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Japonya Türk Öğrenciler Derneği Semineri
TÜRKİYE’DE SEÇMEN OYNAKLIĞI: SOSYO-EKONOMİK YAKLASIM

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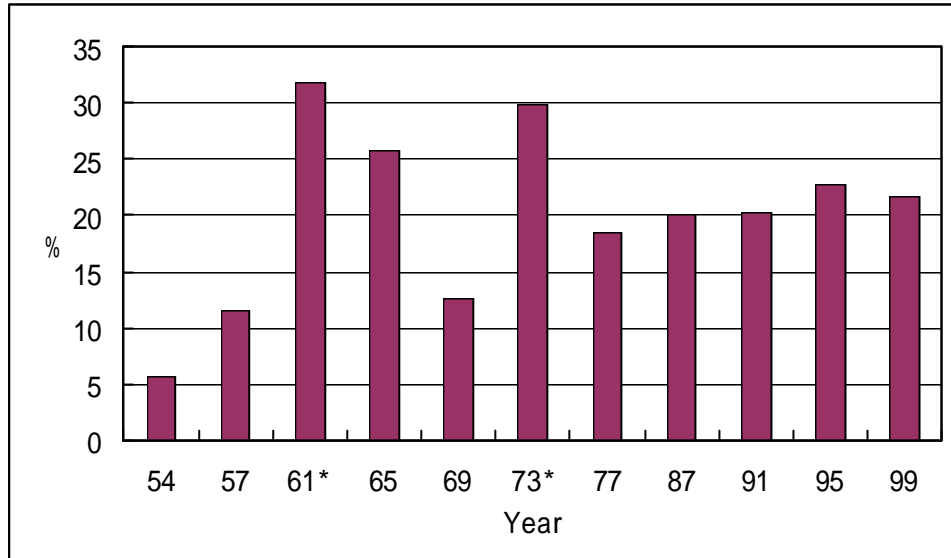
Giris

Türkiye’de son üç Milletvekili genel seçiminin sonuçları, gittikçe artan seçmen oynaklığının önemine işaret etmiştir. Konuşmada 1961-99 dönemi ve Türkiye illerini kapsayan veriye dayanılarak, partiler arasında oy kaymalarını belirleyen kısa ve uzun vadeli sosyo-ekonomik etkenler üzerinde durulacaktır.

Ana Hatlar

1. Seçmen oynaklığı: bağımlı değişken.
Tanim.
Önem: Figure 1
Tam oynaklık ve bloklararası oynaklıklar: Table 1, Figure 2.
2. Toplumsal yarıklar: uzun vadeli bağımsız değişken.
Dünya demokrasilerinden bulgular.
Anlamli yarıkların saptanması: Table 2, Table 3, Table 4.
Türkiye’de uzun vadeli eğilim: Table 5.
Türkiye’de son değişim: Table 6.
3. Geriye Dönük Oy Verme: Kısa Vadeli Bağımsız Değişken.
Dünya demokrasilerinden bulgular.
Türkiye’de seçime göre inceleme: Table 7.
4. Geçici Sonuçlar.

Figure 1. Electoral Volatility in Turkey, 1954-99



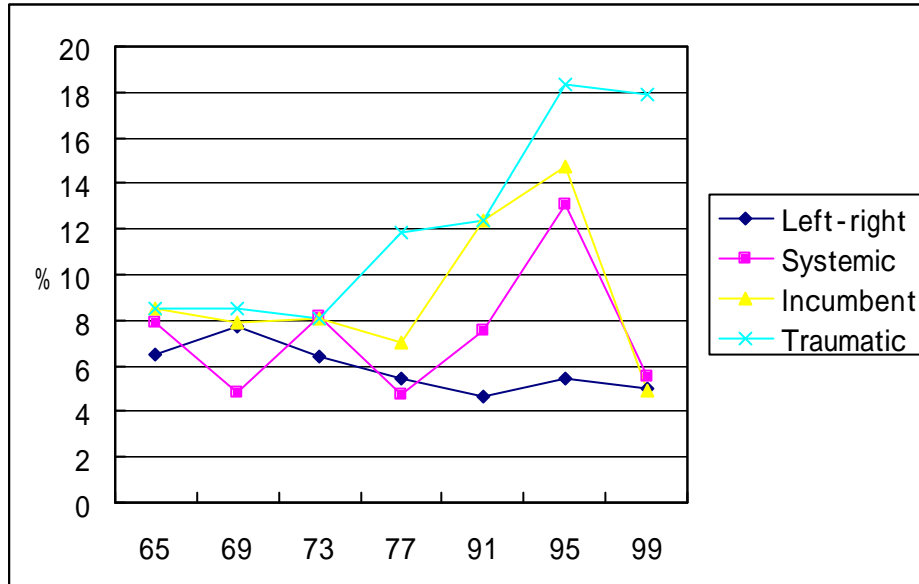
Sources) Compiled by the author from Toskun, Tanju, *Türk Parti Sisteminde Merkez Sağ ve Merkez Solda Parçalanma*, İstanbul: Boyut Matbaacılık, 1999, p. 121, Tablo 2 and p. 195, Tablo 5. Volatility for 1987 and 1999 was calculated by the author from State Institute of Statistics, *Results of General Election of Representatives, 1983, 1987, 1995, 1999* and State Institute of Statistics, *The Results of Election of Local Administration, 1984*. Volatility for 1987 was calculated from the difference in the party vote percentage between the 1987 general election and the 1984 general local elections. This is because in the 1983 general election, the military government allowed only three parties to participate.

Notes) * General elections immediately after the military intervention. The 1983 general election was excluded since all the existent political parties were disbanded after the 1980 military intervention.

Table 1. Inter-bloc Volatilities

Type	Dimension	Vote swing
Cleavage	Left-right	Left vs. right
	Systemic	Moderate vs. extreme
Retrospective	Incumbent	Government vs. opposition
	Traumatic	Former & present incumbents vs. others

Figure 2. Inter-bloc Volatilities



Source: Compiled by the author from Appendix V.

Table 2. Factor Analysis of Provincial Voting Behavior, 1987-99 (N=67)

Factor1: Secular-religious		Factor2: Turks-Kurds		Factor3: <i>Alevi</i>	
Party	Factor Loading	Party	Factor Loading	Party	Factor Loading
DLP99	0.87624	NAP99	0.84338	RPP99	0.86126
DLP95	0.81600	NAP95	0.60143	RPP95	0.80954
DLP91	0.71497	NWP87	0.54605	SDPP87	0.71218
TPP95	0.65199	MP87	0.44614	SDPP91	0.57165
DLP87	0.53914	TPP91	0.36909	NAP95	0.34751
SDPP87	0.49967	TPP87	0.31533	NWP87	0.33344
TPP91	0.41076	WP91	0.28198	NAP99	0.24270
MP99	0.33919	TPP95	0.26906	MP87	0.10970
RPP95	0.27486	DLP91	0.26772	WP91	0.01570
RPP99	0.19559	DLP99	0.23034	DLP99	-0.00067
TPP87	0.16233	DLP95	0.22432	WP95	-0.03689
TPP99	0.08434	RPP95	0.19928	DLP95	-0.04389
SDPP91	0.05025	MP95	0.18374	DLP91	-0.05117
MP91	0.00554	VP99	0.17846	DLP87	-0.05909
MP95	-0.00188	WP95	0.16180	PDP95	-0.07834
PDP95	-0.20220	RPP99	0.07719	VP99	-0.11210
MP87	-0.21755	MP91	0.05306	PDP99	-0.13218
PDP99	-0.23597	TPP99	-0.01286	TPP95	-0.28033
NAP99	-0.25131	MP99	-0.03598	MP91	-0.29897
NAP95	-0.28891	DLP87	-0.27118	WP87	-0.31379
NWP87	-0.55610	SDPP87	-0.33160	TPP99	-0.36701
WP87	-0.73020	WP87	-0.39845	MP95	-0.43178
VP99	-0.83050	SDPP91	-0.68310	MP99	-0.49432
WP95	-0.89650	PDP95	-0.86470	TPP91	-0.50850
WP91	-0.90760	PDP99	-0.86860	TPP87	-0.59760
Percentage of variance explained					
28.27		19.08		16.76	

Sources : Calculated by the author from State Institute of Statistics, Results of General Election of Representatives, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999.

Notes) Entries are varimax factor loadings calculated from the percentages of votes that each political party received in the provinces during the 1983, 1987, 1991, 1995, and 1999 general elections. Factor loadings equal to or above 0.50 (or below -0.50) are in bold. Acronyms of the political parties are as follows:

WP=Welfare Party: Islamist

VP=Virtue Party: Islamist, succeeding the WP.

MP=Motherland Party: center-right

TPP=True Path Party: center-right

DLP=Democratic Left Party: center-left

SDPP=Social Democratic Populist Party: center-left and supported by the Alevi Muslims.

Succeeded by the RPP

RPP=Republican People's Party: center-left, succeeding the SDPP.
 NWP=Nationalist Work Party: far right, succeeded by the NAP.
 NAP=Nationalist Action Party: far right, succeeding the NWP.
 PDP=People's Democracy Party: Kurdish.

Table 3. Resemblance of the Factor Structures, before and after 1980

		Post-1980 Factors		
		Secular-religious	Turkish-Kurdish	Alevi
Pre-1980 Factors	Center-periphery	-0.44549**	0.63805**	0.23165
	Left-right	0.39853**	0.02270	0.55187**
	Anti-system	-0.31623**	-0.53547**	0.30514*

Source: Calculated and compiled by the author from Appendix III.

* $p < 0.10$.
 ** $p < 0.05$.
 *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 4. Factor Structures and Cleavages

Factors		Religiosity	Ethnicity	Sect
Pre-1980	Center-periphery	0.1607	-0.7766***	0.0553
	Left-right	-0.2835*	-0.1157	0.4446***
	Anti-system	0.2487*	0.0329	0.2140
Post-1980	Secular-religious	-0.1728	-0.6117***	0.0410
	Turkish-Kurdish	0.4125***	-0.5552***	0.1134
	Alevi	-0.3736**	0.2384	0.6364***

Source: Calculated and compiled by the author from Appendix II.

* $p < 0.10$.
 ** $p < 0.05$.
 *** $p < 0.01$.

Table 5. Cleavages and Volatility Dimensions, 1965-99

	Left-right	Systemic
Religiosity	-0.631	2.904***
Ethnicity	5.066***	5.830***
Sect	-3.685***	-1.100
<i>F</i> value	13.396***	12.361***

Source: Calculated and compiled by the author from Appendix II and Appendix V.

Note: Entries are *t* values for regression coefficients.

* $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.01$.

Table 6. Cleavages and Volatility Dimensions, 1999

	Left-right	Systemic
Religiosity	-4.261***	0.311
Ethnicity	-2.234**	-0.618
Sect	-2.985***	-2.506**
<i>F</i> value	7.809***	2.794**

Source: Calculated and compiled by the author from Appendix II and Appendix V.

Note: Entries are *t* values for regression coefficients.

* $p < 0.10$.

** $p < 0.05$.

*** $p < 0.01$.

Table 7. Retrospective Voting Model, 1991-99

Election	GDP growth	Previous government vote swing	Previous government vote percentage	Voter expectations underlying the swing ^a
1991	0.870	2.225**	-6.003***	Economy
1995	2198***	-5.077***	-2.290**	Income
1999	-0.436	0.559	0.414	Just order ^b

Source: Calculated by the author from data in Appendix II.

Note: Entries are *t* values for multiple regression coefficients with the incumbent vote change of the year as the independent variable.

^a The election manifesto of the party that won the previous election.

^b The first party (Welfare Party) was not in government when the election was held.

Appendix I. Classification of Political Parties in Turkey

Appendix II. Data Sources

1. General Elections

State Institute of Statistics.

2. Social Cleavages

Religiosity: the percentage of Imam-Hatip Lise junior students to the total junior high school students in the province, published by the State Institute of Statistics.

Ethnicity: the logged percentage of the Kurdish population to the total population in the province as of 1965, published by the State Institute of Statistics and as of 1990, estimated by Servet Mutlu, "Ethnic Kurds in Turkey: A Demographic Study," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 28 (1996): 517-541.

Sect: the logged number of Alevi villages in the mid-1960s to the 1970s, compiled by Peter Alford Andrews, ed., *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert), 1989.

3. GDP per capita in the province

State Institute of Statistics.

Appendix III. Factor Scores across Provinces

Appendix IV

Appendix V. Dimensions of Electoral Volatility, 1965-99

Appendix VI