ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION in
TURKISH NATIONAL and LOCAL ELECTIONS

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Electoral Participation in Turkish National and Local Elections

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ABSTRACT

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Previously, studies on electoral participation rate have mainly focused on the voter turnout in the national elections and analyzed the determinants that are expected to be effective on the voter turnout were analyzed at individual, cross-sectional and nation-wide level. In these studies, the other forms of elections are only examined in terms of their relationship with national elections.

This thesis study, examined the electoral participation rate in local elections as a dependent variable, in addition to that of national elections, and created a dataset encompassing both national and two forms of local elections: namely the mayor of municipality and the members of provincial council elections. In the first regression equation, the impacts of the socioeconomic variables and institutional setting variables on the voter turnout in 1977 and 1999 national and local elections are tested at a provincial-level. In the second and main regression model, the influence of party system variables on the electoral participation in Turkish national and local elections since 1950 is also tested at a nation-wide level by using aggregate data.

Appropriate statistical tests covey results that mostly support the expectations about the influences of structural socio-economic and institutional factors upon turnout in local as well as the national elections.

Both regression models indicated that application of compulsory voting is the single most important determinant for an increase in voter turnout. In contrast to the rational choice theory assumptions, in Turkey as the economic conditions improve the electoral participation in Turkish national and local elections decreases.

ÖNSÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DEKİ GENEL VE YEREL SEÇİMLERDE SEÇMEN KATILIMI

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Anahtar kelimeler: Türkiye, seçim katılım oranı, rasyonel seçim teorisi, genel ve yerel seçimler, regresyon

Seçimlerdeki katılımı inceleyen daha önceki çalışmalar çoğunlukla genel seçimlerdeki katılıma odaklanmış ve katılımı etkilediği düşünülen faktörleri birey, ülkeler-arası ve ülke genelini temelinde irdelemişlerdir. Bu çalışmalarda yerel, bölgesel, uluslararası ve başkanlık seçimleri sadece genel seçimlerle olan ilişkileri ve genel seçimlerdeki katılım üzerindeki etkileri doğrultusunda incelenmişlerdir.

Bu tez çalışması yerel seçimlerdeki katılım oranını bağımlı değişken olarak ele almış ve hem genel seçimleri hem de yerel seçimleri birleştiren bir veri dosyası oluşturmuştur. Yerel seçimlerden belediye başkanlığı ve il meclis üyeleri seçimleri katılım oranları kullanılmıştır. İlk regresyon modelinde sosyoekonomik ve kurumsal değişkenlerin 1977 ve 1999 genel ve yerel seçimlerdeki katılım üzerindeki etkileri il bazında test edilmiştir. İkinci ve temel regresyon denkleminde ise sosyoekonomik ve kurumsal değişkenlere ek olarak parti sistemi değişkenlerinin 1950'den bu yana yapılan genel ve yerel seçimlerdeki katılımın üzerindeki etkisi ülke geneli temelinde test edilmiştir.

İstatistiksel testlerin sunduğu sonuçlar büyük oranda sosyoekonomik ve kurumsal faktörlerin genel seçimlerde olduğu kadar yerel seçimler üzerindeki beklenen etkisini de desteklemektedir.

Uygulanan iki regresyon modelinin sonucu da Oy Kullanma Zorunluluğu'nun seçimlerde katılımı artıran en etkili değişken olduğunu gösterdi. Genel olarak sonuçlar Rasyonel Seçim Teorisi'nin tahminlerini onaylasa da bu çalışmada görüldü ki ekonomik durum iyileştikçe katılımın arttığını ön gören beklentiler Türkiye'deki genel ve yerel seçimler için doğrulanmadı.

In the memory of Bahriye Sevim Türkoğlu

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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INTRODUCTION

In comparative work on voter turnout, the two most important questions address why voter turnout is higher in some countries and what factors explain why people vote in elections. Thus far, research done at individual, cross-national and nation-wide levels have come to different conclusions to explain the relationship between electoral participation ratio (in national elections) and individual, socioeconomic, institutional, and party system motivations. Although other types of elections such as local, regional and supra-national are examined in terms of their relationship and influence on national elections, these elections are not operationalized as dependent variables, and the same determinants are not tested for these elections.

This thesis aims to investigate similar questions by concentrating on both national and local (municipal) electoral results in Turkey, and examine the main socioeconomic, institutional and party system determinants that affect electoral participation, and test whether these results comply-with the motivations in other Western countries and cost-benefit analysis framework of rational choice theory.

Merging national electoral data (from 1950 to 2002, 14 elections)[1] with local electoral results (from 1963 to 2004, 9 elections), this study will test whether socioeconomic environment variables (size of population, GNP per capita, and growth in GNP per capita), institutional setting variables (type of election, electoral system, compulsory voting), and party system variables (number of parties in the election, and competitiveness in the election) are statistically significant to determine the electoral

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[1] In May 2007, early elections are decided to be done in July 2007 (instead of its normal date November 2007). However at the time of writing this thesis, 2007 electoral participation results were not known, and they are not included to the study.

participation rate in Turkey by utilizing a multiple regression model for each dependent variable. To measure the increase in GNP per capita, size of population, and party numbers, logarithms of these variables are used in the dataset.

In order to test these socioeconomic, institutional, and party system variables, in addition to the national electoral results, results of 2 forms of local elections namely mayor of municipality and members of provincial council elections will be used. This will mainly increase the number of cases (observations) from 23 to 32 and provides more relevant statistics for the research. Moreover, due to the fact that the mayor of municipality elections use *Plurality* (First Past The Post) with narrow or small electoral constituencies, the members of provincial council elections use *Proportional Representative* (PR), and the national elections between 1950-1957 use *Plurality* with large electoral constituencies, (where as after 1961 *PR* electoral system is adopted for national elections); Turkey makes an interesting case to test the effect of election type (national or local), and electoral system (plurality or PR) on voter turnout.

Considering the high level of increase in the size of population, fluctuations in economic conditions and the application of compulsory voting after 1980, these socioeconomic, institutional, and party system variables also become significant to understand voter behavior of Turkey. It also allows one to test the significance of these variables within a country. With regard to the influence of the "number of parties" and "competitiveness" in the elections, this study will examine the volatility and fragmentation in Turkish national and local elections, and will try to construct a pattern for Turkish politics.

As the methodology, multiple regression models will be applied to test the significance of aggregate-level time series data. Most of the data of the variables are taken from SIS (State Statistic Institute)[2]. The *SIS* (2003) provides the national election results from 1954 to 2002, but participation result of 1950 election are taken from www.secimsonucu.com, after it is verified that its national electoral results for the other national elections corresponds with the data of SIS. Participation results of two local elections handled before 1963 (1950, and 1955 elections) will not be used in the

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[2] "State Statistic Institute" is now changed to "Turkey Statistic Institution".

regression because of inaccurate data. SIS data is used for the participation results in the local elections except the result of 2004 local administration elections. 2004 electoral result is taken from www.yerelnet.org.tr. The same sources are also used to obtain socioeconomic and party system variables as well. The institutional setting variables "election type", "electoral system" and "compulsory voting" are coded by myself.

The analysis shall begin with the brief introduction to history of establishment of political participation and democracy, and discussion of the importance of political participation for democratic theory. Rational choice theory will be mentioned as another perspective of this discussion and its approach to voter turnout will be utilized by mainly considering its merits and limits[3]. Keeping the "voting paradox" explain what this is at this stage in mind, the three analyses within the literature namely individual-level, cross-national and nation-wide that try to search for the determinants for political participation will be issued. In chapter II, Turkish political history, party system and relationship between national and local elections will be examined in detail. In order to display this relationship, the electoral participation rates of the provinces in Turkey will be analyzed for the election years 1977 and 1999 in which national and local elections have been made in the same year. Here, a multiple regression model will be used to examine cross-sectional data and the significance of the variables. This chapter will also illustrate an electoral participation pattern for Turkey by constructing volatility, and fragmentation index for Turkish elections. To combine these chapters, rational choice theory will help to explain why these socioeconomic, institutional and party system variables are selected for this thesis, and what their expected effects on electoral participation rate are. Chapter III will display the variables in detail, and their expected effects with regard to rational choice theory. Chapter IV will analyze the findings of the multiple regression model and discuss Turkey's common and different features from the general literature. Chapter V, will be based on conclusions of the analysis.

Besides merging participation rates of national and local elections within the same dataset, and using local electoral results as a dependent variable, by displaying volatility and fragmentation index for Turkish elections, this thesis will also question

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[3] Andre Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote, The Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*, (University of Pittsburg Press, 2000).

whether it will make any difference to vote in elections or not. In other words, it will both contribute to the literature on rational choice theory, and help to position Turkey's location in world politics. As to policy relevance of these analyses, the thesis aims at clarifying how alterations of election systems could affect turnout and thus an important indicator for the healthiness of a given electoral democracy.

CHAPTER I: LITERATURE REVIEW

I) Political Participation and Democracy

Free and fair elections are the fundamental principle for democracy, and voting in these (national, local or supra-national) elections is the basic form of political participation[4]. Electoral systems define how votes are cast and seats are allocated, therefore it directly influences electoral participation and voting behavior of the electorates as well. There are three main electoral systems: Plurality; Proportional Representation (PR); and Mixed (Hybrid)[5].

In *Plurality electoral system* − also known as First Past the Post (FPTP)-to be elected, a candidate needs simply to have more votes than any other challenger. This makes the plurality voting system among the simplest of all voting systems. Under the plurality rule, even when voters cast as many individual votes as there are members to be elected, party cohesion usually allows the majority party to sweep all (or almost all) seats. For an example, the United Kingdom uses the *plurality* electoral system, in which

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[4] With in the framework of the democratic theory, the role of the electoral participation for the functioning and legitimacy of democracy encompasses a wide place. The literature on the relationship between political participation and democracy is highly enriched. For a brief history of political participation and a significant evaluation of the evolution of democracy from Ancient Greece to modern times look at Anthony Birch, *Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy* [e-source], (Newyork: Routledge; 1993).

[5] Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi and Pippa Norris, "Introduction: Comparing Democratic Elections", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting* , edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris.**,** (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004).

659 different districts select one candidate and these candidates composes 659 seats in the parliament. Canada, India and the United States can be given as an example for the other countries use the plurality electoral system[6].

The *Majority-plurality* electoral system is a complex form of plurality, in which the winner is declared only if he or she can muster up more than half of the votes. If no candidate obtains a majority, a second and final ballot is held between two candidates who received the highest number of votes in the first round. Similar to FPTP, in this electoral system, the proportionality of the votes is not considered. Each district has one seat in the parliament. Within Western democracies, France has been categorized as a country that uses this system[7].

Proportional representative (PR) electoral systems aim to allocate a close match between the percentage of votes which the candidates obtain in elections and the percentage of seats in the parliament. There are two main forms of PR system: party-lists and single transferable vote (STV). In the list-system PR, the list of the candidates are given by political parties (party presidents) and in STV, preferences do not depend on the existence of parties but are entirely left up to the voters. Between the years 1950-1961, Turkey used plurality, but it changed to a PR list-system after 1961, which has yet to be altered. Today in Turkish elections by using PR electoral system 81 districts chooses 550 deputies in the parliament, and the allocation of the seats has been managed by using D'Hont electoral formula[8].

A *mixed (hybrid)* electoral system combines PR with either plurality or majority systems. For instance, in Germany, a mixed electoral system is used which combines

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[6] For detail information on the electoral systems of the democracies look at Ibid. p.10-12. This study shows that in many democratic countries PR and mixed electoral system has been used in large numbers, whereas the number of countries which prefers to use the plurality electoral system is very limited.

[7] It should be noted that in 1986 French electoral system was changed from majority to PR, and in 1988 it changed back to majority.

[8] Andre Blais and Louis Massicotte, "Electoral Systems", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting* , edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris**,** (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004), p. 44-49.

PR with plurality. In Germany PR seats are distributed in a corrective way, and each party gets its fair share of seats. Each voter has two votes. 328 votes coming from each district go to candidates by plurality in single member districts, and the 328 districts also vote for a party by PR in a single national constituency[9]. In other words, voting for the candidates is in plurality system, whereas party votes are determined by PR electoral system.

Each country has its own electoral system structure, which has been shaped by their historical, social and political culture. According to Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl's article "What Democracy Is and Is Not"[10] all democratic countries have "unique" conditions in themselves; because "democracy does not consist of a single unique set of institutions", "the specific form of democracy takes is contingent upon a country's socioeconomic conditions as well as its entrenched state structures and policy practices"[11]. Therefore electoral systems are important not only to practice democracy but to maintain democracy as well.

Furthermore, it is expected that different types of electoral systems would bring different levels of voter turnout and would affect different types of voting behavior. In this thesis, the electoral system structure and stability in democracy will be discussed within a theoretical basis and the relationship between electoral systems and electoral participation rates will be analyzed drawing from the assumptions of rational choice theory. This theory enables one to understand why participation rates are expected to be higher in PR systems compared to other electoral systems.

In addition to the discussion on the different types of electoral systems, it should be noted that, today the meaning of democracy has also changed. Liberal democracy is

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[9] LeDuc, Niemi and Norris, "Introduction: Comparing Democratic Elections", *Comparing Democracies 2,* p.11.

[10] Philippe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is and Is Not", in Larry Diamond and Marc Plattner (eds.), *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[11] Ibid. p.50

defined as "a political system marked not only by free and fair elections, but also by the rule of law, a separation of powers, and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion, and property"[12]. In other words, besides its dimension of "government by people" the importance of political participation of people, "government for people" began to be more salient for the citizens. Moreover, in addition to voting in national and local elections, or in referendums, other forms of political participation became more commonplace and accepted as a determinant of a consolidated democratic regime.

These forms of political participation can be categorized as "canvassing or campaigning in elections; active membership of a political party or a pressure group; political demonstrations; various forms of civil disobedience; membership of government advisory committees or consumer's councils for publicly owned industries; client involvement in the implementation of social policies; and various forms of community actions"[13]. These forms of political participation are seen as "direct forms of participation" rather than "representative participation," which is characteristic of just casting a ballet in elections for parliamentary democracy. Similar to Athenian democracy, there are fewer citizens who engage in direct forms of participation, due to the fact that it requires more spare time, money, energy, common interest and commitment (more cost in general) than just casting a vote.

Thus, compared to the other forms of political participation, voting in local and national elections is the fundamental, simplest and most widespread political participation act in democracies[14]. Without "government by people", "government for people" cannot be legitimized and cannot function democratically, therefore representative participation is a core determinant for parliamentary democracy.

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[12] Fareed Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 76, No.6 (1997).

[13] Birch, *Concepts and Theories of Modern Democracy,* p. 105.

[14] Morris P. Fiorina, "The Voting Decision: Instrumental and Expressive Aspects", *The Journal of Politics*, Vol.38, (1976), pp.390-413.

On the other hand, it should be mentioned that even though participation in elections is the most fundamental aspect of democracy, the level of participation does not necessary indicate the level of democracy within a country. For instance, in USA voter turnout is very low compared to the other Western democracies, even though the US's is identity is highly tied to its democratic government. This is due in part because citizens engage in other forms of political participation. In addition, the high number of elections within a year, and institutional setting can be given as other the explanations for this low level of voter turnout. Thus determining the variables that influence voting in a country is crucial in order to analyze its commitment to democracy. In his study, , also mentions that the level of political participation does not necessary provide strong democracy. Instead he presents strong party systems[15] (institutionalized party systems)[16] as the key feature for consolidated democracy.

Some comparativists argue that the quality of participation is more salient than quantity of voter turnout. However, low levels of participation can cause legitimacy problems for the government, and may enable some extremist parties to be successful in elections. Therefore, high levels of turnout should be taken as a crucial element for maintaining democracy (though not necessarily for indicating it). Though voter turnout does not correlate with the level of democracy, many political scientists are concerned about the recent decline of voter turnout in some Western democracies due to the fact that health of a democracy is seen in terms of its level of turnout[17]. Because there is an

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[15] Bingham G. Powell, *Contemporary Democracies: participation, stability and violence*, (Cambridge:Harvard University Press, 1982).

[16] Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, (Stanford University Pres: Stanford), p.459
According to the article, institutionalized party systems are important to process democratic consolidation and it implies 4 conditions: stability in inter-party competition, the existence of parties that have somewhat stable roots in society, acceptance of parties and elections as the legitimate institutions that determine who governs, and party organizations with reasonably stable rules and structures.

[17] Mark Franklin, "The Dynamics of Electoral Participation", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting* , edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris**,** (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004).

overall decline in turnout all over the continent[18], it begs the question of whether or not these changes have been caused by changes in European social and political systems and ideas. These changes can be categorized as European integration, denationalization, depolarization, and alternations in cleavages[19]. However, it is interesting that the level of decline in turnout differs among European countries, and the decline is seen especially in countries with high levels of democratic stability and consolidation. Detailed explanations of social and political changes in Western countries and its connection to electoral participation will be discussed later in this thesis in order to illustrate voter turnout as a tradeoff between democratic stability and representative fairness.

Within the debate on political participation and democracy, this thesis will only focus on the electoral voting act in Turkey as the form of political participation, and take the electoral participation rates as the dependent variable for the research. In this analysis any direct connection between the level of turnout and level of democracy will be avoided, however voter turnout ratios will be examined within the historical, socioeconomic, political conditions of the electoral year in order to explain it in terms of the democratic situation. Only the data of national and local elections which were considered to be free and fair elections will be the concern of this study. The national elections examined will be from 1950 to 2002; and from 1963 to 2004 for local elections[20].

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[18] There is a dispute about recent European turnout decline regarding the number of years considered 'recent'. Since 1945 there was first a rise and then a fall in turnout, so turnout has declined from a high point in 1960s, but not over a longer period.

[19] Paul Webb, *Developments in West European Politics 2*, (eds.) by Paul Heywood, Erik Jones, and Martin Rhodes, (New York : Palgrave, 2002).

[20] In Turkey, women were given the right to vote in municipality and national elections in 1930 and 1934 respectively. Therefore in all of the aforementioned elections in this study, both men and women participated.

II) Approach of Rational Choice Theory and Voting Paradox

The Enlightenment intellectuals supported limited and direct participation of citizens to decision-making processes; they perceived participation in politics as a civic virtue, combining different views into a consensus which requires sacrifice of individual interests as for serving to "general will"[21] or "greatest happiness"[22]. In other words, whether it was limited or directly made, political participation was a collective action done for the good of the people and nation. Although voting in elections is the simplest, most fundamental and the most wide-spread form of political participation, and political act in democracy, according to the rational choice theory, this collective action is irrational[23].

In general, rational choice theory assumes that all individual's preferences are economically rational in that they behave consistently[24]. With regard to its theorem on consistency, rational choice theory has four fundamental assumptions[25]: utility maximization, the structure of preferences, decision making under conditions of uncertainty, and the centrality of individuals in the explanation of collective outcomes.

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[21] David Bucher, and Paul Kelly, *The Social Contract from Hobbes to Rawls*, (London: Routledge, 1994), p.116.

[22] John Stuart Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, (London: Electric Book, 2001), p.14.

[23] Kenneth J. Arrow, *Social Choice and Individual Values*, (Newyork: John Wiley, 1951).

[24] Mark Skousen and Kenna C. Taylor, *Puzzles and Paradoxes in Economics*, (Cheltenham UK: E.Elgar Pun, 1997), p.175.
According to this study, the ideal voting mechanism should satisfy five conditions: group rationality; unrestricted domain; Pareto optimality; independence from non-agenda alternatives; and non-dictatorship. With regard to these assumptions, Arrow's theorem displayed that there is no voting mechanism that can satisfy all the ideal conditions.
On the other hand, in this thesis study, the assumptions given by Downs' study will be used because they are explanations are simpler.

[25] Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, (New York: Harper, 1957), p.13.

According to these assumptions, each individual (rational) tries to maximize the expected value of his own payoff (utility) with regard to their preferences and given (available) information. Thus, when rational choice theory is applied to voting, people vote in order to determine the outcome of the political process, and hope to benefit from it.

- Model of Voting

The Model of voting has four quantities[26].

B: The benefits a voter derive from seeing his or her preferred candidate win.

P: The opportunity to cast the decision ballot is at best an uncertain prospect and assigns to it the probability weight.

D: Selective incentives of voting represent the utility received as a direct consequence of casting a ballot.

C: The costs of voting range from transportation expenses to foregone opportunities to earn wages.

The model requires that an individual will cast a vote if the sum of expected (not actual because there is uncertainty) benefits and selective incentives exceeds the cost of voting, in other words if:

$PxB + D > C$.

Because it is a subjective quantity, and is unsupported by evidence, most of the political scientists exclude D -selective incentives- from their model. This study will also use a model that excludes the D quantity, because there is no available survey data for Turkey to test the influence of D on electoral participation in individual-level, and socioeconomic, institutional, and party system variables can be explained better by aggregate data referring to the relationship between P, B, and C. Therefore, the final model for voting suggests that an electorate vote if; $PxB>C$.

In this rational choice model, the expected benefit of voting is equal the probability of her casting the decisive vote (P), multiplied by the benefit (B) she would gain from having her preferred candidate win rather than lose. Therefore, the rational

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[26] Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, p.48.

individual must determine the probability that her vote will be decisive, and what the chances that her vote decides her preferred candidate to win or lose. Here, Blais points out a basic logic exercise that if "her preferred candidate is sure to win, the expected benefit of voting is nil, since her candidate will win whether she votes or not; and if her preferred candidate is sure to lose, the outcome of the election is the same whatever she does and the expected benefit of voting in nil"[27]. This logic suggest that only if two candidates receive equal votes in the election, then a vote of a single individual would be decisive (effective) to influence the outcome. With this regard, there are only two factors which can determine the expected benefits of voting: size of population and competitiveness of election (closer race between the two candidates).

However, since P is bound to be extremely small (considering the millions of voters in every election), the expected benefit is extremely low. When the model for voting is considered (above), it occurred that the influence of one individual vote in elections is nearly nil. Based on the application of the rational choice model, in an election with a large number of voters the rational citizen will decide not to vote. Hence as Aldrich claims "although all may benefit from voting, it is rarely in the individual's self-interest to vote"[28]. Downs also demonstrate that it is not rational to vote, or to contribute time, money or effort to maintaining it[29]. In other words, the cost of voting exceeds the expected benefit from voting even the cost of voting is very small as well. Moreover, after every election the government that wins the election has a responsibility to protect and advance the interests of the whole nation, not just to look after its own political supporters, or the electorates that cast a vote for it. Hence, instead of voting, it is expected that people will behave as a free-rider[30]. They will choose not to vote, but can still benefit from the outcome of elections, and receive the same services from the state and reforms of the government.

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[27] Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote,* p. 1.

[28] John Aldrich, "Rational Choice and Turnout", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol.37, (1993), pp. 246-278.

[29] Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*, p. 112.

[30] Free riders are actors who consume more than their fair share of a resource, or shoulder less than a fair share of the costs of its production.

From the approach of rational choice theory, it can be said that an increase in the number of people who are eligible to participate in the elections is expected to create a reduction in the voter turnout. This assumption suggests that Rousseau's "general will" argument and Mill's "greatest happiness" principle correspond with the application of rational choice theory because they were argued in favor of limited and direct participation. Moreover, framing political participation as a civic duty and as a sacrifice for the nation, increases the value of quantity D, and motivates people to participate. The same logic can be applied for the other forms of political participation. Even though it is more costly in terms of time, money and commitment for the participants to be involved in these actions compared to just casting a vote in an election, they demand a few number of participants who have common interests and directly participate in the community. This means, as a member of a small community, they cannot behave as a free-rider, full commitment is required. On the other hand direct participation also brings direct benefit from the outcome of the action.

Kenneth Arrow showed that there is no institution, including majority voting, that could guarantee a consistent set of outcomes, and in other words voting in elections (the basis of democracy) is irrational, it cannot explain why in every election (national, local, and supra-national) millions of people voluntarily act and go to cast a vote. This "paradox of voting" brings the question of whether rational choice theory can be applied to political science. One criticism of Arrow's model is about the rationality of individuals. In Arrow's model, individuals are assumed to be economically rational (fully informed), however it overlooks the fact that voters often face issues whose costs and benefits are difficult to discern and for which their preferences may not be well developed[31]. It is hard to calculate total benefits and costs of an action, which is also correct for voting.

On the other hand, even rational choice theory cannot explain the "voting paradox", which as Knight asserts, has significantly advanced our understanding of the

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[31] Skousen and Taylor, *Puzzles and Paradoxes in Economics*, p.180.

role of institutions in social life[32]. It is consistent and efficient in explaining human behaviors, such as why and how they act with regard to cost and benefit analysis. Although rational choice theory does not explain why so many people are inclined to vote in every election, it helps to rationalize the effects of determinants in both macro and micro-level studies. In other words, rational choice theory can explain why in PR electoral systems, people vote more than in plurality system; but it fails to explain why a significant number of people in plurality systems also vote, not why some people in PR system do not cast a vote. For instance, it helps us to assume that participation is expected to decrease as the size of the population decreases or the participation is expected to increase as competitiveness between parties increase. Or in countries that apply compulsory voting[33], voter turnout is expected to increase because it increases the cost for the electorates.

Studies on voter turnout are trying to understand why participation is higher in some countries, whether differences in participation depend on individual-level, motivational or institutional-level differences. While analyzing which determinant is more effective and applicable, or even choosing the variables to be tested they use the merits and logic of rational choice theory mentioned above. Therefore, analyses of cross-national, individual-level and nation-wide studies are important to understand the influence of individual, socioeconomic, institutional, and party system variables on electoral participation; and this thesis will test the significance of these variables for Turkish national and local elections. Before applying the statistical tests to our hypotheses, it is beneficial to touch on the studies of voter turnout and general determinants for political participation in three levels by referring to rational choice theory logic.

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[32] Ibid., p.181.

[33] A sanction is applied for failure to vote.

III) The Determinants for Political Participation: Social and Political Changes, and Individual, Cross-national and Nation-wide Level Analysis

    a) **Social and Political Changes in Europe**

In general the turnout ratio is decreasing (continuously) within EU member countries from 1950s to 2000s. For this overall decline, social and political changes in Europe such as EU-integration, denationalization, globalization, depolarization and alternations in cleavages are considered to be the main reasons. These social and political changes in Europe are highly related with cross-national and nation-wide analyses and salient part of literature on political participation, therefore it is necessary to mention them before explaining the socioeconomic, institutional, and party system determinants of electoral participation. Table 1.1 indicates the average voter turnout ratios of some of Western democracies (national elections) since 1945, and Table 1.2 shows the average voter turnout for Turkey since 1950.

Table 1.1 Average Turnouts since 1945 in Western Democracies

Country/percent	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s*
Austria	95.3	93.8	92.3	91.6	83.8
Belgium	93.1	91.3	93.0	93.9	91.5
Denmark	81.8	87.3	88.4	86.7	85.0
Finland	76.5	85.1	78.2	73.9	67.4
France	80.0	76.6	76.5	71.9	68.5
Germany	86.9	87.1	90.9	87.3	79.9
Greece	n/a	n/a	80.4	83.5	78.1
Ireland	74.3	74.2	76.5	72.9	67.3
Italy	93.8	92.9	92.3	89.0	84.5
Luxembourg	91.9	89.6	89.5	88.1	87.4
Netherlands	95.4	95.0	83.5	83.5	76.0
Portugal	n/a	n/a	87.5	78.0	65.2
Spain	n/a	n/a	72.6	73.4	74.6
Sweden	78.7	86.4	90.4	89.1	85.4
United Kingdom	80.3	76.6	75.0	74.1	69.6
Norway	78.8	82.8	81.6	83.1	76.3
Switzerland	69.0	64.2	52.3	48.2	43.8
Malta	78.1	90.3	94.0	95.4	96.2

Iceland	90.8	91.3	90.4	89.4	86.4
Average **	85.0	86.7	85.2	83.6	79.1

Notes: * includes 2000-1; ** excludes Switzerland

Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) in Developments in West European Politics, edited by Paul Heywood, Erik Jones, and Martin Rhodes, (New York : Palgrave, 2002)

Table 1.2 Average Turnout since 1950 in Turkey

Turkey/percent	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s*
Average	84.8	72.3	69.6	92.8	83.8

Notes: * includes 2002 national election as well.

Source: State Statistic Institute

Today, a European Union citizen needs to participate in four types of elections: local, regional, national and supranational. It is expected that the voter turnout level in national elections would be higher than the supranational level. On the other hand, both Franklin[34] and Lijphart[35] point out that the frequency of elections has a negative effect on the voting ratios. Hence, as an additional type of election, supranational level elections can affect indirectly the voter turnout levels in the national elections. This is also true for local elections. Generally, the literature on the voter turnout suggests that the voter turnout in the national elections is expected to be higher than the electoral participation in the local elections. On the other hand, these two elections can also influence each other in terms of voter turnout. If the local election is very close (after) to the national election, electoral participation in this local election is expected to be lower; but if the local election is made just before the national election, it is perceived to be a national election and the turnout ratio is expected to be high.

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[34] Mark Franklin, "Electoral Engineering and Cross- National Turnout Differences: What Role for Compulsory Voting?", *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol.29, (1999), pp.205-216.
Franklin also indicates an interesting point that the importance of the European Parliament elections chances according to the time period between the two national elections, and the time of the previous national election. If the previous national election is made every two-three years, and there is time to the next national elections, then the voter turnout at the supranational level is expected to be high.

[35] Arend Lijphart, "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma", *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.91, No.1, (Mar, 1997), pp.1-14.

Moreover, if the voter turnout in recent elections[36] is compared, the ratio is 67.9% for France, 82.2% for Germany, 59.4% for UK and 87.1% for Turkey. Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 suggest that in contrast to average voter turnout in Western European countries, after the 1980s the electoral participation rate in Turkey has been higher than the European average. This could be partly explained by the application of the 1982 Constitutional Law, when Turkey adopted compulsory voting. However, a decrease in voter turnout after 1980s has been also observed in countries practicing compulsory voting such as Belgium and Austria. In addition to its compulsory voting characteristic, the denationalization theory supporters can argue that Turkey has a high level of turnout because Turkish citizens only participate in local and national elections; and their national government does not have the denationalization and globalization problems that the Europeans face.

Therefore, it can be claimed that compared to the denationalization and EU integration process assumptions, depolarization and change in cleavages after 1980 are better explanatory determinants of the decline. However, again these hypotheses are not sufficient to identify cross-national differences in voter turnout levels.

The altering of values (voter's position on a single left-right value-dimension) also has an impact on other predispositions[37] such as identification and interest/cleavages. The decline in party identification, especially in the relationship between class and party, caused the decrease in voter turnout, because parties also became less polarized. People began to lose their trust in politicians and parties due to coalition governments composed of both leftist and rightist parties. Polarization in party system signifies ideological distances between the major protagonists in the system. As ideological polarization lost its dominance in societies, parties moved closer to center rather than

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[36] LeDuc, Niemi and Norris, "Introduction: Comparing Democratic Elections", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris., (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004), pp. 16-39.

[37] William L. Miller and Richard G. Niemi, "Voting: Choice, Conditioning and Constraint", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting*, edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris., (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004), p.170.

the edges of left-right spectrum. Change in classical cleavages and decline in cleavage voting was also assumed to be the determinant of the decline in voter turnout in Europe. In general, a cleavage implies a socio-political fault line between social groups which is powerful enough to structure political and more specially party political conflict[38].

According to Lipset and Rokkan[39], the bases of traditional cleavages were formed by two main revolutions: National and Industrial Revolutions. While National Revolution created the fault line between center-periphery (the nation-state defender, revolutionary center and resisting traditional periphery) and religious sects (Catholic vs. Protestant, and Catholic vs. Secular), the Industrial Revolution caused a struggle between urban-rural and owner-worker. It is believed that the center coincides with left ideology, and the periphery with right ideology, and the same relation is valid between center and urban, and periphery and rural. Moreover, as the defender of nation-state centralization and revolution, the center also supports secularism. Therefore, it can be claimed that there is a strong relationship between ideological polarization and traditional cleavages.

Lipset and Rokkan claimed that these traditional cleavages continued from 1920s to 1960s due to the "freezing hypothesis", however cleavages began to change afterwards. A number of significant cleavages have emerged since this hypothesis. The "realignment" is seen in the four main and new cleavages namely, ethnic cleavages (new form of center-periphery fault line); post-materialism; post-war immigration and multiculturalism; and EU Integration (con and pro of integration). The detailed explanations of these new cleavages will not be given in this study, however it can be claimed that they have had an impact on attitudes of people and politics of parties. This "realignment" caused a "de-alignment" with time. It is assumed that people are de-aligned, or not attached to politics, due to higher levels of education, the mass media, less partisan identification, and the decreased importance of cleavages, which makes

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[38] Paul Webb, "Party Systems, Electoral Cleavages and Government", in Developments in West European Politics 2, (eds.) by Paul Heywood, Erik Jones and Martin Rhodes, (New York : Palgrave, 2002), p. 116.

[39] S.M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, 'Cleavage Structures, Party Systems and Voter Alignments: An Introduction', in Lipset and Rokkan (eds.), Party Systems and Voter Alignments (New York: Free Press, 1967).

people believe that they can decide on their own and do not need the classical channels, such as voting in order to influence political outcomes.

Hence the common assumption on the influence of changes on ideological and classical cleavages can be accepted in some terms, because as both Franklin and Lijphart point out competitiveness in elections increases the salience of an election and this brings about higher levels of voter turnout. As the competitiveness in elections are highly correlated with ideological polarization within the competing parties and social cleavages form the polarization, depolarization and changes in cleavage structures seem to be the reason for the decline in voter turnout . This thesis does not ignore the influence of depolarization and change in cleavages on the decline of participation. Instead, as mentioned above it argues that these variables can better explain the decline compared to denationalization and the EU Integration process, and is highly related with institutional determinants. However, it is significant to issue that these variables are not sufficient to explain the voter turnout differences within the European countries which face the same processes. In addition to, the common views on the reasons for the decline in voter turnout, electoral systems and institutional settings play the most important role in determining the turnout level, even if it cannot explain the overall decline- as they are not changed over time.

Paradoxically it turns out that while significant ideological polarization among parties makes democratic government more problematic[40], and "in countries with inchoate party systems and multi-partyism it is easy to imagine scenarios of increasing polarization"[41], polarization also increases the salience of elections and thus the voter turnout. In other words, voter turnout becomes an indicator of the trade-off between fairness and stability. According to Duverger[42] there is a consistent relationship between elections and party systems: plurality leads to two-party system and proportional

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[40] Peter Mair, "Comparing Party Systems", in LeDuc, Lawrance et. al (eds), *Comparing Democracies 2,* (Sage Publications: London, 2002), p.28.

[41] Ibid. p.29.

[42] Maurice Duverger*, Political Parties*, (New York: Valley, 1954).

representation (PR) leads to multiparty system. Which means, in PR election systems, fragmentation is expected to be higher. However, the degree of fragmentation may not have an effect on the expectation of success in democracies. Powell[43] says multiparty system also brings high political participation and there is not any certain theory about its influence on the government stability and protection of the political order. Moreover, it is known that in some countries where the political system is pluralistic political participation is less compared to PR systems.

Hence, we can assume a triangle relation between the electoral system, the party system, and the level of political participation. The electoral system defines how votes are cast and seats are allocated. Hence it determines the allocation of parties in the parliament; it affects polarization, fragmentation and voter turnout difference. Moreover it constructs the tradeoff between fairness and stability. However, this statement does not mean that low turnout leads to higher levels of stability everywhere, or if electorates decide not to vote this does not make democracy more stable. The conditioning is sensible when the effect of the electoral system on voter turnout is questioned, not the reverse. With regard to this discussion, this thesis will examine also Turkish politics on the basis of the relationship between the electoral system, the party system (volatility and fragmentation in parliament) and voter turnout.

b) Individual-level, Cross-National, and Nation-wide Analysis

In his article, Mark Franklin mentions three theories that motivate people to vote: individual resources, political mobilization and instrumental motivations[44]. The first two are individual-level variables that explain electoral participation. *Resource variables* include age, gender, education, marital status, and occupation. *Mobilization variables* explain the impact of being a union member, being religious, and urban on voter turnout. *Campaign variables* such as political interest, party identification and party sympathy are also part of individual-level analysis.

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[43] Bingham G. Powell, *Contemporary Democracies: participation, stability and violence*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[44] Franklin, "What Role for Compulsory Voting?", p.210.

In the individual resource, Franklin claims people who have knowledge, time and wealth participate more than those who don't. In their work *Participation in America*, Verba and Nie suggest that income, occupation and education level of individuals affect voting behavior[45]. Stephen D. Fisher[46], proves that in Britain the level of political interest, age and gender (to be male) also have a positive effect on voting decisions. Regarding the relationship between age and voter turnout, Mark Franklin asserts that voting is a habit which is learned in their first few elections. He adds that while decreasing voting age from 22 to 18 decreases electoral participation, practicing voting age at 16 is expected to increase electoral participation[47]. It is also mentioned that turnout is higher among those living with a spouse than among other members of the electorate[48]. The effect of religiosity, social and geographic context on voter turnout and voting behavior is also issued by many political scientists[49]. In addition, urban-rural analysis displays that the turnout is higher in urban areas compared to rural areas[50].

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[45] Sidney Verba and Norman Nie, *Participation in America: Political Democracy and Social Equality*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1972).

[46] Stephen D. Fisher, "Tactical Voting and Tactical Non-Voting," Presentation at the Annual Meeting of American Political Science Meeting, August-September 2001. In addition to this article Richard A. Seitzer, Jody Newman, and Melissa Leighton, *Sex as a political variable: women as candidates and voters in U.S elections,* (Boulder: Rienner, 1997).

[47] Mark N. Franklin, *Voter Turnout and The Dynamics of Electoral Competition in Established Democracies Since 1945*, (Cambridge University Press; 2004).

[48] Bruce C. Straits, "The Social Context of Voter Turnout", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol.54, (1990), p.64-73.

[49] David Broughton, *Religion and mass electoral behavior in Europe* (electronic resource), (London: Rotledge Press, 2000).

[50] On the other hand, study of Ozbudun and Tachau showed that the opposite relationship is being observed in Turkey where voter turnout is lower in more industrialized, urbanized and modern cities of Turkey. They assert that Turkey is one of the countries where the rate of voting participation is higher in rural areas than in the cities. Whereas, in these cities electorates tend to vote for more stable parties compared to rural areas where patron-client relationship is more established.

Based on the assumptions set forth by rational choice theory, it is logical to expect as the individual resources of people increase the probability of participating in elections also increases, because they are expected to be more interested in politics (have resource to spend time, money etc. on learning about candidates), and benefit more from the election results. Males are known to be more interested in politics because they have higher individual resources than women[51]. As voting age decreases, interest in voting and level of individual resources will also reduce as do incentives to vote. Franklin argues that the costs of voting (such as to figure out how to register, where to find the polling place and how to vote) is higher for the first-time voters, and claims "the cost of learning to vote are raised considerably if a person's first election falls during the period immediately after leaving high school"[52]. However if the voting age is reduced to 16, as Franklin asserts due to political socialization in school, this would create a social incentive to vote for the students, and because voting is a habit, these students are expected to vote in future elections as well. If it is perceived as a habit and part of social capital, again the incentive to vote is expected to be higher within married couples. If it is considered that political socialization is also shaped by attendance to religious places, similar logic can be applied for religious people who are expected to have a higher social network.

In urban cities where individual resources such as literacy level, well-skilled occupation and income are high compared to rural areas, voter turnout is also expected to be high. Franklin's study proves that there is a positive relationship between being urban and one's intention to vote. However, as note 59 indicates, the other studies

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Ergun Ozbudun and Frank Tachau, "Social Change and Electoral Behavior in Turkey: Toward a Critical Realignment?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 6 No.4, (1975).
Moreover, Blais' study *to Vote or Not to Vote: Merits and Limits of Rational Choice Theory*, suggests that turnout in municipal elections decreases as the size of the city increases. In urban settings turnout is substantially lower for national elections.

[51] World Values Survey in *Human Beliefs and Values*, a cross cultural sourcebook based on the 199-2002 values surveys, (eds.) by Ronald Inglehart, Miguel Bosanez, Jaime Diez-Medrana, Lock Helman, and Ruud Luijkv.

[52] Ibid. p. 63.

argue the opposite. If it is considered that the social networks in cities are less than rural areas, and the size of the population is higher (which means probability to effect to electoral outcome decreases), it may be expected to observe a negative effect on voter turnout. Besides the influence of urbanization, geographical structure of the countries may also play determining role in voter turnout, voter behavior and party preferences of the electorates.

At that point, it should be noted that because different set of data would produce a different numerical answer for the quantitative questions, contradicting results of the studies are not unusual in political science, and does not suggest an application problem, instead these results enrich the literature. Number of variables added in the regression model, or types of data set used such as cross-sectional, time series or panel (longitudinal) data may affect the correlation and sign or size of the coefficients of the model[53].

The campaign effect on voters through the activities of parties, candidates and interest groups constructs the second theory. Similar to individual resource and mobilization variables, campaign variables also create incentives to vote for the ones who are involved in politics and expect higher benefits from the electoral results. However Helena Catt[54] suggests that due to the decline in party-identification within European society, campaigning and political activities do not have a high impact on electorates. Franklin agrees with this view and says " leaving compulsory voting aside, studies of the effects of mobilization have found that real world differences in turnout obtained through differences in mobilizing efforts are small compared to the country-level differences"[55].

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[53] James H. Stock, and Mark W. Watson, *Introduction to Econometric*, (Boston MA: Addison Wesley, 2003).
- Cross-sectional data consist of multiple entities observed at a single time period.
- Time series data consist of a single entity observed at multiple time periods.
- Panel data consist of multiple entities, where each entity is observed at two or more time periods.

[54] Helena Catt, *Voting Behavior: a Radical Critique*, (London: Leicester University Press, 1996).

[55] Franklin, "What Role for Compulsory Voting?", p. 207.

On the other hand, it should be noted that if individual resources (or individual-level variables) influence the incentive to vote in elections, this statement suggests that those who have less education, are not well-skilled, have a lesser income and live in rural areas are less likely to vote in elections and participate in politics. Therefore, even though votes of all citizens have equal value, and they have a right to participate in elections, in practice it is observed that inequality in society leads unequal participation of its citizens. In other words, this echoes the views of Rousseau and J.S Mill defend which suggest that not everyone should be allowed to participate equally, and only those who have higher levels of education and work in skilled occupations should have right to vote.

Franklin points out that the individual-level approach fails to explain the reason of relatively high turnout in some Western countries since high turnout countries have just as much as variation in individual-level characteristics as do low-turnout countries. Franklin asserts that turnout varies much more from country to country than it does between different types of individuals. He argues that "it is a pity that so much effort was expended on studying individual-level determinants of turnout in a country where those determinants were doing little more than supporting a habit of voting in less competitive elections that had been acquired in earlier, more competitive, elections". As an example for this failure (and as Table 1.1 also displays), he asks why turnout is the lowest in Switzerland which has the highest level of education, whereas in Malta where only a tiny proportion of the population is university educated, turnout is the highest. Hence, Franklin indicates instrumental motivations are superior to explain turnout differences from country to country and election to election, because it suggests the turnout varies with the importance of the election.

Franklin sees the importance of cross-national variables (the instrumental motivations) for evaluating elections. The use of compulsory voting, postal voting, weekend voting, number of polling days and the presence of highly competitive party systems are all significant[56]. In other words, he points out the linkage between

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[56] Franklin, "The Dynamics of Electoral Participation", p.148.

institutions and instrumental motivations. For his analysis he utilizes panel data and measures these variables for many entities (23 democratic countries) which are observed since 1945.

As indicated above under the discussion of denationalization and EU-integration, turnout is negatively affected by the frequency of elections. In addition to the local elections, supra-national elections held in Europe increases the frequency of election for the voters and create a reduction in voter turnout. Therefore, as expected the "number of polling days" variable in Franklin's study is also accepted to decrease voter turnout. Franklin asserts that, weekend voting would increase the turnout compared to voting on working day, but not in high amounts. As postal voting is expected to reduce cost of voting for disabled or old people, it is expected to increase voter turnout.

The salience of elections and competitive party systems are highly related with electoral systems of the countries. As mentioned above the electoral system defines how votes are cast and seats are allocated. Because the ''winner takes all'' in plurality and majority electoral systems, this creates an incentive for the electorates not to vote because they know that the chances of influencing the electoral outcome is very low. They also realize their vote will be wasted if the preferred candidate has little chance to win. On the other hand, in proportional representative electoral systems political parties are represented in parliament in a proportion to the vote which avoids "wasted votes" for the voters. PR is a fairer system in which people feel less alienated. Moreover, as Duverger suggests there is a consistent relationship between elections and party

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Arend Lijphart also says the problem of inequality can be solved by maximizing turnout, which can be done with instrumental motivations such as voter-friendly registrations rule, proportional representation, infrequent elections, weekend voting, compulsory voting and less salient election with the most important national election.
Arend Lijphart, "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma", *The American Political Science Review,* Vol.91, No.1, (Mar, 1997), pp.1-14
Miller and Niemi on the other hand, combine both individual-level approach and instrumental level approach in explaining the voting decision. According to them "voters' choices are constrained by the electoral system and limited range of voting options available and conditioned by the social and geographic context in which voters live and by the way in which politics is presented to them". "Voting: Choice, Conditioning and Constraint", *Comparing Democracies 2: new challenges in the study of elections and voting* , edited by Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, Pippa Norris.**,** (London: Thousand Oaks, 2004).

systems: plurality leads to two-party system and proportional representation (PR) leads to multiparty system. The increased number of parties increases the variety of options for people to choose. Therefore, in the countries applying PR electoral systems, there are many members to be elected in each district, most parties have a chance to win a seat, and they attempt to mobilize electors which increase the salience of elections and competitiveness in the party system.

The study by IDEA supports the statement above and signifies that voter turnout is influenced by the electoral system (Plurality; Semi-PR, and PR) and the competitiveness of electoral politics (whether largest party wins less or more than 50%); which determine the salience of election in the words of Franklin. As IDEA indicates "there does seem to be a clear link between voter turnout and the competitiveness of electoral politics in a political system. In the 542 elections where the largest party won less than half of the vote turnout was a full 10% higher than the 263 elections where a single party won over 50% of the popular vote"[57].

Franklin explains low turnout level in Switzerland (despite its high level of education and list-PR electoral system) also with regard to low salience of elections in these countries, because "its elections do not determine the political complexion of the government that takes office"[58]. In Switzerland since 1947, the same government has always taken office no matter what the balance of political forces in the parliament. Because the government coalition is based on a prior agreement among the three largest parties, not on the choices of the voters, this creates an incentive for the citizens not to vote who knows their vote will not change the governmental result. In other words, the elections are not important or effective in the formation of the government, and the votes of the electorates are not decisive.

Moreover, it should be noted that depolarization and a decline in party-identification also has an impact on reducing competitiveness in plurality and majority electoral systems in which mainly two ideologies, rightist and socialist parties struggle

[57] International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), Electoral Participation, http://www.idea.int.

[58] Franklin, "What Role for Compulsory Voting?", p. 214.

in elections. As polarization decreases overall, and cleavages change these parties move to the center rather than edges on the ideological spectrum.

Rational choice theory supports this result, because in PR electoral systems P and B determinants of the theory is higher compared to plurality system. However, even though rational choice theory successfully explains and predicts the effects of institutional motivation variables on electoral participation, it fails to explain why in countries applying PR electoral systems people do not vote, or in plurality people do. This suggests the limit of rational choice theory. At that point, besides institutional motivations, individual-level variable also should be considered in order to explain the motivation for voting in a single country. Therefore, although Franklin criticize the studies on individual-level variables for ignoring institutional motivations, and argues they cannot explain the cross-national differences, individual-level determinants are supplementary to analyze cross-national differences, and especially institutional motivations.

In addition, it is not only electoral systems but election types (national, local/municipal, and supra-national, presidential, parliamentary / legislative) which influence voter turnout as well. The comparisons are made mostly between national and local elections and legislative and presidential elections.

According to the electoral studies of IDEA[59], parliamentary (legislative) and presidential election turnout rates have been converging since 1945. Between 1945 and 1950, parliamentary elections could expect almost twice as many voters turning out than at presidential ones. While presidential elections throughout the 1950s, 60s and 70s were characterized by lower average turnout rates than parliamentary elections, things have progressed to the point where they are now virtually indistinguishable. This has corresponded with an increase in the relative proportions of presidential elections. The number of presidential elections, which once were less than 30% of the corresponding number of parliamentary elections, now makes up over 50% of this figure.

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[59] IDEA, http://www.idea.int.

In France, which has both parliamentary and presidential elections, the turnout ratio in recent presidential elections is higher than the turnout ratio in the recent parliamentary elections. The reason for this situation again can be explained by Franklin's study which says as the salience of election competitiveness increases so does the electoral turnout. In France, the second round of the election is more competitive and important because people believe their vote can influence the outcome of politics. The competitive presidential election between Chirac and LePen can be given as an example. In addition, in the recent elections of May 2007, competitive second round elections between rightist Sarkozy and socialist Royal drew an 84% voter turnout in France, which is a significantly high participation rate if Table 1.1 is analyzed. On the other hand, in this electoral system (majority), again the proportionality of the votes is ignored. Each district has one seat in the parliament. This means due to two round systems the probability of "wasted vote" is lower, and the salience of elections are higher than plurality system, however the "wasted vote" possibility is higher than proportional representative electoral system.

The comparison between national and local (municipal) elections also signifies the impact of election type on voter turnout and voting behavior of the electorates. As mentioned before, rational choice theory would predict that turnout will be higher in elections where the stakes and the probability of casting a decisive vote are the greatest. Statistics also demonstrate that voter turnout is lower in local elections than national elections. The reasons for this difference can be explained by behavior of the electorates who perceive national elections to be more salient than local elections. Moreover, as said before the time difference between local and national elections is also important in affecting turnout of the election. Morlan argues that "it appears that the countries in which the highest municipal turnout occurs are those in which local elections are the most nationally politicized, in terms of both issues and party activity"[60]. If local elections occur before than the national election, the politicization of the local election is expected to increase. Blais points out the importance of the media as another reason for the gap between national and local elections, suggesting that "national elections are

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[60] Robert L. Morlan, "Municipal vs. National Elections Voter Turnout: Europe and the United States", *Political Science Quarterly* Vol. 99, (1984), pp.457-70.

more widely covered in the media, [and] citizens are much more likely to hear on the news about a national campaign than about a local one"[61].

On the other hand, studies on local and national elections focus only on the election type of these elections but ignore the electoral system structure of these elections. For instance, in Turkey the 1960 elections different systems were used to illustrate this point. The national elections used PR, the "mayor of municipality" elections used plurality, where "members of provincial council" used PR. As expected, voter turnout in "mayor of municipality" is significantly lower compared to "members of provincial council", which is as high as the national electoral participation rate.

For compulsory voting (a sanction is applied for failure to vote), although Lijphart thought that making the voting compulsory could be a solution to the decline and can maximize the voter turnout by minimizing the free-rider problem, a somewhat surprising result of Franklin's study is that the nations which have some element of compulsion associated with voting have only a small lead in turnout over the other nations without any compulsory voting laws. However, he claims similar to degree of proportionality of electoral outcomes, the presence of postal voting and weekend (Sunday) voting and compulsory voting also has a positive effect on turnout. In addition to Franklin, in his comprehensive and impressive work *To Vote or Not To Vote*[62] Andre Blais, after analyzing assumptions of previous studies on voter turnout, asserts that there is one consistent result of the studies which suggests "turnout is substantially higher in countries with compulsory voting".

In his study, Andre Blais categorizes cross-national variations in three main variable types: the socioeconomic environment; the institutional setting and party systems. Besides Franklin's works on voter turnout, this thesis will also utilize Blais' study, and test his hypothesis in his work for Turkey, which would enable one to compare and contrast Turkey's electoral participation property with other countries, and help to locate its position within the voter turnout literature.

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[61] Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote*, p. 39.

[62] Ibid., p. 21.

Socioeconomic variables that are expected to influence the electoral participation of citizens (the ones that Blais considers) include: GNP per capita, growth of GNP per capita, average life expectancy, degree of illiteracy, size of population and the population density[63]. These variables identify the socioeconomic situations of the all countries, apart from individual resources. Similar to individual resources such as income, education level and age; turnout is affected positively by GNP per capita, growth of GNP per capita, density of population and negatively by average life expectancy, degree of illiteracy and size of population. This suggests that a country that has a higher GNP per capita is expected to have a higher voter turnout, everything else being equal. On the other hand, it should be noted that the impact of the economy is the variable that has been the most extensively studied in the literature.

Blais asserts that "turnout depends not only on social and economic factors but also on how elections and politics more broadly are structured"[64]. he identifies five *institutional* features that appear particularly worthy of examination. These institutional setting variables are also similar to Franklin's institutional motivations. They are compulsory voting, electoral system, voting age, degree of democracy, and decisiveness of elections. Within this category, turnout is affected positively by compulsory voting (most effective determinant), decisiveness (salience of election in Franklin's study), voting age, and PR electoral systems, whereas they are negatively affected by the degree of democracy, plurality and majority electoral system.

Blais considers two features for the *party system* to be tested in cross-national level: number of parties (running in the election, effective number of electoral and legislative parties), and competitiveness[65]. Both of the variables influence voter turnout negatively. It is mentioned above that in PR systems the number of parties are high, which brings the competitiveness that increases the mobilization of people and salience

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[63] The number of people by squared kilometers of territory.

[64] Ibid. p.26.

[65] The measure of closeness is the gap (in vote shares) between the leading and the second parties.

of the election, and consequently is expected to lead to an increase in voter turnout. Here, Blais' study suggests that if the number of parties in the elections is high, this can cause complexity for the electorates to choose among the parties, and reduce the intension to vote. For competitiveness, as the gap between the leading and the second party increases, voter turnout is expected to decrease due to lack of competition.

The third type of voter turnout study is made by nation-wide analysis. These analyses also examine the same variables of cross-national level analysis. However their main focus is to search and investigate the turnout fluctuations within a country. In order to measure whether turnout fluctuate or not in a country, they calculate how much turnout in a given election differs from turnout in the previous election in the same country. Table 1.1 and 1.2 given above enables one to interpret the fluctuations within the countries and in cross-national level as well, within 10 year periods. In Table 1.1 it is noted that fluctuations within a country are relatively small compared to cross-national variations. For the Turkish case in Table 1.2, fluctuations are higher compared to other Western democratic elections. Moreover, although short-term fluctuations (between two elections) would be relatively small to interpret and observe the social and political changes, analyzing electoral result differences in terms of each decade enables one to observe the trend in voter turnout.

The trend in Western democracies indicates that voter turnout started to decline after 1980s. As explained above social and political changes in Europe especially depolarization and a decrease in party-identification can be given as the reasons for this reduction. On the other hand, the Turkish case suggests the opposite in which voter turnout significantly increased after the 1980s. (It should be noted that after the 1980 military coup, polarization between left and right ideology also decreased. Political parties and politicians were exiled from politics, and thus party-identification diminished). Moreover GNP per capita declined significantly. Despite these social, economical and political challenges, there was a significant increase in voter turnout from 72, 4% (1977) to 92, 3% (1983). This demonstrates the impact of establishing compulsory voting with 1982 Constitutional Law or the motivation of people to vote for democracy after three years of military governance.

As examples of countries (Turkey, France, and Switzerland) indicate, in order to explain electoral participation design of a country, many types of analysis (individual, nation-wide and cross-national level) should be evaluated and many variables must be considered. Therefore, we cannot suggest that only one type of analysis or variable is efficient and sufficient to explain the motivation of individuals to participate in the elections. As indicated before, even Switzerland has high level of education, income and has a list-PR electoral system as Turkey; its turnout level is the lowest ratio within the European countries. Here PR electoral system (institutional setting variable) and level of education and GNP per capita (socioeconomic environment variables) fail to rationalize low turnout in Switzerland.

However if Turkey and the Netherlands are compared, (two countries applying PR electoral system), this time compulsory voting emerges as the explanatory factor for the turnout differences; due to the fact that Turkey adopted compulsory voting after 1980, and the Netherlands abolished compulsory voting in 1970. Table 1.1 and Table 1.2 show that, in the Netherlands before the abolishment of compulsory voting, in the 1960s the average voter turnout was 95%, and it declined to 83.5% in 1970s, whereas, in the case of Turkey, the application of compulsory voting helped to increase average voter turnout from 69.6% (in 1970s) to 92.8% (in 1980s). On the other hand, although the Netherlands abolished compulsory voting in 1970s, its level of turnout has always been higher than France, which has applied a majority electoral system. Then again the question is if in this case the electoral system is the main factor for identifying high turnout level in the Netherlands compared to France, why does turnout decrease in Turkey after changing the electoral system from plurality to PR electoral system in 1960?

In order to identify the electoral participation structure of Turkey, it will be beneficial to evaluate the brief history of Turkish democracy and electoral participation pattern before testing the given variables within the literature at the nation-wide level.

CHAPTER II: TURKISH DEMOCRACY, ELECTORAL PARTICIPATION, and PARTY SYSTEMS

In this chapter, first history of Turkish democracy will be given with regard to the changes in the electoral system, and then the electoral participation rate of national (general) and local (municipality) elections will be displayed. Within these elections, two of them in which the electorates vote for general and local elections in the same year (1977 and 1999) will be selected, and some of the variables that determine voter turnout (mentioned in literature review part) will be tested at the province level. Later, considering the high correlation between electoral and party systems, the vote shares of each party for national and local elections will be analyzed which enables to observe the alternations and continuities in the voting pattern behavior of the electorates. Lastly, volatility, fragmentation and the effective number of parties in Turkish general and local elections will be calculated and analyzed.

I) The History of the Turkish Democracy and Changes in Electoral System

a) 1950-1960

In the political history of Republican Turkey, the first democratic election with regard to the definition of free and fair elections took place in 1950, an event which signifies the year of passing from a single party regime to democratic governance. Between 1923-1945, a single party Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası [*Republican People's Party-CHP*] established by the founder of Turkish Republic Mustafa Kemal governed the country. Before 1946, the elections were held in two phases: first the citizens (prior

to 1934, citizenry included only males) elected the candidates that would vote for the deputies, and then within these deputies, the leaders of the CHP appointed the appropriate individuals to the National Assembly. Therefore with the 1946 multiparty elections the electoral system changed from limited to full representative democracy.

Moreover before 1950, three main attempts to adopt democratic regime can be identified: the establishment of Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası [*Progressive Republican Party- TCF*] in 1924; the establishment of Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası [*Free Republican Party-SCF*] and local election with the participation of SCF in 1930; and national (general) election in 1946 with the participation of Demokrat Parti *[Democrat Party-DP]*. These three attempts for democracy resulted with failure in application due to political and legislative repression of CHP towards the opposition parties. TCF was closed in 1925[66], SCF was forced to close itself by its founders[67], and the 1946 national election cannot be announced as democratic due to the interventions of CHF[68].

It can be said that the center-periphery relations have formed the core of Turkish politics till the Ottoman period[69] and have been shaped by the changes in the electoral system. Şerif Mardin claims that in the Early Republican Period with the Kemalist reforms (mostly the ones on secularism) the gap between the center and periphery

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[66] Ahmet Demirel, *Birinci Meclis'te Muhalefet: İkinci Grup/ Opposition in the First Assembly: The Second Group*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayıncılık, 2003; Erik Jan Zürcher, *The Progressive Party 1924-1925*, (E.J.Brill, 1991).

[67] Cemil Koçak, *Belgelerle İktidar ve Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası/ The Incumbent and Free Republican Party with Documents*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 2006).

[68] Votes were given openly, but counted secretly in contrast to the democratic way of secret voting, and open counting.

[69] Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish. Politics?," Daedalus, no. 102 (1973).
Sabri Sayarı, "Some Notes on the Beginnings of Mass Political Participation in Turkey", in Engin D. Akarlı with Gabriel Ben-Dor (eds.). *Political Participation in Turkey: Historical Background and Present Problems*, (Bebek, Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Pub., 1975), pp.121-133.
Sabri Sayarı asserts that "party patronage and clientalist politic have remained characteristic features of electoral competition although conflict between parties increasingly tended on ideological differences".

increased. Ayşe Ayata[70] also asserts that the dependency of the periphery on the center always exerts significant endurance and proliferation of personal dependencies in the form of patron-client relationships[71], and she adds that "being cut off from the periphery [was] a positive value until 1946"[72]; because there was no political competition or democracy, elites did not go to their constituencies even for votes. In the single-party period, periphery's only relation with center was paying taxes and military service. Therefore, the only way to integrate the periphery with the center was to use the existing notables, to co-opt them into the political system. In this system, the notables first elected the representatives and then the representatives elected the deputies. In other words, the deputies in the parliament were assigned by the Kemalist elites (most directly by Mustafa Kemal). Hence, DP's emergence changed the political patronage, due to fact that now elected representatives became extremely accessible and act according to personal demand, and the voters had the power of direct bargaining with the candidates and parties.

In the multiparty period, DP, by advocating liberalism, equality, freedom of speech and the rule of the people, began to represent the periphery against the representatives of the center (CHP). In the general elections from 1950 to 1960, the plurality electoral system was used, and in three national elections namely 1950, 1954, and 1957 DP came in power as the 'predominant party'[73] with 55,2%, 58,4% and 48,6% share of the votes respectively.

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[70] Ayşe Güneş Ayata, "Roots and Trends of Clientelism in Turkey", *Democracy, clientelism, and civil society* (ed.) by Luis Roniger & Ayşe Güneş-Ayata, (Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers, 1994).

[71] Sabri Sayarı, "Political Patronage in Turkey", in E. Gellner and J Waterbury (eds.) *Patrons and Clients in Mediterranean Societies,* (Duckwpth, 1997).
According to Sayarı, "political patronage" refers to a particular form of reciprocal exchange whereby individual patrons and/or political parties seek to mobilize the support of their followers in return for assistance and various brokerage services.

[72] Ayata, Roots and Trends of Clientelism, p.50.

[73] Sabri Sayarı, "The Changing Party System", in S.Sayarı and Y. Esmer (eds.), *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*, (Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner Pub, 2002).

In 27 May 1960, Turkish democracy was interrupted by a military coup which accused DP and its politicians as being un-democratic, and claimed the military coup was done in the name of freedom of speech and democracy. DP was outlawed, its leadership banned from politics and its founder (also the former Prime Minister) Adnan Menderes executed with the Minister of Foreign Affair Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and the Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan by a military edict for violating the constitution. After DP was closed, it had been re-established with the name of Adalet Partisi [*Justice Party-AP*].

The plurality electoral system which requires the "winner takes all" system had been seen as the reason for the repressive power of DP in the parliament and on society. Therefore, as a caution against the probability of undemocratic governance, the 1961 Constitutional Law replaced the plurality electoral system with the proportional representative (PR) electoral system which created multiparty system in the National Assembly, and increased the level of fragmentation in the party system during the early 1960s.

b) 1960-1980

With the PR electoral system, competition increased between parties for gaining electoral votes. The change in the electoral system also altered the rule of the political game of the patron-client relationship. As Ayata asserts, in the AP period, various spoils are used to create loyal supporters in the periphery. With urbanization, AP carries rural political structure into the cities, areas where immigrants are concentrated. Moreover, during those years, modernization increased class-based politics and ideological tendencies in society.

In the first democratic election (1960) after the military coup of 1960, approximately 20% vote shares of CHP and DP was distributed to other parties, a change which signifies the role of the military coup in the increase of volatility and

destruction of p*olitical socialization*[74] in the Turkish political system. However, despite the military coup (except for the national election of 1961), AP gained the majority of the votes in 1965 and 1969 elections, and became the most successful party of 1960s.

According to the general assumptions of the literature review given above, voter turnout is expected to be higher in countries with a PR electoral system than in the countries with a plurality electoral system. Here, the alternation in the electoral system from plurality to PR electoral system in Turkey with the 1961 Constitution did not increase the rate of electoral participation in Turkish national elections. In contrast a reduction in voter turnout is observed if the average participation in 1950s, 1960s and 1970s is compared (Table 1.2).

Towards the ends of 1960s, ideological polarization between leftist and rightist political views became dominant in the voting decision of the electorates, especially those living in the urban cities, whereas the patron-client relationship continued in the rural areas. In 12 March 1971, the Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) declared a statement asserting that if the political parties could not prevent the anarchic conditions and struggle between the Turkish leftist and rightist youth, the military would handle the administration directly. This statement is accepted as the second military coup in the history of Republic of Turkey. After this military coup, not the major parties but only the small Marxists Türkiye İşçi Partisi [*Turkish Labor Party*-TİP] and Islamist Milli Nizam Partisi [*National Order Party*- MNP] were banned by the Constitutional Court[75]. However in the 1973 national election, it is seen that AP lost significant share of votes: a Pro-Islamist party Milli Selamet Partisi [*National Party*-MSP] received the 11,8% of the votes in this election, a percentage which signifies that people began vote for extremist parties rather than the parties closer to the center.

Whereas, competition between CHP (leftist) and AP (rightist) increased again in 1977 national election, where they obtained 41,4% and 36,9% share of the votes

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[74] Political Socialization is the process whereby individuals become aware of tenets of political culture, political facts, and political values. It happens through the influence of parents, the media, friends, employment and a variety of other stimuli.

[75] Sabri Sayarı, "The Changing Party System", p.15.

respectively. In 12 September 1980, Turkish Armed Forces interrupted Turkish democracy for the third time, and seized the political governance in Turkey. All of the former political parties were closed, and politicians banned from politics.

c) 1980-Present

The 1982 Constitutional Law made two changes in the electoral system which altered the voting behavior of electorates and rule of politics for political parties and politicians. First by considering the low electoral participation rate of the 1977 general elections (Table 2.1 below), in 1982 Turkey adopted a new constitution and new election law, which defined the act of voting as "mandatory". Those who failed vote could be subject to punishment, if the eligible voter in question failed to declare a credible excuse, such as serving in the army, as soldiers have been exempt from voting since 1983[76]. Second, by considering the uprising political demands of ethnic minorities (especially Kurds), in order to prevent their entrance to the Parliament, the electoral threshold increased to a 10% level. This high national threshold requires that any party that takes less than 10% of the general votes cannot enter to the National Assembly and the votes given to them be distributed among the other parties that manage to pass the threshold.

As outlined in the literature review section, a debate on the influence of the electoral systems on fairness and stability in politics exists. The debate concludes that PR electoral system brings fairness because the voted ballots are less likely to be wasted on the reflection of the votes to the distribution of seats in the National Assembly and different ideologies can be represented in the Parliament. However, the plurality electoral system leads to a two-party system in which the winner takes the all, and the votes given to the unsuccessful party will be wasted. On the other hand, the two-party system brings stability to the politics for supporting by one-party government. By raising the national threshold to 10% in 1982, Constitutional law aims to decrease the number of parties in the Parliament, prevent unsuccessful coalition government and

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[76] Ali Çarkoğlu and Ersin Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Democracy Today: Elections, Protest and Stability in an Islamic Society*, (I.B.Taurus: New York, 2007), p. 16.

establish more powerful governments that bring stability in politics and economics. However, with regard to this debate the alternation of the electoral law damages the fairness qualification of the PR electoral system (in which the probability of wasting a vote is lesser compared to the ineffectiveness of the plurality system) as well. Here, votes given to minor parties are wasted, and the parties that pass the 10% national threshold get the number of seats that are higher than their proportion of votes. Due to the high threshold, the electoral system stays in between PR and plurality system in which the electorates intend to vote strategically (against their less favored) rather than voting for their most preferred party (if it is certain that it cannot pass the threshold).

As the result of these regulations, after 1980 with the adoption of compulsory voting, voter turnout in both national and local elections has increased in a significant ratio. Ideological depolarization is aimed and established, whereas it also has brought the rise of pro-Islamist parties as a major force in electoral and parliamentary politics[77]. According to Sayarı

From the military perspective, democratic stability in Turkey required the establishment of a new system based on new parties that would have no continuity with the pre-1980 parties. According to the military's scenario, this new party would be based on two moderate, centrist parties, and it would exclude the extremist radical leftist, ultranationalist, and Islamist parties[78].

However, in the 1990s, fragmentation in the party system is returns, and the political polarization between left and right ideologies is replaced by a struggle between the center-left parties, and similarly between center-right parties, a struggle which creates the weakening of political center and benefited the extremist parties. Paradoxically, high volatility encourages more and more new parties to enter to the elections every time, because they perceive they can obtain some share from the previous votes of the other parties, or the advantage of the protest votes which are given

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[77] Ibid. pp. 32-34. The study of Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu displays the progression of the collapse for the centre left and right parties, and the rise of the extreme-right wing parties to a dominant position because of the zero-sum nature of elections in the Turkish context.

[78] Sayarı, "The Changing Party System", p.15.

to punish the economical and political failures of the previous government. However, due to the entrance of the new parties fragmentation leads to fragmentation and volatility increases as well.

Moreover, high fragmentation and volatility in Turkish national elections also affects the patron-client relationship. High volatility suggests that a winning party in an election may not obtain the same vote shares for the following elections, or even may not enter to the Parliament. However, in order to pursue the benefits of patronage and bring the promised services to the clients a party needs to remain in the power. This situation has created an incentive for the political parties to do whatever it takes them to stay in the power. Making negative politics (blaming and blackening of other parties) replaced making positive politics (bragging of their contributions etc.).

Towards the end of the 1990s, polarization between the ideologies has begun to rise again, but this time it has been based on the growing conflict between the Islamists and secularists. As a result of this conflict, and the increasing power of Islamist parties, on 28 February 1997 National Security Council gave a "civil note" to the DYP-RP coalition government which targeted RP [*Welfare Party*-RP] and accused it for involving radical religious actions in political life. This "civil note" can be accepted as the forth intervention to the process of Turkish democracy.

The note given by the Turkish Armed Forces on 27 April 2007 to the pro-Islamist incumbent party Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi [Justice and Development Party-AKP] can also be explained within the frame of the conflict between secularist and Islamist politics. TSK declared that it gave this note to AKP for dragging the country into tension in the period of presidential selection[79]. Although the note was not a written one

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[79] Several protest marching has happened against the President candidate Abdullah Gül, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs in pro-Islamist AKP government. The protesters and opposition parties insisted that the President should be a secular person selected out of the National Assembly. AKP insisted on the candidacy of Gül, and after the note of military in 27 April 2007 (the army's April 27th threat to intervene over the choice of a president whose wife wears the Muslim headscarf.), the Constitutional Court confirm the verdict that to select a President 367 "yes" votes from the Assembly should be achieved. Because AKP cannot maintain 367 votes by itself, and it cannot compromise with the other parties in the Parliament, early election decision is given (instead of 4 November 2007 it is taken to 22 July 2007).

but displayed on the website of TSK, the gesture is noted as the fifth main intervention of military into the Turkish democracy. This event also brings the question of whether democracy can be sacrificed for retaining secularism[80].

In conclusion, in Turkish (Republican) political history before 1950, we observe three main interventions to attempts for democracy, and after 1950 five interventions and interruptions to Turkish democracy have been experienced. Ironically, each intervention has been attempted to be legitimized by claiming they have been made in the name of democracy and establishing stability and transition in the country. However, each intervention has damaged the political socialization process of the individuals, and has prevented the establishment of a consolidated democracy in Turkey. Members of the parliament were selected and governments formed with regard to the popular vote however, the intervention of military coups and notes has blocked the democratic use of the popular vote to overturn unsuccessful governments.

II) Electoral Participation in Turkish National and Local Elections

a) Voter Turnout

Local elections in Turkey cover four different layers of local administration. These are members of provincial council elections, the mayor of municipality elections, members of municipal council elections, and mayor of greater municipality elections (only for the greater cities). For this study, in the comparison of national and local elections, members of provincial council and mayor of municipality elections are included in the dataset. The reason for this selection is that since 1963 members of provincial council elections have used proportional representative electoral system and the mayor of municipality elections have used the plurality electoral system. Therefore, merging the national and these two local administration elections within the same

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[80] Secularism v. Democracy, From The Economist print edition, 3 May 2007,
http://www.economist.com/world/europe/displaystory.cfm?story_id=9116841

dataset enables to test and analyze the effect of electoral system (plurality vs. PR) and election type (national vs. local) on electoral participation rate.

Table 2.1: Voter turnout in Percentage for National, Members of Provincial Council and Mayor of Municipality Elections

Election Year	National Elections	Members of Provincial Council	Mayor of Municipality
1950	89,3		
1954	88,6		
1957	76,6		
1961	81,4		
1963		77,6	69,3
1965	71,3		
1968		65,7	59,4
1969	64,3		
1973	66,8	61,7	56
1977	72,4	60,4	53,1
1983	92,3		
1984		91,0	85,6
1987	93,3		
1989		81,5	78
1991	83,9		
1994		92,2	90,5
1995	85,2		
1999	87,1	86,9	85,2
2002	79,1		
2004		75,28	71,7
Average	**80,82**	**76,92**	**72,08**

Literature review on voter turnout indicates that voter turnout is expected to be higher in national elections compared to municipality elections. This difference in the voter turnout is mostly explained by the situation that the stakes involved in municipal politics are relatively small, and that parties and voters generally do not attach much importance to the local elections. Table 2.1 displays that this assumption is also feasible for Turkish national and local elections. For the national elections since 1950, the average voter turnout is 80,82 which is accepted as relatively high compared to the electoral participation rate of Western democratic countries as given in Table 1.1.

In the Table 2.1, voter turnout of mayor of municipality and members of provincial council elections since 1963 is given. When these two types of municipality elections are compared, it is clearly seen that the voter turnout in members of provincial council elections is higher than the voter turnout in mayor of municipality elections. This difference can be explained by the variable of electoral system, because according to the studies mentioned in the literature review, electoral participation is expected to be higher in PR electoral systems compared to that in the plurality electoral systems.

On the other hand, Table 2.2 displays that despite the election type and electoral system differences (institutional setting determinants) within these three elections, there is a common pattern of fluctuations of voter turnout in both Turkish national and local elections.

Table 2.2 Average Turnout since 1950 in Turkish National and Local Elections

Turkey/percent	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s*
National Elections Average	84.8	72.3	69.6	92.8	83.8
Members of Provincial Council Elections Average		71,65	61,05	86,25	84,79
Mayor of Municipality Elections Average		64,35	54,55	81,8	82,47

Notes: * includes 2002 national election and 2004 local election as well.
Source: State Statistic Institute and www.yerelnet.org.tr

In the 1950s, voter turnout in national elections is seen to be very high with the ratio 84,8 %. The reason for this high participation rate can be due to the enthusiasm of the public for passing to the democratic governance regime in 1950 (first free and fair elections) after the single party regime period of 1923-1946. In this thesis the electoral participation rate of 1950 and 1955 local elections is not included due to inconsistent data, which only gives voter turnout in some cities, but not the nation-wide results. In the 1960s, average voter turnout in national elections decreased more than 10%, and average participation rate in members of provincial council elections was highly close to this ratio. In the 1970s, voter turnout for all the elections decreased, but significantly in local elections by 10%. The downfall in voter turnout in the 1970s corresponded with the participation rate in the other European countries. From the 1970s to the 1980s, a significant jump in electoral participation is observed, especially in the mayor of municipality elections. As mentioned above, after the 1980 military coup, compulsory voting has been adopted and this ascent in voter turnout can be explained by this institutional setting variable. Here, the application of compulsory voting emerges as the most significant determinant that has affected the voter turnout. During the 1980s, voter turnout in national elections was still higher than the two kinds of the local elections, and the participation rate in members of provincial elections exceeded the ratio in mayor of municipality elections. Most importantly, as a result of increasing voter turnout in the local elections, the gap between national and local participation rates has narrowed.

However, interestingly, voter turnout in 1990s challenges the assumptions of the studies in the literature and the general pattern seen before. Participation in members of provincial council exceeds the voter turnout in national elections. Moreover, voter turnout in mayor of municipality elections gets closer to the level of national and members of provincial council elections which have PR electoral systems.

Figure 2.1 below also shows the correlation between voter turnout of national and local elections, and their fluctuations within years. This correlation suggests several points for Turkish politics. First of all, their rises and falls within the same time period show that both of national and local elections are not influenced by the institutional setting variables, but determined by the socio-economical, and political conditions of Turkey. Second, there is a close relationship between them that vote shares of parties in local elections are perceived as the continuity of success of the parties that won the national elections. Third, in the 1980s, local elections became more important for the electorates, because of the rapid growth of urbanization that has radically transformed the social, economic, and political landscape of the country's major cities[81]. As a result of this rapid rise of urban growth through migration to the cities from the villages and small towns in Anatolia, the importance of local elections, especially the metropolitan mayoral races in major Turkish cities has increased. Because it uses the plurality electoral system in which the winner takes the all, the mayor of municipality elections especially in greater cities became highly competitive. This competitiveness also has brought a growing differentiation in political party preferences both in the elections for different local administrative levels, and between municipal and parliamentary elections from the balloting in 1994[82]. In the national and local elections held in 2000s, voter turnout has decreased for all of the elections as well, which signifies again a similar pattern of participation in both national and local elections.

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[81] Nihal İncioğlu, "Local Elections and Electoral Behavior", in S.Sayari and Y. Esmer (eds.), *Politics, Parties and Elections in Turkey*, 2002, p.73.

[82] Ibid. p.78.

Figure 2.1: Voter Turnout for National, Member of Provincial Council and Mayor of Municipality Elections
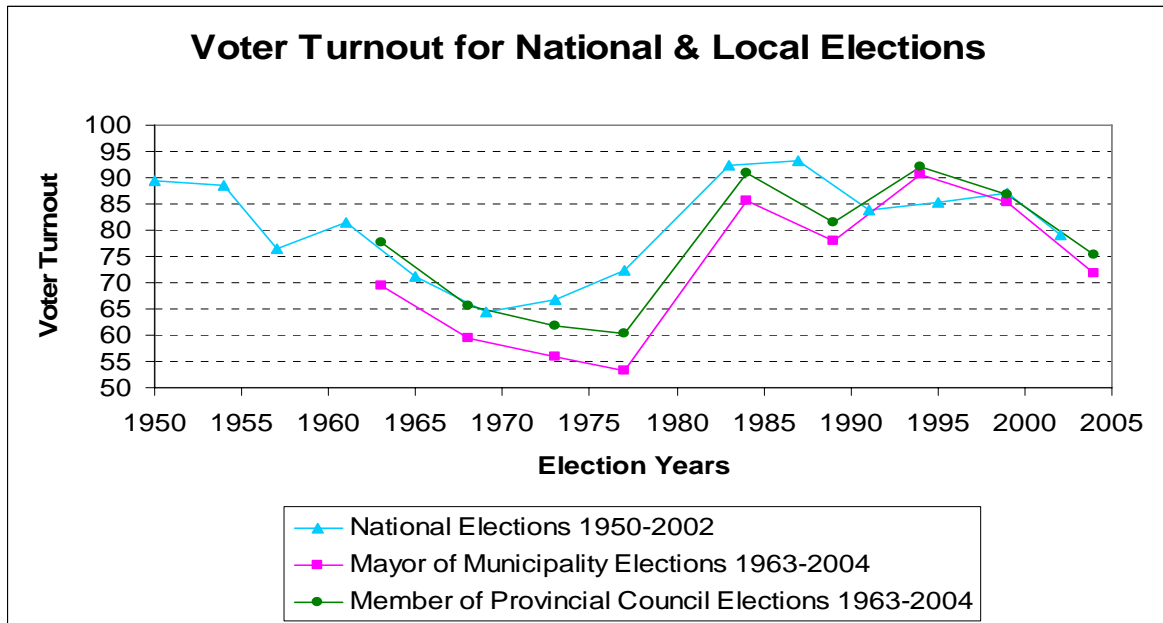
After the 1982 Constitutional Law, national elections and local elections occur once in five years. As seen in the Table 2.1, only in 1973, 1977 and 1999 electoral vote for national and local elections in the same years[83]. Therefore, these elections are crucial because they give the opportunity to compare national and local elections by taking the socio-economic environment conditions constant. In 1973 and 1977 elections, voter turnout in local elections is relatively low compared to participation rate in national elections. However, in 1999 local and national elections are held also in the same day and voter turnout is almost same for all three types of elections. Voter turnout in the 2000s has regressed back to the level of 1960s.

In order to analyze the influence of rapid urbanization on the voter turnout in local elections, and its relation with the other variables, national and local elections (both mayor of municipality and members of provincial council) held in 1977 and 1999 are selected and will be examined in detail in the following section.

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[83] Although national elections are determined to be once in five years by law, as it is seen from the election years Turkey always faces with early elections. In 2007, the legislation to make national elections once in four years is passed from the Parliament and confirmed by the Constitutional Court.

b) Analyzing 1977 and 1999 National and Local Elections

i. Methodology:

Here the multiple regression model will be utilized by using cross-sectional data of electoral participation rate of all provinces in national and local elections held in 1977 and 1999. Within the national and local elections displayed in the Table 2.1, only 1977 and 1999 elections will be analyzed at the provincial level, because in these years national and local elections were held in the same year, and considering that compulsory voting was added into the constitution after 1980 military coup, this selection also enables one to observe the effect of compulsory voting variable on the voter turnout of the provinces.

The total observations will be 441 [(67x3) + (80x3)] which includes the data of 67 provinces for 1977 national, mayor of municipality and members of provincial council; and data of 80 provinces for the same elections done in 1999. The effects of socio-economic variables (the proportion of urban population, proportion of urban population x Marmara-Aegean region, GDP per capita, and GDP per capita x Marmara-Aegean region) and institutional setting variables (election type, electoral system and compulsory voting) on the voter turnout of provinces will be tested. Some of these variables are taken from Blais's study mentioned in the literature review, however in order to analyze the influence of urbanization, and compare with regard to urban-rural differences, the variable of "proportion of city population" and "Marmara-Aegean region" is also included. Marmara and Aegean regions are significant for this test because they the most industrially developed and urbanized regions in Turkey. The list of variables is given below in Table 2.3.

It should be noted that these variables (excluding the proportion of city population, and Marmara-Aegean region and including party system variables) will be tested in nation-wide level in the next chapter, which leads this thesis study to compare Turkish case with those of other Western democracies and with the general results given in the literature review by referring to the assumptions of the rational choice theory.

Table 2.3: The List of Variables (National and Local Elections in 1977 and 1999 at Provinces-Level)

Variable Name	Explanation	Source
Electoral Participation	Participation rates of provinces at 1977 and 1999 national elections and local elections (both mayor of municipality and members of provincial council). Turnout indicates the percentage of those registered on the electoral list who cast a vote.	For the electoral results of local elections in 1999 and 1977 www.yerelnet.org.tr is benefited. Result of national elections are taken from http://www.konrad.org.tr/secim/index.php
Proportion of Urban Population	Proportion of urban population (population of municipal areas of the province and district centers) to the total population of the provinces.	DIE, 2000 Census and DIE, 1975 Census Books.
Marmara-Aegean Region	A dummy variable categorizing the provinces according to the region they are located in. D=1 if the province is in Marmara-Aegean (West Anatolia) Region. D=0 if the province is in other regions (Black Sea, Mediterranean, Central Anatolia, South East Anatolia, and East Anatolia)	
Proportion of Urban Population x Marmara-Aegean Region	Measures how much a 1% increase in the proportion of urban population of a province located in the Marmara-Aegean region changes the electoral participation.	
GDP per capita (log) at 1987 prices in TL.	Logarithm of GDP per capita of the province at base 10. Taking the logarithm of these variables enables one to observe whether values of these variables are significant for changes in the dependent variable electoral participation rate.	For 1999 results: www.die.gov.tr is used. For 1977 results: www.tek.org.tr

GDP per capita x Marmara-Aegean Region	Measures how much a 1% increase in the GDP per capita of a province located in the Marmara-Aegean region changes the electoral participation.	
Election type	A dummy variable indicating the type of elections. D=1 if the election type is national election D=0 if the election type is local election.	
Electoral System	A dummy variable indicating the electoral system. D=1 for PR electoral system D=0 for Plurality electoral system	For national elections http://www.konrad.org.tr/secim/index.php For local elections http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/
Compulsory voting	A dummy variable D=1 if it is compulsory to vote D=0 if it is not compulsory to vote After 1982 Constitutional Law voting in both national and local elections became compulsory.	

According to this design[84], for example the electoral result of the province Adana province in 1977 national election is labeled as adana-N7, for the variable of election type (national vs. local) it gets the value 1, for electoral system (PR vs. plurality) it gets value 1, and for compulsory voting it gets the value 0. These values are valid for the voter turnout of all provinces in 1977 national elections. Here, it will be beneficial to give the descriptive properties of the dependent and independent variables.

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[84] The dataset is given in Appendix A.

Table 2.4: Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
1977 National election	67	64,00	84,10	74,2149	5,15456
1977 Mayor of municipality election	67	37,00	75,60	60,6761	7,52570
1977 Member of provincial council election	64[85]	38,60	90,30	66,7461	8,33940
1999 National election	80	79,40	94,50	87,3975	3,83419
1999 Mayor of municipality election	80	74,90	93,40	85,4450	4,46919
1999 Member of provincial council election	80	79,20	94,50	87,2994	3,84409
Valid N (listwise)	64				

Table 2.5: Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Proportion of Urban Population	441	16,00	90,69	46,1177	15,99817
GDP per capita (log)	441	2,61	6,58	5,8973	,66921
Valid N (listwise)	441				

Note: The descriptive statistics of dummy variables (Marmara-Aegean Region; Election type, Electoral System and Compulsory Voting) are excluded from the Table 2.5.

By using the statistical descriptive of the dependent variables given in Table 2.4 indicates many evaluations about the socioeconomic structure of Turkey and its reflections on voter turnout can be realized. In 1977 national and local elections, the lowest participation rates (64%, 37% and 38,6% respectively) belong to the same province (the most industrialized and urbanized city of Turkey), İstanbul. The highest participation rate in the 1977 national election belongs to Bitlis (Eastern Anatolia region); in the 1977 members of provincial council election the highest participation rate belongs to Erzurum (Eastern Anatolia region); and in the 1977 mayor of municipality election the highest participation rate belongs to Burdur (Mediterranean region)[86].

Whereas, interestingly in 1999, Diyarbakır province located in the less developed Southeastern region of Turkey, and with a relatively low GDP per capita and literacy

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[85] Electoral participation result of Afyon, Kahramanmaraş and Şanlıurfa cannot be found in www.yerelnet.org.tr due to the fact that name of these provinces changed. They are labeled as *missing variable* in the dataset.

[86] Given in Appendix A.

rate has the lowest voter turnout in both national and local elections. The highest voter turnout in both national and local elections belongs to Burdur (Mediterranean region) which has high GDP per capita, and literacy rate whereas the proportion of urban population of the province is at medium level.

According to the descriptive statistics of independent variables Gümüşhane (Black Sea region) has the lowest ratio of urbanization (16%), whereas both in 1975 and 2000 İstanbul has the highest level of urbanization 68% and 90,69% respectively. For GDP per capita (log) variable, 2,61 ratio belongs to Ağrı (East Anatolia region) measured in 1977; and the highest ratio 6,58 is measured at 1999 for the city Kocaeli (Marmara region).

These statistics points out three important predictions:

a. Urbanization and income level of the provinces are correlated and there is a big gap of these ratios between the provinces with regard to the regions. Most of the highly urbanized and economically developed provinces are located in the Marmara and Aegean regions. Moreover, Turkey experienced a significant jump in terms of GDP per capita and urbanization level when the 1977 and 1999 ratios are compared. However only using the evaluation of these descriptions is not relevant and sufficient in order to test the influence of the socioeconomical factors on the voter turnout. The following regression model will be utilized for this purpose.

b. Provinces display similar voter turnout characteristics in national and local elections, considering in both of them, one city has the lowest participation rate and one city has the highest participation rate. In other words, if one city has the lowest voter turnout in a national election, its participation into the local elections stays at the lowest level as well. This assumption also supports the pattern given in Figure 2.1, in which it is observed that national and local elections have the same fluctuations within years with regard to the participation rates at nation-wide level.

c. According to the study of Ozbudun and Tachau (aforementioned in the literature review)[87] which encompasses the national election in 1960s and 1973, voter turnout decreases in the more urbanized, industrialized and modernized provinces. Although 1977 national and local elections support this assumption, the statistical data measured in 1999 national and local elections asserts that voter behavior of the provinces with regard to their region and urbanization level has changed from 1970s to 2000s. Here, the multiple regression model based on 441 observations comparing 1977 and 1999 national and local elections at the province-level will be utilized to test whether the proportion of urbanization population of a province negatively or positively affects the electoral participation.

ii. Regression Model and Findings:

With regard to the literature review and approach of rational choice theory given previously, the relationship between 6 independent variables and dependent variable (electoral participation rate) will be evaluated by testing the hypothesis below:

1) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the proportion of urban population decreases. (Ozbudun & Tachau, 1975)

2) The participation to elections is expected to decrease if the province located as the Marmara or Aegean region.

3) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the GDP per capita increases. (Blais, 2000)

4) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is a national election type. (Blais, 2000)

5) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is held using a proportional representative electoral system. (Blais, 2000)

6) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election constitutes compulsory voting. (Blais, 2000)

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[87] Ergun Ozbudun and Frank Tachau, "Social Change and Electoral Behavior in Turkey: Toward a Critical Realignment?", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 6 No.4, (1975).

Here, the hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 are related if we consider the assumption of Ozbudun and Tachau mentioned in the literature review. They assert that Turkey is one of the countries where the rate of voting participation is higher in rural areas than voting is in the cities. In Turkey most of the highly urbanized and modernized cities are located in the Marmara and Aegean region. Moreover, these provinces are industrialized and possess higher GDP per capita levels compared to those of the other regions. In order to analyze the correlation between these three variables, two joint variables are included to the dataset: the proportion of urban population x Marmara- Aegean region; and the GDP per capita (log) x Marmara-Aegean region.

Additional Hypothesis:

The following two hypotheses will be tested in this thesis study, whether:

7) The participation to elections is expected to increase or decrease if the urbanization ratio of the province increases, and this province locates at the Marmara-Aegean region.

8) The participation to elections is expected to increase or decrease as the GDP per capita of the province increases, and this province locates at the Marmara-Aegean region.

According to the given independent and dependent variables the regression model will be structured as below[88]:

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[88] EPR= Electoral participation rate, the dependent variable.

$\beta_{Constant}$= The intercept of the regression line.

β_{Urban} x X_{Urban}= The coefficient of the variable (proportion of urban population) multiplied with the variable.

β_{GDP} x X_{GDP} = The coefficient of the variable GDP per capita (log), multiplied with the variable GDP per capita (log).

β_{ET} x D_{ET}= The coefficient of the variable Election type, multiplied with the dummy variable Election type.

β_{ES} x D_{ES}= The coefficient of the variable Electoral System, multiplied with the dummy variable Electoral System.

β_{c} x D_{c}= The coefficient of the variable Compulsory Voting, multiplied with the dummy variable Compulsory Voting.

$\beta_{U-M\&A}$ (X_{Urban} x $D_{M\&A}$)= The joint coefficient is multiplied with the variable (proportion of urban population) and the dummy variable Marmara-Aegean region.

$$EPR = \beta_{Constant} + \beta_{Urban} \times X_{Urban} + \beta_{GDP} \times X_{GDP} + \beta_{ET} \times D_{ET} + \beta_{ES} \times D_{ES} + \beta c \times Dc +$$

$$\beta_{U\text{-}M\&A} (X_{Urban\ x}\ D_{M\&A}) + \beta_{GDP\text{-}M\&A} (X_{GDP\ x}\ D_{M\&A})$$

(2.1)

Table 2.6: Regression Equation with Socioeconomic Environment, and Institutional Setting Variables at Province-Level[89]

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	71,954	2,589		27,791	,000
	Proportion of Urban Population	-,099	,025	-,134	-3,894	,000
	GDP per capita (log)	-1,123	,463	-,062	-2,426	,016
	Electoral Type	3,470	,665	,138	5,221	,000
	Electoral System	3,763	,665	,150	5,663	,000
	Compulsory Voting	22,661	,733	,953	30,927	,000
	Urban Population & Marmara_Aegean Region	-,134	,044	-,257	-3,064	,002
	GDP & Marmara-Aegean	1,758	,363	,398	4,845	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Electoral Participation Rate

R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F
,775	,771	5, 67283	184, 739

R-square is 0,775, and that means the independent variables are good at predicting the dependent variable. F-statistic indicates the restrictions are significant at 5% and 1% level of confidence. The sign of the constant variable is positive as expected, and it is significant at 5% and 1 % levels.

$\beta_{GDP\text{-}M\&A} (X_{GDP\ x}\ D_{M\&A})$= The joint coefficient is multiplied with the variable GDP per capita (log) and the dummy variable Marmara-Aegean region.

[89] Because the variable Marmara-Aegean region is not statistically significant in explaining the electoral participation it is excluded from the regression model. This exclusion did not cause any reduction in the R square value.

Evaluation of the hypothesis:

1) The coefficient of the variable proportion of urban population indicates that there is a negative relationship between the urbanization ratio of a province and its electoral participation. If the urbanization ratio increases 1%, this change creates a decrease of approximately 10% for the provinces locate out of Marmara or Aegean region. If the province locates at the Marmara or Aegean region, a 1% increase in the urbanization ratio causes a 23,4% (10% + 13,4%) decrease in the voter turnout. T-statistic value of the both variables (-3,894 and -3,064 respectively) indicates that these variables are significant in determining voter turnout at 1% level of confidence.

For the influence of urbanization on the voter turnout there were contradicting assumptions. Individual-level analyses predict that as the individual resources of the electorate increases, the intention to vote is expected to increase. The descriptive statistics of the dependent variable given above suggest that for the 1999 elections voter turnout in the urbanized provinces also increases compared to 1977 electoral participation. In this thesis, aggregate data is used and the result of the regression model supports the study of Ozbudun and Tachau which asserts that in Turkey voter turnout decreases as the urbanization ratio increases. Moreover, the results display that geographical differentiation of the provinces influence voter behavior.

2) The result of the regression model for the variable GDP per capita (log) indicates interesting predictions for Turkish case. If the province is not located at the Marmara or Aegean region, then the GDP per capita (log) affects negatively electoral participation rate, and when it increase by 1%, the voter turnout decreases by 1,12 %. On the other hand, the coefficient of the joint variable (GDP per capita (log) x Marmara-Aegean region) asserts that if the province is located at the Marmara or Aegean region, then when the GDP per capita increases 1%, this change causes an increase in the voter turnout by 0,6% (1,758-1,123). This increase is calculated by measuring the difference between the coefficient values of GDP. Marmara and Aegean region and GDP per capita (log) variables. Both variables are statistically significant in determining the electoral participation rate at 5%

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significance level (-2,426 and 4,845 respectively). It should be noted that if the joint variable is excluded from the regression model (if the provinces are not examined in terms of the region), then a negative relationship between GDP per capita (log) and voter turnout is seen. However, then the variable becomes insignificant to explain the dependent variable[90].

Here, the finding of the regression model coincides with the literature review and the assumption of the rational choice theory which suggests that voter turnout is expected to increase as the GDP per capita increases.

3) The coefficient of the variable election type signifies that if the elections are national elections, then the voter turnout increases about 3,5%. This variable is significant in explaining voter turnout at a 1% confidence level.

Table 2.2 and Figure 2.1 interestingly show that in the 1990s and especially in the recent elections voter turnout in the local elections started to increase, the level of members of provincial council elections even exceeded the rate of national elections. Here, the result of the regression model for the election type coincides with the assumptions of the literature review that in national elections the participation rate is expected to be higher than that of local elections. Hence, it can be claimed that although local elections turn out to be more important for the Turkish electorates, especially for the urban dwellers after 1980s, due to the low participation rate in the 1977 local elections, here a positive influence of election type on voter turnout is observed. When the same variables are tested only for the 1999 national and local elections, this time voting in a national election creates only

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	71,730	2,655		27,014	,000
	Proportion of Urban Population	-,140	,025	-,189	-5,706	,000
	GDP per capita (log)	-,711	,467	-,039	-1,523	,128
	Electoral Type	3,467	,682	,138	5,087	,000
	Electoral System	3,766	,682	,150	5,524	,000
	Compulsory Voting	22,489	,751	,946	29,957	,000
	Urban Population & Marmara_Aegean Region	,068	,013	,132	5,235	,000

a. Dependent Variable: Electoral Participation Rate

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a 1% increase in the voter turnout, and which is not statistically significant[91]. The Appendix C dataset also displays that for 1999 national and local elections (which is held on the same day 18 April) the participation rate is almost same for every province, suggesting that the date of the elections is also a salient parameter in addition to the differentiation between the election type and the electoral system.

Interestingly, for only the year only, GDP per capita (log) affects the voter turnout positively in every region, and this effect increases when the province is at the Marmara or Aegean region.

4) For the variable electoral system, it is seen that if the election uses PR electoral system then the electoral participation rate increases 3,76% compared to the rate of participation in the plurality electoral system. The electoral system is significant in determining the voter turnout at 1% confidence level. Note 95 indicates that the influence of the differentiation between the electoral systems reduces when it comes to the 1999 elections in which the participation rate in the mayor of municipality election (plurality electoral system) catches the level of the national and members of provincial council elections (PR electoral system).

5) Within the variables, compulsory voting is the most effective one in determining the electoral participation by its 22,6% additional contribution. It is significant at 1% significance level, which corresponds with the assumptions of the literature review and the rational choice theory.

If it is considered that the 1977 elections were the ones with the lowest participation rate since 1950 and afterwards (Figure 2.1) and compulsory voting was adopted

Coefficients [a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	33,445	5,964		5,607	,000
	Proportion of Urban Population	-,046	,022	-,132	-2,075	,039
	Urban Population & Marmara_Aegean Region	-,119	,041	-,741	-2,908	,004
	GDP per capita (log)	8,911	1,054	,530	8,453	,000
	GDP & Marmara-Aegean	1,374	,391	,891	3,509	,001
	Electoral Type	,098	,498	,011	,197	,844
	Electoral System	1,854	,498	,211	3,724	,000

91   a. Dependent Variable: Electoral Participation Rate

after 1980 military coup, the high impact of the compulsory voting can be explained due to this case.

In the next chapter, the institutional setting variables (election type, electoral system, compulsory voting) will be tested and analyzed at nation-wide level for the national elections (1950-2002), and for the local elections (1963-2004). Using different dataset will enable one to compare the same variables at province level (cross-sectional data) and nation-wide level (time series data).

III) Party System

Discussion in the literature review section argues that within the electoral systems, electoral participation is expected to be higher in the PR electoral system. According to the studies of Franklin and Blais this difference emerges because in PR electoral systems competitiveness between the political parties is higher. Rational choice theory explains this in terms of the parameters B (benefit), P (probability to cast a decisive vote) as well as C (cost of voting) and concludes that P is expected to be higher in PR electoral systems because the electorates will know that their vote will not be wasted as it can be in plurality system. Duverger points at the consistent relationship between elections and party systems that plurality leads to two-party system and proportional representation (PR) leads to a multiparty system. Powell asserts that not the level of electoral participation but institutionalized party system is important to the process of democratic consolidation. This linkage suggests that although in the PR electoral system the representative participation (legitimacy of democracy) is expected to be higher, it is less likely to construct a consolidated democracy as compared to the plurality electoral system. Here, the thesis will examine the relationship between the electoral participation, the electoral system, and stability in democracy by focusing on the party system in Turkey and referring to the study by Powell.

In his article Powell examines four conditions of political parties in order to show theoretical expectations about party- system attributes and measure the political performance. These party system attributes are strong party linkages to social groups;

strong support for extremist parties; fractionalization/multiparty systems; and volatility of support for parties.

Strong party linkages are related to the modernization and industrialization level of the countries, and Powell asserts that in traditional societies, the mobilization of the electorates is more due to patron-client relations, whereas in modern, industrialized settings, the context of social life is vastly different from that in a traditional society, here occupations, education, and income level determine the party preferences. Voting along occupational lines would be infrequent as a basis of party division in the less modernized societies. In terms of the strong support for extremist parties, Powell says that proportional representation is expected to encourage linkages and extremism partly because it affects parties' choices of majoritarian or representational strategies, as well as because it facilitates appeals to geographically dispersed groups. In addition he makes an important prediction that minorities may also be a focus of majority-group fears, prompting members of the majority to support extremist parties.

In Turkey as aforementioned, the patron-client relationship is developed mostly after the transition from plurality to the PR electoral system with the 1961 Constitution. The mobilization of the voter is extremely high mostly in the Southeastern region of Turkey where the feudal structure is dominant in the society, and patronage and clientelism are still effective tools for mobilizing support in the elections. Although Ozbudun and Tachau claim that highly modernized and industrialized provinces of Turkey intend to support more centralist and established parties via "political action" rather than "mobilization", in the national and local elections of 1990s and 2000s it is seen that extremist parties (right-wing) begin to be selected by these provinces as well. The influence of transition to the PR electoral system for the support for the extremist parties is also valid in Turkey; these parties become successful especially in the 1990s and 2000s[92]. The closing of stable parties and banning their leaders from politics after the 1980 military coup damage political socialization, and unintentionally open the way to the extremist (nationalist and religious) parties. For example, the rise of ethnic tension between Turkish and Kurdish citizens during the 1990s, and the fugitive status

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[92] Vote share of the parties in national and local elections is given in the Appendix B.

of Abdullah Ocalan benefited the vote shares of the nationalist party Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi [*Nationalist Action Party*-MHP] in 1999 national elections which can be given as an example to Powell's prediction about minority groups and support for extremist parties.

Within these four conditions, the most widely discussed property of party systems is their "fractionalization": the degree to which they are dominated by a few parties or divided among many parties. Powell suggests that the two- party system leads to less fractionalization. Most observers view rapid changes in the pattern of support for parties as evidence of weakness in party systems. The volatility of the underlying pattern of citizen support for parties, therefore, is presumably a more important indication of party system weakness than are legislative outcomes. Hence the high ratio of fragmentation and volatility indicates the weakness of a party system and a problematic democracy functioning.

Below fragmentation and volatility in Turkish national and local elections are given in Figures 2.2 and 2.3. Effective number of parties (Figure 2.4) will be analyzed according to its relationship with fragmentation and volatility[93].

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[93] Çarkoğlu and Kalaycıoğlu, *Turkish Democracy Today*, p. 36.
Volatility index (V) is calculated by using i= 1,….N parties in the following formula: $V= \{(1/2) \Sigma_N (\mid \text{Vote percent }_{i, t} - \text{Vote percent }_{i, t-1} \mid)\}$. The index lies between 0 and 1. V=1 represents a completely unstable system whereas V= 0 represents one where all parties obtained the same vote shares as they did in the previous election.
The fractionalization index (F) is calculated by using election outcomes for i= 1,…N parties in the following formula: $F= \{(1- \Sigma_N (\text{Vote percent })^2\}$. F varies between 0 and 1. It reaches a minimum of zero when one party receives all of the popular vote. As the number of parties receiving small electoral support increases the index will approach to one.
Effective number of parties (ENP)= 1/ (1- Fractionalization Index).

Figure 2.2: Fragmentation and Volatility in Turkish National Elections, 1950-2002
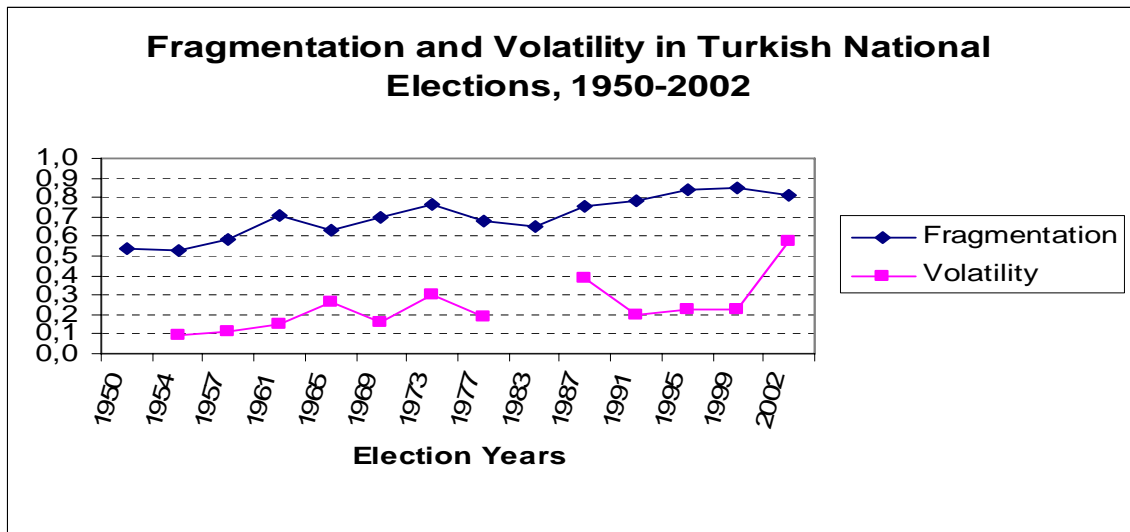
Figure 2.2 supports Sayarı's assumption that the military intervention proved to be the main force in the fragmentation of the system[94]. It is clearly seen that after the 1960, and 1970 military coups, fragmentation increases, due to the fact that the parties positioning in the same ideological spectrum has begun to compete with each other, and this struggle caused the division of votes between the parties. After 1980 military coup, only three parties were allowed to run for the 1983 election; that situation explains the regression in the fragmentation index line at 1983. On the other hand, in the democratic national elections held in after each of the military coups (1961, and 1973) volatility is significantly increasing. The volatility in 1983 elections cannot be computed because the parties running for the elections were all new parties and they had no bounds with the previous parties. However, this sharp cut to the continuity of the parties was reflected in the volatility ratio of 1987 elections, in which the banned parties were replaced by their new names. In 1991, the systems turned back to the normal level, in which the major parties (ANAP, DYP, SHP and DSP) managed to continue their electorate support.

One can ask why in some elections fragmentation decreases, but volatility increases or vis-a-versa if these two variables are related? In order to answer this question it is beneficial to examine the 1965 national elections (at Appendix B) in which fragmentation decreased from 0,7 to 0,6 and electoral volatility increased from

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[94] Sayarı, "The Changing Party System", p.17.

0,15 to 0, 27. Here, fragmentation decreased because AP received the majority of the votes by a 52,9% vote share and CHP followed it by 28,7%. Hence, votes were distributed between two parties. However, compared to the previous 1961 national elections, CHP lost 8%, Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi [*Republican Peasant's Nationalist Party*-CKMP] lost 11,8%, and Yeni Türkiye Partisi [*New Turkey Party*-YTP] lost 10% of their votes, but AP increased its votes by 18,3%. These changes in the ratio of votes show that the votes of CHP and YTP went to AP, which signifies a rise in the volatility of the votes and preference of voters. Similarly, in 2002 national elections fragmentation decreased due to the distribution of votes between two parties (AKP and CHP), whereas because most of the old parties could not pass the threshold and the parties that formed the coalition government face a sharp fall in their votes (cannot pass the threshold), volatility in 2002 elections came to 0,6 level which was the highest ratio in Turkish history. During the 1990s, fragmentation increased because the number of parties running in the elections raised significantly (Figure 2.4), which causes the division of votes between many parties and leaded to coalition governments. However because these parties managed to continue their existence and none of the parties occurred to be the dominant party, volatility in the 1990s is seen stable.

In general although high volatility and fragmentation (compared to the Western democracies) in Turkish elections suggest that party system is fragile and is not institutionalized to provide a consolidated democracy, fluctuations in volatility signifies a more salient problem. Turkish electorates tend to vote with regard to the current socioeconomic and political events and with regard the performance of governments in managing with the problems, rather then their party preferences.

In the thesis, fragmentation and volatility in Turkish local elections is also included in order to compare the pattern of voting in national and local elections. Moreover, because mayor of municipality elections use plurality electoral system, and members of provincial elections use the PR electoral system, this differentiation will enable the study to analyze whether the electoral system determines fragmentation and volatility structure in elections.

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Figure 2.3: Fragmentation and Volatility in Turkish Local Elections, 1963-2004
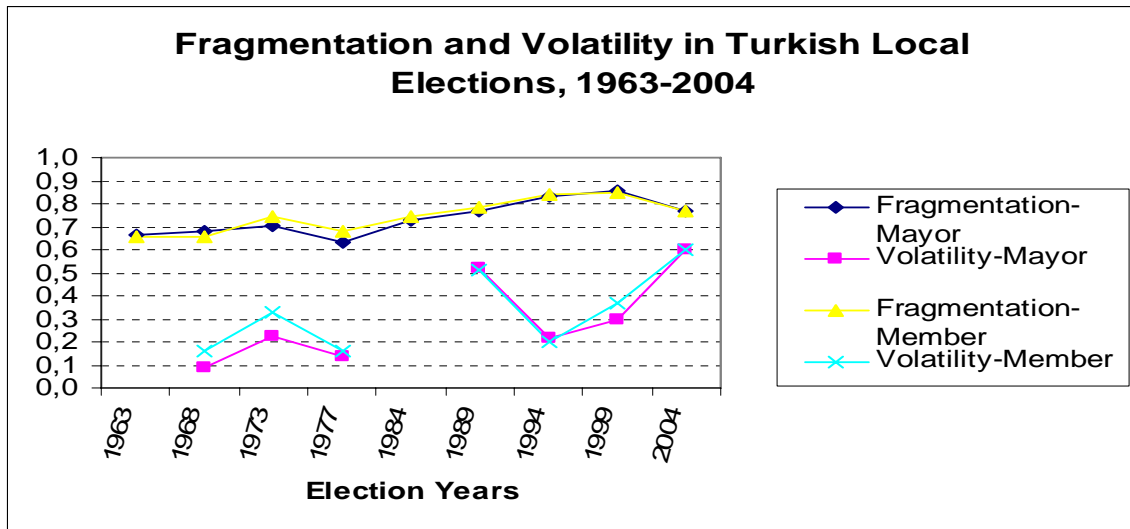
In general it can be said that volatility and fragmentation index in members of provincial elections is higher than the index of mayor of municipality elections, which supports the assertion of Powell that fragmentation is more likely to occur in PR electoral systems. On the other hand, both of the local elections display a similar pattern with national elections in terms of the fluctuations in volatility and fragmentation index. However, comparison of the two figures suggests that fragmentation and volatility in national elections passes the level of index in local elections for the close election years. Because the electoral years of national and local years are different, it is beneficial to look at the 1973, 1977 and 1999 elections in both figures in order to analyze the similarities in the pattern of voting.

Here, an interesting point should be noted by referring to the comparison of electoral participation rate in 1977 and 1999 elections outlined previously. To recall, voter turnout in national elections in 1977 has exceeded the participation in 1977 local elections, whereas towards the end of 2000s, local elections has became increasingly competitive and electoral participation in local elections turned out to pass voter turnout in national elections. Here, a similar pattern is seen for volatility and fragmentation index, in which in 1999 elections volatility in local elections exceeded the level of national elections and equality in the fragmentation level observed. Moreover, as mentioned in the evaluations of the regression model the election type difference

between the elections becomes less and less significant in determining voter turnout and volatility in the elections.

In 1999, because national and local elections were held on the same day (18 April) voter turnout in these elections was highly close, almost equal for national and members of provincial council elections. This situation is expected, because the cost of voting for the electorates has decreased, they spend the same effort for going to the voting place for both national and local elections. To recall, Lijphart asserts that if the frequency of elections decreases, voter turnout is expected to rise. If the voter turnout in 1995-1999 national elections and 1994-1999 local elections is compared (Table 2.1) the electoral participation increased for 1999 national election and decreased for 1999 local elections. This finding suggests that making the national and local elections in the same day does not increase the voter turnout; however electoral participations become similar for all elections.

Hence, here by looking at the vote shares of the parties in the 1999 national and mayor of municipal elections (Appendix B), it can be analyzed whether the participants vote for the same parties for representation in the National Assembly and service by the municipalities. It is seen that the vote share of the parties gathered in national and local elections are significantly different. CHP, ANAP, and FP (continues from RP) have managed to increase their votes in the local elections; whereas, mayor of municipality from the parties MHP and DSP were not as preferred as were their deputies. It is noticeable that only FP manages to continue its success in the vote shares of the mayor of municipality from the 1994 to 1999 local elections (from 19,07% to 18,4%), suggesting that although FP lost votes in national elections (from 21,4% to 15,4%), it is preferred for its services as mayor of municipality. This situation indicates urban dwellers regard quality (and satisfaction) of municipal services more than they do party preferences.

Below, Figure 2.4 displays the effective number of parties in Turkish national and local elections. Here, the national elections are colored as red, mayor of municipality elections as blue and members of provincial council as yellow[95].

Figure 2.4: Effective Number of Parties in Turkish National and Local Elections
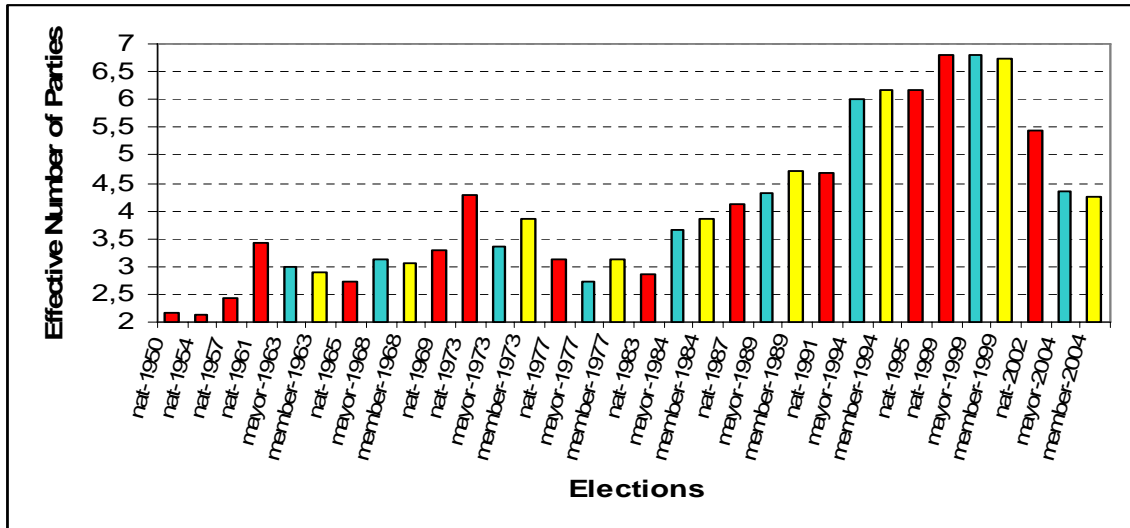
Figure 2.4 supports the assumptions outlined for volatility and fragmentation index of Turkey. It is seen that in 1973 and 1977 the effective number of parties in national elections exceeds the number in local elections however; in 1999 the number of parties reached to an equal points (the highest in Turkish political history). The relationship between number of parties running in the elections and voter turnout will be examined in detail in the following chapters (in Figure 3.5 and Figure 4.4) as a determinant of party system variables.

In conclusion, the multiple regression model testing the data at provincial-level and the evaluation of the volatility and fragmentation in Turkish party structure convey the result that Turkish electorate make his/her party preference with regard to the current socioeconomic conditions rather than considering their party loyalty. That is why as economic conditions worsen, voter turnout is increasing and as more unsuccessful the incumbent party, the volatility in the elections is more likely to increase. Although this chapter indicated a relationship between socioeconomic

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[95] These elections will be colored with the same identifying colors in the following figures located in Chapter III.

conditions and electoral volatility in Turkey, it cannot be said that there is a direct relation between them. From the voter turnout framework, it is certain that volatility and fragmentation level do not affect the electoral participation due to the fact that they have been measured after the elections; however both electoral volatility and voter turnout are influenced by the same determinants.

It should be noted that in contrast to the Western democracies where voter turnout increases as the economic conditions improve, the regression equation showed that in Turkey this variable has a negative impact on electoral participation. This finding suggests that when economic conditions worsen, it creases an intention for the electorate to cast a vote to punish the incumbent party. However this relation does not explain why Turkish electorate is less likely to cast a ballot when the economic conditions improve.

For a comparison between Turkey and Europe about the determinants of party preferences, it will be beneficial to recall the discussion on the impact of the social and political changes on the voter turnout in European democracies (given in pp. 18-20) indicated that in Europe party realignment is also decreasing, and new social cleavages take the place of party identifications. As Paul Webb claims[96], these changes in the social structure are seen as one of the explanatory factor for the decline in voter turnout. In his study, Pedersen[97] points out the linkage between the changes in cleavages during the1970s in Europe and changes in the structure of electoral volatility in Western European democracies. He finds out that electoral volatility increased in the 1970s compared to the average of electoral volatility in the 1960s (9,2 and 7,3 respectively). However, despite the increase in the average, he points out to the big fluctuation between the countries (in Germany decreases from 9,5 to 4,9; whereas in Denmark increases from 8,9 to 18,7), suggesting that party systems in Europe are diverging through the 1970s, which coincides with the hypothesis of this thesis claiming electoral and party system in Turkey have significant role in the high volatility in Turkish

[96] Paul Webb, "Party Systems, Electoral Cleavages and Government", in Developments in West European Politics 2, (eds.) by Paul Heywood, Erik Jones and Martin Rhodes, (New York : Palgrave, 2002), p. 116.

[97] Mogens N. Pedersen, "The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility", *European Journal of Political Research*, Vol. 7 No.1 (1979).

elections. For a comparison in the 1960s the average electoral volatility in Turkey is 20; and in the 1970s it increases to 25, pointing out the significantly high electoral volatility level in Turkey.

Regression equation in this section only includes the test of socioeconomic variables only for 1977 and 1999 national and local elections, whereas the given electoral volatility and fragmentation in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 encompasses the all electoral period from 1950 for national elections and from 1963 for local elections. Therefore the nation-wide analysis of these variables made in the following chapters will provide a more relevant and rich evaluation for the influence of socioeconomic variables on the voter turnout and electoral volatility.

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

The literature review given in Chapter I displayed that studies on individual-level, cross-national and nation-wide level complement each other, and in order to analyze the variables determine voter turnout and comprehend the pattern of electoral participation, all of them should be utilized. For this study, because there is not available data at individual-level for Turkish case, it will use only aggregated data. In sum, in addition to the regression model which used cross-sectional data to examine 1977 and 1999 national and local elections at province level, here this thesis will adopt a time series mode of analysis using data from the period 1950 to 2002 for national elections and 1963 to 2004 for local elections for only Turkey. Observation number (T) will be 32 in total composed of 14 national elections, 9 "mayor of municipality" and 9 "members of provincial council" electoral results.

With regard to the intensive literature on voter turnout given this thesis will utilize works of Franklin (1999) and especially Blais (2000) as the fundamental guides. Within the socioeconomic environment variables that Blais suggests, this study will test only GNP per capita (log), growth of GNP per capita, and size of population (log)[98]. From the institutional setting the electoral system (PR vs plurality), election type (national vs local), compulsory voting, and within the variables of party system, number of parties (log) and competitiveness in the elections will be tested for Turkish national and local

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[98] Illiteracy rate and degree of democracy variables are excluded from the analysis; because in the analysis the illiteracy rate turns out insignificant in determining the electoral participation rate. However, it is included to the dataset in the Appendix C.
The degree of democracy in Turkey ranges from 3-4 which does not change over years and will be unnecessary to test for a single country.

elections. In total eight independent variables will be utilized to explain electoral participation structure in Turkish elections from 1950 to 2004[99].

.   In other words, the study will test the independent variables of cross-national analysis at the nation-wide level by merging Turkish national and local elections since 1950. However, the electoral participation rate in every election will be the dependent variable, instead of the change in national or local elections. Turkey's unique structure in terms of institutional, socioeconomic and party systems, which is explained in the previous chapter in detail, will be applied to the nation-wide level. Though this study repeats the assumptions given in the literature for Turkish case; it aims to find out whether there are similarities or differences between Turkey and other Western democracies. Moreover, it will primarily focus on which of these variables are effective and important in explaining electoral participation rate.

Data of all of the eight variables are available and will be used in the multiple regression model. For the national elections, data set composes year of 1950, 1954, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1969, 1973, 1977, 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, and 2002. For the municipality elections (both mayor of municipality and members of provincial council) data set composes the year of 1963, 1968, 1973, 1977, 1984, 1989, 1994, 1999, and 2004. Because there are time correspondence between national and local elections in 1973, 1977 and 1999; and mayor of municipality and members of provincial council elections, same data are used for same year as the quantity of the variable is accepted to remain same within the year. For example, population in Turkey is taken as 38073000 for national, mayor of municipality and members of provincial council elections held in 1973.

Table 3.1: The List of Variables (National and Local Elections at Nation-wide Level)

Variable Name	Explanation	Source
Electoral Participation	Participation results of national elections and local elections (both mayor of municipality and members of provincial council) since 1950. Turnout indicates	State Statistic Institute Library, Statistical Indicator Book (1923-2002). For the electoral result of 2004 local elections data on www.die.gov.tr is used.

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[99] The dataset is given in Appendix C.

	the percentage of those registered on the electoral list who cast a vote.	
Size of population (log)	Logarithm of total population at base 10.	State Statistic Institute Library, Statistical Indicator Book (1923-2002). For the electoral result of 2004 local elections data on www.die.gov.tr is used.
GNP per capita (log)	Logarithm of GNP per capita at base 10. GNP per capita in constant Turkish lira measured as GNP per capita in current U.S dollars	State Statistic Institute Library, Statistical Indicator Book (1923-2002). For the electoral result of 2004 local elections data on www.die.gov.tr is used.
Growth of GNP per Capita	Annual percentage increase or decrease in GNP per capita in election years compared to previous year.	State Statistic Institute Library, Statistical Indicator Book (1923-2002). For the electoral result of 2004 local elections data on www.die.gov.tr is used.
Election type	A dummy variable indicating the type of elections. D=1 if the election type is national election D=0 if the election type is local election.	
Electoral System	A dummy variable indicating the electoral system. D=1 for PR electoral system D=0 for Plurality electoral system National elections before 1960 will be labeled as plurality, and after as PR. All of the mayor of municipality elections are in plurality electoral system, whereas all of the members of provincial council elections are in PR electoral system.	For national elections http://www.konrad.org.tr/secim/index.php For local elections http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/
Compulsory voting	A dummy variable D=1 if it is compulsory to vote D=0 if it is not compulsory to vote	
Number of Parties (log)	The logarithm of the number of parties running in the election at base 10.	For national elections http://www.konrad.org.tr/secim/index.php

		For local elections
		http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/
Competitiveness	It signifies competitiveness in the election. Its measure is the gap (in vote shares) between the leading and the second parties.	For national elections
		http://www.konrad.org.tr/secim/index.php
		For local elections
		http://www.yerelnet.org.tr/

As displayed in Table 3.1, three of the independent variable (GNP per capita, size of the population, and number of parties) are measured in logarithm at base 10. Taking the logarithm of these variables enables one to observe whether values of these variables are significant for changes in the dependent variable electoral participation rate. Rational choice theory clearly suggests that as the size of population increases, the intention to vote is expected to decrease. However, its predictions do not suggest whether this relationship is linear or non-linear, or after which value an increase in population stops influencing electoral participation, or most effective in determining it. For instance, for Turkey which has a high population, an increase in population may not create the same effect like Malta. More saliently, as mentioned in the literature review, the impact of the number of parties running in an election is not certainly explained by rational choice theory and related studies. Normally in PR electoral systems, number of parties is expected to be higher, which is believed to increase voter's intention to vote because they are suggested more options. On the other hand, the high number of parties and candidates may create confusion for the voters, which increase their cost of voting. Taking a logarithm of the variable number of parties enables one to analyze voting behavior against the number of parties, whether too many or too few number of parties increases their intention to vote or whether there is a significant value which creates the highest participation rate.

The thesis will adopt multiple regression model for measuring the significance of the variables in explaining the dependent variable. First it will make the regression with socioeconomic variables, then institutional setting variables (dummy variables given in Table 3.3) will be added to the regression, and finally party system variables will be included in the model.

Table 3.2: Descriptive Statistics of Dependent Variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
National &Local participation rate	32	53,1	93,3	77,271	11,7265
National participation rate	14	64,30	93,30	80,8286	9,36519
Mayor of municipality participation rate	9	53,10	90,50	72,0889	13,76921
Members of provincial council participation rate	9	60,40	92,20	76,9200	12,17529
Valid N (listwise)	9				

Table 3.2 displays the dependent variables, namely electoral participation rate since 1950 in Turkey. The first variable is the merged data of both Turkish national and local elections, and which will be used as the main dependent variable to be tested. The other dependent variables were given in Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1 in detail, and related to identify the volatility and fragmentation in Turkish politics separately for national and local elections. As the descriptive statistics suggest within the three types of elections, the mayor of municipality elections has the lowest participation rate, whereas the participation rate of members of provincial council elections is close to the ratios of national elections.

Table 3.3: Descriptive Statistics of Independent Variables

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Size of population(log)	32	7,321	7,856	7,64228	,153507
GNP(log)	32	2,221	3,620	3,02172	,417840
Growth of GNP per capita (constant prices)	32	-7,80	7,50	1,3669	4,88971
Number of party (log)	32	,477	1,301	,91722	,240087
Competitiveness	32	,32	24,12	10,3272	7,49639
Valid N (listwise)	32				

With regard to the literature review and approach of rational choice theory given previously, the relationship between 8 independent variables and dependent variable will be evaluated by testing the hypothesis below:

1) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the size of population decreases.

2) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the GNP per capita increases.

3) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the growth of GNP per capita increases.

4) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is in a national election type

5) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is held using a proportional representative electoral system.

6) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election constitutes compulsory voting.

7) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the number of parties running in the elections is higher.

8) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is more competitive.

Before constructing the step-by-step fashion regression analysis and testing the hypothesis, a more detailed description of the properties of the variables needed to be given. Here, the national elections are colored as red, mayor of municipality elections as blue and members of provincial council as yellow for every figure in Chapter III.

1. National and Local Elections Participation Rate

As given in Table 3.2, the mean value of electoral participation rate is 77,2%, which is not assumed to be so high. However the ratio increases to 80,8% for national elections if local elections are excluded. The minimum voter turnout of 53,1% belongs to the mayor of municipality elections in the year of 1977, and the highest participation rate of 93,3% is held on 1987 national elections.

Figure 3.1: Histogram of National and Local Elections Participation Rate
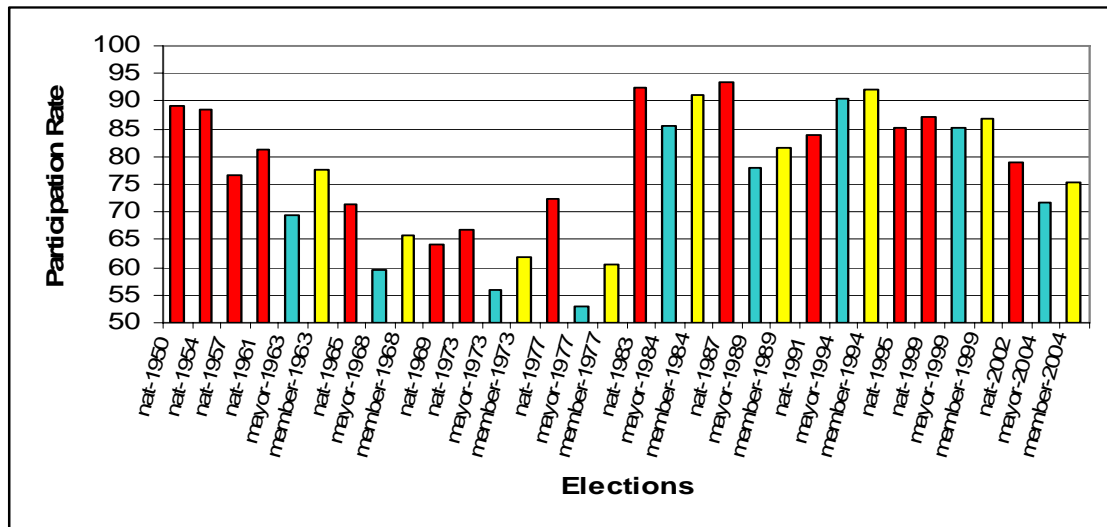
Note: nat= national election (red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

In Figure 3.1, all of the elections (national, mayor of municipality and members of provincial council) are added with regard to their election years. Here, "nat" refers to national election, "mayor" refers to mayor of municipality election, and "member" refers to members of provincial council election. For example, nat-1957 suggests to national election at year 1957. The same abbreviations will be used for the all of the figures in this study.

Within the 32 elections, 20 of them have voter turnout higher than 75%, and 15 of them are higher than 80%. The histogram indicates that, the electoral participation rate is lower for the elections made before 1980, which suggests the effectiveness of compulsory voting adopted with 1982 Constitutional Law. Moreover, when we looked at the general distribution of the type of elections, it is prominent fact that turnout is higher in national election than local elections, and within the local elections, members of provincial council elections have a higher participation rate than mayor of municipality elections. In the previous chapter Table 2.1 and Figure 2.1 also support this distribution. On the other hand, it points out that voter turnout is decreasing in Turkey recently which is obviously seen in 2002 national, and 2004 local elections.

Another interesting point is about the influence of military coups on voter turnout. Figure 3.1 shows that except 1973 national elections, after every intervention to

democracy (1960, 1980, and 1997[100]) voter turnout in national elections increases compared to the previous national elections. This situation supports the assumption of Franklin that "salience of the election" is an important parameter to determine the voter turnout. After each intervention to the democracy, the first democratic election turns out to be a more important election for the citizens. Electoral results of July 2007 national election is not included to this study, however they will display that whether the note given by the military to the AKP in April 2007 (another intervention of military to democracy) will create a similar rise in the participation rate or not.

2. Size of Population (log)

The size of the population increases as the number of years increase. In the 1950 national election year, there are 20,947,000 people whereas in 2004 the population size is tripled to 71,789,000. Here, the logarithm of the size of the population at base 10 shows the increase of size of population compared to previous election.

Figure 3.2: Histogram of Size of Population (log)
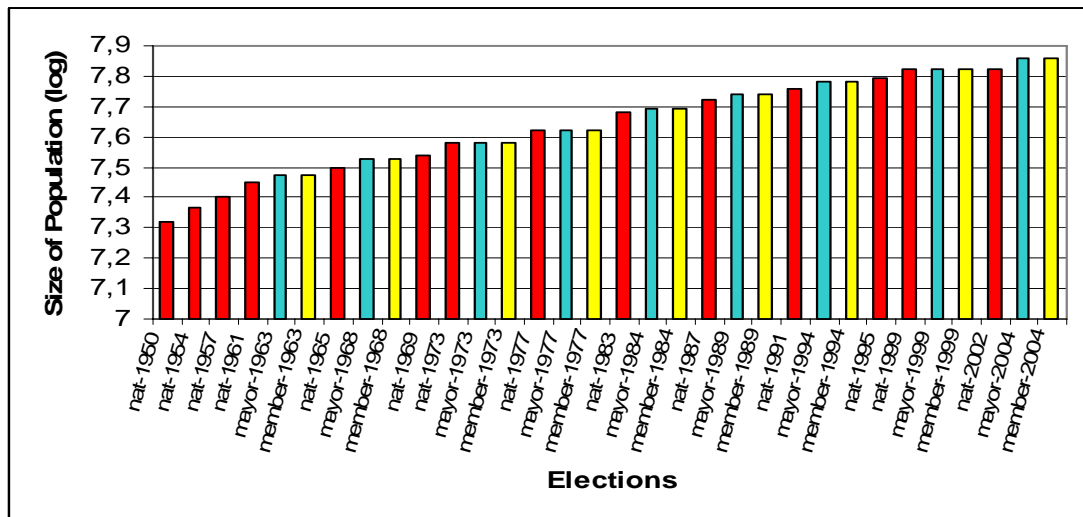
Note: nat= national election (red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

In contrast to the literature review claiming that the participation rate is expected to decrease as the size of population increases, here we see that as size of population

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[100] 28 February 1997, the "civil note" given to the DYP-RP coalition.

increases, while participation rate is also increasing. The reason for this can be explained by the adoption of compulsory voting after 1980, and high amount of increase in population around these years. For example we see the highest jump in the logarithm of size of population between the electoral years 1977 and 1983 (from 7,621 to 7,680), and similarly the biggest difference of voter turnout within years is seen between 1977 and 1983 as well (from 72,4% to 92,3%). As outlined in Chapter II, proportion of urban population of the provinces also increases after 1980, this rapid growth in population causes significant alternations in the pattern of voting especially in local elections.

The multiple regression model which includes only socioeconomic environment variables (which will be displayed at the Chapter IV) suggests there is a positive relationship between size of population (log) and electoral participation rate, however the coefficient is not significant. Interestingly, as the other variables added, we observe a negative correlation between size of the population and the electoral participation rate, and the coefficient becomes significant this time.

3. GNP per Capita in Current Prices $ (log)

Similar to size of the population, GNP per capita is expected to increase with regard to years. In 1950 it is $166,4, and in 2004 it reaches the level of $4172 . Here, the logarithm of the GNP per capita shows the increase in this variable compared to previous election year.

Figure 3.3: Histogram of GNP per Capita in Current Prices $ (log)
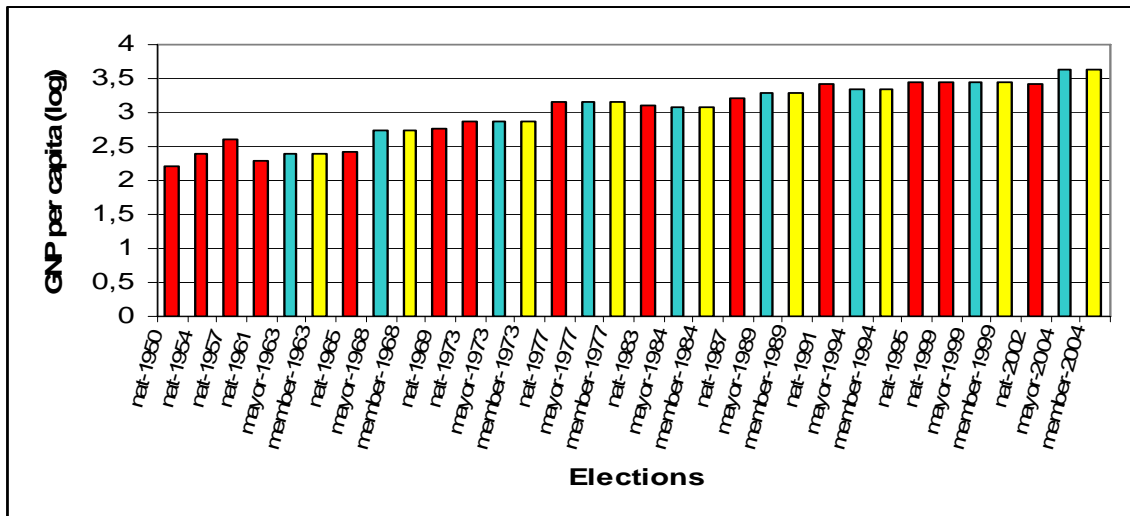
Note: nat= national election red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

The histogram above displays the GNP per capita of Turkey in electoral years. It is better to give attention to some of these election years in order to comprehend the impact of military coup and political crises on Turkish economy. These are (nat-1957, nat-1961, mayor-1968, nat-1977, nat-1983, member 1984, nat-1999, nat-2002, and mayor-2004) elections. It can be said that after every military coup (1960, 1970, 1980), and political crises (2001) GNP per capita is significantly decreases. For instance, the GNP per capita at national election 1957 is higher than the GNP per capita of 1961, and this regression is remedied only by 1968. After 1970 military coup, it takes three years to recover the reduction and come to GNP per capita level of 1969. Similarly, the GNP per capita at the election year 1977 is higher than 1983 and 1984. Political fragmentation and problems in coalition government constructed after 1999 elections assumed to bring deep economic crisis in 2001, and we can observe the decrease in GNP per capita between the elections 1999 and 2002. On the other hand, the GNP per capita in 2004 is even higher than the 1999 level.

Rational choice theory and literature on the determinants of electoral participation predicts that electoral participation is expected to increase as GNP per capita increases. However, here the histogram (and later multiple regression model) points out that in Turkey electoral participation increases as GNP per capita rises. People are expected to be involved in politics more as their welfare gets better. This difference in Turkey is

salient because it is the only variable that gives different result than expected within the variables tested.

In my opinion this negative results emerges from again because of military coups, after which people intend to vote more in elections as a signal of taking possession of democracy that increases the "salience of elections" as Franklin would explain. Therefore as military coups cause reduction in GNP per capita, it also creates high voter turnout for following elections. As given in Chapter I, the study of Blais also suggests a negative relationship between the degree of democracy and political participation. This can explain low turnout ratios in countries with stable consolidated democracies. However, in order to understand this negative effect of GNP per capita on electoral participation, and the role of military coups on voter turnout, individual-level analysis are needed to explain people's perception about military coups or whether they really intend to vote more after an intervention to democracy. Another analysis for explaining this assumption can be made at the cross-national level, by comparing voter turnout and GNP per capita ratios as the countries experienced military coups.

Moreover, although Figure 3.3 indicates that the GNP per capita regresses after each military coup, it should be noted that there can be other factors or combination of other factors that cause economic crisis before military coups, such as 1973 "Oil Crisis" which leads to crackling of *Import Substitution Industrialization* in Turkey[101]. Similarly, it is known that Turkey faced high levels of devaluation because of foreign budget debt towards the end of 1950s after having impressive development and growth within the period of 1951-1953 which creates an economic crisis in 1955[102]. Decrease in the voter turnout in 1957 national elections can be evaluated with regard to this economic crisis.

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[101] Dani Rodrik, *The New Global Economy and Developing Countries: Making Openness Work*, Washington, DC: Overseas Development Council, 1999. p. 68-103.

[102] Gülten Kazgan, *Türkiye'de Ekonomik Krizler, Neden ve Sonuçları Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Analiz*, Economic Crisis in Turkey (1929-2001), A Comparative Analysis on its Causes and Effects, Degev-Türkiye İş Bankası.

4. Growth of GNP per Capita (Constant Prices)

When the mean of growth of the GNP per capita is observed it can be said that 1,36 ratio of growth at mean level is relatively small considering approximately 50 years included in this analysis. The high amount of standard deviation (4,88) indicates a high fluctuation in economic growth suggesting an unstable economy within a 50-year period. In the dataset, the lowest economic growth is recorded in 1994 with -7,8 value, and the highest economic growth is achieved in 1987 with +7,5 ratio.

Figure 3.4: Histogram of Growth of GNP per Capita (Constant Prices)
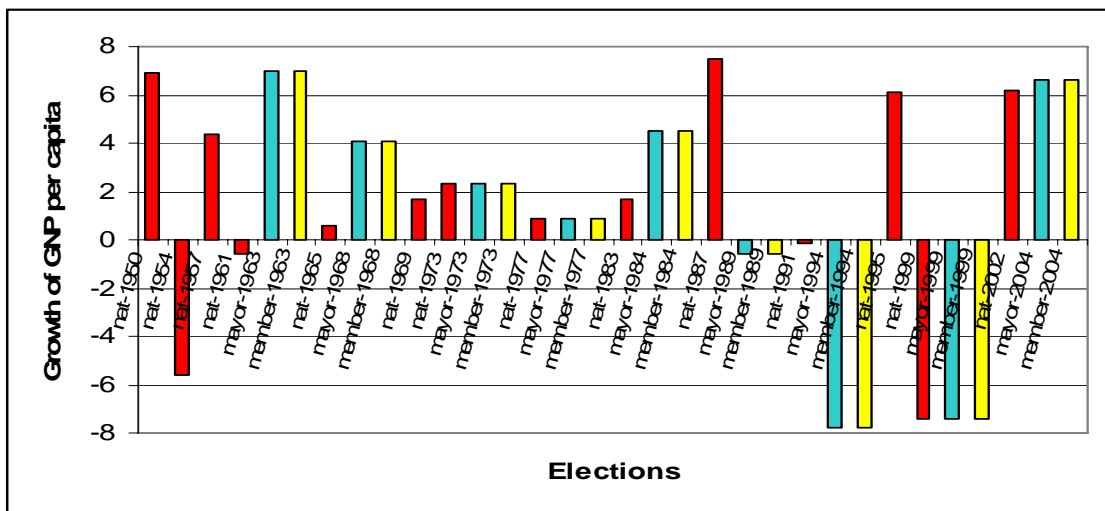
Note: nat= national election (red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

In general the distribution of the cases displays a positive growth inclination. It is seen that Turkey experiences the worst economical performance during the 1990s in which fragmentation was high and political stability was fragile due to rapidly changing coalition governments.

Similar to the variable of GNP per capita (log), but in contrast to predictions of the literature review, in the case of Turkey, growth in GNP per capita negatively affects participation rate in elections.

Table 3.4: Correlations between Dependent Variable and Socioeconomic Variables

		National &local participation rate	log(population)	log(GNP)	Growth of GNP per capita (constant prices)
Pearson Correlation	National &local participation rate	1,000	,289	,206	-,285
	log(population)	,289	1,000	,964	-,260
	log(GNP)	,206	,964	1,000	-,252
	Growth of GNP per capita (constant prices)	-,285	-,260	-,252	1,000

Table 3.4 shows the correlations between variables explained till now. High correlation rate (0,954) between size of population variable and GNP per capita variable indicates an omitted variable bias between the independent variables. For these two variables it is an expected situation, because GNP per capita is calculated by dividing GNP to size of the population, in other words GNP per capita is written in terms of size of the population. On the other hand, they are negatively correlated with the variable growth of GNP per capita. Despite the high correlation, all three of these independent variables will be included to the regression model. Detail analysis of regression model, and relationship between the variables will be examined in Chapter IV.

5. Election type

Election type is one of the institutional setting variables refers to whether the election is national or local election; therefore it is constructed as a binary variable. In Table 3.3, it is given as the minimum value for election type is 0, and maximum is 1; however these numbers does not signify a scale value. Mean value and standard deviation cannot be interpreted for dummy variables as well, it only suggests that number of local elections included in the dataset is higher than number of national elections.

Within this study, the election type is one of the salient variables selected to be tested for analyzing voter turnout in Turkey. That is why electoral results of national and local elections are merged within the same dataset in this study. There are 14

national elections and 18 (9 mayor of municipality elections and 9 members of provincial council) elections included in the data set, which increase the total number of observations to 32.

According to the literature review, a positive relationship is expected between election type and electoral participation rate. In other words if the election is at national level people are inclined to vote more than at a local election due to the fact that it is perceived as a more salient election. Because it is a dummy variable a histogram fails to indicate a relationship between election type and electoral participation rate, however the regression model supports the hypothesis that electoral participation is expected to increase if the election is a national election.

6. Electoral System

The electoral system is another binary variable within the dataset, which has a value of 1 for proportional electoral systems (PR) and 0 for plurality electoral systems. The mean value indicates that most of the elections included in the dataset are held in PR electoral system.

Within the dataset, 12 elections are held using a plurality system, and 20 elections are made using a PR electoral system. The first three national elections namely (1950, 1954 and 1957) use a plurality system with large constituencies, whereas after the military coup at 1960 the new Constitutional Law determines the elections to use a PR electoral system. The 12 elections using plurality systems are 3 national elections + 9 mayor of municipality elections.

It should be noted that after 1960 the electoral system of the national elections have changed several times. The detailed categories of these systems used are: d'Hont with threshold (in 1961); d'Hont without threshold (in 1965, 1969, and 1973); d'Hont with double threshold (in 1983); quota d'Hont with double threshold (in 1987 and 1991); and d'Hont with national threshold (in 1995, 1999, and 2002). However, all these electoral variations are sub-types of the PR electoral system and in this thesis they

will be computed as PR electoral systems[103]. In addition to these 11 national elections, all 9 of the members of provincial council elections used PR electoral system.

Rational choice theory point out that participation rate is expected to increase if the election is at the national level and if PR is used. If it is considered that 11 of the PR electoral system data in the model are also national elections, we can mention the correlation between election type and electoral system for this study. However, with the correlations data it is seen that the correlation between these variables are 0,293 (Table 3.5), which does not suggest an omitted variable bias situation. Here, including members of provincial council elections not only raises the number of observations to have more reliable results, but also prevents a high correlation ratio.

7. Compulsory Voting

Compulsory voting is the third and last institutional setting variable within the dataset, and it is a binary variable as well. For the elections in which voting was enforced, the value of the variable is 1, and in the election that does not apply compulsory voting, the value is 0. As a mean value indicates within the 32 total elections, the number of elections that constitutes compulsory voting is equal to the ones that do not have any compulsory enforcement of voting,

As has been mentioned previously, the law for making the participation to elections compulsory was enacted in the 1982 Constitutional Law. This salient situation of Turkey, enables this thesis study to test the hypothesis that electoral participation is expected to increase if there is a mandatory for voting.

Blais (2000) asserts that several types of analysis and existing studies do not provide us with a solid explanation. Nevertheless, there is only one consistent result, which is the positive effect of compulsory voting on electoral participation rate. For

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[103] Although the high national threshold of 10% changes the application of PR electoral system for the benefit of major parties and supports to exclude small parties to enter into the National Assembly (as outlined in Chapter II), again all the national elections after 1961 are labeled as PR electoral systems.

Turkey, we justify the same positive influence of compulsory voting on voter turnout. The 1983 national election is registered as the election, which had the highest voter turnout compared to the previous elections. The same impact is seen on local elections as well. On the other hand, the recent regression in the voter turnout (79,1% participation rate in the 2002 national elections and the 75,3% voter turnout for the elections of members of provincial council) signifies that compulsory voting is not sufficient enough to compel people to vote in elections.

Here, another interesting point should be noted about the application of the compulsory voting. Although since 1982 Constitutional law, Turkey applied compulsory voting and for the first elections a monetary punishment was used for the ones did not vote without a valid excuse, in recent years practically no one is fined for not voting. The reason is cost of sending the notification to the person who did not vote in the election exceeds the charge of not voting.

Table 3.5: Correlations between Dependent Variable and Institutional Variables

		National &local participation rate	election type	electoral system	compulsory voting
Pearson Correlation	**National &local participation rate**	1,000	,272	,134	,663
	election type	,272	1,000	,293	-,126
	electoral system	,134	,293	1,000	,129
	compulsory voting	,663	-,126	,129	1,000

Table 3.5 shows the correlation between dependent variable and institutional setting variables, and it indicates that between the dependent variable and compulsory voting there is relatively high correlation, in other words compulsory voting is one of the most determinant variables that influence voter turnout in Turkey.

8. Number of Parties (log)

The number of parties running for each election is included in the dataset as number of parties, and the logarithm of the variable is taken in order to measure effect of its value on electoral participation. The mean of the distribution signifies that in most of the elections, the number of parties is less than but close to 10 due to the fact that the logarithm is at base 10.

Figure 3.5: Histogram of Number of Parties (log)
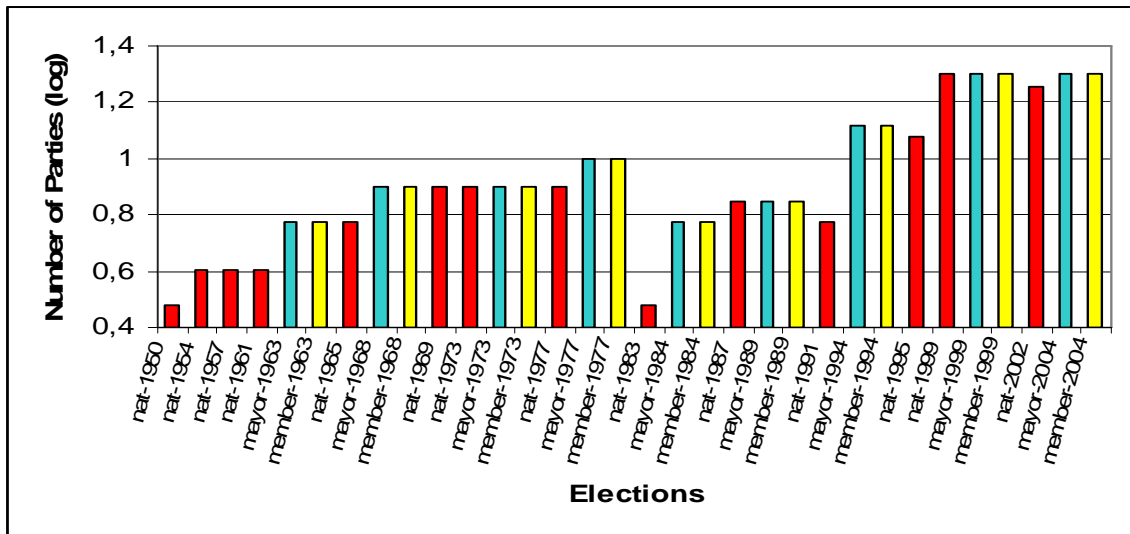
Note: nat= national election (red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

Here the histogram shows the distribution of the number of parties and the elections to identify its role on electoral participation. As it is seen the number of parties running in mayor of municipality and members of provincial council are equal for every election.

From this histogram, the influence of military coups and alternations to the electoral system on the number of parties can be observed clearly. After the 1960 military coup and 1961 Constitutional Law that changed the electoral system from plurality to the PR electoral system, the number of parties running in elections increases significantly. Before the military coup of 1980, in the 1977 elections the number of parties approaches 10 in the mayor of municipality elections, indicating the emergence of fragmentation in the political party system.

The 1980 military coup first creates an opposite effect by closing the established parties and banning previous politicians from politics. In the 1983 national elections, number of parties reduces from 8 (1977 national elections) to 3. Within one year, this number increased to 6 in 1984 for the mayor of municipality elections, and to 7 in 1987 for the national elections. Most strikingly, for the last two national and local elections, the number of parties running in the elections are around 18-20 level, which signifies the high level of fragmentation and also explains the volatility of votes. Moreover, as has been mentioned before although compulsory voting is still being applied, voter turnout begins to decrease for these elections, which indicates a negative role of the high number of parties running in elections regarding the intention of people to vote.

9. Competitiveness (Closeness)

The variable competitiveness signifies how closer the election is, and it is measured by calculating the gap (in vote shares) between the leading and the second parties. If the vote shares are closer (smaller) between the two parties, this suggests a competitive election, and voter turnout is expected to be higher. Therefore, the coefficient of this variable is expected to be negative. The mean value of 7,5 indicates that there is a competitive structure of parties in Turkish politics.

Figure 3.6: Histogram of Competitiveness
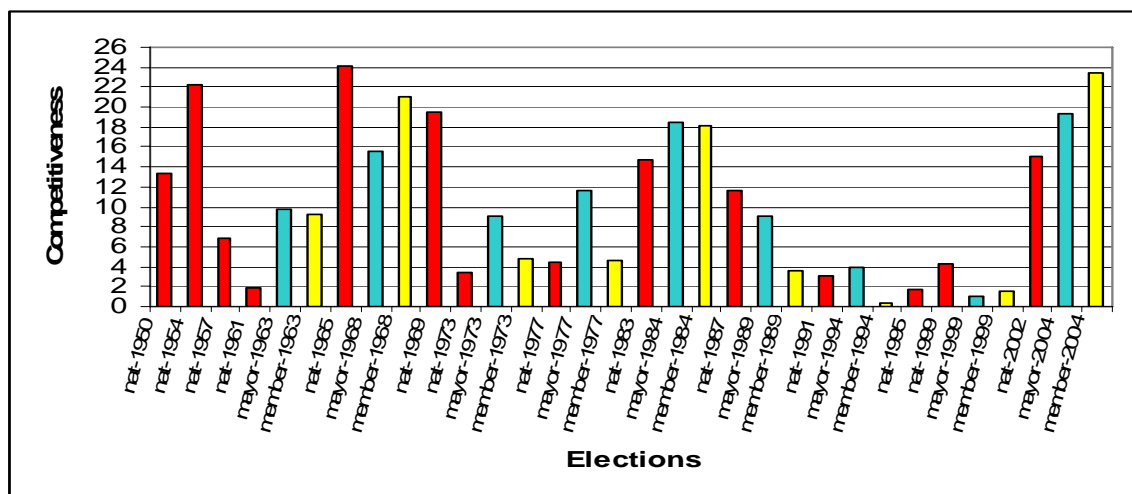
Note: nat= national election (red color); mayor= mayor of municipality election (blue color); member= members of provincial council election (yellow color).

Member of provincial council elections in 1994, and mayor of municipality elections in 1999 are the most competitive elections, which have vote differences of 0, 32 and 0, 97 respectively. In general, 13 of the 32 elections are highly competitive and have vote gap less than 5%. The elections that are less competitive are the national 1954 election, the national 1965 election and the 2004 member of provincial council elections.

The histogram and distribution of the elections displays the importance of social and political events on competitiveness of the elections. After the 1960 military coup, the competitiveness between CHP and DP increased and this polarization of leftist and rightist ideology reflected in the results of the election of 1961. The most polarized years of Turkish politics occurred during the 1970s, and social movements also created competitiveness between leftist and rightist parties. After 1980, there was a decrease in polarization and competitiveness in the elections, whereas the years between 1994-1999 again witnessed polarization between secular and pro-Islamist parties. Moreover, this new cleavage in Turkish society increased competitiveness between running parties. In addition to its relation with number of parties, the reduction of voter turnout for the recent elections can also be the result of a decrease in competitiveness.

Moreover, from this histogram high correlation between national and local elections in terms of competitiveness can be observed as well. If previous national election is highly competitive, the following local election also witnesses a closer race between the first two parties.

In addition to this, the last two histograms show that although the number of parties in the elections is high in Turkish election system, this does not decrease competitiveness between the major parties. They still have a closer race and most of the votes are shared between them. At that point it will be beneficial to control for the correlation between these two party system variables, the number of parties (log) and competitiveness. Moreover it is seen that after 1980s local elections especially mayor of municipality elections become highly competitive.

Table 3.6: Correlations between the Dependent Variable and Party System Variables

		National &local participation rate	Number of party(log)	Competitiveness
Pearson Correlation	**National &local participation rate**	1,000	-,082	-,149
	Number of party(log)	-,082	1,000	-,178
	Competitiveness	-,149	-,178	1,000

Table 3.6 indicates that even though these two variables complement each other in explaining the effect of party system on electoral participation, there is a low correlation between the number of parties (log) and the competitiveness in the elections.

CHAPTER IV: REGRESSION MODEL and FINDINGS

In this chapter the scatter-plots of the dependent variable and independent variables will be given in order to point out the mutual relationship between them, and observe the data that do not fit the linear pattern. Then, step by step multiple regression models will be included to analyze the impact of independent variables on voter turnout.

In every figure indicated above abbreviations for election types and years are used. For example nat-1950 refers to the national election of 1950; may-1963 refers to the mayor of municipality election of 1963; and mem-1963 refers to the member of provincial council elections of 1963.

a. Electoral Participation Rate and Size of Population (log)

As Figure 3.2 also showed, there is a positive relationship between the size of population and the electoral participation rate which contradicts with the expectations of rational choice theory which assumes that with a larger population voter turnout is expected to be low due to the fact that the decisiveness of a vote will approach to nil.

Interestingly, even in a one to one relationship, the size of population affects voter turnout positively, and also in Table 4.1 below, the regression design (including only socioeconomic variables) supports this positive impact. The further regressions including institutional and party system variables given in Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 respectively, points out a negative relationship between the size of population and voter turnout which supports the assumption of rational choice theory.

Figure 4.1: Electoral Participation Rate and Size of Population (log)
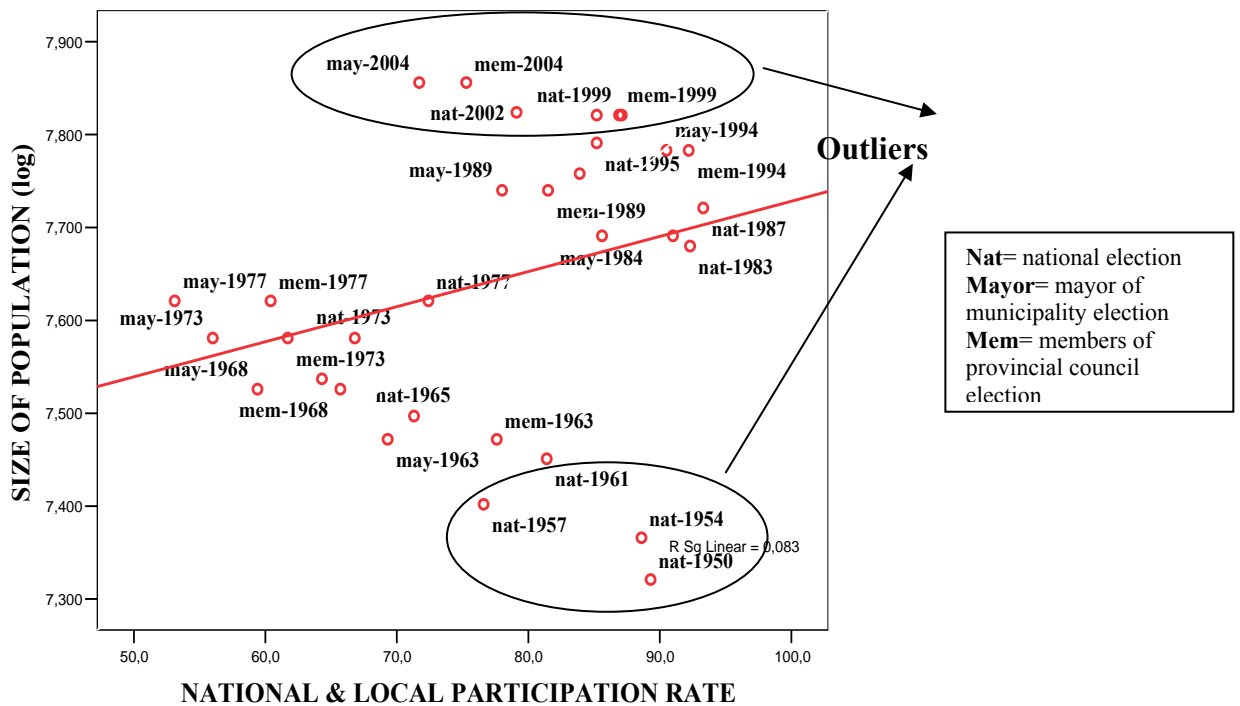
Here the one to one scatter plot signifies a positive relationship between size of population and the dependent variable. The slope of the linear line determines a strong influence of size of the population on voter turnout; even most of the elections on the dataset do not fit to the linear line.

Voter turnout is seen to be at its lowest level around the mean of size of population (7,64228), and it increases for the value below and above of it.

As has been mentioned before, this positive correlation can be the result of the high increase in population after 1980s in Turkey, and the high levels of voter turnout again after 1980 because of application of compulsory voting. The significant outliners are the national elections in 1950 and 1954, in which an increase in the size of the population was slow, but electoral participation is relatively high. The other determinant outlines national elections in 1999 and 2002 and local elections in 1999 and 2004 (last two national and local elections) and points out an opposite situation in which as size of population increases, voter turnout decreases. On the other hand, the national and local elections held in between 1968 to 1995 are the ones best fit the linear line.

b. Electoral Participation Rate and GNP per Capita (log)

In Chapter III, the high correlation between size of population (log) and GNP per capita (log) was mentioned. Here we see again, similar to the size of population, GNP per capita also has a positive influence on electoral participation rate. On the other hand, the slope of the linear line has a flat structure compared to the slope of the size of the population

Figure 4.2: Electoral Participation Rate and GNP per Capita (log)
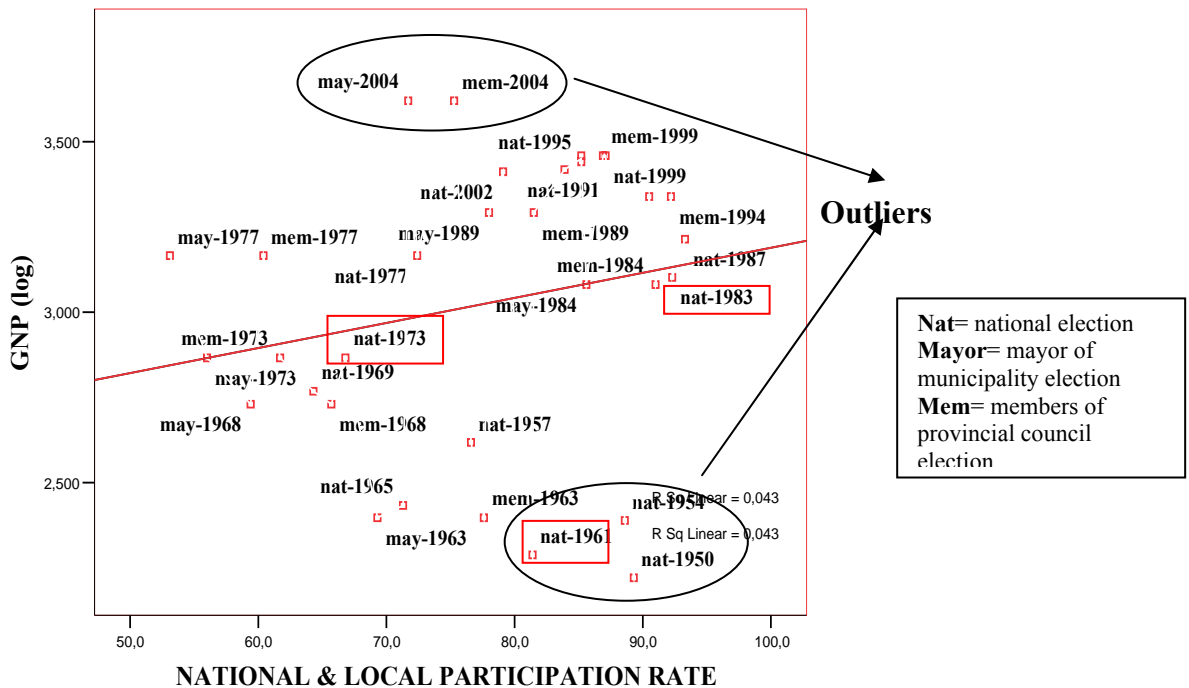
Similar to the scatter plot of size of population, same elections (namely national elections at 1950, 1954, 1999 and 2002 and local elections at 1999 and 2004) are being observed as outliners here. For the elections at 1950 and 1954, voter turnout is significantly high even GNP per capita is relatively lower, and for the local elections at 2004 it is the opposite case. Again the elections between 1968 and 1994 fit best to the linear line. The elections that are held after a military coup are marked with red square point out that (except 1973 elections) after each military coup GNP per capita decreases whereas electoral participation rate increases.

Electoral participation rate of the elections is seen to be at its lowest level for the value of GNP per capita around 3, which is the mean of the variable, suggesting a quadratic line model.

In contrast to the plot above, in all of the three regression models the sign of the coefficient of GNP per capita (log) is negative, which is the opposite result of what rational choice theory suggests.

c. Electoral Participation Rate and Growth of GNP per Capita

The scatter plot below indicates a negative relationship between electoral participation rate and growth of GNP per capita. This opposite effect of GNP per capita and growth of GNP per capita seen on the plots signifies that it is not only the level of economic development that matters but also the economic conjuncture at the time of the election. Blais argues that "economic adversity depresses turnout, because it disrupts the kind of social relationships that nurture political participation and induces people to withdraw form politics and focus on their personal concerns"[104].

Figure 4.3: Electoral Participation Rate and Growth of GNP per Capita

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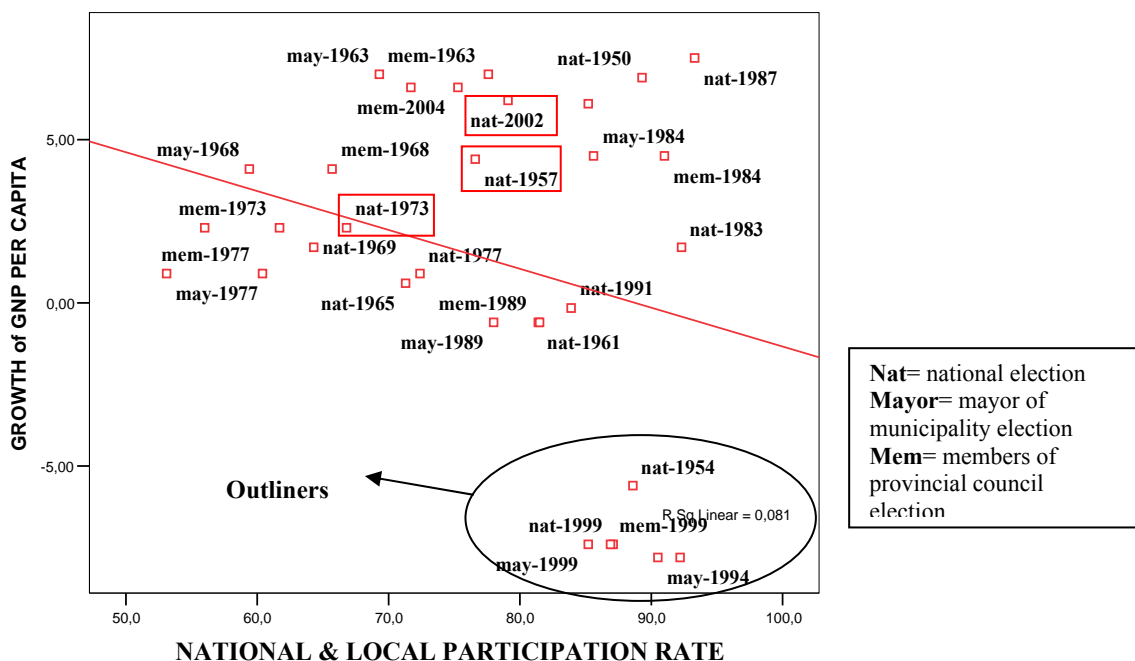
[104] Blais, *To Vote or Not to Vote*, p.24

The slope of the linear line indicates that the growth of GNP per capita influences electoral participation rate in national and local elections more than GNP per capita (log). National elections 1950, 1954 and 1999 are again within the group of outliners. The elections that are marked with red square are the ones happen after an economic crisis (1955, 1977, and 2001). Considering the volatility and fragmentation index of national election given in the Figure 2.2, it can be said that after every economic crisis, volatility in votes increases. Turkish electorates punish the economically unsuccessful government by their votes, in other words they use "protest voting" as a pattern of voter behavior. In 1957 elections DP lost its vote share to CHP; in 1973 elections AP's votes went to CHP; and in 2002 a new established party AKP collected the votes of the existing parties which were the responsibilities of the economic crisis of 2001 (ANAP and MHP)[105].

d. Electoral Participation Rate and Institutional Setting Variables (Election type, Electoral System and Compulsory Voting)

Rational choice theory assumes that in national elections the voter turnout is expected to be higher than in local elections, and the election type is one of the common results of the studies on electoral participation. In terms of electoral system, if PR electoral system is used voter turnout is expected to be higher compared to plurality electoral system. In elections using compulsory voting electoral participation is expected to increase as well.

Here, because these variables are dummy variables taking the value 1 and 0 only in the elections, the distribution of the dataset does not exactly fit with the linear line; therefore there will not be plot given in the thesis for the relationship between electoral participation rate and election type. The same situation is valid for the other institutional setting variables; electoral system and compulsory voting.

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[105] Appendix B.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the plots of these variables (and the slopes) indicate in terms of determining the voter turnout they all have positive impact, but compulsory voting is the most effective one, election type follows this, and electoral system has a positive but more lightly influence.

Up to now, the plots point out that institutional setting variables are more important and deterministic than socioeconomic environment variables in affecting electoral participation rate in Turkish national and local elections.

e. Electoral Participation Rate and Number of Parties (log)

Within the independent variables to be tested, influence of number of parties is the most unclear one. Number of parties running in the elections depends mostly on the electoral and party system of the countries. For the countries using the PR electoral system, number of parties expected to be higher because they will have multiparty regimes. From this point of view, high number of parties running in the elections suggests an increase in voter turnout from rational choice theory approach as well. On the other hand, if there are intensive amount of parties in the elections (or independent candidates) this will increase the cost of voting for the electorates because voting will become more complicated and time consuming.

Figure 4.4: Electoral Participation Rate and Number of Parties (log)
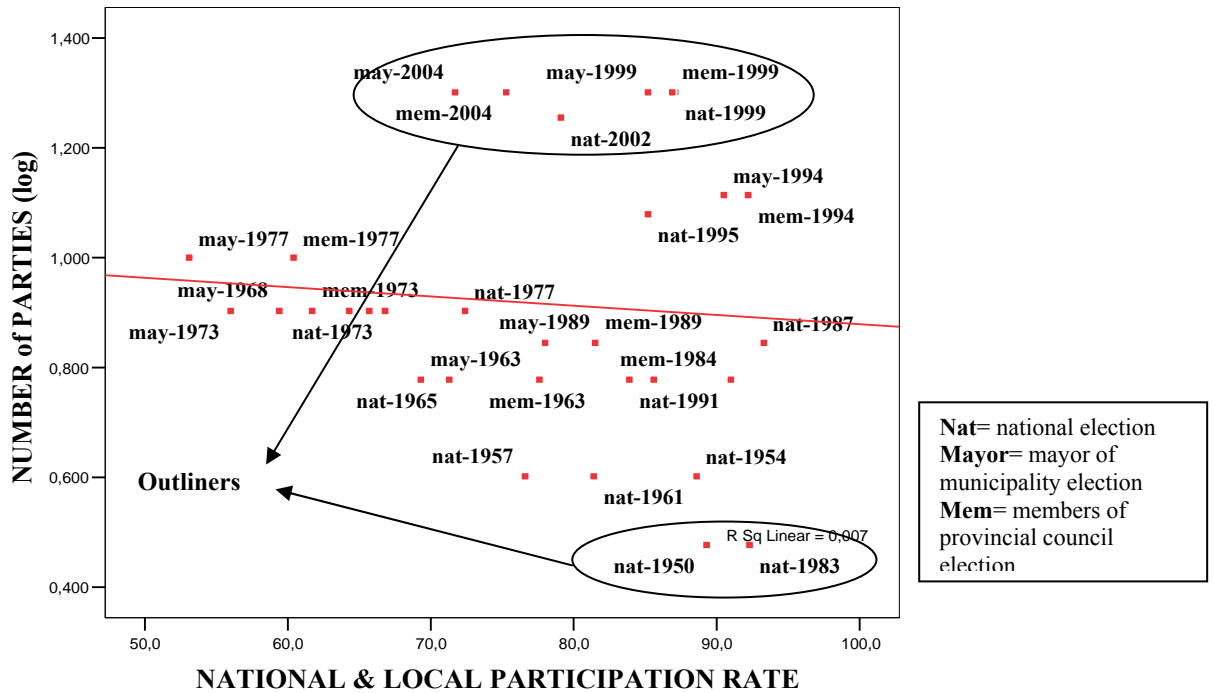
Figure 4.4 displays there is a negative relationship between number of parties and electoral participation rate in Turkish national and local elections. Slope of the linear line is nearly flat which suggests the influence of the independent variable on the dependent variable is not that much significant.

The voter turnout is at the lowest level for the elections in which number of parties (log) is around 1 suggesting the number is around 10 parties. Electoral participation is at its highest level when number of parties running in the election is 3-4 or 11-12. It decreases if the number of parties is between 4-10 and 13-20. This situation in Turkish case coincides with the assumptions of rational choice theory, in which the value of number of parties running in the elections matters for the electorates in order to make cost and benefit analysis of voting. However, in the regression model in Table 4.3 below, in contrast to the plot at Figure 4.4, the coefficient sign of this variable is positive.

Here, again national elections at 1950, 1954, 1999 and local election at 2004 are determined as outliners, and they are at the opposite sides of the linear line. Most interestingly it is seen that both of the national elections at 1961 and 1983 (nat-1961,

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nat-1983) have high level of voter turnout whereas there are low number of parties running in these elections. This situation can be explained by analyzing the impact of military coups on Turkish politics.

These elections are salient because they are the first democratic elections done after the military coups. Especially after 1980 military coup, main and stable parties are closed and politicians are banned from politics, which decreased the number of parties (established parties) and most importantly damaged political socialization process for Turkish politics. On the other hand, because compulsory voting is started to being applied in both Turkish national and local elections, after 1980 (first two decade) electoral participation rate in elections upraises significantly.

f. Electoral Participation Rate and Competitiveness

The second determinant of the party system variables is the competitiveness, which measures the gap between the vote shares of the leading and second parties. Therefore there a negative relationship between competitiveness and voter turnout is expected as the gap between the two parties decreases if the election is more competitive.

Figure 4.5: Electoral Participation Rate and Competitiveness

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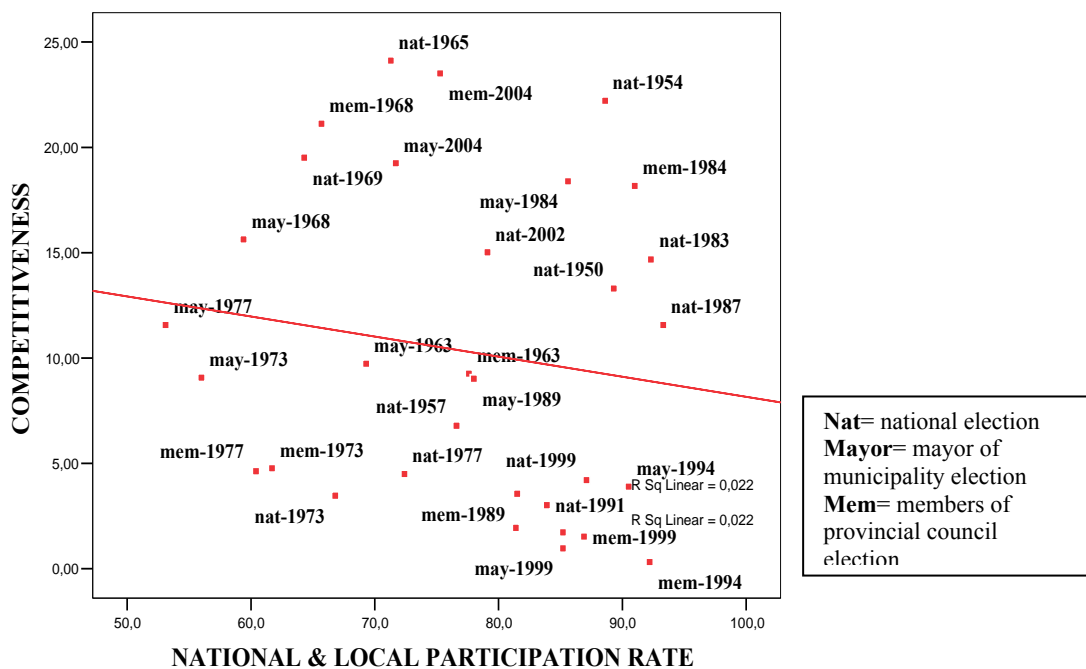
Figure 4.5 given above justifies the expectation of rational choice theory by pointing out a downward linear line. On the other hand, most of the elections included in the dataset do not fit this linear line. The R-square of the linear is 0,022 which indicate that the variable competitiveness is not good at explaining the changes in voter turnout.

Elections done on 1970s and 1990s are observed as the more competitive ones, which suggests that the high level of polarization between left and right parties in 1970s and between secularist and pro-Islamist parties in 1990s reflected to the voter shares. However, this competitiveness does not seem to increase voter turnout in 1970s but relatively increases for the elections in 1990s. Voter turnout for the Turkish elections is at its lowest level for the national and local elections done at 1973 and 1977.

Other interesting point is, except 1994 and 1999 local elections, local elections seem to be more competitive than the national elections. Moreover, as has been mentioned for the histogram of Figure 3.6, if the previous national election competitive, the following local elections is competitive as well.

With regard to competitiveness, again military coup of 1980 affects Turkish politics. The Figure 4.5 displays that competitiveness decreases significantly for the elections done in 1980s locating right up side of the linear line.

g. Step by Step Multiple Regression Model

Before showing the regression models, it will be beneficial to recall the hypothesis aimed to be tested for this thesis and give the regression equation.

$$\text{EPR} = \beta_{\text{Constant}} + \beta_{\text{Population}} \times X_{\text{Population}} + \beta_{\text{GNP}} \times X_{\text{GNP}} + \beta_{\text{Growth}} \times X_{\text{Growth}} + \beta_{\text{ET}} \times D_{\text{ET}} + \beta_{\text{ES}} \times D_{\text{ES}} + \beta_{c} \times D_{c} + \beta_{\text{N.Parties}} \times X_{\text{N.Parties}} + \beta_{\text{Competitiveness}} \times X_{\text{Competitiveness}}$$

$$(4.1)$$

Hypothesis:

1) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the size of the population decreases.
2) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the GNP per capita increases.
3) The participation to elections is expected to increase as the growth of GNP per capita increases.
4) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is at the national level
5) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is held using a proportional representative electoral system.
6) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election constitutes compulsory voting.
7) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the number of parties running in the elections is higher.
8) The participation to elections is expected to increase if the election is more competitive.

The regression models will be structured in this order. First the effect of socioeconomic environment variables on electoral participation rate will be tested. Then institutional setting variables will be included to the regression model. Last regression party system variables will be added to the model and the regression will display the impact of all of the variables mentioned in the thesis, and test whether they are significant in affecting voter turnout in Turkish national and local elections in the way rational choice theory expects.

Table 4.1: Regression Model with Socioeconomic Environment Variables

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-548,347	319,850		-1,714	,098
	SIZE OF POPULATION (log)	93,387	48,573	1,222	1,923	,065
	GNP (log)	-28,899	17,808	-1,030	-1,623	,116
	GROWTH of GNP PER CAPITA	-,546	,418	-,228	-1,305	,203

a. Dependent Variable: NATIONAL & LOCAL PARTICIPATION RATE

R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F
,206	0,120	10,9973	2,416

Figure 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3 indicated that size of population and GNP per capita variables positively affects electoral participation, whereas increase in growth of GNP per capita cause a reduction in voter turnout. These signs of size of population (log) and growth of GNP per capita were the opposite of what rational choice theory and the hypothesis suggests.

On the multi-variable linear regression model above, it is seen that in contrast to Figure 4.2, GNP per capita (log) has a coefficient with a negative sign. If GNP per capita changes (increases) for %1 this creates a reduction in electoral participation rate approximately 0, 29. If size of population increases for %1, voter turnout will increase approximately 1% (0, 93). Holding the other variables constant, if growth of GNP per capita changes 1 unit, this will cause a decrease in voter turnout of a value of 0,546.

When t-statistic value of these three variables is examined, we can say that they are not significant at 5% level. Constant parameter is also not significant in effecting voter turnout. F-statistic of these variables (2,416) supports that these variables are not significant at 5% level in a joint hypothesis. Moreover, R-square of 0,206 indicates that socioeconomic variables can only explain 20% of the data in the regression model. Standard error of the estimate is also relatively high (10, 9973).

Table 4.2: Regression Equation with Socioeconomic Environment and Institutional Setting Variables

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	679,747	194,649		3,492	,002
	SIZE OF POPULATION (log)	-80,008	28,503	-1,047	-2,807	,010
	GNP (log)	-4,247	8,043	-,151	-,528	,602
	GROWTH of GNP PER CAPITA	-,573	,172	-,239	-3,342	,003
	ELECTORAL TYPE	3,421	1,930	,147	1,772	,089
	ELECTORAL SYSTEM	3,442	1,979	,144	1,739	,094
	COMPULSORY VOTING	37,870	3,627	1,641	10,442	,000

a. Dependent Variable: NATIONAL & LOCAL PARTICIPATION RATE

R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F
,882	,853	4,4940	31,012

When institutional setting variables (election type, election system, and compulsory voting) are also included to the regression model, significant increase in R-square is noticeable (from 0,206 to 0,882). It is known that as more variables are added to the regression, R-square is expected to increase. However, even three more variables will be added to the regression model at Table 4.3, R-square does not increases so much. This indicates that institutional setting variables are the most salient determinants in explaining voter turnout for Turkish national and local elections. Moreover, growth in adjusted R-square indicates that the data fits better. Standard error of the estimate decreases, and F-statistic become significant at 5% and 1% confidence level.

If the variables and regression model in Table 4.2 are analyzed by one by, we can say that coefficient sign of size of population and intercept coefficient is changed with regard to the expectations. Now if size of population increases, this cause a reduction in voter turnout, and this variable is significant at 5% and 1% confidence level. GNP per capita and growth of GNP per capita still has negative coefficient signs. GNP per capita (log) is not significant, however growth of GNP per capita is significant at 5% and 1% confidence level.

For the three institutional setting variables, it is noticed that as aforementioned, they have a positive impact on electoral participation rate. If the election type is national election, if the election uses the PR electoral system and if compulsory voting is applied at the election; people are expected to intend to vote more. However, within them only compulsory voting is significant at 5% and 1% level of confidence, whereas election type and electoral system are significant at %10 confidence level.

Within these variables, size of population and compulsory voting are the ones that determine the voter turnout the most.

Table 4.3: The Last Regression Equation with Socioeconomic Environment, Institutional Setting and Party System Variables

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		
		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	1053,436	244,981		4,300	,000
	SIZE OF POPULATION (log)	-132,557	35,372	-1,735	-3,748	,001
	GNP (log)	-,715	7,647	-,025	-,094	,926
	GROWTH of GNP PER CAPITA	-,379	,179	-,158	-2,120	,045
	ELECTION TYPE	3,322	1,770	,143	1,877	,073
	ELECTORAL SYSTEM	4,292	1,895	,180	2,264	,033
	COMPULSORY VOTING	45,765	4,756	1,983	9,623	,000
	NUMBER of PARTIES (log)	15,935	7,233	,326	2,203	,038
	COMPETITIVENESS	-,202	,115	-,129	-1,748	,094

a. Dependent Variable: NATIONAL & LOCAL PARTICIPATION RATE

R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	F
,908	,877	4,1204	28, 511

When party system variables are also included to the regression model, both R-square and adjusted R-square increases, meaning the independent variables are good at predicting the dependent variable. F-statistic indicates the restrictions are significant at

5% and 1% level of confidence. Sign of the constant variable is positive as expected, and it is significant at 5% and 1 % level.

Here are the summary of the results obtained:

1. Size of population (log) is also significant in determining voter turnout at 1% confidence level. As the size of population increases by 1%, electoral participation is expected to decrease 1,32 point. Therefore we reject the hypothesis saying size of population is not significant to affect the dependent variable, and this result coincides with the assumption of literature review and rational choice theory.

2. In contrast to the expectations of rational choice theory, for Turkish case GNP per capita (log) negatively influences voter turnout. However its t-statistic shows that this variable is not significant in affecting electoral participation rate.

   It should be noted that in the regression model made in province level for 1977 and 1999 elections (Chapter II), it was observed that again GDP per capita (log) negatively affects voter turnout. Therefore, thesis manages to show that the tests made with cross-sectional data and time-series data coincides with each other.

3. Again in contrast to the assumptions of rational choice theory, here it is seen that growth of GNP per capita negatively affects electoral participation in Turkey. If it increases 1 unit, voter turnout is expected to decrease 0, 379 unit. This variable is significant at 5 % confidence level, however not significant at 1% level.

   Here, we reject the null hypothesis that this variable is not significant in determining electoral participation rate; however the sign of the variable coefficient is the opposite than the expectations.

4. Complying with the expectations of rational choice theory, election type as a positive coefficient, which means that voter turnout will increase 3,32 point if the elections are at national level. This variable is significant at %10 confidence

level, however not significant at 5% and 1% level. So, we can reject the null hypothesis at 10% significance level.

5. The positive variable coefficient of electoral system points out that if the elections are using the PR electoral system rather than the plurality, then this increases people's intention to vote for 4,29 point. This variable is significant in affecting voter turnout at 10% and 5% level, and it complies with the expectations of rational choice theory.

6. It can be said that within the institutional variables, compulsory voting is the most determining regressor. If the election applies compulsory voting, this creates a 45,7% of growth in voter turnout. It is significant even at 1% confidence level; hence we reject the hypothesis claiming compulsory voting is not influential on electoral participation rate.

   As outlined in the literature review, Lijphart asserts that making the voting compulsory could be a solution to the decline in voter turnout for USA and can maximize the voter turnout by minimizing the free-rider problem. Here, it can be claimed that Turkish case supports the assumption of Lijphart, because with the adoption of compulsory voting in 1982, voter turnout increases significantly comparing the levels in 1977 and 1983.

   Whereas, as discussed before in recent elections a fine cannot be charged to the ones that failed to vote in election, because the cost of sending a notification exceeds the payment of fine. This loop in the practically application of compulsory voting can be the reason for decline in voter turnout in recent elections.

7. Number of parties (log) has a positive coefficient parameter, indicating that if number of parties increases 1 unit, voter turnout is expected to increase 0, 15 unit. This result also supports the expectation of rational choice theory, and proves the assumption of Duverger (mentioned on Chapter I) that there is a high relationship between party systems and electoral systems.

This variable is significant at 10% and 5% level; hence we can conclude that this variable is significant in determining voter turnout in Turkish national and local elections.

8. Competitiveness has a negative coefficient as expected. If the vote shares between the leading and second party increases for 1%, this creates a reduction in voter turnout for 0,2 unit. On the other hand, this variable is not significant at 1% and 5% level; hence we can reject the hypothesis only at 10% confidence level.

Interestingly, competitiveness can be measured after the elections are done, which indicates it is hard to guess its impact on people's voting behavior. People are expected to predict competitiveness of the elections before they cast a vote. If they consider there will be a closer race between the two parties, this will increase their intention to vote, if not it will withdraw them from voting. However, at this point, if it is assumed that the election will not be competitive, and this will reduce the voter turnout, decisiveness of one vote will be increased for the ones casting a vote from the view of rational choice theory.

Moreover, as has been aforementioned, when a national election is competitive, the following local election becomes more competitive as well. This means, competitiveness influences the voter behavior of individuals before and also after the elections.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION

This thesis mainly tested whether the socioeconomic, institutional and party system variables discussed in the work of Blais (2000) and Franklin (1999) have a similar influence on the electoral participation in Turkish national and local elections. The thesis aims to understand the factors that motivate Turkish electorates to vote in the elections. Here, for the first time, voter turnout in the local elections is also taken as a dependent variable, and voter turnout in Turkish national and local elections are merged in the same dataset, which makes it possible to test and analyze the effect of election type (national v. local) and electoral system (proportional representation and plurality) on the political participation of the Turkish electorates. Within the thesis mainly two different tests take place. First the socioeconomic (urbanization ratio, GDP per capita, and regional differences) and the institutional variables (election type, electoral system and compulsory voting) are tested on province-level (in Chapter II) for 1977 and 1999 national and local elections by using cross-sectional data and utilizing a multiple regression model. Then the socioeconomic (size of population, GNP per capita, growth in GNP per capita), institutional (election type, electoral system, compulsory voting) and party system (number of parties, competitiveness) variables are tested on nation-wide level (in Chapter IV) by using time-series data including all of the national (1950-2002) and local elections (1963-2004) and utilizing another multiple regression model.

The hypotheses are based on the assumptions of the *rational choice theory*, which suggests that people act with regard to maximize their benefits and provide an action if its benefits exceeds the cost of doing it. Both multiple regression models in province and nation-wide level indicate that within the various variables, institutional setting variables (especially adoption of compulsory voting) are the most effective in

determining voter turnout in elections. This finding supports the assumption of the *rational choice institutionalism* which asserts that institutions shape the behavior of individual members and can cause individuals within institutions to maximize benefits.

The results of the tests mostly coincide with the expectations of rational choice theory and studies of previous works on voter turnout; however it signifies the different characteristic of Turkey for the socioeconomic variables as well. While both institutional setting and party system variables display the similar influence in Turkish voter behavior with the other countries, socioeconomic variables contradict with the expectations of rational choice theory.

In the one to one analysis of the dependent and independent variables (Chapter IV), the size of population positively influences voter turnout, which falsifies the assumption of rational choice theory. It is explained by referring to the rapid increase in the size of population after 1980s which corresponds with the adoption of compulsory voting with 1982 Constitutional Law caused a significant jump in the electoral participation.

The other socioeconomic variables that contradict the prediction of rational choice theory and the studies in literature are GNP per capita (log) and growth in GNP per capita. Although it is expected that voter turnout increases as the economical condition of the countries gets better, both analyses display that in Turkey the improvement of economical conditions negatively affects the electoral participation in general however has a positive impact on voter turnout only if the province is located in Marmara and Aegean region which has high number of population (mostly urban population). In this thesis this contradictory result for Turkey is explained due to the military coups which have caused a regression in the GNP per capita, but an increase in the voter turnout in the following first democratic elections.

Province-level analysis indicate that proportion of the urban population in the province is a significant variable in determining the voter turnout, but as Ozbudun and Tachau assert Turkey is one of the countries in which electoral participation decreases as the urbanization, modernization and industrialization levels of the province increases. On the other hand, a comparison of 1977 and 1999 national and local elections indicated

an interesting point that the vote gap between national and local elections is decreasing, and local elections have become more important and competitive especially for the urban dwellers. This observation signifies that the influence of the two institutional setting variables (election type and electoral system) is fading, while socioeconomic factors have become more dominant in the voting motivation of people. What, then, about the third institutional setting variable, the influence of compulsory voting?

In the study, it is seen that after the adoption of compulsory voting in 1982, voter turnout increased significantly in Turkey. This observation supports the work of Lijphart suggesting the application of compulsory voting as a solution for the low electoral participation problem of the USA. Moreover, it endorses the assumption of the rational choice theory that as the cost of not voting increases, voter turnout increases. On the other hand, as outlined in the thesis, in practice the sanction on a failure in voting is not being applied because cost of sending the notification exceeds the value of the fine. Then why do Turkish people intend to vote in a higher proportion then do other Western European citizens?

The answer to this question is again related to the intervention of Turkish army in the democracy process. Franklin points out that as the salience of the elections increases; this motivates the electorates to cast a vote in the elections. The salience of the elections is determined by the institutional motivations such as electoral system, compulsory voting, and frequency of the elections, competitiveness, as well as weekend voting. In Turkey, the institutional setting design for national elections supports Franklin's assumptions for every point. Elections are held on Sunday, use proportional representative electoral system, adopt compulsory voting, are highly competitive, and made less frequently. Hence, it can be claimed that the reason for relatively high electoral participation in Turkey as compared to those of other Western countries lies in its institutional design. On the other hand, this thesis study indicates that besides the institutional design of Turkish elections, the intervention of military into the politics raises the significance of the elections for the Turkish citizens as well. However in order to prove this assumption of the thesis, individual-level interviews with the Turkish electorates, and a comparative study examining the other countries that experienced military coups is necessary.

Lastly, merging the data of national and local elections within the same dataset also enables this study to observe the relationship between these elections. As it is expected voter turnout in national elections is higher than the local elections. However, the study argues that there is a similar pattern of fluctuations for voter turnout in Turkish national and local elections, in which a national election experiences a low participation, so does the following local election. This situation again indicates that not only the election type differences, but the current socioeconomic and political events determine the level of participation to elections. Additionally this scenario demonstrates that casting a vote is a political action in which citizens have the opportunity to reflect their discontent or satisfaction from the government. Voting in a way is a tool for communication. The high level of volatility and fragmentation in Turkish national and local elections also indicates that there is a similar pattern between national and local elections and that not party preferences but the performance of the governments (especially economical) determines the voting behavior of the electorates.

Referring to Powell's study, this thesis questions the linkage between electoral participation rate-electoral system-party system-degree of democracy; furthermore this research reveals that not the level of participation rate but the functioning of party system, the number of effective parties, volatility and fragmentation index levels all determine the degree of democracy in a country. Although Turkey has a high electoral participation rate, Turkish political structure is fragile, open to the emergence of and favors of extremist parties and has problems in constructing a consolidated democracy due to high level of volatility and fragmentation which has mainly occurred as a result of military interventions.

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APPENDIX A- Dataset Province Level (1977 and 1999)

ELECTIONS	Election Years	Electoral Participation Rate	Size of Population	Size of Population (log)	Illiteracy Rate (age 6 and over)	GNP per capita (log)	GNP per capita in $	Growth in GNP per capita	Election type	Electoral System	Compulsory Voting	Number of Parties	Number of Parties (log)	Competitiveness
1950 National Election	1950	89,3	20947000	7,321	67,49	2,22	166,4	6,9	1	0	0	3	0,477	13,3
1954 National Election	1954	88,6	23204000	7,366	59,01	2,39	244,9	-5,6	1	0	0	4	0,602	22,21
1957 National Election	1957	76,6	25250000	7,402	59,01	2,62	414,5	4,4	1	0	0	4	0,602	6,79
1961 National Election	1961	81,4	28227000	7,451	60,49	2,29	194,1	-0,6	1	1	0	4	0,602	1,94
1963 Mayor of Municipality Election	1963	69,3	29652000	7,472	51,24	2,40	249,2	7	0	0	0	6	0,778	9,73
1963 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1963	77,6	29652000	7,472	51,24	2,40	249,2	7	0	1	0	6	0,778	9,26
1965 National Election	1965	71,3	31391000	7,497	51,24	2,43	271,3	0,6	1	1	0	6	0,778	24,12
1968 Mayor of Municipality Election	1968	59,4	33586000	7,526	43,79	2,73	537,4	4,1	0	0	0	8	0,903	15,63
1968 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1968	65,7	33586000	7,526	43,79	2,73	537,4	4,1	0	1	0	8	0,903	21,12

1969 National Election	1969	64,3	34443000	7,537	43,79	2,77	586,3	1,7	1	1	0	8	0,903	19,51
1973 National Election	1973	66,8	38073000	7,581	36,28	2,87	734,1	2,3	1	1	0	8	0,903	3,47
1973 Mayor of Municipality Election	1973	56	38073000	7,581	36,28	2,87	734,1	2,3	0	0	0	8	0,903	9,07
1973 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1973	61,7	38073000	7,581	36,28	2,87	734,1	2,3	0	1	0	8	0,903	4,77
1977 National Election	1977	72,4	41769000	7,621	32,52	3,17	1466,8	0,9	1	1	0	8	0,903	4,5
1977 Mayor of Municipality Election	1977	53,1	41769000	7,621	32,52	3,17	1466,8	0,9	0	0	0	10	1,000	11,57
1977 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1977	60,4	41769000	7,621	32,52	3,17	1466,8	0,9	0	1	0	10	1,000	4,63
1983 National Election	1983	92,3	47864000	7,680	22,55	3,10	1263,8	1,7	1	1	1	3	0,477	14,68
1984 Mayor of Municipality Election	1984	85,6	49070000	7,691	22,55	3,08	1204,4	4,5	0	0	1	6	0,778	18,39
1984 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1984	91	49070000	7,691	22,55	3,08	1204,4	4,5	0	1	1	6	0,778	18,17
1987 National Election	1987	93,3	52561000	7,721	19,51	3,21	1635,8	7,5	1	1	1	7	0,845	11,57
1989 Mayor of Municipality Election	1989	78	54893000	7,740	19,51	3,29	1959,2	-0,6	0	0	1	7	0,845	9,02

	Year													
1989 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1989	81,5	54893000	7,740	19,51	3,29	1959,2	-0,6	0	1	1	7	0,845	3,56
1991 National Election	1991	83,9	57262000	7,758	20,1	3,42	2621	-0,16	1	1	1	6	0,778	3,02
1994 Mayor of Municipality Election	1994	90,5	60612000	7,783	15,6	3,34	2184	-7,8	0	0	1	13	1,114	3,9
1994 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1994	92,2	60612000	7,783	15,6	3,34	2184	-7,8	0	1	1	13	1,114	0,32
1995 National Election	1995	85,2	61737000	7,791	14,8	3,44	2759	6,1	1	1	1	12	1,079	1,73
1999 National Election	1999	87,1	66293000	7,821	13,7	3,46	2879	-7,4	1	1	1	20	1,301	4,21
1999 Mayor of Municipality Election	1999	85,2	66293000	7,821	13,7	3,46	2879	-7,4	0	0	1	20	1,301	0,97
1999 Members of Provincial Council Elections	1999	86,9	66293000	7,821	13,7	3,46	2879	-7,4	0	1	1	20	1,301	1,53
2002 National Election	2002	79,1	66626000	7,824	12,5	3,41	2584	6,2	1	1	1	18	1,255	15,02
2004 Mayor of Municipality Election	2004	71,7	71789000	7,856	12,6	3,62	4172	6,6	0	0	1	20	1,301	19,25
2004 Members of Provincial Council Elections	2004	75,3	71789000	7,856	12,6	3,62	4172	6,6	0	1	1	20	1,301	23,51
2007 National Election	2007	84,3	73429426	7,866		3,70	5008	7	1	1	1	14	1,146	25,81

APPENDIX B- Vote Shares of Parties in National Elections (1950-2002) and in Local Elections (1963-2004)

	NATIONAL ELECTIONS															MAYOR of MUNICIPALITY ELECTIONS								
	1950	1954	1957	1961	1965	1969	1973	1977	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2002		1963	1968	1973	1977	1984	1989	1994	1999	2004
Party																								
Justice Party (AP)				34,60	52,90	46,60	29,8	36,9								45,39	46,79	33,35	36,43					
Republican People's Party (CHP)	39,6	35,1	41,40	36,70	28,70	27,40	33,30	41,40				10,70	8,7	19,4		35,66	31,16	42,42	48			4,36	13,83	20,88
Republican Peasant's Nationalist Party (CKMP)				14,00	2,20											1,38	1,01							
Republican Reliance Party (CGP)						6,60	5,3	1,9									3,09	1,19	0,44					
Republican Nationalist Party (CMP)		5,3	6,50																					
Democratic Party (DP)							11,9	1,8										6,18	0,66					
Freedom Party (HP)			3,50																					
Nation Party (MP)	4,60					6,30	3,2	0,6				0,5	0,3	0,2		2,71	1,86	0,10						
Turkish Labor Party (TİP)		0			3	2,70										0,73	2,08							

Party																								
New Turkey Party (YTP)			0	13,70	3,70	2,20								1,2		3,57	0,45							
Independents	0,60	0,6	0	0,80	3,20	5,60	2,8	2,5	1,1	0,4	0,1	0,5	0,9	1		10,56	12,52	12,09	5,02	3,14	1,30	0,78	0,65	0,95
Justice and Development Party (AKP)														34,3										40,13
Union Party (BP)													0,2										0,16	
Young Party (GP)														7,2										2,35
Democrat Party (DP)	55,2	58,4	48,60										0,3									0,32	0,13	0,02
Nationalist Action Party (MHP)						3,00	3,4	6,4				8,2	18	8,4				0,74	3,94			7,51	15,14	10,13
National Salvation Party (MSP)							11,8	8,6										3,89	4,76					
Turkish Union Party (TBP)						2,80	1,1	0,4										0,03	0,13					
People's Democracy Party (HADEP)												4,2	4,7										3,37	
Socialist Rule Party (SİP)													0,1										0,03	
Motherland Party (ANAP)									45,1	36,3	24	19,6	13,2	5,1						43,24	23,74	22,97	17,43	2,96
Democratic People's Party (DEHAP)														6,2										

Party									A	B	C	D	E	F	(yellow)					G	H	I	J	K
True Path Party (DYP)										19,1	27	19,2	12	9,5						11,80	23,48	18,90	12,75	9,47
Populist Party (HP)									30,5											7,78				
Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP)									23,3											5,45				
Democratic Left Party (DSP)										8,5	10,8	14,6	22,2	1,2							6,46	7,87	15,19	1,95
Reformist Democracy Party (IDP)										0,8											0,50			
Nationalist Work Party (MCP)										2,9												3,02		
Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP)										24,8	20,8										32,76	16,70		4,66
BBP													1,5	1								0,94	1,22	0,62
Labor Party (İP)												0,2	0,2	0,5								0,16	0,09	0,11
Rebirth Party (YDP)												0,3	0,1									0,17	0,06	
Independent Turkey Party (BTP)														0,5										0,30
Liberal Democrat Party (LDP)													0,4	0,3									0,09	
Freedom and Solidarity Party (ODP)													0,8	0,3									0,48	0,10
Felicity Party (SP)														2,5										4,81

Party								7,2	16,9	21,4				(yellow)				3,75	8,74	19,07	
Turkey Communist Party (TKP)													0,2								0,10
Country Party (YP)													0,9								
Democracy and Peace Party (DBP)												0,1									0,01
Democratic Turkey Party (DTP)												0,3									0,71
DEPAR												0,1									0,02
Labor Party (EMEP)												0,2							0,09	0,10	
Virtue Party (FP)												15,4								18,40	
Welfare Party (RP)								7,2	16,9	21,4								3,75	8,74	19,07	
SP										0,4											
New Party (YP)												0,1									
(New Democracy Movement) YDH												0,5									
Social Democracy Party (SODEP)																	24,85				

APPENDIX C- Dataset Nation-wide Level (1950-2004)

Province	Voter Turnout Nat-1977	Voter Turnout Mayor-1977	Voter Turnout Member-1977	Voter Turnout Nat-1999	Voter Turnout Mayor-1999	Voter Turnout Member-1999	Proportion of Urban Population 1975	Proportion of Urban Population 2000	GNP per capita 1977 (with 87 prices)	GNP per capita 1977 (with 87 prices) (log)	GNP per capita 1999 (with 87 prices)	GNP per capita 1999 (with 87 prices) (log)	Marmara & Aegean Region	Illiteracy Rate 1975	Illiteracy Rate 2000
Adana	68,7	47,7	57	83,8	81,7	83,6	57	75,58	1.352.957	6,13	1981184	6,30	0	0,34	13,12
Adıyaman	75,4	64,4	71,2	87,9	84,2	86,1	29	54,33	484,806	2,69	767609	5,89	0	0,22	20,11
Afyon	73	66,5	.Missing	93,3	92,4	93,3	29	45,77	797,835	2,90	955911	5,98	1	0,39	11,73
Ağrı	76,4	53,9	73,3	81,7	75,8	81,5	28	47,72	409,158	2,61	368016	5,57	0	0,54	32,02
Amasya	81,1	69	75,4	89,6	87,7	89,5	36	53,83	850,923	2,93	1180757	6,07	0	0,38	12,59
Ankara	70,7	44,5	49,5	88,4	87,7	88,4	77	88,34	1.314.266	6,12	2224013	6,35	0	0,22	6,72
Antalya	79,5	66,5	78,7	85,4	82,6	85,7	33	54,45	940,359	2,97	1757983	6,25	0	0,33	7,92
Artvin	73,3	63,4	65,9	86,6	85,3	86,9	19	43,87	938,31	2,97	1691097	6,23	0	0,35	13,16
Aydın	79,3	66,4	71,5	91,3	89,1	90,5	35	51,87	1.228.182	6,09	1771720	6,25	1	0,34	12,56
Balıkesir	80,1	61,5	76,6	91,1	88,4	90,9	37	53,66	1.183.273	6,07	1574544	6,20	1	0,3	11,63
Bilecik	80,9	70,9	74,9	93,8	91,4	93,4	34	64,01	1.234.767	6,09	2914285	6,46	1	0,29	8,44
Bingöl	74	64,2	68,3	84,2	80,7	84,1	22	48,66	399.887	5,60	462617	5,67	0	0,53	26,38
Bitlis	84,1	63	70,6	86,8	84	86,7	35	56,48	553.547	5,74	414902	5,62	0	0,63	27,57
Bolu	76,7	60,3	73	92,1	89,7	92	25	52,72	1.037.013	6,02	1749764	6,24	0	0,32	10,36
Burdur	76,4	75,6	75,4	94,5	93,4	94,5	32	54,48	1.076.792	6,03	1629687	6,21	0	0,33	10,28
Bursa	74,4	52,4	60	89,9	88,8	89,9	53	76,75	1.589.674	6,20	2250911	6,35	1	0,29	8,27
Çanakkale	83,4	70,9	77,1	92,3	89,4	92,3	29	46,36	1.228.755	6,09	2013041	6,30	1	0,3	10,44
Çankırı	74,5	66,6	72,9	90	90	89,9	24	52,22	674.267	5,83	890455	5,95	0	0,38	11,82
Çorum	77,9	62,9	70,8	91,8	90,4	91,7	27	52,24	798.611	5,90	1391099	6,14	0	0,46	16,88
Denizli	77,1	73,8	66,3	92,1	90,6	92	30	48,69	1.008.317	6,00	2050668	6,31	1	0,35	10,43
Diyarbakır	66,5	43,8	58,7	79,4	74,9	79,2	43	60	755.238	5,88	888308	5,95	0	0,59	30,41
Edirne	77	57,9	69,6	91,3	88,7	91,2	39	57,35	1.272.938	6,10	1715420	6,23	1	0,28	10,96

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Elazığ	68,7	52,3	56,9	83,2	80,3	82,8	42	63,95	951.809	5,98	1221049	6,09	0	0,43	17,68
Erzincan	71,3	58,6	61,8	83,2	82,3	83,3	30	54,35	830.250	5,92	885224	5,95	0	0,38	12,81
Erzurum	80	61	90,3	80	81,5	84,3	33	59,8	681.718	5,83	636472	5,80	0	0,47	16,36
Eskişehir	75	54,6	57,8	92,1	91,4	91,9	59	78,9	1.425.786	6,15	2005663	6,30	0	0,23	7,04
Gaziantep	68,9	61,6	58,6	84,5	82,3	84,3	53	78,52	1.015.256	6,01	1351161	6,13	0	0,45	16,22
Giresun	66,9	61,7	62	86,2	84,4	86,1	24	54,09	869.376	5,94	1098666	6,04	0	0,44	16,64
Gümüşhane	67	60,7	59,3	84,7	84,7	84,7	16	41,49	510.832	5,71	800219	5,90	0	0,42	13,59
Hakkâri	80	69,7	76,9	85,8	82,8	85,7	24	58,95	422.444	5,63	275000	5,44	0	0,74	29,31
Hatay	75,1	57	63,8	87,1	85,7	87,1	42	46,37	851.747	5,93	1486942	6,17	0	0,42	13,98
Isparta	77,8	65,4	63,9	92,8	91,8	92,6	35	58,71	904.229	5,96	1210160	6,08	0	0,3	7,99
İçel	66	52,2	61,7	84,2	82,7	84,9	47	60,51	1.555.772	6,19	1885485	6,28	0	0,3	10,84
İstanbul	64,4	37	38,6	83,8	82,5	82,6	68	90,69	2.696.323	6,43	2528842	6,40	1	0,2	6,61
İzmir	78,5	58,6	62	87,5	86,8	87,4	54	81,07	1.820.759	6,26	2612373	6,42	1	0,23	8,14
Kars	73,6	61,7	71,3	81,6	76,9	82	24	43,73	539.641	5,73	584394	5,77	0	0,46	17,05
Kastamonu	73,9	58,4	68,9	90,1	87,7	89,9	20	46,35	861.471	5,94	1367224	6,14	0	0,47	19,20
Kayseri	70,5	57,6	59,5	87,7	86,8	87,6	43	69,06	981.022	5,99	1288844	6,11	0	0,34	11,11
Kırklareli	81,4	69,6	74,4	92,1	90,4	92	40	57,6	1.315.351	6,12	2640965	6,42	1	0,24	7,12
Kırşehir	66	55	64	89,5	88,3	89,3	30	58,21	872.945	5,94	1117793	6,05	0	0,41	12,48
Kocaeli	68,5	47,7	54,7	87,7	88,7	87,5	53	59,94	3.373.588	6,53	3815648	6,58	1	0,25	7,95
Konya	69,2	61,3	62,3	91,3	90,4	91	39	59,07	986.230	5,99	1222669	6,09	0	0,33	9,92
Kütahya	80	60,8	65,9	93,3	91,9	93,3	29	48,54	1.041.252	6,02	1302902	6,11	1	0,37	10,91
Malatya	68,3	51	58,6	83,6	80,7	79,7	38	58,54	751.359	5,88	994900	6,00	0	0,42	14,65
Manisa	81,3	67,3	72,4	92,3	90,6	92,2	39	56,72	1.238.009	6,09	2410918	6,38	1	0,36	13,71
K.Maraş	74	58,4	.Missing	87,1	84,2	86,1	65	53,47	595.150	5,77	1061936	6,03	0	0,48	16,57
Mardin	78,1	65,7	70,6	84,2	79,7	83,9	30	55,49	607.938	5,78	726609	5,86	0	0,64	28,78
Muğla	80,3	72,1	78,3	90,4	87	89,9	21	37,51	968.095	5,99	2366215	6,37	1	0,31	7,26
Muş	81,6	55	76	81,5	78,8	81,8	20	35,16	598.527	5,78	387825	5,59	0	0,61	30,55
Nevşehir	71	66,1	61,8	91,7	90,7	91,9	27	44,05	1.076.782	6,03	1731618	6,24	0	0,42	11,58
Niğde	67,3	65,5	63,7	89,2	88,6	88,9	23	36,43	804.415	5,91	1430586	6,16	0	0,65	13,73
Ordu	69,2	63	67,8	84,7	82,7	84,6	22	46,93	610.717	5,79	915305	5,96	0	0,5	16,88
Rize	69,7	59,5	54,9	81,9	80,1	81,8	24	56,09	1.037.778	6,02	1460357	6,16	0	0,39	12,30
Sakarya	76,5	61	66,5	89,6	87,8	89,5	35	60,81	1.142.053	6,06	1641539	6,22	1	0,32	9,15
Samsun	72,6	61,4	69,9	84,9	84,5	87	32	52,54	943.657	5,97	1462835	6,17	0	0,43	13,79
Siirt	74,6	61,6	71,9	84,5	83,8	84,3	39	58,22	730.134	5,86	723130	5,86	0	0,66	31,34

Sinop	71,6	68,6	71,15	88,1	86,1	88,1	20	44,9	641.146	5,81	1121036	6,05	0	0,45	17,28
Sivas	74,4	60,6	64,2	85,4	84,9	85,3	32	55,86	625.085	5,80	1037859	6,02	0	0,44	14,60
Tekirdağ	79,5	62,7	70,6	90,2	86,8	88,7	43	63,4	1.261.154	6,10	2492844	6,40	1	0,59	6,99
Tokat	79,9	69	73,1	86,8	85,7	87	30	48,52	705.405	5,85	1112898	6,05	0	0,43	14,32
Trabzon	64	53,8	52,9	83,3	81,2	82,8	24	49,12	697.436	5,84	1097053	6,04	0	0,41	11,51
Tunceli	68,8	67,3	59,5	82,4	79,7	82,2	21	58,21	497.767	5,70	815342	5,91	0	0,64	16,97
Urfa	69,4	47,8	Missing	85,9	79,1	85,5	44	58,34	717.587	5,86	806085	5,91	0	0,64	32,23
Uşak	73,7	63,5	67,6	91,6	91,9	93,6	38	56,48	844.585	5,93	1252577	6,10	1	0,4	12,46
Van	80,3	61,1	74,4	81,1	77,2	81	30	50,94	447.012	5,65	505495	5,70	0	0,68	31,94
Yozgat	71,3	63,2	69,6	90	88,6	89,7	22	46,15	584.455	5,77	730973	5,86	0	0,45	13,82
Zonguldak	71,9	51,5	65	88,9	86,1	89	31	40,66	1.626.492	6,21	1530876	6,18	0	0,37	12,18
Aksaray	.	.	.	87,3	86	87,2		50,55			831056	5,92	0		13,66
Bayburt	.	.	.	82,6	80,1	82,6		42,48			626799	5,80	0		13,49
Karaman	.	.	.	93	92,1	92,9		57,53			1780616	6,25	0		10,28
Kırıkkale	.	.	.	88,5	88	88,7		74,39			1894035	6,28	0		10,87
Batman	.	.	.	85,1	83,2	85		66,6			915995	5,96	0		29,02
Şırnak	.	.	.	83	82,2	83		59,83			356676	5,55	0		34,24
Bartın	.	.	.	90,6	88	90,5		26,06			678187	5,83	0		15,97
Ardahan	.	.	.	83,9	78,6	83,8		29,7			520604	5,72	0		15,37
Iğdır	.	.	.	81,9	77,5	81,6		48,38			591538	5,77	0		24,52
Karabük	.	.	.	91,2	90	91		70,08			3399146	6,53	0		7,07
Kilis	.	.	.	89,6	87,1	89,6		65,36			3453645	6,54	0		13,06
Yalova	.	.	.	84,9	83,9	84,85		58,52			1637957	6,21	1		19,55
Osmaniye	.	.	.	85,2	85,2	85,1		68			852840	5,93	0		13,98

Note: The values of the dummy variables (election type, electoral system and compulsory voting) are not included to the dataset.

Election type: 1 for national, 0 for local (mayor of municipality and members of provincial council) elections.

Electoral system: 1 for national and members of provincial council; and 0 for mayor of municipality elections.

Compulsory voting: 1 for all the elections after 1980, and 0 for all the elections before 1980.

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