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TURKEY AT CROSSROADS: CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

Turkey's political history is vast and multifaceted. My research aims to explore only a tiny fraction of this great nation's history. Herein, I explore the most recent trends in Turkish politics. I aim to inform my reader by providing the relevant historical context of the Ottoman Empire and those governments that followed, by explaining how today's major political parties and processes came to be, and by providing comprehensive research on today's state of affairs and the challenges Turkey must face moving forward.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is for the reader to gain a better understanding of current Turkish politics. Turkey has changed over the years and has seen four military coups. Every different political party has left a legacy. The Justice and Development Party is the current leader of Turkey. The JDP has been in power for fourteen years, and has made substantial changes to the political environment. The JDP remains as the only Islamist party to ever control the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Its predecessors, the Welfare Party and the National Salvation Party, were shut down by the Constitutional Court or were ousted by military coup. The JDP, however, managed to appease the military and the public, largely by portraying itself as a conservative democratic party. The JDP has further separated itself from other parties by its ability to form a single party government in a short time, beginning in 2002 and continuing today.

The questions to be answered in the following pages include: How did the JDP manage to keep its political power? Why did the military not intervene? How does the JDP maintain its current support? Will the JDP be able to stay in power for an extended period of time?

To answer these questions I have performed a qualitative analysis. In the following pages, I will describe the JDP and its predecessors. I will examine and analyze the economy and Turkish voters, who take the economy very seriously.

In the second chapter, I will provide a historical background of Turkey. We will explore the military's importance in Turkish society. We will observe the rise and fall of different political parties. We will see how and why the military intervened in the democratic process.

In the third chapter, I will provide an analysis of voter behavior and economic voting in Turkey. I have dedicated a sub-chapter to the economic situation of Turkey in 2001. The analysis and overview of the 2001 economic crisis are very important. We will see how the JDP followed EU criteria and used the criteria to its advantage. I will present the relationship of the JDP to the military. Finally, I will explore how the role of the military changed during the JDP's rule.

In the fourth chapter, we will take a closer look at the events leading up to the 2015 elections and analyze both elections. The Occupy Gezi Movement, which began in May 2013, is very important. Protestors stood up against the government and its restrictive policies.

The fourth chapter includes an analysis of the first Presidential elections in Turkey. The election of 2014 was significant for the 2015 elections because the leader of the JDP, Tayyip Erdogan, became the first publicly elected President of the Turkish Republic. Turkey changed greatly in the past months.

Today Turkey faces a crisis concerning Syrian refugees. The terrorist attacks that occurred in March presented an even larger problem. These issues will be addressed in the final chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 2

Historical Background

The Ottoman rule created an indisputable legacy; one born of seven centuries of rule. A strong centralized State is one of the important legacies that the Ottoman dynasty left to modern Turkey. The centralized State is identified with the nation; it is regarded as a neutral entity which is independent of the society (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:220). The State can intervene whenever it believes that the nation is in danger. Military interventions that we see in Turkish history are the manifestation of the Ottoman legacy.

During Ottoman rule, the Sultan had the utmost authority; there was no one who could challenge his power. The non-Muslims enjoyed vast economic power through commerce and international trade, but had no political power (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:221).

The Ottoman Empire had a hard time keeping up with the expanding world economy. It struggled to adjust to new trends while keeping the status quo at home. After the expansion of the Empire to Syria and Egypt, the Sultan increased his legitimacy by using the name Caliphate, the controller of Holy Places (Ahmad, 1993:22).

Europe was gaining power. The Empire was not able to keep up with the rest of the world because they were unwilling to make military and societal changes. Conservatives supported by the Janissary (the Sultan's bodyguards) and the Ulema (Muslim scholars), were opposed to reforms because it would threaten their position (Ahmad, 1993:23). The Center was threatened by the notables in the provinces and by the Janissary in the capital. The Sultan's power diminished. Sultan Selim III tried to replace the Janissary but failed and was assassinated (Ahmad, 1993:25). Sultan Mahmud II, however, was able to replace the Janissary with the new

style army (Zürcher, 1998:59). This gave reformers the chance to restructure the State. Their goal was to restore the power of the Sultan.

The conservatives were in a weakened position; they had lost their armed supporters, the Janissary, and their financial independence. The Ulema were made paid advisors to the Sultan under the directorate of religious foundations (Zürcher, 1998:42; Ahmad, 1993:25). The Grand Vizier was given the title of Prime Minister. These reforms were the beginning of the bureaucratic State.

Bureaucrats were loyal to the Sultan but had a higher loyalty to the State. These bureaucrats were the men of Tanzimat. They accepted the notions of private property and constitutional restraints on the Sultan. The men of Tanzimat, later known as the Young Ottomans or Young Turks, tried to establish these notions throughout the 19th century (Ahmad, 1993:25-26). On November 3, 1839, the charter known as the Noble Edict of the Rose Garden was instituted. The edict guaranteed the security of life, honor and property; made all subjects equal before the law; and made military service mandatory (Zürcher, 1998:58). After the Edict of 1839, State intervention was aimed at social engineering; it began intervening to transform society (Ahmad, 1993:26).

The country's economy also changed dramatically. After the Anglo-Ottoman Commercial Convention of 1838, the existing social and economic structures were incinerated, making way for new ones. The AOCC allowed foreign merchants to engage directly in internal trade, and protectionism was lost (Ahmad, 1993:27). This treaty increased imports and the demand for cash in rural areas. The State abolished tax farming and engaged in direct collection. The new system increased commercial activity and dissatisfaction. Farmers had to work more to pay taxes, and

became dependent on non-Muslim money lenders. The 1838 treaty forced the Ottoman Empire into bankruptcy and resulted in European financial control in 1881(Ahmad, 1993:28).

In the 19th century, the Empire lacked a social base and the bureaucrats were landowners. The economy was very dependent on landowners because its revenue came from the agricultural products they produced. The security of private property gave the landowners more power and more freedom. They became a conservative force opposed to reforms and to the Young Ottomans.

Abdulhamid came to power during this very difficult time, in 1878. The Empire defaulted on its debt in 1875 (Zürcher 1998:88), which placed the Empire under foreign financial control. Abdulhamid stopped these developments and discontinued the 1876 constitution, which had been written and enforced by the Young Ottomans. The deterioration of the Ottoman society and economy progressed rapidly, leading to the formation of The Committee of Union and Progress in 1889. The CUP restored the previous constitution and ignited the revolution of 1908 (Ahmad, 1993:29-30).

On July 23, 1908, the 1876 Constitution was restored. The Young Turks changed the political system and tried to restructure the society by borrowing more money from the West (Ahmad, 1993:31). The Committee did not remove Abdulhamid from his position, however, because in Istanbul and in Anatolia he was seen as a savior (Zürcher, 1998: 98). Leaders of religious and ethnic factions accepted the return of the Constitution because it gave them more freedom and power (Ahmad, 1993:33). They were in favor of decentralization and supported the liberal leader of the Young Turks.

The YT was divided into two groups: Liberals and Unionists. The Liberals had a western education and were from the upper classes of Ottoman society. They expected the United

Kingdom to help them. The Unionists wanted to overthrow the autocracy for a social and economic transformation. They believed in the German style of union and progress, and had no faith in laissez-faire economics (Ahmad,1993:34). The liberal group of the YT created their own party, called Ahrar Firkasi (Zürcher, 1998:100).

The CUP won the 1908 elections. Conservative religious circles were displeased with this outcome. This led to an anti-Unionist uprising in April 1909. The uprising was led by a minor religious sect leader who wanted the return of Sharia law. The uprising pushed the Unionists out of the capital but they were still dominant in the provinces (Zürcher,1998:100-101). The CUP leaders blamed the uprising on the Sultan. A religious counter revolution was led by pious army officers. The counter revolution was suppressed internally by the army. Then gave the CUP the right to change legislation as long as the military was left untouched (Zürcher, 1998:104).

When the first Balkan War broke out, Ottoman armies were dispersed and the Bulgarian army advanced to the outskirts of Istanbul. On December 3, 1912 an armistice was signed. On January 17, 1913, the CUP faced an ultimatum: Occupying forces wanted the town of Edirne and Kamil, still the Grand Vizier, was expected to cede the town (Zürcher, 1998:112; Ahmad, 1993:38). The CUP organized a coup d'état on January 23, 1913 and overthrew Kamil.

The armistice expired on February 3. The Ottoman Empire was crippled and became more homogeneous. The CUP had to change their ideology. Islam gained a much more important place and nationalism had less emphasis (Ahmad, 1993:39). Sait Halim Pasha, an Islamist, was appointed as the new Grand Vizier. The idea of Ottomanism and Islam had great appeal in India and Egypt, and was an important factor in the CUP's policy. After the Balkan War, WWI destroyed the Ottoman Empire, but it liberated the Turks from the rule of Europe.

The CUP pursued reforms to change the society. In 1916, the highest religious dignitary was removed from the cabinet. In 1917, religious law courts became a part of the secular Ministry of Justice and religious colleges came under the control of the Ministry of Education (Zürcher, 1998:126). The Unionists in the CUP wanted to reduce the power of the landlords and give more power to the peasants. The CUP, however, did not want to destroy the landlords' social and political power (Ahmad, 1993:43). The party endorsed modernization and investment but did not engage in land redistribution. They gave landlords more power. The CUP's actions produced an increase of twenty-five percent in government revenue (Zürcher, 1998:128).

After the WWI armistice, the CUP leaders fled the country. Most went to Berlin (Zürcher, 1998:139). A political vacuum was created and the Sultan came back to power. He offered only one condition to accept the terms of the Allies: He wanted to be left in power. Sultan Mehmet VI signed the Treaty of Sevres August 10, 1920. The treaty left the Turkish State crippled and carved up.

The Sultan-Caliph enjoyed great support from his subjects. He denounced Nationalists as godless. The Nationalists understood the power of religious discourse, as it provided a means of uniting a very diverse population. During this time, the term used to describe the nation was "millet" which means "religious community" rather than a secular word for nation, such as "vatan", which means "fatherland" (Ahmad, 1993:48).

Mustafa Kemal remained independent from all political factions in an attempt to maintain his clean reputation. He wanted to serve as the Minister of War, but instead, he was appointed as the Inspector General of the armies in Anatolia. This position facilitated the creation of resistance groups against imperialist forces. The resistance groups were called "Defense of Rights" associations. These groups refused the annexation of western Anatolia by Greece and the

creation of Armenia and Kurdistan in the east. The Congress of Erzurum on July 23 and August 17, 1919, and the Congress of Sivas on September 4, 1919 unified associations under one Association — The Association for the Defense of Anatolia and Rumelia. Mustafa Kemal was the chairman of both Congresses.

By January 1920, the Nationalists controlled the last Ottoman Parliament. After the deportation of 150 Nationalists to Malta, Kemal made a call for new elections to be held March 18, 1920 (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:225). He wanted this new Parliament to reside in Ankara. On April 23, 1920, the new Parliament met in Ankara under the name of the Grand National Assembly. The GNA appointed Ataturk as its President and created a constitution that accepted the idea of national sovereignty. The GNA had the legislative and the executive body vested in itself (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:226).

The Allied Powers decided to restore sovereign power to the Turkish State in October 1922. Mehmet VI Vahdettin fled Turkey, which destroyed the loyalty of the people. His departure paved the way to the Republic of Turkey (Ahmad, 1993:49-51).

1923-1945: Proclamation of the Republic and the Struggles of the Republican People's Party

Kemalists were the minority in the Assembly. Islamists and Liberals wanted the Sultanate to come back. Hence, Kemal dissolved the Assembly on April 1, 1923, and called for new elections to take place in June 1923. Kemalists won the elections. In August 1923, the Assembly ratified the Treaty of Lausanne and saved its international recognition (Zürcher, 1998:170). On October 29, 1923, the People's Party (Kemal's party) proposed to amend the constitution to make Turkey a Republic. The assembly accepted the proposal. Kemal became President and

Ismet Inonu was elected Prime Minister (Zürcher, 1998:174). The GNA abolished the caliphate and exiled all the members of the house of Osman. A new republican constitution was adopted (Zürcher, 1998:175).

The announcement of the Republic increased tension between Kemal and his military rivals. On December 19, 1923, Kemal passed a law obliging all military officers to leave their office if they wanted to be in politics. The aim of this law was to disengage the military from politics (Ahmad, 1993:57). The People's Party renamed itself the Republican People's Party after some Kemalist generals left the party.

Some deputies from the People's Party created their own party and called it the Progressive People's Party. The PRP promised to respect all religious beliefs. They stressed judicial independence and civil rights. The PRP was opposed to despotism and wanted a decentralized government (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:226). Not all were pleased.

A Kurdish rebellion started in February 1925; its main focus was religion. The GNA saw the rebellion as a religious counter-revolution and passed extraordinary law, which expired in 1929 (Ahmad, 1993:58). The PRP was shut down in June 1925 after the rebellion. The Council of Ministers found the party guilty of instigating the rebellion (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:227).

Although the political situation was stable, the economy was stagnant because it operated under the Treaty of Lausanne. The government was obligated to have an open economy until 1929. The trade deficit increased, prices rose, and there was palpable general dissatisfaction (Ahmad, 1993:59). Kemal asked Fethi, the Prime Minister prior to the Kurdish rebellion, to create an opposition party in 1930. It was thought that a two-party system would ease political dissatisfaction. The opposition created by the Free Republican Party aimed to improve Turkey's

image in Europe. In the October 1930 elections the Free Republican Party won 30 seats of the 512 seats available. The FRP was accused of high treason and election fraud in the Assembly and was dissolved November 17, 1930 (Zürcher, 1998:187).

A month later a group led by Dervish Mehmed, a religious leader from the Naqshibandi sect, started a violent uprising in a town close to Izmir. They wanted the restoration of Sharia Law. This uprising was a sign that reforms made by the RPP did not take root and the new approach to religion and ideology was a failure. Kemalists decided to take full responsibility for reforming and transforming the society and economy. The RPP produced a new ideology, Kemalism. The goal of this new ideology was to change people's loyalty from Ottomanism and Islam to Turkish nationalism (Ahmad, 1993:60).

Kemalism was adopted in 1931. The six fundamental principles of Kemalism are: Republicanism, Nationalism, Populism, Statism, Secularism and Reformism. The six pillars of Kemalism were incorporated in the Constitution on February 5, 1937 (Zürcher, 1998:189-190). Zürcher (1998:189) claimed that secularism and nationalism were taken to the extreme. They meant the division of State and religion, but also the elimination of religion from public life. Historical myths were created to increase national identity among citizens. Populism was used to describe the welfare of the nation as a whole. Reformism meant the duty of furthering change and being dedicated to Kemalism. Statism was oriented to the national economy and the dominance of the State over the economy (Zürcher, 1998:190).

The two very controversial pillars were secularism and statism. Statism was controversial because neither the party nor the government knew when the State was allowed to intervene and when it was not (Ahmad, 1993:63). Because agricultural products represented almost all of

Turkey's exports, landlords in Anatolia were very important. The State promised that it would not intervene in agriculture to appease the landlords.

The RPP passed a law uniting State and party in 1935. Turkey became a dictatorship, but did not like the idea of fascism because the private sector was growing. Celal Bayar, the minister of national economy from 1932 to 1937 was behind this growth. He created the Business Bank in 1924. He also led the liberal wing of the party. The private sector recognized the need for a strong interventionist State, and approved of strict control over the labor force (Ahmad, 1993:64). In 1937, Bayar replaced Inonu as Prime Minister; this was a sign that President Ataturk was putting more emphasis on the private sector (Ahmad, 1993:68).

Ataturk died November 10, 1938. On November 27, 1938, Inonu was elected the RPP's permanent chairman and Ataturk was declared its eternal leader. Inonu gave himself the title of National Chief, and as such, could not be held accountable nor responsible for any of his actions. The State intervened in the society even more. The National Defense Law of January 18, 1940 gave the government extensive powers, such as fixing prices and controlling the supply of products. By 1943, inflation was rampant. The State imposed bread rations and the tithe was restored (Ahmad. 1993:70).

1950-1960: The First Democratic Elections and the First Coup

In January 1945, Chairman Inonu declared that an opposition party was needed. He wanted Celal Bayar to lead the new party, which became known as the Democrat Party. Bayar was a well known and respected man in the private and public sector. Inonu declared that a free and direct election was to be held in 1947 (Zürcher, 1998:221).

The public saw the Democratic Party as a center party. The party promised to further freedoms and rights, and reduce State intervention. It accepted the six pillars of Kemalism. The DP exploited the resentment of the people against the RPP. Secularism was never understood; the people did not know how they benefited from it. In May 1946, Inonu recognized the danger posed by the DP. Thus, Inonu expanded social freedoms. He gave up his titles and decided to have elections the same year.

The RPP's plan of action was to become a class party. They wanted the support of peasants, workers, artisans and small merchants. The strategy was clear: The RPP wanted to unfavorably characterize the DP as the party of Big Business. The DP wanted to portray themselves as the party of the little man, and the party against State tyranny (Ahmad, 1993:106). In the June 1946 elections, the RPP won the majority. However, there was a general understanding that the election was run under pressure. For instance, there were no impartial observers or secrecy during the voting process (Zürcher, 1998:222).

After the election, the lira was devalued and banks were able to sell gold, hence inflation escalated. Inonu continued to liberalize the society. Religious classes were allowed in schools, and restriction on religious practices were relaxed. He believed that foreign investments were vital for the growth of the country (Ahmad, 1993:107).

On May 12, 1950, the DP won 53.4 percent of the vote and 408 seats in the Parliament. Turkish citizens resented Inonu due to the years of repressive policy under his rule (Zürcher, 1998:227). The DP brought together liberals, religious conservatives and the urban poor (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:230). The DP politicians saw themselves as the representatives of the national will (Zürcher, 1998:232). However, the DP did not feel secure, despite having the support of the majority of voters, because the military was on Inonu's side. Menderes, the leader

of the DP, changed the High Command. He replaced “Republicans” with “Democrats” (Ahmad, 1993:110).

During Menderes’ rule, the Parliament passed even more repressive legislation and alienated academics through laws passed against the opposition. He passed legislation that restricted freedom of the press and put a hold on the opposition's assets (Zürcher, 1998:233). In the 1954 elections, Menderes increased the DP’s vote.

Liberals in the party were against State control over the economy. Those who were against Menderes were expelled and went on to create the Freedom Party (Ahmad, 1993:113). The 1957 elections brought the RPP more seats, but the DP still controlled the Parliament. Rampant inflation and the scarcity of foreign exchange forced Menderes to implement populist measures and appealed to the religious section of Turkey (Zürcher, 1998:243).

On April 18, 1960, a committee was created to investigate the opposition’s actions. This committee was unconstitutional and attracted a lot of negative reactions from students. In response to student protests, Menderes implemented martial law. On May 24, 1960, martial law was lifted, but military officers organized a coup three days later (Zürcher, 1998:252).

1960-71: Rise of the Justice Party

The Junta, called the National Unity Committee, led by General Cemal Gursel, seized power (Zürcher, 1998:254). The RPP, the Freedom Party and the Republican Nation Party, promised to amend the constitution and establish a bicameral Parliament. The RPP promised workers the right to strike and unionize (Ahmad, 1993:127). The Junta formed a group of academics and tasked them with composing a new constitution. The commission wanted to

establish new institutions before handing political power to civilians (Zürcher, 1998:254). The NUC had the power to dismiss ministers, while the power to appoint ministers was given to the head of State. Fourteen radical members from the NUC tried to overthrow Gursel. They were later expelled. The Armed Forces Union was created to establish order in the military after the coup attempt.

Shortly after its creation, the AFU became the real power in Turkey. The commission, heavily influenced by the RPP, wrote a new constitution and electoral law using the system of proportional representation (Ahmad, 1993:129). The referendum on the Second Republic went to a vote July 9, 1961. The Constitution was approved by 61.7 percent of the population. The Constitution created a two chamber legislature: the Grand National Assembly, with 450 seats, and the Senate, with 150 seats. All the members of the NUC were made life members of the Senate. Fifteen Senate members were appointed by the President. The President was elected by the GNA with a 2/3 majority, and was to be elected every seven years (Ahmad, 1993:129; Zürcher, 1998:258).

The new Constitution increased civil liberties and social rights. The Constitutional Court was created. Its function was to review legislation. Universities and the Radio and Television Corporation became more independent (Özbudun,2000:54; Ahmad, 1993:129). The Military High Command was given the role of assisting the Cabinet in making decisions.

With the formation of the National Security Council, the military gained a lot more power in the public and private sectors. The Army Mutual Assistance was formed to help military officers. It gave them discounts on everyday needs, such as bread and milk, and supplied them with low interest rate loans. Retired officers were hired back into the bureaucracy, and retired generals were made ambassadors (Ahmad, 1993:130).

On September 30, 1960, the State Planning Organization was created with the duty of supervising the national economy. The SPO also advised the Prime Minister on economic matters. The SPO started its work in 1965 with the goal of industrialization following the Import-Substitution model. The GNA created a land reform bill that rewarded efficiency and productivity; it received objections from landlords. The economy grew by seven percent, but growth was short-lived. The agricultural sector and industrial sector did not grow as much as the construction and service sectors. The economy was dependent on foreign exchange sent by Turkish workers abroad. This became a problem when the 1973 Oil Crisis hit and the flow of workers to Europe stopped.

However, throughout the decade, Turkey had experienced great growth of private industry, followed by an increase of urbanization. From urbanization and industrialization came two groups: class-conscious workers and industrial bourgeoisie. The former created the Confederation of Workers' Union, and the latter formed the Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen. Turkish society changed, becoming a consumer economy (Ahmad, 1993:134-135; Zürcher, 1998:278).

The Justice Party won 34.8 percent of the vote in the 1961 election. The RPP won 36.7 percent. The JP and the RPP formed a short-lived coalition which lasted until March 30, 1962 (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:233). After the results of the election, some military officers wanted to stage a coup but were dissuaded by high-ranking senior officers (Zürcher, 1998:261).

The second coalition was formed in June between the RPP and two other small parties. It lasted only one and a half years. The third coalition was formed by Ismet Inonu on December 25, 1963, and coincided with the Cyprus crisis. The coalition was kept alive with a confidence vote in January 1964. It was brought down by the JP in February 1965, however, after Inonu failed to

pass a budget (Zürcher, 1998:262). The JP won 52.9 percent of the vote in the 1965 elections and formed a single party government (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:233).

The JP had been formed February 11, 1961. Suleyman Demirel was an engineer who worked for Adnan Menderes, the former leader of the DP. He was a technocrat and a moderate, and came to lead the JP after the death of its former leader. Demirel was a man of the people, unlike Inonu, who was a former military officer. He was also a great public speaker; unlike Inonu, he used the language of the masses (Zürcher, 1998:263; Ahmad, 1993:138).

The RPP used nationalism and left the right wing parties with Islam (Ahmad, 1993:142). Under Bülent Ecevit, the RPP changed its political stance. Ecevit emphasized social justice and security. The RPP became a center-left party and mobilized the worker class and urban poor (Zürcher, 1998:265). Islam became an important factor in the fight against communism, and was also important when Import-Substitution became an economic policy (Ahmad, 1993:142).

Demirel wanted to build Turkey into a capitalist society and later became the symbol of capitalism in Turkey. Small merchants and tradesmen failed to live in the high competition environment and criticized Demirel, using Islamic rhetoric. Islam became even more important when Necmettin Erbakan formed his party, the Islamist National Order Party in January 1970. In December 1970, a faction broke off from the JP and formed the Democrat Party (Ahmad, 1993:144).

Alparslan Türkeş formed the Nationalist Action Party from the remains of the Republican Peasants National Party. His party was based on nine fundamental beliefs: “nationalism, idealism, morality, social responsibility, scientific-mindedness, support for freedom, support for the peasants, developmentalism, and industrialization” (Zürcher, 1998:169). These beliefs were

not much different than Kemalism. Turkes emphasized ultra nationalism and was against capitalism and communism (Zürcher, 1998:169).

The Reliance Party was formed from old politicians of the RPP. This schism on the right pushed Turkey into political instability. Increased industrialization led to rampant inflation and limited consumption. When 1971 came, Turkey was in a state of chaos. The INOP publicly rejected Ataturk and Kemalism, which infuriated the military. Demirel lost the confidence of his followers. Forty-one Ministers of Parliament resigned from the JP (Zürcher, 1998:265). On March 12, 1971, the military organized a coup (Ahmad, 1993:147).

1971-1980: A Decade of Political Violence

The second coup of March 12, 1971 did not dissolve the Parliament. It encouraged a technocratic government under a well-seasoned RPP politician (Özbudun, 2000:56). The JP was incorporated in the process of constitutional amendments. Amendments were focused on three main points: Civil liberties needed to be curtailed, the Executive needed more power, and the military was to be removed from the administration of civil agencies (Özbudun, 2000:57). The technocratic government was tasked with stopping political violence, reviewing the Constitution, and implementing social reforms. The government accomplished two of its objectives. Political violence stopped and the Constitution was amended. The third objective, however, was not met because the Conservative majority opposed it. (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:234).

The Constitutional Court closed the National Order Party because the NOP violated the secularism article of the constitution. No harsh measures were taken against the Islamist Erbakan. He was allowed to form another party — the National Salvation Party. The NSP put

less emphasis on Islam and more emphasis on the opposition of monopolies and dependence on foreign capital. They wanted an economy based on Islamic values (i.e., interest free banking). Inonu resigned in November 1971. His resignation suggested that he was opposed to Ecevit (Ahmad, 1993:158).

In the 1973 election, the RPP won 33.3 percent of the vote; the JP won 29.8 percent; the DP won 11.9 percent; and the NSP won 17.8 percent. The RPP won the votes of the industrialized regions, capturing the votes of workers who were alienated by the JP. Instead of having parties with programs, Turkey has parties associated with their leaders (Ahmad,1993:160).

The RPP and the NSP had a lot in common: They believed in a mixed economy with social justice and a society with more freedoms and rights. They wanted the State to have control over national resources and emphasized heavy industry. The NSP became the party of shopkeepers, artisans and small entrepreneurs. Islamists were not opposed to capitalism, but did not like the dependence on foreign capital.

Ecevit wanted Turkey to be a member of the European Union; he was very unpopular in Washington because of his European orientation (Zürcher, 1998:290). The NSP comforted the religious, and created a firm belief in Islam as the protector of Turkey from the influence of the West. The RPP emphasized liberalism, Kemalism, nationalism and social welfare. Ecevit appreciated Islam and abandoned militant secularism.

The coalition between the NSP and the RPP was declared January 25, 1974. The RPP presented their program, which emphasized the importance of private industry and the State's responsibility to build infrastructure. (Ahmad, 1993:161-162). However, the democratization process was halted by the ultra-nationalist Grey Wolves, a militant arm of the NAP. This was the

start of political terrorism in Turkey, which later became routine in Turkish life (Ahmad, 1993:163).

Ecevit's popularity increased because he freed political prisoners. Ecevit's popularity alarmed Erbakan and convinced him to act independently. Erbakan used issues of morality to appeal to conservatives. The Cyprus crisis increased Ecevit's popularity (Zürcher, 1998:290), while pushing Erbakan to act against the coalition. Ecevit believed that his party would win if an early election was held, and he resigned from the coalition. Turkey was left in a chaotic situation until the JP formed a right wing coalition called the National Front.

With the creation of the National Front, political violence increased. The government provided the Grey Wolves with weapons (Ahmad, 1993:166). The increased violence gained the RPP votes in the Senate. Both the Kurds and Shiites voted for the RPP. The RPP also made gains in urbanized areas. However, the JP also saw an increase of support. The emergent property was a two-party system.

The year of 1976 was difficult for the RPP. They had not been in majority for a long time. Rampant inflation and high unemployment made the Revolutionary Workers Union join the RPP. By the end of the year, Demirel decided that he needed to be free from his partners' actions. He wanted to hold an early election.

On April 5, 1977, the RPP and the JP voted to have an early election. On election day, the RPP won 41.4 percent of the vote but was unable to get a confidence vote in the Parliament (Ahmad, 1993:170). After the RPP's failure, Demirel formed the second National Front, against the counsel of his advisors. On December 31, 1977, the second National Front failed to receive a confidence vote. The RPP's leader, Ecevit, declared a de facto JP-RPP coalition with old politicians from the JP.

Terror continued and Ecevit declared martial law December 25, 1978. The declaration of martial law eroded Ecevit's popularity. Due to martial law measures, three members of the RPP resigned, which eventually led to Ecevit's resignation October 16, 1979 (Ahmad, 1993:171). Demirel again formed a coalition with the NSP.

On March 29, 1980, the government signed the Turkey-U.S. Defense Agreement and the multilateral foreign policy of Ecevit was abandoned. Right wing violence continued. The Grey Wolves were viewed as part of the State. The number of deaths reached its peak at 20 deaths per day (Ahmad, 1993:175).

After 1973, the economy was stagnant. Inflation and unemployment were high. The U.S. imposed an embargo on Turkey following Ecevit's action on Cyprus. The government had to borrow \$7 billion and Ecevit was forced to follow IMF's decisions.

In August 1980, Erbakan and Ecevit came together to oppose Demirel. This was seen as Islamist fundamentalists cooperating with the left, which infuriated the military. There was no quorum at the GNA on September 9-10, 1980 due to missing JP and NAP deputies. Politics in Turkey became chaotic. Political terrorism increased. On September 12, 1980, the Military High Command organized a coup d'état and ended the chaos (Ahmad, 1993:180).

1980-1991: The Motherland Party and Political Stability

The coup was organized by the four chiefs of the armed forces (Navy, Army, Air Force, Gendarmerie). They set up the National Security Council. General Kenan Evren was the head of the Junta. The Junta led the country until the 1983 elections.

The Junta was not homogenous; it was divided into two groups (Ahmad, 1993:181). The moderates wanted an earlier power transfer to the civilians. They were in favor of reaching an agreement with the “second layer” politicians from old parties. The extremist faction wanted a thorough restructuring of the society and politics. They believed that political terrorism’s root was in old politics and politicians.

The NSC was willing to create their own political party. The public was tired of high inflation and scarcity of basic goods. They also welcomed martial law for stability. As soon as the Junta came to power, it suspended the Constitution, dissolved the Parliament, detained leaders of political parties, and suspended all professional associations and trade unions. The NSC announced that they were committed to destroying all obstacles that were in the way of democracy. Politicians involved in corrupt activities were prosecuted for criminal activity but not for political wrongdoings. The only parts of society that were left untouched were foreign policy and national economics (Ahmad, 1993:182).

The economic stability program started its work in January 1980. Bulent Ulusu, one of the planners of the coup, was given the right to create his cabinet. Turgut Ozal was appointed as deputy prime minister for national economy September 21, 1980. As soon as the NSC made the coup, they consulted Ozal about economic policy. Ozal was given carte blanche to solve Turkey’s economic problems. He freed prices and cut wages to slow consumption. His policy increased exports and made agreements to postpone debt repayment.

After the coup, Turkey’s foreign policy was designed to please Western interest. The NSC was primarily concerned with changing politics and political institutions. Their objective was to depoliticize the youth (Özbudun, 2000:57). They crushed every protest coming from the

left. The extreme right groups were crushed too, but the far right ideology changed form and became the Turkish Islamic Synthesis.

Turkish Islamic Synthesis implies that Islam and Turkish nationalism are the two indispensable components of Turkish culture. Islam is the only religion that suits Turkey; the adoption of any other religion would result in lost identity and culture. Therefore, adoption of Islam is the best thing that happened to the Turkish nation and is the only way of remaining Turkish (Sen, 2010:61).

In the 1980's, routine arrests and trials of the old NAP and NSP members became a regular feature of political life. In October 1981, the Junta appointed an assembly tasked with writing a new constitution along with a law closing all political parties. On November 5, 1981, the foreign minister of West Germany warned the generals that their repressive measures could cost them participation in the Council of Europe (Ahmad, 1993:185). By the end of 1981, Gen. Evren announced that the cabinet was to debate the Constitution. In February 1982, Ulusu's government declared that political leaders from old parties were not allowed to participate in the debate. The imprisonment of Bulent Ecevit increased tensions in the political arena.

The referendum was held November 7, 1982. Turkish citizens accepted the Constitution drafted by the assembly with a 91.4 percent vote (Ahmad, 1993:186-187; see also Zürcher, 1998:295-296). Gen. Kenan Evren assumed the presidency on November 9. He declared that an election was to be held in October 1983 (Zürcher, 1998:295).

On April 24, 1983, the new parties law passed. The law dictated that new parties be composed of at least 30 citizens. After the law passed, 17 parties were formed, but only two parties had substance (Ahmad, 1993:188). The Social Democrat Party was formed by Erdal Inonu, son of Ismet Inonu, and was expected to attract supporters of the RPP. The Great Turkey

Party was formed, but it was just the Justice Party in disguise and was quickly shut down by the NSC. The Nationalist Democratic Party was formed by Gen. Sunalp. Ozal also formed his own party, the Motherland Party, which he set as a center party. The Populist Party was formed by Necdet Calp. He was expected to fill the vacuum created by the RPP. The NDP was expected to win the elections because it was backed by the National Security Council (Zürcher, 1998:296; see also Ahmad, 1993:189).

Campaigning started October 16, 1983. The NDP did not get much support from the public. Sunalp was a soldier who had disdain for his audience and thus, was generally uninspiring. Calp was equally uninspiring and was associated with bureaucracy (Ahmad, 1993:189). Ozal, on the other hand, was charismatic and was the only liberal, anti-statist, anti-bureaucratic candidate (Zürcher, 1998:297). The polls showed that Ozal was ahead of all his rivals. Ulusu and Evren saw this and openly supported the NDP. This action backfired and decreased support for the NDP further.

On election day, the Motherland Party won 45.2 percent of the vote; the NDP won 23.3 percent; and the Populist Party won 30.5 percent. (Table 4). The SDP was not allowed to participate in the election and therefore, Ozal failed to legitimize his victory (Ahmad, 1993:190). He had to prove himself in the upcoming municipal elections in November 1984. His strategy was to hold the elections early to give as little time as possible for the opposition to organize.

Ozal set up a system of funds that he used to fund political campaigns and strengthen the executive branch. The funds were not included in the budget. They were out of the control of the legislature and the bureaucracy, and used at the sole discretion of the Prime Minister, Turgut Ozal (Ahmad, 1993:191). Ozal then moved the municipal elections to March 1984. The MP won

41.5 percent of the vote; the SDP won 22.9 percent; and the True Path Party won 13.7 percent. However, the SDP and the TPP did not gain representation in the Parliament.

The True Path Party was supported by Demirel. The Democratic Left Party was supported by Ecevit. Neither party was a threat to Ozal because there was a 10 percent threshold in the new electoral system. The Motherland Party represented the center. The MP also had the three principle ideologies of the right: conservative like the JP, Islamist like the NSP, and nationalist like the NAP. Ozal also emphasized social justice like the DLP (Ahmad, 1993:192-193). Having these qualities, the MP was a big umbrella party. Ozal consolidated his dominance over the divided MP by offering offices and political positions to politicians from the NAP and the NSP.

In June 1985, the minister of State was forced to resign after accusations of taking bribes from a businessman (Ahmad, 1993:194). By the beginning of 1986, the power of the Junta had decreased. It became clear that the True Path Party was led by Demirel. The Democratic Left was led by Ecevit. Turkes led the Nationalist Labor Party, and Erbakan led the Welfare Party. The SDP and Populist Party merged and formed the Social Democrat Populist Party.

The right had nine parties and was more divided than ever. Only the TPP and the MP mattered on the right. The opposition parties from the left promised to abolish the undemocratic institution that the government was operating. This action brought them popularity. Polls showed that leftist parties were ahead of the MP. Ozal then declared coalition governments unstable. He pointed to the need for the military interventions of 1960-1971. He took credit for the stability he brought in 1983, and accused Demirel of being the source of political terrorism in the 1970's (Ahmad, 1993:195).

Demirel was the most evident threat to Ozal's power, as he attracted liberals and democrats. He left Ozal no choice but to look for support from the Islamist and fascists. Demirel's strategy did not work. The MP won 32 percent of the vote. The SDPP won 22.7 percent of the vote. The election put pressure on Ozal to abolish the law that forbid old party leaders to join elections. Ozal took a stance against this measure, saying that it would mean the return of political violence. Despite that, the public voted "yes" to this measure September 6, 1987. Old party leaders were able to join their parties and elections (Zürcher, 1998:199, see also Ahmad, 1993:196).

Ozal did not feel comfortable with this situation. Rather than wait for the regularly scheduled election in 1989, he arranged for an early election to take place in 1987. In addition, an amendment on electoral law was made to the constitution. It declared that seats won by parties who did not meet a 10 percent threshold would go to the ruling party (Zürcher, 1998:299). On election day, the Motherland Party won 39.3 percent of the votes but won 64.9 percent of the seats (292) (Table 4). The SDPP won 24.8 percent of the votes and became the main opposition party. Demirel's party, the True Path Party, won 19.2 percent of the vote and became the third party in the Grand National Assembly.

The 1987 election stripped Ozal of the legitimacy that he worked hard to build. Demirel accused Ozal of manipulating electoral law. After the elections, the public started making the same accusations (Ahmad, 1993:197). Ozal tried not to attract any political attention to him and his party, and tried to distance himself from the accusations.

Ozal had the wrong partners for his strategy, which ultimately failed. He wanted to implement liberal reforms, but the ideology of his partners was too far right. Ozal started as an economic advisor. He wanted to implement economic reforms. He was not much interested in

furthering democracy. Under Ozal's rule, undemocratic laws that came from the military were not changed. The penal code, the higher education law, and the trade union laws remained the same (Ahmad, 1993:197). Ozal was unable to change the economic situation in Turkey; inflation was still very high. He could not fulfill his promise of a better Turkey. His popularity eroded. (Zürcher, 1998:301).

The March 26, 1989 local elections showed this trend. The Motherland Party won only 22 percent of the vote. Ozal knew that his popularity had eroded so significantly that he had no chance of winning the 1992 election, but he did not want to leave politics. Thus, against popular expectation, he announced his candidacy for the Presidency. Factions of the Motherland Party did nothing to discourage him. His candidacy meant that the Islamist and Nationalist factions would have more power upon his departure.

Ozal's party got hit by accusations of corruption. The mayor of Istanbul had to resign and joined Demirel's TPP (Zürcher, 1998:301; see also Ahmad, 1993:198). Ozal's party members acquired a tremendous amount of wealth, and, on October 31, 1989, the Parliament elected Ozal as the 8th President of the Turkish Republic. The MP elected Yildirim Akbulut as the party leader but, Akbulut was very dependent on Ozal. This weakened the MP against its rivals (Ahmad, 1993:198; see also Zürcher, 1998:302).

Ozal's presidency did not bring stability and prosperity to Turkey. On the contrary, the government weakened. The Kurdish problem gained momentum. There was constant talk of the threat that the Islamist fundamentalists posed, and the economy was hit by high inflation rates (Ahmad, 1993:200). These problems increased the fear of another military intervention.

The Gulf War of August 2, 1990, shifted attention from domestic politics to foreign affairs. Ozal used this to his advantage and backed Bush's policy. The Chief of Staff disagreed

with Ozal and resigned. This created political tension and economic instability (Ahmad, 1993:201). The polls taken in March 1991 showed a decline in support for the ruling party and the social democrats. Only Demirel made positive progress.

This chaotic situation pushed the Assembly to move elections to October 1991. The election results showed a decrease of support for the MP. They won 24 percent of the vote. The SDPP won 20.8 percent. The TPP won 27 percent of the vote and increased their number of seats by 119. The religious Welfare Party won 16.9 percent of the vote and gained 62 seats in Parliament. There was a coalition between the TPP and the SDPP, who together had 266 seats (Table 4) (Ahmad,1993, p.203).

1991-2000: The Rise of Islamic Parties

The 1991 elections resulted in a coalition government between the TPP and the SDPP. Demirel became Prime Minister (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:242). The newly formed government promised academic reform, freedom of the press, and respect for human rights (Zürcher, 1998:308). These efforts were constantly blocked by Ozal, who refused to sign new laws (Zürcher, 1998:308). Mesut Yilmaz, the leader of the Motherland Party acted more independently and tried to remove Ozal from the Presidency in 1992. Ozal died abruptly from a heart attack April 17, 1993 (Zürcher, 1998:309). Nine months after Ozal's death, the Parliament elected Demirel as the new President of Turkey.

With Demirel elected as the President, the TPP held internal elections for a new party leader. Tansu Ciller won the internal election and became the first female Prime Minister. Ciller

was an economics professor. She had a pro-American and pro-free market stance (Zürcher, 1998:310).

The 1994 local elections posed a great challenge to Ciller's government. The Welfare Party won 19.1 percent of the vote; the TPP won 21.4 percent; and the MP won 21 percent (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset, 1995:243; see also Zürcher, 1998:310). The WP won Istanbul and Ankara (Zürcher, 1998:311). The urban poor who arrived from the provinces supported the WP (Sayari & Esmer, 2002:79). The 1994 local elections were held under the schism between the secularists and Islamists, which helped the WP (Sayari & Esmer, 2002:80).

On July 23, 1995, the Parliament passed a package to meet the EU criteria to join the customs union. The package contained changes to the 1983 constitution. It removed the passage applauding the military takeover of 1980. It gave trade unions the right to participate in politics and it allowed civil servants to join trade unions. The package also allowed parties to form youth and women's branches. The age of voting was reduced from twenty-one to eighteen years of age. (Zürcher, 1998:312).

In December 1995, a general election was held. The WP won 21.4 percent of the votes and became the largest party in the Parliament with 158 seats. The Motherland Party received 19.7 percent of the votes. The TPP won 19.2 percent of the votes and became the third largest party in the Parliament. Demirel gave Erbakan, leader of the WP, the chance to form a coalition, but the process failed. After the failure, the MP and the TPP agreed to form a coalition.

The MP-TPP coalition was short-lived because the MP gave its support to a Parliamentary investigation of corruption charges against Ciller. As a result, Ciller threatened to remove her party from the coalition (Zürcher, 1998:314). The leader of the MP resigned on June

6, 1995. The WP offered to suspend the Parliamentary investigations if Ciller accepted to form a coalition government with their party. Ciller conceded and the WP-TPP coalition was announced June 28, 1995. Erbakan became the Prime Minister of Turkey, which was the first time an Islamist party leader was elected to the cabinet.

However, this coalition was also short-lived. The National Security Council gave a list of demands to the government to eliminate the Islamization of Turkey (Cizre & Cinar, 2003:309). The government was not able to withstand the pressure from the army and collapsed in June 1997 (Sayari & Esmer, 2002:81). The Constitutional Court dissolved the WP in 1998, one year before the 1999 elections. The military justified its actions with the announcement that Turkey's commitment to EU membership could only be achieved with secular establishments (Cizre & Cinar, 2003:314). The military ousted a government for the fourth time, but the method used was different. This time, the military did not take over. It forced the WP out of power without any use of force. This process was called the February 28 Process or the post-modern coup.

Conclusion

In this chapter I covered Turkey's historical background. The chapter covered all of the four military coups and the reasons they were organized. The military establishment acted as the guardian of Kemalism through the years. The military organized coups when they sensed that the Republic was in danger of Islamization.

The chapter described the different political parties and how they gained influence. One of the most important trends in Turkish history is the public's reliance on a strong leader (e.g.,

Demirel, Ozal, Menderes). Coalition governments were short-lived in Turkish politics. The lack of a strong leader resulted in political or economic distress, but if the leader became powerful enough to threaten the secular establishment, the armed forces ousted them. A good example is the case of Adnan Menderes. He was hanged after the 1960 military coup.

The next chapter will focus on the rise of the Justice and Development Party, which is the successor of the Welfare Party. I will also provide an analysis of voter behavior, and illustrate how economic voting has impacted the Turkish government.

Chapter 3

Rise of The Justice and Development Party

This chapter focuses on the rise of the Justice and Development Party. When the Virtue Party was shut down by the Constitutional Court, the JDP was born from its ashes as a new Islamist party. It went on to win four national elections consecutively from 2002 to 2015. In this chapter, we are going to focus on the economy, economic voting, voter behavior, the JDP's relations with the EU, and the JDP's relations with the military.

In the previous chapter we presented Turkey's history and the viability of religious parties. None of the previous religious parties were as successful as the JDP. The military did not tolerate any anti-secular views, and intervened rapidly in politics. The Constitutional Court banned anti-secular parties. These factors make the victories of the JDP unprecedented.

The Economy

The 2001 financial crisis played an important role in the election of the JDP in the November 2002 elections. In 1999, the Consumer Price Index in Turkey was 64.9 percent. The GDP growth rate was -4.8 percent (WDI, World Bank, 2014). In December 1999, the Turkish government accepted an agreement with the IMF for the first time. The goal was to bring down the CPI and Wholesale Price Index rates (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1549). To achieve this goal, the Turkish Lira was pegged to a basket of Dollars and Euros. The Central Bank of Turkey was forbidden to act on exchange rates. Macroeconomic equilibrium was to be achieved through the changes in interest rates (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1553).

Until the end of 2000, the economy recovered. GDP per capita reached \$6,119 (constant 2005 USD), the GDP grew by 6.7 percent, and the inflation rate went down to 54.9 percent (WDI, World Bank, 2014). However, imports grew and the trade deficit worsened (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1555). The government was unable to keep capital in Turkey. In 2000, capital inflows reached \$12.5 million, but in September 2001 total capital inflow fell to -\$13.7 million. The capital flight was due to the bad balance sheet and high exchange rate risk (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1555).

In December 2001, the IMF agreed to bail Turkey out with \$10.5 billion but the government had to agree to cut spending and increase taxes (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1556). These measures were hard on the coalition government because its support came from poor rural and urban areas (Önis, 2012:140).

The February 2001 financial crisis was absolutely devastating. Unemployment rose by one million and reached six million (WDI, World Bank, 2016). Small firms filed bankruptcies (Önis, 2012:141). Increasing appreciation of the Turkish Lira and high inflation pushed the government to break the peg and change to a free floating regime, but even these measures were not enough to stop capital flight.

In May 2001, the IMF gave another \$8 billion to Turkey (Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1556), but the crisis was not over. After the decision to break the peg, the government lost all control over the Lira. The currency lost value and interest rates increased rapidly. In September 2001, the IMF came to Turkey's help for the fourth time. In total, Turkey borrowed \$30 billion from the IMF. The currency market was stabilized by the fourth bailout package, but debtors were unable to come up with funds to purchase foreign exchange to pay their loans. On the other hand,

imports fell and the export level increased by \$3 billion (WDI, World Bank, 2016; Akyüz & Boratav, 2003:1557).

The February 2001 economic crisis came at a really high cost for the coalition government. The Democratic Left Party and the Nationalist Action Party were blamed for their incompetency. The JDP capitalized on this failure of the incumbent government, and won the November 2002 national election (Önis, 2012:142). The JDP won 34.3 percent of the vote and 363 out of 550 seats in the Parliament (Table 4).

Economic Voting

In the previous section we saw that the economy was in a bad shape, with high inflation, high unemployment and capital flight. The incumbent government was not able to pass the ten percent threshold in the 2002 election. Ecevit resigned from his position. Devlet Bahçeli talked about resigning, but never did. The economic failure of the government opened the way for the JDP.

Akarca and Tansel (2006) conducted research encompassing Parliamentary and local elections between 1950 and 2004. Their dependent variable was the vote share of the major incumbent party. They included GDP per capita growth rate and the inflation rate (Akarca & Tansel, 2006:79). According to their model, a one percentage point increase in GDP per capita equaled an increase in 0.88 percentage point in votes. On the other hand, a one percentage point increase in inflation translated into a 0.13 percentage point decrease in vote share (Akarca & Tansel, 2006:88). They predicted that implementing stimulus packages before the election results in an advantage for the incumbent party. However, the incumbent party lost eighteen percent of

its vote compared to the previous election simply because it was an incumbent government. The incumbent government also faced a deterioration of support of five percent year to year (Akarca & Tansel, 2006:88).

In the case of the JDP, we did not see a deterioration of support year to year at a magnitude of five percent. If anything, we saw an increase of the JDP's vote share compared to the 2002 elections. The authors came to the conclusion that Turkish voters considered GDP per capita growth and inflation rate seriously, and cast their vote accordingly. Voters took into consideration the previous year's economic performance (Akarca & Tansel, 2006:96). According to this study, the JDP's victory in 2002 is supported.

Another study conducted by Baslevant et al. (2009) focused on economic voting in 2002 and predicted further elections. They also focused on sociological variables such as age, gender, and religiosity. In this section, I am going to focus only on the economic significance of their study. Baslevant et al. (2009:388) found that voters did not focus very much on their personal gains from the economy (i.e., pocketbook voting), but were more concerned with the future of the national economy as a whole (i.e., sociotropic voting). Since the election of 2002, the economy grew fast and inflation rates went down. Baslevant et al. (2009:388) found that voters concerned with the national economy were more likely to vote for the JDP in the upcoming election.

The JDP never lost an election starting from 2002. The first victory in 2002 can be explained as a reaction vote, punishing the incumbents for poor economic performance. Baslevant et al. (2009:389) predicted that voters who believed in an optimistic future, economically, under the JDP rule were more likely to vote for the JDP. An important conclusion

of Baslevent et al. (2009:389) was that voters did not just punish incumbents, they also rewarded them according to their economic performances.

Voter Behavior

The first victory of an Islamic Party was in the national elections of 1995. The Welfare Party won 21.4 percent of the votes (Table 4). The adoption of neoliberal economic policies in the 1990's alienated voters because they put less emphasis on social welfare. Religious and center right parties became more appealing to poor voters through their leftist economic discourse (Sayari&Esmer, 2002:153). Religious parties found strong support in the urban poor and uneducated young males (Sayari&Esmer, 2002: 149-154). These trends were similar in the 2002 elections. As shown earlier in the chapter, the 2001 financial crisis played an important role in the election of JDP in the 2002 national elections.

Baslevent et al. (2009:383) found that the JDP voter was younger compared to the Republican People's Party's voter in the 2002 election. Education was also an important factor. The JDP voters were less educated compared to the RPP voters (Baslevent et al., 2009:383). These findings were similar to the trends in the 1995 and 1999 national elections.

Baslevent and Akarca (2008:4) found that the JDP voters were on the right side of the political spectrum. They were more religious and had less schooling. They were poorer compared to the RPP voter. The difference in the 2002 election was that female voters supported the JDP (Baslevent & Akarca, 2008:4).

The interesting part of their study consisted of voter realignment in the 2002 elections. Their results showed that the JDP captured nearly all the votes cast to the Virtue Party in 1999.

The JDP also captured half of the vote cast to the Nationalist Action Party, the Motherland Party, and the True Path Party (Baslevent & Akarca, 2008:6). The JDP enjoyed the support of the less educated voter of the MP and the VP. Older voters of the NAP supported the JDP. Female voters of the NAP, the VP, and the TPP were more likely to support the JDP. Right leaning voters of the RPP and the Democratic Left Party were captured by the JDP (Baslevent & Akarca, 2008:9). The JDP also enjoyed the support of many voters due to economic voting and the incompetency of the other centrist parties (Baslevent et al., 2009; see also Baslevent & Akarca, 2008). The 2002 elections resulted in a clear victory of the JDP with 34.3 percent of the vote.

When we look at the 2007 national elections, the JDP increased its vote share to 46.6 percent and the number of seats in the Parliament to 341. The RPP and the NAP were the only two parties who passed the ten percent threshold. They got, respectively, 20.8 percent and 14.3 of the vote. The study conducted by Kalaycioglu (2010) focused on the 2007 elections. He reported that the JDP voter followed a "cost-benefit" (Kalaycioglu, 2010:39) approach. They voted on the basis of economic satisfaction. The JDP party identification depended less on ideological issues and more on economic performance (Kalaycioglu, 2010:39). The RPP voter was more dependent on ideological issues; they were on the left side of the political spectrum (Kalaycioglu, 2010:39). Parental party identification was very important. This trend was very similar for the NAP voter because parental party identification played a very important role for them as well. Both the RPP and the NAP attracted economically dissatisfied voters (Kalaycioglu, 2010:42).

A criticism of the RPP came to be its stance on the Kurdish issue. The RPP blamed the JDP for being too soft on the terrorist group, and alienated Kurdish voters (Bahar, 2007:72). The RPP also failed to attract economically alienated voters. Economically dissatisfied voters cast

their ballot for the JDP. The RPP was seen as the party of the center (as in center-periphery), and attracted a lot of high income voters (Bahar, 2007:72). Neither Bahar (2007) nor Kalaycioglu (2010) found a relation between religiosity and the vote for the JDP.

By the end of 2007, GDP per capita reached \$7,773 (WDI, World Bank, 2016), and the inflation rate (CPI) was 8.77 percent (45 percent at the end of 2002) (WDI, World, Bank, 2016). Economic data clearly showed the JDP's success in economic performance and explained the increase of votes for the JDP in 2007.

Akarca (2011) predicted the vote of the JDP in the 2011 elections by using economic voting and historical data. He came to the conclusion that the JDP would win the 2011 elections with 44.2 percent of the vote (Akarca, 2011:66). He came to this conclusion by looking at cost of ruling, economic voting and incumbency advantage. His prediction was not far off: In the June 2011 election, the JDP won 40.9 percent of the votes and 327 seats (Table 5). The RPP won 24.9 percent of the vote and 135 seats, and the NAP won 53 seats and 13 percent of the vote (Table 5).

In 2002, GDP per capita (USD 2005) was \$5,942. In 2011, GDP per capita increased to \$8,397. The inflation rate dropped below 10 percent and GDP per capita (annual %) grew, on average, four percent from 2002 to 2011 (World Development Indicators, World Bank, 2016). The JDP clearly proved their economic competency during their nine years in office.

The electoral base changed , in nine years as well. By looking at the election results from the pre-JDP era and the JDP era, we can see that the Turkish political parties were fragmented. The 2011 election proved that the electoral base for the JDP consolidated and even expanded (Carkoglu, 2011:58). Votes of the center-left and left concentrated in the hands of the oldest

political party, the Republican People's Party. The once very popular Democratic Left Party was not able to pass the threshold for the third straight election period.

JDP-Military Relations

The analysis of civil-military relations is also very important when studying Turkey. The military has played an important role in Turkish history. When Turkey was founded in 1923 the majority of leaders were from the military. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Turkey, was a commander in the military. As described in the previous chapter, the armed forces acted on behalf of the State and pursued military coups four times in Turkey's history. The JDP leadership was able to avoid any such action from the armed forces.

According to the yearly reports of the European Union, the armed forces' political advisory body, the National Security Council, had too much power. With the JDP in power, the reports changed over time. I looked at Turkey's military expenditure (percentage of GDP) across time. When the JDP came to power in 2002, military expenditure was 3.9 percent of GDP. In 2014, this number went down to 2.2 percent of GDP. There was a clear decline in military budget.

When the JDP came to power, the NSC had the power to establish their budget, and also enjoyed great freedom of spending with two extra-budgetary funds. The NSC's opinions carried a lot of weight (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2002: 24-25). After one year of JDP rule, the NSC lost its representatives in the Supervision Board of Cinema, Video, and Music; the NSC meetings were cut down to every two months; and the Court of Auditors received permission to audit military accounts (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards

Accession, 2003: 18-19). In the JDP's first term, the NSC was forbidden to conduct national security investigations on its own initiative. Its representatives were removed from the High Audio-Visual Board, and High Education Board (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2004: 21-22). The staff of NSC was cut from 408 to 305 (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2005: 12-15). In 2006, the Military Criminal Code was amended and military courts lost the power of trying civilians in military courts.

In its second term, the JDP decreased the total number of NSC's staff to 224 from 305. In 2009, the Parliament passed legislation that allowed civilian courts to try military personnel in peacetime for crimes subject to Heavy Penal Court jurisdiction under article 250 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The RPP appealed to the Constitutional Court for the annulment of this legislation (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2009: 10).

In February 2010, the government repealed the secret protocol on Security, Public Order and Assistance Units, commonly called EMASYA. The protocol allowed military operations to be carried out without the consent of civilian authorities. The constitutional reform limited the jurisdiction of military courts to military service and military duties. Under the new system, crimes against State security, the constitutional order and the functioning of this order was to be dealt with by civilian courts. The constitutional provision immunity of the 1980 coup d'état was deleted from the Constitution. The Chief of General Staff and the commanders of the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Gendarmerie were to be tried before a high tribunal for any offenses committed in the course of their official duties (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2010:10-12).

During the JDP's second term, two cases against the armed forces were opened: Ergenekon and Sledgehammer. Both of those cases were opened because of alleged coup

organizations against the government. During these trials, multiple journalists and military personnel were arrested (Gürsoy, 2012:195). On March 3, 2011, several journalists were imprisoned, which incited criticism domestically and internationally. Ten days after these arrests, masses met in public centers to protest the arrests (Gürsoy, 2012:195).

In the case of the Sledgehammer investigations, the criminal court tried 163 suspects. The suspects consisted of retired commanders, 50 generals and more than one hundred active military personnel (Gürsoy, 2012:195). Colonel Derya Günergin was one of the suspects. He was imprisoned during the investigations.

I was able to interview Colonel Derya Günergin. At the time of our interview, he was back on active duty. The Colonel made it clear that another coup attempt was brewing in the low ranks of the military. Some of the colonels wanted to bring these groups together and organize a coup against the JDP. Col. Günergin's personal opinion on that matter was not to intervene with the democratic process. He explained that the coup attempt did not have much support with the high ranking officers in the armed forces. In his opinion, another coup would push Turkey back nearly a century vis-à-vis economic development. (Personal interview, July 2015).

The military played an important role in the 2011 elections. With the rise of the JDP, the armed forces' budget went down as a percentage of GDP (Figure 2) and they lost most of their privileges. The JDP leadership appeased the public and the EU with their progressive approach. As Taspinar (2012:4) described, Erdogan put democracy on top of his agenda (see also Dagi, 2008:27). Following the EU guidelines earned him legitimacy in a larger group of voters (i.e., business community), but especially in the eyes of the military (Taspinar, 2012:4).

JDP-EU Relations

The analysis of the JDP-EU relations will help us understand why the JDP enjoyed great support in their first term. The JDP appeased the public but, more importantly, the military. In the previous section I described the JDP's relations with the military, which was, one may say, the party's largest threat. During JDP rule, the military lost many of its privileges. Armed forces representatives were removed from agencies (e.g., High Education Board). These reforms were implemented to meet the EU criteria. Opposition parties such as the RPP and the NAP largely welcomed these reforms and recognized that joining the EU was an important goal to achieve. Demilitarization of the society and politics was only one part of the EU accession process, however. To meet the EU criteria, the JDP also implemented civil reforms.

The JDP used the EU to build credibility and legitimacy. In October 2006, the government ratified Protocol No. 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. These protocols recognized the legitimacy of the UN Human Rights Committee (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2007:11). The EU report acknowledged the progress made by the Turkish government, but emphasized that further progress was needed.

Progress was also made concerning women's rights. Protection for all family members was secured due to amendments made to the Law of Protection of the Family (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2007:18). During the JDP's first term, progress was achieved concerning civil rights and freedom.

Between 2007 and 2011, the JDP implemented more reforms. In December 2010, a new law was implemented regarding the Judicial branch. The High Council of Judges and Prosecutors

were to be elected by judicial bodies, and became more pluralistic (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2011:14).

Freedom of expression, however, became a very serious problem. Freedom of media was restricted, journalists were imprisoned, and the confiscation of manuscripts raised concerns (Commission on Turkey's Progress Towards Accession, 2007:25). Large numbers of journalist touching the "Kurdish issue" were imprisoned due to terrorist propaganda. The EU pressed the fact that Turkey needed to implement more reforms.

In the 2007 campaigning period, the JDP focused on winning Kurdish voters. The JDP avowed Kurdish identity. The Kurdish issue was described as an issue of democracy, and not a national security problem. In 2010, the JDP agenda changed and was focused on winning the NAP votes (Satana, 2012:177). The efforts of solving the Kurdish issue began with the lift on language bans. The JDP promised an emphasis on local administrations and the distribution of services through local public offices (Satana, 2012:177).

The idea of an autonomous South-East came to the agenda with the 2011 elections. After the 2011 elections, there was a terrorist attack in the capital city of Ankara September 21, 2011 by the PKK, a Kurdish terrorist group. This attack delayed the efforts of the JDP to write a new constitution (Satana, 2012:184).

The JDP tactfully used the EU to build legitimacy. The military was damaged through investigations and a decrease in funding. At the same time, the JDP leadership implemented reforms concerning civil rights and freedoms. Despite these reforms, the EU criticized the Turkish government on the issue of freedom of expression and freedom of the media.

Conclusion

The JDP came to power in 2002 after the 2001 financial crisis. The financial crisis left Turkey crippled and under a large amount of national debt. The voters blamed the coalition government and decided to vote for the JDP. The Turkish voter took economic prosperity very seriously and punished the government. We saw that under the JDP rule, the economy grew and inflation rates went down. The voters rewarded the JDP for its strong economic policies and voted for them in the 2007 and 2011 elections.

The military suffered a loss of power under the JDP. The military lost its representation in governmental offices and also its influence over the Parliament. From 2002 to 2011, the military's budget went down as a proportion of the GDP. The National Security Council decreased in size. The JDP followed EU criteria and proved that they were following the democratization process.

From 2002 to 2011, the JDP implemented laws regarding civil rights and political freedoms. The EU recognized the progress made by the JDP, but criticized the JDP regarding the issue of freedom of expression. The JDP built credibility and legitimacy through the reforms implemented in alignment with the EU criteria. These actions appeased the military and ensured that the JDP enjoyed great support from the electorate.

Chapter 4

The 2015 Parliamentary Elections

This chapter focuses on the 2015 general elections. There were two general elections in 2015; the first in June, and the second in November. Before discussing the 2015 elections, I will analyze two major events which influenced the elections: the Gezi Park protests and the 2014 Presidential elections.

The Gezi Uprising in Summer 2013

The Gezi uprising started in late May 2013. “Gezi parki” is an urban park located in Istanbul’s Taksim Square. The uprising started with the announcement that the park would be removed so that a shopping mall could be constructed (Budak & Watts, 2015:370). Environmental protesters flooded the park. Police used tear gas and plastic bullets to dissipate them. These actions were met with public outrage that resulted in larger protests, and began a cycle of police action and repression against protesters. These protests, which started over environmental issues, morphed into an uprising against government repression and the restrictive civil rights policies of the government (Budak & Watts, 2015:370). Arat (2013:808) described this uprising as one against the State’s use of police violence.

The Occupy Gezi Movement brought together a great variety of ethnically diverse groups as well as activists who had no previous experience in social activism. Most of them had no party affiliation (Arat, 2013:808). Groups involved in the protests included “Kemalists, leftists, environmentalists, feminists, LGBT activists, Kurds, Alevis, soccer fans, professionals, and workers” (Arat, 2013:808, see also Öztürk, 2014:112). The groups united against government

brutality. They shared an understanding of civil rights violations and disapproved of the violent action taken against the protestors (Öztürk, 2014:112). Resistance against the police was not ideologically shaped; the intention of the protestors was not to change the government or its economic policies (Arat, 2013:809). They were united for other reasons.

The Occupy Gezi Movement was seen internationally. A picture of a woman wearing a red dress, gassed by the police, circulated on the internet. People in Europe imitated the “standing man” of Gezi (Arat, 2013:809). The Ministry of Interior declared that 2.2 million people joined the movement. These numbers were challenged by the Andy Ar Research Company, which declared that more than 8 million people joined the protests (Yörük, 2014:424).

The middle class was the dominant class that participated in the protests. Two types of middle class participated: a new middle class, mostly composed of professionals, and the low income proletariat class. The new middle class had gained economic power and wanted to stop the authoritarian and conservative policies of the Justice and Development Party (Yörük, 2014: 424). This new middle class, which was linked to the global economy due to globalization, wanted the same political freedoms and rights that people in the developed countries are enjoying.

The JDP’s response to the protest furthered the social divide. They criminalized protestors and created a divide between Gezi supporters and the JDP supporters (Yörük, 2014: 425). This movement’s formation was due to marginalization of the middle class and the dissatisfaction non-JDP supporters felt over the JDP’s policies. The protests undermined the JDP’s legitimacy with a grassroots uprising and radicalism against the government.

When we look at party affiliation, especially for the opposition parties (Republican People’s Party, Nationalist Action Party, People’s Democratic Party), the research conducted by

Budak and Watts (2015:385) showed clearly that opposition party supporters increased their support for other opposition parties as a result of the Occupy Gezi Movement. PDP party supporters showed an increased affinity for the RPP and NAP supporters who participated in the Gezi movement (Budak & Watts, 2015:385). NAP supporters who joined the protests increased their sympathy for the RPP and the PDP by six to thirteen percent. NAP supporters who did not join the protests also increased their affinity, but only by two to four percent (Budak & Watts, 2015:385). RPP supporters, regardless of participation in the protests, increased their affinity to other opposition parties by three percent (Budak & Watts, 2015:385).

The Occupy Gezi Movement brought people from different ages, classes and political parties together to show their discontent with JDP leadership. They presented a challenge to the JDP's legitimacy, and the government's use of political violence and repression. The protest, which started as an environmental act, became a country-wide protest against the government and its repressive policies concerning political freedoms and civil rights.

2014 Presidential Elections

Popular Presidential elections were a very new concept for the Turkish voter. Previously the President of Turkey was elected by the Parliament. In January 2012, the government passed a law allowing candidates to run for the presidency for the first time in Turkish history (Öztürk, 2014:115). This law came to life thanks to a constitutional referendum (Umit, 2015, 174; see also Khan, 2014:15). According to the law, the President's term was reduced to five years from seven years, with an option to run for the presidency for an additional term of five years (Umit, 2015, 174).

The first intention of the law was to restrict the campaign only to new candidates; it sought to disqualify any Presidents who served before (Umit, 2015:174). The Constitutional Court appealed that aspect of the law and extended the campaigning process to all old Presidents. The law dictated that the term of the residing President, Abdullah Gül, would not be reduced to five years but remain seven. Theoretically, Abdullah Gül was able to run for the office of the presidency again under the law, due to the Constitutional Court's appeal (Umit, 2015:174). The Court decided that the elections were to be held August 10, 2014 (Öztürk, 2014:115; see also, Umit, 2014:174).

The electoral system was set to be a two-round system. Any candidate needed the absolute majority to win the election. Any Turkish citizen aged 18 years or older, whether at home or abroad, was able to vote. Citizens living abroad were given the chance to vote in customs offices, which opened a month before election day. This strategy resulted in a very low turnout. Total turnout was 47 percent (Khan, 2014:13; see also Umit, 2015:174). According to Öztürk (2014:116) the reason for the low turnout was public dissatisfaction. Citizens who took summer holidays, university students and seasonal workers could not vote in their constituencies.

Another innovative piece of this election were the donations. Presidential candidates were able to accept donations from the public up to TL 8,259 (Öztürk, 2015:115; see also Umit, 2014:176). Three candidates ran for the presidency: Tayyip Erdogan, from the JDP; Selahattin Demirtas, from the People's Democratic Party (Pro-Kurdish/Leftist); and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, who was a joint candidate for the RPP and the NAP (Öztürk, 2015:115). The donations that Erdogan collected were six times the amount collected by Demirtas and Ihsanoglu combined (Umit, 2015:176).

Erdogan enjoyed the advantage of being the JDP's leader, and remained the Prime Minister during his campaign (Umit, 2015, 2015:176). His campaign was based on standing against groups that opposed the JDP. He called himself the "Man of the People" (Öztürk, 2014:116). Erdogan also declared that he would not be a passive President; rather, he would be an active one (Umit, 2015:176).

Ihsanoglu was the Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, and the candidate of the RPP and the NAP combined. He declared that he would not change the role of the President (Umit, 2015:176). Although he tried to run a comprehensive campaign, his strategy was a failure because of his religious background (Öztürk, 2014:116). He could not capture the votes of the Turkish social democratic youth, who participated in the Gezi events (Öztürk, 2014:116).

Demirtas, on the other hand, was a young and charismatic politician who was able to capture the youth. His rhetoric was exciting and effective. He gave the voters a positive energy (Öztürk, 2014:116). As part of the PDP, he also enjoyed the advantage of partisan politics.

Ihsanoglu was an academic, unknown to the public, and campaign coverage was unequal; Erdogan enjoyed a higher rate of coverage by public television (Turkish Radio and Television Company). Erdogan received 559 minutes; Ihsanoglu, 137 minutes; and Demirtas, 18 minutes (Table 2) (Öztürk, 2014:116; see also Umit, 2015:175).

Erdogan won the election in the first round with 51.8 percent of the votes. He became the first popularly elected President of Turkey (Öztürk, 2014:117). Erdogan received most of his support from Turkey's central area. Ihsanoglu received the support of the western coastal region. Demirtas received his votes from the southeastern region, which is heavily populated by ethnic Kurds (Khan, 2014:14).

In the analysis of the Presidential election, we can see that the opposition failed to choose candidates who could appeal to the public. Erdogan's campaign showed strong media use that attracted the people. His use of aggressive language and an energetic campaign triumphed over the moderate tone of Demirtas and Ihsanoglu (Khan, 2014:15).

We can also see the strong influence of partisan politics. The JDP attracted the votes of the religious populace, while the RPP attracted secular and liberal voters. The NAP remained the party of the nationalists, while Demirtas attracted a lot of Kurdish votes (Khan, 2014:16).

Erdogan's character and his voter base helped him win the election. We also have to keep in mind that under Erdogan, the economy grew and many people moved out of poverty. When Europe was struck by the financial crisis, the Turkish economy grew at a steady rate (Khan, 2014:16).

Table 1 Presidential Election Results

Source: Khan, 2014

Candidate	Percentage	Number of Votes
Recep Tayyip Erdogan	51.65	20,669,955
Selahattin Demirtas	9.78	3,914,427
Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu	38.56	15,432,166

Table 2 Donations and Public Broadcasting in the 2014 Presidential elections

Candidate	Donations (USD)	Public Broadcasting (mins)
Recep Tayyip Erdogan	25,489,288	559
Selahattin Demirtas	559,501	18
Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu	3,920,664	137

Source: Umit,2014

2015 General Elections

In the previous chapter I showed that since the 2002 general elections, the JDP did not face a major threat from the opposition parties. The JDP enjoyed a single party majority government for thirteen years. In the June 2015 elections, the JDP support changed. The JDP received 40.9 percent of the votes and 258 seats; the RPP received 24.9 percent of the votes and 132 seats; the NAP received 16.3 percent and 80 seats; and finally, the PDP received 13.6 percent of the votes and 80 seats (Table 5).

The results showed that some realignments happened. For the JDP, the June elections meant a loss of nine percentage points compared to the 2011 Parliamentary elections (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:60). The results also meant that the JDP could not have its own government; the situation required a coalition to be formed.

A large portion of the Kurdish ethnic vote who previously voted for the JDP realigned themselves and voted for the PDP in the June elections (Akarca, 2015:85). A poll conducted after the June election showed that 28 percent of the NAP voters, and 22 percent of the PDP voters in June, voted for the JDP in the 2011 elections (Akarca, 2015:91). According to Mulayim

(2015:43) the NAP captured four percent of the JDP supporters. These results show that the June 2015 election was used for strategic voting, helping the PDP pass the 10 percent threshold, and to demonstrate to the JDP that some voters were dissatisfied.

The PDP's decision to enter the elections had an impact on the JDP's voter base, especially in the southeast and also in the west (Akarca, 2015:91). If the PDP was not able to pass the 10 percent threshold, the JDP would have received the PDP's votes, and would have been able to achieve a majority in the Parliament.

Erdogan, the President, made his intentions clear during the campaign: He wanted to receive 400 seats in the Parliament to change the constitution and establish a Presidential system (Mulayim, 2015:41). The number of seats needed to change the constitution is 367, but 330 seats would enable a constitutional referendum. All the other parties strongly opposed the instauration of a Presidential system in Turkey (Mulayim, 2015:41; see also Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:75).

Erdogan, who held a ceremonial role, kept the promise that he made after the 2014 Presidential elections. Although his post requires him to be impartial to politics, he clearly took the JDP's side, holding rallies during the campaign season (Mulayim, 2015:41; see also Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:60).

Economics played an important role in the June 2015 elections. The Turkish economy was slumping downward (Figure 1) (Alptekin, 2015:126). The JDP, which had provided stable growth for a long period of time (see previous chapter) did not make any claims in the June election campaign (Alptekin, 2015:127). As Akarca and Tansel (2006) described, the Turkish voter takes the economy very seriously and has a tendency to vote according to economic performance (see also Akarca, 2015). Thus, the downward trend of the economy impacted voters' choices in the June elections.

The slowdown of the economy was felt in the business community, but especially among the JDP's base of small businesses, public servants and farmers (Mulayim, 2015:42). Just before the elections Turkey's growth rate hit 2.5 percent, a dramatic fall from 4.8 percent during the same period in 2014 (Alptekin, 2015:129). This fall replaced voters' memories of the high economic performance in the previous years (Alptekin, 2015:129).

The fall of the GDP per capita was not the only problem. Unemployment rates and inflation rates increased. In 2014, unemployment rates increased to 10.9 percent, the same as 2002 rates, and the inflation rate hit 8.2 percent, two percentage points higher than the 2012 rates (Alptekin, 2015:129). Using the economic voting model, voters in the June elections moved away from the JDP due to its weak economic performance.

The RPP tried to come up with an effective economic policy and become a catch-all party (Gökmen & Tosun, 2015:194). The RPP picked its slogans carefully, and put emphasis on economic policy. Some of the slogans included: "Participatory Republic, Accountability of the State, Transparency" and "Turkey with a Competitive Power in the World" (Gökmen & Tosun, 2015:195). The aims of these slogans were to attract voters from the low income category. The RPP emphasized the need of a social State and social welfare with an emphasis on human development. According to the RPP, this improvement could only be achieved through economic growth (Gökmen & Tosun, 2015:196).

The focus on the national economy allowed the RPP to move from ideological and identity politics to become a more catch-all party; a party that focused on development and production (Gökmen & Tosun, 2015:197). These tactics and strategies applied by the RPP did not result in a higher vote percentage in the ballot box. The RPP failed to reach the lower and

middle class voters, who are moderately religious and conservative (Gökmen & Tosun, 2015:205).

The June 2015 election resulted in a deadlock in the government, because no party had the majority in the Parliament to create a single party government. The formation of a coalition proved to be difficult because of the parties and their ideologies. The PDP and the NAP, who gained a lot of votes, were polar opposites. The PDP is a Kurdish leftist party and the NAP is a nationalist conservative party. The JDP and the RPP were not compatible due to ideological differences.

The NAP received the name of “Naysayer” and was strongly criticized for escaping its duty to form a coalition (Balci & Bekiroglu, 2015:210). The NAP declared that the Turkish voter wanted a coalition but held the JDP and the RPP responsible to reach an agreement. The NAP did not support a minority government. Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the NAP, announced that he could take responsibility if his conditions were met. His conditions consisted of “indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, consolidation of the unitary structure and moral politic” (Balci & Bekiroglu, 2015:220). Voters were in a situation where no party wanted to enter into a coalition with the JDP. The NAP supporters were dissatisfied with the NAP because they did not want to be in a coalition government. Sixty percent of the NAP supporters wanted a NAP-JDP coalition government or a JDP minority government supported by the NAP (Akarca, 2015:93).

The coalition process failed and President Erdogan declared a re-election to be held November 1, 2015. Six weeks after the June election, an attack conducted by ISIS in Sanliurfa killed 34 activists. The same day, the PKK killed two soldiers and two police officers (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:61). On October 10, a terrorist attack was conducted in Ankara, the capital city

of Turkey. This attack was organized by the PKK during a rally organized by the leftist unions. One hundred and two people were killed and 400 were wounded (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:61). The JDP's leader, Ahmet Davutoglu, blamed these attacks on the lack of the presence of a strong government (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:62).

Before the June elections, the economy was a salient issue, but after the deadlock in the coalition process and terrorist attacks, the salient issue before the November 2015 election became national security (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:63). According to Akarca (2015:93), many of the voters who supported the NAP and the PDP realigned themselves after these events, and voted for the JDP in the November election (see also Balci & Bekiroglu, 2015:229).

The NAP lost four percent of its votes in the November elections. It received 11.9 percent of the votes. The RPP marginally increased its vote share. It gained support in the east and southeast districts, and reached a total of 25.3 percent (Balci & Bekiroglu, 2015:69; see also Akarca, 2015:96). The JDP vote share increased. It gained support from all the districts (Balci & Bekiroglu, 2015:66). Votes for the JDP increased by 8.6 percent and reached 49.8 percent (Akarca, 2015:94-95). The PDP lost some of its temporary support votes and received 10.8 percent of the vote.

In the November 2011 election, the JDP won 59 more seats in the Parliament and reached a total of 317 seats. The RPP received two more seats and reached 134 seats in total. Both the NAP and the PDP lost a lot of seats in the Parliament. The NAP seats decreased from 80 to 40. The PDP's seats decreased from 80 to 59.

The loser of the November election was the NAP. This decrease in seats was because of its attitude toward a coalition government. The PDP lost most of its support due to the terrorist attack in Ankara.

The definitive winner of the new election was the JDP. The JDP won nearly 50 percent of the vote and 317 seats. It was able to form a single party government. The number of seats won by the JDP gave them the ability to pass a constitutional referendum. Erdogan, in his rallies, made clear that he wanted a constitutional amendment. He wanted to change Turkey from a Parliamentary system to a Presidential system.

Conclusion

Two major events happened before the 2015 elections. The first one is the Occupy Gezi Movement, during which protestors stood up against the government's restrictive policies. A large number of people gathered around Gezi Park. I was one of them. The atmosphere was peaceful and everybody acted respectfully to one another. Protestors acted as one big family; meals were shared. Tents were given out to campers who wanted to sleep in the urban park. The only time the atmosphere changed and became terrifying was when the police took action.

Common methods for the police to dissipate the protestors were the use of tear gas, pressurized water and plastic bullets. Many people were wounded; some died. This movement was the first public action taken against the JDP government.

The second important event was the 2014 Presidential elections. This was the first time that Turkey had a popularly elected President. Erdogan won the election in the first round. His victory was not a surprise, since he won the general elections three times in a row. The surprising event was the selection of Ihsanoglu as a representative of the RPP and the NAP. Ihsanoglu was an academic but more importantly, he was a Muslim scholar. His candidacy for the RPP showed clearly that the RPP tried to appeal to the conservative voter. The 2014 Presidential elections had

a winner other than Erdogan. Demirtas rose as a charismatic leader. He was able to rally people around him. His energetic discourse proved to be good for the newly formed PDP.

The June 2015 elections had four winning parties: the JDP, the RPP, the NAP and the PDP. The June election was the first election that the JDP did not win the majority of the votes. The JDP could not form a single party government; the party leadership emphasized the need for a strong government throughout the coalition process. After the coalition process failed, the President announced a re-election to be held on November 1, 2015.

The JDP won the November elections but the political agenda was very different from the June 2015 elections. In June, the agenda was set around economic development. In November 2015, the political agenda was about national security. The terrorist attacks in the Ankara and in the southeast of Turkey changed the agenda dramatically. The JDP benefited from the situation because the party emphasized a strong leadership. The PDP was hurt by these attacks because the PKK took responsibility for them. The terrorist attacks cast doubt on the November 2015 elections. One expected that the larger party would be blamed for these attacks, but the JDP was not blamed. On the contrary, its vote share increased. The events gave the JDP the opportunity to emphasize the need for a strong government.

The November 2015 elections resulted in the victory of the JDP. The JDP won 317 seats which allows them to push for a constitutional referendum. The constitutional referendum can be used to change Turkey's political system from Parliamentary to Presidential. The Presidential system would definitely give Erdogan more power and help him achieve a stronger leadership.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

In this thesis I analyzed many aspects of Turkish society and politics. The military has been a prominent political actor since the creation of Turkey. The founder of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, had a military background, which gave the armed forces legitimacy. The military was seen as the guardian of the Republic. The armed forces overthrew the government on four different occasions. In 1960 they ousted the Democrat Party and executed its leader, Adnan Menderes. In 1973, they ousted the Justice Party government but did not dissolve the Parliament. The goal was to stop political violence. The constitution was amended and the executive branch was given more power. This constitution was comparable to the French constitution under Charles de Gaulle. The 1980 coup was staged in an environment where political violence dominated everyday life.

Finally, the 1997 post-modern coup was organized behind the scenes. The National Security Council issued a list of demands to the Welfare Party and the True Path Party coalition. The NSC's aim was to eliminate the WP from the government. The military justified its actions with the announcement that Turkey's commitment to Europeanization could only be achieved through secularism. The Justice and Development Party, under the leadership of Erdogan, neutralized the armed forces with the army's weapon: Europeanization. When the JDP took office, it followed the EU criteria and neutralized the military. The military saw its budget decrease over time (Figure 2).

An important factor that helped the JDP was the 2001 financial crisis. The economy was crippled when the JDP took office. The JDP managed to get the economy back in shape. In the

2002 elections, voters blamed the previous coalition government and chose to vote for the JDP. The JDP captured the lower income and lower educated electorate. As seen in chapter 3, economic voting is dominant in Turkey. The voter took the economic situation very seriously. The electorate punished the incumbent government for high inflation rates and low GDP per capita growth.

In the 2007 and 2011 elections, the economy played an important role. The JDP successfully lowered inflation rates and achieved high GDP per capita growth. The economic policies followed by the JDP won them the 2007 and the 2011 elections. The JDP enjoyed support from the urban poor and uneducated males. The Republican People's Party captured the votes of the older educated voter. The RPP was unable to appeal to the urban poor who migrated from the provinces. The urban poor brought their conservative and religious beliefs to the big cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara (Sayari & Esmer, 2002:154). Tayyip Erdogan and his party, the JDP, dominated Turkish politics for fourteen years.

The first year the public protested against the JDP was 2013. The Occupy Gezi Movement was a public uproar against the government's restrictive policies which brought together people from a variety of backgrounds. The protests challenged the legitimacy of the JDP leadership. The use of force by the police was dominant. The government took strict actions against the protestors. The Occupy Gezi Movement was important because it was one year before the 2014 Presidential elections.

2014 was the first time a Turkish President was elected popularly. Erdogan won the election and became the President. This showed that Erdogan's popularity did not decrease over time. During his campaign, Erdogan emphasized the importance of strong leadership and a strong executive branch. He wanted to change Turkey's system from a Parliamentary system to a

Presidential system. Opposition parties were against this change. They wanted a President who had a ceremonial role.

The 2014 Presidential elections played an important role in the 2015 general elections. The June 2015 elections put emphasis on the economy. As Figure 2 shows, the GDP per capita decreased. The RPP tried to appeal to the lower middle class voter who was alienated by the economic downturn. They wanted to become a catch-all party. The JDP put emphasis on strong leadership. Erdogan held rallies supporting the JDP. He also emphasized the need for a strong presidency.

The June elections resulted in a deadlock. The JDP did not win the majority of the votes. A coalition government was needed for the first time since 2002. The coalition process failed because no parties wanted to enter a coalition with the JDP. Erdogan announced a re-election to be held in November 2015. Before the November elections, the PKK organized a terrorist attack in Ankara. The JDP took advantage of this situation. Ahmet Davutoglu blamed these attacks on the lack of a strong government (Cakiroglu & Yildirim, 2015:62).

In the November elections, the JDP won nearly 50 percent of the votes and formed a single party government. The JDP and Erdogan benefited from the terrorist attacks. The JDP won 317 seats in the Parliament, which is enough to have a constitutional referendum. Erdogan wants a Presidential system to increase his power.

The JDP and Erdogan share similarities with other parties and leaders. Erdogan and Ozal are similar leaders. Ozal managed to stay in power for a very long time due to his economic success. Ozal was against coalition governments and emphasized the need for strong leadership. He declared that previous coalition governments failed to maintain political and economic stability. Towards the end of his Premiership the economy was stagnant. This situation was very

similar to the situation in the 2015 elections. The economy was stagnant and the JDP emphasized the need for strong leadership. In 1989, Ozal was elected the eighth President of Turkey. He was also a very active President who interfered with everyday politics in Turkey. Erdogan held rallies for the JDP when he was the President.

Since the 2015 general elections, much has changed in Turkey. The country is facing a refugee problem, freedom of the press has declined, and there exists an increase in terrorist attacks. These factors will create problems for the JDP in the future.

Freedom of the press has declined since 2015. Greenslade (2016) illustrated that freedom of the press was in danger in Turkey. The government took control of many newspapers and news agencies, including Feza Gazetecilik and Koza Ipek. These two companies held many newspaper outlets. Koza Ipek was shut down, and Cihan news agency is now under the control of the government. The Committee to Protect Journalists explained that many journalists were in jail and violence against journalists increased (Greenslade, 2016). Eighteen journalists were jailed for being a member of a terrorist group (Bora, 2016b). The seizure of the Feza Gazetecilik happened after the release of two journalists. The two journalists still face the possibility of being sentenced to life in prison (Bora, 2016b). Freedom House, in its Freedom of Press report, ranked Turkey as not free and gave the country a score of 65 (0 being the best and 100 being the worst) (Freedom of Press Turkey, n.d.). These results suggest that the JDP leadership is taking a less democratic stance in Turkey.

The civil war in Syria increased the number of refugees in Turkey. Turkey has accepted 2.5 million refugees and spent \$8.5 billion dollars in the process. The EU donated \$3.3 billion to keep the refugees in Turkey and stop the refugee flow to Europe. Turkish officials declared that this issue needed more international attention. The Turkish government was advised to facilitate

the process of obtaining work permits. Refugees who can work are less likely to leave Turkey and reach Europe (Bora, 2016a).

The EU and Turkey recently struck another deal: The EU donated another \$6.6 billion to keep the refugees in Turkey. The EU incentivized Turkey by promising to start Turkey's membership bid and allow visa-free travel for Turkish citizens (Faiola & Witte, 2016). This deal can increase Erdogan's popularity at home. If the talks start soon, the freedom of press issue will be a big obstacle for Turkey's accession to the European Union.

The terrorist attacks did not end after the November elections in 2015. Turkey faces a national security issue. Recently, two bombs exploded in Turkey. An attack was organized March 13, 2016 in the capital city. The bomb killed 37 civilians and injured 125. A militant Kurdish group took responsibility for the attack. The terrorist group claimed to be affiliated with the PKK. A reporter said that the group learned to fight in Syria and was trained by ISIS (Letsch, 2016).

The most recent terrorist attack occurred March 19, 2016. The explosion was in Istanbul's busiest area, Taksim. Taksim is also where Gezi Park is located. The assailant was Mehmet Öztürk, a Turkish citizen. ISIS did not claim responsibility, but the officials believe that ISIS is behind this attack. ISIS was behind the attack January 12, 2016 in a historical, tourist district of Istanbul (Arango & Yeginsu, 2016). This attack was the fourth terrorist attack on Turkish soil.

President Erdogan can use these attacks to his benefit. He used the terrorist attack in October 2015 to his advantage, capturing many votes by emphasizing that Turkey needs a stronger President. The JDP holds the majority in the Parliament. It can push for a constitutional referendum to change the constitution and give the President more power. Although Polity IV

depicts Turkey as a democracy with a score above 6 (Figure 3), Figure 4 shows us that the press in Turkey went from partly free to not free in the last couple of years. Since freedom of press is an important component of democracy, these scores raise concern for the nation's future.

Freedom House data (Figure 5) show us that the civil liberties score of Turkey increased from 4 to 5. Meanwhile, the political rights score remained the same, at 3. Lower scores in political rights and civil liberties represent a better democracy score in Freedom House. Hence, we can say that Turkey has not consolidated as democracy.

The JDP now faces greater problems than the economy. The government is forced to keep the refugee crisis under control. National security has become an even bigger problem. There have been three terrorist attacks since the beginning of 2016. Erdogan's push for stronger leadership is an obstacle for democratic consolidation. Turkish newspapers do not enjoy freedom of press (Figure 4). Any dissent coming from the media has received a strong reaction from Erdogan and the government. Journalists have been imprisoned and news agencies have been shut down. As Diamond (2015:145) described, the JDP rule has started to undermine democracy and freedom in Turkey.

Appendix A
Election Results

Table 3 Election Results from 1950 to 1977

Year	1950	1954	1957	1961	1965	1969	1973	1977
Party	% of vote							
RPP	39.9	35.4	41.1	36.7	28.7	27.4	33.3	41.4
RNP		4.9	7.1					
RRP						6.6	5.3	1.9
DP	53.3	57.6	47.9				11.9	1.9
NSP/WP/FP/VP							11.8	6.42
NAP						3	3.4	6.4
JP				34.8	52.9	46.5	29.8	36.9
NP	3.1				6.3	3.2		
Liberty Party			3.8					
NTP				13.7	3.7	2.2		
Unity Party						2.8	1.1	
Independent		4.8	0.1	14	0.8	5.6	2.8	0.2

Source: Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartman, 2001

Table 4 Election Results from 1983 to 1999

Year	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999
Party	% of vote				
RPP				10.7	
MP	45.1	36.3	24.0	19.65	23.2
WP/VP			16.9	21.4	15.41
NAP					17.9
TTP			27	19.2	12
SDPP	29.3	24.7	20.8		
NDP	23.3				
DLP			10.7	14.64	22.19

Note: Blank cells represent failure to pass the ten percent threshold.

Source: Nohlen, Grotz, and Hartman, 2001

Table 5 Election Results from 2002 to 2015

Year	2002	2007	2011	2015 (June)	2015 (November)
Party Name	Seat (% vote)	Seat (% vote)	Seat (% vote)	Seat (% vote)	Seat (% vote)
RPP	178 (19.4)	112 (20.8)	135 (25.9)	132 (24.9)	134 (49.5)
JDP	363 (34.3)	341 (46.6)	327 (49.8)	258 (40.9)	317(25.3)
NAP		71 (14.3)	53 (13)	80 (16.3)	40 (11.9)
PDP				80 (13.6)	59 (10.8)
Independent		26 (5.2)	35 (6.6)		

Source: YSK, 2002; YSK,2007; YSK,2011; YSK,2015

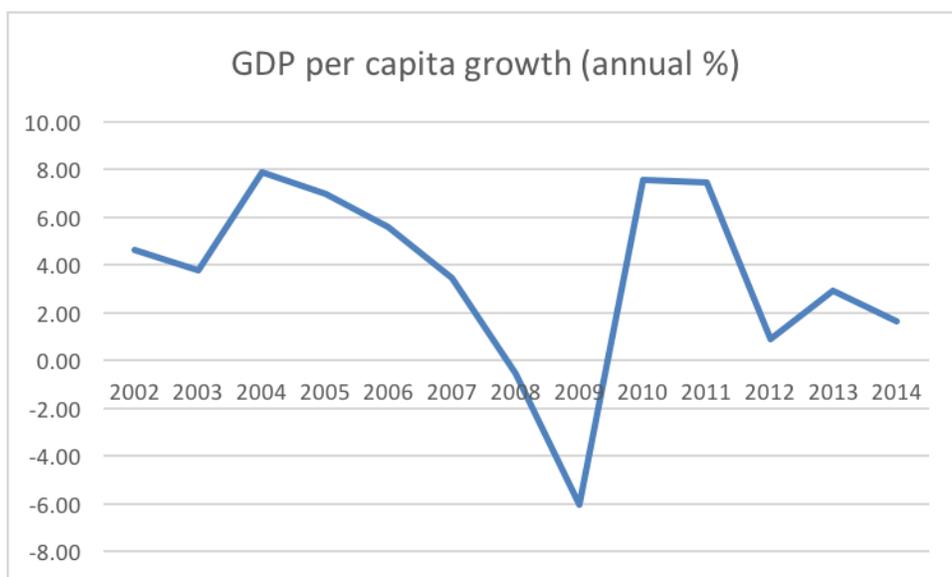
Table 6 Abbreviations and Full Names of the Parties

Abbreviation	Full Name	Abbreviation	Full Name	Abbreviation	Full Name
the RPP	Republican Peoples Party	RNP	Republican Nation Party	UP	Unity Party
JDP	Justice and Development Party	RRP	Republican Reliance Party	SDPP	Social Democrat Populist Party
NAP	Nationalist Action Party	PDP	Peoples' Democratic Party	NDP	Nations' Democratic Party
NSP	Nation Salvation Party	TPP	True Path Party	MP	Motherland Party
WP	Welfare Party	JP	Justice Party		
VP	Virtue Party	NP	Nation Party		
FP	Felicity Party	LP	Liberty Party		
DP	Democrat party	RPNP	Republican Peasant Nation Party		
DLP	Democratic Left Party	NTP	New Turkey Party		

Appendix B

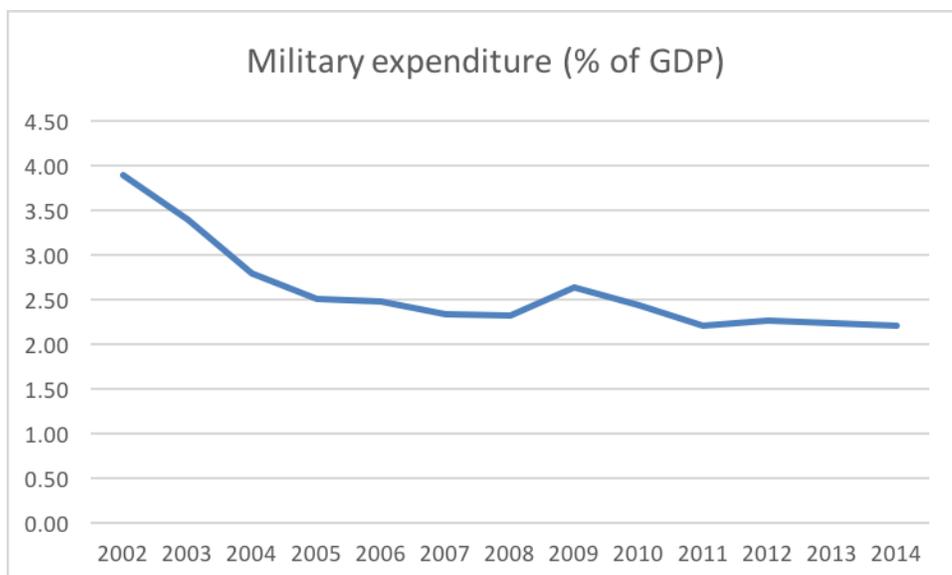
Economic and Democracy Data

Figure 1 GDP per Capita Growth from 2002 to 2014



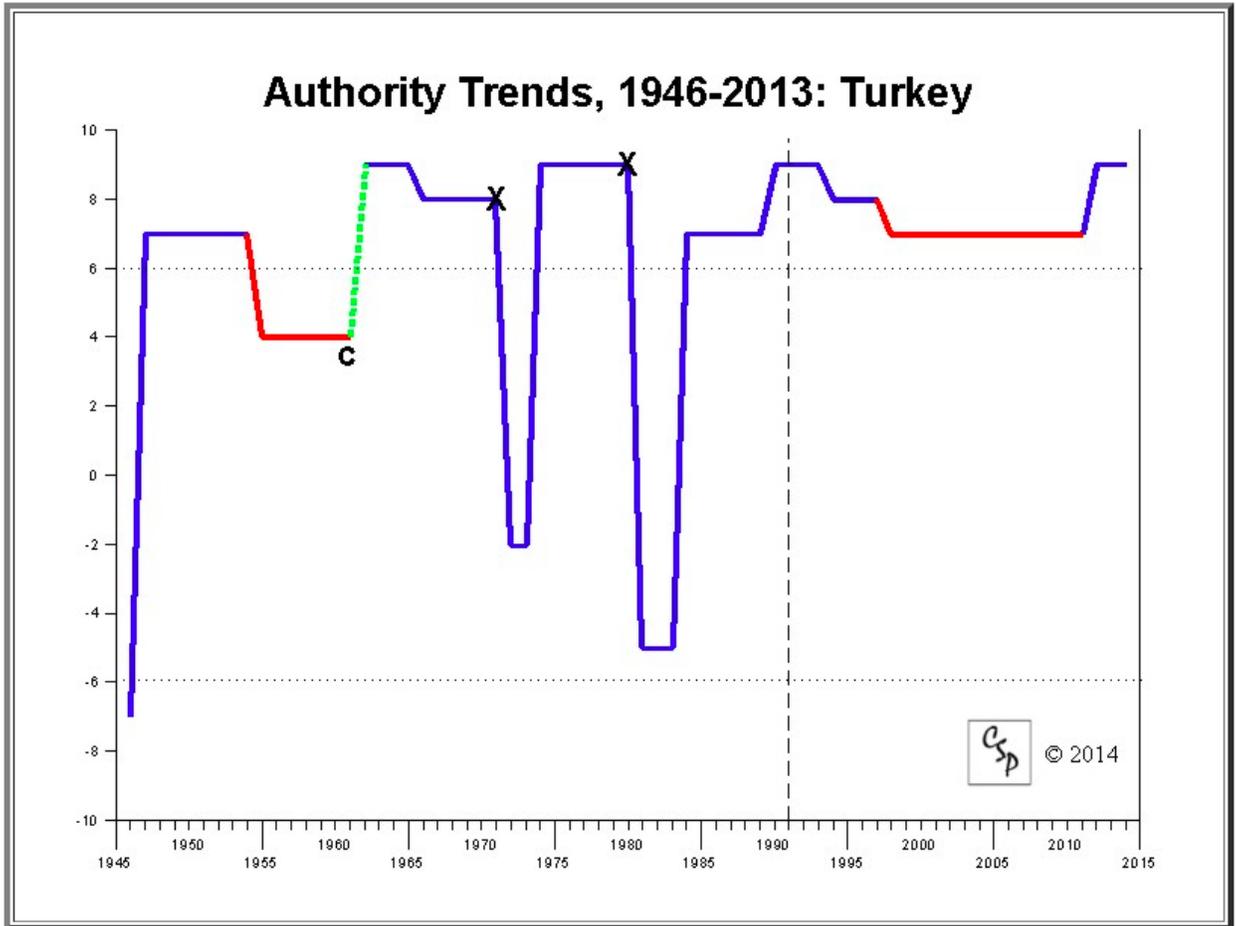
Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank, 2016

Figure 2 Military Expenditure as Percentage of GDP



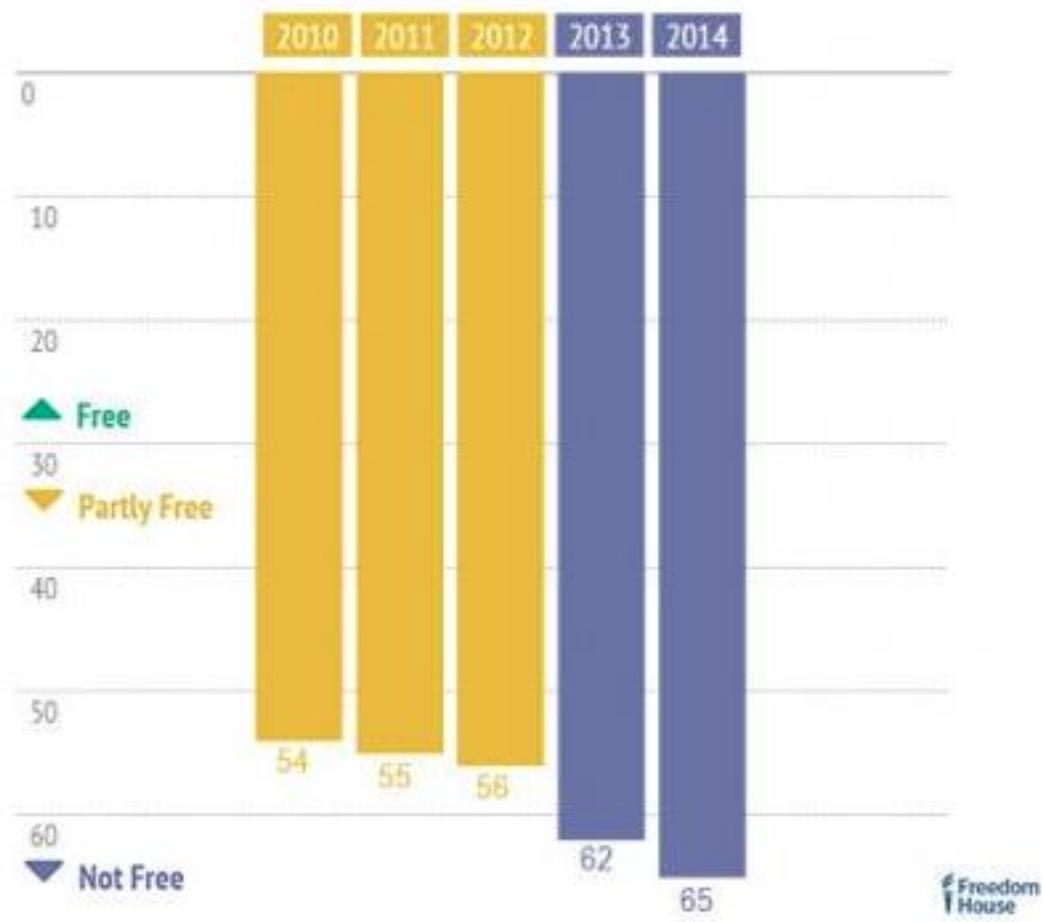
Source: World Development Indicators, World Bank, 2016

Figure 3 Polity IV Turkey



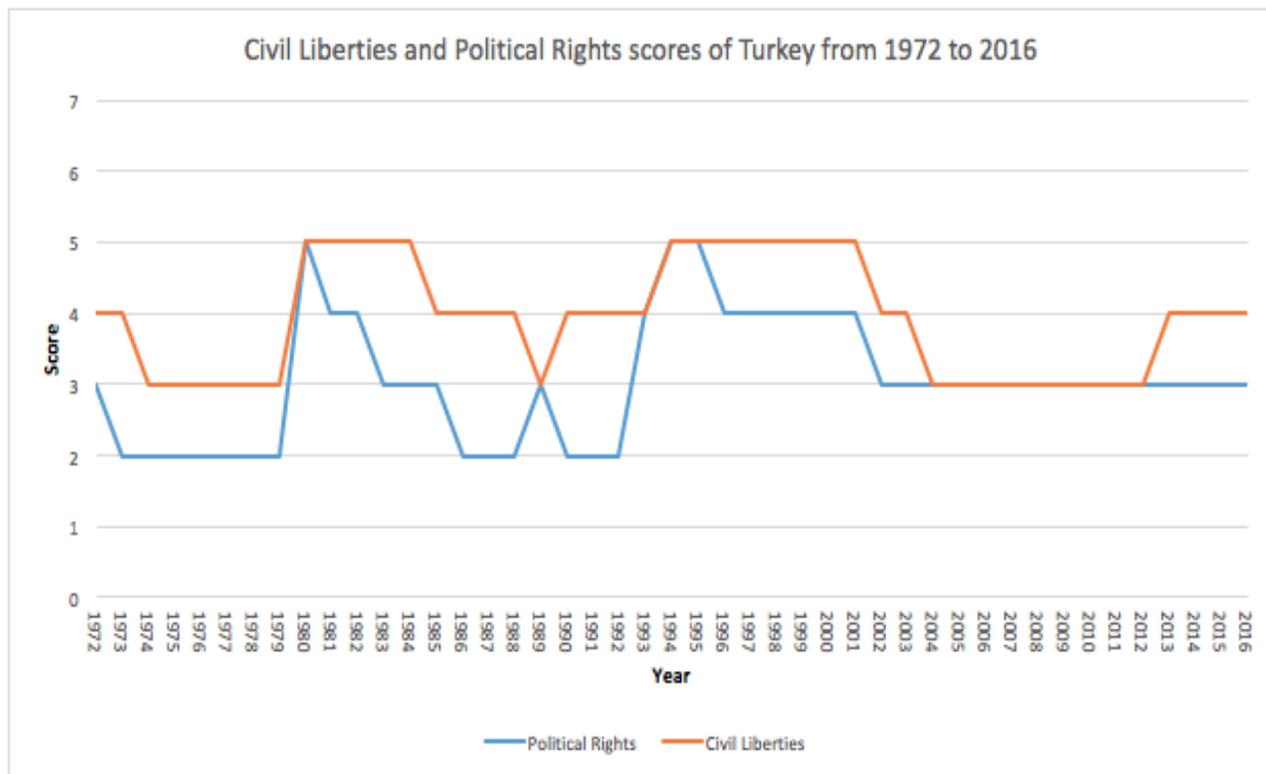
Source: Polity IV, n.d.

Figure 4 Freedom of Press in Turkey



Source: Freedom of Press Turkey, n.d.

Figure 5 Freedom House, Political Rights and Civil Liberties scores of Turkey from 1972 to 2016



Source: Freedom House 1972-2016, n.d.

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Pierre Loti French High School, Istanbul, Turkey High School Diploma	Sept. 2008 - June 2012

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Pennsylvania State University, Altoona, PA Research Assistant – Dr. Nicholas Rowland Responsible for conducting research on Actor States, organizing and coding articles containing relevant data on Actor States. Created powerpoint slides & organized data. Speaker, 4S Conference, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Aug. 2014. Speech Title: ‘Is The State An Actor Or Not?’ An Ontological approach to states and state actions. Speaker, EASST Conference, Torun, Poland, Sept. 2014. Speech Title: ‘Is The State An Actor Or Not?’ Researching and Assisting Dr. Rowland on writing a paper: ‘When is the State an Actor?’ Expected publication: Spring 2016.	Jan. 2014 - Present
Global Securities, Istanbul, Turkey Research Intern Responsible for researching the domestic markets, specifically the steel pipe industry in Turkey. Created a financial model for a conglomerate - Borusan Mannesmann – from 2008 until 2023. Conducted DCF analysis and competitive analysis for Borusan. The model was used as basis for initial coverage report of Borusan Mannesmann. Supported all additional activities of research staff.	June 2015 - July 2015
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