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**Turkish Politics:  
A Look at  
Voters, Institutions, and  
Democracy in Turkey**

by

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# Election Results and the Seats in the TBMM (1983-2007) (%)

<u>Political Parties:</u>		CHP	MHP	ANAP	HP	MDP	SHP	DYP	RP/FP <sup>+</sup>	DSP	AKP
Elections		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1983	Vote			45,1	30,5	23,3					
	Seat			52,8	29,2	17,7					
1987	Vote			36,3	---	---	24,4	19,9	---	---	
	Seat			64,9	---	---	22	13,1	---	---	
1991	Vote			24,0	---	---	20,6	27,2	16.7(*)	---	
	Seat			25,7	---	---	19,7	39,7	13.1(*)	---	
1995	Vote	10,7	---	19,6	---	---	---	19,2	21,4	14,6	
	Seat	8,9	---	24,0	---	---	---	24,5	28,7	13,8	
1999	Vote	---	18,0	13,2	---	---	---	12	15,4	22,2	
	Seat	---	23,5	15,6	---	---	---	15,5	20,2	24,7	
2002	Vote	19,4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	34,3
	Seat	32,4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	66,0
2007	Vote	20,9	14,3	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	46,5
	Seat	20,4	12,9	---	---	---	----	---	---	---	62,0

**Table 1: Problems Facing Turkey (2002 – 2007) (Open ended Questions)**

	Turkey's <u>Problem</u> 2002 %	Turkey's <u>Problem</u> 2006 %	Personal <u>Problem</u> 2006 %	Turkey's <u>Problem</u> 2007 %
Inflation	19,7	9,6	25,7	8,3
Unemployment	29,8	29,6	18,3	35,4
Economic Instability	27,2	8,4	8,3	7,2
Corruption, bribery	3,4	2,8	0,6	2,1
Health, Social Welfare	2,3	3,9	9,2	3,3
Education	4,4	8,7	6,6	6,2
Terror/National Security		14,9	4,3	21,4
Crime		2,4	1,5	1,7
Political Instability	7,4	3,2	0,7	2,4
Southeast / Kurdish Problem			1,6	2,0
Housing, Environment, etc.			2,7	
Personal – Family Related Problems			5,3	

**Sources:** Pre - Election and Political Participation Surveys of 2002 and 2007, and the Socio-economic orientations and political values survey of 2006 all of which are conducted by Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu of Sabancı University. In the 2002 pre-election survey Üstün Ergüder of Sabancı University also participated as a principal investigator.

**Table 10: Attitudes toward International Relations of Turkey (2007)**

<b>Items</b>	<b>Threat</b>	<b>EU Reforms</b>	<b>Attitudes towards the EU</b>	<b>Open-ness to the World</b>
Importance of Turkish Foreign Policy toward the EU	-,005	,038	,308	<b>,660</b>
Importance of Foreign Capital Flow into Turkey	,016	,009	-,030	<b>,784</b>
Importance of Foreigners Settling in Turkey	,113	-,021	-,120	<b>,752</b>
Foreign Policy of Turkey Should Emphasize Independence	,073	,060	<b>-,600</b>	,111
Vote for EU Membership of Turkey in a Referendum	,158	-,147	<b>-,747</b>	-,074
Turkey Capable of Solving her Problems without the help of the EU	,010	,177	<b>,554</b>	,043
How beneficial or damaging is the EU to Turkey	-,108	,180	<b>,729</b>	,065
We need to make all sacrifices necessary to be EU Member	-,100	,335	<b>,628</b>	,036
In the process of EU membership the reforms should be undertaken to improve the status of the Alevis	-,061	<b>,694</b>	,068	-,024
In the process of EU membership reform laws that provided the opportunity to learn native languages has been a positive development	-,044	<b>,859</b>	,126	,018
In the process of EU membership reform laws that provided the opportunity the media to broadcast in native languages has been a positive development	-,051	<b>,878</b>	,098	,010
In the process of EU membership the reform laws that have restricted the role of the military in Turkish politics is a positive development	-,140	<b>,605</b>	,179	-,077
In the process of EU membership abolishing the death sentence has been a positive development	-,129	<b>,491</b>	,181	,107
Security Threat: The USA	<b>,664</b>	-,017	-,122	-,086
Security Threat: The EU	<b>,644</b>	-,114	-,389	-,007
Security Threat: Iraq	<b>,708</b>	-,022	-,124	,166
Security Threat: Iran	<b>,708</b>	-,010	-,031	,236
Security Threat: Israel	<b>,767</b>	-,078	-,039	,002
Security Threat: Various Minorities in Turkey	<b>,631</b>	-,229	-,007	-,023
Security Threat: Christian Missionaries	<b>,668</b>	-,093	,004	-,040

**Notes:** Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization

**Table 11: Religiosity in Turkey**

<b>Items</b>	<b>Freedom of Conscience</b>	<b>Faith</b>	<b>Political Islam</b>
1. Belong to a religion	,046	,866	-,184
2. Attend mosque services to worship	,008	,143	,749
3. How religious does the R feel	,005	,732	,413
4. Freely practice religion or worship	-,861	-,039	,038
5. Religious people are oppressed	,830	,010	,167
6. Desire Şeriat state in Turkey	,105	-,084	,691

Table 12: Language Spoken with Mother at Home (First Mentioned)

Language	Frequency	Percent
Turkish	1700	84,2
Kırmanç	140	6,9
Arabic	21	1,0
Zaza	18	,9
Laz	7	,3
Other	22	1,1
No Response	110	5,5
Total	2018	100,0

**Table 13: Language Spoken with Mother at Home(Second Mentioned)**

Language	Frequency	Percent
Turkish	48	2,4
Kırmanç	33	1,6
Arabic	2	,1
Zaza	4	,2
Laz	2	,1
Other	4	,2
Missing	1925	95,4
Total	2018	100,0

**Table 14: Perceptions and Expectations from the Government's Economic Policies**

<b>Items</b>	<b>Economic Satisfaction</b>
1. Over the last year how much of an impact did the governments economic policies have upon your FAMILYS economic condition	,801
2. On a similar scale could you evaluate the impact of the government policies upon TURKEY's economic condition	,836
3. How satisfactory is your PRESENT personal economic condition	,764
4. How will your FAMILY's economic condition change over the next year	,805
5. How will TURKEY's economic condition change over the next year	,817
6. In the past year, how has your household fared?	,421



**Table 15: The Self-placement of the Voters on the Left – Right Spectrum**

Scale Items	Frequency	Percent
1 Most Left	116	5,7
2	56	2,8
3	102	5,1
4	68	3,4
5	498	24,7
6	148	7,3
7	194	9,6
8	304	15,1
9	121	6,0
10 Most Right	328	16,3
Don't Know/ No Response	83	4,1
Total	2018	100,0

**Table 16: The Party the Respondent Declares Identification With**

<b>Codes</b>	<b>Party</b>	<b>Freq</b>	<b>Percent</b>
5	AKP	729	36,1
8	BBP	3	,1
2	CHP	250	12,4
4	DP/DYP	57	2,8
3	GP	49	2,4
7	MHP	154	7,6
6	SP	19	,9
1	DTP	27	1,3
0	Other/Indep.	685	33,9
Missing	No Response	45	2,2
Total		2018	100,0

## The AKP Vote in the 2007 General Elections

Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
<b>Party (AKP) Identification</b>	<b>3,446</b>	,000	31,368
Ethnicity	-,531	,067	,588
<b>Overall Religiosity</b>	<b>,159</b>	,009	1,172
<b>Economic Satisfaction</b>	<b>,805</b>	,000	2,238
Self Placement on the Left— Right Spectrum	,007	,341	1,007
International Threat Perception	,017	,856	1,017
EU Reforms	,039	,686	1,040
<b>Attitudes toward the EU</b>	<b>,316</b>	,001	1,372
Openness to the World	-,037	,702	,964
Constant	-1,921	,000	,146

# The AKP Vote in the 2002 General Elections

•Dependent Variable= Prefers AKP

	•B	•Sig
•Age	•-0,02	•0,00
•Resides in gecekondu	•0,42	•0,02
•Religious conservatism index	•0,61	•0,00
•Left-Right Index	•0,18	•0,00
•No party can solve problems of Turkey	•-1,13	•0,00
•Support EU membership	•-0,31	•0,05
•constant	•-1,12	•0,02
•Percent correctly predicted	•72,70%	

## The CHP Vote in the 2007 General Elections

Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
<b>Party (CHP) Identification</b>	<b>4,299</b>	,000	73,625
Ethnicity	-,746	,154	,474
<b>Overall Religiosity</b>	<b>-,266</b>	,007	,766
<b>Economic Satisfaction</b>	<b>-,546</b>	,001	,579
Self Placement on the Left– Right Spectrum	-,053	,098	,948
International Threat Perception	-,233	,095	,792
EU Reforms	,207	,139	1,230
Attitudes toward the EU	-,022	,879	,979
<b>Openness to the World</b>	<b>,409</b>	,004	1,505
Constant	-3,176	,000	,042

# •The CHP Vote in the 2002 General Elections

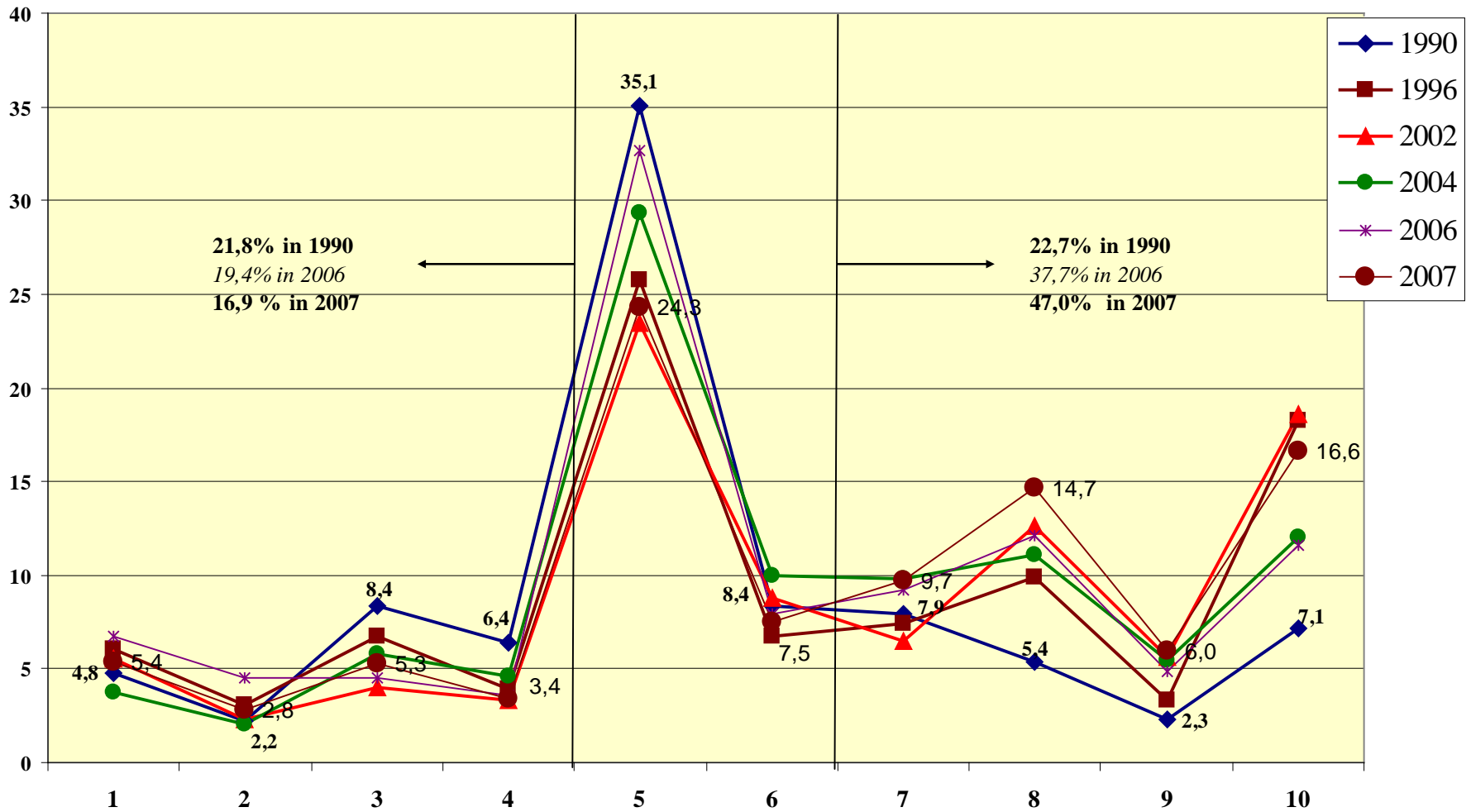
•Dependent Variable = Prefers CHP

	•B	•Sig
•Speaks Kurdish	•-1,35	•-0.00
•Religious conservatism index	•-0,97	•-0,00
•Perceived importance of one's vote	• 0,08	•0,02
•Left-Right index	•-0,50	•-0,00
•No party can solve problems of Turkey	•0,53	•0,02
•Supports EU membership	•1,24	•-0,00
•constant	•-1,39	•0,02
•Percent correctly predicted	•88,30%	

## The MHP Vote in the 2007 General Elections

Independent Variables	B	Sig.	Exp(B)
<b>Party (MHP) Identification</b>	<b>4,654</b>	,000	104,997
Ethnicity	-,749	,390	,473
Overall Religiosity	,011	,921	1,011
<b>Economic Satisfaction</b>	<b>-,597</b>	,000	,551
Self Placement on the Left Right Spectrum	-,002	,896	,998
International Threat Perception	,301	,079	1,351
EU Reforms	-,177	,257	,838
<b>Attitudes toward the EU</b>	<b>-,421</b>	,023	,656
Openness to the World	-,016	,911	,984
Constant	-3,957	,000	,019

# Self-Placement of the Voters on the Left – Right Spectrum of Ideologies



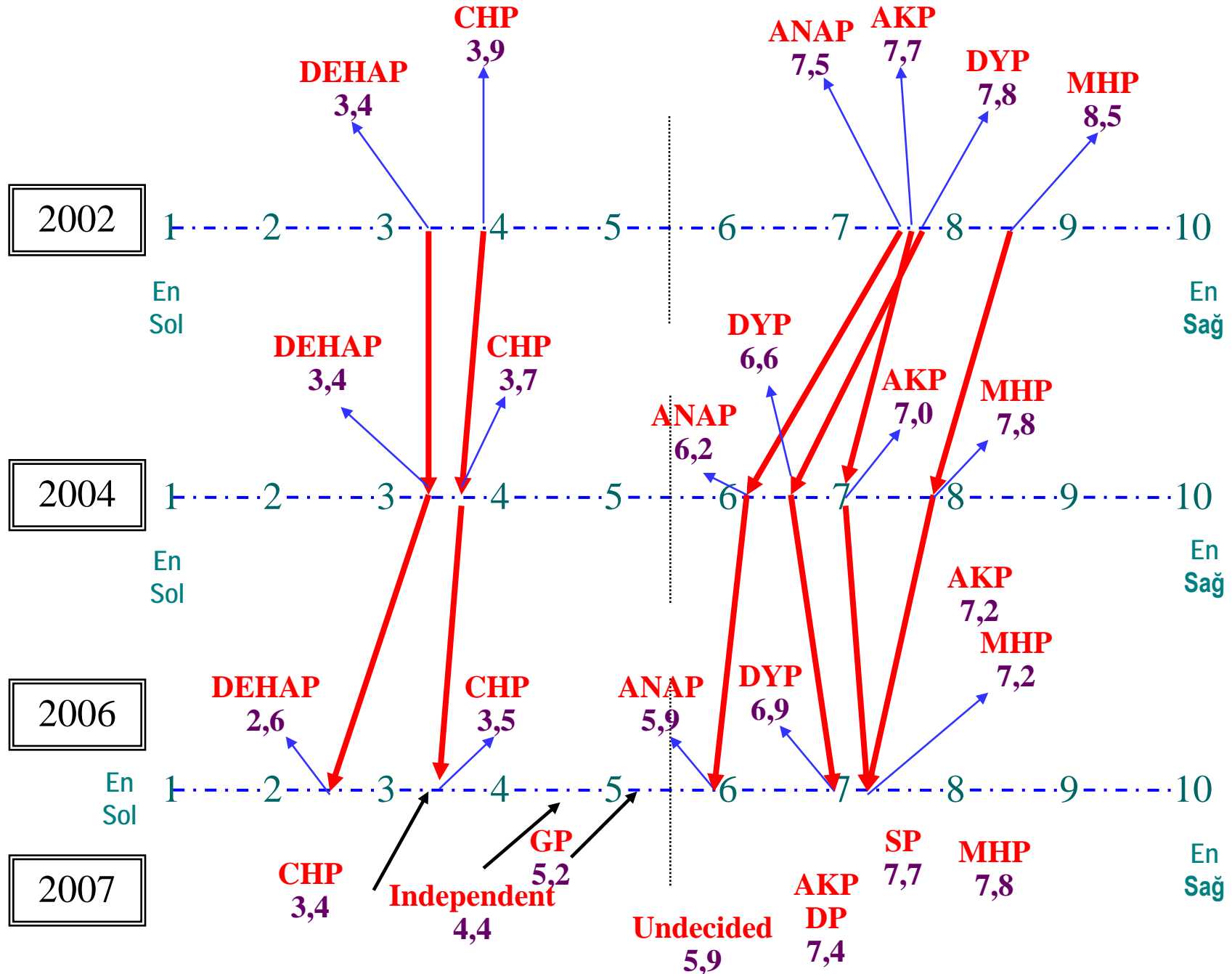
Left

Center

Right



# How do the voters who identify with a political party define their ideological positions?



# Volatility and Fragmentation in the Party System

<u>Elections</u>	<u>Volatility</u>	<u>Fragmentation of Votes</u>	<u>Fragmentation of Seats</u>	<u>Effective Number of Parties</u>
1961	--	0.71	0.70	3.3
1965	24.5	0.63	0.63	2.6
1969	11.4	0.70	0.59	2.3
1973	28.4	0.77	0.70	3.3
1977	18.3	0.68	0.60	2.5
1983	--	0.66	0.61	2.5
1987	--	0.75	0.51	2.0
1991	16.6	0.79	0.71	3.5
1995	23.0	0.83	0.77	4.3
1999	22.6	0.84	0.79	4.8
2002	43.9	0.81	0.46	1.9
2007	17.3	0.72	0.56	3.6

*Source:* Özbudun, 2002: 77. The Table entries for the 1999, 2002, and 2007 elections are calculations by Ersin Kalaycıoğlu using the same methods as described by Özbudun.

## Political Issues and Problems Facing Turkey

- High Court Decisions: New Issues and new Fights
- Presidency: Referendum of October 21 2007 and Turkey makes a Sharp turn toward Semi – Presidentialism
- Local Elections: *Plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*
- Designing a New Constitution. A Priority or a Problem?
- Turkey's EU Perspective: Does it Still Exist?
- Iraq and the US as Neighbor: Peril or Opportunity
- Economy: Is it still operating under the Primacy of Politics.
- Democratic Consolidation: Is democracy possible in an environment of interpersonal distrust, political lack of confidence, and lack of popular support for rule of law.