

MURCIR Bulletin is the bi-annual newsletter of Marmara University Research Center for International Relations.

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Dear Friends,

In the sixth issue of MURCIR's newsletter we are happy to present to you the videos of the international conference "Alternative Approaches to International Relations: Turkey and Beyond" that was held at Marmara University Rectorate Conference Hall in Istanbul on November 24-25, 2011.

Along with news, as usual, about MURCIR's other activities, academic contributions of the members of Department of Political Science and International Relations of Marmara University you will also find notes of observation on the past Russian Duma, Kazakhstan Early Parliamentary and Tunisian Constituent Assembly Elections penned by some of our colleagues.

On the other hand, we regret to bring to your attention the arrest of Prof. Dr. Büşra Ersanlı, a member of our Advisory Board and former head of Department of Political Science and International Relations, on 28th October, 2011. She is charged under the Anti-Terror Law in Turkey with alleged links to the PKK on the grounds of her membership in BDP (Peace and Democracy Party). We are deeply concerned and dismayed by the fact that having dedicated herself to denounce any act and rhetoric of violence she has been treated as a culprit of one.



Prof. Ersanlı has been known for her commitment to peace and democracy, egalitarianism, human rights and elimination of gender problems in Turkey. She has not only become renowned in Turkey and in the international community of scholars for having produced invaluable work on Turkey, the Balkans and Eurasia, but also stands out as a responsible citizen who has tried to make a contribution to endorsement of democratic rights, the development of justice and peace, and in particular to a peaceful political solution to the Kurdish problem. That a scholar who is

known for her efforts to improve social peace in Turkey and contribute to discussions on constitutional reform has been subjected to accusations without any substantial evidence harms the freedom of conscience and speech and raises doubts about the rule of law.

There have been many national and international campaigns to protest her arrest on unfounded accusations and alert the public authorities in Turkey to such violation of human rights, freedom of expression and association. The website, <http://www.busraersanli.com>, contains detailed information about the campaigns, press coverage and commentary notes as well as her academic and civic contributions.

We hope that the charges against her will be dropped and she will be released soon to join the community of academics and researchers in freedom.

Günay Göksu Özdoğan
MURCIR Director

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

“ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: TURKEY AND BEYOND” (Nov. 24-25, 2011)

MURCIR hosted an international conference on “Alternative Approaches to International Relations: Turkey and Beyond” at Marmara University Rectorate Conference Hall in Sultanahmet, Istanbul on November 24-25, 2011. The two-day conference was attended by 16 panelists and over 100 distinguished guests. MURCIR conference brought together scholars who implement various non-state centric perspectives in their analysis of foreign policy and international relations. The conference was organized around four themes -transnational actors, new security issues, Turkish foreign policy and non-traditional diplomacy.

The conference was inaugurated by Prof. Hamza Kandur, the Vice-Rector of Marmara University, who emphasized Turkey’s central position in global politics and the Ottoman Empire’s multi-cultural legacy in promoting peace. The opening speech delivered by the Director of MURCIR, Prof. Günay Göksu Özdoğan gave a brief outline of MURCIR’s past activities and research agenda, while introducing the audience to the conference themes.



One of the highlights of the conference was the keynote address delivered by Prof. Ken Booth- Director of David Davies Memorial Institute of International Studies at the Department of International Politics at Aberystwyth University. Prof. Booth’s opening remarks pointed out to the challenges of employing “alternative approaches” in international relations. Booth criticized the current state of critical/alternative scholarship for its emphasis on less imminent problems at the expense of more important regional and global security threats. While Booth questioned the very meaning of the term “alternative”, he proposed a return to the study of core security issues -which still remain within the parameters of realist scholarship.

The first session, “Transnational Social Actors and Processes” chaired by Prof. Talip Küçükcan focused on the impact of transnational actors, organizations, networks and practices that currently challenge the traditional role of the nation-state. The panel was composed of three presentations: Dr. Suna Gülfer Ihlamur-Öner’s “Transnationalizing the Social Research Agenda: The Case of Migration”, Assist. Prof. Ahmet Tolga Türker’s “Understanding Transnational Islamist Terrorism: The Role and Impact of Informal Networks and Alliances” and Dr. Mohd Afandi Salleh’s “Religious Beliefs and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East: A Study on the role of the Christians United for Israel (CUFI)”. The panel was concluded by Prof. Ayhan Kaya’s discussion of the recent literature on “transnational space”, which emphasized the common themes in all presentations.



The second session, “New Themes and Perspectives in Security” chaired by Assist. Prof. İbrahim Mazlum focused on the broadened security agenda, including discursive aspects of security, securitization literature, and cyber-security. The panel brought together papers from different theoretical orientations, including Dr. Alper Kaliber’s “Sectoralisation of Security or Securitisation of Sectors? On the Operability and Political Implications of Sector Specific Approach to Security”, Dr. Azoulas Bagdonas’s “Private Armies: Legal, Political, and Moral Implications to the Provision of National and International Security” and Assoc. Prof. Salih Bıçakçı’s “Digital Westphalia: Sending Missiles for Securing Gigabytes”. The panel was concluded by Assoc. Prof. Pınar Bilgin, who overviewed the presented papers and raised questions to the panelists.

The third session “Alternative Perspectives in Turkish Foreign Policy” chaired by Assoc. Prof. Ayşegül Sever focused on different aspects of Turkish foreign policy in the recent decades. This panel brought together three scholars who employed diverse perspectives in interpreting contemporary Turkish foreign policy (i.e., stable peace theory, feminism and Gramscian political-economy). The presentations composed of Assist. Prof. Reşat Bayer’s “Stable Peace and Turkey”, Doğu Durgun’s “Fathers and Sons: A Feminist Perspective on Ahmet Davutoğlu’s ‘Strategic Depth’ and Assist. Prof. Mustafa Küçük’s “Politics of Hegemony in/as the New Turkish Foreign Policy”. At the end of the panel, Prof. Fuat Keyman commented on each paper and raised questions on the broader issues concerning Turkish foreign policy.



The fourth session “Beyond Traditional Diplomacy?” chaired by Assist. Prof. Erhan Doğan focused on the new actors, issues and methods of exchange that lie beyond the boundaries of classical diplomacy. Among these non-traditional themes, Dr. Güliz Sütçü focused on science diplomacy (“Rebuilding the International Relations through Science Diplomacy”), Dr. Talat Ayesha Wizarat touched upon the non-state actors (“Track-II as a Method to Break Barriers: Pakistan-India Relations since 1980s”), Dr. Agnieszka Dybowska presented the case of local governments (“From Twinning to Global Approach.

Local Government in New Diplomacy Paradigm”) and Johanna Nykänen focused on the network-based approaches (“Turkish Foreign Policy as a Network-based System”). The panel was concluded by the discussant Prof. Chris Brown who praised the panelists for their engagement with the core issues of international politics and commented on each paper.

MURCIR’s conference on “Alternative Approaches to International Relations: Turkey and Beyond” ended after the concluding session held by Prof. Ken Booth, Prof. Chris Brown and Assoc. Prof. Pınar Bilgin. The two-day conference provided a forum for the Turkish and international scholars of international relations, who engaged in discussions during the Q & A sessions following each panel.

The videos are accessible at <http://murcir.marmara.edu.tr/conference2011/videos.html>.

ELECTION OBSERVATIONS

2011 TUNISIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTION

by Dr. İbrahim Mazlum

When twenty-six year old Mohamed Bouazizi -selling vegetable with his cart at the southern city of Sidi Bouzid- set himself on fire as a result of a humiliating act by a policewoman on December 17, 2010, nobody could easily anticipate that the fire was also to surround the autocratic leaders of some Middle Eastern & North African regimes and cause their fall from power.

The *Jasmine Revolution*¹ is the name of the massive demonstrations that broke out upon the death of Mohamed Bouazizi and the succeeding political events leading to the fall of the 23-year autocratic regime of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali on January 14, 2011 and his fleeing to Saudi Arabia. Although the death of Mohamed Bouazizi was the triggering factor in the outbreak of the protests, the economic problems like high rates of inflation and unemployment, the lack of basic political freedoms like freedom of speech and the poor life quality of the masses in the country were the major drivers of the demonstrations and the change.

The revolution in Tunisia has inspired similar protests in some other countries of the region. Just after the events in Tunisia, the demonstrations against the Hosni Mubarak regime at Tahrir Square in Egypt ended his nearly 30-year rule. The protests in Libya turned into a major civil war leading to the fall of the 42-year Muammar Gaddafi regime by his death at the end of October 2011. Some protests in Bahrain, Yemen, Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Iraq and Syria, as well as other places in the region have also occurred, leading to the presidential change in Yemen for instance and rising number of deaths as a result of violent clashes in Syria and the strong reactions of international community and Turkey against the Bashar al Asad regime lately.

Back to the Tunisian Revolt, a temporary coalition government was formed including the opposition figures and members of Constitutional Democratic Rally (RCD) - Ben Ali’s party. However, as a result of the political crisis and protests demanding the removal of the RCD members from the government, a new government was formed on 27 January 2011 under the prime ministership of Mohamed Ghannouchi, a long time ally of Ben Ali. As a result of further protests on his past linkages with the former regime, he resigned on 27 February, leaving his seat to Beji Caid el Sebsi. On March 3, the president of the country announced the elections for the Tunisian Constituent Assembly to be held on October 23, 2011.

The election for the Tunisian Constituent Assembly was the first free election in the country since its independence in 1956. The main function of the Constituent Assembly is drafting the new constitution, paving the way for the legislative and presidential elections in one year and appointing the government after 23 October elections. The Constituent Assembly has 217 seats and 109 seats are needed for a

majority. Eighteen of the seats are reserved to represent the Tunisians abroad, which count almost one million - nearly half of whom live in France.

There have been established almost 120 political parties in the country after the revolution. Around 80 parties have competed for the votes of the Tunisian constituency. However, the majority of these parties have been organized locally. Few parties have managed to organize nation-wide. New election rules mandated putting 50 % quota for the women candidates in the party election lists. Although the tradition of women's participation into politics in Tunisia is much stronger compared to other Arab countries, the majority of the political parties, including some biggest ones, have been unable to fill the gender quota.

Some party figures were strongly arguing that this election was a kind of exam and learning process for Tunisian people in the way of achieving democracy. Hence, it was attributed great importance to increase the voter turnout. Even some unconventional methods were used for this aim like registration of the voters via SMS. Running the election process smoothly was perceived as a matter of prestige by the Higher Independent Election Committee and other state officials, since the elections attracted the huge attention of other countries and international media. For instance, more than 500 international observers were registered for the election including delegations from various countries, organizations like OSCE, EU, Arab League, and global civil society organizations.

The writer of this note was a member of the Turkish National Election Observation Delegation during the 23 October elections. The districts of the observation were Jendouba and El Kef. While, Jendouba is the capital city of the Jendouba Governorate in the Northwestern Tunisia near Algerian border, El Kef is the capital city of the Kef Governorate south of Jendouba. The populations of both city centers are around 45.000. Agriculture is the main economic activity in the region.

The widespread opinion among the international observers was that the elections took place in peaceful, free, and equal terms.² The national observers I conversed were also glad about the way the election was going except for a few minor defects and delays which could also be observed in the elections of well-functioning democracies. What impressed me most was the keen interest of Tunisian people in the elections. More than %90 of the 4.1 million registered voters participated in the election by perceiving it as a duty on their side to establish a solid democratic regime.

Regarding the results of the election, the Islamic party, Ennahda (Renaissance) Movement won the elections as the first party by getting %37.04 of the total valid votes. This rate made Ennahda to get 89 seats, short of winning the majority in the 217-seat Constituent Assembly. The other major parties are secular center-left Congress for the Republic-CPR (29 seats), populist Aridha Chaabia-Popular Petition (26 seats), Ettakatol - secular and social democratic Democratic Forum for Labour and Liberties- (20 seats) and secular center Progressive Democratic Party-PDP (16 seats). The breakdown of the total seats of the Constituent Assembly is as follows

Election Results Nation-Wide³

Name of the Party	Number of Seats	Total Number of Votes
Ennahda Movement	89	1,500,649
Congress for the Republic-CPR	29	341,549
Aridha Chaabia	26	252,025
Ettakatol	20	248,686
Progressive Democratic Part-	16	111,067

PDP		
Al Moubadara	5	97,489
Modernist Democratic Pole-PDM	5	49,186
Afek Tounes	4	29,336
The revolutionary Alternative-(PCOT)	3	11,891
Echaab Movement	2	13,979
Social Democrats Movement-MDS	2	8,230
Maghrebine Liberal Party-PLM	1	6,621
Equality and Justice Party	1	6,098
Progressive Struggle Party	1	5,860
The New Destourian Party	1	5,826
The Democratic Social People's Party	1	5,643
Cultural Unionist People's Party	1	5,219
Free Patriotic Union UPL	1	4,456
National Democrats Movement	1	3,599
Independent Lists	8	62,293
Total	217	4,053,148

In our observation districts, the order of the political parties winning seats are roughly in conformity with the national results as they are shown below:

Election Results in Jendouba⁴

Name of the Party	Number of Seats	Number of Votes
Ennahda Movement	2	33,136
Aridha Chaabia	1	12,433
Ettakatol	1	8,627
Progressive Democratic Part-PDP	1	6,338
Congress for the Republic-CPR	1	5,616
Social Struggle (Independent)	1	4,749
Democratic Patriots Movement	1	3,599
Total	8	74,498

Election Results in El Kef⁹

Name of the Party	Number of Seats	Number of Votes
Ennahda Movement	2	23,015
Aridha Chaabia	1	6,594
Hope (Independent)	1	6,022
Congress for the Republic-CPR	1	5,346
Ettakatol	1	4,455
Total	6	45,432

Upon the results of the Constituent Assembly elections, a coalition government was formed under the leadership of Ennahda Movement on 23 December. Hamadi Jebali, the spokesman and secretary general of Ennahda, became the prime minister of the government. Second and fourth major political parties, CPR and Ettakatol respectively, are the other two partners of the coalition. The government also includes few independents. During the coalition negotiations, the posts of Presidencies of both the country and Constituent Assembly were subject to deliberation. As a result of this, Moncef Marzuiki, a well-known human rights activist and the leader of the CPR became the President of Tunisia. Mustapha Ben Jaafar, the founder and Secretary General of Ettakatol, received the post of Presidency of the Constituent Assembly.⁶

Although remaining beyond the subject of this note, it can be said as the concluding words that the task of the new Constituent Assembly seems difficult. First, since the Tunisian public is divided on the issue of secularism vs. Islamism, the negotiation and drafting processes of the new Constitution would be one of the pressing issues that the Constituent Assembly may face. Also, differing views of the political parties about the form of government system (parliamentarian or semi-presidential) is another major challenging issue awaiting deliberation by the political parties and Tunisian people.

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¹ The *Jasmine Revolution* is the name given to the Tunisian protests and events aftermath usually in the Western media since jasmine is the national flower of the country. In Tunisia and the Arab region, it is mostly called as *Tunisian Revolt*, *Sidi Bouzid Revolt* or *Dignity Revolution*.

² For example see, "No "systematic irregularities" in Tunisia's constituent assembly election: European observers", *Xinhua News Agency*, October 24, 2011

(http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2011-10/24/c_131210039.htm); "It was a good day for Tunisia," says chief EU election observer, *Deutsche Welle*, October 25, 2011 (<http://www.dw.de/dw/article/0,,15484330,00.html>).

³ "Final Results of Tunisian Elections Announced", *TunisiaLive*, November 14, 2011 (<http://www.tunisia-live.net/2011/11/14/tunisian-election-final-results-tables/>); "National Constituent Assembly Election Results Announced in Tunisia", *International Foundation for Electoral Systems*, November 21, 2011 (<http://www.ifes.org/Content/Publications/News-in-Brief/2011/Nov/National-Constituent-Assembly-Election-Results-Announced-in-Tunisia.aspx>).

⁴ "Tunisian Election Results Tables", *TunisiaLive*, October 24, 2011 (<http://www.tunisia-live.net/2011/10/24/tunisian-election-results-tables/>).

⁵ Ibid.

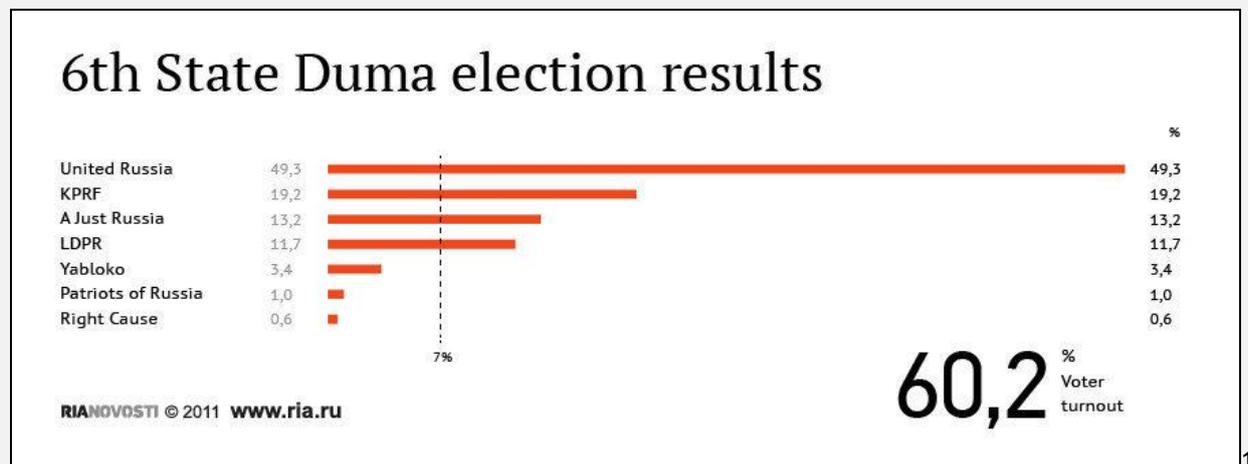
⁶ For the other members of the Cabinet please see, "Tunisia: New Government", *TunisiaLive*, December 22, 2011 (<http://www.tunisia-live.net/2011/12/22/tunisia-new-government/>).

RUSSIAN STATE DUMA ELECTIONS: WHAT HAS CHANGED IN RUSSIAN POLITICS?

by Dr. Emre Erşen

The sixth elections for the Russian State Duma (*Gosudarstvennaya Duma*), the lower chamber of the bicameral legislature of the Russian Federation, were held on 4 December 2011. Three fifth of some 108 million Russian citizens cast their votes in order to elect the 450 deputies through a single national proportional representation election system. The new State Duma is expected to function until 2016 as stipulated in the 2008 constitutional amendment which extended the terms of deputies from 4 to 5 years.

Seven parties ran for the State Duma elections. Four of them - United Russia, Communist Party (KPRF), A Just Russia and Liberal Democratic Party (LDPR) - passed the 7% electoral threshold and eventually maintained their representation in the lower house of the parliament. These are the same four parties who have been in the State Duma after the 2007 elections.



The State Duma elections are important in two regards for the future of Russian politics. First, the decline in the votes of United Russia might be considered as a serious warning for Prime Minister Putin who will run as the party's candidate in the presidential elections to be held in March 2012. Putin may currently seem unchallengeable in the presidential race mainly because he continues to represent a powerful, stable and respected Russia for those who remember the widespread corruption, constant economic crisis and social collapse throughout the Boris Yeltsin years. However, a recent public opinion poll conducted by the Russian polling company Levada Centre shows that 61% of the Russian people are not happy with the government's performance in education, health and housing services, while 59% complain about the deterioration in their economic fortunes.² Such concerns, which seem to have played an important role in the decline of the votes of United Russia, may have a similar impact on the approval ratings of Putin in the upcoming presidential elections especially when one considers the weak state of the global economy.

The second political implication of the State Duma elections is related with the serious allegations of fraud against the Kremlin. In its preliminary report, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) observation mission stated that "the quality of the process deteriorated considerably during the count, which was characterized by frequent procedural violations and instances of apparent manipulation, including several serious indications of ballot box stuffing."³ Somewhat confirming the OSCE findings, a video that was uploaded on *YouTube* on the Election Day showed a group of young

people in Moscow travelling from one polling station to another to cast ballots over and over again for United Russia.⁴ Moreover the Russian press reported that the revisions made in the Russian electoral system in the last ten years gave United Russia a clear upper hand in the State Duma elections.⁵

Such allegations and news caused thousands of Russian people to protest against Putin and Medvedev in demonstrations that have lasted for weeks. The anti-Kremlin rallies not only demonstrated the real power of the Russian civil society, which is usually claimed to have suffered a serious blow due to Putin's authoritarian policies during the 2000s, but also the ever-growing role of the Internet and especially social-networking websites like *Facebook* (or its Russian equivalent *Vkontakte*). The extensive domestic and international news coverage of the 15-day jailing of the prominent anti-corruption blogger Aleksei Navalny is a perfect example of the rise of the social media in Russia.⁶

At a time when the world is closely watching the developments regarding the so-called "Arab Spring", the latest State Duma elections in Russia is a clear indication that no political leader - no matter how powerful he/she may seem - is immune from their peoples' requests for more transparency and freedom in today's globalized world. In this regard, even though Vladimir Putin will most probably win the presidential elections in March, it is clear that he will need to cope with a more demanding and self-confident civil society in the new decade.

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¹ Accessed from Ria Novosti Website at <http://en.rian.ru/infographics/20111212/170192512.html>

² The results of the poll in Russian can be accessed online at <http://www.levada.ru/press-vypuski-posvyashchennye-vyboram>

³ See OSCE's *Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions*, p. 2.

⁴ The video is online at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yG2OyzsaltQ>

⁵ See A. Kornia & M. Glikin, "Kak izbiratelnaia sistema pomogaet 'Yednoi Rossii' pobezhdat na vyborakh," *Vedomosti*, 30.11.2011, http://www.vedomosti.ru/library/library-investigation/news/1419913/izbiratelnyj_ritual

⁶ See T. Balmforth, "Russian Protesters Mobilize Via Social Networks, As Key Opposition Leaders Jailed," *RFE/RL Report*, 08.12.2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/russian_protesters_mobilize_online_as_leaders_jailed/24414881.html

Republic of Kazakhstan, Early Parliamentary Elections, 15 January 2012

by Dr. Suna Gülfer İhlamur-Öner

On 16 November 2011, Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan since its independence in 1991 from the Soviet Union, decreed the dissolution of the lower chamber of the parliament and called for early elections on 15 January 2012. The parliament of Kazakhstan consists of two chambers: the upper house, the Senate, and the lower house, the *Majilis*. The lower chamber, *Majilis*, is 107-member body, composed of 98 members elected by the voters and 9 elected by an advisory body appointed by the president. The members of the lower house are elected for a five-year period. The novelty in 2012 elections was that the 2009 amendment in the election law allowed at least two parties to be represented in the *Majilis*. This meant that if only one party passes the 7% threshold, the party getting the second highest number of votes would have at least two seats in the lower chamber.

As a participating state of the OSCE (Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe), Kazakhstan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs had invited OSCE to observe the 15 January 2012 early

parliamentary elections. This was not the first election observation mission of the OSCE/ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights) in Kazakhstan; it was in fact the seventh. The OSCE center in Astana was established in 1998. Previous OSCE/ODIHR election observation missions to Kazakhstan include 1999, 2005, 2011 presidential elections and 1999, 2004, 2007 parliamentary elections.

Following this invitation, the OSCE/ODIHR established an Election Observation Mission (EOM) on 13 December 2011, consisting of 15 core team members and 28 long-term observers. EOM's main office is in Astana, the present capital of Kazakhstan, and it also has a liaison office in the previous one, Almaty. The long-term observers were deployed in the capital and thirteen regional centers on 17 December 2011. The EOM's main mandate was to observe the electoral process to assess its compliance with OSCE commitments and international standards for democratic elections as well as national legislation. For this election mission, the OSCE invited 400 short-term observers (STOs), however it could recruit 309 only. These 309 STOs of the OSCE Kazakhstan observation mission consisted of 221 OSCE/ODIHR observers funded by OSCE member states, locally recruited 28 observers, 45 observers from OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, 15 observers from The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

According to the Interim Report No.2 of the OSCE there were certain shortcomings during the pre-election campaign period. One major problem was the public's lack of interest in the elections. Harsh winter conditions, festivities for the 20th anniversary of the national independence and New Year's celebrations diverted public attention. The outbreak of violence in Western Kazakh town of Zhanaozen and the imposition of curfew, which halted the campaigning in the area, was another issue. The party that was the most active in campaigning was Nur Otan People's Democratic Party (party headed by Nazarbayev). The party had a much easier and better access to state-owned television channels. The election-related programs on TV channels were also very limited. In my area of observation (apart from party posters, almost all of which belonged to Nur Otan), there was no other campaign material. There were no political rallies right before the elections either.

My election observation experience started with my arrival in Astana, where I met with the other STOs seconded by their member countries. Turkey has sent two STOs for this mission. I was part of the team deployed in the Aktobe region in Western Kazakhstan. On the election day, voting took place from 07.00 to 20.00. In my area of observation with my team partner we have not witnessed any major problems. There were minor shortcomings and deviations from the rules due to lack of knowledge or experience. Majority of the polling stations were schools, but theatre buildings or concert halls were also used. The polling station election committee members were quite friendly and helpful. The polling stations were well-organized and voting went on quite smoothly. Even one or two days before the elections, many of the polling stations were well-prepared for the election day. There was no tension or unrest in the vicinity of the polling stations. Actually, in all the polling stations there was live music and it looked more like a day of celebration than the election day. Those who are voting for the first time, the first ones to vote early in the morning and the elderly were given small gifts such as a box of chocolate, key chains, mugs and so on.

In each polling station we met other observers. They were either party proxies/ observers or non-partisan observers.

The elections law of the country did not allow independent candidates to stand for the elections and the political parties to form electoral blocs. Out of 10 registered political parties 7 ran in the elections. As a result of the elections, Nur Otan won 81% of the votes and 83 seats in the lower chamber, pro-business Ak Zhol got 7,5% of the votes and 8 seats and the Communist People's Party of Kazakhstan got

7,2% of the votes and 7 seats. In these elections there were around 9,3 million registered voters and the voter turnout was 75,4%.

After a final debriefing session with their LTOs (Long Term Observer), the STOs returned back to Astana for the final debriefing and discussion on the election observation mission. Even though our team did not observe major shortcomings in the running of the elections, some teams did, which were reflected on the OSCE Statement of Preliminary Findings and Conclusions issued just one day after the elections, which states that the legal framework - falling short of the OSCE commitments in particular and international standards in general - and exclusion of several parties from the election process had a negative impact on the competitiveness of the elections. A final report on the election mission will be issued in about eight weeks after the elections, therefore sometime in March this year. In a rally organized a couple of weeks after the elections opposition supporters protested the election results (Bowen, 2012). Time will tell if the opposition movement will grow stronger.

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MURCIR NEWS

IOM Event

MURCIR has so far taken a keen interest in international migration and made important contributions to the academic debate through international conferences, workshops, seminars and publications on the issue. As part of its commitment to contribute to deeper understanding of international migration, MURCIR in collaboration with IOM organized a one-day event at Marmara University, Anadolu Hisari Campus on Tuesday, December 13th, 2011, whereby Ms. Helén Nilsson (Head of IOM Istanbul Sub-Office), Ms. Elina Siderova and Mr. Nicolas Gehriger from IOM Istanbul Sub-Office met with the students of the Department of Political Science and International Relations. The IOM event started with a general presentation on IOM’s activities worldwide and in Turkey by Ms. Nilsson. IOM, which is “committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits

migrants and society”¹ expressed with the slogan “Migration for the Benefit of All”, is an intergovernmental organization established in 1951. Since its inception it is working on migration management, creating awareness on and advancing our understanding of migration issues and emphasizing the link between migration and development. Turkey became an IOM member state in 2004, even though IOM mission to Turkey was established in 1991 in the aftermath of the first Gulf War. IOM’s main office is in Ankara and it also has a subsidiary office in Istanbul. IOM in Turkey is working in close collaboration with the Turkish government in the following areas: refugee and migrant resettlement; countering human trafficking; assistance for voluntary return; technical cooperation on migration, labor migration; economic/community development; and legal and administrative regulation of migration.²

The presentation about IOM was followed by the screening of the 90-minute documentary *Not My Life* (2011), the first documentary film depicting practices of human trafficking and modern slavery on a global scale. Director Robert Bilheimer and the producers of the documentary spent four years to shoot it, worked with hundreds of individuals in more than 20 countries on five continents.³

Following the documentary, Ms. Elina Siderova made a presentation on human trafficking. She focused on the definitions of human trafficking and smuggling and basic legal instruments to prevent it. There was a short interactive session on different case studies, which allowed the students to participate in the discussion of certain case studies and ask questions on international migration in general and human trafficking in particular.

¹ <http://www.iom.int/>

² <http://www.turkey.iom.int/aboutus.htm>

³ <http://notmylife.org>

Research Projects:

MURCIR has recently been engaged in a research project under **Marie Curie International Research Staff Exchange Scheme (IRSES)**. The project title is “Transition versus Transformation: Comparing paths to democratic change in the former USSR using case study based evidence from civil society, international aid and domestic politics”. The partners of MURCIR are Talinn University, Estonia; Dublin City University, Ireland; State University Moscow Higher School of Economics, Russia; JNU, New Delhi, India; and Geo Well Research, Tbilisi, Georgia. Erhan Doğan, Idil Tunçer and Emre Erşen will visit State University of Moscow Higher School of Economics for four months each during the next 4 years and conduct their research. Erhan Doğan will also visit Geo Well Research in Tbilisi. In return MURCIR will also host researchers from the partner institutions. Each researcher is expected to make publications on democratic change in former USSR member countries.

Visiting Researchers

Janja Vukasinovic (janja.vukasinovic@gmail.com) who has been awarded a research scholarship by Turkish Ministry of Education has been a visiting researcher at MURCIR since March 2011. She is a Ph.D. student at Ljubljana University, Slovenia and working on her doctoral dissertation titled, “Illegal Migration in Turkey and Turkey’s EU Accession Negotiations”. She recently published the following article: “Illegal Migration in Turkey-EU Relations: an Issue of Political Bargaining or Political Cooperation? *Journal on European Perspectives of the Western Balkans*, vol. 3, no. 2, 2011

(<http://www.europeanperspectives.si>). She also delivered a talk on "Irregular Migration in EU-Turkey Relations: Prospects and Challenges" in the framework of a seminar (Migration Seminar Series 2011-2012) organized by Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, the Center for European Studies at Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara, on 14 December 2011. The opening speech of the seminar was given by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Milan Jazbec (Ambassador of the Republic of Slovenia and Editor of *European Perspectives*). The abstract of her talk is posted below.

“Irregular Migration In EU-Turkey Relations: Prospects And Challenges”

Since the early 1990s, Turkey has been witnessing new forms of migration that include transit migrants, irregular migrant workers, asylum seekers and refugees, professionals, European students and retirees. At the same time, irregular migration has become an immanent feature of contemporary world and governments started to increase efforts to legalize migration flows and to gain control over irregular migration; hence they pursue migration management at the bilateral, regional, and (to lesser extent) multilateral levels. Turkish government, however, has not been eager to establish migration policy aimed at dealing with contemporary migration flows until recent years. However, the rise in number of irregular migrants in Turkey over the past two decades and especially Turkey's drive for EU membership played important role in inducing major changes to Turkish migration policies.

The talk presents irregular migration issue in Turkish context and the dynamics behind Turkish policy-making during its accession process to the EU. It is obvious that irregular migration is a complex phenomenon that requires joint management policies, therefore the current nature of cooperation between Turkey and the EU in the migration field is tried to be assessed. The discussion on irregular migration in the EU-Turkey relations is supplemented with findings from in-depth interviews with central actors working on migration in Turkey.

Katarzyna Krzesak (katarzynakrzesak@gmail.com) has been a visiting researcher at MURCIR since November 2011. She is a Ph.D. student at Krakow University, Poland and working on her doctoral dissertation, titled “Conflicting Agendas of Human Rights and Security Policies”.

Forthcoming publication

Gülden Ayman, a member of MURCIR's Advisory Board, has been working on an edited book titled “Türk Dış Politikasında Çok Boyutlu Bakış” (Multidimensional Perspectives in Turkish Foreign Policy). A compilation of various articles on Turkish foreign policy, the volume consists of articles authored both by expert academics in Turkey and Ph.D candidates at Department of Political Science and International Relations, Marmara University. The latter group of articles are based on papers submitted at a workshop on “Dynamics of Continuity and Change in Turkish Foreign Policy” organized by MURCIR in March 2009.

Conference announcement

A member of the Strategic Planning Board, **Sandrine Bertaux**, has organized an international conference (“Citizenship, Democracy and Diversity: Comparisons”) together with Murat Akan (Boğaziçi University), Peter Geschiere (Amsterdam University) in collaboration with the Dutch Research Programme, “The Culturalization of Citizenship”, to be held at Boğaziçi University on 8-9 March, 2012. The detailed programme of the conference can be found at <http://www.pols.boun.edu.tr>.

Grants and Visiting Scholarships

A former assistant (2007-2010) of MURCIR, Cangül Örnek (cakulum@yahoo.com) has been accepted as a post-doc visiting scholar at the Kevorkian Center for Near Eastern Studies at NYU. She has also received the Young Social Scientist Award for Best Dissertation given by Turkish Social Science Association. Her doctoral dissertation which she completed at the Department for Political Science and International Relations, Marmara University, is titled “Turkey Encounters the USA: Anti-Communism, Modernization and Spirituality”.

NEWS FROM THE DEPARTMENT

Ebru Oğurlu has been awarded a post doctoral research scholarship by TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) and she has been at Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome as a visiting researcher. Her research topic is “The Future of Turkey-European Union Relations within the Framework of their Mediterranean Politics”.

Yüksel Taşkın has been awarded a post-doctoral research scholarship by TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) and has been hosted by North Western University, Chicago, as a visiting researcher.

Nurşen Gürboğa has been awarded a post-doctoral fellowship by “Europe in the Middle East, Middle East in Europe” program of “Forum Transregionale Studien e.V.” in Berlin, Germany. Her research project title is “Istanbul as the City of Lower Classes: Şirket-i Hayriye Steamship Workers (1890-1940)”

Mutay Öztemiz is a post-doctoral visiting researcher at Faculty of Humanities, Institute for Religious Studies, Leiden University, Netherlands, having obtained research fund from Aramaic Studies Association. Her research project title is “Identity problem of Diaspora Assyrian Community and Their Perception of Territory (Turabdin Region)”. She is also working over a second project on the question of poverty in the city centers. She takes Rotterdam Region as the field of this second research.

Commissioned by OSCE-ODIHR through Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, several members of the Department functioned as election observers: **Emre Erşen** and **Murat Yeşiltaş** during Russian Duma elections held on December 4, 2011; **Suna Gülfer İhlamur-Öner**, Kazakhstan early Parliamentary elections on January 15, 2012. **İbrahim Mazlum**, taking part in “Turkish National Observers Delegation” commissioned by the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also functioned as an election observer for Tunisian Constituent Assembly Elections on 23 October, 2011.

ACADEMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

Recently Published and Forthcoming Books:

Ahmet Demirel, *Tek Parti Döneminde Seçimler, Parlamento ve Siyaset (1923-1945) (Elections, Politics and the Parliament during the Single-Party Period in Turkey 1923-1945)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

___, *Makaleler: Milli Mücadele ve Tek Parti Dönemi (Articles on the national struggle and single party periods in Turkey)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

___, (with Yüksel Taşkın, Mehmet Alkan and Cemil Koçak). *Türkiye’de Siyaset (1826- 2012) (Politics in Turkey 1826-2012)*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2012.

Emel Parlar Dal, *Les Relations turco-américaines de 1945-1980, Genèse d’une relation spéciale entre ombres et lumières (Turkish- American Relations 1945-1980, Genesis of a special relationship between shadow and light)*, Edition L’Harmattan, July 2011.

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Suna Gülfer İhlamur-Öner (translator), *Filistin Uğruna: 1948’in Tarihini Yeniden Yazmak (The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948)*, Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (eds.) , İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, February 2012.

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Ahmet Demirel, “Representation of the Eastern and Southeastern Provinces in the Turkish Parliament during the National Struggle and Single-Party Era (1920-1946)”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, No: 44, Spring 2011.

Ayşegül Sever, “Power led ‘ outside intervention in Kurdish Politics in Iraq and Turkey in the early 1970s”, *Middle Eastern Studies* , 2012 (forthcoming).

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Çağdaş Üngör, “China Reaches Turkey?: Radio Peking’s Turkish Language Broadcasts during the Cold War”, *All-Azimuth: A Journal of Foreign Policy and Peace*, Summer 2012 (forthcoming).

___, “Türkiye Solunda Çin Etkisi: Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik Hareketi üzerine bir İnceleme” (“China’s influence over the Turkish Left: An Analysis of the *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik* Movement”), in Selçuk Esenbel ve İsenbike Togan (eds). *Türkiye’de Çin’i Düşünmek: Ekonomik, Siyasi, Kültürel İlişkilere Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, (Thinking About China in Turkey: New Approaches to Economic, Political and Cultural Relations), İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012 (forthcoming).

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perceptions et postures stratégiques (Iran and Grand Regional and Global Actors: Strategic Perceptions and Postures), Paris, L'Harmattan, January 2012.

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Erhan Doğan, “Tarihin Penceresinden Türkiye-Avrupa ve Türkiye-Avrupa Birliği İlişkileri” (Turkey-europe and Turkey-European Union Relations in a Historical Perspective), in Gencer Özcan, Günay Göksu Özdoğan, Şule Kut (eds.), *Türk Dış Politikasını Düşünmek: A.Haluk Ülman’a Armağan* (Reflections on Turkish Foreign Policy: Tribute to A.Haluk Ülman), İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 2012.

Murat Yesiltas (with İbrahim Efe), “Representations of the *Ergenekon* Case in Today’s Zaman and Turkish Daily News 2007-2011”, *Middle East Critique*, March 2012.

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Nurşen Gürboğa, “*La Turquie Kemaliste*’de Devrimin Kadınları:Alaturka Kadın, Levanten Kadın ve Türk Kadını” (“Women of the Revolution in *La Turquie Kemaliste*: Traditional Women, Levantine Woman and Turkish Woman”), *La Turquie Kemaliste*, Boyut Yayınları (forthcoming).

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Şükrü Yazğan, “Düzen, Düzensizlik ve Entropi” (“Order, Disorder and Entropy”) , in Mesut Özcan ve Muzaffer Şenel (eds.) *Modernite ve Dünya Düzen(ler)i*. (Modernity and World Orders), İstanbul: Klasik Yayınları, 2010.

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Conference & Seminars:

Ahmet Demirel, “Türkiye’de İkinci Meşrutiyet’ten bu yana siyasal süreçler” (“Political processes in Turkey since the Second Constitutional Era”), *Bilgiye Erişim ve Birlikte Değerlendirme Atölyeleri*, Cezayir Lokantası, İstanbul, January 15, 2012.

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Çağdaş Üngör, “Kore Savaşı ve Toplumsal Seferberlik” (“Korean War and Social Mobilization), *60. Yılında Kore Savaşı*, Bilgi University, İstanbul, December 10, 2010.

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Emel Parlar Dal, “Entre paysage spécifique de la Turquie et paysage à l’européenne -écart ou complémentarité?”, Conference *Paysages en dialogue: espaces and temporalités entre centres et périphéries*, CIEH&CIEFi - Sorbonne Nouvelle Paris 3 and l’Université Eötvös Loránd (ELTE) de Budapest, Paris, December 10-11, 2010.

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Murat Yesiltaş, “Geopolitical Mentality and the Turkish Military”, *World Crisis: Revolution or Evolution in the International Community*, *World International Studies Conference*, University of Porto, Porto, August 17-21, 2011.

Nurşen Gürboğa, “Istanbul as the City of Lower Classes: Şirket-I Hayriye Steamship Workers (1890-1940)”, *EUME Berliner Seminar*, Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin, Germany, January 11, 2012.

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Sandrine Bertaux, “Multiculturalism in Europe”, *Citizenship, Multiculturalism and Cultural Politics Graduate Seminar*, Sociology Department, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, December 16, 2011.

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Şükrü Yazğan, “Toplumsal Düzen(sizlik) ve Enerji Nakil Hatlarının Güvenliği”, (Social Disorder and the Security of Energy Transfer Routes”), *SAREN (Stratejik Araştırmalar Enstitüsü) Enerji Nakil Hatlarının Güvenliği Paneli*, Istanbul, October 21-22, 2010.

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Yüksel Taşkın, “The Rise of Muslim Intellectuals in Turkey: Challenging the Hegemony of Modernist-Republican Intellectuals,” Buffett Center for International and Comparative Studies, Northwestern University, the USA, October 14, 2011.

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Research Projects:

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Nurşen Gürboğa, "Istanbul as the City of Lower Classes: Şirket-I Hayriye Steamship Workers (1890-1940)", Forum Transregionale Studien, EUME Fellowship, 2011-20

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