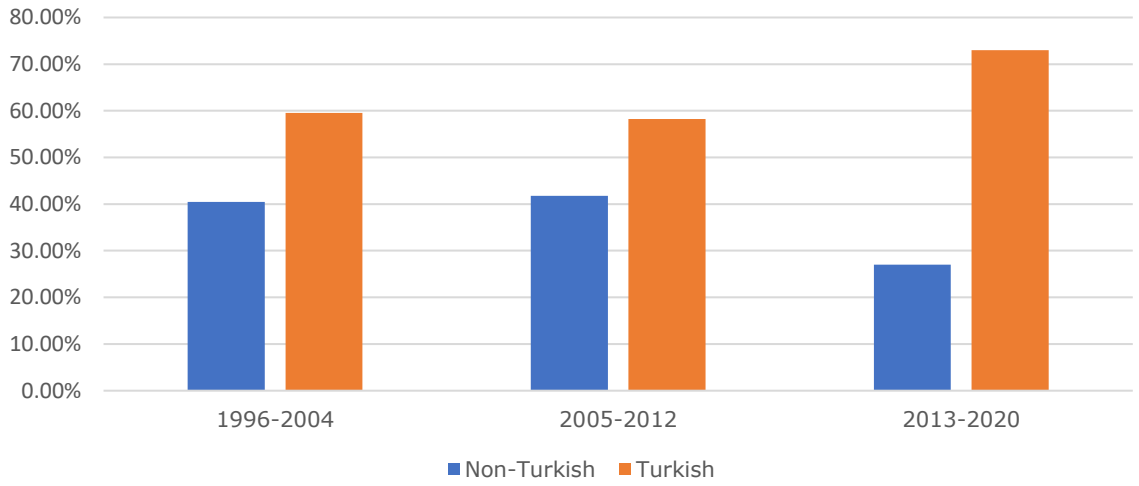
The State of Authorship, Collaborative Efforts, and Journals in EU–Turkey Studies

In terms of investigating the extent of epistemic diversity in the distinct eras of EU–Turkey studies, it becomes crucial to analyse the authorship characteristics. In this, the geographic distribution of the authorship community in EU–Turkey studies functions as a particularly central variable. Of the 300 articles included in our sample 190 (63.3 per cent) were written by at least one scholar affiliated to a Turkish institution, whilst the authors of the remaining 110 articles (36.7 per cent) had institutional affiliations with non-Turkish (mostly European) universities[2]. Our data indicate that EU–Turkey relations are studied predominantly in Turkey and serve as a rather secondary topic of interest in Europe and beyond. On the one hand, the interest of scholars affiliated with Turkish institutions in EU–Turkey relations can be interpreted as an element that reduces epistemic injustice as it bears the potential to integrate the local perspective into the disciplinary debates. This

finding runs contrary to Xu and Marginson's (2021) assessment that scholars in the periphery (i.e. Africa and the Middle Eeast) contribute to marginalization of local voices. On the other hand, the low proportion of authors from European establishments engenders an asymmetric authorship configuration in this (sub-)discipline studying the 'bilateral' relations between two 'key partners' (European Commission 2021: 2). This bears the potential of weakening the extent of epistemic diversity featured in EU–Turkey studies as it pushes the inquiry of the EU's relations with a non-member state largely to the scholarly community of the non-member state or the periphery.

As Figure 2 shows, during the stagnation era in EU–Turkey studies (2013–2020) the geographic diversity and expansion of the scholarly community have drastically reduced, with the proportion of authors affiliated with non-Turkish institutions having decreased from 41.7 per cent during the boom era of the discipline (2005–2012) to a remarkably low 27.0 per cent. Thus, as EU–Turkey relations have become increasingly contested and conflictual, the peripheral nature of the discipline of EU–Turkey studies have consolidated, and the geographic diffusion of the authorship community has slowed down.

Figure 2 Share of articles with at least one contributor from a Turkish/non-Turkish institution in selected periods



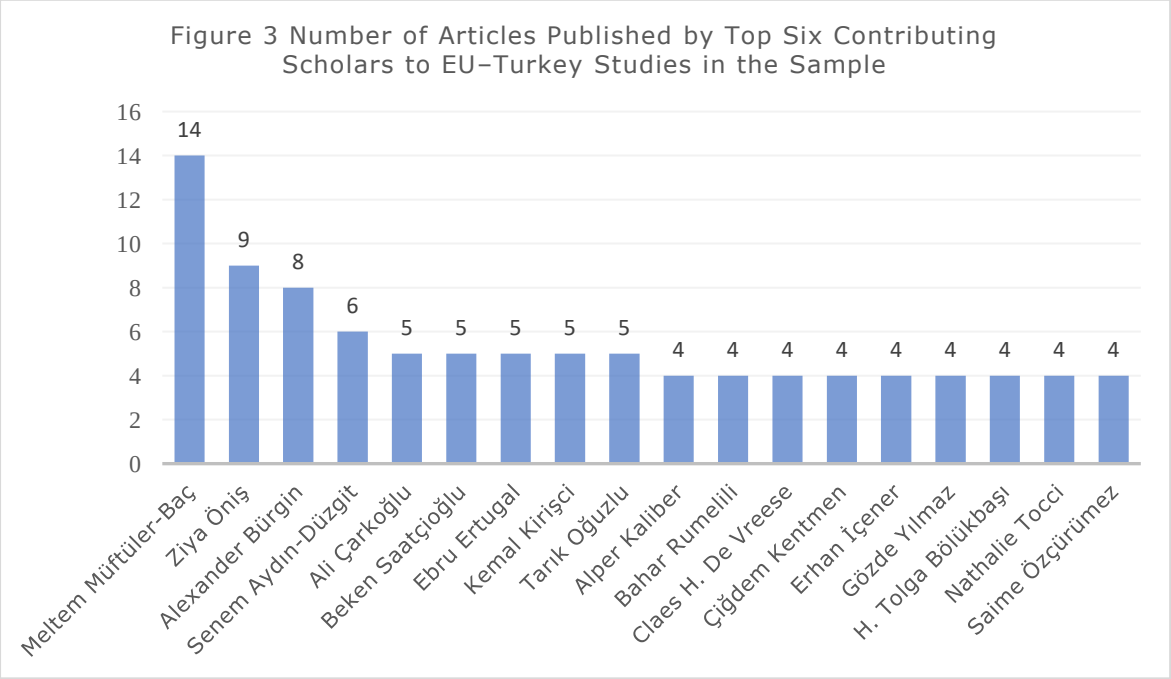
The limited degree of geographic expansion of the scholarly community in EU–Turkey studies is seemingly evident in Table 1, which shows the territorial distribution of the (first) authors' academic affiliation[3] across countries. Sixty per cent of the (first) authors who have produced articles on EU–Turkey relations are affiliated with Turkish institutions, followed by British (10.7 per cent), US (7.7 per cent), German (5.7 per cent), Dutch (4 per cent) and Greek (2 per cent) establishments. First authors of the remaining 10 per cent of the articles are affiliated with universities in other countries. Our data pinpoint two important findings pertaining to the state of epistemic diversity in the discipline. First, knowledge production and dissemination in EU–Turkey studies are largely dominated by a very limited number of countries, led by Turkey. Second, within Western countries, scholarly interest in studying EU–Turkey relations is relatively strong in the US and the UK, compared to continental Europe. On the one hand, this denotes the strategic relevance of the EU–Turkey relationship to the transatlantic alliance and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (see on this Pierini and Siccardi 2021) and the analogies between the UK and Turkey as the EU's two 'eternal awkward partner[s]' (Ciancara and Szymański 2020: 258). At the same time, the supremacy of the UK and US among Western countries in knowledge production on EU–Turkey relations bolsters the line of argument that Anglo-American institutions largely form, codify, and circulate scientific knowledge which is Eurocentric in its essence (Marginson and Xu 2021). Hence, the growing reliance on 'open

networks' (Xu 2021: 2) did not diversify agency of EU–Turkey studies, and epistemic 'universality' prevailed over 'epistemic diversity' (Marginson 2014).

Table 1 Geographic Distribution of the Institutional Affiliation of the First Authors Across Countries

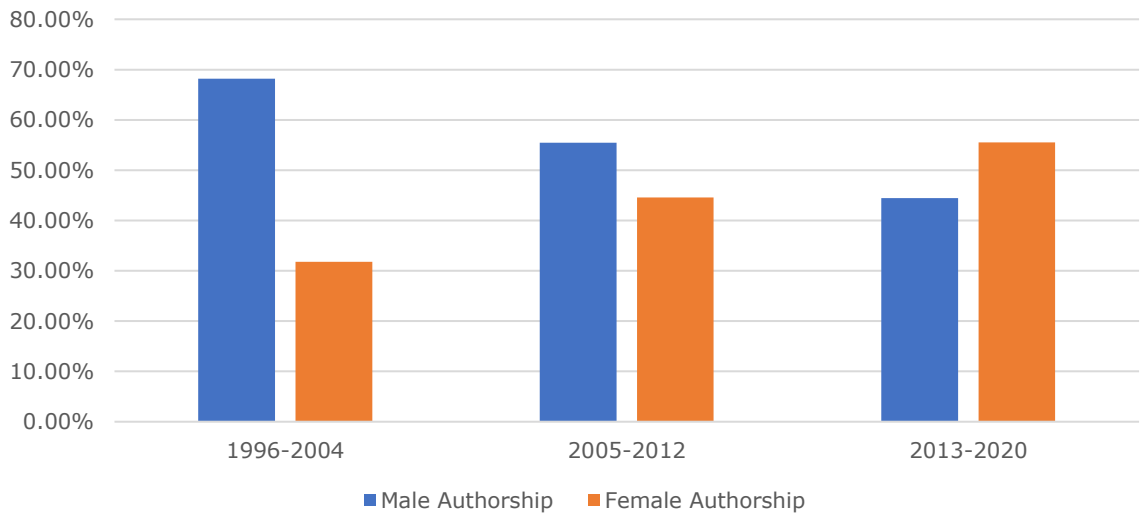
Country	Number of Articles Produced	Share in the Representative Sample of EU–Turkey Relations
Turkey	180	60.0%
United Kingdom	32	10.7%
United States	23	7.7%
Germany	17	5.7%
Netherlands	12	4.0%
Greece	6	2.0%
Others	30	10.0%

Figure 3 illustrates that – in line with our previous findings – in our representative sample of the literature on EU–Turkey relations three of the 18 top contributors to the discipline are European scholars (with one of them being affiliated with a Turkish university) while the remaining 15 are Turkish. At the same time, the figure also hints that the gender gap in publishing appears to be narrower in EU–Turkey studies as opposed to EU studies and its sub-disciplines (Bunea and Baumgartner 2014), psychology (Odic and Wojcik 2019), economics (Ghosh and Liu 2020), political science and its sub-disciplines (Mathews and Andersen 2001; Østby et al. 2013). In our sample there is an equal gender distribution among the top six contributing scholars to EU–Turkey studies, with nine female and nine male scholars. Overall, female scholars contributed to 53 per cent of the articles (161 articles) in our dataset, while 62 per cent of all articles (184 articles) included at least one male author.



Notwithstanding the persistence of a small, overall gender gap in favour of male scholars in publications on EU–Turkey relations over the period 1996 to 2020, Figure 4, which demonstrates the evolution of the share of male and female authorship[4] in selected periods, points to a discernible trend in EU–Turkey studies toward altering gender gap patterns in publishing in favour of female scholars. We notice that the share of female authorship in our representative sample has progressively risen from 31.8 per cent during the take-off era of the discipline (1996–2004) to 44.6 per cent throughout the golden age of EU–Turkey studies, and to 55.6 per cent in the period 2013–2020, despite the shrinking of the discipline in terms of publication numbers throughout the last period. The closing of the gender gap in publications in favour of female scholars holds the potential to reinforce the extent of epistemic diversity and justice featured in the discipline because of two developments that are likely to occur following the disruption of gender-oriented publication patterns. First, this fosters female scholars' visibility and consequently their acknowledgement as epistemic authorities in the field. Second, oftentimes gender diversity is congruous with epistemic diversity as 'social identity influences the research problems, assumptions, and prejudices of individuals' (O'Connor and Bruner 2019: 114). These findings tip the scales in favour of testimonial justice in the discipline, as women's contribution to knowledge production appears to be massive and women are recognised as credible knowers in EU–Turkey studies.

Figure 4 Share of Male and Female Authorship in Selected Periods



The presence and extent of co-authorship serves as another central driver of epistemic diversity in any research field as collaborative processes accommodate multiple perspectives on the topic under scrutiny while also tearing down single-disciplinary knowledge production patterns in many cases (Miller et al. 2008). Our data pins down two important trends as regards collaborative research efforts in EU–Turkey studies. First, as Figure 5 demonstrates, the practice of co-authorship has yet to become the modus operandi in the discipline. Of the 300 articles included in our sample and published between 1996 and 2020, 71 per cent are single-authored, and 29 per cent are co-authored work. Although we can detect a somewhat gradual increase in the proportion of collaborative work over the years and notably from 2017 onwards, the evolvement of co-authorship practices in the discipline does not exhibit a consistent, linear developmental path, having been marked by continual ups and downs. Second, the existing collaboration clusters are driven by a clear centre–periphery divide and segregated networks that obstruct collaboration with out-group members. Of the 87 co-authored articles 73.6 per cent are products of in-group collaborations, with 39 articles having emerged by co-authorship between primarily Turkish scholars and 25 articles through collaboration between

central/European academics. Centre–periphery cooperation in publishing took place in only 26.4 per cent (23 articles) of co-authored work.

Figure 5 Distribution of Co- and Single-authorship Across Years

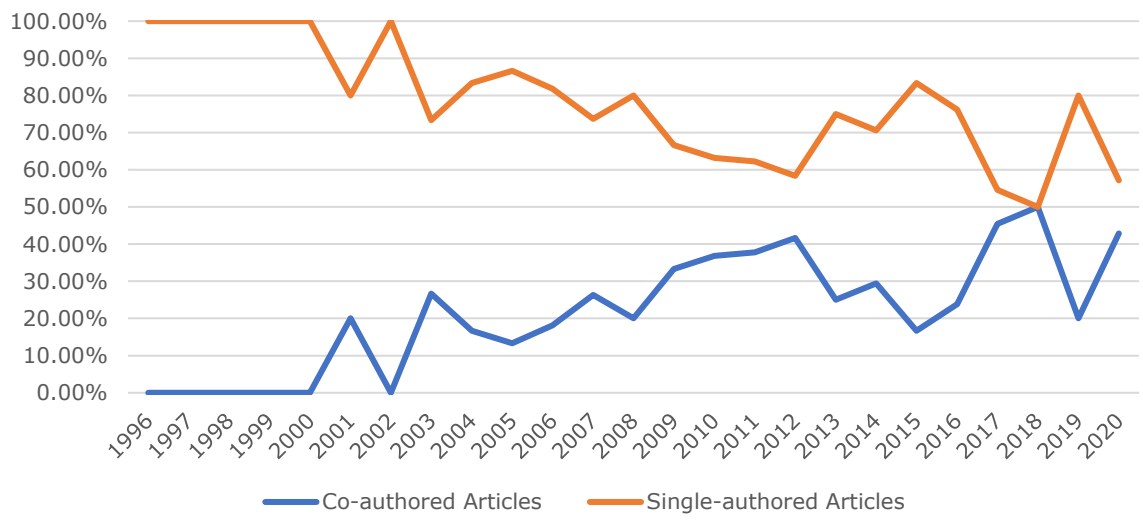
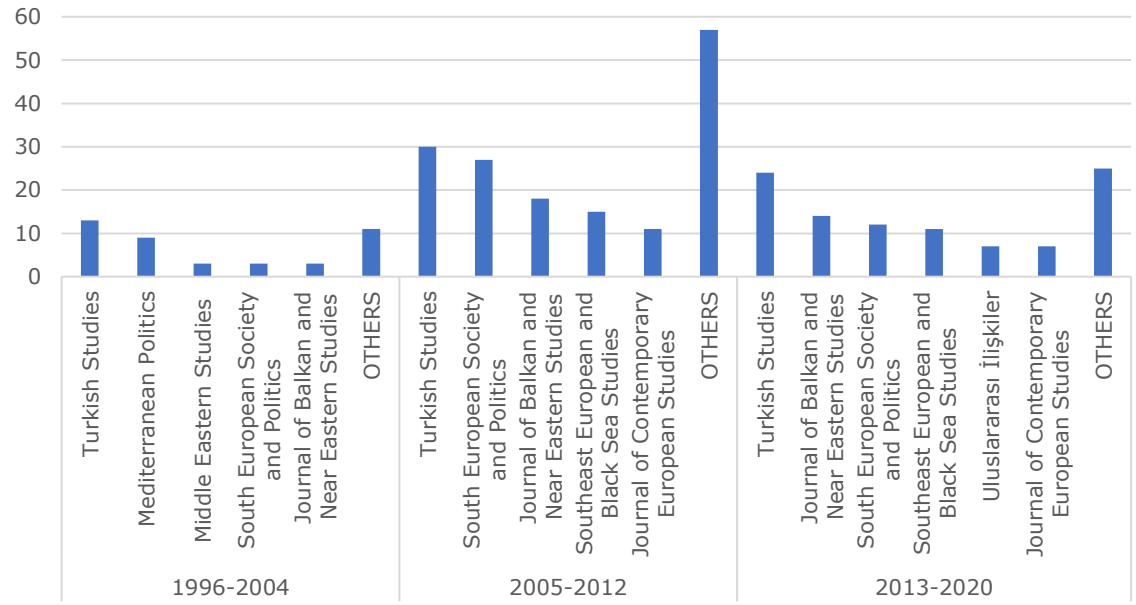


Figure 6 provides data about the five SSCI journals with most publications on EU–Turkey relations in selected periods, and exhibits the resilient, peripheral dynamics featured in the discipline. In all three eras of EU–Turkey studies, journals that predominantly operate within the domain of 'area studies' and possess a strong focus on the EU's relationship with its wider neighbourhood dominated the scholarly output on EU–Turkey relations. Their regional foci included, inter alia, the Middle East and North Africa region (Middle Eastern Studies), the Balkans and the greater Middle East (Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies), Turkey (Turkish Studies, Uluslararası İlişkiler), Southern Europe (South European Society and Politics), and the Black Sea region (Southeast European and Black Sea Studies). Thus, specialist, flagship journals principally dedicated to studying the EU and European politics (see Keeler 2005 for a categorisation) such as Journal of European Public Policy, European Union Politics, Journal of European Integration, West European Politics, and Comparative European Politics have featured a limited number of articles on the EU–Turkey relationship compared to journals with a specific regional foci. Within the list of specialist journals, only Journal of Common Market Studies (JCMS) and Journal of Contemporary European Studies (JCES) functioned as important outlets for EU–Turkey studies throughout the boom era of the discipline (2005–2012), having published eight and 11 articles, respectively.

The golden age of studying EU–Turkey relations (2005–2012) also culminated in an overall diversification and expansion of the scholarly outlets, with 36.1 per cent of the articles published in this era from 2005 to 2012 having appeared in journals other than the top five outlets. The rise of conflictual relations between the EU and Turkey during 2013 to 2020 has not only engendered an overarching decline in scholarly interest in the discipline. As Figure 6 demonstrates, the estrangement between both sides also brought about an outlet-oriented contraction and concentration on a smaller number journals with a specific regional foci (with the exception of JCES). The five SSCI journals with most publications on EU–Turkey relations in the stagnation era (2013–2020) constituted 75 per cent of all articles (100) published in this period. This concentration of articles in a limited number of journals in EU–Turkey studies goes against the fair and asymmetric distribution of the outcomes of scholarly knowledge and research on EU–Turkey relations along the centre–periphery axis and produces epistemic injustices (see on this also Dübgen 2020).

Figure 6 Top-five Journals with Most Publications on EU–Turkey Relations in Selected Periods



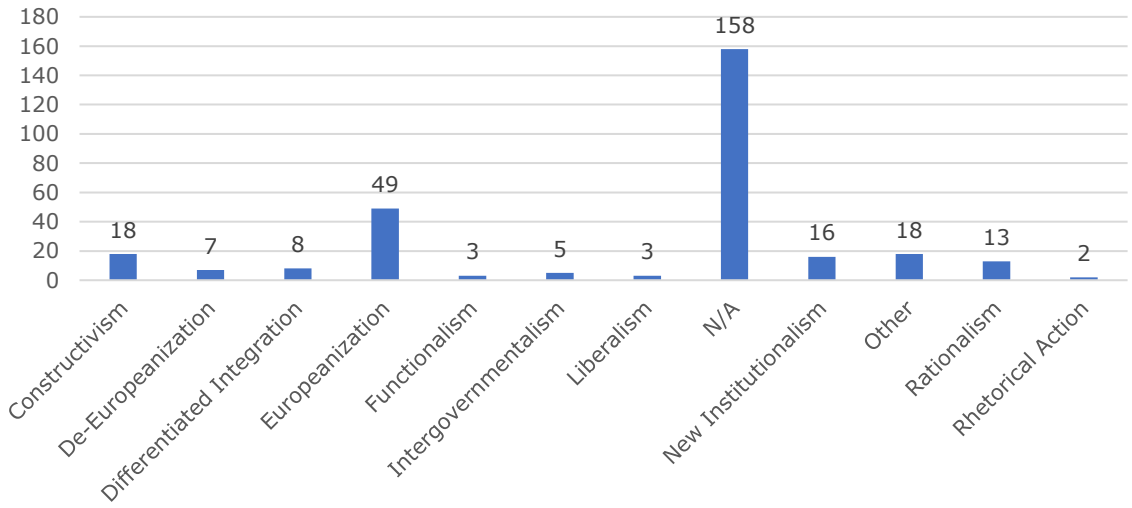
The Patchwork of Theoretical/Conceptual Approaches and Central Issue Areas in EU–Turkey Studies

The theoretical/conceptual foci of the articles on EU–Turkey relations provides us with important empirical evidence pertaining to the positioning of EU–Turkey studies within EU studies and the degree of epistemic diversity in the discipline. We coded all articles included in the sample for the theoretical/conceptual perspective they utilise, based on the explicit declaration of their authors. If the author(s) did not overtly assert any theoretical/conceptual approach we coded the respective article as 'atheoretical'. If an article compares or synthesizes two or more theoretical/conceptual angles, we then coded the article for the approach that is employed more eminently. For example, if a study emphasizes the limits of (de-)Europeanization for EU–Turkey relations while at the same time highlighting the strengths of another theoretical approach such as new institutionalism, we then coded the article for the latter.

Figure 7 offers data about the overall distribution of the theoretical/conceptual approaches the sampled articles employ, and displays two central traits of the theoretical bases of EU–Turkey studies. First, more than half (158) of the 300 sampled articles offer reflective, atheoretical explanations for the important developments in EU–Turkey relations. Second, the theoretical/conceptual designs of the remaining 142 articles rely almost exclusively on grand theories of European integration or established/up-and-coming conceptual approaches to studying the European integration. In our representative sample (de-)Europeanization has emerged as the leading conceptual lens through which EU–Turkey relations have been explored in almost 40 per cent (56 articles) of the 142 articles featuring explicit theoretical orientations. The popularity of Europeanization in EU–Turkey studies could be largely attributed to its conceptual flexibility and its power to carry out analyses on the extent of the EU's normative influence on domestic processes in multiple domains – polity, policy, and politics – including a wide array of issue areas, such as economy, foreign and security policy, judiciary, and migration (Reiners and Turhan 2021b: 401-404). Yet, the concept explains these domestic processes with a Eurocentric[5] approach which may trigger hermeneutical injustice.

Referring to discursive and relational constructions of identity representations between the EU and Turkey as the main explanatory factor for the exposition of the major shifts and continuities in EU–Turkey relations (Aydın-Düzgit and Rumelili 2021), different variants of constructivism operate as the second most operationalised theoretical perspective in the discipline. It should be underlined that, reminiscent of EU studies (Rosamond 2007), the articles featuring constructivist accounts of EU–Turkey relations mainly rely on discursive takes on constructivism rather than the IR-variant constructivism. Europeanization and discursive constructivism are followed by another theoretical perspective with a Eurocentric take. Various types of new institutionalism – such as rational choice-, historical- and sociological institutionalism – that underscore the central role played by institutional norms in enabling or constraining opportunities for action of political actors (March and Olsen 2009) appear in 16 articles. Having been utilised in 13 articles, IR variant of rationalism emerges as a popular, mainstream theoretical toolkit alongside EU integration centered approaches.

Figure 7 Distribution of Theoretical Approaches in EU–Turkey Studies



The dominance of traditional and up-and-coming theoretical and conceptual approaches to European integration in EU–Turkey relations has two significant implications for EU–Turkey studies. On the one hand, it promotes the 'central' constituents in EU–Turkey studies, pushing the discipline closer to EU studies even at times of stagnation prevailing both in bilateral relations and in the scholarly interest in those relations. At the same time, the theoretical 'centrality' and Eurocentricism in the discipline undermines the prospects for deepened epistemic diversity in EU–Turkey studies as a result of three key developments.

First, the nearly undivided attention devoted to European integration theories and conceptual perspectives impedes authentic processes of 'homegrown theorising' which would engender concepts, ideas, and theories based on local, regional, or domestic first-hand experiences and realities (Kuru 2018). Second, the academic community's almost exclusive focus on traditional, mainstream theories prevents a meticulous inclusion of the realities of the underprivileged and oppositional communities in the study of EU–Turkey relations and Turkey's EU accession process, resulting in their epistemic marginalisation and in hermeneutical injustice. Third, as Table 2 demonstrates, while there is a growing trend toward a departure from atheoretical work in EU–Turkey studies over the years, the discipline is still marked by a strong reliance on theoretical or conceptual approaches that are mostly preoccupied with the extent, drivers, and consequences of Turkey's partial integration with or detachment from EU norms. Indeed, the rise of conflictual dynamics in EU–Turkey relations has prompted the application of novel conceptual approaches such as

(external) differentiated integration or de-Europeanization. These concepts, however, do not conspicuously take into consideration the greater global and regional contexts in which EU–Turkey relations progressively evolve amid Turkey's waning accession prospects. With a view to augmenting its epistemic diversity in accordance with the emerging layers of bilateral relations, EU–Turkey studies should increasingly draw on the explanatory power of mainstream and unorthodox (IR) theories that are alert to the shifts in the global political order and their implications for the multilateral system. This would make the field epistemically more just.

Table 2 Number of Theoretical/Conceptual Approaches Employed in EU–Turkey Studies in Selected Periods

Theoretical/Conceptual Approach	1996–2004	2005–2012	2013–2020
Constructivism	2	9	7
De-Europeanization	0	0	7
Differentiated integration	0	3	5
Europeanization	0	28	21
Functionalism	0	1	2
Intergovernmentalism	2	1	2
Liberalism	0	2	1
Atheoretical	37	91	30
New institutionalism	0	9	7
Other	1	7	10
Rationalism	0	5	8
Rhetorical action	0	2	0

The distribution and expansion of the issue areas, which relate to the main research topics the respective articles essentially study with regard to the EU–Turkey relationship, follow a pattern akin to the state of theoretical/conceptual considerations in the discipline. As Table 3 shows, in the take-off era (1996–2004), scholarship was predominantly interested in a relatively narrow array of issue areas and, to a large extent, in studying EU–Turkey relations through the thematic lenses of 'democracy/human rights' and 'foreign/security policy'. The golden age of the discipline (2005–2012) coincided with the paradoxical co-existence of somewhat active yet open-ended accession negotiations on the one hand, and intensifying ambiguities over Turkey's 'Europeanness' (Aydın-Düzgit and Rumelili 2021) and the credibility of the EU's membership incentive (Turhan 2016) on the other. Such developments gave rise to the proliferation of issue areas in the discipline, with greater emphasis on research topics such as 'populism/Euroscepticism', 'identity', and 'elite preferences/public opinion'. In the stagnation era of EU–Turkey studies and of the bilateral relationship (2013–2020), the exploration of 'alternative modes of partnership' between the EU and Turkey, through the analytical spectacles of differentiated integration, started to come into fashion. On the one hand, our data indicate that the ebbs and flows in EU–Turkey relations that propel Turkey's fluctuating position along the centre–periphery axis promote a thematic proliferation and consequently an epistemic diversity in the discipline. At the same time, the absence or exceedingly limited presence of non-traditional, avant-garde research topics such as gender policy/equality (three articles),

higher education (two articles), employment policy (one article), or environmental policy (four articles) mirrors the epistemic injustices persevering at the theoretical level of analysis in EU–Turkey studies. While it can be argued that such finding is reinforced by our dataset derived from journals of political science, International Relations, and area studies, rather than journals that opearate in the domains of sociology, education, and history, we believe that limited visibility of such avant-garde research topics in mainstream journals is a strong indicator of epistemic injustice because they should cover every aspect of European politics, policy, and polity.

Table 3 Central Issue Areas in EU–Turkey Studies in Selected Periods

Issue Area	1996–2004	2005–2012	2013–2020
Alternative modes of partnership	0	1	5
Civil society	0	6	7
Civil-military relations	0	7	0
Corruption	0	2	2
Democracy/human rights	12	12	12
Economy	4	8	3
Elite preferences/public opinion	5	32	14
Energy/environmental policy	0	3	6
EU enlargement policy	5	11	8
Foreign/security policy	9	27	11
Gender policy/equality	0	1	2
Identity	4	14	5
Migration	1	8	10
Other	0	17	10
Overall domestic transformation	0	3	4
Populism/euroskepticism	2	6	1

CONCLUSION

The multi-layered, decades-long, and intricate relations between the EU and Turkey brought about a rich and growing body of literature on the relationship such that we can contentedly express the presence of 'EU–Turkey studies' as a boutique sub-discipline of EU studies. We systematically mapped the evolution of EU–Turkey studies over 25 years in terms of numerous, mutually reinforcing key indicators of epistemic diversity to disclose the extent of epistemic justice in the discipline.

Our analysis uncovers two key characteristics of EU–Turkey studies. First, the transformation of the discipline has been contingent on the ebbs and flows and critical developments in EU–Turkey relations. The different eras of the discipline – the initial take-off era (1996–2004), the boom era (2005–2012), and the stagnation era (2013–2020) – all feature distinctive trends and traits regarding scholarly output, interest of European/non-Turkish academics in publishing on EU–Turkey relations, and

theoretical/conceptual/thematic foci of the articles. Our data demonstrate a recent trend of significant relevance to the future of the scholarly community: the period 2013–2020, which featured increasing conflictual dynamics in bilateral relations, resulted in diminishing scholarly commitment to studying EU–Turkey relations. As Turkey has moved closer to the periphery along the centre–periphery axis set by the European integration process, EU–Turkey studies has started to suffer from an output-related statis, especially from 2017 onwards.

Second, EU–Turkey studies accommodates a fairly limited degree of epistemic diversity compared with the multilayered universe of EU–Turkey relations. Our data demonstrate that most of the authorship is based in Turkish institutions, with the contribution of non-Turkish scholars having shrunk drastically throughout the stagnation era of the discipline. While this can be interpreted as an opportunity to recognise and utilise local perspectives and experiences in EU–Turkey studies, limited scholarly interest in EU–Turkey relations in Europe pushes the discipline to the periphery and away from EU studies. It also causes an unbalanced authorship configuration in this (sub-)discipline studying 'bilateral' relations, which weakens epistemic diversity.

Collaborative spirit is another important indicator of epistemic diversity. Yet, our research synthesis indicates that co-authorship is yet to become a modus operandi in the discipline. Most of the work remains single authored. Co-authorships demonstrate a clear centre–periphery divide, with co-authorship between primarily Turkish scholars and Western/European academics having taken place in only around 26 per cent of all co-authored articles. Segregated networks that impede cooperation with out-group members clearly prevents the scholarly community from adding different perspectives, ideas, and values to the melting pot.

The central, common characteristics of the top-producing outlets in EU–Turkey studies in our sample also unveil the resilient, peripheral traits of the discipline. In all three eras of EU–Turkey studies, articles on EU–Turkey relations have been predominantly published in journals with a specific regional foci and retaining a focus on EU-periphery relations and on the wider neighbourhood. That EU–Turkey relations could not find a prominent place in specialist, flagship journals principally dedicated to studying the EU and European politics obstructs a symmetric distribution of knowledge production on EU–Turkey relations along the centre–periphery axis, thereby generating epistemic injustices.

Conceptual/theoretical toolkits and issue areas, explored as the units of analysis in the sampled articles, function as the key drivers that push the discipline closer to EU studies while at the same time placing limits on the progression of epistemic diversity. Theoretical/conceptual explorations of EU–Turkey relations mostly draw on grand theories or established/up-and-coming conceptual approaches such as (de-)Europeanization and the reflectivist variant of constructivism. Conceptualizing EU–Turkey relations predominantly through Eurocentric lenses impedes homegrown theorising and decreases the epistemic diversity of the discipline, resulting in epistemic marginalisation of the communities who are potentially influenced by EU–Turkey relations but whose voices are not heard. Whilst the discipline has become more diverse in its exploration of issue areas since its launch, we notice the absent or limited focus on non-traditional, avant-garde research topics such as gender policy/equality, higher education, employment, and environmental policy, to name a few.

Our findings indicate a puzzling state in EU–Turkey studies. Both the peripheral and central dynamics featured in the discipline mostly restrict the proliferation of epistemic diversity. Likewise, notwithstanding Turkey's waning accession prospects, the scholarly community is inclined to study EU–Turkey relations still through the analytical or thematic lens of (dis)integration. Additionally, the profound gender balance in the discipline and the growing visibility of women's authorship, even in the stagnation era of EU–Turkey studies, have yet to promote the inclusion of non-mainstream topics in the research agenda.

To embrace epistemic justice, EU–Turkey studies should place greater emphasis on the explanatory power of mainstream and unorthodox (IR) theories that bear the potential to scrutinise the relationship within the multilateral system and the global political order in which EU–Turkey relations progressively take place, as well as on unconventional, avant-garde research topics (see e.g., Aybars et al. 2019; Süleymanoğlu-Kürüm and Cin 2021). For instance, in recent years, debates on the European Green Deal and Turkey's engagement with it became viral in policy-oriented research. Capturing this policy-debate in the academic literature would pave the way for incorporating ecological issues into the discipline and increase epistemic justice as such.

Given that research and teaching are mingled together in the global knowledge society it is of utmost importance to promote epistemic diversity and justice in EU–Turkey studies with a view to disseminating an across-the-board knowledge of EU–Turkey relations to higher education students, who will make up the next generation of professionals, decision-makers, and scholars. The enduring impasse in Turkey's EU accession negotiations does not undermine the scholarly relevance of EU–Turkey relations, driven as it is by a dense network of interdependencies. EU–Turkey studies is here to stay and the promotion of epistemic diversity would bring the discipline closer to the realities in which EU–Turkey relations are evolving.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Following existing research syntheses and bibliometric analyses (e.g., Bunea and Baumgartner 2014; Maliniak et al. 2013) we did not code the nationality of the authors but their institutional affiliations. Another motivation for the coding of the institutional affiliation has been the fact that epistemic (in)justice and decolonizing knowledge studies habitually refer to geographical location and the institutional context as key drivers of knowledge production processes and characteristics (e.g., Kulpa et al. 2016).

[2] It is important to note that, following the literature on bibliometric methodology, we have taken Western institutional affiliation as an illustration of Eurocentric taught, but not as its only indicator. We have also looked at the theoretical approaches adopted by the author(s) as revealed in the next section. Yet, the bulk of research on epistemic diversity and plurality as well as decolonizing knowledge also analyzes the citation patterns of the authors in a given discipline, which is not covered in this manuscript and can be subject of future research.

[3] Following Bunea and Baumgartner (2014), we address here only the first author's affiliated institution for simplicity and feasibility reasons.

[4] Female authorship represents an article written by at least one female scholar, while male authorship refers to an article authored by at least one male academic.

[5] Our coding does not specifically include the labelling of theories as Eurocentric or not. At the same time, the dominance of the grand, conventional theories of European integration in the theoretical/conceptual debates in EU–Turkey studies assuredly pinpoints the Eurocentric features in the discipline. Theories of European integration are habitually shaped by Eurocentric generalizations as these theories have been developed to understand EU-style institutionalization and have been driven by "a concern to explain deviations from the 'standard' European case" (Söderbaum 2013: 2).

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Appendix

Representative Sample of the Literature on EU–Turkey Relations 1996–2020

Rank (according to Journal IF, December 2020)	Full Journal Title	Number of Articles
1	Journal of European Public Policy	2
2	JCMS-Journal of Common Market Studies	16
3	West European Politics	3
4	South European Society and Politics	42
5	Cooperation and Conflict	3
6	European Union Politics	4
7	Democratization	1
8	Contemporary Security Policy	1
9	Mediterranean Politics	18
10	Eurasian Geography and Economics	5
11	German Politics	1
12	Europe-Asia Studies	2
13	Comparative European Politics	10
14	European Security	1
15	Asia Europe Journal	1
16	European Political Science	1
17	Turkish Studies	67
18	Southeast European and Black Sea Studies	27
19	Journal of European Integration	9
20	East European Politics and Societies	1
21	Journal of Contemporary European Studies	19
22	Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies	35
23	Middle Eastern Studies	8
24	European Review	6
25	Uluslararasi Iliskiler-International Relations	15
26	Bilig	2