

# Abstracts

*Burak Çopur / Kemal Bozay*

## **“The Man has Won” – An Analysis of the Turkish Parliamentary and Presidential Elections of 2023**

Once again, the opposition has lost the elections in Turkey. Erdoğan remains president and determines the political fate of the country for another five years. He was able to skillfully distract voters from Turkey's political and economic problems. At the same time, he put pressure on his challenger Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu by emphasizing ideological and security issues. He repeatedly accused him of complicity with the PKK. This smear campaign worked and was accepted by many voters. After the electoral defeat, the opposition is still shocked and seems currently incapable of acting. Parts of Turkish civil society are also frustrated and resigned that the change of power has not succeeded after 20 years of Erdoğan's autocracy. Now the question remains whether the opposition will recover from this important election defeat.

*Jens Bastian*

## **A Fateful Election Is not yet a Regime Change – Turkey's Economic Policy Challenges**

After two decades in office, first as prime minister and subsequently as president, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan secured an unprecedented third term at the helm of Turkey. The socio-economic challenges which the country faces had given the opposition parties a real chance at victory. But they were not decisive at the ballot box. The economic disaffection among many citizens towards Erdoğan did not guarantee success for the opposition alliance against the incumbent. The outcome of the presidential elections was shaped by non-economic issues. The cost of living crisis, currency depreciation and how the government will manage the reconstruction of housing and infrastructure after the devastating 6 February 2023 earthquake present major policy challenges for Erdoğan after his electoral victory.

*Kerem Öktem*

## **Limits of Autocratisation or Autocratisation beyond Limits? – Turkey and the May 2023 Elections**

Turkey under the AKP has become a paragon of autocratisation and competitive authoritarianism. However, as of yet, no consolidated autocracy has emerged. This study explores the factors that have obstructed Turkey's autocratisation process by examining the country's democratic legacy, the power of ideologically diverse political parties and the coordi-

nation between them, the perseverance of civil society, and instances of noncompliance within the state apparatus. This study also takes into account the impact of recent crises: The exacerbating economic crisis and the regime's botched response to the earthquake of 6 February 2023 laid bare the dysfunctionality of Hyper-Presidentialism, while opposition municipalities succeeded in demonstrating a credible alternative to the AKP's neoliberal authoritarianism. As the elections of May 2023 show, however, these factors have not been sufficient for a transfer of power. The future of politics in Turkey will depend on the opposition's perseverance and the regime's ability to deepen autocratic governance.

*Ioannis N. Grigoriadis*

## **Greek-Turkish Relations since 2019 – Between Turbulence and Détente**

Greek-Turkish relations have been one of the most sensitive spots of NATO's internal cohesion throughout the second half of the twentieth century. The emergence of the Cyprus problem threatened to undermine NATO's south-eastern flank and had a negative spill over effect on Greek-Turkish disputes. Following almost twenty years of rapprochement and détente, Greek-Turkish relations entered a turbulent phase in late 2019. This article sheds light on some key factors that contributed to the escalation since 2019, such as energy developments in the Eastern Mediterranean, migration, Turkey's growing regional ambitions, sovereignty claims and declining relations with the United States and the European Union. It also evaluates the reasons for the recent détente as well as its sustainability in the aftermath of the May 2023 elections in both Greece and Turkey.

*Nenad Stefanov*

## **On Plexiglas, 9-Seaters and Border Fences – Reflections on the Constellation of Borders and Mobility in Bulgaria in the Context of the Schengen Discussion**

Even after almost sixteen years of membership in the EU, Bulgaria is still not part of the Schengen area. The governments of the Netherlands and Austria in particular continue to have reservations about Bulgaria's "border regime" at its part of the EU's external borders. Both states voted against Bulgaria's – and also Romania's – admission to the „Schengen area“. But what does „Schengen“ stand for? What experiences of the people in Bulgaria with regard to mobility within the EU are being conveyed in the debate about Schengen? In order to assess this, it is necessary to look back at the last three decades since the beginning of the social and political transformation. Here with the focus on the changing constellations of mobility and borders. This is done in three small picture fragments each, in order to illustrate, to a certain extent, the multidimensionality of experiences and ideas of movement and its borders.

*Jana Stöxen*

## **Parcels, Pills, and Pufuleți – Remittances as a Transnational Strategy of Migration between the Republic of Moldova and Germany**

Seasonal fruit, honey, tea, and even meat arrive from Moldova, while the parcels from Germany contain certain foodstuffs, clothes, medicine, and technical equipment. This exchange constructs reciprocal care relationships between a (grand-)mother in a small Moldovan-Transnistrian village and her daughter and granddaughter in a central German city. One of the ways they shape their relationship is through irregularly sent parcels, transported by minibuses.

Using this empirical frame, I will explore the practices of remitting, the often informal movement of goods and the emotions involved, in terms of infrastructures and strategies, practices of reciprocal care, and the making of significance. I will show how remittances belong to a set of transnational strategies that bridge both physical and generational distance, and foster migrants' maintenance of contact with the country of origin.

Ultimately, this example can serve as a starting point for a discussion on the impact of remittances on joint development discourses, enabled by the underlying process logics of participation through care in transnational family contexts.

*Jutta Šehić*

## **Economic Policy Framework and Entrepreneurship of Emigrants and Returnees in Their Country of Origin – The Case of Bosnia and Herzegovina**

Return migration influences the economic development of the country of origin in many ways. By establishing firms in their country of origin, emigrants and returnees can contribute to this development by creating employment or transferring knowledge acquired abroad. At the same time, these entrepreneurs face numerous obstacles. This analysis explores how emigrants and returnees who are entrepreneurs in their country of origin perceive the economic policy framework there. It is based on a survey of 68 entrepreneurs conducted by the author in 2018 in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). They became entrepreneurs in their country of origin after spending time abroad. The results offer an overview on how they perceive the domestic economic policy framework. Their perception is compared to other groups of entrepreneurs in BiH. Implications for the economic, political, and legal framework as well as for (potential) emigrant and returnee entrepreneurs ensue.

*Christian Voß*

## **Slovenian-Serbian Mixing and Unmixing since the End of Yugoslavia – The Four Bestseller Novels by Goran Vojnović (2008–2021)**

The Slovenian author Goran Vojnović has written four novels where he tells the story of mixed-nationality marriages and families and how they cope with nationalist exclusion and disillusionment since the end of Yugoslavia. By focusing on youth culture among Yugoslav immigrants from the southern republics (so-called Čefurji) in Ljubljana's fringe area Fužine, Vojnović is able to project the hetero-stereotypizations between the "prosperous

and disciplined West” and the “poor and uncivilized Balkans” within the former Yugoslavia, even within one country and one city. The self-ascription of the youth gang as Čefurji is not ethnic (and includes Serbs as well as Muslims from Bosnia), but is a social category based on common experiences of discrimination. The topic of hybrid post-Yugoslav identities is further developed in the novels “Yugoslavia, my Fatherland” and “The Fig Tree”, where Vojnović in a trans-local opening tells the family story of three generations in Slovenia, Bosnia and Serbia. The legacy of Yugoslav trans-republican mobility and multiculturalism is described without nostalgia as social practice within the families.