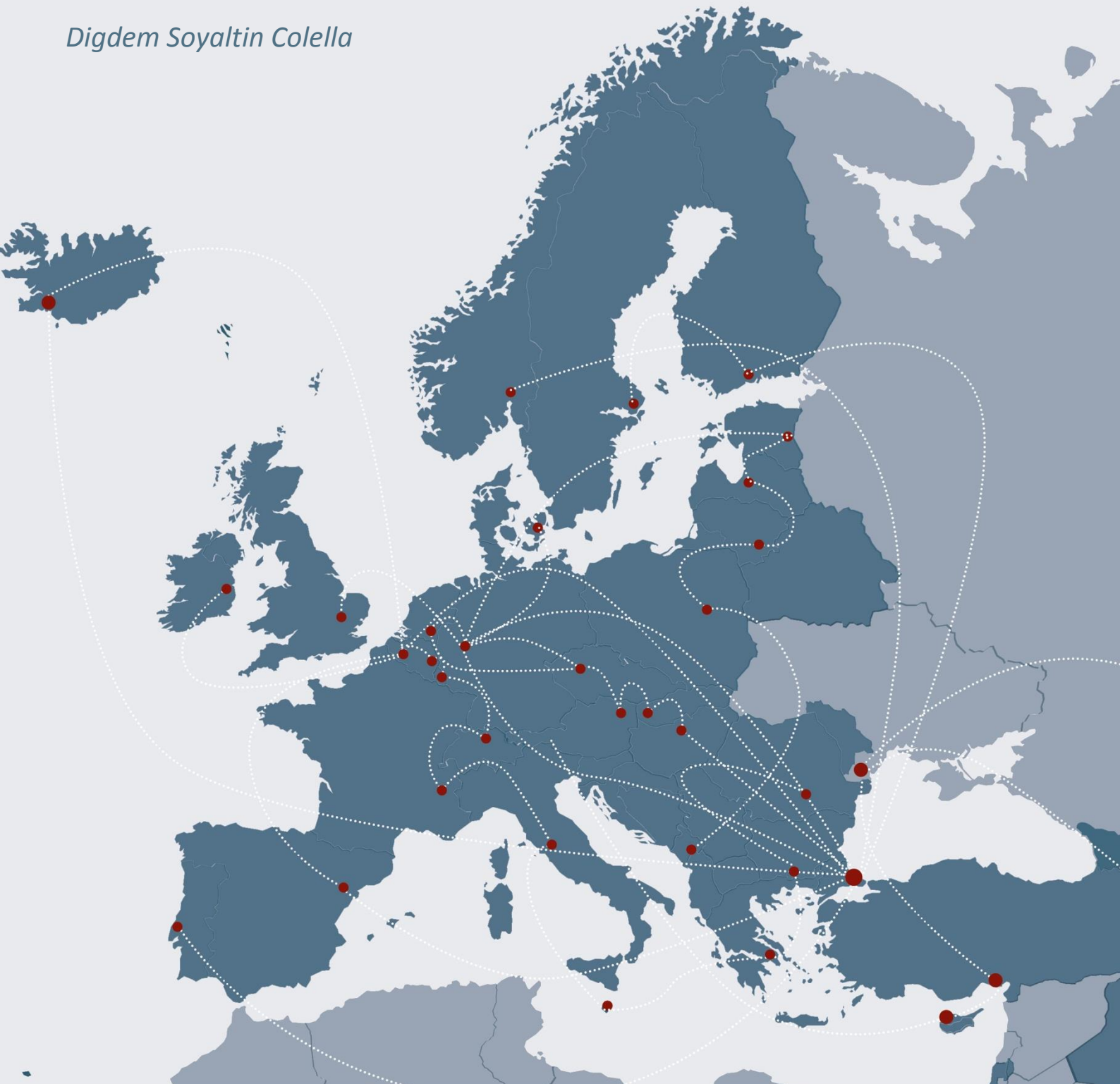
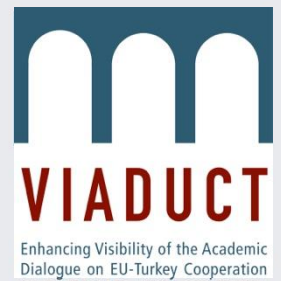


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# VIADUCT Teaching Paper

## EU Good Governance Promotion in Turkey

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## ABSTRACT

The paper introduces the curriculum, methods and workplan of a graduate course titled “EU Good Governance Promotion in Turkey”, taught by the author during the Spring semester of 2019-2020 at Altınbaş University in Istanbul, Turkey. It includes instructions for a simulation game on the European Council. The course endows students with knowledge on EU anti-corruption strategies whilst providing analytical tools to understand good governance from a policy perspective and helps contextualize EU strategies and policies within the anti-corruption research. By doing so, the course aims to contribute to the political science curricula at Turkish universities which remain rather weak when it comes to the EU-related issues of governance.

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## 1. Introduction

This paper aims to present the curricula, methods and workplan and specific activities of a course titled EU Good Governance Promotion in Turkey. The course is planned to be organized under my Jean Monnet Module EU Good Governance Promotion Inside and Beyond its Borders (EUGOGOV) which is funded by the European Commission (2018-2021). The main objective of the module is to expand and disseminate knowledge on theories, mechanisms and outcomes of EU's policies to promote good governance inside and beyond its border. Taking Turkey as an empirical case, this course deals with how, under which conditions and to what extent EU good governance promotion is applied Turkey.

Promoting good governance in public and private realms and in various policy sectors has become a way for the EU to fight against corruption in wider Europe (Börzel and van Hüllen, 2015; Börzel, Pamuk and Stahn, 2008; Mungiu-Pippidi and Warkotsch, 2017). The notion of 'good governance' in the EU context first became prominent through the release of the Commission's White Paper in 2001 on 'European Governance' in which it lists several principles underpinning good governance, such as openness and transparency, accountability, participation and effectiveness. The promotion of good governance has become an essential component of EU's enlargement policy especially after Eastern enlargement (Schimmelfennig and Sedelmeier, 2004). The poor governance quality and widespread corruption in Eastern European countries urged the EU to enlist more concrete principles for improving the anti-corruption structure in acceding and candidate countries (Szarek-Mason, 2010; Schmidt-Pfister and Moroff, 2012; Vachudova, 2009). Similarly, the EU has defined support for good governance as the main objective of its development policy towards African, Caribbean and Pacific countries where corruption is widespread (Hackenesch, 2016).

As a candidate country, Turkey is also subject to conditions of the EU's anti-corruption policy. Given the high level of corruption and increasing EU pressure for adaptation, incumbent authorities introduced a rather impressive amount of reforms to fight corruption (Adaman, 2011, Ömürgonulsen and Doig, 2012; Ulusoy, 2014). Apart from exerting pressure on the government through its political conditionality, the EU provided a substantial amount of financial and technical assistance to Turkey to improve the capacities of anti-corruption institutions (Soyaltin, 2017). Yet, corruption still largely prevails in Turkey and pose a serious challenge to country's EU accession process (Soyaltin, 2017a). In addition, research and teaching on corruption is a widely ignored field of study in Turkey. Therefore, an introduction of the EU perspective to fight against corruption is particularly important for Turkish universities, as well as the general public. A poor understanding of what corruption is and how to eliminate a poor governance environment maintains greater incentives and more opportunities for corruption in every area of life. This also increases the likelihood of public tolerance for corruption in society. Therefore, a comprehensive understanding and awareness on corruption and good governance are needed if Turkey wants to internalize the good governance principles of the EU. As a result, this course aims to fill this gap and endow students with the knowledge about EU anti-corruption strategies whilst providing analytical tools to understand good governance from a policy perspective and helping contextualize EU strategies and policies within the anti-corruption research.

A second objective of the course is to encourage students to focus on specific policy areas such as environment, transport, trade, energy and migration to examine how good governance principles would be included in the policy-making processes of these sectors. Such policy-specific research is lacking to a great extent in Turkey since students tend to focus on democracy, security and foreign policy within the context of EU studies. Last but not least, the course aims to train students about the EU anti-corruption policies and strategies and their impact on promoting governance quality in various policy sectors. Endowing the students with different perspectives and in-depth knowledge on these issues, the course will guide the next generation of EU scholars and potential practitioners in the policy sectors that are covered throughout the module.

Aimed at fostering the visibility and understanding of the EU, its values and its activities in the area of go “EU studies” has lost its visibility in Turkey. With the recent shift in Turkish foreign policy away from its essentially Western-oriented vocation to the Middle East and North Africa, the objective of EU integration is not at the top of Turkey’s foreign policy agenda. By adopting a policy-based approach this course seeks to help students to think about different options of cooperation (differentiated integration) beyond the big question of membership (cf. Saatçioğlu, 2019; Schimmelfennig et.al., 2015). As shown in the asylum policy, the EU can still promote good governance through enlargement but without membership in Turkey (Soyaltin-Colella, 2020).

The next part presents the teaching curriculum of the course. Following the governance turn in EU studies, the course endows students with new perspectives on comparative politics in general, and the theory of the state in particular.

## 2. Updating Teaching Curricula

At Turkish universities, the EU related issues are mostly covered by the courses offered by Departments of International Relations. The students are already familiar with several EU related research such as EU institutions and policy making, EU economic and fiscal policies, EU foreign and security policies, and EU enlargement/accession policy and democratization. Yet, there is no course that specifically addresses the EU with a focus on governance. The political science curricula at Turkish universities also remain rather weak when it comes to the EU-related issues of governance. The current courses offered at the departments of political science in Turkey largely follow the traditional and old-dated curricula of the Faculty of Political Science at Ankara University, which used to educate public officials for Turkish bureaucracy.

The research on governance and the EU has become a veritable growth industry within the discipline of political science and generated a wide literature, which has left its firm imprint in comparative politics in general, and the theory of the state in particular (Kohler-Koch and Rittberger, 2006). The governance focus in European research explores the patterns, instruments and conditions of policy formulation and implementation and the diversity of actor constellations. It also reflects the different aspects of domestic transformation at the national level and its likely impact on governance capacity and democracy.



Governance is defined as institutionalized modes of coordination through which collectively binding decisions are adopted and implemented (Mayntz and Scharpf, 1995). It moves beyond the hierarchical coordination of public and private actors and encompasses non-hierarchical coordination and steering through public actors only as well as private self-regulation. In this context, good governance is closely associated with the management and performance of the administration and the regulative framework of the state. Its main elements are defined as efficiency and effectiveness, predictability, transparency, the level of corruption, and sound financial management (World Bank, 1989, 1992, 1994). More recent studies have adopted a broader understanding of good governance that also includes a normative dimension. Good governance, in this perspective, entails respect for human rights and democracy (Börzel and Hackenesch, 2013; Börzel and van Hüllen, 2015; Mungiu-Pippidi, 2015).

The literature also defined theoretical mechanisms of EU's good governance promotion. The course presents major theoretical approaches with regard to the theories and mechanisms of EU good governance promotion inside and beyond its borders: i) European integration via harmonization, ii) External Europeanization via conditionality, iii) functional cooperation via European neighbourhood policy, and iv) EU aid via development policy.

Yet, the course specifically focuses on the channels and the content of the EU good governance promotion in order to develop an innovative way to address EU-Turkey relations. The EU can promote different strands of good governance replacing stronger emphasis on either input or output-related reform. Input related reforms are equated with the wider political concept of good governance whereas output focusing on the administrative core of good governance (Scharpf, 1999).

The EU uses different channels to promote governance. It either uses an intergovernmental channel and targets state actors or it relies on a transnational channel targeting non-state actors. The combination of two alternative channels (intergovernmental/transnational) with the distinction between input and output governance, generates two-by-two matrix that differentiates between four ideal-type approaches of good governance promotion available to the EU (Börzel, Pamuk and Stahn, 2008).

**Table 1.** Four approaches of external good governance promotion

	Output legitimacy	Input legitimacy
Intergovernmental	Effective government	Democratic government
Transnational	Effective governance	Democratic governance

Source: Börzel et al (2008).

The effective government addresses the intergovernmental channel and aims to promote the administrative core of good governance. Effective governance also places emphasis on improving the administrative core of good governance but includes non-state actors in the implementation process or provides capacity building to non-state organizations to encourage their participation in decision making. The democratic government again relies on the intergovernmental channel but promotes input-oriented objectives by targeting the state. Democratic governance combines the transnational channel

with input-oriented reform objectives and aims to empower non-state actors in making public policies and to improve the democratic quality of decision-making processes.

These four methods present the richness of the EU's toolbox when it comes to promoting good governance in third countries. When democratic channels are not working, the EU can still promote reforms in public administration to better structure policy sectors. The sector-specific functional co-operation can indirectly promote democracy and plant the seeds of input related reforms (Lavenex et al., 2015). In case states do not act cooperative and the reform process is stalled, the EU can target non-state actors and enable them to urge their domestic governments for further democratic reforms. Designing the relations between the EU and the target country in this way can trigger a fruitful discussion with regard to EU-Turkey relations and provides a wider perspective than the membership.

Combining insights from this strand of literature and Europeanization, this course with its up-to-date course readings enables students of political science to catch up with new research areas and recent literature in EU research, which are largely covered in political science courses offered at the Western European Universities. Moreover, through different methods and teaching activities, the students are given the opportunity to reflect their ideas on EU-Turkey relations.

### 3. Methods and Teaching Activities

The course benefits from teaching and research materials from several fields in social sciences including political science, comparative politics, sociology, International Relations, and European Studies. The flipped classroom constitutes the method delivery for the course, moving the passive elements of learning out of the classroom and providing more space for interactive, hands-on learning. Blending traditional lectures with more student-centered learning strategies, a flipped classroom enables students to use digital technologies, to get engaged with their peers in discussions, presentations and other forms of group activities. In this way, the course aims to promote critical and analytical thinking, which is not commonly nurtured throughout the education system in Turkey.

#### *3.1 Preparatory Stage*

For the course, students get ready through short videos and pre-class readings outside of the classroom. After short lecturing in the class, students are given chances to make presentations, work in groups and engage in interactive dialogue with their peers and the lecturer. Before the midterm, the students write a short essay and submit it through the course blog. In the following week, they comment on each other's' review essays in the classroom. In this way, students get the opportunity to reflect their ideas and learn to structure their arguments in a constructive way. Instead of a midterm, students will produce posters on a course related issue of their interests and present them to their peers. The posters produced by each group are presented to other students at the school. As visual communication tools, the posters serve as a starting point for in-depth conversations and discussions. As students have limited space to get their message across, it is important to ask themselves what they really want someone to take away from looking at their poster. This fosters their ability to talk in front of others, think in an analytical way and enables them to share their ideas on good governance related issues in EU-Turkey

relations with their peers.

In between the midterm and the final exam, the instructor provides detailed information on the EU institutions, decision making procedures and policy making in the EU. Students also learn on the history of the EU-Turkey relations and engage in the contemporary debates in the EU's enlargement policy. In the final week of the course, a simulation game is implemented focusing on EU-Turkey relations in the framework of a special session of the European Council. The European Council is a summit of the 27 EU Member States and presided by the President of the European Council, with active roles of the Presidents of the European Commission and the European Parliament, as well as the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The European Council does not develop actual policies, but instead discusses urgent issues and negotiates the EU's position on such matters. Based on the four approaches of EU good governance promotion, the students are given instructions beforehand (3 weeks before the simulation game) to let them elaborate on the respective positions of the various Member States and actors involved. The simulation requires preparatory research (individual and as a team when necessary).

### *3.2 Simulation Game*

The simulation game is played in the framework of one four-hour class session (2+2). The simulation game starts with each representative reading their country's statement on the topic. One assigned country proposes a common EU position for deliberation. Some members might stand and explain their support for the proposal while some members might stand and explain their opposition to the proposal. These members might propose amendments to the common position. Afterwards, the floor is opened to the informal negotiations. Members should leave their seats and informally discuss the issue with their allies and opponents. Members should re-convene to vote on the common proposal. During the game, the instructor intervenes with several injectors (such as last-minute news shared on Turkish presidency's Twitter account, an explosion of a bomb in Syria leading to a new wave of refugees, a letter from a women rights NGO in Turkey asking for cooperation, a demand from Turkish Ombudsman to visit Brussels, etc.) As a final exam, the students write an essay on the simulation, reflecting on each country's positions and discussing opportunities and challenges of the common proposal for the EU-Turkey relations. Through role-playing, students explore the interactions which occur within and between different states and EU Institutions and develop a better understanding of how real-life politics could look like. They gain formal knowledge of the processes and techniques of negotiation and decision-making in the EU and learn how informal factors such as time pressure, coffee break chats, lunch discussions, and personalities can affect outcomes. They also develop important skills, including research, team/independent work, critical thinking, speaking and writing, and negotiation and debate (Baroncelli et al., 2014; Dyke, 2000).

### *3.3 Blog*

For this course, a blog is opened and managed by the course instructor. Yet, students are given some autonomy to design and use the blog. The blog includes basic weekly information about the course and summer seminars. The lecture notes (including the visuals, videos used, reading materials, PowerPoint presentations) are distributed to students through this blog. Only students who are enrolled by the



instructor have access to these materials. The aim of the blog is to engage students to submit their writing assignments (position papers and review essays) in the form of blog posts. In this way, students have the opportunity to post comments on each other's posting and provide feedback to each other. As a result, the blog works as a digital interactive platform to promote open dialogue and encourage community building in which both the bloggers and commenters can exchange their opinions, ideas, and attitudes.

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