



**Conference Program**  
**“Constitutional Politics in Turkey”**  
**Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin & Middle East Technical University**  
**8-10 October, 2013**

The international conference is organized in the framework of an interdisciplinary research project on the Constitutional Courts of Turkey and Germany, which is carried out by a bilateral Turkish-German research team based in Ankara and Berlin. Project and Conference are funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF), and the Turkish Science Foundation (TÜBİTAK). The presentations and discussions will offer the possibility to examine the history and present-day situation of constitutional politics in Turkey among a group of international experts and young academics.

**Tuesday, 8<sup>th</sup> of October: Graduate Workshop**  
**HU Main-Building · Unter den Linden 6 · Room 2103**

**14.00-15.30**      **Panel I: The Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey**

*Chairs: Silvia von Steinsdorff, Ayça Ergun Özbolat*

*Melike Arslan (Boğaziçi University)*

*“The Intellectuals' Role in the Making of the 1961 Constitution of Turkey”*

*Mehmet Utku Öztürk (Galatasaray University)*

*“The Idea of Limited Government during the Constitution-making Process of 1961 Constitution”*

*Göksu Koç (HU Berlin/METU)*

*“Turkey's Constitution-making Process: An Analysis of Turkey's Transformation”*

Coffee break

**16.00-17.30**      **Panel II: Constitutional Crisis and Constitution-Drafting**

*Chairs: Andrew Arato, Felix Petersen*

*Sinem Ayanoğlu (University of Exeter)*

*“Role of the Media during the New Constitutional Process in the light of 12 September 2010 Referendum”*

*Elif Gözler (University of Exeter); Adil Çamur (Dokuz Eylül University)*

*“An Analysis of Public Consultation Processes of the New Constitution and the Participation of Ethnic and Religious Communities”*

*Kahraman Solmaz (TU Darmstadt)*

*“Constitutional Battles in Turkey”*

Coffee break

**18.00-19.30**      **Panel III: A Powerful Actor: The Turkish Constitutional Court**

*Chairs: Ece Göztepe Çelebi, Anna Fruhstorfer*

*Rosa Öktem (HU Berlin and Parliament Lower-Saxony)*

*“The European Convention of Human Rights in Judgments of the TCC”*

*Gülce Tarhan Çelebi (University of Oregon)*

*“Selective Judicial Activism in Turkey and Israel”*

*Ali Açar (EUI Florence and Çankaya University)*

*“Between Legality and Legitimacy: The Case of Judicial Review of Constitutional Amendments in Turkey”*

20.00

Dinner

**Wednesday, 9<sup>th</sup> of October: International Conference**  
Humboldt Graduate School (HGS) · Luisenstraße 56 · Festsaal

- 9.30 Welcome
- 10.00-12.00 Panel I: Function and Role of the Turkish Constitutional Court**  
*Chair: Silvia von Steinsdorff (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)*
- Aslı Ü. Bâli (UCLA)*  
"Judicial Independence and Judicial Accountability: The Role of the Turkish Constitutional Court in Democratic Consolidation"
- Ozan Ergül (TOBB University)*  
"The Role of the Constitutional Court in Turkish Constitutional Politics"
- Bertil Emrah Oder (Koç University)*  
"Assessing the Turkish Constitutional Court: Methodology, Quietism and Activism"
- Ayşe Ayata and Ayça Ergun Özbolat (METU)*  
"Changing Political Perceptions and Expectations on the Turkish Constitutional Court"
- Lunch break
- 14.00-16.00 Panel II: Constitutional Reform Process in Turkey**  
*Chair: Ece Göztepe Çelebi (Bilkent University)*
- Andrew Arato (N SSR)*  
"Theses on Constitution-Making in Turkey: New versus Old Constitutionalism"
- Ömer Faruk Gençkaya (Marmara University)*  
"Politics of Constitution-Making in Turkey: the post-1987 Parliamentary Reforms and their Consequences"
- Demirhan Burak Çelik (Galatasaray University)*  
"Limiting the Government or the Judiciary? Attitudes of the Turkish Political Parties in the Constitution-Making Process"
- Murat Sevinç (Ankara University)*  
"Can the TGNA (TBMM) Draft a *New Constitution*?"
- Coffee break
- 16.30-18.30 Panel III: Jurisdiction, Attitudes, and Consequences of Turkish Constitutional Court Activity**  
*Chair: Roland Lhotta (HSU Hamburg)*
- Emir Kaya (Rapporteur at the TCC)*  
"The Effect of Text vs. Context on the Jurisdiction of the Turkish Constitutional Court"
- Felix Petersen (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)*  
"Guardian of the Constitution or Preserver of Hegemonic Interests: TCC Jurisdiction and Construction of Social Reality"
- Fethi Açıkel (Ankara University)*  
"Turkey's Constitutional Politics at a Crossroads: Between Personalization and Democratization"
- 20.00 Dinner

**Thursday, 10<sup>th</sup> of October: International Conference**  
Humboldt Graduate School (HGS) · Luisenstraße 56 · Festsaal

**9.30-11.30 Panel IV: The Turkish Constitutional Court in Comparative Perspective**

*Chair: N.N.*

*Şeyda Emek* (Administrative Law Judge and former scientific assistant at BVerfG)  
“The Turkish and the German Constitutional Courts – An Analysis from a Practitioner's View”

*Ece Göztepe Çelebi* (Bilkent University)  
“Rights based or State protecting Court? An Attempt against the Myth on the Turkish Constitutional Court”

*Silvia von Steinsdorff* (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)  
“Constitutional Courts’ Headscarf Decisions in Turkey, Germany and France: Similar Problems, Diverging Arguments”

Coffee break

**12.00-13.00 Concluding Discussion**

13.30 Lunch

15.00 End of Conference