

**DOKUZ EYLÜL UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED
SCIENCES**

**AFTER YEAR 2000, SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND
ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY APPROACH OF
THE TURKISH GENERAL ELECTIONS: CASE
OF İZMİR**

**by
Abdullah Burak KEDERSİZ**

**February, 2014
İZMİR**

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ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY APPROACH
OF THE TURKISH GENERAL ELECTIONS:
CASE OF İZMİR**

**A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences of Dokuz Eylül University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science
in Geographic Information System, Geographic Information System Program**

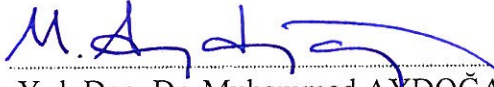
**by
Abdullah Burak KEDERSİZ**


February, 2014


İZMİR


M.Sc THESIS EXAMINATION RESULT FORM

We have read the thesis entitled “**AFTER YEAR 2000, SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY APPROACH OF THE TURKISH GENERAL ELECTIONS: CASE OF İZMİR**” completed by **ABDULLAH BURAK KEDERSİZ** under supervision of **YRD. DOÇ. DR. MUHAMMED AYDOĞAN** and we certify that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.


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First of all; I remember gracefully the founder of Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his fellow soldiers because of having left a modern country that develops in the light of science.

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Dokuz Eylul University, one of the locomotive institutions which lead to progress of country to level of contemporary civilization and which is also overlap with the saying of Great Leader "Our counsellor will be science and technique in our nation's social and political life. By virtue of school and with its science and technique, Turkish Nation, Turkish Art, Economy, Turkish Poem and literature develop with all its beauty"

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During my post graduate education, always having taken my side, on all occasions having made me courage ,my girl friend Gizem BAKICIERLER, thanks for all.

Abdullah Burak KEDERS Z

**AFTER YEAR 2000, SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND ELECTORAL
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CASE OF İZMİR**

ABSTRACT

The historical back ground of the electoral geography science is given place, and also the analysis models of the electoral geography, its theories, its speculative models, the voting geography under three titles, the researches about the geographical factors which effect the voting, the representative geography and the procedures about regulating and locating of the electoral borders are given place in this work.

İzmir is chosen as working area, and a spatial analysis of the elections in İzmir is made in reliance on the truth of the ADNKS archives, the deputy election results belongs to TÜİK and YSK and the decisions of Ministerial Cabinet. This study is not a solution for the elections, it aims to clarify the relations between the elections and the variables like educational status, age groups, genders and immigration of the society.

The programs ArcGIS, Global Mapper, MapInfo, SPSS (the statistics program), Microsof Office (for data arrangements) are used. Thematic maps, diagrams and charts, which show the profiles of voters and the election results, are drawn up by using the multivariate statistic methods. The changing between the election years is investigated, and an analysis about the political fractions and the distributions on the basis of the parties is made.

Moreover, the voting with multifarious variability of mathematical indexes and the ratio of representation in İzmir are taken into account. The electoral districts of İzmir, the ratio of electoral turnout, İzmir's place and status in representation, the distribution of the votes in Turkey and in İzmir according to the political wings, the geographic and socio-economic structure of the registered population and immigrants

are investigated. The relations between the votes which the parties took in the last election 12 June 2011 and the profiles of voters is researched.

Keywords: Democracy, liberal democracy, Turkey's general election, electoral geography, spatial analysis, GIS, regression analysis

2000 YILINDAN SONRA TÜRKİYE GENEL SEÇİMLERİNİN SEÇİM COĞRAFYASI YAKLIŞIMI İLE MEKÂNSAL ANALİZİ: ÇALIŞMA ALANI İZMİR

ÖZ

Seçim coğrafyası bilim dalının tarihsel serüvenine yer verilmiş ve seçim coğrafyasının analiz modelleri, teorileri, kuramsal modeli açıklanmış, seçim coğrafyasının üç ana başlığı olan oylamanın coğrafyası, oy vermeyi etkileyen coğrafi faktörlerin araştırılması ve temsilin coğrafyası hakkında bilgi verilmiş, seçim sınırlarını yeniden düzenleme ve tespit etme yöntem ve uygulamaları üzerinde durulmuştur.

Çalışma alanı olarak İzmir seçilmiş, ADNKS kayıtları, TÜİK ve YSK'nın milletvekili seçim sonuçları, Bakanlar Kurulu kararları esas alınarak İzmir seçimlerinin mekansal analizi yapılmıştır. Çalışma seçimlere herhangi bir çözüm değil, oyların toplumun eğitim, yaş, cinsiyet, göç gibi değişkenleri ile ilişkisini açıklamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Kırılma teorisi kullanılarak, kültürel ve beşeri coğrafya kalıplarının çakışması araştırılmıştır. Seçim sonuçlarının analizini yapabilmek adına seçimsel kırılmaların alansal değişimi incelenmiş, mekanın zaman içinde siyasi olarak evrimi dikkate alınmıştır.

Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri programları (ArcGIS, Global Mapper ve MapInfo) ve İstatistik programı (SPSS), verilerin düzenlenmesi için Microsof Office (Word, Excel, Acsess) programı kullanılmıştır. Çok değişkenli istatistik yöntemleri kullanılarak seçmen profili ve seçim sonuçlarını gösteren tematik haritalar, grafikler ve tablolar hazırlanmıştır.

Seçim yılları arasındaki değişim incelenmiş, siyasi fraksiyonlar ve partiler bazında dağılım ve zaman içinde değişim analizi yapılmıştır. Seçim Coğrafyası

çerçevesinde giriş-dönüşüm-sonuç sırası takip edilmiş ve giriş bölümünde önceden tespit edilmiş ve sınıflandırılmış veriler (ilçe ve mahalle seçim sonuçları, demografik göstergeler, seçmen profil bilgileri) kullanılmıştır.

Ayrıca İzmir'in çeşitli matematiksel indekslerle oylama değişkenlik durumu, etkin parti sayısı ve temsil oran derecesi hesaplanmıştır. İzmir ilinin seçim bölgeleri, seçimlere katılım oranları, İzmir'in temsildeki yeri, Türkiye ve İzmir'de oyların siyasi kanatlara göre dağılımı, İzmir nüfusunun ve aldığı göçün coğrafi ve sosyo-ekonomik yapısı incelenmiştir. Son seçim olan 12 Haziran 2011 seçimlerinde partilerin aldıkları oylar ile seçmen profilleri arasındaki ilişki araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Demokrasi, liberal demokrasi, Türkiye genel seçimleri, seçim coğrafyası, mekansal analiz, CBS, regresyon analizi

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Though in our country, the studies of electoral geography are mostly investigated by political scientists, in United States of America and European Union countries, the studies of geographers become prominent, when political scientist focus on the subject of international geopolitical, internal political events are ruled out. Yet, the thing which defines the international and regional policy, is policy and strategy. It can be said that; the thing which defines national policy in democratical countries is independent and regular elections. Being related with time, variable structure of electoral geography, range of research subjects and fields, obtainable of datas in a regular and typical way, make the research easy. By being different from political scientist, it is tried to analysed that with not only distribution according to region, but also the factors of human geography and cause-results relations with geographical perspective.

1.1 Research Objectives

In elections, it is tried to answered the questions of many people "Who votes for which political party?", "How did the act of voting based on socio-economic differences take shape on county basis?", "What are the differences between nation-wide and Izmir in the elections?", " How did Izmir's political view changed from 1983 to present?", " What kind of a spatial change do votes of the political parties have after 2000?". In some sections, the elections between the years 1950-2011 are analysed and in some sections the eight elections which are between the years 1983-2011 are analysed. But for being suitable for the purpose of thesis; three elections after 2000, are analysed in a detailed way. The last election, 2011, it is tried to researched; the voters profile of İzmir, centre-environment model is created and also the relation of voters profile of parties is tried to be analysed.

1.2 Thesis Structure (Organization of the Study)

The Thesis consists of five chapters organized as following:

CHAPTER TWO: In this section, being given a short history of democracy, it is pointed out the ancient democracy, rebirth of democracy and modern/constitutional liberal democracy. For understanding clearly of modern democracy, constitutional term, constitutionalism and constitutional state are mentioned. Principle and theory of liberal democracy are pointed out and explained. The historical period of electoral geography in our country and in the world, analysing model, theories and theoretic model are mentioned. The terms which are related to electoral geography are tried to explain. It is also emphasized the three main title which form electoral geography, geography of voting, analysing of geographical factors which effect voting and geography of representation.

CHAPTER THREE: All of general elections which are between May 14th 1950 election, which is the first free and regular election of Turkey, and June 12th 2011 election, are given with chronology on a country basis. The voting rate of political parties received and representation of them in parliament are served in numeric data.

CHAPTER FOUR: In this section, the method and data of study are pointed out. With being considered that Turkey and İzmir are different election regions, what kind of differences between the averages of Turkey and İzmir are researched. İzmir's voter profile is drawn and the relation between political parties and voters are tried to find out.

CHAPTER FIVE: In this section, there are short summary of thesis and evidences. Personal opinions are served in the lights of studies which are made in the first, second, third and fourth parts.

CHAPTER TWO

DEMOCRACY AND ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY

2.1 Democracy

Democracy is a Greek-rooted word and it is composed of the word “demos” which means people, the mass or full citizenship in Greek and “kratein” which can be translated as domination “to use power. (Schmidt, 2002). In this respect, democracy can be described as people’s, directly or indirectly, rule or usage of power (Torun, 2005).

As a political system, democracy’s meaning is seen in antique period Greek city-states and indicate its first practices as direct democracy. When democracy enabled people’s direct usage of power in ancient times, it transformed into people’s indirect usage of power in present time with increased population of states, expanding of borders and difficulties of people’s direct involvement in government. People’s indirect usage of power can be described as “representative democracy”. This is why I think it is appropriate to analyze democracy’s journey from Antique (Classical) Democracy to Modern Democracy in order to have better understanding of it and see its historical development.

2.1.1 Antique Democracy

In Antique Greek city-states, classical democracy appeared by Solon’s reforms. Antique Greek society were governed by oligarchy which argues for reign of a privileged minority before Solon’s power. However, this oligarchic order caused people to riot against noblemen and the process ended with Solon’s reign. When Solon grabbed the power, he tried to change the form of government into a more democratic way. However, the democracy which is mentioned here and the democracy which is perceived today are different. The laws which was made in Solon’s period implied great changes in social, economical and political field, and the power which was in exclusive possession of noblemen was being used by

citizens. Thus, citizens had a right to use legislative power through people's assembly, and judiciary power through people's court. (Torun, 2005)

However, in return for all of the changes, the authority of usage of these rights were exclusively provided to those who meet the condition of being an Athens citizen. Social structure in Antique Greek cities were composed of citizens, foreigners living in Athens and slaves. So, this social discrimination did not give to every individual the right to become a citizen, and individuals were seen as a member of their class in which they were born. Only citizens in society were authorized to use social and political rights. Social discrimination also revealed itself in citizen class, and citizen class was divided into four sub-groups. These were:

1. Great landlords constituted of noblemen,
2. Middle class merchants,
3. Smallholders constituted of villagers, and
4. Working class. (Uygun, 2003)

Athens democracy is a political system which embraced direct democracy. Legislation, executive power and jurisdiction were directly managed by citizens who held the authorization of using these rights. Legislative was carried out in People's Assemblies which was constituted by adult citizens, Executive power was carried out in the Boule and jurisdiction was carried out in People's Court. Institutions which had the rights of legislation, executive power and jurisdiction of Athens were completely constituted of citizens and Athens was seen to governed with direct democracy as these institutions were constituted by direct participation of citizens. Practicability of the direct democracy is closely related to being a small state and giving these political rights only to citizens.

According to Torun, Antique Democracy embraced only limited participation. In this view, giving the political rights exclusively to citizens, legitimating slavery, gender discrimination and as a result of these, creating an unequal society is effectual. Whereas, Modern democracy emphasizes the notions of equality and

freedom, and it exactly sees slavery as an anti-democratic practice. The clearest distinction between Antique and Modern democracy appears in this subject.

The church which was unconcerned with the operations of government at first, tried to suppress government officials with struggle for power against the government. It was the result of their effort to legitimize their power that the Catholic church saw the God as a source of their power. State, in this sense, was an organ of the church which was superior to them (Torun, 2005).

In Medieval Europe, the religion seized the power in political and social structure. And between tenth and twelfth centuries, power of the church peaked and monopolized not only the religion but also the social power. The church strengthened this power with the Papist view. Aristotelianism shows how effective the religion was in the Medieval Europe. According to this view, humans are divine beings, and the earth which they live on is in the center of the universe. It is only humans who is the object of the God's commandments. Humans are deficient while the God is all powerful and perfect. The perfect God which created the humans knows them very well and it is the being which knows the ideal way of life for them. And the ideal way of life for the humans who are subjects of the God is the life which is determined by the God's will and prohibitions. That's why both in social and political structure, divine commandments were dominant. As a result, it is hard to talk about democracy in Medieval political life. A mentality which is far from human-centered democracy, but is god-centered was dominant.

Approximately twelve years were passed this way, and political and social life, with renaissance and reform movements, started to discuss the functions of the religion. Religion, got distant from earthly affairs and it became a spiritual matter of fact for everybody. Religion's effect on political life, so, on state's domain was removed with Secularism view. As it is seen, we can say that Secularism underlies Laicism.

2.1.2 Resurrection of the Democracy

After a Medieval period when Democracy disappeared by Christianity's effects, Renaissance period when foundations of the modern world was lay was reached. Until 18. Century, Europe has had a social structure constituted of aristocracy, clergy, and commoners. When, the church, so, with Pope and emperor is seemed to constitute the topping layer, it would not be wrong to say "the church was in topping layer". Because, in the Medieval Europe, the church did not hesitate to use its excommunication authority against the kings and emperors as a weapon. When the history of the Europe is studies, many kings are seemed to be excommunicated. Heinrich III of the Holy Roman Empire was a king who was excommunicated by the church. According to Torun, renaissance, is the definition of criticism and struggle of the commoners, who was in the lowest layer of social structure, against this system. It is possible to analyze the social and political change in Renaissance with four revolutionary developments.

Toku separated these revolutions into four sub-groups:

First one of these, is the scientific revolution which was started by Newton. Scientific revolution defended the idea of removing the God from center, and placing the scientific facts to the center, and it also defended that the world was ruled in the light of principles of scientific facts. According to this view, the humans are very powerful beings and they have the competence to manage everything. Political revolution appeared with liberal political approach. Although they appeared differently from each other, political models were founded by commonsense with this revolution. The cultural revolution which displayed a natural development, was shaped around the terms of secularism and laicism. It became effective on forming a social life independent of religion. Industrial revolution, with industrial developments associated with mechanization started in England, and after France, firstly created a bourgeois class, and then it enabled capitalist system to arise. Capitalism is characterized as a system which brings self-interests to forefront, and it is individualistic as it brings self-interests to forefront. It is also rationalist as it

developed reason against the church and the religion. This system which claims to function for the sake of all humanity, may be described as global.

Reformation movements and humanistic view which appeared in renaissance idea, are qualified to support this development (Torun, 2005). Reformation movements questioned the religion, and they suggested the religious field to be reshaped. It can be said that to mention humanism and intellectual freedom deprived the church of its former power. Protestant movement against the church appeared. Individual values embraced by Protestantism, were also quickly embraced by the society. Human-centered view of life, with humanism, appeared once again.

From the point of humanism, humans are honorable and valuable, just for becoming a human. Humans are beings who are in the center of the universe with their free will and mind, are the captains of their souls and are creator of themselves. Changing of the thoughts oriented to humans' honor and value caused human mind to be reevaluated. The mind, refined from religious facts by renaissance, is started to be seen as the criteria of searching the truth. (Torun, 2005)

In conclusion, the sixteenth century revealed changes that provided a basis for resurrection of democracy. Renaissance reflects a change which encloses humanism that places human at the center and reformation movements. It removed the weak human portrait that was described by religion, and a political and social structure in which the human mind is effective appeared. In renaissance period, bourgeoisie which appeared with industrial revolution captured the state sovereignty, and different political models appeared. Discussions among the defenders of the social rights of kingdom, republicans and democrats who desired to make the principle of equality sovereign for all the classes appeared. (Smith, 2001)

As philosophers like Machiavelli who tended towards transcendent state concept, Hobbes who defended authoritarian state concept, Rousseau who ranked at the center of republican view are included in this period, philosophies of the philosophers like Montesquieu who grounded republican view with democratic approaches like

constitutional state, separation of powers and individual rights, Mill who highlighted individual freedom concept, and Locke who sourced liberalism with natural rights teaching were also found (Torun, 2005).

I am in the opinion of necessity of examining the thoughts of Locke and Montesquieu, to better understand the importance of our topic and to understand how democracy adventure motioned in Renaissance.

John Locke is the first representative of democratic and liberal state doctrine (Toku, 2003). According to Locke, there are certain rights which all humans have since birth and need only to be human to have them. Rights of life, liberty and possession are fundamental and natural rights of every person. Torun associated these three fundamental rights to liberty. However, he said that this liberty can be restrained with the principle of not interfering with other individuals' actions. Every person's area of freedom is restrained with another's. This situation creates a natural border automatically. Every human's area of freedom comes with respect to freedoms of other individuals in society. From the point of Locke, freedom is a right for humans and it can't be seized (Torun, 2005). According to Locke, right of possession is one of the other fundamental rights. Locke associated the right of private possession to the principle of labor. He argues that no one can dispose of others' property. Locke supports the idea that the potential pressure on the humans' natural and fundamental rights should be prevented. Locke, argues that the institution that can prevent the pressure on fundamental rights is state. Locke based his ideas concerning state's legitimacy in the framework of these rights.

According to Locke, legitimacy of a state is based on people's consent and agreement. Because, the main purpose of the state, which people formed with their consent and agreement, is to protect people's fundamental and natural rights and provide them to be defended against foreign dangers (Toku, 2003).

Locke portrayed the state as an individual-based organization. According to Locke, it is a matter of individual-based political mentality. The state is an

instrument to provide the order among individuals. According to Torun, the ideal state form which Locke tried to explain in this way, matches up with the liberal state doctrine.

Individuals are in the heart of the liberal democracy's understanding of state and society. Both the society and the state are seen as products of the human will in the framework of the style of individualistic notion (Göze, 1995). According to Yayla, in Liberalism, it is assumed that the individual has more moral value than any collective whole. Besides, as the individual comes before the society, the idea that individual rights comes before the society is dominant among liberal philosophers.

John Locke sees the liberal (constitutional) democracy as the form which a civil government should be.

Democracy, is the regime which can provide freedom and equality for the people who live in the society as much as it can. In a democratic state, an infinite area of authority for government can't be mentioned. The state gains all its authority from "positive law" which is constituted by humans (Toku, 2003).

As it can be seen, a state form which is based upon the state of law is emphasized. Superiority of law, in other words, the law underlying the state is the principal.

For Locke, meaning of the state of law is to stay out of any authority that can restrict individuals' area of freedom. State is only a society which is constituted for supplying, protecting and improving individuals' interests. Among these civilian interests, beside the rights of life and freedom, the possession of the interior things like health, protection of the body, money, fields, houses, items also takes part (Locke, 1998).

According to Locke, state is a political organization which is constituted for protecting the people's fundamental rights. The state can't determine the people's religions. Every person's religious opinion is unique. The state can't be the

determiner establishment in this spirituality. Because, the state hasn't authority to do that. According to Locke, it is mandatory to separate religious affairs from state affairs. So, the state should be a secular state which behooves not to be interfering to religious world, and also to be neutral to religious beliefs (Toku, 2003). What is aimed by the secular state, is to keep the neutrality of the state. The state must be based upon superiority of law instead of the religion. Secularity of the state can be named as its legitimacy is based upon the public, not on the religious teachings. In a secular state, people are equal before the law. No individual can be separated because of his or her religion, language, race or politic view.

John Locke, with his thoughts manifested thus far, provided serious contribution aimed at modern democracies. Thusly, when it is comprehended that modern democracies are perceived as liberal democracy or constitutional democracy nowadays, it is seen that Locke, who created the origins of liberal doctrine and constitutional democracy, provided serious contributions to the explanation of modern democracy (Toku, 2003).

2.1.3 Modern Democracy

Liberalism is put into practice in various states since 17th century as a political form in which state does not intervene in economy and freedoms. Although democracy is a system which was experienced, theoretical and practical, two thousand years ago, liberalism embodied democracy, not vice versa (Torun, 2005).

As it can be seen, the term liberal democracy which is a combination of liberalism and democracy is used instead of modern democracy nowadays. But, mankind prioritized the economic aspects of the liberalism instead of its protection of freedoms. They see the liberalism's support to free market economy as the reason of wild capitalism and people living in poverty. This is why, many authors tries to fulfill the modern democracy with the terms like emancipator democracy or pluralist democracy instead of liberal democracy (Uygun, 2003). Nowadays, the term constitutional democracy which has the same meaning as liberal democracy is also

used. Both liberal democracy and constitutional democracy are terms which have the qualification to fulfill modern democracy. Principles like free and ordered elections, minority rights, superiority of the chosen and civilian and political freedoms are used in both terms.

The term constitution, constitutional notion and constitutional state should be described before skipping to the term modern democracy. Because, for better understanding of the modern democracy, it is imperative to explain the definition of the constitution, definition and characteristics of constitutionalism, and also to examine the necessities of constitutional state (Torun, 2005).

Constitution is body of rules which orders state government and operation by deciding state's base structure and organization style (Gözübüyük, 2003). As it can be understood from the definition, it is possible to understand a state's political system from its constitution. Shortly, it can be said that, constitution is the regime of a state. Constitution is the uppermost principle of law in a state. Constitution also includes rights and freedoms of individuals. According to Torun, every state which have a constitution is not necessarily a constitutional state. Because, to be a constitutional state, a state must have some qualifications. It is possible to see these qualifications in the term "constitutionalism".

Constitutionalism first appeared in 16th century. It can be said that, constitutionalism is the restriction of the state government by remedies and the securitizing of the freedoms of individuals by the law. It is possible, with constitutionalism, to secure fundamental rights which John Locke defended and placed at the center of his ideas and Montesquieu's principle of division of powers, by remedies. If the principle of constitutionalism does not exist in a state, it is possible to talk about state government's intervention to areas of freedom which state citizens have. Constitutionalism, as required by the principle of the division of powers, prioritizes the equal distribution of the state power and the securing of the individuals' fundamental rights (Torun, 2005). Locke's notion of protecting the individuals' fundamental rights from intervention of the state and Montesquieu's

principle of division of powers have the quality to be the base of the constitutionalism as they prevent the government from monopolizing legislation, executive and judicial powers. Aim of the constitutionalism is to protect the rights of the individuals which constitutes the society and to restrain government's possible intervention to individuals' fundamental rights.

After the definitions of constitution and constitutionalism, I think it is right to explain the definition of a constitutional state and what the qualifications of a constitutional state are. It is possible to define the constitutional state as a state which protects fundamental rights of the individuals who constitute the society and restrains the intervention of the government to these rights by rules of law.

After completing the constitution, constitutionalism and constitutional state, the subject of modern democracy and liberal democracy, in other words, constitutional democracy can be passed on to. It can be said that liberal democracy isn't a perception of the democracy in which the majority reigns over the minority, but is a perception of the democracy which brings individuals into the forefront, sees every individual's differences as a wealth of the state and is constituted by participation of every individual.

Principles and doctrines of the liberal or constitutional democracy are,

1. Free and ordered elections,
2. Principles of political pluralism and competition,
3. Minority rights,
4. Superiority of the chosen, and
5. Acknowledging of the civil and political freedoms.

These principles aim to determine the legitimacy ground of the opposite views in the meaning of the source and usage of the government and giving voice to different opinions (Dağı & Polat, 2004).

I am in the opinion that it is pertinent to explain the principles and the notions of the democracy which is commonly identified as modern democracy nowadays, but in other words, is also known as liberal or constitutional democracy.

Free and ordered elections are a must in all democratic regimes. In democracies, elections can be called as democracy festivals where the people show their will. It happens in these democracy festivals that every individual, by using his or her freewill, chooses the governors who will administer them. Right to vote holds an important place in democratic regimes. "People who are deprived of the right to vote can't become individuals as it is not possible for their demands to reflect on political area" (Torun, 2005). In Antique democracy people would directly involve in the government, whereas representative democracy which is based on the principle of representation is seen nowadays. For fully reflecting people's will on the state government and their choosing of governors who will administer them, it is necessary for free and ordered elections to be made. If the elections are free, equal and fair then democracy can be mentioned in a state.

Free elections depend on the reserving the right to vote of every individual who live in the society, and on the opportunity to choose among available options using his or her freewill. Equal elections means every citizen's opportunity to vote without discrimination of language, religion and race and also means that every vote is equal. Principle of fairness of the elections means not to rig (Torun, 2005).

In democratic regimes, there should be election systems which enable more than one candidate to compete as required by the principle of competition. Because the more alternatives people have, the more individual thoughts are reflected on the ballot box.

Second of the necessities of the liberal, in other words, constitutional democracy is the principles of political pluralism and competition. Modern societies are not constituted by standardized individuals. Society is constituted by a heterogeneous structure. In heterogeneous societies, political pluralism is required for democratic

governments. Individuals who are present in society differ by their cultures, statuses and political ideologies. These differences have to reflect on political environment, and these people have to be represented in political environment. This is shown among the basic arguments of the principles of political pluralism and competition. And, in a heterogeneous society, providing the political pluralism is seen along with the existence of the multi-party political life. People with different ideologies in society are represented in this way. According to Erdoğan; political parties are seen as instruments which provide people to exist in the political area. This is why more than one political party are needed for people who constitute the society to express themselves in political life. If the individuals' freedom of expression in political area does not exist and the society becomes a subject of standardization, then it can be said that it is impossible to mention democracy in that state.

Third one of the principles of liberal democracy is minority rights.

It is possible for minority rights to be examined both in the sense of people who come to an agreement on a topic being in the minority in comparison with majority's opinions, and in the sense of groups who are in minority status in religious, ethnical and cultural sense (Torun, 2005).

As it can be seen, we should see the minority rights in two meanings. In the first meaning, minority rights can be called as freedom of expression of different views both in society, and against the state. As for the second meaning, minority rights support the idea that religious, ethnical and cultural minorities in the society has their right to practice their religions, live their cultures and speak their languages. In this way, minorities will also feel like they belong to the state. "Establishment of the pluralist system, at the same time, stipulates the guaranteeing of the civil and political freedoms" (Torun, 2005). Democracy can be called as a harmony of the differences. Like hundreds of notes creating a musical piece create a beautiful piece when they come together, differences of the individuals who constitutes the society can create a democratic society.

Fourth principal of the liberal democracy is the superiority of chosen. Superiority of the elected emphasizes the superiority of people's representatives, in other words, of people who have the authority to rule by the election over appointed bureaucrats. "Democracy is based upon the administration of the state by the people who come to power by ways of free and ordered elections and have the right to take and execute political decisions" (Torun, 2005). It is not a democratic system if the bureaucratic circle puts pressure on the elected or exhibits an attitude which prevents them to take and execute political decisions. Bureaucratic circle hasn't got the right to intervene in political decisions. "The main duty and the obligation of the bureaucratic circle consists of executing the decisions which is taken by elected people and technically informing them" (Bilge, 2003). As it can be understood from here, bureaucratic circle should keep away from political life and leave political life to elected people, in other words, politicians.

The last principle of the constitutional democracy is civil and political freedoms. It is civil freedoms which have the aim of protecting individual freedoms against political authority. The right to participate in the state government is political right. "Civil freedoms aim to prevent the violation of individuals' basic and fundamental rights, when political freedoms aim to make individual elevate to an active position in the state (Torun, 2005).

Civil freedoms provide individuals with protection against the state and inviolable area where the state can not intervene in individuals. Political freedoms enter to the area of active or political public rights which includes the right to participate to constitution and process of the political government (Bilge, 2003).

Civil and political freedoms are individual-centered and they are based on the principle of protecting the individual against political authority. Individuals have the freedom to protect their basic and fundamental rights against every authority and other individuals of the society with legal ways. Besides, individuals have the right to be the representatives of other individuals of the society in political life. Political freedom is to make it happen. Oligarchy can be prevented by political freedom.

2.2 Electoral Geography

Elections are the subjects of researches of society sciences such as political sociology, political science and law. Electoral geography is a science which has taken place in USA and EU for sixty years. The practices in our country define the results of elections with quantitative displays or only show spatial distribution of parties. The practices about this subject, which geographers stay out of, are handled by sociologists, city planners and political scientists.

Among the Turkish sources; the first work, which includes both election and geography terms, is Essay about 1973 and 1975 Elections-Election geography by Tekeli and Gökçeli in 1977. Much later; Günel in 2004 mentioned about civil political geography in the book which was named "The political power of geography" in a shortly way (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

She published a book named 'Spatial Analysis Of Elections which would be an important literature upon the people who works on election geography. In this piece, he showed the systematic of geography of elections and analysed the all elections upon Turkey's metropol city İstanbul from 1983 until 2002.

Political geography is the science which investigates and interprets the effect between politics and place and uncovers the new places which occurs with the result of this effect. Political geography searches for the answers about how societies were occurred and what kind of decisions they took about their environment (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

As understood with these definitions; the political geography obtain the symptoms of politics in places as a main subject. In our country the people who work in the field of political geography emphasize geographical location and geopolitics. They tried to explain political geography with only two elements.

Policy is not a personal activity but a community activity. People may show the

tendency of acting together with the results of relations. The people who spreads in space may show a common act. The people who are intimate as physically may be effected much upon their policy manners. Human manners may take form according to environment which they take place or intimate relations.

Geography of election tends to search for this effect or difference. This science is a branch of political geography on the other hand it has a specific idea of science because of its breadth evaluation.

In Western; the whole political system is taken into geography of election. This is true, namely with the results of election the political system of the country is shaped. On the other hand this approach is not true and valid for each country if we take into account the differences from country to country. Especially in the democracies which are getting into development the effects would occur which interrupts the natural process of elections (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

It is possible to see in our country, these kind of political interruptions. Economical crisis and parliament's holding early election decide and also military interventions upon political life suspend the natural periods of elections.

The basic data of geography of election is choice and manner. This branch which has the abstract map of behavioral geography, is also used by the geography science of comment. Even this reveals the spatial patterns in mind map, it is the most difficult part of commenting on it (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Geography of election is not only to show the analysis of the results of elections in the managerial-geographical field and the changes of this analysis according to years. It is needed to be analysed with combining the socio-economic data and the results of elections. Because of this reason; it is easy to make geography of election in development countries. Because in these countries the statistics are more developed and it is easy to reach old socio-economic data.

2.2.1 Theoretical Model of Electoral Geography

In the electoral geography, even, after the numeric era occurred, the works on geography of election haven't got satisfying works. Özözen Kahraman mentioned this situation with two problems; At first; striking a chord of three different branch of sciences with few references. Secondly; Cannot being integrated to main departments of political geography. The works of geography of election are not only mapping the results of election but also working on dual connections. According to Özözen Kahraman; Dual connections should be composed while establishing the system of geography of election. "For instance; in voting geography; the relation between breakup and geography of representation and in political geography; the relation between general central-vicinity model and voting geography may be established" (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). In the geography of election, the works made in 1970s couldn't establish this relation in a suitable way. This also caused that geography of election couldn't show itself and also it was the reason that having been perceived as sub-branch of discipline.

The solution of this problem is not further experimental researches, but the solution is that establishing new artificial system for integrating this various themes. The employers who works on geography of election and election systems accepted the political system, which was founded by Easton in 1965. This system consists of four members (Figure 2.1). In 1979 Johnson tried to use this approach for integration of management systems and election works but the whole system was not proper for geographical approach.

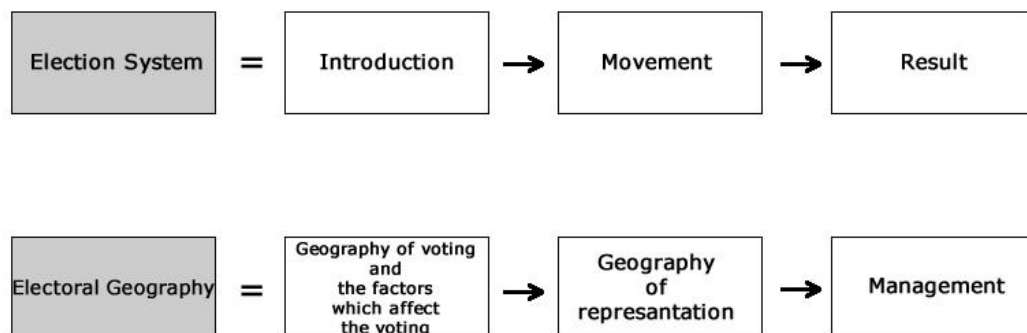


Figure 2.1 Election system and components of election geography

In 1978, Taylor made a system, for geography of election and developed this political system. The system, which was established by Taylor, depends upon interaction. In 1978 Taylor established three interaction system against dual interaction (Figure 2.2) (Taylor, 1978).

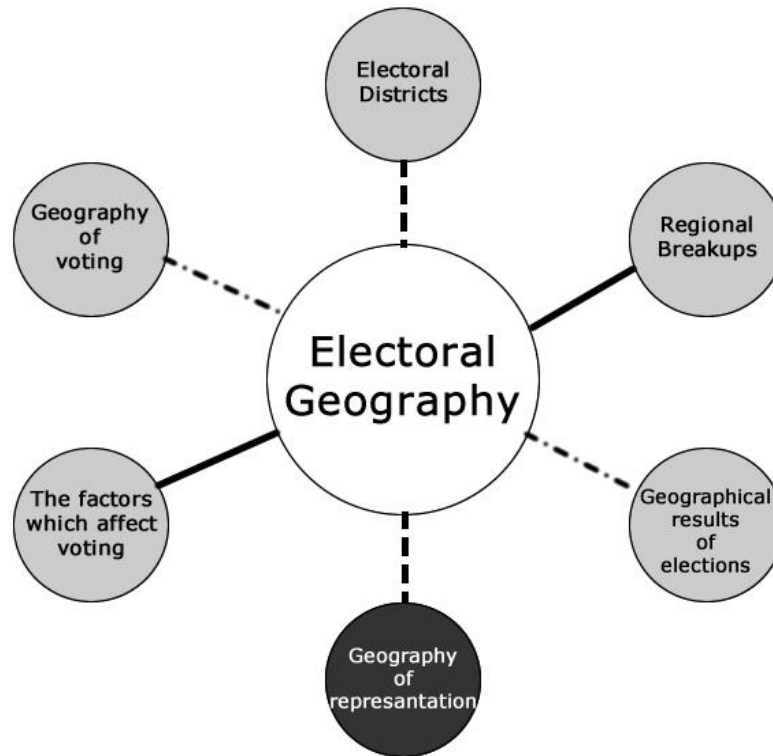


Figure 2.2 The model of system election geography

2.2.1.1 *The Models of Analysis in Electoral Geography*

In geography political manner and voter choices are evaluated also with three major methods. These may be aligned as; the political environment suggested by policy ecologists which provides voters choices, over differentiation of areal explaining manners of voters and with using the method from areal organisation shape of urbanization (Okutan, 1995).

In the basic of geography of election; investigating geographic and politic differences and analysing the tendency of political differences of population may

take place. Identifying these differences with results of voting in a comparison is the method of geography of election. With this method; it research process of regionalization, form of political culture and borders (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

The point that makes different the geographic elections works from other election works is that the socio-economic datas which creates the base of human geography. With depending the results of election upon these datas, this can be seen as a research about geography of election.

According to some scientists, geography of election can be seen as the kernel of geography of policy because of having a different theory from political geography, being a practical field and working upon fields of election. Someone, who is thinking different from these scientists, tells that geography of election is a completely different scientific ekol.

The supporters of this idea are defending that geography of election has serious diversities from geopolitics, nomology, geographical statism and other traditional fields. According to them; because of having a description, disconnections and insufficiency of results and theoric models, geography of election is a new branch of science (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

2.2.1.2 The Theories of Electoral Geography Science

Geography of election is the discipline that researchs the spatial dispartion between governing and managed, components which effect this distribution and the situation of representation, regional discrepancies.

One of the first researchers who researched about geography of election is a French geographer, Andrea Siegfried. Siegfried researched the effects of socio-economic factors upon elections in Western France. This approach is called with the name of approach of echology. As it seen, we can say that the first works about geography of election were made in France.

Having been started firstly in Europe, the works about geography of election continued in America by Carl Sauer in 1913. Carl Sauer is accepted as the founder of culturel-areal geography. Carl Sauer researched about drawing the borders of election of parliament in 1918. In 1949 American political scientist V.O.Key, Jr., published the classical voting works in South America. Until the late 1960s, the election works on geography had continued in the way of transferring until that day (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). Until the end of 1960s there wasnt a remarkable development about election works but American, English and other geographers concentrated on the election works after the era which was named "numeric era".

After 1960s new political geographers Kevin Cox, Roger Kasperson, Ron Johnston, Peter Taylor and Richard Morrill freshened up the geography of election again (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). These political geographers researched the relation between results of election and base datas with using numerical methods in geography. With this numeric era, in 1970s Rokkan (1970), McPhail (1971), Buseed (1975), Taylor (1978) and Johnston (1979) made the first works of geography of election and made the pattern of voting (Taylor & Flint, 2000). As it is seen, the first geography of election works were made with the basic works of election in 1913 and with the numeric era which was after 60 years of these basic works. But the works about this branch of science show an increasing development with keeping the datas in a regular way.

Famous political geographer Agnew (2002) observed the geography of political and social movements and analysed the elections of countries in the book, Making Political Geography. Agnew (2006), indicated that the elections is the best way of expression of surveying the effects of local and regional differences upon social life. By using these words, Agnew defended that elections have effects upon criteria of social life and socio-economic factors.

Blacksell (2006), defines the elections as the barometer of social change in Political Geography and he mapped the changes of geography of elections and voters

basement in different elections in England (Blacksell, 2006).

Nowadays political scientists and geographers use the term of "spatial model" on the works about geography of election frequently. Geo-modeling of political phenomena started with O'Loughlin (2002) and some of political geographers. Spatial analysis is extremely important in Geography of election for making comparison of elections.

In the first works of geography election, complicated statistical methods were used. But the elections, which were analysed by temporal and spatial ways, are evaluating with different methods as a result of technological developments. Spatial analytical reasoning is used frequently in the works of geography of election. In the works of geography of election new statistical methods and geographical information systems are used in this period which includes numeric development of geography. Geographical information system provides making spatial analyses easier in the works of elections and alleviating the labor force of geographers (Özözen Kahraman 2007). Because of being in the first line, spatial analyses is seen as an indispensable tool.

2.2.1.3 Introduction-Cycle-Output

Political systems theory was established by Easton and developed by Johnston and Taylor. Political geographers defined the model Eastons' political systems, which includes introduction, cycle, output, as like that; "Geography of voting and the analysis of factors in voting geography are in the entry section of system. In the section of cycle, in other words reformation part, geography of presentation takes place. In output part of the system, the geographical effect of election or management is seen" (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). In consequence of election, the activities of government creates the results.

The system which Taylor established for geography of election (Figure 2.2) caused to analysing of geography of election once again. The concepts of Taylor

which are in this system caused having look from a different perspective of personels who work on this system. "Geography of voting and geographical effects on voting creates the Introduction in this system. The management, which composes the output part of system, is apart from this consequence of geographical effections" (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Three subjects are defined in the situation of renewing of literature of election geography. The first one is the aim of geography of election, the second one is that the more effective entry when it is compare with output, and the third one is; the output which is generally leaved out in system (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). Apart from entry and output part of the system, the requirement of recomposing of election geography. Because the geography of election, which could not reveal totally the output part of the system, could not reach the extrapolate.

"In 1980, Johnston defined the geography of election as a part of system which is proper with political geography. Johnston; the feed rings between introduction and output complete the system and make a relation the periods of selective and political situations" (Johnston, 1980). In duration of remaining in office of governments, they may have expectation of votes in return for services for society. For instance; the member of parliament who is thought to have made profits for the city, searches for new investments. The member of parliament, who made glad his society firstly, may open the way of being elected in afterwards elections. It is hard to define this situation in a statistical way but it is not sufficient with many members of parliament. And the politicians have to work for the benefits of society in which he is elected.

2.2.1.4 Reasons of Needing in Geography of Election

At first, while these discussions enlists a solution for the problems of election geography, it revealed that the importance what approaches of system mentions except what the system solves. The predictions about geography of elections were mentioned clearly. In this period; forgetting about history and vanishing of scissions make reveal that political parties are only the tool which transfer choices of voters

except from other matters (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

In the geography of election, it is vital that votes should be mentioned with some social parameters. Geography of election take the relation of votes with education, age, gender of society on as a duty. The effections of religious matters and political matters can be seen in voting system. In some extreme situations, the contradiction between introduction and output can be seen. One of these extreme situations is seen on the general elections in 1910 England.

Observing the paradox of Hobson, a dividedness in economy between the north and south part of country can be seen in January 1910 general elections of England. (Hobson, 1986) He referred the industrial north as "productive england" and south part as "consumer england". This dividedness reflected upon the votes of north part and south part. In north Liberals and in south Conservatives are supported in a powerful way. The paradox in here; this model of voting is not cohere for each economical region. Because of this reason, Liberals maintain the free trade zone and Conservatives made a campaign about policy of tax reform in other words protection of native industry. In this paradox; while consumer england were voting for conservatives because of keeping prices stabile, the productive england were voting for Liberals because of free trading. As understand from that paradox; it hard to solve this kind of situations and understand how to connect this kind of approaches of system. This was a historical anomaly. In our country and the worldwide, this kind of anomlies can be seen.

Chaos in geography of election is because of commenting with presumptions. Additionallly he emmphasizes that liberal democracy model was established on the truest and rationale presumption of political tradition of west but he also emphasize that liberal and western democracy is not a great model because western has some trouble with transferring the ideals about parliement to the environment (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). As it seen, searching the geography of election with only one political wiew may bring about the results which cannot be explained. Liberal democracy, namely constituonal democracy, is accepted all around the world and

although having been seen the common concept of democracy, liberal democracy is adequate for explaining results of election and some connections of political business cycle in some countries. Each country has a special political culture and ignoring this political culture may cause insufficiency.

This popular idea which is mentioned in elections may change the productions in central government of the country but in different countries it is possible to see various implementations (Özözen Kahraman 2007). The irregular administrative transferring, defined by Taylor and Hudson (1971), can be given as an example for this situation. Taylor and Hudson defined "this transferring as a transformation of a government. This transfer was accomplished in effectuations of period, by pressure and threat except from traditional legal implementations" (Özözen Kahraman 2007). Taylor and Hudson practiced on the period after second world war. Another feature of this period is that being a positive attempts in the way of economy. Özözen Kahraman (2007) said that "this couldnt prevent the 147 irregular transfers and also he mentioned that these transfers occurred in the countries from Europe; (France, Czechoslovakia and Greece), and other 144 occurred in Latine America, Africa and Asia." The irregular transfers in France returned to the politica after the resignation of Gaulle in 1946 and, with the crisis of independence war of Algeria, first Indochina war. As a result of this he presided the firstly in French Republic. On the other hand the change in Czechoslovakia became in 1948 and started with administration of Klement Gottwald to the communists. Klement Gottwald made the strike of communist party in Czechoslovakia. Gottward, president in June 1948, accepted a management system he synchronised the economic policy of country with other eastern countries. In 1967 the other irregular transfer occurred in Greece. The military section captured the government with strike. This period is also known as regym of colonel and Greek military Junta. General Georgios Zoitakis were in duty as a viceroy and Colonel Yorgo Papadopoulos took the duty of president. In Greece, with wide political arrestings, a strict cencerships were seen and the constitutional rights were temproraly responded. In 1967 autumn, military service started a wide movement of refinement in bureaucracy and educational institutions. Continuing 7 years, this striking administration lasted in 1947. This is totally is a classic of

peripheral political process. Geography of election, as an ideal, should discuss elections with geographical approach frequently.

Only the political geographers comment on deficiency of liberal democracy of countries in a relativist way (Prescott, 1969). Prescott defines this as a data problem which blocks a good geographical analysis. As once said, liberal democracy is seen as the best administrative system in the world. It is partly enough to remove many deficiencies of democracy. But democracy is the tradition of a state and it should be corresponded to each tradition of countries. If the democracy spread out all over the world, each state may have an ideal administrative system by blending its own tradition with this system. While analysing the liberal democracy, it is important to make analysis of a global scale of democracy. As Özözen Kahraman said; geography of election is a sketchy subject for global consideration from the point of numeric consideration. Even so this subject is not neglected by the political geographers and at the present time, election works, which are viable with numeric approaches in modern geography, are made (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

2.2.1.5 Interpretation of Global System on Elections: Comparison of Geography of Election Between Center and Vicinity

The world is the place that political views, social manners and cultural elements are different from another. It is needed to ignore that different societies and each society has a specific political manner. Thus it is possible to reach true results and it is needed to make the analysis of geography of election.

Özözen Kahraman (2007) said that, "it is easy to show election services of the countries which are secluded totally from world economy". Today's world; it is impossible to continue such a world's existence. In the economical system in the world, nearly there is no country which global capital flows start. After scattering of Soviet, global capital flows showed increase in the capital of countries and became important. Being connected a political ideology many of political parties, depend upon a mentality. As a result of this, worker-liberal, Christian democratic-

conservatives, communist-social democrat etc. parties were occurred. Each countries, the reasons of having heresy to this idea, are different when it is observed. While political views are being seen same in different countries, in private it shows differences. But no party has political autonomy beyond the country borders (Özözen Kahraman 2007).

The approach of global system in geography of election, has two duties. The first one; the requirement of understanding the changes of functions in elections of different parts of world economy. Second one is; being as the most important subject of election works in geography of election (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Kondratieff cycle is very important for political geography because of helping the occurrence of political behavior cycles. These wavings are connected with geography of election and political geography. These wavings have effect on the choices of voters.

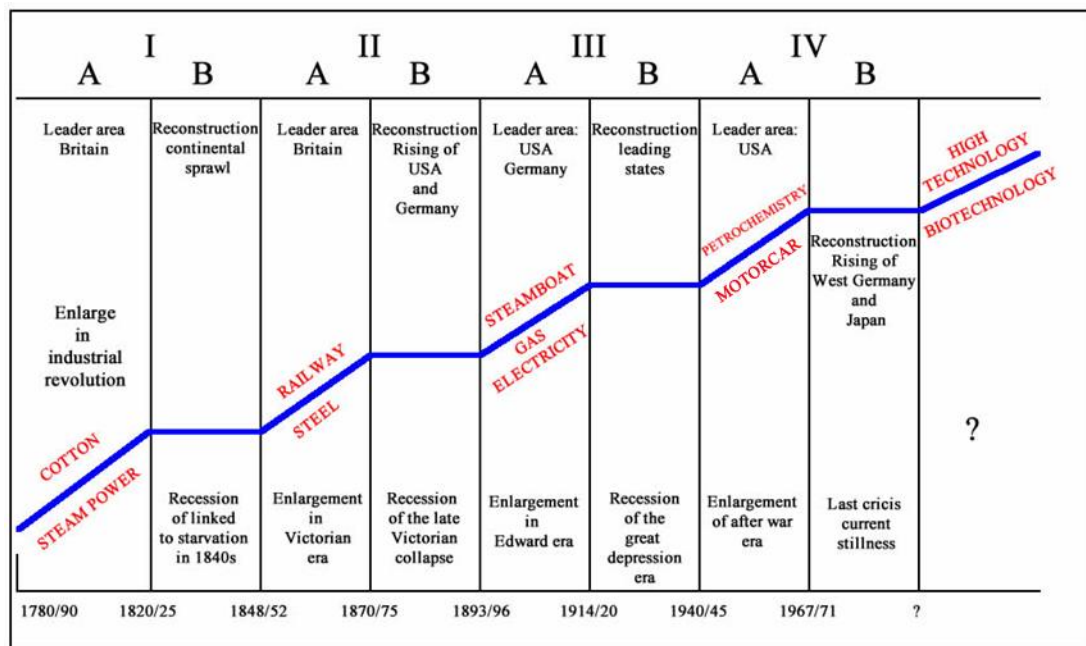


Figure 2.3 Cycle of Kondratieff (Taylor & Flint, 2000)

In the A part in cycle of Kondratieff, because of meeting the demand of supporters, governments do not come accros with a crisis of legality. In the B cycle,

(Decline) a legality crisis is possible because governments cannot meet the demands of supporters anymore. In the early 1930s, the Democratic Weimar Republic collapsed in such a period, in Germany (Taylor & Flint, 2000).

The 57th coalition government of Turkey can be given as an example to this period. In the general election of April 18th 1999 which was the period after having been caught of Abdullah Öcalan, the leader of separatist terror organisation PKK and increasing of nationalism, DSP (Demokratik Sol Parti) was elected at first, MHP (Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi) was selected as secondary party. The coalition government was established with these two parties and ANAP (Anavatan Partisi). This government didn't come across with any legality crisis because the society was supporting the movement of nationalism because of these developments. But in 19th February 2001, there was a crisis in Turkey which was named black Wednesday and the priorities of bad influenced society changed and having understood that government couldn't meet the expectations, society withdrew the support. It may be said that, this government which consist of DSP, MHP, ANAP fell down in that period.

Liberal-social democratic state is the result of two periods one of which is economic, the other one is political. The first of these periods allowed to develop of separation policy. These states were enough rich for challenge between parties and sharing of national benefits from which all citizens may profit. In this period, political problems were minimized (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

The second one is that; in the cold war geopolitical world order', preferring of liberal-social democratic state form for providing social development politics as alternative to communism. This order, which was supported by USA against SSCB, had the characteristics of shelter against Western Europe Communism. But it should be known that; the ideological idea of free world was used first for defining non-communist Europe. It is an enigma all over the world that the wane period of fifth wave, which is started by Japan, by Germany and leaded by USA (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

2008-2012 global crisis can be accepted as the wane period of fifth wave. 2008 economical crisis is the crisis which occurred in the end of 2008 and the economical developments which influenced many countries adversely. This crisis, which is compared with World economical depression in 1929, was noticeable especially in September 2008. It is supposed that sudden decreasing of value in immovable property market and increasing of personal bankruptcies.

Classified the countries, which creates the political system in the world, in three parts.

- Developed and industrialized countries in centre,
- The countries which are not well developed, non-industrialized and the countries which support stocks for world,
- The politicized countries and placed in trading zone.

American sociologist, Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein arranged in order the features of the centre countries in the theory of modern world system; intensity of capital countries, the countries in which workers can work with high salaries and the countries which have high technology in production and every field (Wallerstein, 1984).

While ordering these countries in such a category, Wallerstein said that the countries, which have key importance, are the countries in half-vicinity. These countries are in a competition with central countries and inherently, this situation unbalances the system of the world. Because of that it is not thought that in the world system, these countries are autonomous in real terms (Wallerstein, 1984).

According to this theory; the elections are perceived differently in these three region and reveal different results. Although there are elections, in which determined voters are seen, in central countries, in half-vicinity and vicinity countries the situation like this, cannot be seen. In vicinity regions, the number of determined

voters are low. Rokkan (1970), established an election pattern with depending the determined voters upon social breakups. In European countries, social groups are distinguished as geographical and because of this reason; a determined geography of voting can be deducted. For instance; In England, which is one of the countries in centre, the labor party finds supporters in the cities in which working class lives mostly, on the other hand in the cities which include mostly middle class, Conservative party finds supporters. When there is not a suitable distribution policy, the basic mechanism is sufficient in half vicinity and vicinity countries. In other words; the rate of votes is lower. Political parties desire the continuing of votes and to say the least; they don't desire losing the available voters. As a result of this; the less determined situations of voters, who vote for party, are being inevitable in geography of election.

The rate of determination of votes of political parties can be acquired with both analysing of factor in an election and measurements of it. If the geographical patterns are the same in all elections, all variances in the first analyse of factors, in other words %100 of it, can be explained. The first factor can be alienated from %100 from the perspective of geographic point. So the importance of first factor serve us the rate per cent of geographical determination. This shows us how much the political parties save their voters. With being become distant from this rate, the deprivations of political parties are revealed (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

English human geographer Ronald John Johnston compared the geographical patterns of countries, which have the feature of central, with the geographical determination of election patterns in peripheral countries. In this comparison, the determination is high in the European countries which have central feature entirely, in 1945. In this measurements of determination, the difference between central and peripheral countries can be seen clearly (Johnston, n.d.).

Norwegian political scientist and sociologist Stein Rokkan said that in the parties which take part in central position, the voters are made over accomplishedly in process of time (Rokkan, 1970). But in peripheral countries this situation is totally

opposite and replacing of voters is lower. One of peripheral countries Jamaica, raised the rate of geographical determination with using the redistribution policy and it is the country of which the rate of geographical determination is the nearest to central countries. Although from central countries, having the least rate of geographical determination %83, this rate is %59 in Jamaica. In peripheral countries, the geographical layouts of political party supporters changes from election to election. Parties haven't got the power which provides them voting of supporters in one election and the other. Also in peripheral countries, the elections can be judicious and clear as in other elections in European countries.

Table 2.1 The geographical determination of voting pattern in elected countries (%) (1950-1980)

Central Countries		Peripheral Countries	
Italy	95	Jamaica	59
Belgium	94	Ghana	35
Holland	94	India	33
England	93		
West Germany	88		
Denmark	86		
France	83		

Resource: Ronald John Johnston, The geography of Party Support: Comparative Studies in Election Stability, 1987

2.2.2 Systematic Electoral Geography and Structural/Functional Model

From 20th century the works of human geography and the effects of space factors on human manners gathered speed. The investigations on Demography, political, city, culture, history, economy and election were became focal point by geographers.

Geography of election have a theory as other geographical disciplines. Many authorities, who investigate areal features of election periods, are considering this theory. Researchers are practising on their own modelling with focusing of evaluate of election results. In USA and Europe this situation is different. Geography of

election is seen as a discipline which is different from political geography and it shows a development which is an expositional science with its own structure (Özören Kahraman, 2007).

It is possible to evaluate the Idiosyncracies of geography of election, if structural pattern is established on geography of election. For generating the model of geography of election, the main aspects of geography of election and the particles of research should be connected each other.

There are three points of view in researching of geography of election according to new numeric approach; These are; geography of voting, geographical effects on voting and the geographical analysis of voting district. In the researches of geography of election, the works which include these three factors, was described firstly by MacPhail (1971). Afterwards, it was used by Bastedo (1975) and Taylor-Johnston (1979) respectively.

According to MacPhail, who researches for geography of election, there are three main topics in geography of election; These are;

- Geography of voting
- Surveying of the factors which effects voting
- Geography of representations

The model of election geography used in this, is suitable for theoretic of election pattern in political system and its practical function. Furthermore; this model draws the place of geography as a science in political geography. Also, In this model, special research branches involves in. These special research branches can keep company with both combined and distinctly. This model can be used as a model at the level of administrative units such as country, region, city, electoral district, county and town. On the investigation of similarity and discrepancy, which is the basis of geography, probably in geography of election, it is used rarely (Özören Kahraman 2007).

2.2.2.1 Geographical Distribution of Voting

At the top of the geography of election model, which MacPhail established, the geography of voting which investigates the distribution of election results, is situated. MacPhail would have wanted to define the number of votes, which creates the main material of geography of election, while he was placing the election at the top point. Geography of voting interprets the results of election. Geography of voting shows us the regions in which political parties find supporters as a result of election. Or it can show us that in a comparison with earlier election, in which regions the votes are changed in a positive or negative position. According to Özözen Kahraman (2007); geography of voting may determine the directions of undetermined voters before the election. It gives us a chance to comment on votes of political parties while we are analysing the geography of voting.

The researchers of geography of election, wonder that in which regions, the political parties receive votes and the voters who have whatever socio-economical indicators. Geography of voting is the simplest and the most common field of geography of election. Geography of voting interprets the election results of regions and draws the maps which shows the results of elections and makes standard statistical analysis.

Geography of election follows the approach of French Geographer, Andre Siegfried who aims defining the maps of election itself. In modern geography of election, Not only the comparisons, which are based on maps, are used but also it includes statistical analysis about election. This situation cause some criticism in geography of election. With geography of election, the elections were tried to explained with numerical analysis and the elections are stereotyped. Taylor and Johnston (1979), made some researches with using Rokkans (1970), interpretable voting geography. They tried to fill the basic deficiency in geography of election. The analysis of model point geographers attention out because of adding dimension of regional (Taylor & Flint 2000).

This method which follows the conventional works constituted by Siegfried searches out the patterns of ballots after the ending of the elections and benefits from the maps which are used for the statistical methods in showing the results. Only 22 pages of 466 pages (%5) of the book named Geography of Elections written by Taylor and Johnston are composed of these maps. But in this day and age, modern works of electoral geography is examined in an extremely complex structure (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Lipset and Rokkan made a schematic categorisation of the functions of social systems in order to research the interactions between attaining the political-economical objectives and the process of national integration which shapes the types of party systems of the American sociologist Talcott Parson. According to Lipset and Rokkan, the evolution of party systems are based on the growing of contradiction- consolidation by the virtue of parties which came up under the roof of national political rivalry (Secor, 2001).

Peter Taylor and Ronald Johnston (1979) put an interpretation on geography of election by using the works of the Norwegian political scientist and sociologist Stein Rokkan (1970) as base. Taylor and Johnston showed up the researches of election as analytical functional process forming in some stages. These stages:

- Consideration of the basic social and political differences in the society,
- Conceding of the embodied party systems in the country as reflection of these differences,
- Investigating the socio-cultural and areal breakups which come up in the electoral process (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967).

This geography of election research model was named as “breakup model”. It was constituted for seeking of areal groups which have incompatible polling behavior types. It is seen that geography of election cannot only be researched by statistical analyse. The researcher must has deep political knowledge (Özözen

Kahraman, 2007).

The work, which is affirmed as classical example in the researches of geography of election, is Stein Rokkan's chain of thought. Rokkan said that there was two basic process on the modernisation of Europe. These processes are the National Reform (1789) which had come along in France and the Industrial Revolution (1763) which had occurred in England. They caused dispute. Rokkan researches how it effects today that the diversity of Europe party systems in European countries forming of these disputes.

Rokkan's model is the model of pro and anti. The nation-formed groups in Europe ally with each others, and these disputes create supporters or opponents. Breakups are seen in 1900s in nation states which had dominant cultures. According to Rokkan, these disputes, which also reflect to the date of election, take effect on center-right in Europe diplomacy. They underlie the political parties established in center and right parts. After 1900s, a breakup was occurred in capital proletariat which chose one type of production and had left view in the Europe diplomacy by the reforms that took place. In Britain, the nation-building group stood up for the National Church and the land owners. (The Tories, Conservatives), industrialists and minority cultures (Whigs, Radicals and Liberals) stood up for the opposition. After 1900s, the rise of the Labour Party and the historical breakups have taken effect in voting until today. Right, center and left breakups, which represented by the supporters of the three political parties, occurred. The conservatives, although they were under the shadow of the Liberals, took votes of the industrialists. On the other hand, the other parties took effect on the nonconformists and the surrounding regions of England. The Liberals maintained to get support from the region of Celts (Cornwall, Wales, the highlands of Scotland) (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

In view of Rokkan, these revolutions showed up four basic disputes:

- The notion of modernization and the thought of traditional culture,
- The church and the state,

- Industry and agriculture,
- Confront the fund with the power of employee (Rokkan, 1970).

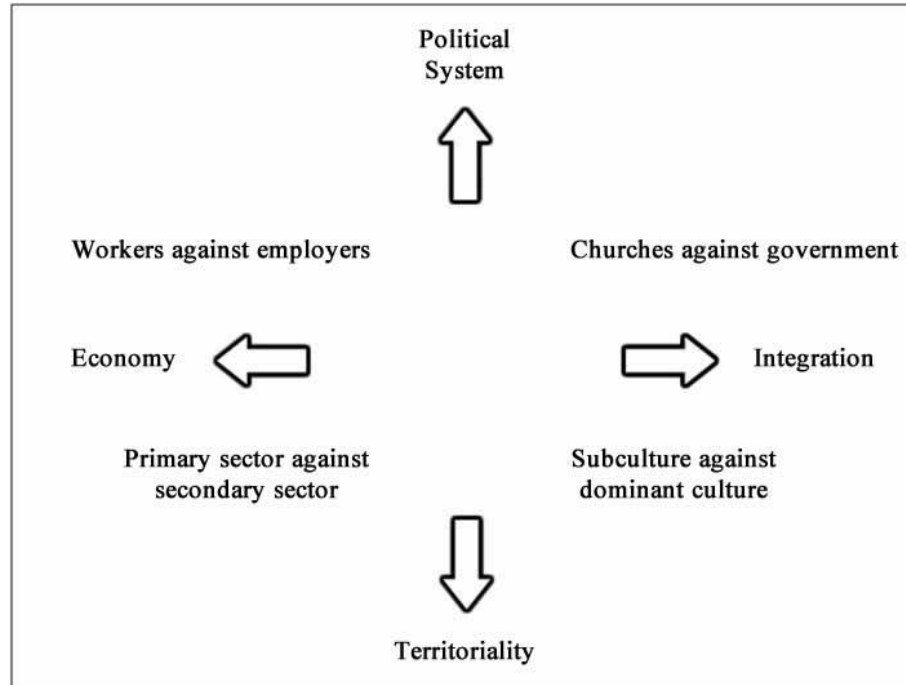


Figure 2.4 The general diagram of the correlative breakup lines (Lipset & Rokkan; 1967)

According to Lipset and Rokkan, while a dispute between the subculture and the upper culture was coming up after the national revolution, a breakup between the church and government occurred. By the Industrial Revolution there were also breakups based upon the differences of economic levels. Lipset and Rokkan tell that it is possible to see this breakup into the formation of political parties in western European countries.

According to Özözen Kahraman, the dialectic process in the geography of elections is the way of coming to a solution from contradictions. These are thesis, anti-thesis and synthesis. This process takes place in the electoral politics of states today. Here is the model of the political alteration. (Figure 2.5)

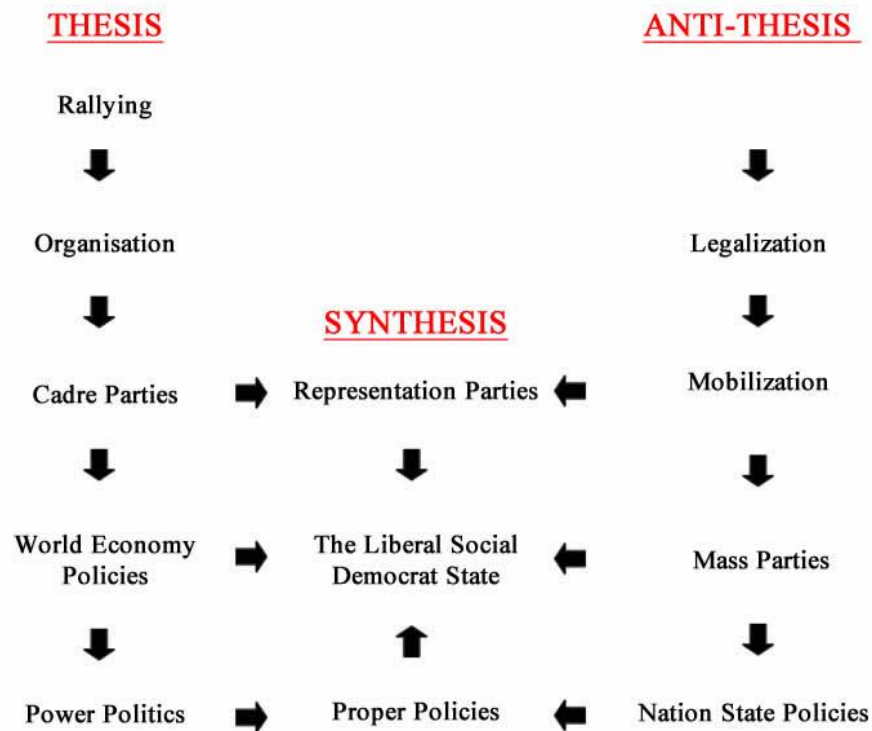


Figure 2.5 Dialectic of the electoral geography

By using the breakup system, it is possible to make an analysis of the geography of voting in many countries. The method of breakup eases to learn of which socio-cultural group that any voter of a political party belongs to and to make a guess about the voting rate. It may also show up the socio-cultural features of any region (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

On the other hand, centre-periphery breakup has been used in many researches of social geography. As Rokkan said, in the models of centre-periphery breakup, there is a decrease in disintegration of the social economical criterias because of decreasing of the regional derangement in modern policies. It is true only in developed countries. The regional derangement is proceeding in undeveloped countries or developing countries like Turkey. For example, there is a regional derangement between Karadeniz region and Marmara region.

Today, the researches of the election results centre upon how the act of voting is expressed and how it contributes to the social settlement of the place (Taylor & Flint, 2000).

2.2.2.2 Geographical Factors Affecting the Ballot

The second part of the geography of election is about specifying of the geographical factors which affect the voting. Beside the possibility of making a statement about the analysis of breakups in respect of the historical, culturel, social, demographical and economical features, the effect of special conditions should be taken into consideration. Therefore depth analysis should be made on special conditions. It is possible to investigate this research under two subheadings: global factors and local factors (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

2.2.2.2.1 Global Factors Affecting the Distribution of Votes. In the ballot, the local actions are effective on parliamentary election and designating of the government party. On the other hand, the global effects are effective on designating of the political wing. Today, thanks to the developing of communication networks, people can easily hear from each other. After the occuring of network society, the political views and actions spreading at an international level are more effective than local factors on voters.

Being against or standing up for the foreign policies of political parties affect the results of election. It is possible to give some examples for this situation.

In Turkey, the relations between the structuring in the north of Syria and Iraq can be given as example. In addition, the attempts for membership to the EU causes occuring of supporter and opposition groups. According to Ljiphard, there is an effective contrariety in Israel between the people who maintain to demand of land and the people who are moderate (Ljiphard, 2005). In the world, the sensibility about global issues is increasing day by day depending upon educational status and using the technology. It is really easy to learn something in today's conditions. The propagandas about the Arab Spring through the social media can also be shown as an

example about this matter.

2.2.2.2.2 *Local Factors Affecting the Distribution of Votes.* Demographical qualifications, educational level, religion, language, ethnicity, socio-economic structure, type of production, annual household income, citizenship and neighborliness are some of the local factors. Beside these, ideology and social status may also affect the distribution of votes. They may not be effective at the same time in voting. The most important factor which affect the distribution of votes is socio-economical factors. But in U.S.A and Canada, this factor is not effective on voting (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

In west literature, three basic geographical factors can be seen.

- **Citizenship and Neighborliness:** Whatever the voter's political view and succes is, the voter can be more successful in his or her hometown. The birthplace of a leader is an important factor in voting. The leader should be a respectful person and leave a positive impression in his or her hometown (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). This situation can easily be seen in Turkey. The chairman of MHP Devlet Bahçeli with (%41,2) in Osmaniye, the chairman of CHP Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu with (%56,2) in Tunceli, the prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with (%69) in Rize are the examples about this matter.

The affinity between the regions can make the interaction between socio-economic structured groups increase. There is a hypothesis about this matter: "The groups in urban areas may break from each other when the distance between them increases." The social groups who live close to each other can contact more steady relations. For Jacob and Toscano, homogeneity in these kind of close relations can come up owing to exchanging ideas (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

There are some regions where the parties are conventionally strong in. In these regions, the rate of votes are more than expected. Existence of a real leader affect deeply for getting these results. The voters are in tendency to vote a party who has a

popularity. Generally, the voters choose a common action. The effect of a political power can increase in certain societies under favour of the multiplier effect. And then it spreads to the other regions. These factors can be seen in each country in the electoral process. They underlied the electoral process. The local factors of each country can be specified with the aid of breakup methods. But the others, should take into account with the main factors (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

- **Voting For the Problems:** Beside the main problems in whole country, there are different problems in regions. Unemployment, immigrants, ecological problems, social service problems are some these problems. Each country is trying to solve these problems but it is not so easy to annihilate them completely. Each country faces with these problems. Parties specify their strategies on solving these problems. The voters vote for the party which they believe. The factor of voting for the problems shows us that the problems which the parties explain in their regions are more up-to-date. The independent candidates who do politics on Kurdish nationalism in Güneydoğu Anadolu and Doğu Anadolu regions can be shown as examples. These are called one-issue candidates. They sticked in one region. They only try to solve the problems in that region. The local problems in small settlements are discussed by these candidates (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

- **The Effect of Elective Campaigns:** The effects of political campaigns are arguable but the political parties use them as a show of strength. Any of these parties cannot do campaigns in every region with a same intensity. So, there will be not a waste of time. Organisation of parties, the leader's election campaign trail, the ingenuity of using the media are some of the factors that affect the results of election. The campaigns are made on schedule. They are set by experts. The budget which the parties will use for campaigns is obvious and they use the pecuniary resources within a plan. Firstly, they choose the key regions. In these regions, the campaigns are made more vigorously. For example, in İzmir, the number of voters of the primary polling district consists of Buca, Konak and Karabağlar is equal to %67 of the number of voters in whole city. It will be more incisive to make the campaigns vigorously in these districts instead of whole city.

Because of the geography of election's importance, the results of the geographical researches carry value for planning the campaigns. Each party can make a prediction about how many vote they will be given from those districts. It may affect positively to be successful that efforming the campaigns in this way. The most important part of the campaigns is the regional planning. The main problem of each campaign is the distribution of limited source on that region. Therefore, the regional strategy of the campaigns should specified by the help of a geographical analysis. The most important point of the strategy is specifying the importance of the regions. It can be done by determining the difference between the regions with respect to the weight of election. The public opinion polls and the statistical analysis of the previous period's results should be investigated (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

According to the weight of election and the degree of density, it is possible to determine the "key regions" by determinig the difference between the regions. It requires an attentive work. These key regions are the regions where the potential voters are dense in. The regions that include a great number of voters may not be in the key regions. But, the campaigns that will affect to the result of election should be made in big regions. Each party and candidate have their own portrait of election geography. In some regions, the parties always lose the election but in some regions they always win. If they make a good analyse about the geography, they can make a prediction about the results of the elections. It may be hard to find a new potential region compatible to the views of the parties or candidates (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). The parties should make a campaign to make a prediction about the regions as supporters or as oppositions for them.

2.2.3 Geography of Representation (Parliament)

It may be understood that it is the extent of representation when geography of representation is said. In other words, it is the geography of administration. It was firstly occured by the Professor Ron Johnston who makes researches about social and electional geography in Bristol University. He revealed the relations between the geography of election and the systems theory. The subject of the representation

geography is only about the process and the results of elections. It informs that how the administrative units are represented in parliament at the end of the elections (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Election is not a constant matter of fact for parties. The parties and the candidates must hold the available systems and try to find new voters. The parties who want to be a sustainable political structure always want to be chosen again. The party in power can make some different works in order to provide an advantage. Re-shaping of the election's borders can be count as one of these works. By taking the features of the election systems into account some arrangements can be made in representation geography (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). These arrangements are carried out within a system. There are two subjects about this matter. First, the works done accordingly proportional election system. In these systems, the voters vote for a list of parties in a particular region. Distribution of the chairs in council is equal to the number of the votes given for the party lists. Here the regional differences are the subject matter. Various election maps are prepared and interpreted. The analysis of the geographical factors is made. The second one is that the election regions changed in every election in the system of majority (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). Setting a modal of regional distribution is the work of representation geography.

2.2.3.1 Identifying and Rearranging of Electoral District Methods and Applications

It may be named differently in literature to locate the election's borders. Particularly, in western countries the drawing of election's borders is very advanced. In U.S.A, because of the drawing a term called "electoral engineering" occurred. In France, it is "electoral geometry". In this drawing, the borders of the social division is taken into consideration.

The borders of election are very important because of seperating the number of members of the parliament fairly. There are three models of election's borders. They are supposing the whole country as a single electoral district, the model of great

circle and the model of narrow electoral districts. In the first model, all the problems disappear. Therefore it is the easiest technically applicable model. The second model is used in the regions where the representatives are chosen more than one. The third model is used in the regions where just one representative is chosen. It is more proper in the countries where two types of majority systems are used like England and France.

In Europe and U.S.A, locating the election's borders dates 18th century. The fund of knowledge and experiences make it easier to analyse the advantages of parcelling. In Turkey, it is used for locating the election's borders more fairly. The principle of justice in representation is one the indispensable factors for the development of democracy. The more fair elections, the more belief in democracy.

The part that was not sit out in the model of Taylor and McPhail is interruption of election. In the interruption of election, there are parcelling the circles of election, voters and ballot. In the spatial reflection of these matters there are geography of election, the demo-geography of elections, predictions and the geography of ballot (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

There are three degrees in the interruption of election:

- Parcelling of the election's borders: Parcelling underlies the election spatially. The results of voting are shaping accordingly this factor. By the development of spatial information technologies it is now so easy to locate the orders of election. In U.S.A, despite the fact that there are legal barriers and struggling with "bad parcelling", gerrymandering is still used.
- The political attitudes regulating the views of the voters.
- Voting is an assessment of public opinion in a specific time (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). Elections may cause changings in a society. To minimize this changings, the government wants to provide an advantage in drawing the

election's borders. The administrative border regulations before the elections in Turkey can be given as an example for this matter. It affects the elections.

The interruption of election (voters, political choice of voters, parceling of electoral districts and elections) is the subject of the researches about electoral geography (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

In majority systems, there are two main subjects about these researches. They are seriatim bordering the majorital regions and researching the results of the election in that regions. Specifying the electoral districts is important for the results of the election. The itinerary brings different results with it. Therefore, the geography of election attaches importance to these borders and researching the manipulations. For instance, the first research about determining the election's borders was made by the American researcher Richard Morrill. There are two kinds of manipulation including malapportionment and gerrymandering.

2.2.3.1.1 Malapportionment. Whichever system is used, there is a possibility of unbalanced distribution in the results of elections. If there is a big gap between the number of voters in electoral districts, tendency of partial supporting may occur. In many unbalanced distribution systems, there may be a sparsely populated region where the representative represents only 15.000 people. On the contrary, in urban areas, a representative may represent hundred of thousands people. For example, in 2011 elections, there are 28.812 voter for only a representative in Tunceli, but in İzmir, the number is 111.778. These numeral differences may provide advantages for a party. As seen in the example, in urban areas, the number is bigger than the rural areas. The parties who are popular in rural areas can only take few seats in council. Urban areas cannot be represented well in council. It brings debate about justice in representation. In many countries, these kinds of manipulations are restricted. In the eye of law, the number of voters in electoral areas have to be equal and the difference must not be more than %15 (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). In the U.S.A, malapportionment was ended by court decision in 1960s. In Turkey, it is still in progress.

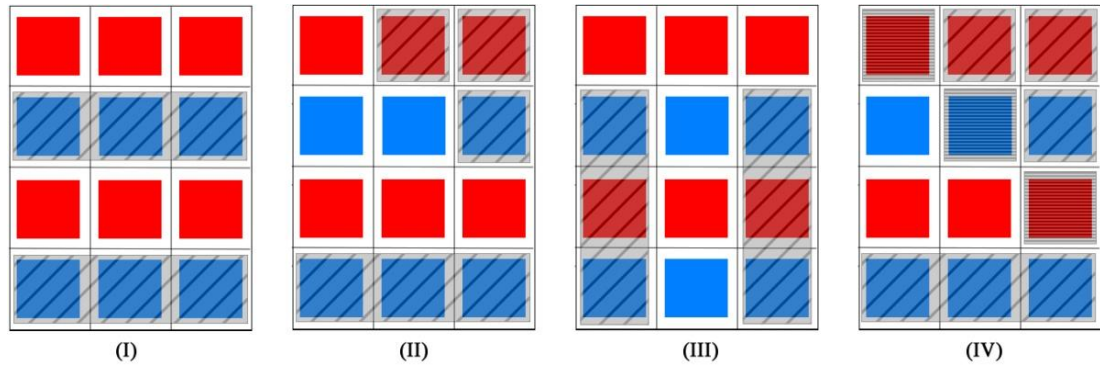
2.2.3.1.2 Gerrymandering. It is a regulation of election's borders that the parties use for manipulating. It takes its name from the governor of Massachuset. The governor Elbrich Gerry confirmed the regulation of electoral districts against Federalists in 1812. After this confirmation, a lot of interesting eletoral districts occured. These new regions surrounded Boston. Thanks to this strategy, the absolute majority was taken in success by Federalists. But at the end of the election, the votes were distributed to the electoral districts and Republicans won. Gerrymandering was used in Mississipi where the afro american people live. It was a racist gerrymandering. An advantage was provided for whites (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

In gerrymandering, two type of strategy is used:

- a) Being packed / Being stowed
- b) Distribution

In stowing strategy, the regions where the rival parties are predominate in compounded. In these regions, the rival party can easily be superior. In Massachuset, this kind of gerrymandering strategy was used.

In distribution strategy, in the borders which are drawn for providing advantage to a party, it is aimed that the party will be superior in those regions (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).



(I) Normal distribution - (II) Stowing the blue in support of the red - (III) Stowing the red in support of the blue - (IV) Gerrymandering in support of the red

Figure 2.6 Creation of alternative election borders of different election borders which reveal four representation from each of them with gerrymandering method

To understand the manipulating in electoral districts, the criterias of drawing the electoral areas unfairly and lacking of the territorial integrity are used. Anomalous shapes and fragmentedness may provide both profit or damage for any political view. The scientific method of electoral geography's structural model is specified. At the center of the system model, there is selective demogeography including analysis. Both the long-reaching qualification (ethnicity, age, gender, social forms, etc.) and the short-range qualification (economic conditions, drivers of change of the welfare level, etc.) of the population are researched. The analysis of the demogeographical qualifications provides settling of foundation of the researches before the elections (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

CHAPTER THREE

TURKEY'S GENERAL ELECTIONS (1983-2011)

When defining the modern democracy, it was mentioned that free and ordered elections are one of the democracy's principles. It is possible to divide the eras to three if we want to examine elections in our country. These are;

- Elections before republic era
- Elections during single-party era
- Elections during multi-party era

Multi-party elections are the subject of our research, as we said before, we can say that multi-party era partly caused the possibility of free and ordered elections. In single-party era, although there were elections, there were problems like absence of competition and reflecting people's idea completely to ballot box and parliament.

3.1 14 May 1950 General Election

It would be not wrong to say that May 14th 1950 general elections were first democratic elections in history of Turkey. In these elections, "secret ballot and open counting" system was used for the first time. Throughout the country, only two parties , Demokrat Parti (DP) and Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) participated to elections. Millet Partisi (MP) nominated candidate representatives in 22 provinces, Milli Kalkınma Partisi (MKP) only participated elections in Istanbul. Turnout to elections was 89.3%. Demokrat Parti got 52.7% of the votes and was represented in parliament with 415 representatives. CHP got 39.5% of the votes and 69 representatives were elected. Demokrat Parti was superior nation-wide. CHP achieved superiority only in 10 provinces and it is observed that most of these provinces were mostly in East and South-eastern part of the Turkey. DP was superior completely in the western part of the country. DP was superior party in metropolises like İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. DP became superior party in at least 3 or 4 provinces in every region (Turkish Statistical Institute [TÜİK], 2013).

3.2 2 May 1954 General Election

In May 2nd 1954 general elections list procedure majority election system was used. 9.095.617 participants voted and the turnout was 88.6%. Demokrat Parti, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi, Türkiye Köylü Partisi and İşçi Partisi participated in the elections. In result of this election which was occurred in a democratic atmosphere, Demokrat Parti got 58.4% of the votes and became dominating party. It got 503 representative chairs of 541. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi won 35.1% of the votes and 31 representatives were elected. Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi won 5.3% of the votes and 5 representatives were elected. Two independent representatives showed success of getting into the parliament. Distribution of the votes in result of the election was really surprising. Demokrat Parti was the dominant party in all provinces except 5. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi was the dominant party only in Tunceli, Sinop, Malatya and Kars. In Kırşehir, Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi ,whose general president was Osman Bölükbaşı, was the winning party. In 1954 elections Demokrat Parti's superiority was clearly seen (TÜİK, 2013).

3.3 27 October 1957 General Election

October 27th 1957 elections were again done according to list procedure majority election system. 9.250.949 participants voted in the elections and the turnout was 76.6%. 5 parties participated in elections, these were Demokrat Parti, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi, Hürriyet Partisi and Millet Partisi. Demokrat Parti won 48.6% of the votes and became dominant party, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi won 41.4% of the votes and became the second party. In result of these elections, 424 of 610 representatives won their seats among Demokrat Parti lines, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi won 178 representatives, Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi and Hürriyet Partisi won 4 representatives each. Cumhuriyetçi Millet Partisi became first in Kırşehir, and Hürriyet Partisi became first in Burdur, whereas in provinces in Middle Anatolia Region, the Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi's domination was seen. It can be seen that, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi which became dominant party in Ankara which is one of the three metropolises achieved great success in comparison to

previous election. Demokrat Parti was the dominant party in İstanbul and İzmir. Especially in Aegean and Marmara region, Demokrat Parti achieved great success in all regions. However, the provinces in which Demokrat Parti was dominant were visually decreased in comparison to previous elections (TÜİK, 2013).

3.4 15 October 1961 General Election

October 15th 1961 elections were the first elections after May 27th military coup. It can be said that the election which was after this military coup in whose result Turkish democracy suffered has a place in our country's democracy's normalization process. The military coup which was made against Demokrat Parti which almost won 1 vote of 2 electors in 1957 elections went down like a bomb in Turkish political life. Country's president of the republic, prime minister and ministers were put on trial by the supreme court of justice, and with the approval of National Unity Committee, Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and Minister of Finance Hasan Polatkan were executed. After all these processes, 4 political parties participated in 1961 elections. 10.522.716 electors voted in the election, and the turnout was 81.4%. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) of İsmet İnönü won 36.7% of the votes and became the dominant party, Adalet Partisi (AP) of Ragıp Gümüşpala which was seen as the successor of the Demokrat Parti and included many politicians from Demokrat Parti won 34.8% of the votes in 1961 elections. Two parties which come after these two first parties were Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi (CKMP) which drew attention with nationalistic statements won 14% of the votes, and Yeni Türkiye Partisi (YTP) which was in center-right position won 13.7% of the votes. In accordance with the votes they got in the elections, political parties shared 450 representatives as; CHP 173, AP 158, CKMP 54 and YTP 65. 1961 elections is important in Turkish political life as it introduced coalition to the Turkish electors. The change from the list procedure majority election system to D'hont method is also important (TÜİK, 2013).

3.5 10 October 1965 General Election

In 10th October 1965 elections, election system of representative general elections changed again, and national reminder system which is one of proportional representation systems started to be used. 6 parties went to a democratic race in this election which resulted as a single party domination. In the elections, Adalet Partisi, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Millet Partisi, Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi, Yeni Türkiye Partisi, Türkiye İşçi Partisi raced. In the elections, 9.748.678 people voted. Turnout was 71.3%. Adalet Partisi which was the strong party of the center-right got 52.9% of the votes, 240 representatives of 450, and finished the elections as first party. Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi which represented center-left got 28.7% of the votes, 134 representatives of 450 and finished the elections as second party. Millet Partisi, which propaganda on Turkish Nationalism got 6.3% of the votes and 31 representatives, Yeni Türkiye Partisi which was in position of political center-right got 3.7% of the votes and 19 representatives, Türkiye İşçi Partisi which was the first extreme left and socialist part got 3% of the votes and 14 representatives, Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi from which Osman Bölükbaşı didn't lean to coalition with CHP in 1961 elections and left, and whose general president was Alparslan Türkeş, tried to address to the voters with Turanism ideology got 2.2% of the votes and 11 representatives. In 1965 elections, it is remarkable that independent representatives got 3.2% of the votes and got higher votes than many of political parties (TÜİK, 2013).

3.6 12 October 1969 General Election

In 12th October 1969 elections, the election system was changed once again. D'Hont system without election threshold took the place of national reminder system. Before that, it was asked with the law which Adalet Partisi applied that region threshold d'Hont system was used. But, the constitutional court cancelled the region threshold system because it was against the notion of independence of election system. In the light of these events, 8 parties participated to the elections. Turnout was 64.3% which was the lowest of the history of the Republic. 9.516.035 people voted in elections and 450 representatives were elected. In the result of the

elections, Adalet Partisi (AP) which got into the elections under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel got 46.6% of the votes, and 256 representatives from AP were elected. CHP of İsmet İnönü got 27.4% of the votes and 143 of the representatives. Güven Partisi (GP) which placed itself in Turkish political life supported nationalism, democracy, anti-liberalism and anti-socialism, and it got itself a position in center. The party which got 6.6% of the votes won 15 representatives. The independents which won 13 representatives got 5.6% of the votes. Millet Partisi (MP) got 3.2% of the votes and 6 representatives, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) of Alparslan Türkeş which will exist many more year in Turkish political life, and form its ideology on Turkish Nationalism got 3% of the votes and 1 representatives, Birlik Partisi (BP) which formed its ideology based on religion, and which even had a lion and 12 stars on its emblem which represented Hz. Ali and 12 imams got 2.7% of the votes and 8 presenters, Türkiye İşçi Partisi (TİP) got 2.8% of the votes and 2 representers, and Yeni Türkiye Partisi (YTP) got 2.2% of the votes and 6 presenters. AP which was the first party in all provinces except 8, was the dominant party (TÜİK, 2013).

3.7 14 October 1973 General Election

14th October 1973 elections were the elections that were done in the shadow of 12th March 1971 note. Turkish democracy which was interrupted by a coup in 1961, was once again interrupted by another anti-democratic movement. The struggle of dominance of some junta supporters in the Turkish Armed Forces which was under influence of Baas type regimes in Middle Eastern countries occurred. In 12th March 1971, the proclamation which was heavily against the government which was known as 12th March Note was signed. In the note, it was claimed that the government could not maintain the stability of the country, could not solve the tense atmosphere of the political life, and it was stated that a government which consisted of technocrats should be built. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel which was suffered from a syndrome which we can call Yassıada Syndrome resigned immediately. A Reform Government which was called as Beyond Parties was formed. The prime minister of the government which was beyond parties said that this process “cloaked scarf on

the democracy”. Under these conditions, 14th October 1973 elections occurred. The total number of the voters was 11.223.843. The turnout was 66.8%. This turnout was the lowest in multi-party political life. It can be said that the reason for this was the neglecting of the public opinion by some institutions. 8 parties participated in the elections. After the elections, the changes in CHP which represented the center-left yielded and CHP’s new face Bülent Ecevit got 33.3% of the votes and 185 representatives, and it became the dominant party. The second party was the Adalet Partisi (AP). In this election, it can’t be wrong to say that AP was not successful with 29.8% vote and 149 representatives. Because the people punished the AP which got 16.7% lower and 107 representatives lower than the previous elections, for not resisting against status-quo, and not understanding the superiority of the chosen. Demokratik Parti which got into the elections with the slogan of “we are of right wing, we are nationalist, we are democrat” got 11.9% of the votes, and 45 representatives. Necmettin Erbakan’s Milli Selamet Partisi was in the axis of national view, İslamism and conservativeness. The party which was politically in the right wing, got 11.8% of the votes and 48 representatives. An actor who will continue his role to the single-government in Turkish democracy appeared. Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi got 5.3% of the votes and 13 representatives, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi got 3.4% of the votes and 3 representatives, Türkiye Birlik Partisi got 1.1% of the votes and 1 representatives. Independent representatives got 2.8% of the votes and 6 of them got into the parliament. Millet Partisi which got into the elections and 0.6% of the votes, won none of the representative seats. In 1973 elections, we can see that CHP won Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. It can be seen that CHP was powerful in eastern Mid-Anatolia, Thrace, west of the eastern Anatolia, eastern Black Sea, and west of the South-eastern Anatolia (TÜİK, 2013).

3.8 5 June 1977 General Election

5th June 1977 elections occurred in a difficult process for Turkish political life. The chaos was all over the country. Assassinations, coup attempts, assaults and massacres which pressured large masses of people, 1th May 1977 Taksim events, armed assault to prime minister Ecevit showed that how the process was though. All

these events caused that the elections which was planned to happen in October 1977 to be 4 months earlier. It is also an important election because it represents an end of a Turkish democracy era. It is the last election before the 1980 coup. 5th June 1977 elections were made according to d'Hont system with no thresholds. 8 parties participated in the elections. 6 parties earned the right to be represented in the parliament. 15.358.2010 voters voted in the election, and the threshold was 72.4%. CHP of which general president was Bülent Ecevit won the elections. CHP won 41.4% of the votes, and 213 representatives. Adalet Partisi (AP) won 39.6% of the votes and 189 of the representatives which was the second large group in parliament. Milli Selamet Partisi (MSP) whose president was Necmettin Erbakan got 8.6% of the votes, 24 representatives, and became the third party in the elections. Parties which was represented in the parliament were listed as following. Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP) got 6.4% of the votes, and 16 representatives, Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi (CGP) got 1.9% of the votes and 3 representatives, Demokratik Parti (DP) won 1.8% of the votes and 1 representatives. Independent nominees won 2.5% of the votes, and 4 independent representatives got into the parliament. In 1977 elections, it is seen that leftist votes were around 42%. Rightist votes were around 58%. However, it can be seen that rightist parties were in the elections sectionally, and their number was five. CHP was effective in north-east and south-east of the Turkey. In addition, it is seen that it became the dominant party in Thrace, Aegean coast, mid-Anatolia except the middle, Mediterranean, and in the provinces in west of south-eastern Anatolia. CHP was also dominant party in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir (TÜİK, 2013).

3.9 6 November 1983 General Election

6th November 1983 elections were the starting of a new democratic era for Turkey. On 12th September 1980, democracy was interrupted, and the public opinion was ignored. Because the militarist and the pro-coup view dominated the country, it was an era that even now its results are effective. In the morning of 12th September, all of the political parties were shut down, and the presidents of them was arrested, and they were banned from the politics. The parliament, which was even active

during the Independence War, and which got the title of “Gazi” was cancelled. Thousands of people from both left and right wing were arrested, and they were exposed to torture in military prisons. The country had difficult days socio-economically. 6th November 1983 elections occurred after this process. Even becoming a representative was possible with the permission of the military junta. 3 parties which had the permission of the military junta participated in the elections. In the 1983 elections, Milliyetçi Demokrasi Partisi (MDP) of retired general Turgut Sunalp, Halkçı Parti which was formed by prime ministry undersecretary Necdet Calp to fill the gap in the center-left, and Anavatan Partisi (ANAP) of Turgut Özal who was the vice president responsible for economy of Bülent Ulusu government, participated in the elections. Then, Turkey had a election threshold of 10% which was against the justice principal of representation. We can say that this election threshold which is used even now, is a gift of 1980 coup. In 6th November 1983 elections, 18.238.362 people voted, and the turnout was 92.3%. ANAP which was the dominant party, got 45.1% of the votes. ANAP won 211 representatives of 399. HP which was the second party won 30.5% of the votes, and 117 representatives. Shortly after its foundation, it stated that it was the defender of the political line of the 12th September coup. MDP which was supported and protected by National Security Council, and which was wanted to be the government party got only 23.3% of the votes. MDP won only 71 representatives. After the elections, the parliament consisted of these 3 parties. ANAP became the dominant party in all provinces except 15. ANAP who was the dominant party in Ankara and İstanbul, lost the first place to HP in İzmir. ANAP, which was clearly superior in all regions, was partially unsuccessful in south-eastern Anatolia, and east of the Erzurum-Kars region of the eastern-Anatolia (TÜİK, 2013).

3.10 29 November 1987 General Election

29th November 1987 elections were the first elections in which political leaders who were banned after 12th September coup participated. In 1987 elections, double threshold d'Hont system, and the quota system were used. 7 parties participated in the elections. Positionally, there were 5 parties in the right wing, and there were only

2 parties in the left wing. This situation shows us that the right wing participated in the elections more separately. 24.603.541 voters participated in the elections, and the turnout was 93.3%. This was the highest turnout in multi-party era elections. In the elections, the number of representatives were raised from 399 to 450. In the result of the elections, the number of the parties which were represented in the parliament was 3. Anavatan Partisi (ANAP) dominated the elections with 36.3% votes. ANAP won 292 of the representative seats. The party which became second after the ANAP was the Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (SHP) which was formed by merging of Halkçı Parti and Sosyal Demokrasi Partisi. SHP whose general president was Erdal İnönü got 24.8% of the votes. After 1987 elections, SHP was represented by 99 representatives in the parliament. The last party which got into the parliament was the Doğru Yol Partisi (DYP) which was the new party of the Süleyman Demirel whose political ban was ended. DYP got 19.1% of the votes, and 59 representatives from DYP got into the parliament. There were 4 political parties which were caught by the 10% election threshold, and couldn't get into the parliament. Demokratik Sol Parti (DSP) which went to elections under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit got 8.5%, Refah Partisi (RP) under the leadership of Necmettin Erbakan got 7.2%, and Milliyetçi Çalışma Partisi (MÇP) under the leadership of Alparslan Türkeş got only 2.9% of the votes. It is important that parties of these leaders, who were in an important position in Turkish political life, were out of parliament. In result of the elections, Islahatçı Demokrasi Partisi (IDP) got 0.8% of the votes, and the independent nominees, got 0.4% of the votes in total. When we examine the election map, we can see that İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir chose ANAP as the dominant party. ANAP's superiority in all regions is clearly seen. ANAP was even more superior in Middle Anatolian, Aegean and Mediterranean regions. SHP was dominant party in 7 provinces, DYP was in 4 provinces, and DSP was in 1 province. In 1987 left wing parties got 33.3% of the votes, and the right wing parties got 66.7% of the votes (TÜİK, 2013).

3.11 20 October 1991 General Election

20th October 1991 elections were the elections which were the starting of the coalition governments which would be continue for 11 years. ANAP government which lasted for 8 years, ended with this elections. In this elections, alliances of the political parties are important. SHP, under the leadership of Erdal İnönü, participated in the elections with forming alliance with Halkın Emek Partisi which defended Kurdish nationalism, and which was in the center-left politically. Refah Partisi whose general president was Necmettin Erbakan participated in the elections forming alliance with MHP and IDP. 25.157.089 people voted in the elections, and the turnout was 83.9%. In the elections, double threshold d'Hont, and the quota system continued. As a result of 1991 elections, DYP whose general president was Süleyman Demirel was the dominant party. DYP got 27% of the votes, and got into the parliament with 178 representatives. ANAP which participated in the elections under leadership of Mesut Yılmaz who became the general president after Turgut Özal who was elected as President of the Turkey, got 24% of the votes. ANAP won 115 representative seats. The third party was SHP which was a center-left party, and which formed alliance with HEP. SHP-HEP alliance got 20.8% of the votes, and won 88 representatives. It got into the parliament in 1991 elections. Except these 3 political parties, there were 2 political parties who were in the parliament. RP-MHP-IDP election alliance got 16.9% of the votes. 62 representatives in the parliament was in RP seats. Another party which was in the parliament was DSP of Bülent Ecevit. DSP which passed the 10% election threshold with only 0.8% vote got itself 7 representatives in result of these votes. It is remarkable that, in 1991 elections there was separations both in right, and left wing. Despite all of these separations, right wing parties got 67.9% of the votes. Left wing parties got only 32% of the votes. In 1991 elections, three metropolises stated the difference throughout the country. ANAP was the dominant party in İstanbul, whereas SHP was dominant in Ankara, and DYP was dominant in İzmir. DYP which was the dominant party in result of the elections was superior in Marmara and Aegean regions. In the coast regions of Mediterranean region, the party had also important achievements. The party which was also superior in the west of the Black Sea region, gave the first place to ANAP which was another rightist party in the east of the Black Sea region.

The superiority of the RP which defended the national vision movement in the Middle Anatolian region was seen. Eastern Anatolia showed a complicated structure. SHP's superiority in south-eastern part of the Turkey was clearly seen. The most important reason for this was nomination of the candidates who had Kurdish roots in a result for SHP-HEP alliance (TÜİK, 2013).

3.12 24 November 1995 General Election

24th November 1995 elections became a milestone for multi-party elections era. The trend which started in 1995 still affects today. In the result of this election, a post-modern coup which was against the Turkish democracy was done. It can be said that junta supporters inside the Turkish Armed Forces continued the tradition of interfering to Turkish democracy once in 10 years. In 1995 elections, country threshold d'Hont election system which is still used today was used first. 12 parties participated in the elections. The trend of forming alliances in 1991 still continued. Büyük Birlik Partisi (BBP) formed alliance with ANAP, and they participated in elections among ANAP lines. Another alliance was among Sosyalist İşçi Partisi (SİP), Birleşik Sosyalist Parti (BSP) and Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (HADEP). In 1995 elections, 29.101.469 people voted, and the turnout was 85.2%. Political parties raced to get seats from 550 representative seats. In the result of the elections, Refah Partisi (RP) whose general president was Necmettin Erbakan, and which was shut down constantly by constitutional court and military governments with the justification that it was against secularism, became dominant party with getting 21.4% of the votes. It won 158 of the 550 representative seats. Anavatan Partisi (ANAP) became the second party in elections. ANAP got 19.6% of the votes. It won 132 representative seats for these votes. DYP which was in center-right position became the third party in the elections. Because Demirel was elected as President of Turkey, in 1995 DYP participated in the elections with a woman general president, which was a first in history of Turkey. DYP of Tansu Çiller won 19.2% of the votes, and 135 representatives. It is important that the first three parties in the elections were right wing parties. In the result of the elections five parties passed the 10% threshold, and got into the parliament. After 1995 elections, the two other parties

which got into the parliament was CHP and DSP which represented left wing politically. DSP which got into the elections under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit won 14.6% of the votes, and 76 representatives, and CHP which got into the elections under the leadership of Deniz Baykal passed 10% election threshold with only 0.7% votes and won 49 representatives. In 1995 elections, MHP which based its ideology on Turkish Nationalism got only 8.4% of the votes and could not get into the parliament. On the opposing side, HADEP which based its ideology on Kurdish Nationalism, despite alliances before the election got only 4.2% of the votes, and couldn't get into the parliament. In this election, independent candidates got only 5% of the votes. The vote percentage of the parties which got into the election was changed between 1% and 5%. In 1995 elections, right wing political parties got 68.8% of the votes, and the left wing political parties got 31.7% of the votes. In this election, there were separation both on right and left wing. This situation can be seen in the number of political parties which participated to the election. In three metropolises which have the most number of voters, we can see this polyphony. RP in İstanbul, ANAP in Ankara, DSP in İzmir was the dominant party. It can be said that RP which was the dominant party after the elections was supported by Mid-eastern and Eastern Anatolian voters mostly. Besides, in İstanbul, Kocaeli, Sakarya and Bolu line it had important percentage of the votes. RP was also successful in west of the south-eastern Anatolia. If we look at other regions, in Marmara the election was between DSP, DYP and RP. In thrace, DSP showed a successful graphic, we can say that in southern Marmara DYP was successful. In Aegean region, DYP had also a successful election. We said that, in the biggest city in the region, DSP was the dominant party. In Antalya part of the Mediterranean region, DYP got important votes. In Adana part, voters could not choose a party, and the votes were divided. In Black Sea region, the coast side gave its votes to center-right parties mostly. In the coast side, starting from Artvin to Kastamonu, ANAP was superior, while DYP was partly effective. In western Black Sea region DSP was partly superior. Interior parts were under RP dominance. In these elections, as we can guess, HADEP was superior in south-eastern and eastern part of the Anatolia. HADEP was effective in Hakkari and Van part of the eastern Anatolia. It was the first party in Hakkari, Van and Iğdır in eastern Anatolia. It can be seen that it was

also effective in Dicle part of the south-eastern Anatolia region. It was the dominant party in Diyarbakır and Batman (TÜİK, 2013).

3.13 18 April 1999 General Election

18th April 1999 elections were influenced by the political events in the country. It can be said that it was an election shaped by the capture of the PKK terrorist organization's leader Abdullah Öcalan, and the corruptions in the country. In 11th January 1999, the minority government formed by DSP to bring the country to elections, capturing of the Abdullah Öcalan, and Bülent Ecevit's party's staying off of the corruptions, earned points to Ecevit in political area. In the country, we can say that tendency of the votes was based on nationalism and the trustworthy policies. In the light of all these events, in 1999 elections, 20 political parties participated in the elections. In the result of the elections, 5 political parties, and 3 independent candidates got into the parliament. The system of the election was country threshold d'Hont election system. In 1999 elections, 32.656.070 people voted. The turnout was 87.1%. In the result of the election, DSP was the dominant party with the 22.2% vote percentage throughout the country. DSP won 136 representatives. The second party was MHP which was making politics in the axis of Turkish nationalism. MHP got its highest percentage of the votes, which was 18%, since it had been formed. In the result of these votes, 129 representatives represented MHP in the parliament. The third party was Fazilet Partisi (FP) which was formed in the place of Sadet Partisi which was liquidated by 28th February process. FP of Recai Kutan who was the general president because Necmettin Erbakan's political ban won 15.4% of the votes and 111 representatives, it had the third highest representative party in the parliament. ANAP and DYP was the other parties which represented its voters in the parliament. ANAP got 13.2%, and DYP got 12% of the votes. In the parliament, ANAP was represented by 86 representatives, and DYP by 85 representatives. When we look at the 1999 election map, DSP was the dominant party in three metropolises which was Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. The effect of DSP which became the dominant party in the elections throughout the country was seen in the Aegean and Marmara region of the country. It was the dominant party in all provinces except

Sakarya in Marmara region, and all provinces in Aegean region except Kütahya and Afyon. DSP was also successful in Black Sea region. DSP was effective in middle and west Black Sea coast line. When we move from the coast to interior parts, we can see that MHP was more successful. In the eastern Black Sea region, a more complicated election map is seen. Center-right, Turkish nationalism, and national vision movement shared the votes. In middle Anatolia region, MHP weighted votes were seen. In middle Anatolia, in Ankara and Eskişehir DSP was the dominant party, whereas in Konya and Sivas RP was the dominant party. In other provinces of the middle Anatolia region MHP was the superior and dominant party. One region in which MHP which completed the elections the second party was successful was the Mediterranean region. It was the dominant party in all provinces except Adana. It was clearly seen that Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (HADEP) was superior in Dicle part of south eastern Anatolia. HADEP was the dominant party in 5 of 9 provinces in the region. In mid-Fırat part, parties which was in right wing politically dominated the elections. In Hakkari part, Upper-Fırat part and Upper Murat- Van part HADEP's superiority was seen. In the eastern Anatolia, in upper Fırat and Erzurum-Kars part, the votes were separated. After HADEP, FP's and independent candidate's superiority was seen in the region. Each DYP and MHP was dominant party in one province in the eastern Anatolia (TÜİK, 2013).

3.14 3 November 2002 General Election

3th November 2002 elections were one of the important turns for Turkish political life. It was the election which ended coalition governments in the country which lasted for 11 years. In 2001 the greatest economic crisis in the history of the country occurred. It can be said that most of the people voted under the effect of this economic crisis. In the general elections that were done after 1980, the turnout was the lowest with 79.1%. In the elections, 32.768.161 people votes. 18 political parties participated in the elections. In the result of the elections, only 2 political parties represented their voters in the parliament. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AK PARTİ) which was politically in the center-right, and on whose ideology there were many arguments won the elections. The political identity of the party, which was

associated with Ummah-ism, conservativeness, economic liberalism and İslamic democracy, was stated as “conservative democracy” by general president Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. AK PARTİ got 34.3% of the votes, and won 2002 elections as dominant party. The second party was CHP whose general president was Deniz Baykal. CHP won support of 19.4% of the voters. The fact that in the result of the elections among 18, there were only 2 political parties passed the threshold, also affected the shaping of the parliament. 550 representatives were listed as; AK PARTİ 363, CHP 178 and Independent candidates 9 representatives. It can be seen that in the elections in which country threshold d'Hont election system was used, there were too many political parties which couldn't pass the election threshold of 10%. Political parties which got near so close to this threshold were DYP with 9.5%, MHP with 8.4%, Genç Parti (GP) with 7.3%, Demokratik Halk Partisi (DEHAP) with 6.2% and ANAP with 5.1%. When we examine the election map, AK PARTİ which was the dominant party in the elections was also superior in all provinces in the mid-Anatolia region. It is seen that in the Black Sea region except Artvin and Bayburt provinces, it was also dominant in all provinces. The party which was also successful in Mediterranean Region was dominant in all provinces except Antalya and Mersin. In Aegean region, the coast provinces of Muğla and Aydın CHP was the dominant party, whereas in the interior Aegean region, AK PARTİ was dominant in all provinces except Uşak. In Marmara region, Edirne, Kırklareli and Tekirdağ used their choice with CHP, whereas in all other provinces AK PARTİ was the dominant party. In 2002 elections, the superiority of AK PARTİ and DEHAP in eastern Anatolia part was seen. DEHAP which made policies around Kurdish Nationalism was the dominant party in Hakkari, Van, Bitlis, Muş, Ağrı, Iğdır, Tunceli and Kars provinces of eastern Anatolia region, whereas AK PARTİ was dominant party in Erzurum, Erzincan, Bingöl, Elazığ and Malatya provinces. CHP which was the second party in the elections was the dominant party in only Ardahan. In the south-eastern part of the Turkey, we can see that two political parties were effective. It can be said that AK PARTİ and DEHAP responded to voters' requests. In south-eastern Anatolia where there are 9 provinces, AK PARTİ was dominant in four provinces (Kilis, Gaziantep, Adıyaman and Şanlıurfa). We can see that in other 5 provinces

DEHAP was the dominant party. DEHAP was the dominant party in provinces which are mostly in Dicle part (TÜİK, 2013).

3.15 22 July 2007 General Election

22th July 2007 elections were done after when political and social life were dynamic. It caused a unrest among some circles that AK PARTİ got 34.3% of the votes and 66% of the representatives in 2002 elections. The government made many laws in the process of integrating with the European Union (EU). The laws that were made were not welcomed by CHP firstly, and other 46.3% of the representatives which were out of parliament. The events in the world also affected that era. United States' intervention to Iraq, and a federal state structure that might happen in Iraq were closely watched. The opposition regularly stated that the government remained unresponsive to an independent Kurdish state in the northern Iraq. Interpellations to ministers were mostly about corruption. It was the time of speculations with prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's net worth. Besides, there were too many events in the country. Armed assault against members of the 2nd office of the state council, increasing terror attacks and landmines, conflicts and sudden attacks caused deaths of the many soldiers, polices and civilians. Terrorist organization's actions were not only in southern-east Anatolia region, but in many regions with İstanbul, Adana, İzmir being in the first place. As a result, Turkey's right to intervene to the northern Iraq with the international laws was being argued in the country. There were arguments about soldier which would go to Lebanon. The tension was increasing because of the terror actions and oncoming President Election. The President Elections in which the country usually lived the most depressed times was not different in 2007 Election. The nomination of Abdullah Gül who was AK PARTİ's candidate and minister of foreign affairs was objected by some circles in the society. This circle which drew attention with neo-nationalist views prepared Republic Rallies in different provinces. The rallies which started in 14th April 2007 in Ankara, continued with İstanbul, İzmir, Manisa, Çanakkale, Samsun and Denizli. In 27th April 2007, the first part of the President Election was made, and the constitutional court cancelled the elections because there were not 367 representatives which was

the absolute majority in the parliament. In the addition to this depression in political life, another intervention to Turkish Democracy came again from TSK. TSK published a document which was known as “e-muhtıra”, and tried to intervene to democracy. Prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in the light of all these events decided to make the elections early, and in 22th July there were general elections. In 2007 elections, as the election system, country threshold d’Hont system was used again. 42.799.303 people were registered and 36.056.293 people voted. The turnout was 84.2%. 14 political parties participated in the elections. 699 independent candidates participated in the elections. As the result of the general elections, 3 political parties got into the parliament. Besides, 26 independent candidates got into the parliament. AK PARTİ won the elections with 46.6% vote percentage. AK PARTİ also won 341 representative seats in the parliament. CHP was the second party in the elections. CHP got 20.9% of the votes and won 112 representative seats in the parliament. The third party which got into the parliament and which was the third party in the elections was MHP which got into the elections under the leadership of Devlet Bahçeli. MHP got 14.3% of the votes and won 71 representative seats. It is important that in 2007 elections, 26 independent candidates got into the parliament. But it would be correct to divide the independents into two groups. The independent candidates who was supported by parties which were leftist and supported Kurdish nationalism such as Demokratik Toplum Partisi (DTP), Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi (ÖDP), Emek Partisi (EMEP) and Sosyalist Devrim Partisi (SDP) to pass the 10% threshold, and the independent candidates which were in no political parties or platforms. The independent candidates which were supported by DTP, ÖDP, EMEP and SDP were known as “Bin Umut Adayları”. 20 of the 26 independent candidates were among the thousand hope candidates. These 20 representatives formed group under DTP roof in parliament and made policies. When we examine the election map, AK PARTİ which was the dominant party in the elections was also in the first place in two of the three metropolises in Turkey. In İstanbul and Ankara AK PARTİ was the dominant party, whereas in İzmir CHP was the first party. AK PARTİ was the dominant party in all provinces in mid-eastern Anatolia and Black Sea region. In Mediterranean region, in Adana and Osmaniye MHP was the dominant party, whereas AK PARTİ was winning party in all other

provinces. In Aegean region, CHP won the elections in İzmir and Muğla, in all other provinces AK PARTİ was the winning party. In Marmara region, we can see a picture that resembles 2002 elections. In Thrace, the provinces of Edirne, Tekirdağ and Kırklareli supported CHP, whereas AK PARTİ was dominant in all other provinces. In south-eastern and eastern Anatolia, two political views raced. The independent candidates which were known a thousand hope candidates or independents supported by DTP, and AK PARTİ was effective in this region. In eastern Anatolia, in the provinces of Iğdır, Tunceli, Muş and Hakkari, independents supported by DTP won the elections and 5 representatives from these 4 provinces. In all other provinces AK PARTİ's domination was seen. In south-eastern Anatolia region, a thousand hope candidates were superior only in Diyarbakır and Şırnak, whereas AK PARTİ was the dominant party in all other provinces (TÜİK, 2013).

3.16 12 June 2011 General Election

12th June 2011 elections, in many ways, can be considered as one of the most important stages of the election process which started in 1877 in Turkey. These elections which are important for recent democratization steps and having a settled constitutional democracy, will form an interesting experience for Turkish political life. (Stratejik Düşünce Enstitüsü, Siyasi Partilerin Seçim Beyannameleri Üzerine Bir Karşılaştırma, Haziran 2011).

As it is stated, it can be said that the main theme of the 12th June 2011 elections was the democratization of the Turkey, and consistency of the constitutional democracy with a new constitution. It would be correct to examine the political events before 2011 elections. "Democratic Initiative" project of the AK PARTİ after 2007 elections has an important place in 2011 elections. This project was identified with the starting of broadcast of TRT 6 which was making Kurdish broadcast, forming of Kurdish Language and Literature departments in universities, and permission of Kurdish land names with laws. Another important event that affected the election process was the shutting down of Demokratik toplum Partisi (DTP) by the Constitutional Court in 12th December 2009. DTP changed its name and

continued its political life as Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (BDP). Two referandums with democratization theme were conducted in 12th October 2007 and 12th September 2010. 27th October 2007 referendum had clauses mostly about President Elections. The people knew the referendum as “election of the president with people’s votes”. 12th September 2010 referendum was seen as “judging of the coup makers” among people even though it consisted of 26 clauses. Another event that affected the elections was the economic events that appeared in late 2008’s and negatively affected many countries in the world. The economic crisis which started in the U.S.A. affected the whole world. According to many researchers and economists, Turkey was one of the few countries which avoided the crisis with minimal damage. In the main opposition party CHP, the changes were made, and Deniz Baykal who was the general president for 18 years gave his seat to Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu. Two important parties of the center-right, ANAP and DYP decided to merge into the Demokrat Parti (DP) roof in 5th May 2007. Before 12th June 2011 elections, supreme committee of elections decided that 12 independent representatives could not participate in the elections, and it caused a tense atmosphere in politics. Ergenekon Operations were also one of the important factors that affected the elections in this process. The process which started in 12th June 2007 with hand grenades found in Ümraniye still continues today. Ergenekon, is a secret armed organization which is claimed to act in Turkey. The organization which was seen as a terrorist organization by the jurisdiction claimed to make coup plans in the country, to make assassination plans and to execute assassinations. Because of the pro-coup settlement in Turkish Armed Forces (TSK), there were many retired generals in Ergenekon case. Another important event was that PKK continued its armed actions in the country and many of the soldiers became martyrs because of PKK ambushes. These political events caused 2011 elections to be in a democratization, new constitution and nationalism axis. 12th 2011 elections were done in such political atmosphere. Another important aspect of the 2011 elections is that it’s the first general election that were not made early after 34 years. 15 parties participated in the elections. 43.914.948 people voted in the elections. The turnout was 83.2%. As the result of the elections, 3 political parties passed 10% election threshold and got into the parliament. AK PARTİ won the elections. AK PARTİ had

49.8% of the elections. AK PARTİ won 327 seats of 550 representatives. CHP was the second party, and it represents center-left view. CHP got 26% of the votes and 135 representatives. MHP was the last party which got into the parliament. MHP got 13% of the votes, and 53 representative seats. In 2011 elections, 35 independent representatives got into the parliament. Just like 2007 elections, it would be correct to see the independent candidates as two groups. Labor, Democracy and Freedom Block's independent candidates which was supported by BDP firstly, and around 20 political parties and non-governmental organizations, and independent candidates with no bound to a political party participated in the elections. Candidates of Labor, Democracy and Freedom Block showed 65 nominees in 41 provinces. 34 of them got into the parliament. When we discover 12th June 2011 election map, in İstanbul and Ankara AK PARTİ was the dominant party, whereas in İzmir CHP was the first party. AK PARTİ was the dominant party in all provinces in Black Sea, mid-Anatolia and Mediterranean regions. In Aegean region, CHP was the dominant party in İzmir, Aydın and Muğla which are in the coast side, whereas AK PARTİ was dominant in all other provinces. In Marmara region, CHP was again dominant party in Edirne, Tekirdağ and Kırklareli, in all other provinces AK PARTİ is seen to complete the elections as first party. In eastern- Anatolia region, CHP was first party in Tunceli, and MHP was first party in Iğdır. In Van and Muş, independent candidates, as a result for votes which gotten by BDP supported independents, was the dominant party. In all other provinces AK PARTİ was the dominant party. In south-eastern Anatolia region, two political views were effective. BDP supported independent candidates were dominant in Diyarbakır, Mardin, Batman and Şırnak, whereas AK PARTİ was the first party in other five provinces (TÜİK, 2013).

CHAPTER FOUR

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF İZMİR ELECTIONS

"Elections have a close relation with location and they have influences on the results which are economical, social, demographic and culturel" (Özözen Kahraman 2007:145). İzmir, its history depends upon 5000 years ago and hosted many civilizations, became an important trade center as a result of capitulations of Ottoman empire for the foreigners. This city is an important for electoral geography because of its allowing immigrants in Turkey in the third place with its 3.661.930 population it's the gate which opens to the west.

In this part of study, it is aimed to survey about the electoral geography of İzmir and it is aimed to examine the spatial dispersion of election results of constituencies of İzmir, in the lights of economical, social and cultural factors. The connection between territorialization which is revealed by results of election and the territorialization which is revealed by these factors. In the survey of elections, as a geographer, it was researched in the frame of point of view on geography. It was aimed to make a survey which include the effects of human geography factors on elections.

This examine, which was made in the frame of electoral geography, pointed out the place of İzmir, in which there are many socio-economical differences about population, in the Turkey's general elections and also this examine pointed out the differences and similarities between other parts of country. Additionally, it was studied how the spatial dispersions in İzmir effected upon the election results. In this study, in İzmir "Who are voting for x party?", from 1950 to this time, "What kind of changes occurred about the political view of İzmir?", "What kind of spatial changes on the votes after 2000?". These kind of questions are asked in this survey. With the help of Geographical Information Systems, maps were created, statistical analysis were made, and tried to understand how the voters in İzmir took a political position in whatever factors.

The reasons of choosing İzmir as the field of study is that, İzmir has an important role on electioneering, letting in immigrants from every part and having population structure which represents different socio-economical parts.

4.1 Data and Method

In our country, the scientific studies are mainly performed by political scientists. Political scientists approach the elections from the point of election systems and political comments. The research companies make researches for define the political view of society, with surveys. All around the world, there are many studies about electoral geography. The number of people who approaches the elections from the point of spatial system with the perspective of geography is scarcely any. The study of "Spatial Analysis of Elections", which was published by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Selver Özözen Kahraman from Çanakkale University Geograpy department, is an important literature for the people who study about electoral geography. Except from this study; it was made use of the works of political scientists and sociologists. From the point of political terms and theoretic informations, these studies have important roles on literature. Examining the elections from the point of spatial axis is easy with using Geographical Information Systems.

Özözen Kahraman (2007), in this book Spatial Analysis of Elections, handled the place of electoral geography in the science of geography, and also handled what kind of studies made in Turkey and Western countries about electoral geography in a relative way. It also aimed introducing the electoral geography to Turkish geographers and creating the model of electoral geography. In addition, It also offers İstanbul as an example work of electoral geography. Varlık & Ören (2001) points out the election term and election systems in the book named "Election systems and Elections in Turkey". Further, it also analysed systems used in general elections from Ottoman to modern day.

Yavaşgel (2004), pointed out the elections on democratical societies and basic principles of election science and also basic principles of election systems in the

book named; Justice in representation and Election systems from the point of political stability and Situation in Turkey. Additionally; The comparison between majority election system and relative representation system was made. An analysis of Turkey's elections from Ottoman to these days were made.

Tuncer (2003), in the book Elections from Ottomans time to today, constitutions and legal regulations, which were made for elections, were mentioned. Additionally; Legislative power, election systems, electoral districts, administration and controlling of elections, political parties and governments during the republic were analysed in a detailed way.

Torun (2005), in the book which is named "Democracy and Republic", Democracy and history of republic was emphasized and the term of modern democracy was analysed in a detailed way. Having been evaluated how and why Democratic, Liberalist, Marxist etc. systems were preferred and also the political forms of these systems, which are being used for solving the social problems, were tried to evaluate.

Tosun (2009), mentioned about the general and local elections from the year 1950 to 2007 in the book "The elections in Turkish Political Life and İzmir". He also researched about the social base of political representation in İzmir and profiles of parliamentarians.

As a field, İzmir was handled on the basis of county in the elections 2002, 2007, 2011 on the other hand 2011 elections were analysed on the basis of street and town. The political choices of İzmir were examined from the year 1950 to 2011 and the relation between Turkey was researched. Parliamentarians General Election results created the most important data set. Voters profile of Turkish Statistical institute about 2011 Parliamentarians General Election were used. Address based population registration system data were also used in research. With the cabinet degree, which was accepted in March 2008, numbered 5747, the counties Karabağlar and Bayraklı

were accepted as counties again on behalf of seeing the changes in 2002 and 2007 elections.

Subject is discussed from two point of view; The first one is; geography of voting and the second one is; identifying of disputes and breaking fields according to election results. In this investigation; it is researched the collisions of patterns of culture and human geography by using the breaking theory of electoral geography. It is also examined what kind of effect human factors made upon voting. For making the analysis of election results; areal changes of electoral breakups are investigated, evolution of area as political is considered, and maps are created by using these data. The change between the election years is observed. An analysis of change is made with basing upon political parties.

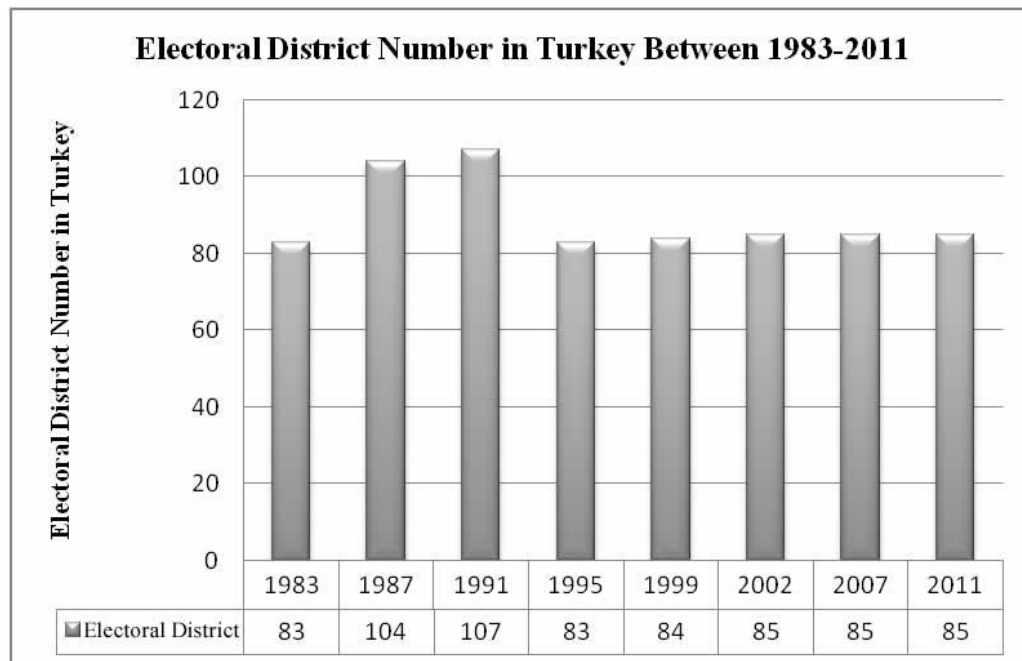
Research methods of Human geography and Electoral geography are used in this study. Within the frame of electoral geography; introduction-transformation, results ordering is followed and in the introduction part; the data which are defined formerly (election results of county and street, demographic indications, voters profile informations) are used.

All election results and statistical data used in this study; are used with organizing the parliamentary election results of Turkish statistical institute and Supreme election committee between the years 1950-2011. All of these studies are made with using the programs of information technologies. Geographical information system programs (ArcGIS, Global Mapper and Map Info) and statistical packages systems (SPSS) and Microsoft Office (Word, Excel, Access) are used for organizing data and also thematic maps, graphics and charts are arranged by using multivariate statistical methods. Additionally; variation case of voting with mathematical index in İzmir, the number of active parties and extent of representative ratio are calculated. TÜİK has a basic investigation which based upon maps statistical system, such as in Europe Statistical Institutes.

4.2 Constituencies of İzmir, Rate of Voter/Population, Valid Vote and Participation Rate

With a law in Turkey, accepted in 1983, having been accepted of each city as a constituency was dispensed. The cities, which have more than 7 parliamentarians, were divided into more than one part. With a regulation accepted in 1987, the cities which have more than 6 parliamentarians, were divided into more than one part (Aleskerov cd. 1999) In elections 1987, the cities which would have more than 6 parliamentarians, divided into parts which might have 3 parliamentarians (Özözen Kahraman 2007:148). The number constituencies, which were 83 in 1983, were risen to 104 in the year 1987. Additionally the number of constituencies which were 107 in 1991, were risen 83 because of rising the intensity of electoral districts furthermore it would be 84 in the year of 1999. In the 2002, 2007 and 2011 Parliamentarians General Elections, which are the last three election period, the number of electoral districts is 85. (Table 4.1) In the last three elections, Ankara consisted of (2), İstanbul (3) and İzmir (2) electoral districts on the other hand the other cities were consisted of one electoral district. In the elections 2002, 2007 and 2011, İzmir divided into two electoral districts. (Figure 4.1)

Table 4.1 Electoral district number in Turkey between 1983-2011



When the Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 are examined, the rising og number of voters in İzmir can be seen. When the elections of 2002 and 2007 are compared, the decrease of number of voters in, Bayındır, Bergama, Beydağ, Karaburun and Kınık counties, are seen. Additionally; it can be seen the decrease of 13403 voters in Konak, which is located in metropol. The only county which decrease its number of voters in metropol, is Konak. Along, All of other 28 county, only the voters in these six county decreased. When the comparison between 2007 and 2011 elections are made, the counties which have decreases of voters, are Kona, Bornova, Karşıyaka and Seferihisar. The decreasing of voters in Konak, Karşıyaka and Bornova is a change in the administrative borders of İzmir. The number of counties, which were 28,were rised to 30 counties with the regulation of 5747 number cabinet decree. 55 street and 2 town, which were in the borders of Konak, established the Karabağlar county. The streets and towns which were seperated from Karşıyaka and Bornova established the Bayraklı. Bayraklı county is seen having been consisted of 3 streets from Bornova and 20 streets from Karşıyaka. As of the year 2008, administravite form of İzmir, which consists of 30 counties, took its last form.

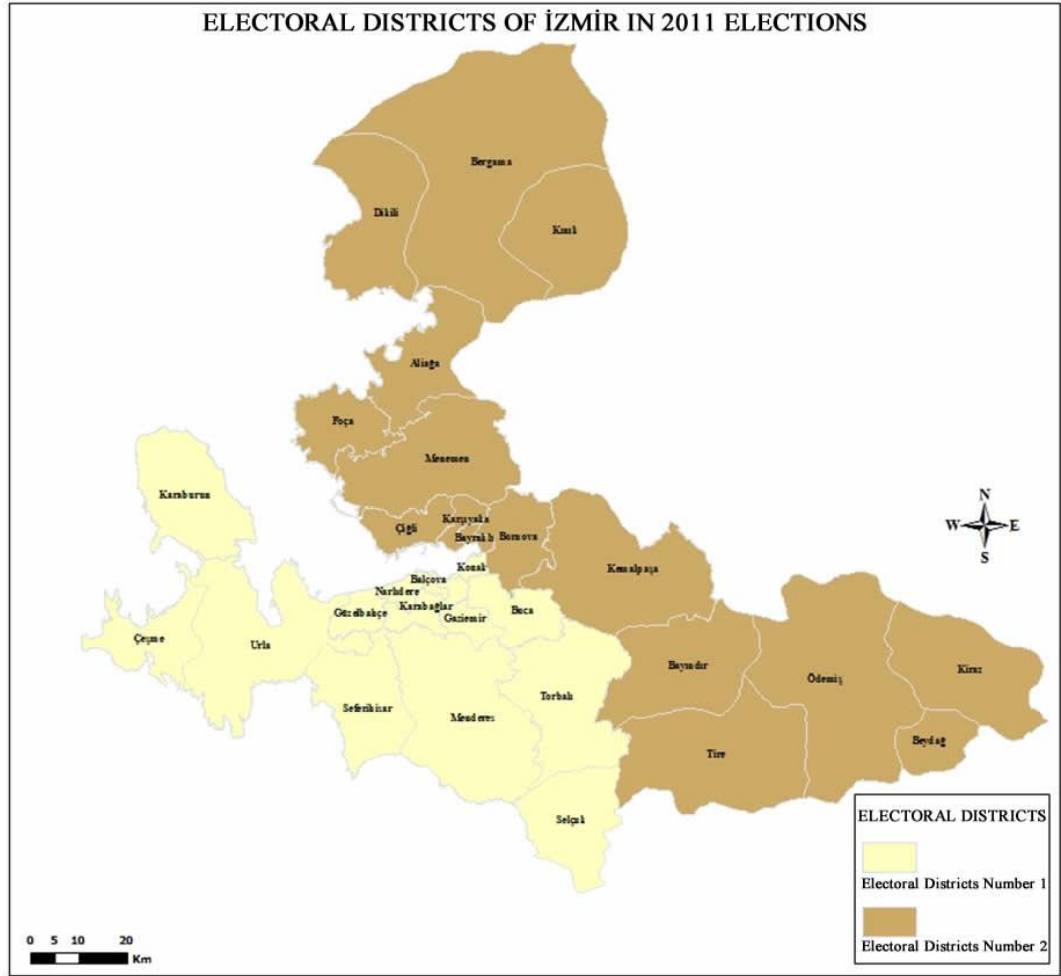


Figure 4.1 Polling districts of İzmir in 2011 elections

Although Karabağlar became a town in 2008, it is the county which contains the furthest registered voters. On the other hand; Bayraklı, which became a town in 2008, is the fifth county which has the furthest number of voters in İzmir.

When we look the changes of voters in elections of 2002, 2007 and 2011, the number of voters, which were 2.423.285 in 2002 elections, became the number 2.528.035 in the year 2007. The number of voters which showed an increase about 104.750 people absolutely and proportionately, showed % 4.32 increase. Looking the elections 2007 and 2011, the number of voters which was 2.528.035 in the year 2007, became 2.906.224 voters in the election of 2011. Proportionately; the changes, which occurred in the elections 2007 and 2011, are %14.96. The total difference of

election between the years 2002 and 2011, is 482.939 people. This value showed a proportional variance from the election of 2002 and 2011, about the rate of %19.93.

Table 4.2 The number of registered voters according to counties of İzmir, the rates in city and the ratio of the number of voters and county population

COUNTIES	2002				2007				2011			
	Voter	% (*)	% (**)	Pop.	Voter	% (*)	% (**)	Pop.	Voter	% (*)	% (**)	Pop.
Aliğa	38127	1.57	66.7	57192	40400	1.60	67.3	60043	48934	1.68	71.5	68432
Balçova	55286	2.28	82.7	66877	57649	2.28	77	74837	60962	2.10	78.2	77941
Bayındır	30262	1.25	64.1	47214	28819	1.14	68.4	42152	31440	1.08	76.5	41105
Bayraklı	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	226219	7.78	73.2	309147
Bergama	74471	3.07	69.9	106536	73354	2.90	71.5	102581	77049	2.65	76.2	101158
Beydağ	9987	0.41	70.6	14147	9949	0.39	73.7	13500	10110	0.35	78.9	12809
Bornova	284082	11.72	71.6	396770	306521	12.12	64.4	476153	300321	10.33	71.7	418837
Buca	227699	9.40	72.3	315136	248055	9.81	61.9	400930	310815	10.69	71.1	436989
Çeşme	20885	0.86	55.9	37372	23079	0.91	83	27796	25218	0.87	74.3	33931
Çiğli	85962	3.55	75.7	113543	93661	3.70	64.9	144251	120557	4.15	73.6	163774
Dikili	21118	0.87	70.1	30115	24921	0.99	91.1	27348	26520	0.91	77.2	34358
Foça	17039	0.70	47.2	36107	17479	0.69	57.2	30549	17596	0.61	54.2	32476
Gaziemir	58756	2.42	67	87692	69401	2.75	63.5	109291	86093	2.96	67.9	126737
Güzelbahçe	12496	0.52	68.7	18190	14838	0.59	77.1	19255	17960	0.62	70.9	25335
Karabağlar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	339918	11.70	73.4	463279
Karaburun	7635	0.32	56.8	13446	6324	0.25	78.7	8040	7105	0.24	80.3	8848
Karşıyaka	346146	14.28	78.9	438764	359899	14.24	69.9	515184	249103	8.57	79.8	312213
Kemalpaşa	49410	2.04	67.6	73114	53908	2.13	65.9	81777	65390	2.25	70	93431
Kınık	19051	0.79	59.3	32109	18773	0.74	67.2	27938	20375	0.70	72.5	28104
Kiraz	28472	1.17	63.4	44910	30048	1.19	66.7	45072	32949	1.13	73.9	44587
Konak	601054	24.80	76.8	782309	587651	23.25	69.3	848226	304423	10.47	76.6	397201
Menderes	43648	1.80	59.8	73002	46753	1.85	73	64065	52633	1.81	71.9	73191
Menemen	70615	2.91	61.7	114457	78274	3.10	61.7	126934	91261	3.14	67.7	134889
Narlıdere	36628	1.51	67.7	54107	39014	1.54	63.5	61455	46240	1.59	70.6	65478
Ödemiş	92408	3.81	72	128259	93352	3.69	72.8	128253	100071	3.44	77	129968
Seferihisar	18120	0.75	52.1	34761	21620	0.86	83.7	25830	21446	0.74	69.4	30890
Selçuk	23251	0.96	69.2	33594	23666	0.94	69.6	34002	25800	0.89	74.5	34643
Tire	54062	2.23	68.7	78658	54131	2.14	70.9	76327	59915	2.06	75.9	78975
Torbalı	64829	2.68	69.5	93216	70012	2.77	58.6	119506	89703	3.09	67.4	133089
Urla	31786	1.31	64.5	49269	36484	1.44	75.9	48058	40098	1.38	75.1	53417

Pop. = Population, * = The vote rates in city, ** = the ratio of the number of voters in counties

In the 9 years period between 2002 and 2011, in the counties such as Gaziemir, Güzelbahçe, Çiğli, it is seen the increases of number of voters about %50. Having divided some streets from Konak and İzmir, and having occurred the counties Karabağlar and Bayraklı, caused a decrease about number of voters in Konak approximately %50 and again caused a decrease about %30 in Karşıyaka. In Bornova while building up the Bayraklı, a 6 percent change can be seen although three biggest populations streets were connected to Bayraklı. The reason of it that; is being closer to Kemalpaşa county and being closer to Manisa. And having Organized Industrial Site of this area, may be the reason of it. In addition, Ege University and Yaşar University may be the reason of this increase. In Karaburun, in which the number of voters showed a decrease about %7, this situation may be explained with immigration.

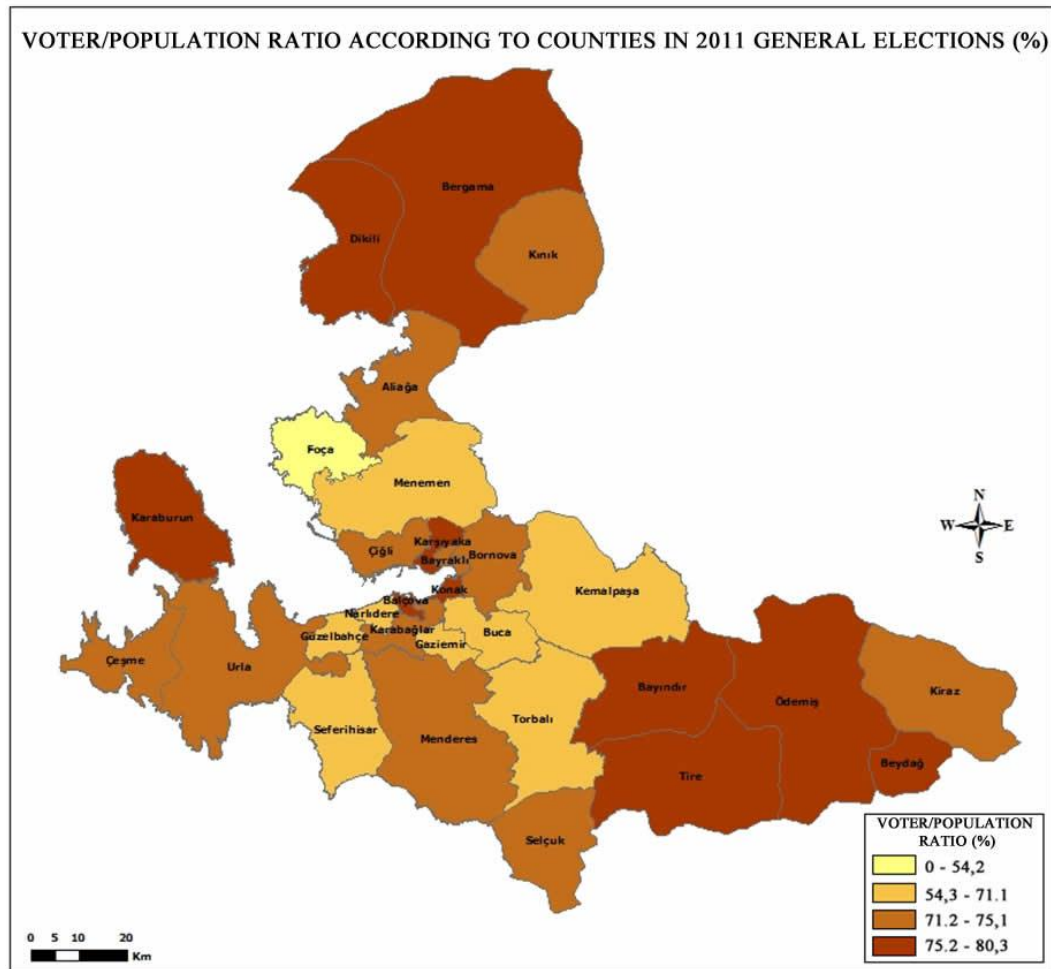
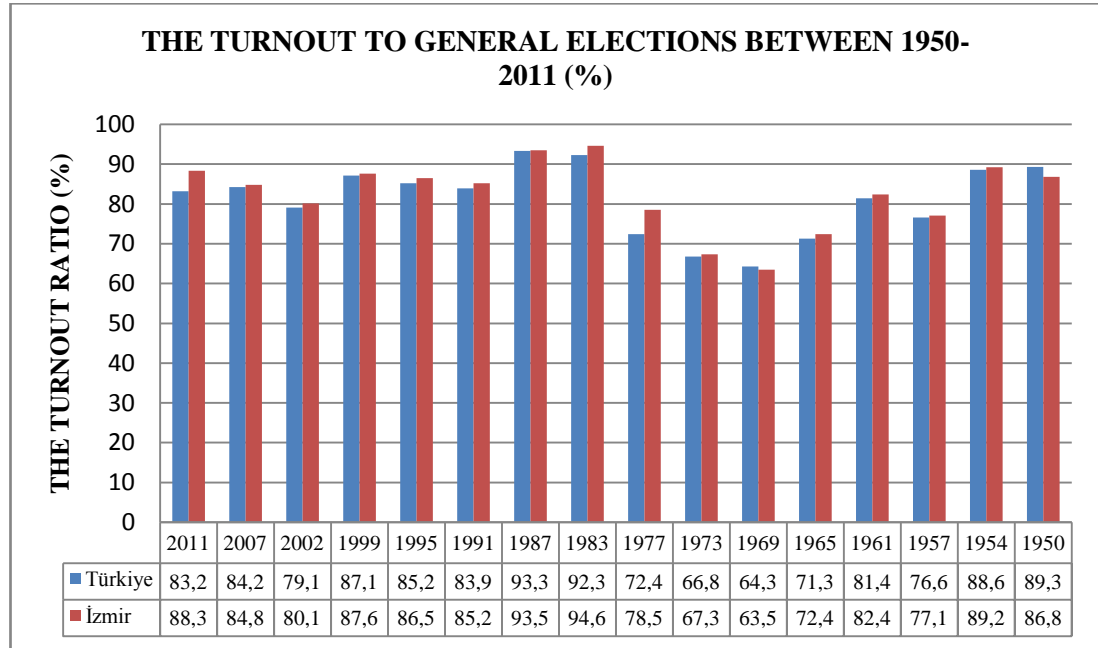


Figure 4.2 Voter/population ratio of counties of İzmir in 2011 general elections

In this period of 9 years; the ratio of voters in İzmir can be seen as; %71.9 in 2002, %67.6 in 2007 and %73.3 in 2011. In this period of 9 years, Not much changes in İzmir cannot be said. According to results of 2011 election, the rate of voters/population shows an increase above %80 in Karaburun which shows the specifitacation of rural population and countryside county. The ratio of voters/population in Karşıyaka, which shows features of urban population, is %79.8. Many of the counties are seen that being closer to avarage of cities. This ratio changes between %67 and %79. The ratio of voter/population of Foça, in which there are predominantly rural population and countryside, shows the lowest value of voter/population ratio.

Table 4.3 The turnout to general elections between 1950-2011 (%)



The highest attendance from the year 1950 to 2011 in Turkey occurred with %93.3 ratio in 1987. The lowest attendance occurred with %64.3 ratio in 1969 elections. When being looked the elections after 2000, the lowest turnout occurred with %79.1 in 2002 elections. On the other hand: the highest turnout is seen in the 2007 elections with %84.2 ratio. Additionally, in İzmir; the highest attendance from 1950 to 2011 is seen in the elections 1963 with % 94.6. The lowest turnout occurred, with the same year in Turkey, in the elections of 1963 with % 63.5 ratio. After the year 2000, when

being looked as İzmir, the lowest attendance occurred in 2002 elections with %80.1 ratio. The highest attendance occurred in 2011 elections with % 88.3 ratio. When we look rate of the attendance in the 16 elections from 1950 to 2011, İzmir is seen that it has a higher attendance than Turkey's average in 14 elections. On the other hand; in the elections 1950 and 1969, İzmir was below the average of Turkey. If we look from the perspective of attendance to elections, the attendance in urban areas are lower than rural areas, contrary to expectations. The social controls in towns effects the attendance in elections in a positive way because of having heterogeneous structures (Özözen Kahraman 2007:152).

Table 4.4 The attendance rate of voters in İzmir and valid votes

YEAR	REGISTERED VOTER	REGISTERED VOTER/POP. (%)	TURNOUT RATE	VALID VOTE
2002	2423285	71,9	80,1	1868048
2007	2528035	67,6	82,1	2075138
2011	2906224	73,3	88,3	2505674

4.3 The Place of İzmir in Representation

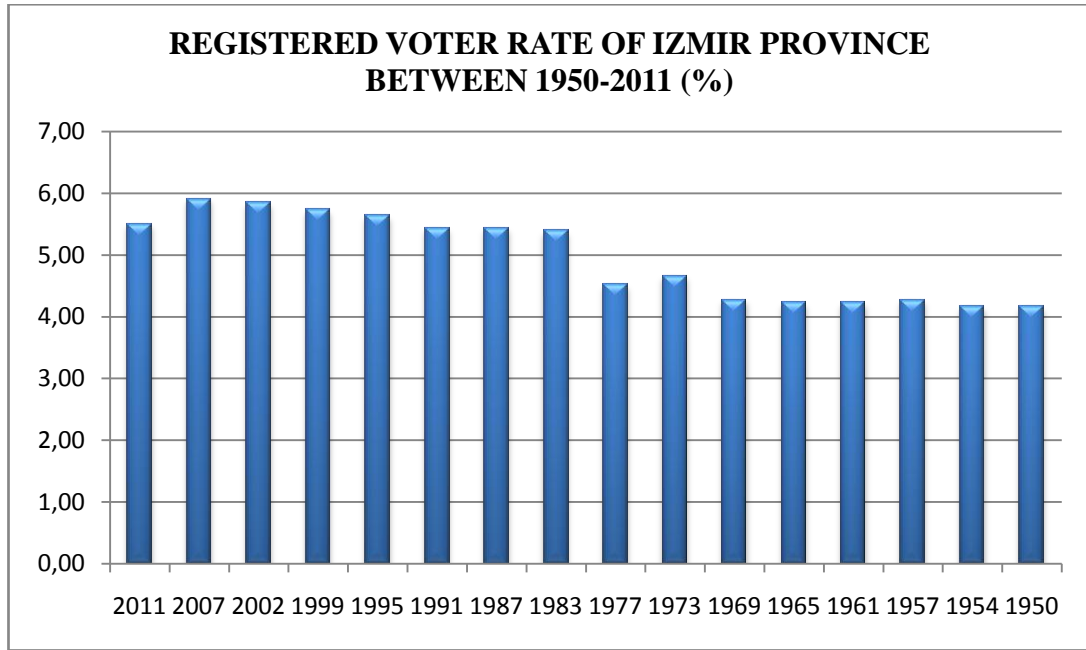
According to Özözen Kahraman; the greatness of electoral districts reflects the number of delegates who would be elected. The greatness of electoral districts have a great effect upon the number of big parties with its rate of disproportion. The more electoral districts are bigger, the more biggest parties have advantage upon majority system and proportional representative system reveals cleaner situation. (Lijphart 2006). Although Proportional Representative System is used in Turkey, %10 election threshold creates injustice in justice.

With the survey, which is made by TBMM research center, implementations of electoral threshold in Europe and Turkey, adjudications about electoral thresholds in Turkey and international documents were examined. In this research; most of countries in Europe, which apply the proportional representative system, the threshold is elaborated not to go beyond the rate %5. It is indicated that the highest

electoral threshold in Europe is in Turkey. In Turkey %10 electoral threshold is used, in Liechtenstein %8, in Russian Federation and Georgia %7.

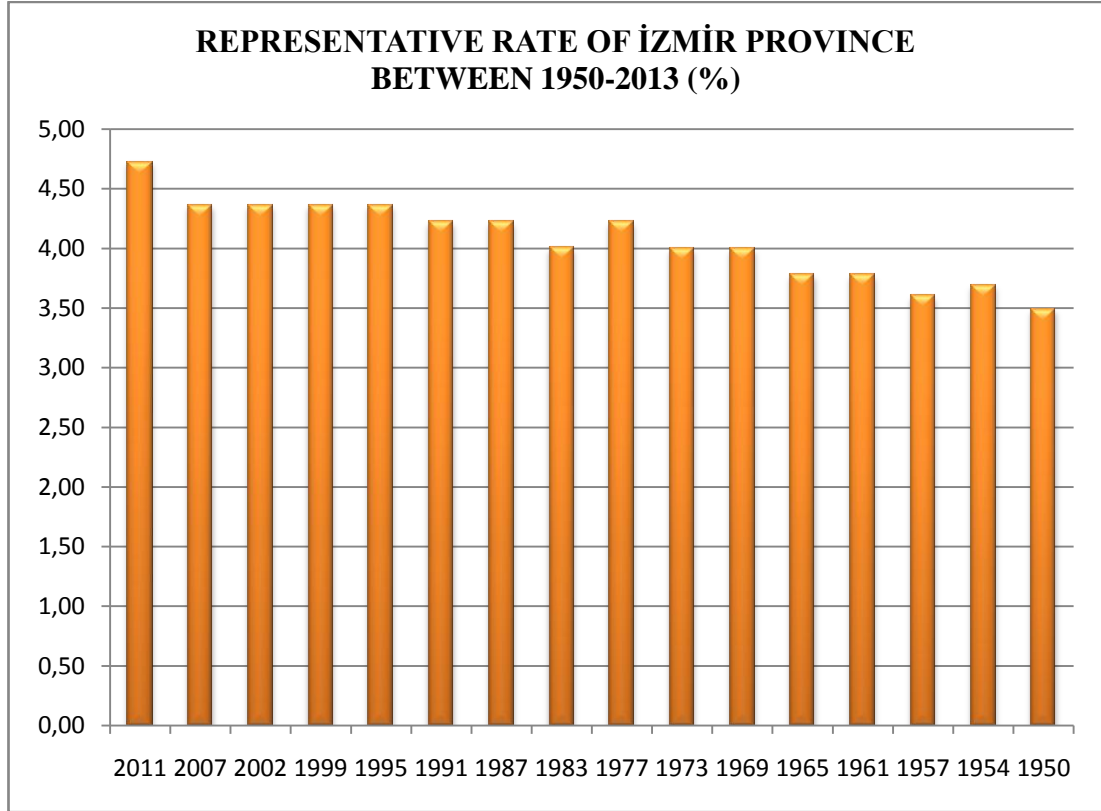
In Proportional Systems in Europe, the countries which cannot apply electoral threshold are Bosnia-Herzegovina, Finland, Ireland, Switzerland, Iceland, Luxemburg, Macedonia and Portuguese (Milliyet, n.d.).

Table 4.5 Registered voter ratio between 1950 and 2011 in İzmir (%)



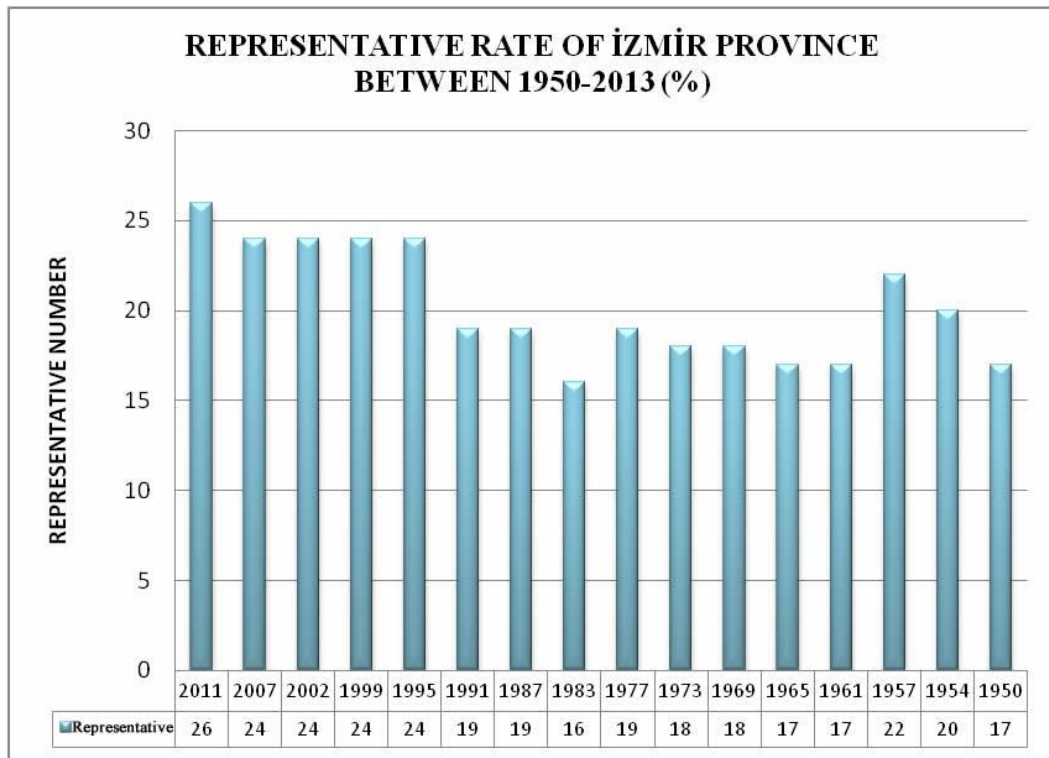
İzmir ranks as the third place from the point of having the number of voters. According to Table 4.5, the ratio of voters in the country-wide changes between % 4.61 and % 5.91 in 16 elections from the year 1950 to 2011. The lowest rate recognised at the rate of % 4.61 in 1950, on the other hand; the highest rate is seen in 2007 with the rate of % 5.91. Despite these rates; the representation in TBMM put up less in these 16 elections. According to Table 4.6, When we observe the last three elections after 2000; although the % 5.85 of the voters were in İzmir, the representation rate in TBMM was % 4.36. Although the voters ratio in 2007 is % 5.91, again the representation rate in TBMM remain at the rate % 4.36. In the last general election of 2011, made in our country, the ratio of voters was % 5.50. On contrary; the representative ratio in TBMM was % 4.73.

Table 4.6 The representative ratio of İzmir in TBMM between 1950-2011 (%)



As it is seen the Table 4.7; the last three elections, made after 2000, the number of parliamentarians who represent İzmir, are 24 in TBMM, in the elections of 2002 and 2007. In the last general election 2011, this number increased to 26. The first and second electoral districts of İzmir have 13 parliamentarians. In the electoral district number one; with 6 parliamentarians CHP, 6 parliamentarians AK PARTİ, and with one parliamentarian MHP are represented. As in the electoral district number two; with 7 parliamentarians CHP, 5 parliamentarians AKPARTİ, and with one parliamentarian MHP are represented. In the 2011 elections; CHP received the %43.7 of votes, on the other hand AK PARTİ received %36.8 of votes, and MHP received %11.3 of it. Other political parties haven't got any parliamentarians. In 2011; the total vote rate of these three political parties, which shared 26 parliamentarians, is %91.8. Despite having received %43.7 of votes, %50 of the İzmir parliamentarians are CHP members. In spite of having received %36.8 of votes, AK PARTİ received %45.8 of parliamentarians. Although MHP received %11.3 of votes, this party represents İzmir with %8.3 rate of vote.

Table 4.7 The parliamentarians of İzmir between the years 1950 and 2011



When we compare the representative situation of İzmir with other cities, it is possible to see injustice in representation clearly. When we regard the equality of votes rule, it is essential that each vote is unit. But in Turkey, 2011 elections give an appearance against this situation. It is seen that the cities which have great number of voters, cannot be represented in a sufficient level. When we examine "Table 4.9", the votes are more valuable in Tunceli, Ardahan, Kilis, Gümüşhane, Hakkari, Bayburt, Şırnak etc than the votes of İzmir, Balıkesir, İstanbul, Manisa, Ankara and Bursa on contrary the number of voters are lower in these countries. For instance; 28.812 electors of Tunceli have one parliamentarian on the other hand; this number increased to 111.778 in İzmir. In Turkey, the most worthless votes are in İzmir. It is seen that this situation is against the representative justice. We can say that; in the west part of country; votes are more worthless than east part of Turkey. It is needed to be solved this problem and it is needed to be redetermined of the number of parliamentarians.

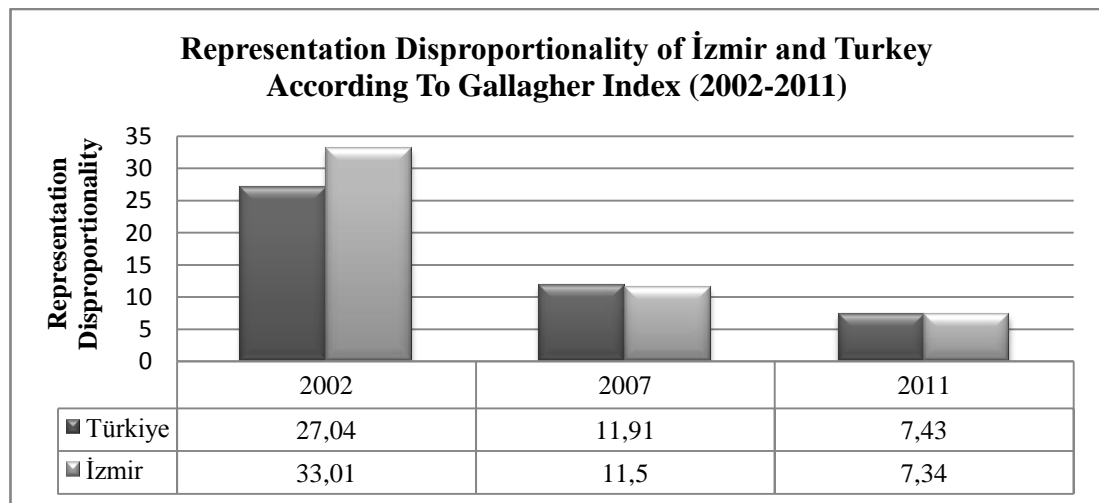
If we think İzmir as a solitary electoral district without being other electoral districts; disproportion value of representation can be analysed according to Gallagher (1991) Index (LSq). We consider that İzmir shows high values according to this index.

$$LSq = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} \sum_{i=1}^n (V_i - S_i)^2} \quad (4.1)$$

According to disproportion values, which were calculated with the rates of members of parties in 2002, 2007 and 2011 elections; in 2002, the degree of proportion in İzmir is 33.01 and in 2007 elections, it is 11.5 and in the elections of 2011 this value increased 7,34. In these electoral periods; the disproportion values of Turkey is 27.04 in 2002 parliamentary elections, and 11.91 in 2007 elections and in the last parliamentary election 2011, this value increased 7.43. (Table 4.8)

This value is very high when it is compared with the countries in which proportional representation and majority systems are applied. For instance; In Holland, where proportional representation is applied, this value is 1.30. According to examination which is made in 36 countries; this average is 8.1 (Özözen Kahraman 2007:156).

Table 4.8 Representation disproportionality of İzmir and Turkey according to Gallagher Index (2002-2011)



According to votes which are received by political parties in General Parlimentarian elections in 2002, 2007 and 2011; we can calculate the number of parties which have actual vote power according to "the number of active parties". (Özözen Kahraman 2007:156)

$$E = [\sum_{i=1}^n (V_i/100)^2]^{-1} \quad (4.2)$$

According to this index; in calculations, freelancers are incorpareted in process as a political party. The number of political parties is 19 in 2002, 14 in 2007 and 16 in 2011. The number of active parties is 6.03 in 2002, is seen as 4.02 in 2007 and it is 2.92 in the year 2011. According to these results; no authority of the 14 political parties in 2011, 10 political parties in 2007 and 13 political parties in 2002, have authority in the general parlimentarians election after 2000. Additionally; it is seen the breaking of the votes up.

Table 4.9 Population, voter, valid vote / representative ratio according to provinces in Turkey in 2011 elections

PROVINCE	POPULATION / REPRESENTATIVE	VOTER NUMBER / REPRESENTATIVE	VALID VOTE / REPRESENTATIVE
İSTANBUL	156600	108015	91505
ANKARA	152840	106555	93408
İZMİR	152509	111778	96659
MERSİN	151631	103439	88368
ADANA	150629	100122	83708
BAYBURT	76724	50079	43098
GÜMÜŞHANE	66187	44437	34762
KİLİS	62226	37936	32726
ARDAHAN	53728	34580	28386
TUNCELİ	42531	28812	23294

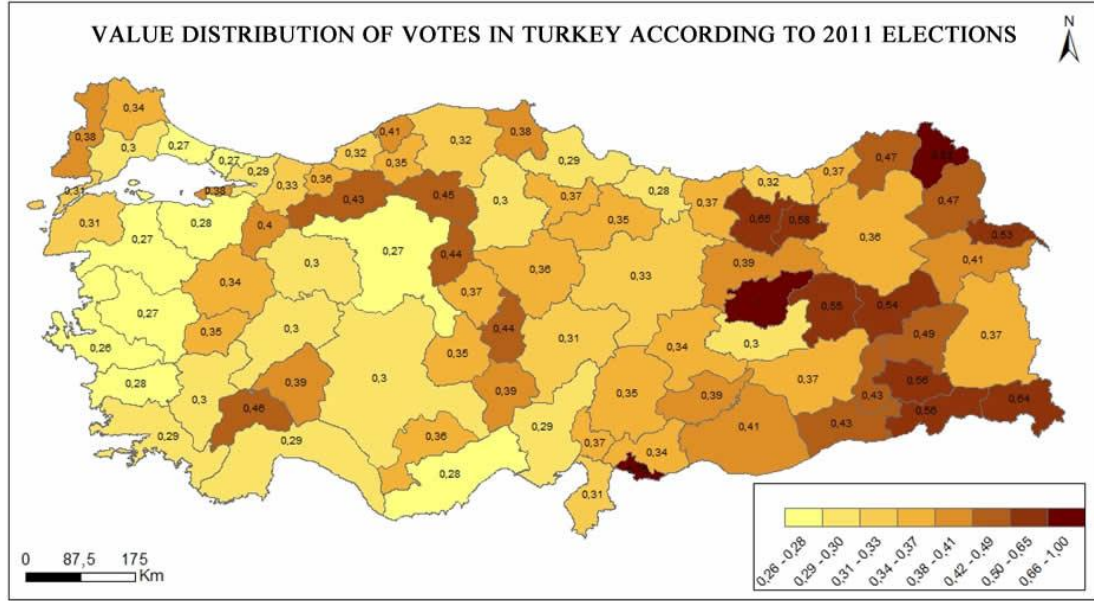
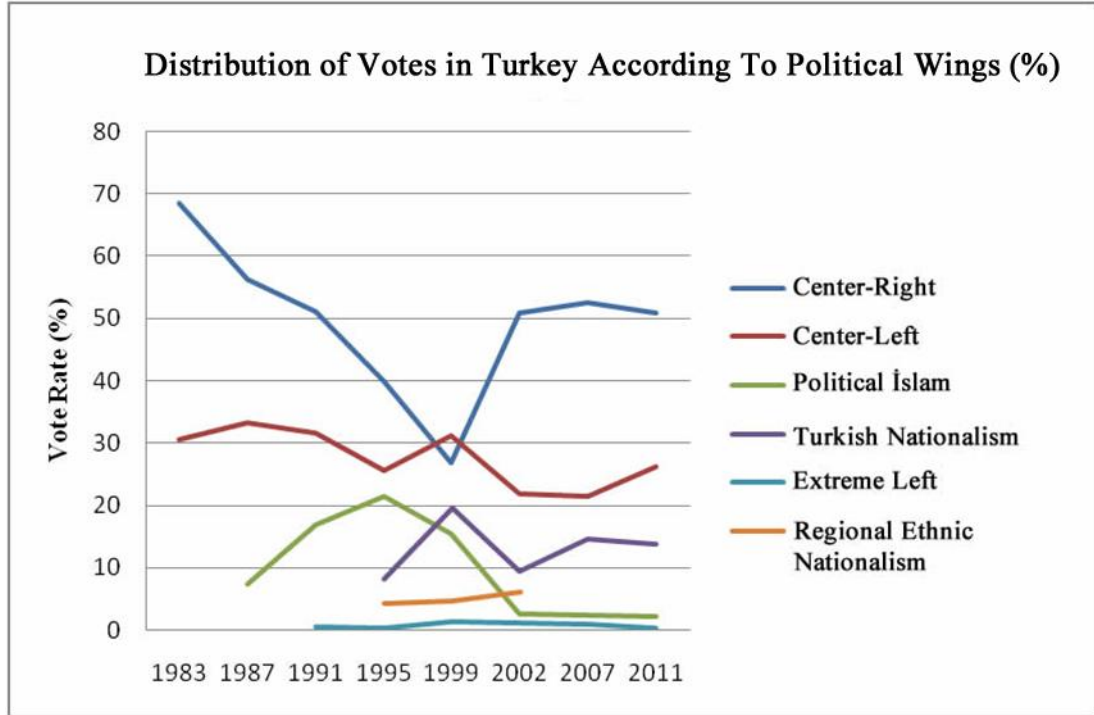


Figure 4.3 Value distribution of votes in Turkey according to 2011 elections

4.4 Distrubition of Votes in İzmir According to Political Views (1983-2011 General Elections)

The last 8 elections are examined for the use of seeing the belonging of votes whichever political views, although the general elections in İzmir after 2000 are researched. In 4 elections from the year 1983 to 1995, center-right votes are superior as compared with center-left votes. Center-left votes surpassed the center-right votes, at first in 1995 elections. Center-left votes which hit record high in 1999 elections in İzmir, fall into decline after this date. Likewise, center-right votes, which reached the basis in 1999 elections, showed an increase after this date. In 2002 elections; center left votes are only higher %3.2 than center right votes. On the other hand; in the elections 2007; the ratio of the received votes of the parties which are in the center-left as political situation and the ratio of center-right parties is only %0.2. In the last election 2011, center-left votes are %44 on the other hand center-right votes are %38.1. According to this graphic; the voters in İzmir are seen as center-right and center-left weighted. Especially; after the year 2000, it can be said that there are debatable elections between these two political views. With having not been came apart of the votes in center-left, quite the contray to this situation; multipartitae votes are seen in center-right. (Table 4.10)

Table 4.10 Distribution of votes in Turkey according to political wings (%)



In 1983 elections; ANAP was the first party with having received the rate of votes (%45.1) in throught out the country. The ratio of votes which ANAP received, was below the average of Turkey (% 34.5). In İzmir ANAP was the second party after HP. HP was the first party with receiving the %37.3 of votes. Throught out the country, center-left votes are in the %30.5 ratio on the other hand, center-right votes are %68.4. Furthermore; in İzmir, center-left votes are above the average with %37.3 than average of country. Center-right votes are below the average of country (%61.7).

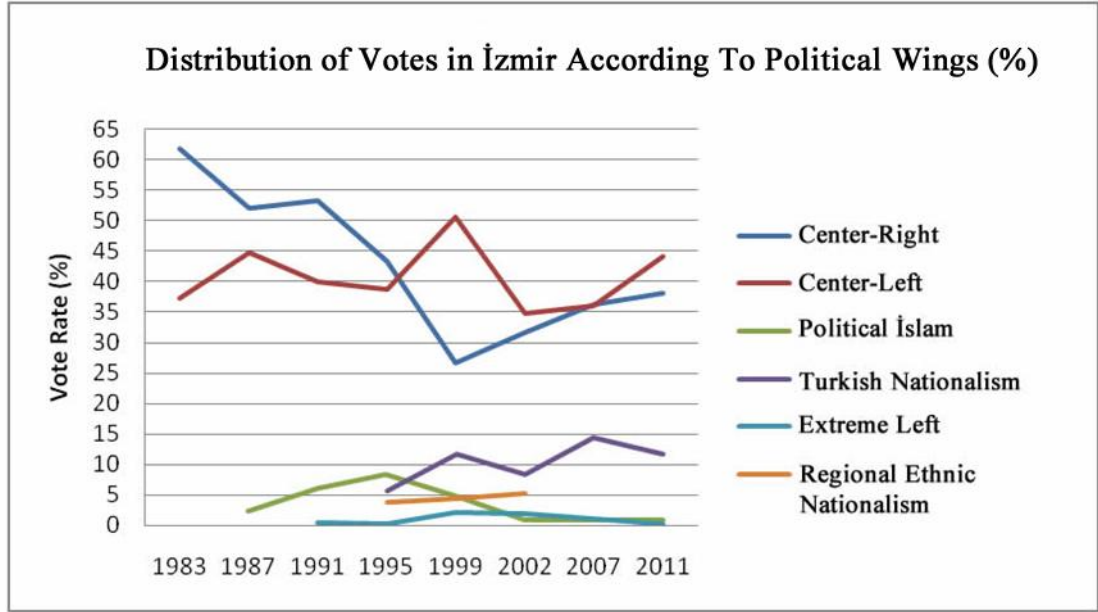
In the elections 1987, in İzmir the changes which are close to country-wide, are seen. But; the center-right votes in İzmir %51.9 on the other hand, it is %56.2 throught out the country. Furthermore; from the point of center-left votes, İzmir is higher with %11.5 ratio than country-wide. Political-İslam votes are %7.2 throught out the country but this number is %2.3 in İzmir. The parties which have Turkish Nationalism point of view, received %2.9 ratio of votes throught out the country, on the other hand, this number is %1 in İzmir. In the elections 1987, ANAP was the first

party in İzmir. The important thing here is that; with the votes which SHP received, in İzmir, there are %11 much votes in İzmir than average of the country.

In the elections 1991, center-right votes decreased in Turkey although center-right votes showed an increase in İzmir. Center-left votes were %39.9 in İzmir, on the other hand this number is %31.6 in countrywide. Both center-right votes and center-left votes are above the average of Turkey. It is an important statistic that Political Islam received the %16.9 of votes throughout the country although having received %6 of votes in İzmir. In elections 1991, it is seen that the voters of İzmir stand aloof from Political Islam situation. In 1991 election, harmonization of Turkey and İzmir is remarkable. Both in countrywide and in İzmir, the first and second parties are the same.

In the elections 1995; center-right votes are above the average of country in İzmir. If we look center-left votes, it is seen that İzmir is above the average of country with %13.1 ratio. In 1995 elections; the votes based on Islamic point of view which received %21.4 of votes throughout the country, remained only %8.4 ratio in İzmir. The parties which reflect the Turkish nationalism point of view, remained the average of country at the rate of %2.6. The first party throughout the country was RP with the ratio %21.4, as in İzmir DYP which is center right party, was first and ANAP was the second party. It is seen that in İzmir the party which reflect Political Islamic point of view couldn't find supporters.

Table 4.11 Distribution of votes in İzmir according to political wings (%)



The elections of 1999 reveals a different chart for both Turkey and İzmir. Throught out the country, center right votes are seen to reach the lowest degree after 1980 strike. This situation is the same for İzmir in the period of third democracy. Although center-right votes are almost at the same degree in İzmir and Turkey, the difference in Turkey is seen in center-left votes. Throught out the country center-left votes are %31.3, but then it is %50.5 in İzmir. The votes of Political İslam, Turkish Nationalism and Regional Ethnic Nationalism shows a situation which is below the countrywide. On the other hand; extreme left votes are higher in İzmir than throught out the country. In İzmir, ANAP was the second party although a parallel situation is seen throught out the country and the second part was MHP throught out the country (Table 4.11).

2002 elections are important in the sense of coming of the power of a political party after long acting coalitions. Center right votes are seen to be increased after downtrend from the year 1983. This same situation is seen throught out the country and İzmir. The ratio of center-right votes throught out Turkey is %50.8, and it remained in the ratio of %31.6 in İzmir. Center left votes are higher than average of Turkey about at the rate of %13. Throught out the country, AK PARTİ is the first party with %34.3 voting rate. In İzmir the exact opposite situation is seen. CHP

became the first party with %29.1 voting rate in İzmir. Surprisingly GP, which cannot be placed in any of political view, became the second party in İzmir. Özbudun (2004) identified the votes of GP as a reaction which belongs just only one election period. In 2002 elections; the votes of parties which made Political İslam, Turkish Nationalism and Regional Ethnic Nationalism, remained below of the average of country. Radical left votes are higher at the rate of %80 than average of country.

In the elections 2007, the situation is not a very different from 2002 elections. The votes of center-right parties had the whip hand of with the rate of %52.6. In spite of having reduced of center left parties votes with 21.4, this number remained only in %0.4. In 2007 elections; The most massive increase was showed by the parties which made policy on Turkish Nationalism with the rate of %5.2. We cannot give a number precisely about Kurdish policy which made policy on Ethnic Nationalism when we analyse this, because of entering the election as independent candidates. The votes of radical left which have a little allocation throught out the country, cannot reach the rate even %1. The votes of Political İslam kept up the decrease after the period 2000. The elections made after 2000 are the elections in which the votes of center left and right are nearly same. Even, if the votes of center right was at the rate of %0.2, they are higher than center left votes. Moreover; center right votes were %36.2 on the other hand, center left votes remained in %36. The votes of Turkish Nationalism and radical left votes showed the same situation with throught Turkey. The voters in İzmir had an attitude against Religious Policy. Notwithstanding all of this; the center right votes in İzmir are lower than throught out Turkey about %14 rate. Center left votes are higher than throught Turkey about %15.

The last election 2011, can be said that it is an election which can progress its stability in the last two elections. AK PARTİ, which came to power alone at the rate of %49.8 votes, get the edge over other parties. Center right votes decreased at the rate %1.7 comparing with earlier election. Center left votes could reach the highest ratio with showing an increase at the rate of %4.9 in the three elections throught out the years 2000. Throught out the country, Turkish Nationalist votes decreased at the rate of %0.8. Being compared to earlier elections; the votes of Political İslam and

Radical Left decreased. On the other hand, İzmir showed a different situation from Turkey in 2000. With having received %44 votes, Center left parties were above the average of country at the rate of %17.7. Center right votes are seen below the average of country about %12.8. AK PARTİ was the first through out the country, on the other hand in İzmir CHP, representation of center left, was the first. AK PARTİ, which received %49.8 of votes through out the country, remained %36.8 in İzmir. But as compared with the earlier election; AK PARTİ and CHP achieved to increase their votes in İzmir. The increment of the CHP votes is %8.2 besides; the increasing of the votes AK PARTİ is %6.3. In İzmir the losing party is MHP with the policy of Turkish nationalism in the election 2011. As compared with the elections 2007, MHP votes showed %2.8 decrease. In the last election, İzmir took the feature which includes three political parties within. Center right, center left and Turkish nationalism political positions are nominal in İzmir.

Although a discrimination as left and right in a political way; it is seen that the votes in country can be divided into two part; democratic and republican. Besides; Turkish Nationalism can be used same as. Center right represents the democrats, center left represents the republicans. The sensibility for the social subjects, having a heterogenic structure and becoming integrated with society make center right parties democrats. On the other hand; center left parties can be named as republican with the identifications which are against change.

Table 4.12 General elections dominant party and second party vote rate and representation rate in İzmir between 1950-2011

Election Year	Dominant Party			Second Party		
	Party	Vote Rate (%)	Representation Rate (%)	Party	Vote Rate (%)	Representation Rate (%)
1950	DP	56.7	100	CHP	41.4	0
1954	DP	61.2	100	CHP	38.8	0
1957	DP	55.8	100	CHP	40.8	0
1961	AP	55	58.8	CHP	39.6	41.2
1965	AP	62.2	64.7	CHP	29.8	29.4
1969	AP	53.2	61.1	CHP	35.1	38.9
1973	CHP	44	50	AP	39.3	44.4
1977	CHP	52.7	57.9	AP	39.7	42.1
1983	HP	37.3	50	ANAP	34.5	31.3
1987	ANAP	35.8	42.1	SHP	35.6	52.6
1991	DYP	27.6	36.8	ANAP	25.6	42.1
1995	DSP	24.4	25	DYP	23.9	29.2
1999	DSP	40.4	58.3	ANAP	15.8	20.8
2002	CHP	29.1	66.7	GP	17.5	0
2007	CHP	35.5	45.8	AK PARTİ	30.5	37.5
2011	CHP	43.7	50	AK PARTİ	36.8	42.3

4.5 Topography of İzmir Population and Its' Possible Influence on Elections

"The phenomenon of migration is an effective event uponn socio-culturel, economical and political structures of societies. Migrations effect the immigrant-receiving fields as much as emigrant fields". (Mutluer,2003:9) Actually; immigrant population effects the social structure, culture, economy, policy of the country which they immigrate in directly proportionate to capacity of the migration. (Akkayan, 1979:20) Because of regional disparities in Turkey, domestic migrations are important social movements. The domestic migrations in Turkey are seen towards three big cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. After 2006, it would be easier to investigate on population. It is a recording system which has the informations about population according the settlement and it is also a system according to T.C identification number in Mernis records. Adress based population registration system (ADNKS) is a modern database with constant updates. Having been made in every 10 years with curfew, hhe population census are not be done anymore. Additionally;

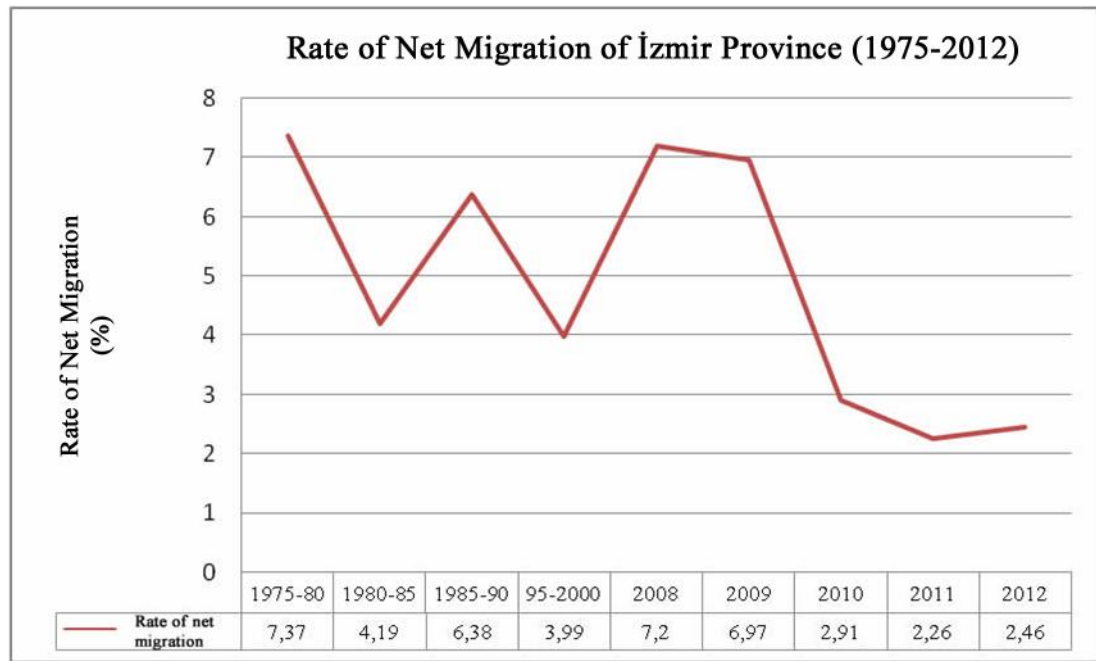
in this system there is no risks such as being not registered or overlapping (TÜİK). There is a sharp flow of information and up to date informations because of saving of datas securely. Basic statistics make researchers, citizens and public instutues to reach datas easier.

In this step of investigation, we emphasise the nominal migration which come from other cities of Turkey to İzmir in the five year period from the year 2007 to 2012. The cities which most emigrate to İzmir, the educational status of the migrating population and the immigration velocity of İzmir are going to be examine. "What extent of this situation may impact on elections?" question will be asked and answered.

İzmir became the center of attraction with both having have the biggest population in Aegean region and historical background and also with its industry which has been developing since 1950. According to Datas of TÜİK and according to Turkish ADNKS datas; the pure migration velocities of İzmir can be seen in Table 4.13, The datas in the period of 1975-2000, are seen by fives years period. (Table 4.13) The datas after 2008, with using ADNKS system, may give the chance to see the yearly changes. Between the period 1975-1980, net migration velocity of İzmir is %7.37. Being looked 67 cities in Turkey, İzmir has the highest migration velocity after Kocaeli (%11.29). Between the years 1980-1985, this number reduced to %4.19 with a decrease about %50. İzmir was ranked at the forth after Kocaeli, İstanbul and Mersin. On the other hand, in the five years period between 1985-1990, this number increased again and became %6.38. Within this period, when we look the situation throught out the country, Kocaeli and İstanbul, which are situated in Marmara region, are seen in the first two rank. The net migration velocity of Antalya and Mersin, which are located in Mediterranean Region, are higher than the migration velocity in İzmir. Between the years 1995-2000, net migration velocity of İzmir is %3.99. Throught out the country; Tekirdağ took the first place with development in industry and the touristic places such as Muğla and Antalya are seen follow this city. Bilecik took the rank of Kocaeli because of its geographical position. İstanbul and Bursa, where became attraction center with their industries, are the latter cities in list.

Furthermore; İzmir is the seventh thought out the country. When we look the census, which were made with ADNKS, it is seen that the net migration velocity of İzmir rose %7.2, furthermore; in 2009 this number became %6.97 with a little decrease. After 2010, the net migration velocity of İzmir decreased below the ratio %3, afterwards; in 2010, 2011 and 2012; this number became; in order of %2.91, %2.26 and %2.46.

Table 4.13 Rate of net migration of İzmir province between 1975-2012

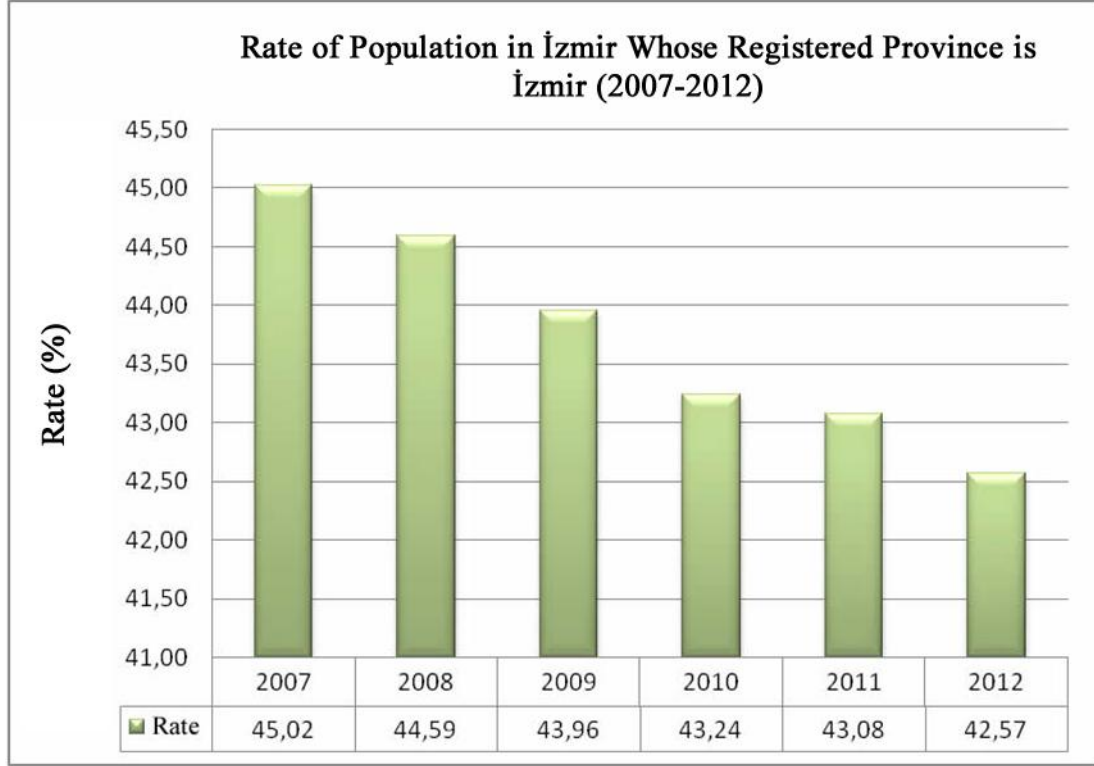


In 37 years period; the net migration velocity of İzmir never decreased the level minus. İzmir maintains the characteristics of being a city which emigrate although there are some decreases in due course. After 2010 it is seen that the net migration velocity of İzmir decreased substantially. As a reason of this, it can be thought that İzmir has little development and attraction according to other cities of Turkey. It is seen that there are not industrial enterprises and business opportunity in İzmir such as İstanbul and Ankara.

Between the years 2007-2012, when the population ratio, which belongs to İzmir, is examined, the population registered in İzmir is seen to be decreased. In 2007, the population which registered province to İzmir, is %45.02, on the other hand; in 2012,

this ratio decreased %42.57. In 2011 when the last general elections were made, this ratio was %43.08 (Table 4.14). With looking these number, it can be said that; the population lives in İzmir is higher than the population which come with migration.

Table 4.14 Rate of population in İzmir whose registered province is İzmir between 2007-2012



In 2011 when we look the situation in the counties, the cities in the center have low population which registered in İzmir, from center to peripheries; this ratio is seen to be increased. Bayraklı is seen that it is the town in which fewest population from İzmir lives in with the ratio %23.25. The other counties which includes fewest population from İzmir noticeably, are Narlıdere, Çiğli, Karabağlar, Gazimir and Buca. The counties which include most of population from İzmir, are seen in the north side of İzmir and east part. Kiraz has the highest ratio in İzmir with %96.76. Respectively; Kiraz, Ödemiş, Kınık, Bayındır, Tire and Bergama follows this county.

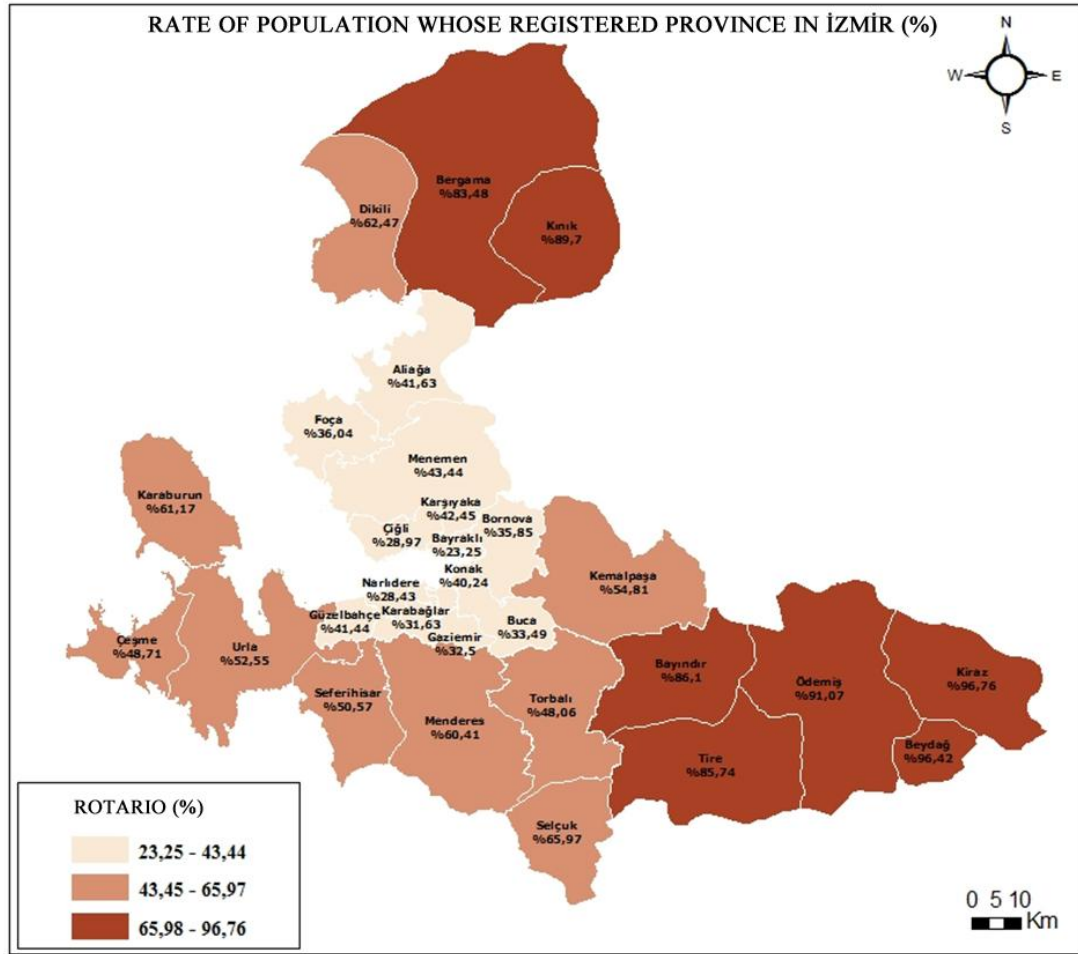


Figure 4.4 Rate of population in İzmir whose registered province is İzmir 2011

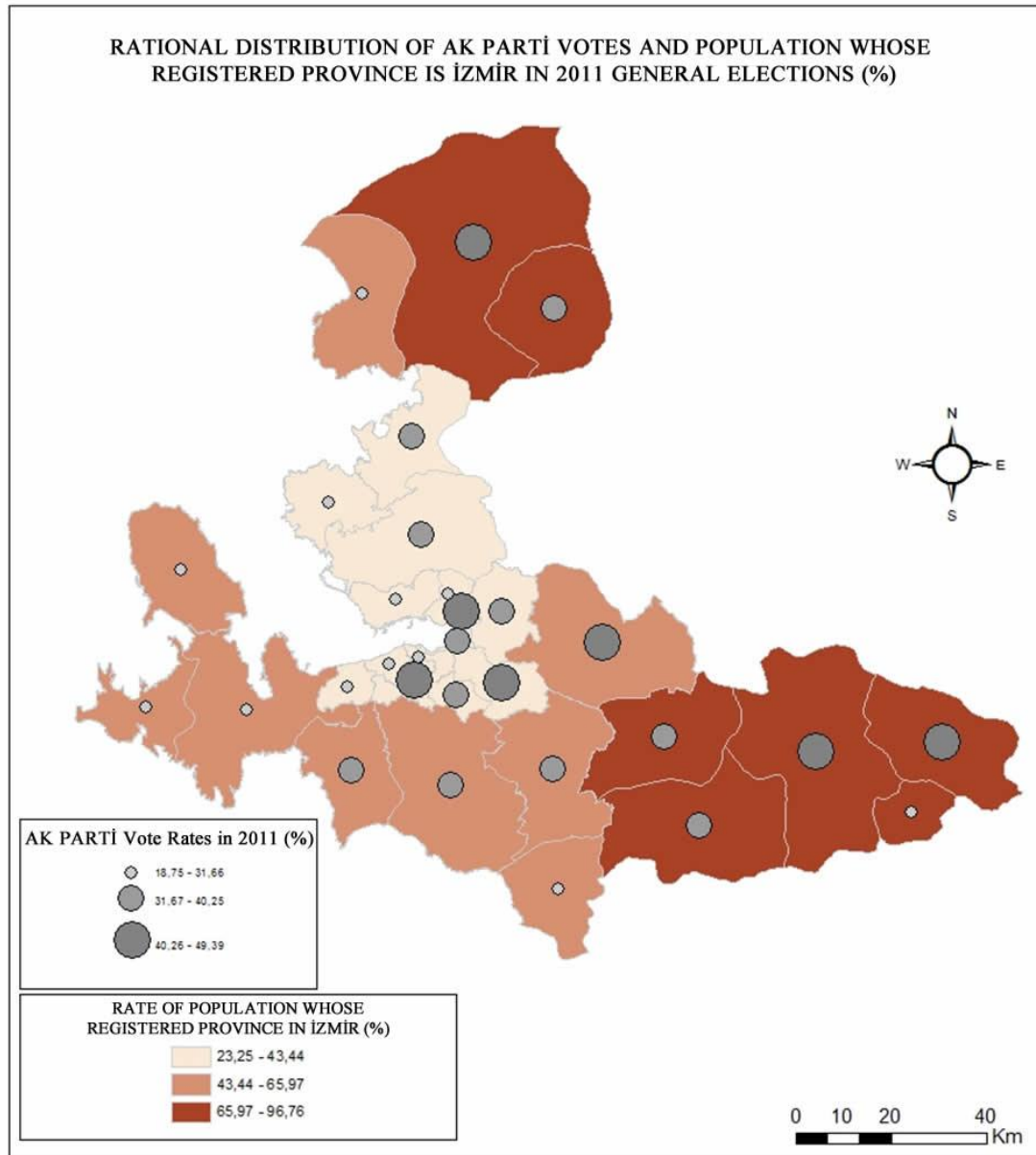


Figure 4.5 Rational distribution of AK PARTİ votes and population whose registered province is İzmir in 2011 general elections

When we analyse the election results in 2011 and 2011 ADNKS datas, it is seen that there are 7 counties includes population registered in İzmir more than %80. In Beydağ, of which population %96.76 İzmir registered, it is seen that; AK PARTİ was the first party with the ratio %45.30 in 2011. Additionally; it is seen that, in Ödemiş, AK PARTİ was also the first party with the votes ratio %45.93. Furthermore; AK PARTİ became the first in Tire, which includes %85.74 İzmir people, and in

Bergama, which includes %83.48 İzmir people. AK PARTİ received %39.85 vote ratio in Tire and it also received %41.72 vote ratio in Bergama.

There are 9 counties which have population registered İzmir below % 40 ratio. In four counties of these 9 counties; AK PARTİ became the first. The counties in which AK PARTİ became the first; are, with ratio of İzmir registered people, %23.25 Bayraklı, %31.63 Karabağlar, %35.50 Gaziemir and %33.49 Buca. AK PARTİ became the first respectively, %41.41, %42.36, %38.62 and %41.38.

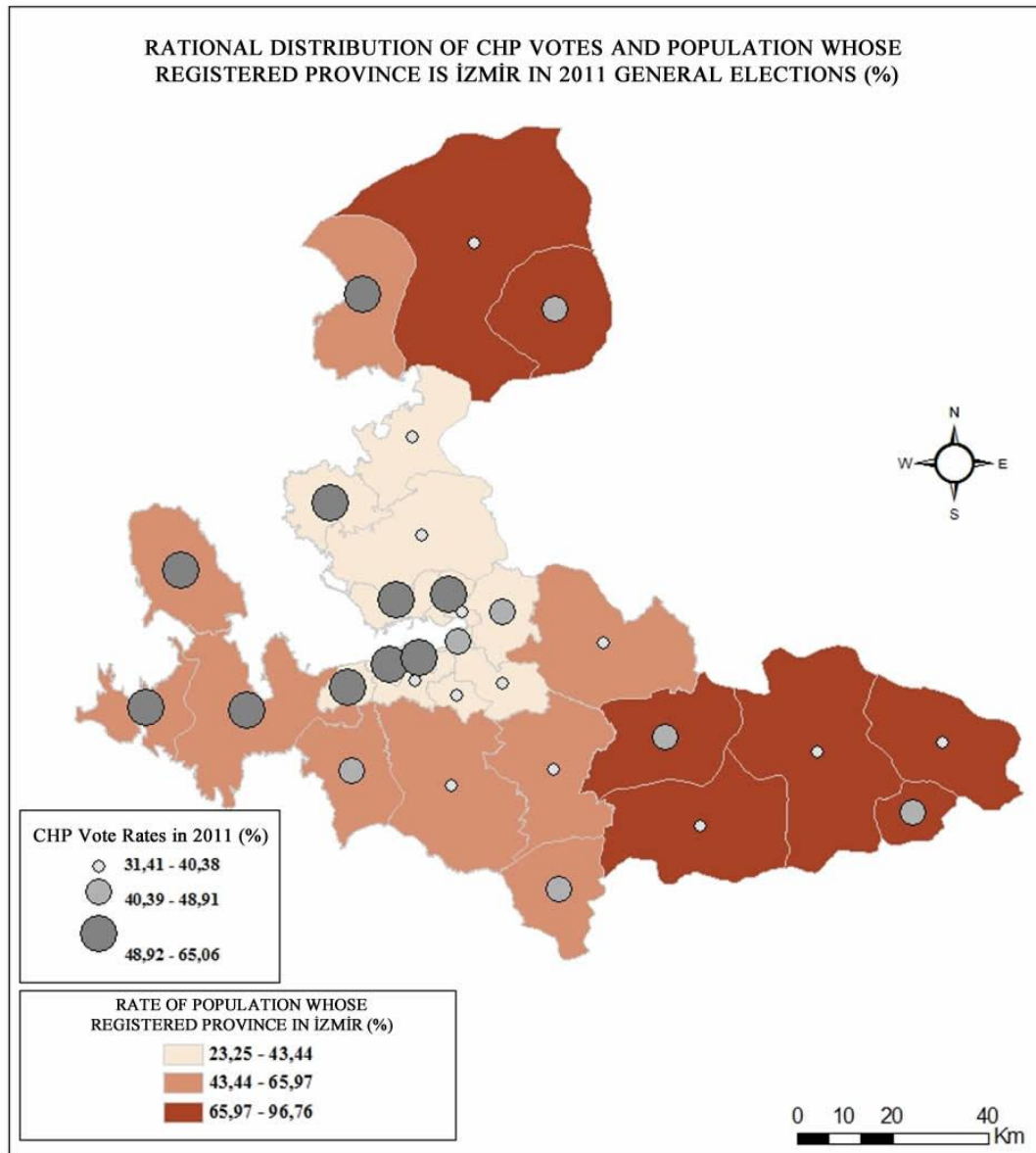


Figure 4.6 Rational distribution of CHP votes and population whose registered province is İzmir in 2011 general elections

When we analyse the results of 2011 elections, 2011 ADNKS datas and voting rate of CHP, in 7 counties which have İzmir registered population more than %80, we can see that CHP is the first party in Beydağ with the voting ratio of %48.91. In addition; it is seen that CHP was the first party in Kınık, which has %89.70 İzmir registered population, and also in Bayındır which has %86.10 İzmir registered population. In 2011 elections, CHP became the first party with the ratio % 43.67 in Kınık and with %42.58 in Bayındır. In the 5 counties among 9, which includes the İzmir registered population below %40, CHP became the first party. In Narlıdere with %28.43 İzmir registered population, Çiğli with %28.97 İzmir registered population, Balçova with %35.77 İzmir registered population, Bornova with %35.85 İzmir registered population, Bornova with %36.04 İzmir registered population, CHP became the first. CHP received the voting rate in these counties respectively; %65.06, %50.96, %55.47, %41.39 and %53.06. (Figure 4.6)

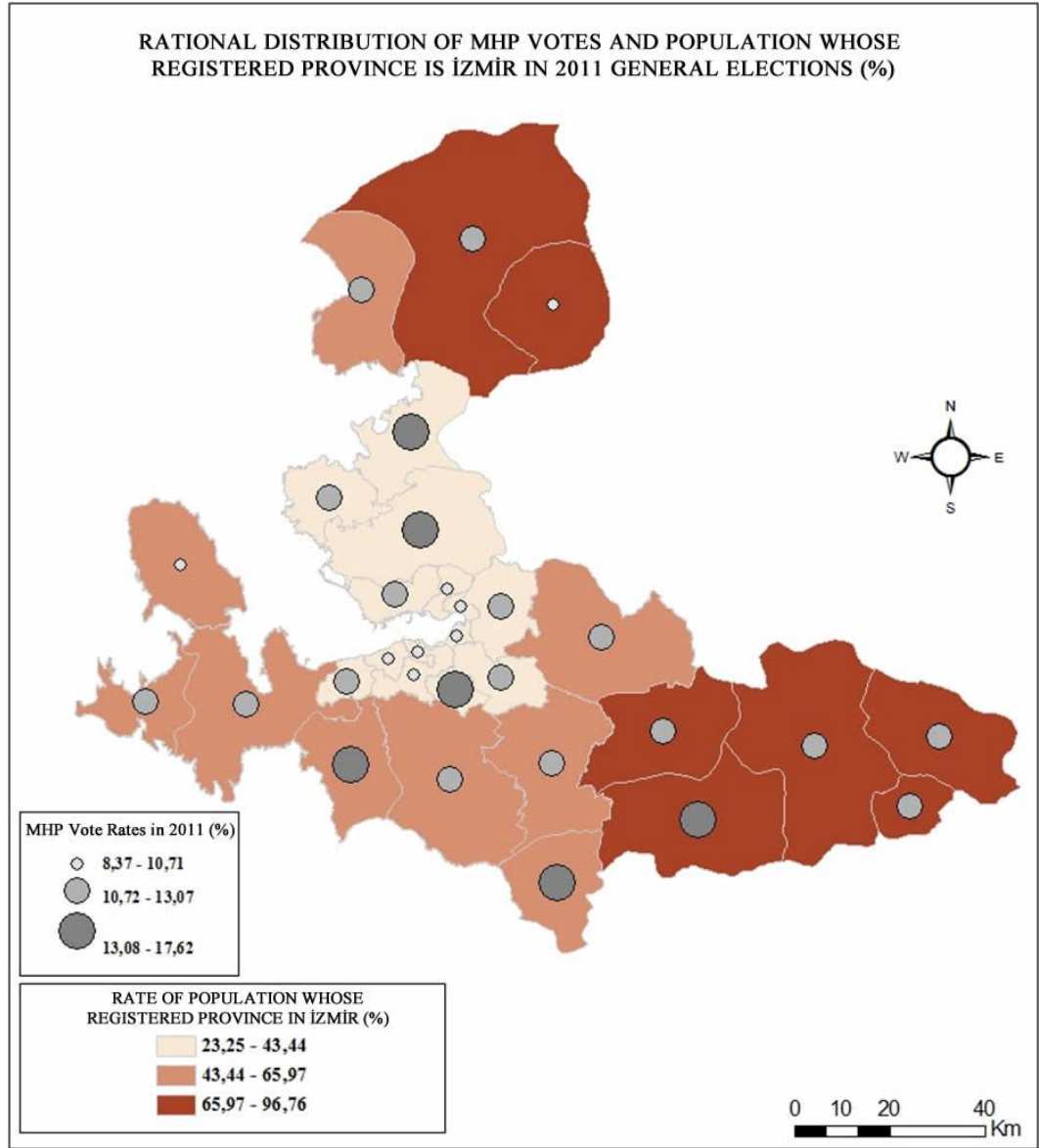


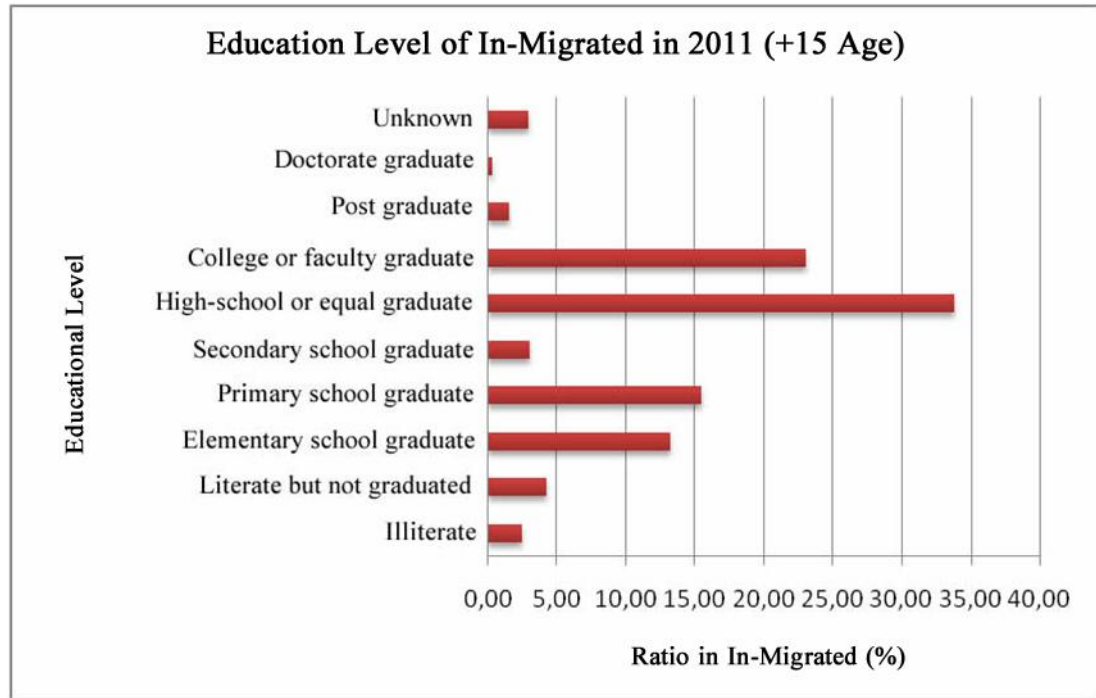
Figure 4.7 Rational distribution of MHP votes and population whose registered province is İzmir in 2011 general elections

When we analyse 2011 elections and 2011 ADNKS datas and voting rate of MHP; we can see that MHP didnt become the first party in 7 counties which have %80 İzmir registered population and also in the counties which have İzmir registered population below %40. When we look the results of 30 counties, it is seen that there is no counties in which MHP became the first. In 2011 general elections; MHP received votes at the rate of %11.3 in İzmir. When the counties are analysed according to İzmir registered people; in Tire, which has %11.3 İzmir registered population, MHP received votes at the rate %16.82. This rate is the highest which

MHP received among the counties. In 2011 elections; MHP received the highest rate of vote with %17.62 in Selçuk. The rate of İzmir registered population in Selçuk is %65.97. Among the 9 counties in which the rate of İzmir registered population is below %40, MHP received %14.31 in Gaziemir in which % 32.50 İzmir registered population (Figure 4.7).

Considering; the education status of +15 aged population, result of migration, the people who graduated from high schools and their equivalents are seen in the first place with the rate %33.86. The rate of graduated from universities is %23.07. On the other hand; primary education graduated people are in the third place with the rate %15.44. When we add high school graduation and their equivalents to this rate, it is seen that this number raises about %60. This situation shows us that; the education status of population which come to İzmir with migration, is higher up (Table 4.15).

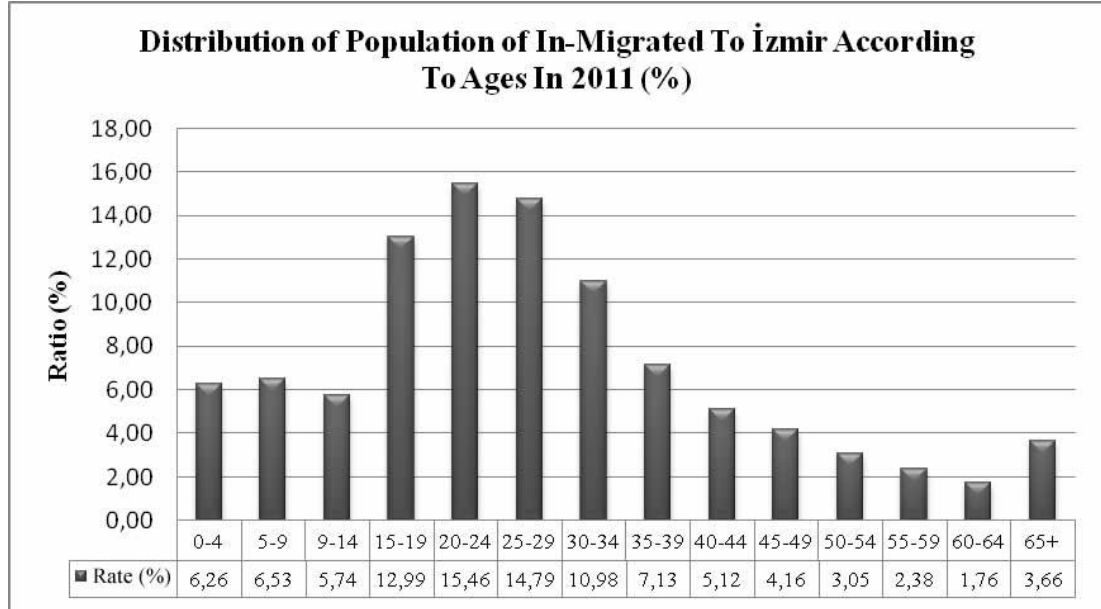
Table 4.15 İzmir's education level of in-migrated in 2011 (+15 age)



Considering the age group which comes with migration in 2011, it is seen that İzmir appeals to youthful population. In migration and population; maximal migration is between 20-24 with the rate %15.46. It is seen that; in the second place

25-29 with %14.79 ratio, in the third place 15-19 with %12.99 ratio, and the fourth place 30-34 with %10.98 ratio population came to İzmir in 2011 (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 Distribution of population of in-migrated to İzmir according to ages in 2011 (%)

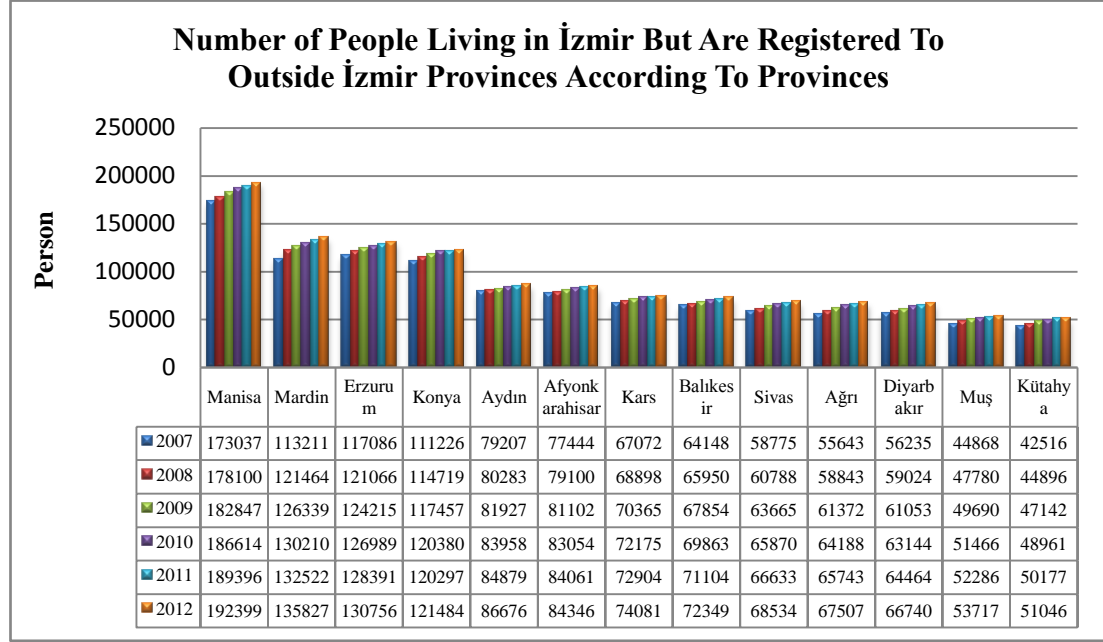


When being wanted build up a profile of people who come İzmir with migration in 2011; it is seen that educated and young population is predominant. Contrary to popular belief; actually; it is seen that İzmir is the city which is preferred by educated young population except retired population. Both private universities and state universities have an important role upon this situation.

Considering the cities in which registered population of İzmir could be found between the years 2007 and 2012, with the year 2012, there are 13 cities which have population over 50.000. Among these cities, four of them situated in Aegean Region. These cities are; Manisa, Aydın, Afyonkarahisar and Kütahya. The four cities composed of Erzurum, Kars, Ağrı and Muş, situated in Eastern Anatolia region, the two cities composed of Mardin and Diyarbakır situated in Southeastern anatolia. There are people from Balıkesir from Marmara region. There is no city from Mediterranean region and Blacksea Region. Manisa is in the first place because of being closer to İzmir. As of the year 2012; the number of people, who belongs to Manisa, but lives in İzmir is 192.399. Considering the cities above 100.000, in İzmir,

there are 135.827 people from Mardin, 130.756 people from Erzurum and 121.484 people from Konya (Table 4.17).

Table 4.17 Number of people living in İzmir but are registered to outside İzmir provinces according to provinces



Considering the political manners of these cities between the years 1983-2011; there is a difference between the aegean cities; Manisa, Aydın, Afyon, Kütahya and the central anatolian cities; Afyon, Kütahya. Central right votes were in the first place until 1999. It is seen that; Central left votes surpassed the central right votes only in 1999. But this difference shows that; Central left only couldnt surpass the central right votes more than 5 points. In these two aegean coast cities; Political İslam cannot find big supporters. Political İslam was below the average of country even in 1995 when political İslam was the most powerful. In three elections after 2000; it is seen that central right votes are more powerful. Central left votes surpassed the central right votes only in 2011 elections. In other two elections; Central right and Turkish Nationalism parties found supporters. There is a different situation in Afyon and Kütahya. Considering these eight elections; central right always became higher than others. Turkish nationalists and political İslam parties found supporters in a considerable extent. Additionally; in the elections after 2000; it is seen that Central right and Turkish nationalists were powerful.

Examining the political sides of Erzurum, Kars, Ağrı and Muş which are in eastern anatolia, Erzurum shows a different political view from others. In Erzurum, central-right, political İslam and Turkish nationalists votes are seen always leading political manners in each election period. It is seen that Central left votes couldnt be above %20 between the years 1983-2011. It is also seen that; Regional Kurdish Nationalism votes couldnt be above %10. In other three cities; Central left is powerful comparing Erzurum. It can be said that; in Kars, Central right votes found more supporters as compared with Muş. The most important feature which diffrentiate Kars from Ağrı and Muş, is that that; the political parties and individuals that have Regional Kurdish Nationalism political view can found less supporters. In 2000, the superiority of central right votes is seen in Kars. In Ağrı and Muş; it is seen that; Regional Kurdish Nationalism can find supporters in the first or second place.

Table 4.18 Dominating party between 1983-2011 (İzmir and the others city)

DOMINATING PARTY BETWEEN 1983-2011								
	2011	2007	2002	1999	1995	1991	1987	1983
Türkiye	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DSP	RP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP
İzmir	CHP	CHP	CHP	DSP	DSP	DYP	ANAP	HP
Manisa	AKPARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DSP	DYP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP
Mardin	BĞMSZ	AK PARTİ	DEHAP	HADEP	ANAP	SHP	ANAP	ANAP
Erzurum	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	FP	RP	RP	ANAP	ANAP
Konya	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	FP	RP	RP	ANAP	ANAP
Aydın	CHP	AK PARTİ	CHP	DSP	DYP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP
Afyonkarahisar	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	MHP	DYP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP
Kars	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DEHAP	HADEP	RP	SHP	ANAP	SHP
Balıkesir	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DSP	DYP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP
Sivas	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	FP	RP	RP	ANAP	ANAP
Ağrı	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DEHAP	HADEP	RP	DYP	ANAP	HP
Diyarbakır	BĞMSZ	BĞMSZ	DEHAP	HADEP	HADEP	SHP	SHP	HP
Muş	BĞMSZ	BĞMSZ	DEHAP	HADEP	RP	SHP	ANAP	ANAP
Kütahya	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	AK PARTİ	DYP	RP	DYP	ANAP	ANAP

In Diyarbakır, where is in the southeastern anatolia, the votes of Regional Kurdish Nationalists are seen. The year 1995 is an important date for this political view but 1991 elections may give us important informations about this policy. Although in the elections 1991, the votes of coalition between SHP and DEP may be seen as central left votes, it is seen that DEP increase the votes of SHP. Additonally; after 1991, the votes of Kurdish nationalism have increased in each election. The votes of candidates in Regional Kurdish nationalism are in a high level. Despite, In Mardin, the same situation is seen after 2000, it is seen that central right votes are in higher degree.

In Sivas and Konya; it is seen that centre right votes have ultra high power. In addition; the votes of Political İslam and Turkish nationalism are high. Especially after 2000, it might be seen that; centre right votes reach the ratio %80. In 1991, 1995 and 1999, we can see that Political İslam votes reach the degree such as %40.

If we consider about Balıkesir, in Marmara Region, except from 1999 elections; Centre right point of view takes the first place in all elections. But Centre left point of view always find supporters in the second place. In these 8 elections; the two point of views which come up above %20 voting rate are centre left and right. Meanwhile, Political İslam votes below the average of Turkey, the votes of Turkish Nationalism shows the rate which near the Turkey average (Table 4.18).

4.6 Specifying of Changeable Situations According to Political Ideologies in İzmir

Until 2011 from 1983, considering the eight general elections, until 1999 there is a dominance of central right political view in İzmir, as a result of an extra situation, in 1999, policial idea of İzmir shows a tendency to central left political view. The voting difference between central right and left shows %23.8 ratio in countenance for central left point of view in 1999. This number decreased 3.2 in 2002 election, 0.2 in 2007 elections and lastly 5.9 point in 2011 elections. It is seen that voters in İzmir prefer central left and right parties as a political ideology. It is also seen that the votes of Turkish nationalism and political islam are below the average of country in each

elections. Additionally; it is observed that voters in İzmir have discountenance to Political islam parties (Table 4.20).

Table 4.19 Distribution of votes in İzmir according to political wings (%)

Election Year	Center-Right	Center-Left	Political İslam	Turkish Nationalism	Extreme Left	Regional Ethnic Nationalism	Independents
1983	61,7	37,3	-	-	-	-	1
1987	51,9	44,8	2,3	1	-	-	0
1991	53,2	39,9	6	-	0,4	-	0,5
1995	43,2	38,7	8,4	5,6	0,3	3,7	0,1
1999	26,7	50,5	4,9	11,7	2	4,4	0
2002	31,6	34,8	0,8	8,4	1,8	5,2	0
2007	36,2	36	0,9	14,4	1	-	4
2011	38,1	44	0,8	11,6	0,2	-	4,8

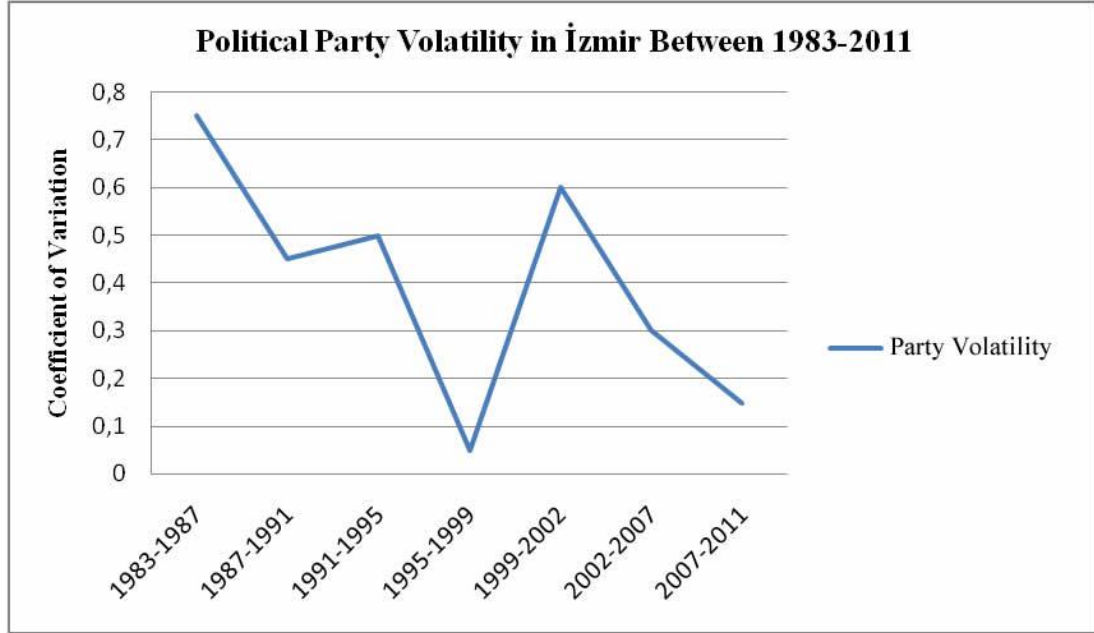
The proportional changes of voting rates can be defined with mathematical mobility or instability index. This formula shows that the voting ratio of "i" party received in elections in the date $V_i(t)$ and $V_i(t-1)$. If the voting rates of parties doesnt change in these two elections, the value of this index is 0, on the other hand if it changed, this value is 1 (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

$$VIX = 1/2 \sum_{i=1}^n [V_i(t) - V_i(t-1)] \quad (4.3)$$

Being calculated the party variability in İzmir, it is seen that İzmir voters make sharp curves. Another reason of party variability relates with the changeable situation of parties mostly in Turkey. For instance; when we observe the period between 1983-1987, the reason of party variability being high is that only ANAP attended the 1987 elections among the parties in 1983 elections. One of the fewest variables of parties is seen the elections between the years 1995-1999 as the value of 0.15. The reason of having been seen higher values in the elections 1999-2002 is that AK PARTİ and GP was seen in political area at first in 2002 elections. In the elections after 2002, the decrease of party variability can be comment that parties provides stability in

elections. The years that party variables show some changes, indicates the decreasing of political stability (Table 4.21).

Table 4.20 Political party volatility in İzmir between 1983-2011



4.7 İzmir General Elections in 2000s

After 2000, in Turkey, there were three general elections in 2002, 2007 and 2011. These elections had a challenge between three political parties in İzmir as in country wide. In these three elections, AK PARTİ, CHP and MHP had an important voting rate in İzmir and also in country wide. Except from 2002 elections, in the country wide, there are three political parties which deserve to represent in TBMM with passing the %10 electoral threshold, It is surely beyond the doubt that; the political parties which have Kurdish Nationalist point of view had an important role in the conditions which reflects the country's agenda although they had less voting rate. But in the elections 2007 and 2011, having been in election situation with independent candidates makes their researchments hard. Because it is impossible to think that all independent candidates related with the regional kurdish nationalism political point of view. In 2002 elections, AK PARTİ, CHP and MHP received %54 of votes in

İzmir. In 2007 elections they had %79.9 of votes and in 2011 they received %91.8 of votes.

Table 4.21 Dominant and second party, vote rate and representation rate in İzmir between 1950-2011

Election Year	Dominant Party			Second Party		
	Party	Vote Rate (%)	Representation Rate (%)	Parti	Vote Rate (%)	Representation Rate (%)
1950	DP	56.7	100	CHP	41.4	0
1954	DP	61.2	100	CHP	38.8	0
1957	DP	55.8	100	CHP	40.8	0
1961	AP	55	58.8	CHP	39.6	41.2
1965	AP	62.2	64.7	CHP	29.8	29.4
1969	AP	53.2	61.1	CHP	35.1	38.9
1973	CHP	44	50	AP	39.3	44.4
1977	CHP	52.7	57.9	AP	39.7	42.1
1983	HP	37.3	50	ANAP	34.5	31.3
1987	ANAP	35.8	42.1	SHP	35.6	52.6
1991	DYP	27.6	36.8	ANAP	25.6	42.1
1995	DSP	24.4	25	DYP	23.9	29.2
1999	DSP	40.4	58.3	ANAP	15.8	20.8
2002	CHP	29.1	66.7	GENÇ PARTİ	17.5	0
2007	CHP	35.5	45.8	AK PARTİ	30.5	37.5
2011	CHP	43.7	50	AK PARTİ	36.8	42.3

4.7.1 2002 General Elections

2002 general elections recognised in an extraordinary situation. In 2001, the greatest economic depression of countrys history occured. It can be said that; in 2002 general elections, voters might vote with the effecton of this economical depression. These elections might be said that; they are the elections in which political parties lose their power, newly established AK PARTİ, and having been placed in TBMM, CHP, and also the elections which GENÇ PARTİ had a great effect. The same situation was seen in İzmir also. In the eight elections between 1983-2011 years in

İzmir, the lowest turnout in elections occurred in this election with the ratio of %80.1. As a result of election, CHP became the first party with %29.1. The second party was Genç Parti with %17.5. The third party was AK PARTİ with %17.2 voting rate. Additionally; MHP became the 5th political party with %7.8 in 2002 İzmir elections with having been below DYP. But GP couldn't send parliamentarians to TBMM with being below the %10 electoral threshold. CHP had 16 parliamentarians, AK PARTİ had 8 parliamentarians.

Considering the counties of İzmir, in the cities where located throughout the seashores, it is seen that CHP becomes the first party. DYP, which had no parliamentarians and received %9.3 of votes, it is seen that it becomes the first in seven counties. DYP also becomes the first party in Bergama, Kınık, Kiraz, Beydağ, Ödemiş, Bayındır and Tire. AK PARTİ could be only the first party in Kemalpaşa. GP, which became the second throughout İzmir, becomes the first party only in Torbalı (Figure 4.8).

Having shared of 24 parliamentarians between the parties CHP and AK PARTİ, brings forward the justice in representation issue. Although the votes of these two parties are %46.3, it is seen that they represent %100 of community. Actually, in 2002 elections, the decisions of %52.7 voters in İzmir didn't reflect upon assembly.

Considering the received votes of parties according to counties, the votes of these three parties couldn't be researched according to counties in 2002, on the other hand, for observing the changes, with the law accepted in March 6th 2008, numbered 5747 cabinet decree, the counties Karabağlar and Bayraklı was accepted as counties in 2002.

In 2002, AK PARTİ received %17.2 votes throughout İzmir. Additionally; it received %34.4 throughout the country. If we observe the situations in 30 counties; we might see that it received the votes above this rate only in 11 counties. The counties in which AK PARTİ received above %17.2; are Ödemiş, Menderes, Gaziemir, Karabağlar, Buca, Kemalpaşa, Bornova, Bayraklı, Aliaga, Kınık and

Bergama. AK PARTİ received the highest vote in Kemalpaşa with %26.78 votin ratio. Considering the geographical separation of AK PARTİ votes in 2002; it is seen that it was intensified in the counties behind seashore counties. On the other hand; it is observed that, votes of AK PARTİ reached the high levels in Aliğa, Bergama and Kınık that are located in the west of İzmir (Figure 4.9).

When votes of CHP are analysed, we observe that CHP received %29.1 voting rate in İzmir. It is also seen that CHP received %10 higher votes than throughout the country. On the basis of counties; considering the CHP votes; CHP is seen that it received above the average of İzmir, in 13 counties. In Narlıdere, Karşıyaka, Urla, Çeşme, Balçova, Karaburun, Foça, Çiğli, Güzelbahçe, Dikili, Bayraklı, Seferihisar and Konak, CHP is seen to have received higher than country average. We see that CHP received less votes than country average only in three counties of İzmir. In Tire, Kiraz and Bayındır counties, CHP was seen having placed below the country average. The counties where CHP received the highest votes, are Narlıdere (%49.89), Karşıyaka (%43.63) and Urla (%40.04). When we observe the separation of CHP votes in the countrywide, the intensity is seen gulf parts and it is seen that a decrease of voting rate can be seen when we away from gulf parts (Figure 4.10).

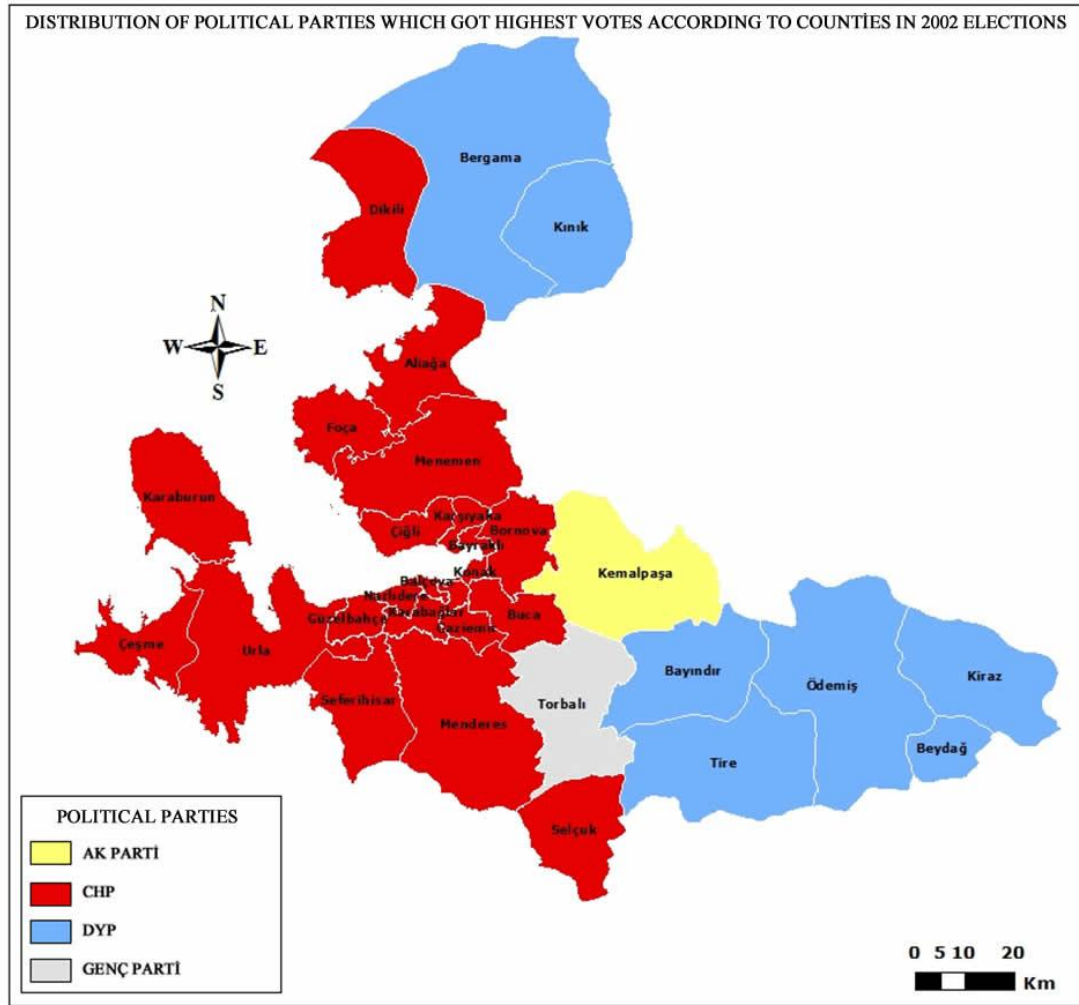


Figure 4.8 Distribution of political parties which got highest votes according to counties in 2002 elections

One of the loser parties in 2002 elections is MHP. MHP was the second party throughout the country in 1999 elections with % 18 vote rate, but in 2002 elections it stood only with % 8.4. In İzmir, it was below the average by taking % 7.8 vote rate. When investigating the votes of MHP in the towns in İzmir, we see that MHP passed the average of whole İzmir in % 67 of the towns. On the contrary, it took the votes more than % 10 in Selçuk (% 16.38), Tire (% 11.32), Menderes (% 10.63), and Menemen (% 10.31). Again we see that the votes of MHP had a heterogeneous distributions in İzmir in the 2002 elections (Figure 4.11).

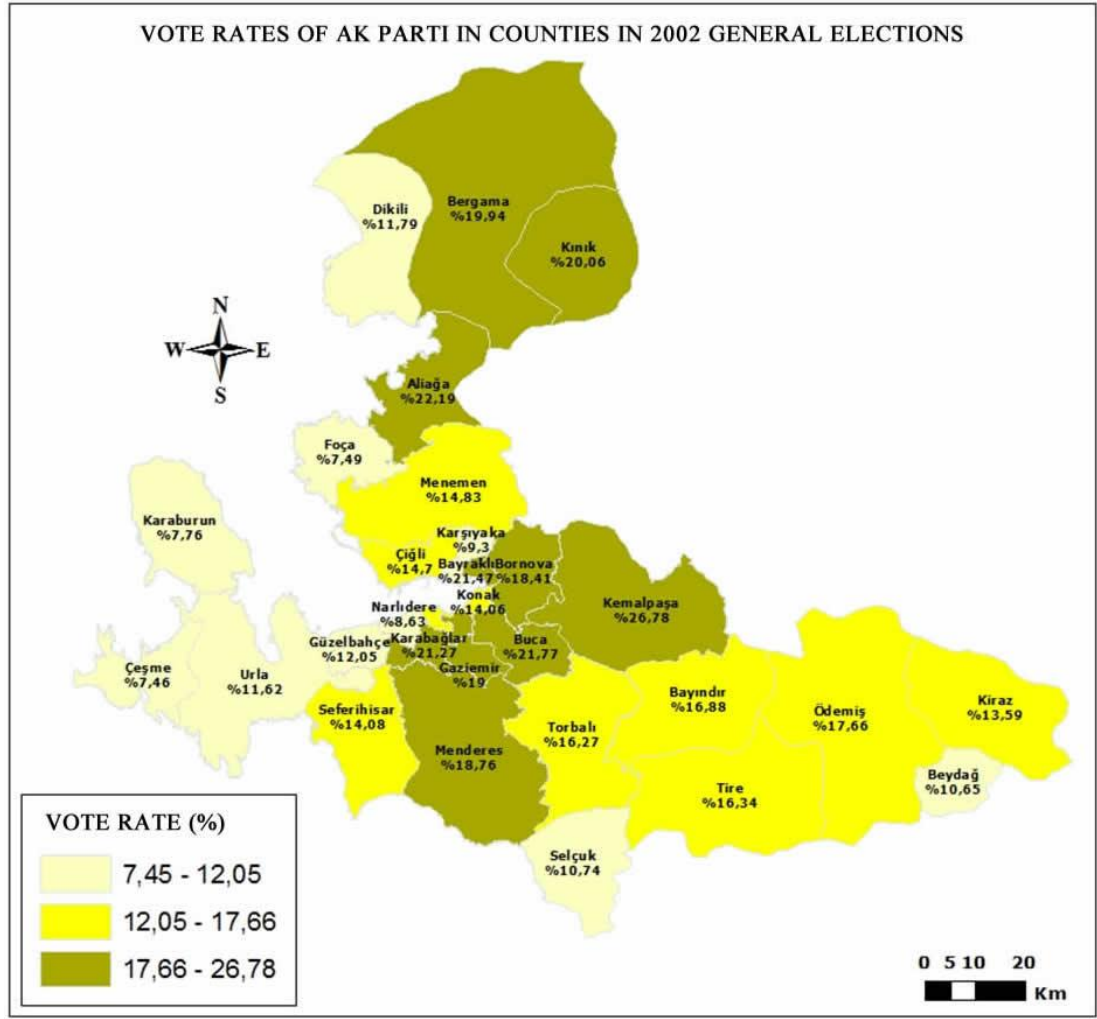


Figure 4.9 Vote rates of AK PARTİ in counties in 2002 general elections

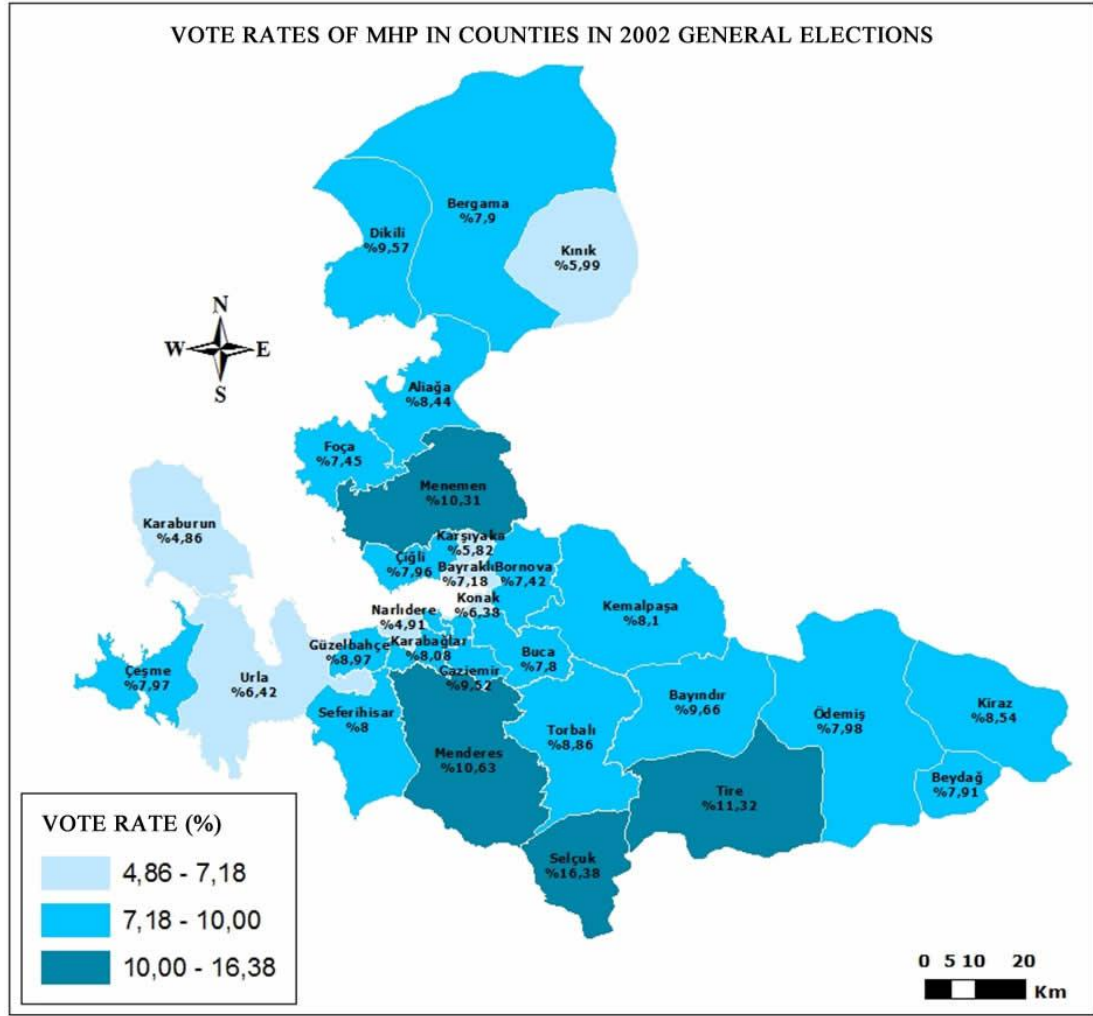


Figure 4.11 Vote rates of MHP in counties in 2002 general elections

4.7.2 2007 General Elections

There were three parties which had a right to get into parliament by passing the % 10 election threshold. They were AK PARTİ, CHP and MHP. Moreover, the independent candidates called “Bin Umut Adayları”, who were supported by DTP, ÖDP, EMEP and SDP, had a right to get into parliament with 20 candidates and set up a group under the same roof of DTP.

In 2007 elections, AK PARTİ, CHP and MHP took more than % 10 of votes in İzmir. The sharing of 24 candidates was so; CHP 11, AK PARTİ 9 and MHP 4 candidates. When we look at the distribution of the first party, we see that only CHP and AK PARTİ were the first place in towns. CHP get first place in 16 towns, AK

PARTİ in 14 towns. CHP surpassed in the west counties of İzmir, AK PARTİ in the east and southeast counties (Figure 4.12).

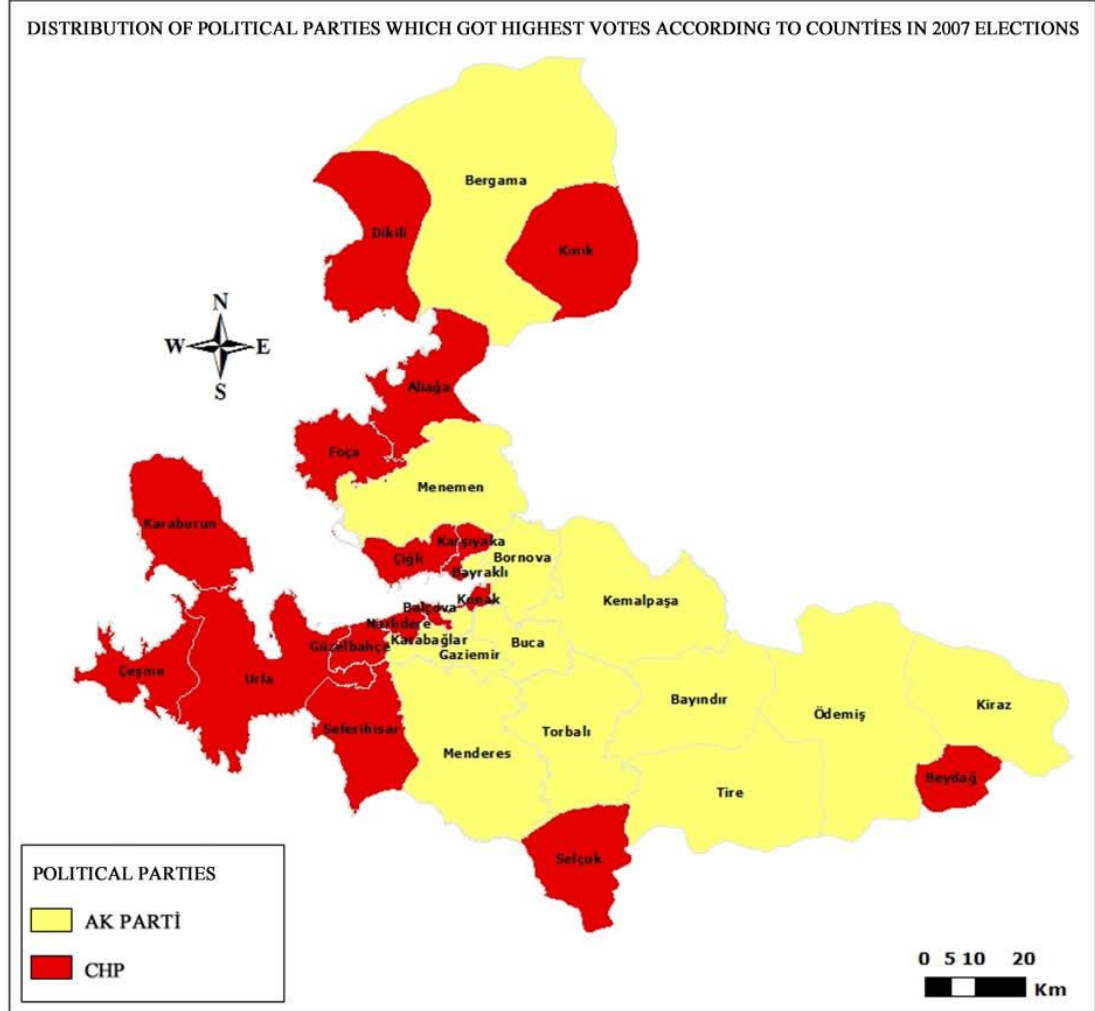


Figure 4.12 Distribution of political parties which got highest votes according to counties in 2007 elections

In 2007 elections, AK PARTİ took % 30.5 of the votes in İzmir. In countrywide, it took % 46.6 by standing below with the rate % 15.1 than in İzmir. When we look at the 30 counties in İzmir, AK PARTİ took the votes above the average only in 12 counties. These counties were Aliağa, Bayraklı, Bornova, Buca, Gaziemir, Karabağlar, Kemalpaşa, Kınık, Kiraz, Ödemiş, Tire and Torbalı. AK PARTİ took the furthest votes with the rate of % 38.98 in Kemalpaşa. The fewest rate was in Narlıdere with the rate of % 16.7. We can see that AK PARTİ's votes were dense in

Kemalpaşa and its burbs in 2007 elections. But in central districts, in the shoreline counties they were poor (Figure 4.13).

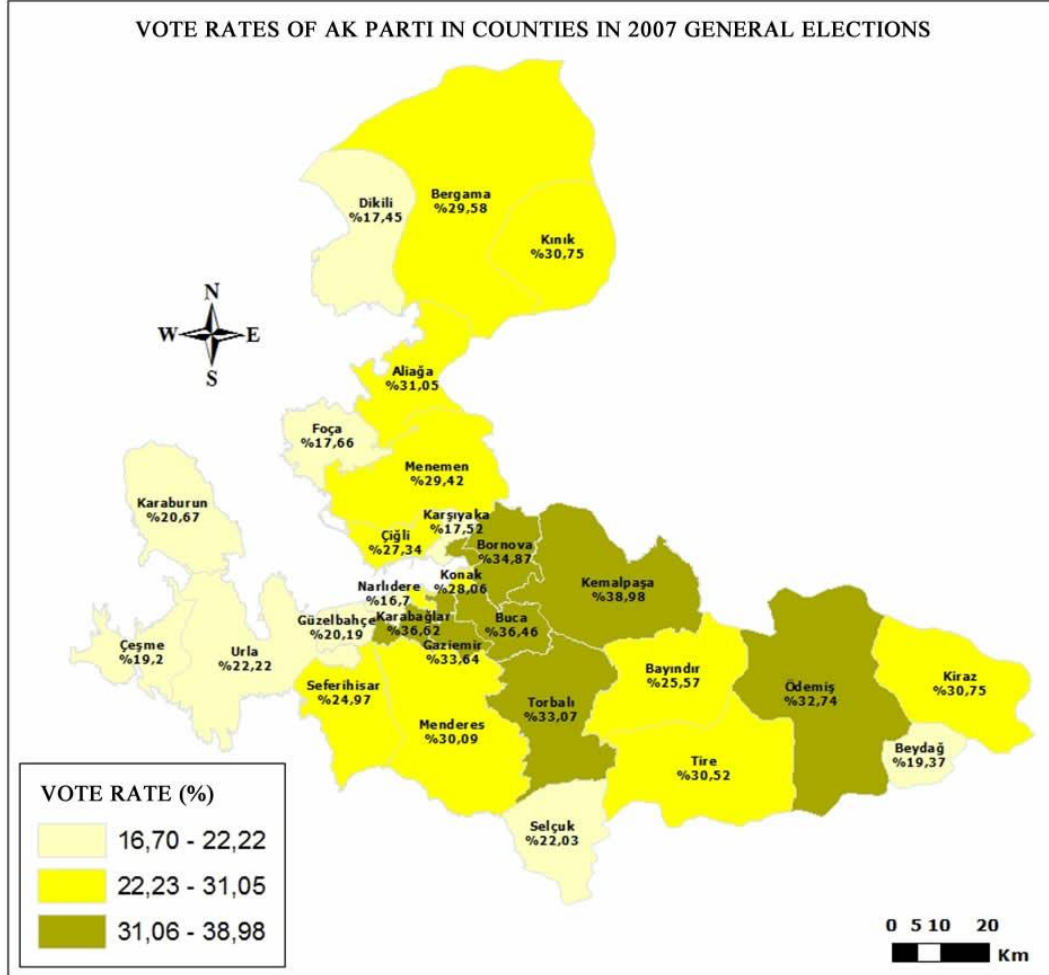


Figure 4.13 Vote rates of AK PARTİ in counties in 2007 general elections

When we investigate the votes of CHP, we see that it took % 35.5 of the votes in İzmir. In countrywide, it took % 20.5. On the basis of the counties, CHP was above the average of İzmir in 13 counties. They were Balçova, Beydağ, Çeşme, Çiğli, Dikili, Foça, Güzelbahçe, Karaburun, Karşıyaka, Konak, Seferihisar and Urla. In 2007 elections, we see that CHP did not take the votes in İzmir under the rate of whole country. The fewest rates were in Kiraz (% 24.17), Kemalpaşa (% 24.68) and Bayındır (% 25.5). CHP took the furthest votes in Narlıdere (% 56.92), Karşıyaka (% 54.39) and Çeşme (% 49.1). We can see that the votes became dense along gulf coast and in west coast of İzmir (Figure 4.14).

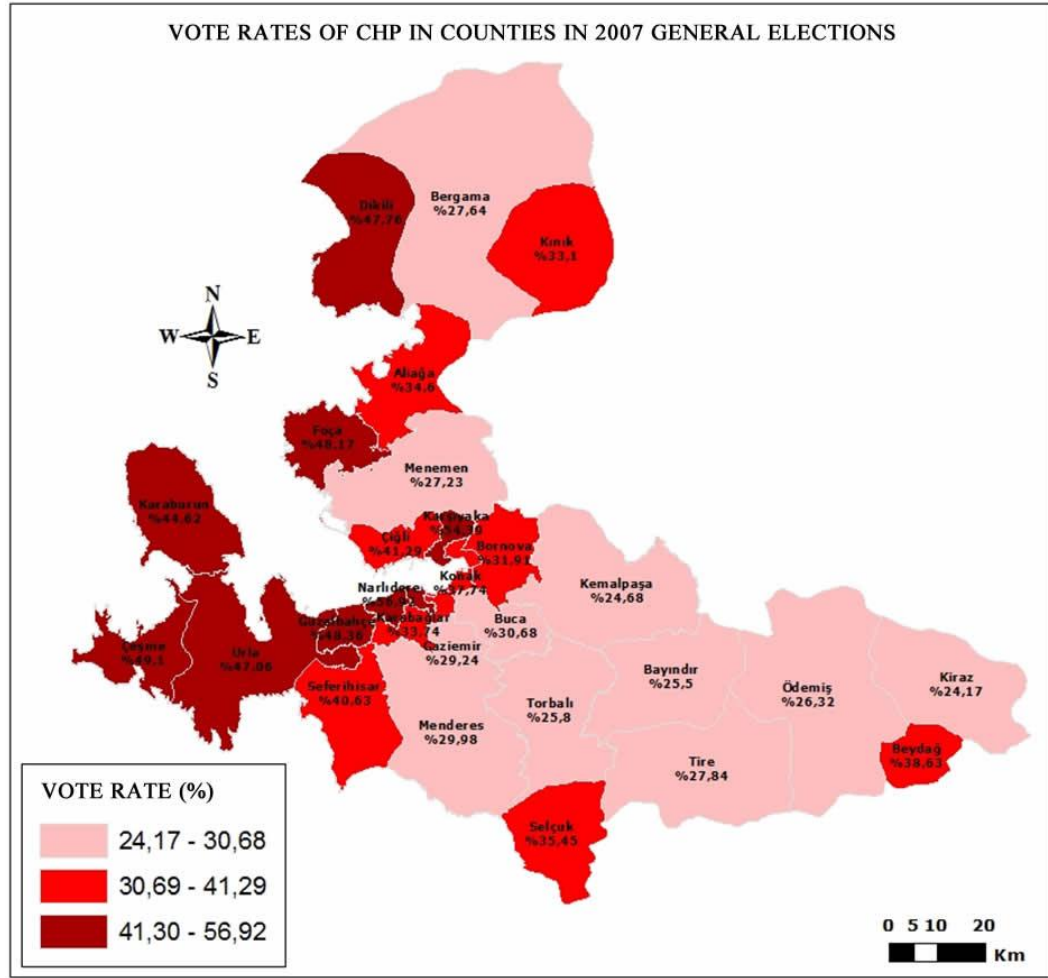


Figure 4.14 Vote rates of CHP in counties in 2007 general elections

In 2007 elections, MHP became the third with the rate % 14.3. Likewise, it became the third with % 13.9 in İzmir. But it was below the average of country. When considering the counties of İzmir, we see that MHP took the votes more than the average of İzmir in 17 counties from 30. It was below % 10 only in Narlıdere (% 9.47), Ödemiş (% 8.92) and Beydağ (% 8.91). In other 27 counties, MHP passed the rate % 10. MHP took the furthest votes in Bayındır (% 25.56), Selçuk (% 26.31) and Menemen (% 22.56). The density is seen in north coast and southeast of İzmir (Figure 4.15).

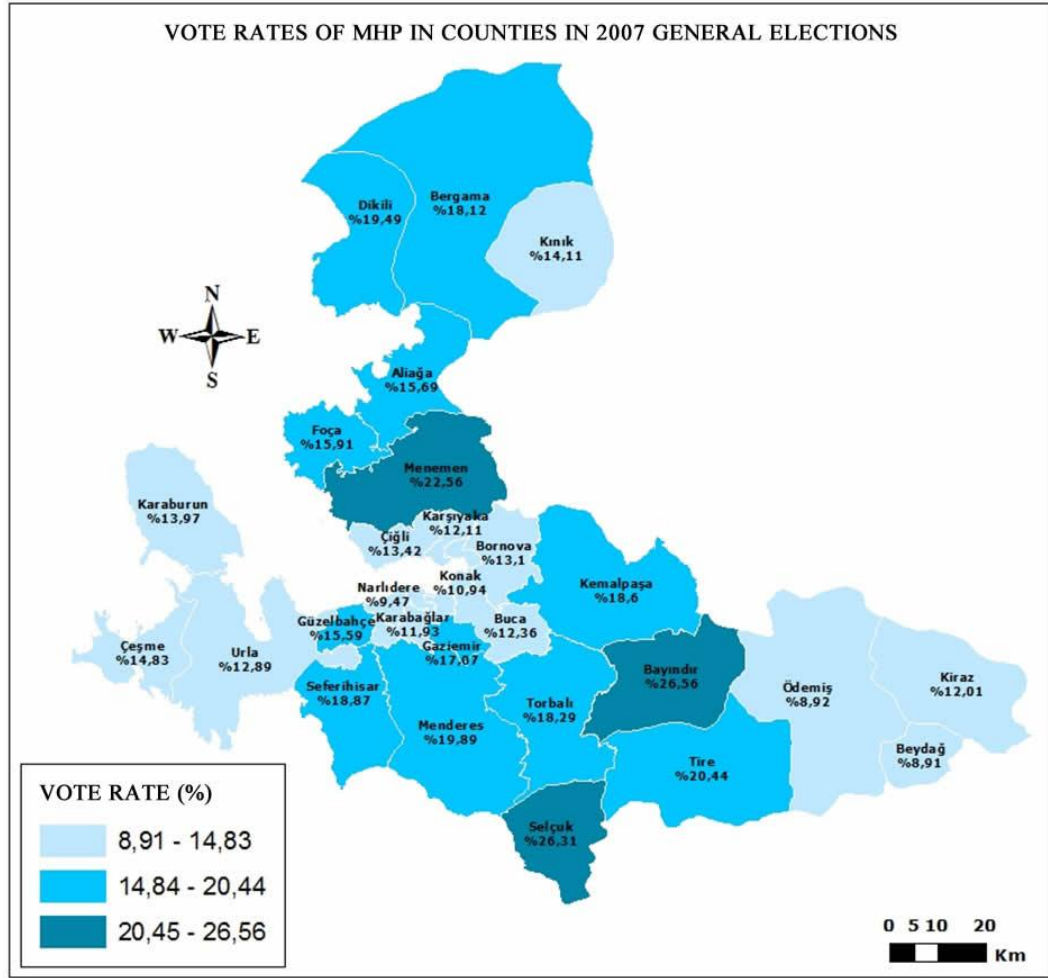


Figure 4.15 Vote Rates Of MHP in Counties in 2007 General Elections

4.7.3 2011 General Elections

The 2011 elections were made in 12 June in this political setting. One of the most important qualifications of 2011 elections is that it was the first election which was not an early election after 34 years. The number of the participator parties was 15. The number of the voters was 43.914.948. The ratio of attending to the election was % 83.2. At the end of the elections, only 3 parties had a right to get into parliament by passing the % 10 election threshold. The party which came the first was AK PARTİ. It took % 49.8 of the votes. The 550 seats were filled by 327 representatives of AK PARTİ. The second party was CHP which represents center-left. By taking % 26 of the votes, CHP got 135 of the seats. The last party which had the right of getting into parliament was MHP. It took % 13 of the votes. It was represented by 53

representatives in parliament. The number of the independent deputies was 35. As the 2007 elections, we should investigate the 2011 elections in two groups. About 20 political parties, the independent candidates of Labour, Democracy and Independence block which was supported by non-governmental organizations and the independent candidates which were not related to any parties participated in the election. The Labour, Democracy and Independence block nominated 65 deputies in 41 cities as candidates. 34 of these were in parliament.

In İzmir, the first party was CHP in 2011 elections. It took % 43.7 of the votes. In the second place, there was AK PARTİ which took % 36.8 of the votes. MHP was the third party. It took % 11.3 of the votes. The sharing of the 26 deputies in İzmir was so; CHP 13, AK PARTİ 11 and MHP 2.

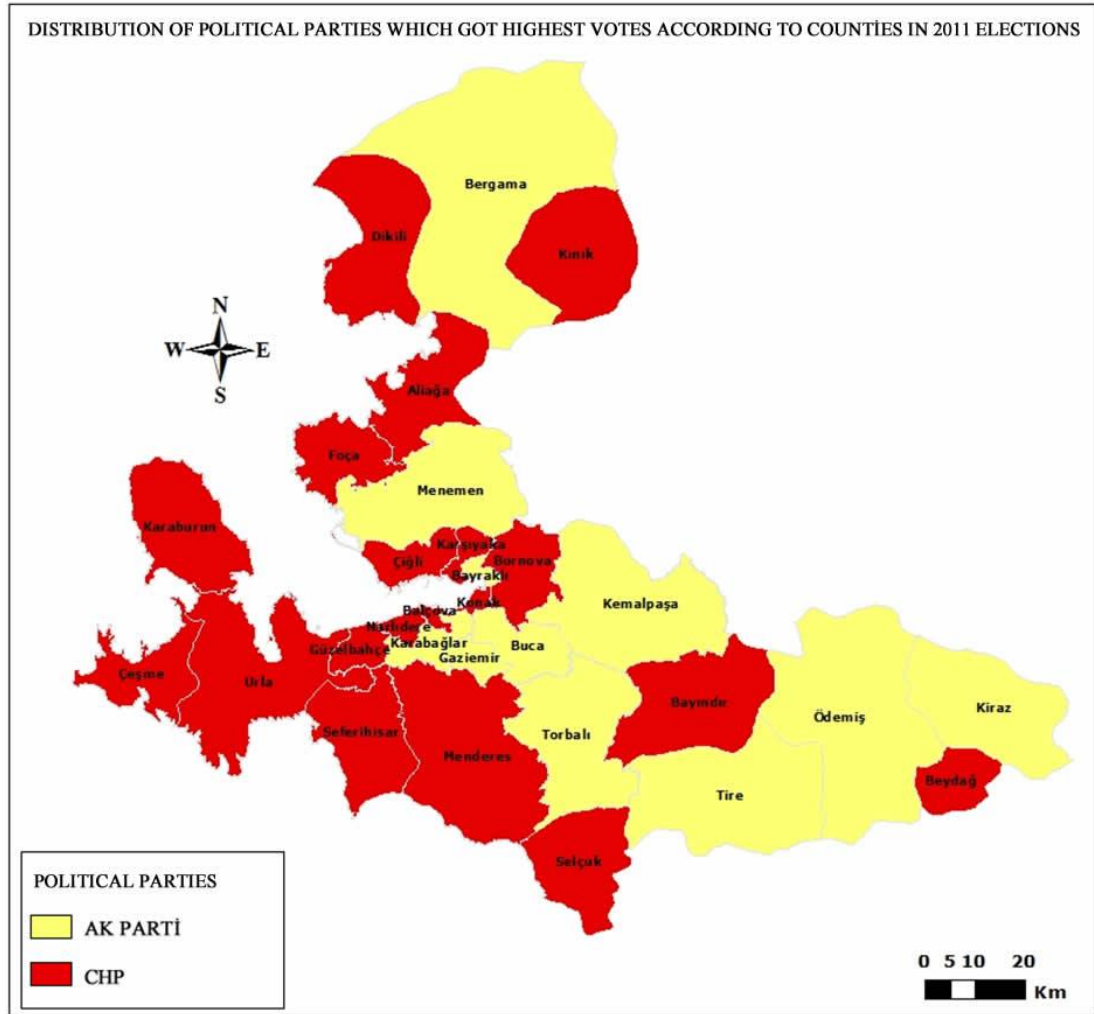


Figure 4.16 Distribution of political parties which got highest votes according to counties in 2007 elections

When we look at the distribution of the first place, we see that only CHP and AK PARTİ could be the first in counties. In 19 counties CHP, in 11 counties AK PARTİ were the first parties. CHP surpassed in the west coast of İzmir. AK PARTİ could be successful in the east and southeast coasts of İzmir (Figure 4.16).

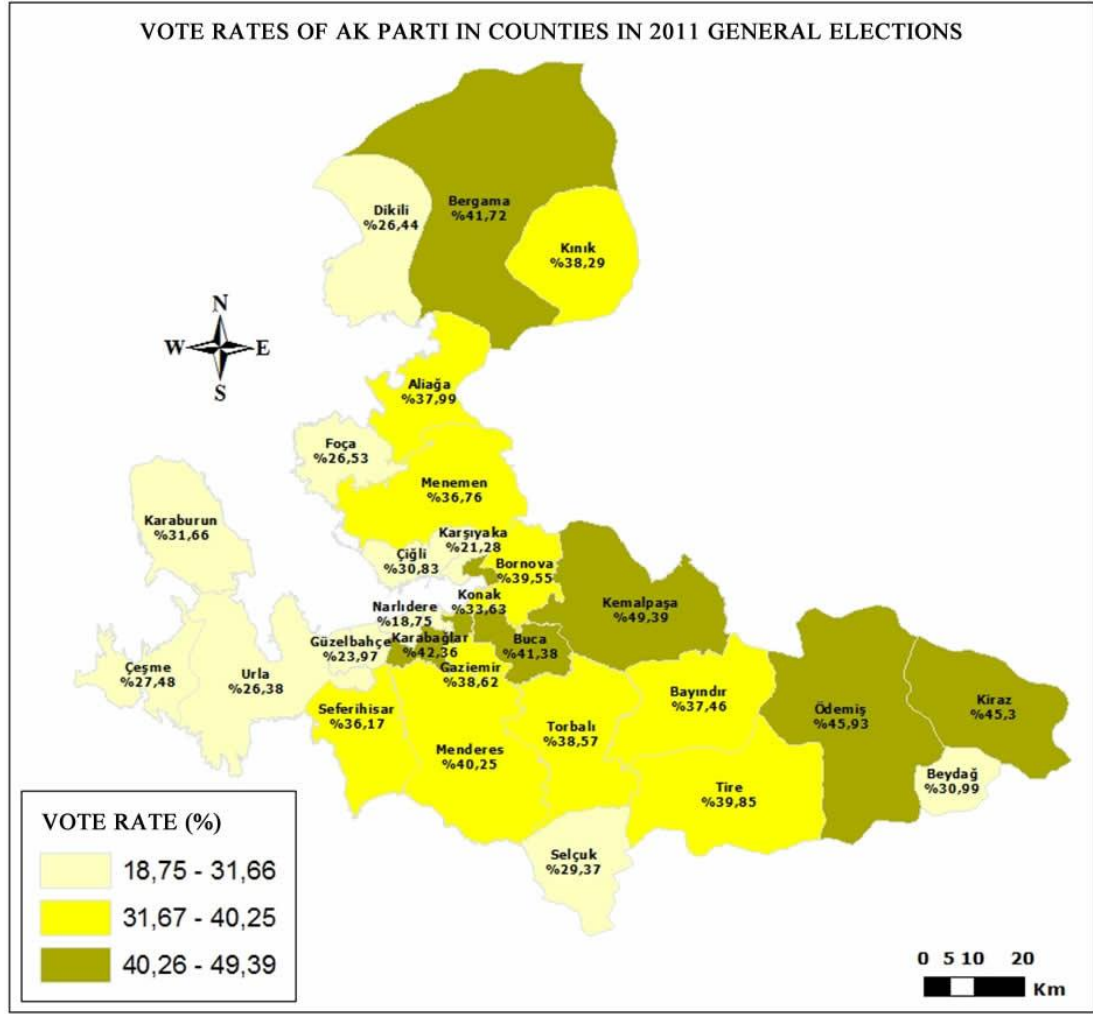


Figure 4.17 Vote rates of AK PARTİ in counties in 2011 general elections

In 2011 elections, AK PARTİ took % 36.8 of the votes in İzmir. Taking % 49.8 of the votes in countrywide, AK PARTİ was below this average with % 13. When we look at to 30 counties, it was above the average of İzmir only in 15 counties. These counties were Aliğa, Bayındır, Bergama, Bornova, Kemalpaşa, Kınık, Kiraz, Ödemiş, Tire, Torbalı, Buca, Menderes, Gaziemir, Bayraklı and Karabağlar. AK PARTİ took the furthest votes in Kemalpaşa (% 49.39), Ödemiş (% 45.93) and Kiraz (% 45.3). The fewest rate was in Narlıdere with % 18.75. Geographically, AK PARTİ was successful in south, southeast and east coasts of İzmir. We can see that the votes became poor along gulf coast, but dense centripetally (Figure 4.17).

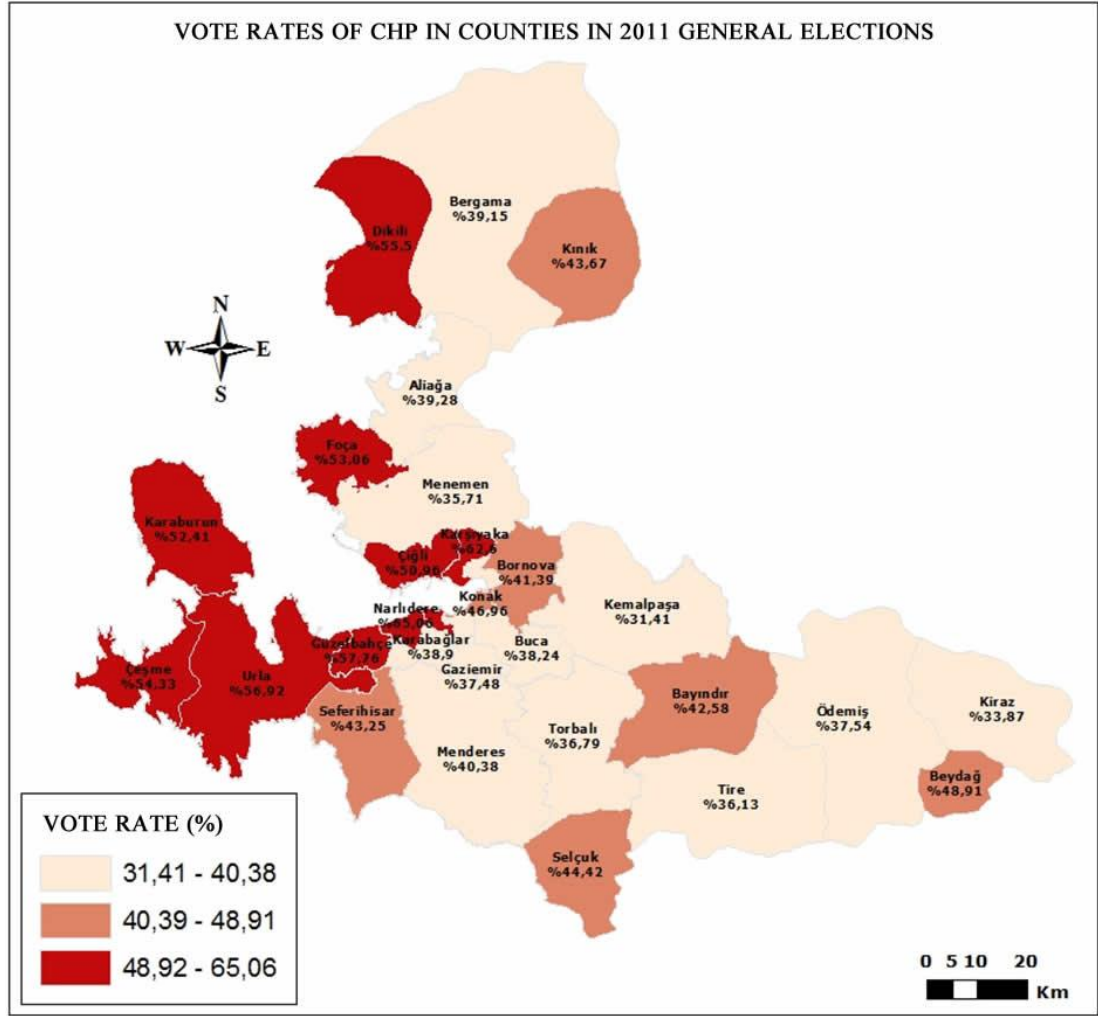


Figure 4.18 Vote rates of CHP in counties in 2011 general elections

We see that CHP took % 43.7 of the votes in İzmir in 2011 elections. Taking % 26 of the votes in countrywide, CHP was above this average with % 17.7. When we look at to 30 counties, CHP was above the average of İzmir in 13 counties. They are Balçova, Beydağ, Çeşme, Çiğli, Dikili, Foça, Güzelbahçe, Karaburun, Karşıyaka, Konak, Narlıdere, Selçuk and Urla. We also see that CHP was below the average of Turkey in each 30 counties. The fewest rate was in Kemalpaşa (% 31.41), Kiraz (% 33.87) and Menemen (% 35.71). Even in the county that CHP's fewest rate, it took the votes above the average of Turkey with % 5.61. CHP took the furthest votes in Narlıdere (% 65.06), Karşıyaka (% 62.6) and Güzelbahçe (%57.76). When we look at the distribution of the votes, we see that it was successful in gulf coast and west coast of İzmir (Figure 4.18).

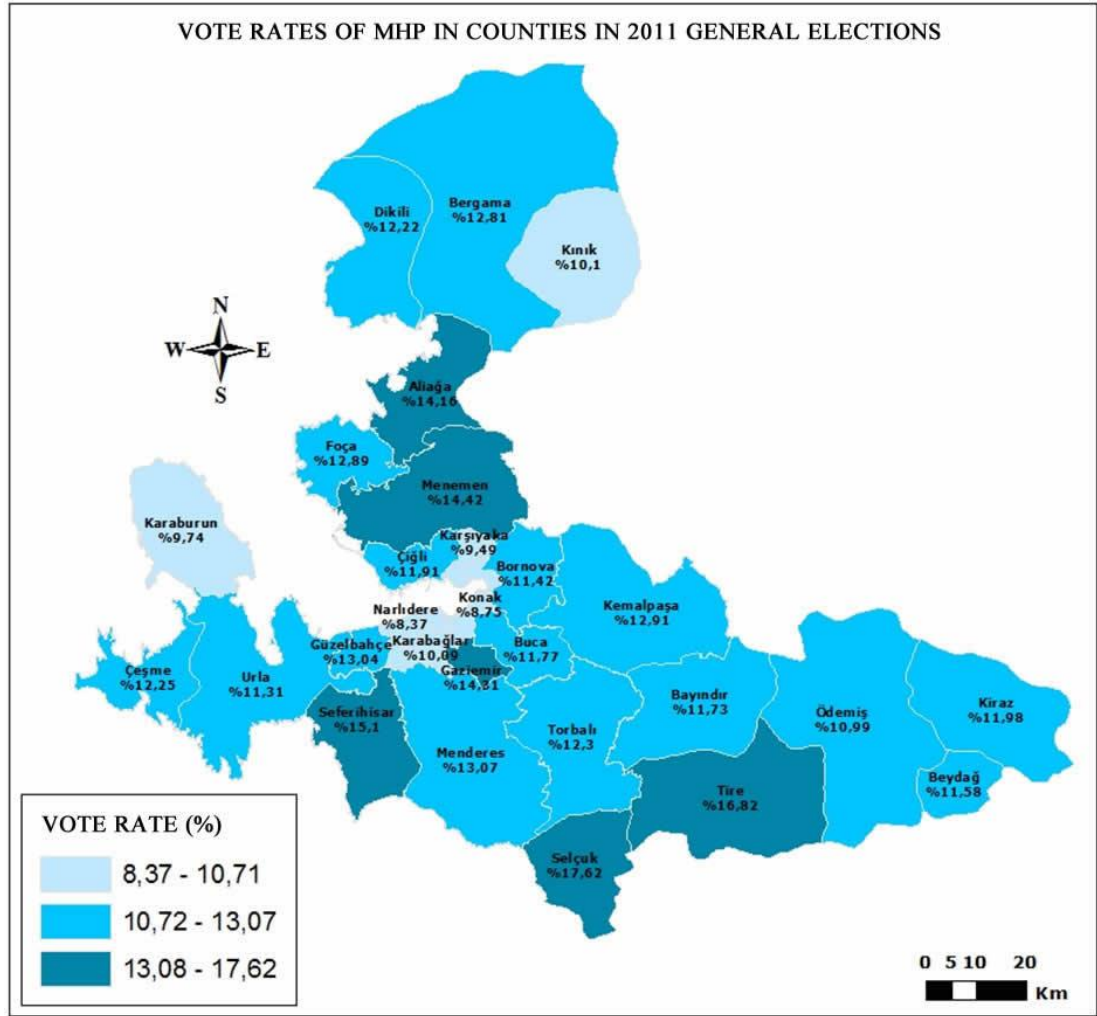


Figure 4.19 Vote rates of MHP in counties in 2011 general elections

In 2011 elections, MHP was the third party with the ratio % 11.3 in İzmir. It was below the average of Turkey with % 1.7. On the basis of the counties, we see that MHP was below the average of İzmir in only 9 counties. In other 21 counties, it was above the average. These 9 counties were Balçova, Bayraklı, Karabağlar, Karaburun, Karşıyaka, Kınık, Konak, Narlıdere and Ödemiş. The fewest rate was in Narlıdere (% 8.37), Konak (% 8.75) and Karşıyaka (% 9.49). MHP took the furthest votes in Selçuk (% 17.62), Tire (% 16.82) and Seferihisar (% 15.1). When we look at the distribution of the votes, we see that MHP was successful in outlying districts (Figure 4.19).

4.8 The Comparison of 2002, 2007 and 2011 Elections According to the Political Parties

4.8.1 The Comparison Between 2002 and 2007 Elections

AK PARTİ increased its votes from the rate % 17.2 to % 30.5 in İzmir during the 5 years-period between 2002 and 2007 elections. The increment was % 13.3. On the basis of the counties, the fewest increment was in Dikili (% 5.66), the furthest was in Kiraz (% 17.6). We see that AK PARTİ increased the votes more than % 10 in 22 counties among 30. When we look at the counties which there were % 5.66 - % 9.65 increment, we also see that AK PARTİ was intense in Karşıyaka, Narlıdere and Güzelbahçe that CHP was also powerful in these counties. When we compare the 2002-2007 elections, we understand that AK PARTİ passed a successful electoral process in İzmir. Because it was the only party which had % 17.16 increment in İzmir's counties. In addition, when we investigate the increment, we see that it was between the rates % 5.66 and % 17.16 (Figure 4.20).

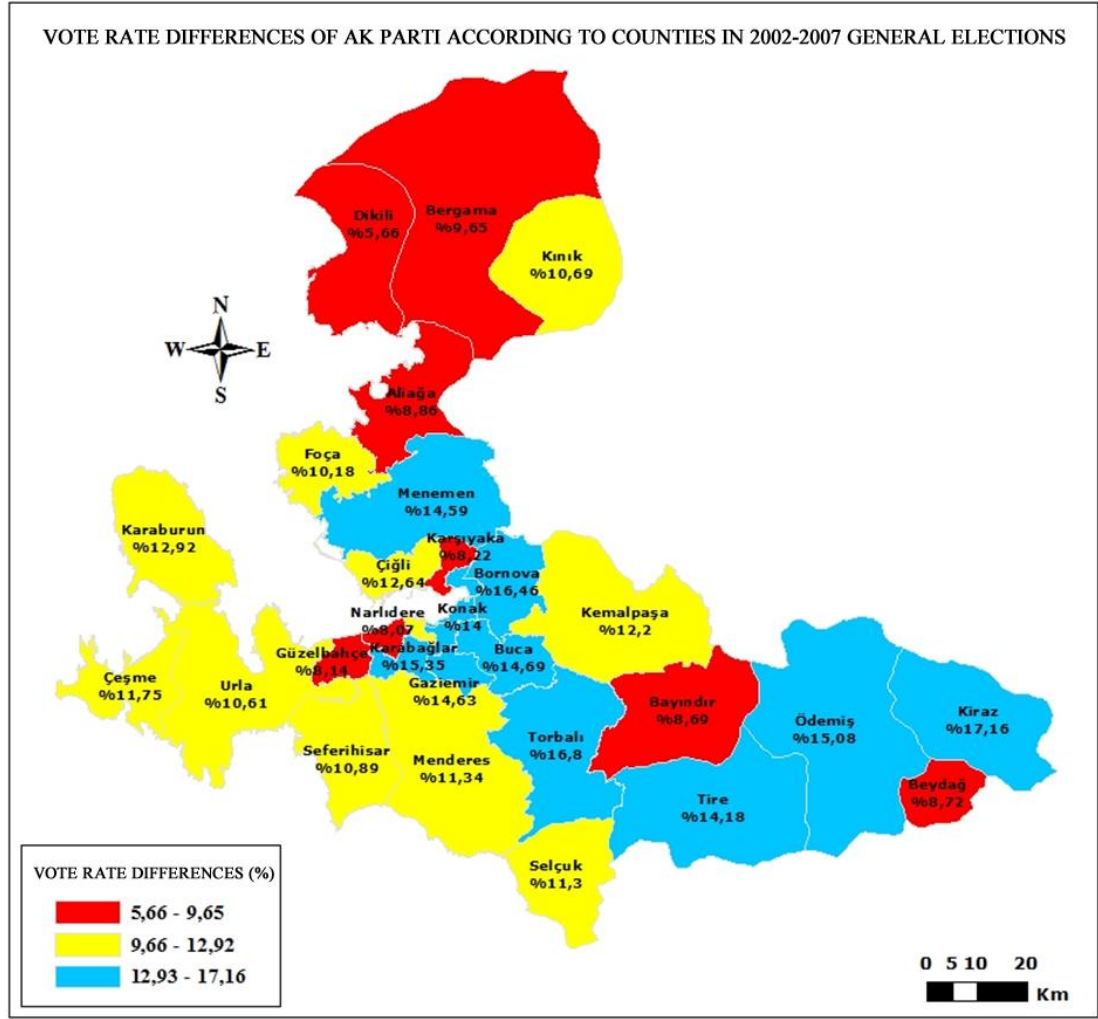


Figure 4.20 Vote rate differences of AK PARTİ according to counties in 2002-2007 general elections

When the increment of CHP is investigated, we see that CHP increased its ratio from % 29.1 to % 35.5. CHP increased its votes with the ratio % 6.4. On the basis of the counties, the fewest increment was in Bayraklı (% 0.24), the furthest was in Beydağ (% 14.35). CHP increased the votes more than % 10 in only 6 counties among 30. When we look at the counties which there were % 0.24-% 5.80 increment, it is seen that they were the counties behind the coastal towns. When we compare the 2002-2007 elections, we see that CHP did not partly pass a successful electoral process in İzmir in comparison with AK PARTİ. When we look at the increment, we see that it was between the rates % 0.24 and % 14.35. The furthest increases were in the counties which have strong voter base like Foça, Dikili, Güzelbahçe, Karşıyaka and Beydağ. However, CHP carried out the 2007 elections in the first place just as in the 2002 elections (Figure 4.21).

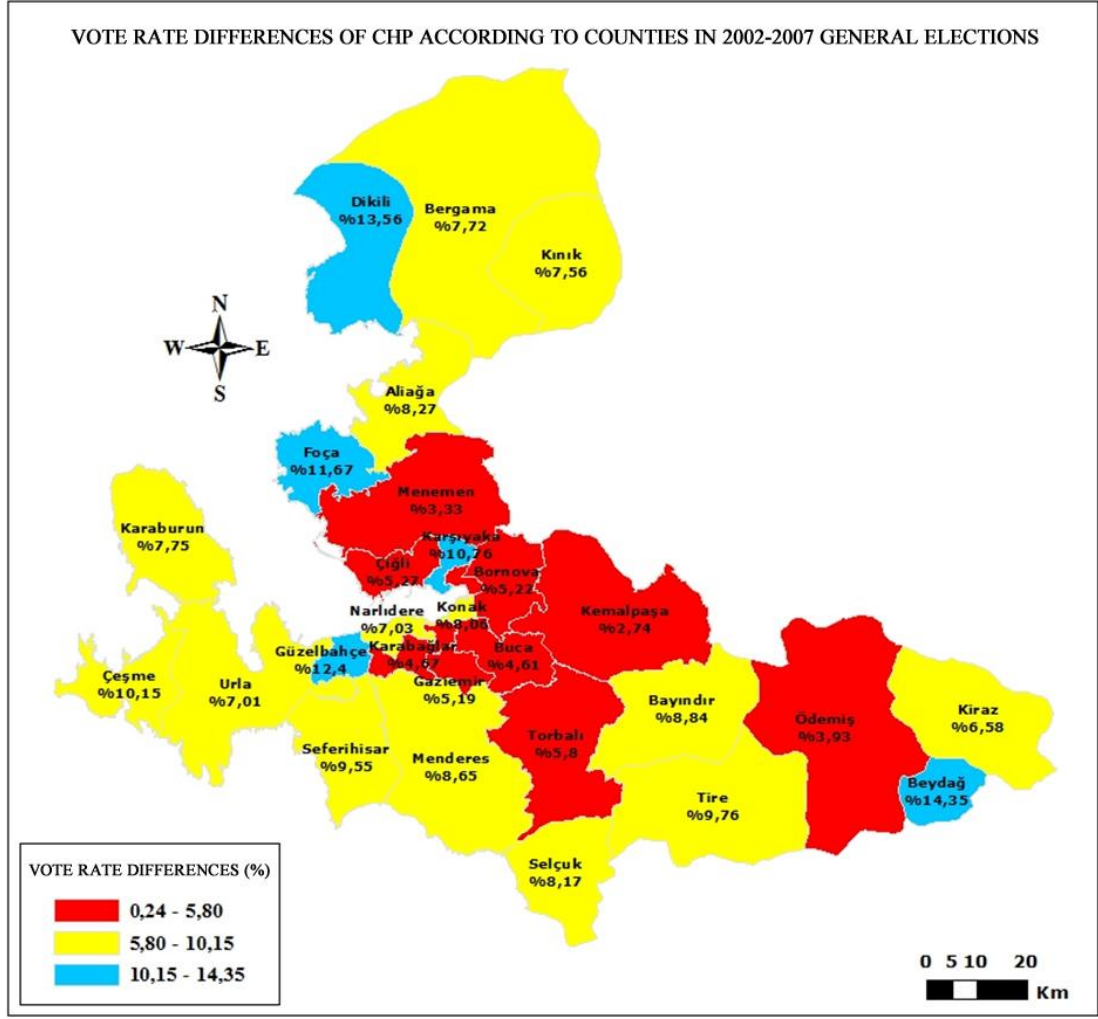


Figure 4.21 Vote rate differences of CHP according to counties in 2002-2007 general elections

When the increment of MHP is investigated, we see that MHP increased its ratio from % 7.8 to % 13.9. MHP increased its votes with the ratio % 6.1. It had not any representative in the parliament in 2002 elections, but in 2007 elections, 4 representatives of MHP could take their seats in parliament. On the basis of the counties, the fewest increment was in Ödemiş (% 0.94), the furthest was in Bayındır (% 16.90). MHP increased the votes more than % 10 in only 5 counties among 30. They were Bergama, Meneme, Kemalpaşa, Bayındır and Seferihisar. When we look at the counties which there were % 0.94-% 4.80 increment, it is seen that they were the central counties and southeast coast of İzmir. When we compare the 2002-2007 elections, we see that it was a successful election for MHP. When we look at the increment, we see that it was between the rates % 0.94 and % 16.90 (Figure 4.22).

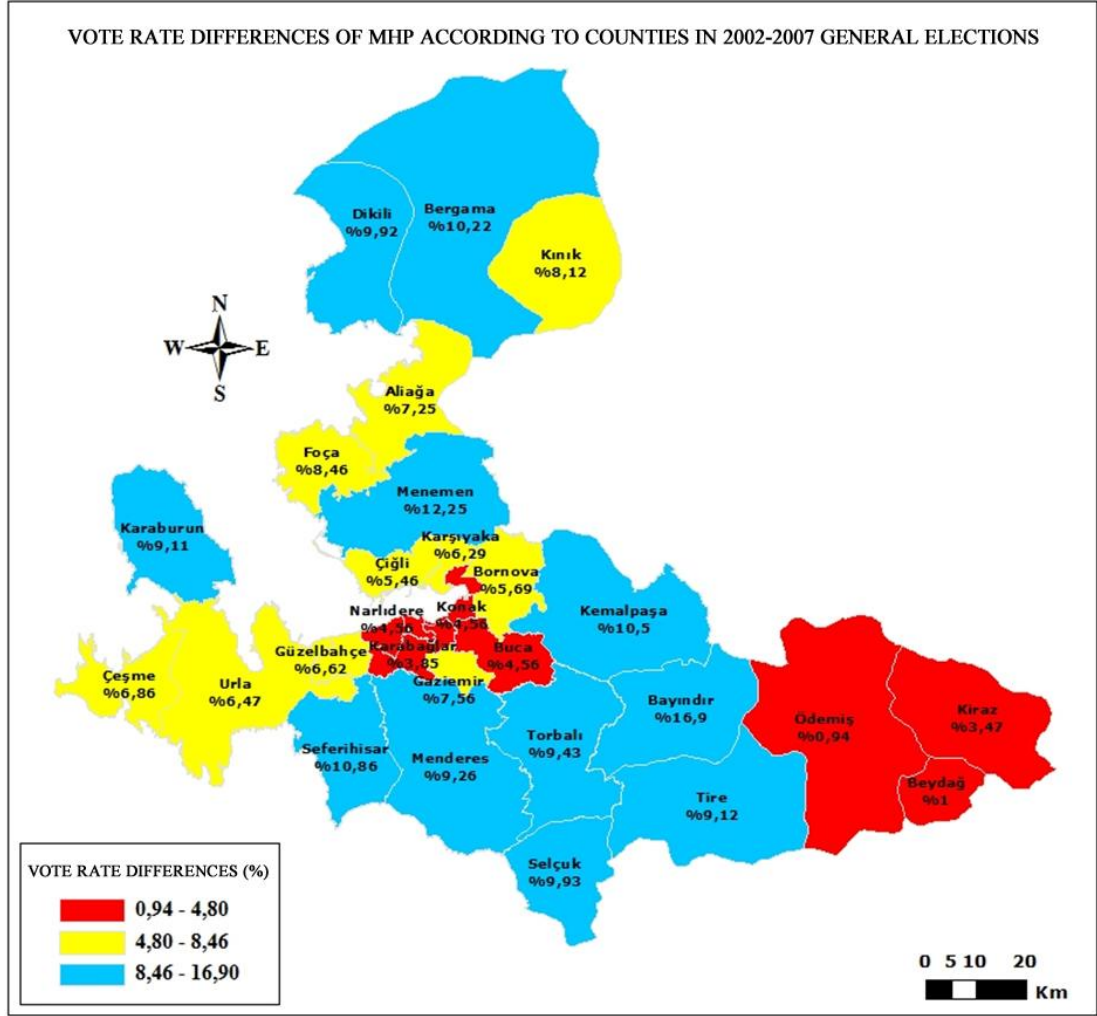


Figure 4.22 Vote rate differences of MHP according to counties in 2002-2007 general elections

4.8.2 The Comparison Between 2007 and 2011 Elections

AK PARTİ increased its votes from the rate % 30.5 to % 36.8 in İzmir during the period between 2007 and 2011 elections. The increment was %6.3. On the basis of the counties, we see that AK PARTİ increased its votes in every 30 counties. In 17 counties, AK PARTİ passed the average ratio of İzmir. The fewest increment was in Narlıdere (% 2.05), the furthest was in Kiraz (% 14.55). We also see that AK PARTİ increased the votes more than % 10 in 9 counties among 30. They were Kemalpaşa, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Kiraz, Beydağ, Menderes, Seferihisar, Bergama and Karaburun. When we look at the counties which there were % 2.05-% 5.74 increment, AK PARTİ was poor along the gulf coast. When we compare the 2002-2007 elections,

we see that that AK PARTİ passed a successful electoral process in İzmir. Because it increased its votes more than % 10 in about % 33 counties of İzmir (Figure 4.23).

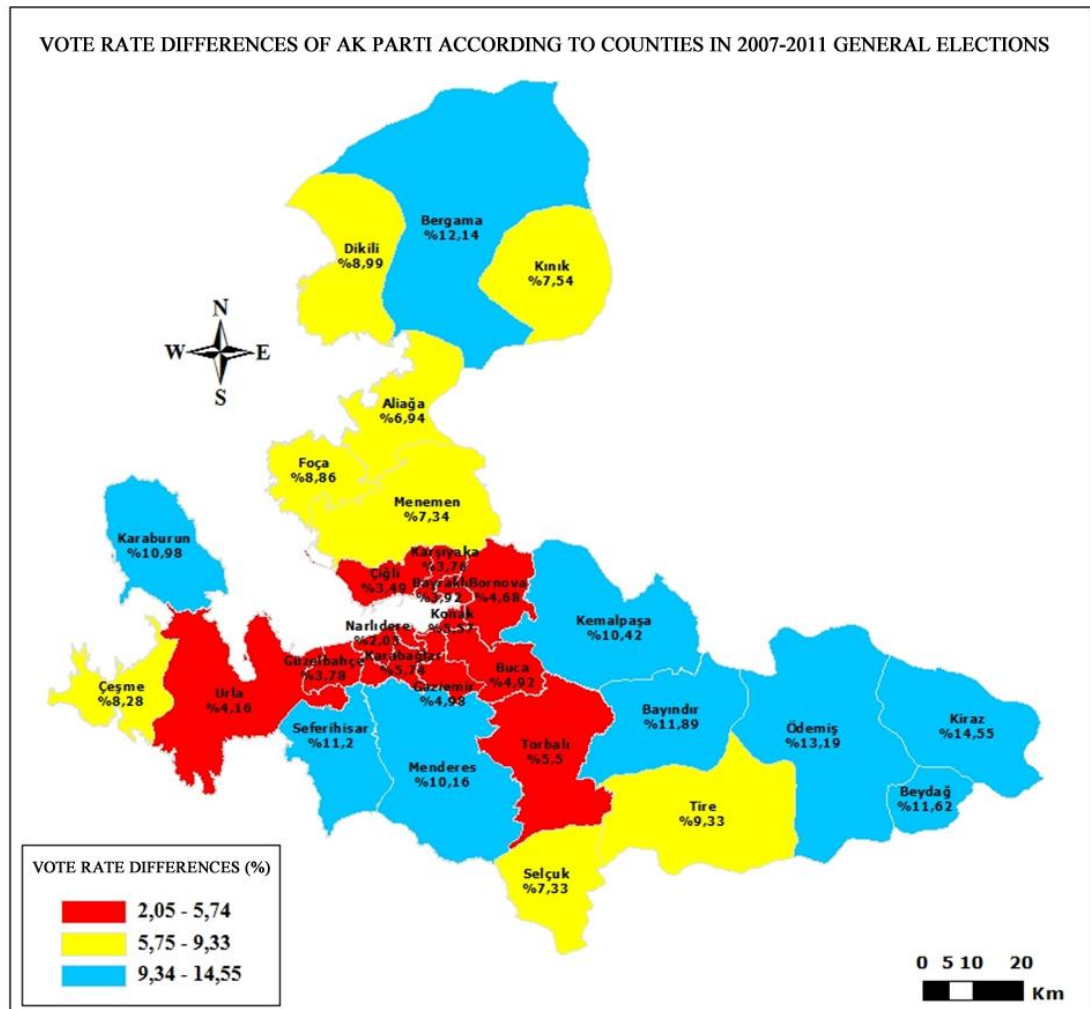


Figure 4.23 Vote rate differences of AK PARTİ according to counties in 2007-2011 general elections

When the increment of CHP is investigated, we see that CHP increased its ratio from % 35.7 to % 43.7. CHP increased its votes with the ratio % 8.2. On the basis of the counties, we see that CHP increased its votes in every 30 counties. In 19 counties, CHP passed the average ratio of İzmir. The fewest increment was in Seferihisar (% 2.62), the furthest was in Bayındır (% 17.08). CHP increased the votes more than % 10 in only 7 counties among 30. They were Menderes, Torbalı, Bayındır, Ödemiş, Beydağ, Bergama and Kınık. The fewest increments were in Karabağlar, Bayraklı, Seferihisar, Çeşme, Foça, Aliağa and Kemalpaşa. We see that CHP passed a successful electoral process. Because it increased its votes

more than % 10 in about % 24 counties of İzmir. It can be thought that the central counties, in which there were big increments, reached to the repletion (Figure 4.24).

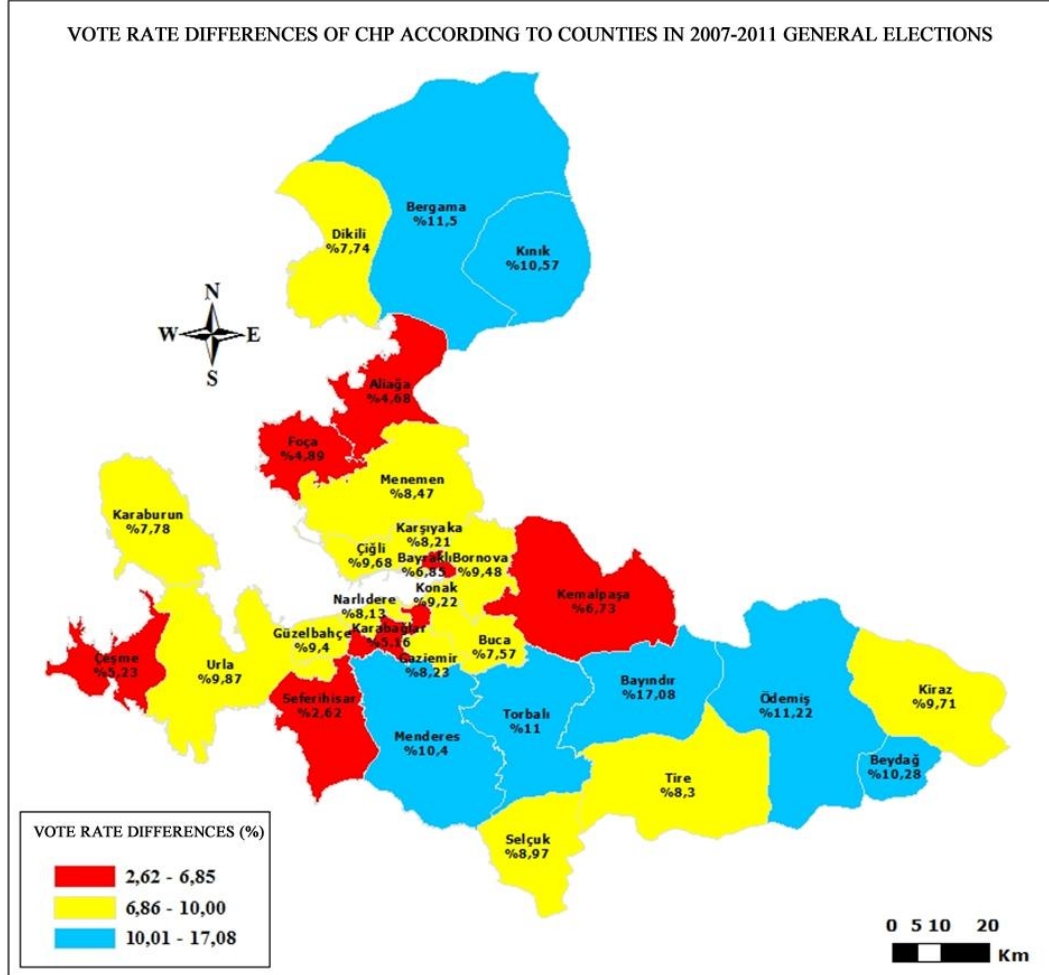


Figure 4.24 Vote rate differences of CHP according to counties in 2007-2011 general elections

When the increment of MHP is investigated, we see that MHP decreased its ratio from % 13.9 to % 11.3. MHP decreased its votes with the ratio % 2.6. We also see that MHP increased its votes only in 2 counties among 30. On the basis of the counties, the furthest increment was in Beydağ (% 2.68), the furthest loss was in Bayındır (% -14.83). When we look at these values, we understand that the loser was MHP in 2011 elections in İzmir. It is the result of CHP's nationalistic expressions and AK PARTİ being supported from right-voters. Generally, the counties in which MHP lost its votes were the counties in which AK PARTİ increased. It can be said that there was a glide among the voters from MHP to AK PARTİ. It was normal to

support the party in power, but there was also a glide among voters in Bayındır; because it was the county in which CHP increased its votes furthest (Figure 4.25).

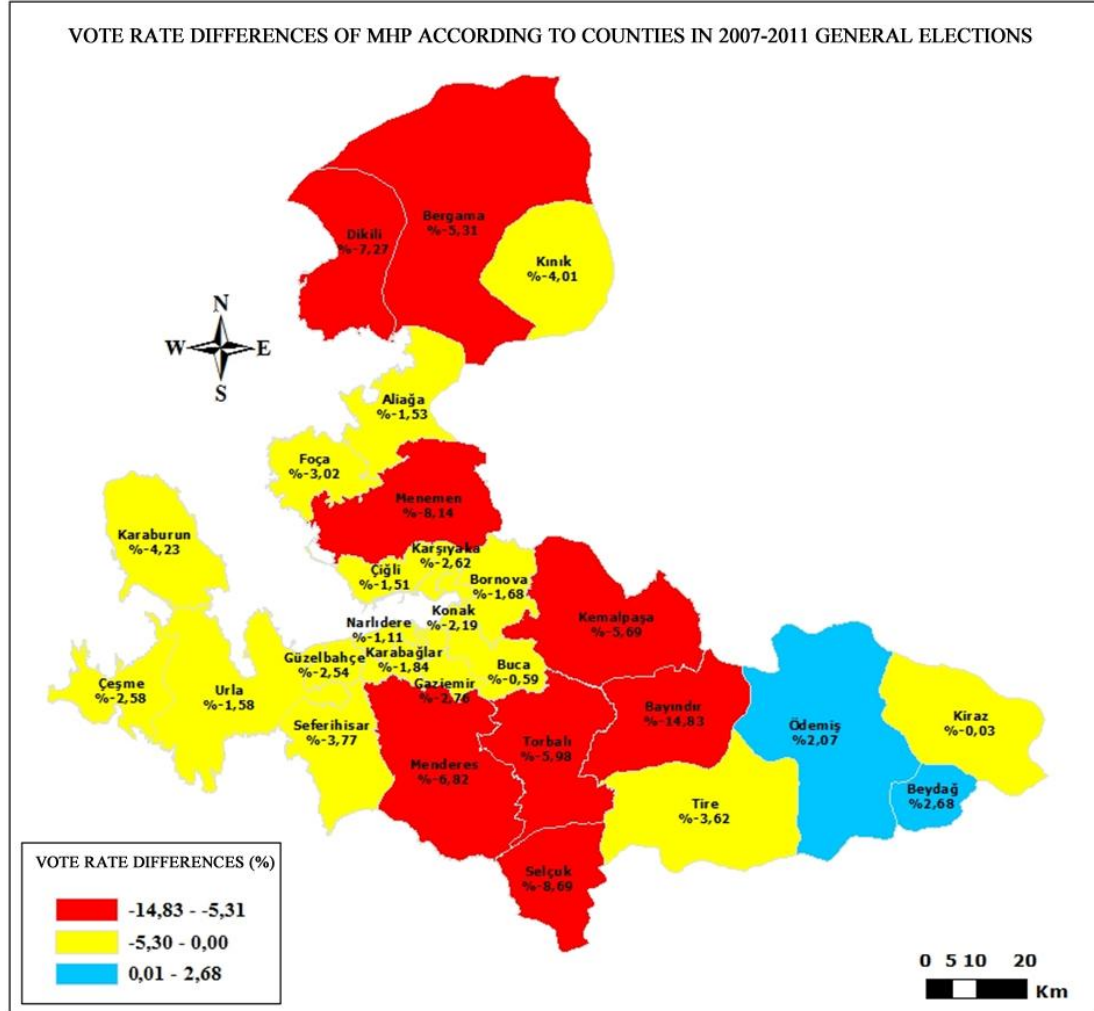


Figure 4.25 Vote rate differences of MHP according to counties in 2007-2011 general elections

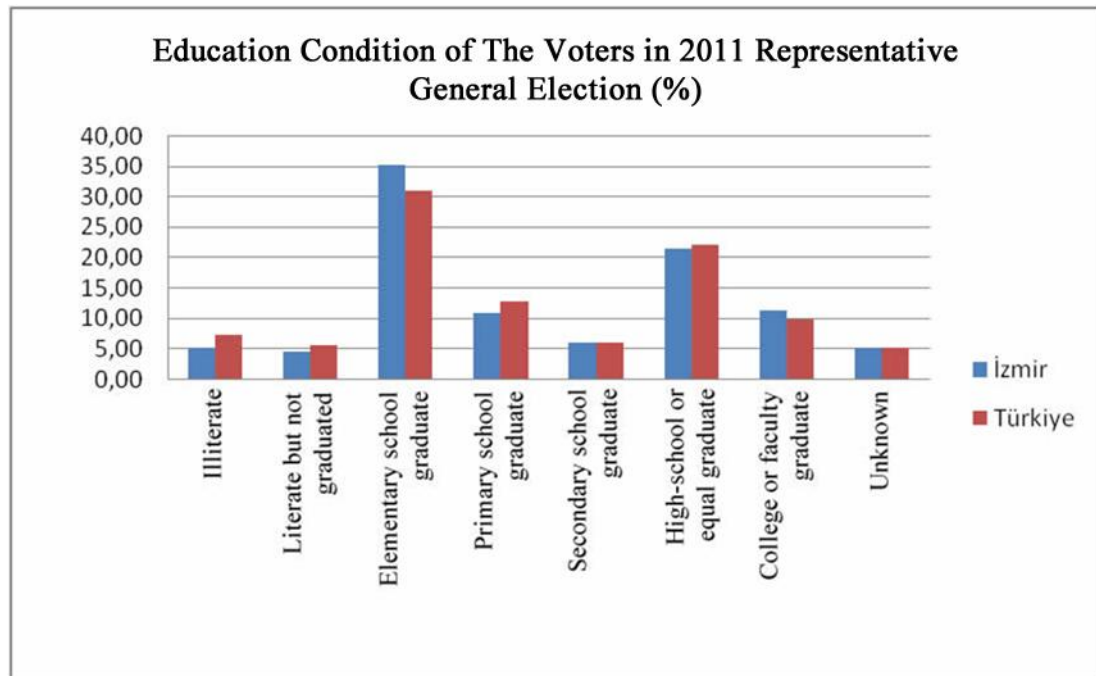
4.9 The Voters Profiles in İzmir in 2011 Elections

It is always wondered that which part of society have what kind of political view. We can learn about the voters (educational background, age groups, marital status) from the voters profile published by Tük in 2011. In this section, we will investigate the differences and similarities between the voters profiles in İzmir counties.

4.9.1 Educational Background of the Voters in İzmir

Here is the rational distribution of the voters' in terms of their educational backgrounds in İzmir in 2011 elections: While the ratio of Illiterate voters in Turkey is about % 7.34, it is % 5.20 in İzmir and fewer with % 2.14. The ratio of literated but uninstructed voters in Turkey is again more than the ratio of İzmir. It is % 5.66 in Turkey, % 4.56 in İzmir. There is a big gap between the ratios of Turkey and İzmir in terms of the primary school graduated-voters. The ratio is % 30.90 in Turkey, in İzmir it is % 35.13. There is not a big difference between the ratio of middle school graduated-voters. In Turkey the ratio is % 6.13, in İzmir % 6.19. When we look at the high school graduated-voters, the ratio in Turkey is % 22.06, in İzmir % 21.48. The another group is university graduated-voters. The ratio in Turkey is % 9.88, in İzmir % 11.37. İzmir, of which ratio is under the average of Turkey in terms of illiterate voters, is above the average of Turkey in respect of university graduated-voters. According to these informations, it can be said that voters in İzmir are more educated relatively the average of whole Turkey (Table 4.23).

Table 4.22 Education condition of the voters in 2011 representative general election (%)



On the basis of the counties in İzmir, the population ratio of illiterate voters in 13 counties is more than the average of whole 30 counties. They are Kiraz, Bayındır, Beydağ, Kınık, Ödemiş, Torbalı, Selçuk, Tire, Bergama, Menemen, Menderes, Konak and Kemalpaşa. Among these counties, the ratio of illiterate voters in Kiraz is % 14.34, % 11.44 in Bayındır, % 8.99 in Beydağ. Also, the ratio % 5.39 in Konak, which is accepted as the center of İzmir, is another remarkable point. Allowing immigrants can be counted as the reason of this situation. The counties in which the ratios of illiterate voters are the fewest are Karşıyaka (% 2.06), Çeşme (% 2.12) and Balçova (% 2.33). It can be seen that illiterate population is intense in the coast line counties (Figure 4.26).

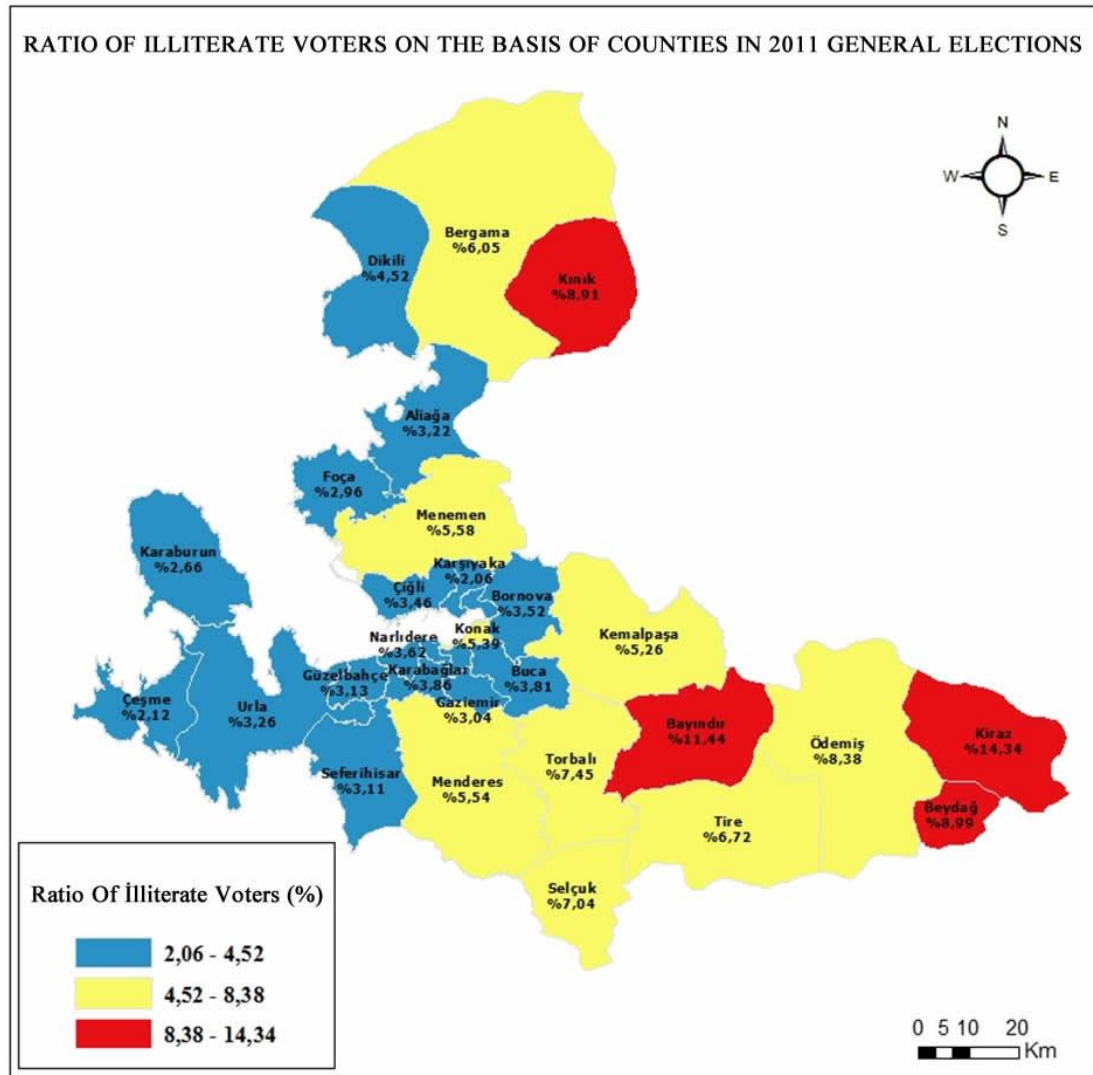


Figure 4.26 Ratio of illiterate voters on the basis of counties in 2011 general elections

The population of university graduated-voters in İzmir is % 11.37. % 50 of these counties among 30 are above the average of İzmir. They are Karşıyaka, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Balçova, Foça, Gaziemir, Urla, Bayraklı, Konak, Çeşme, Karabağlar, Bornova, Çiğli, Karaburun and Aliğa. The furthest of these ratios are in Karşıyaka (% 27.47), Narlıdere (% 24.74) and Balçova (% 22.36). The fewest ratios are in Kiraz (% 2.54), Kınık (% 3.01) and Beydağ (% 3.13). When we look at the distribution of the university graduated-voters in İzmir, we see that this ratio is intense in coast line counties, and it decreases when moving away from the coast (Figure 4.27).

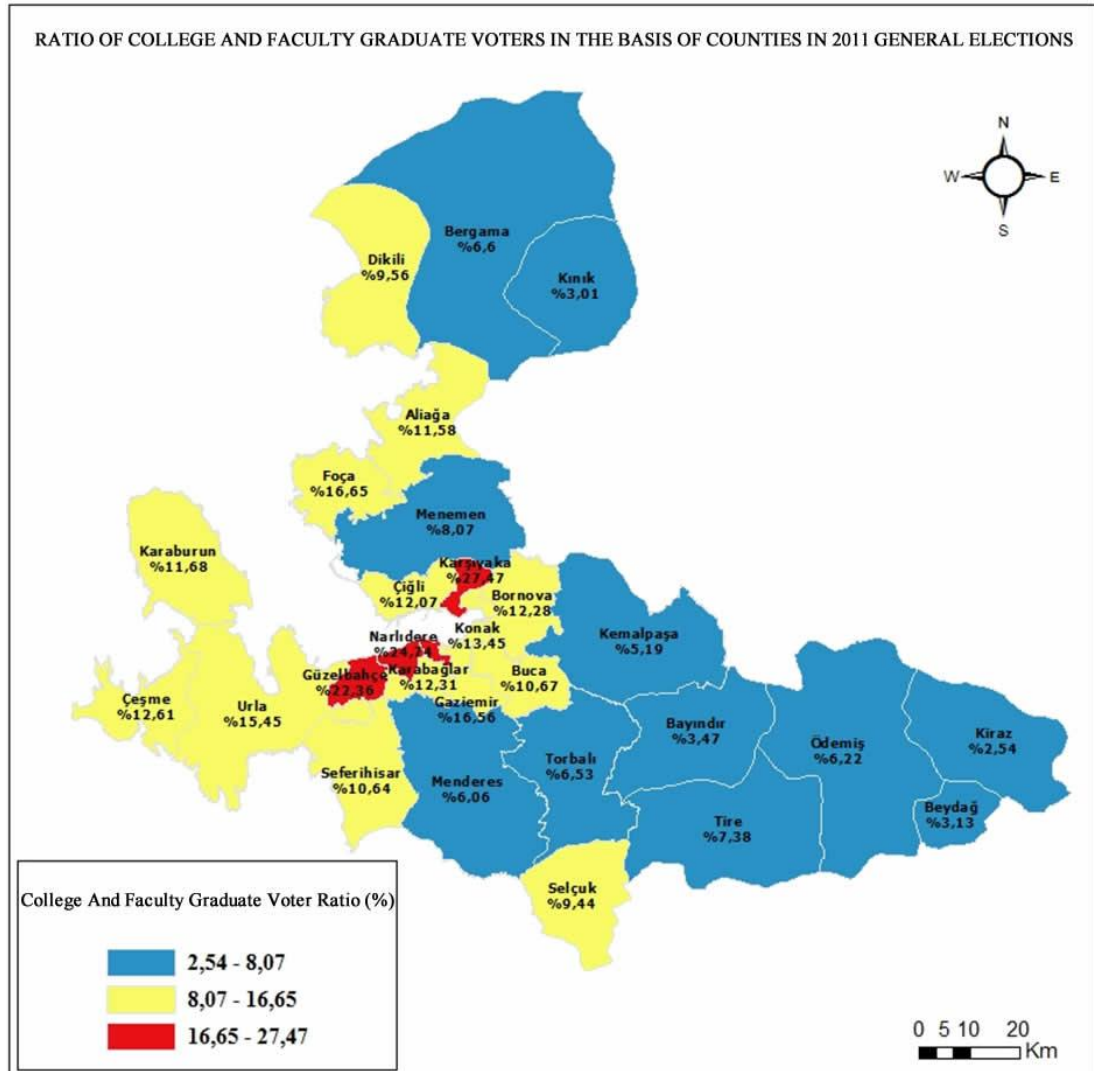


Figure 4.27 Ratio of college and faculty graduate voters in the basis of counties in 2011 general elections

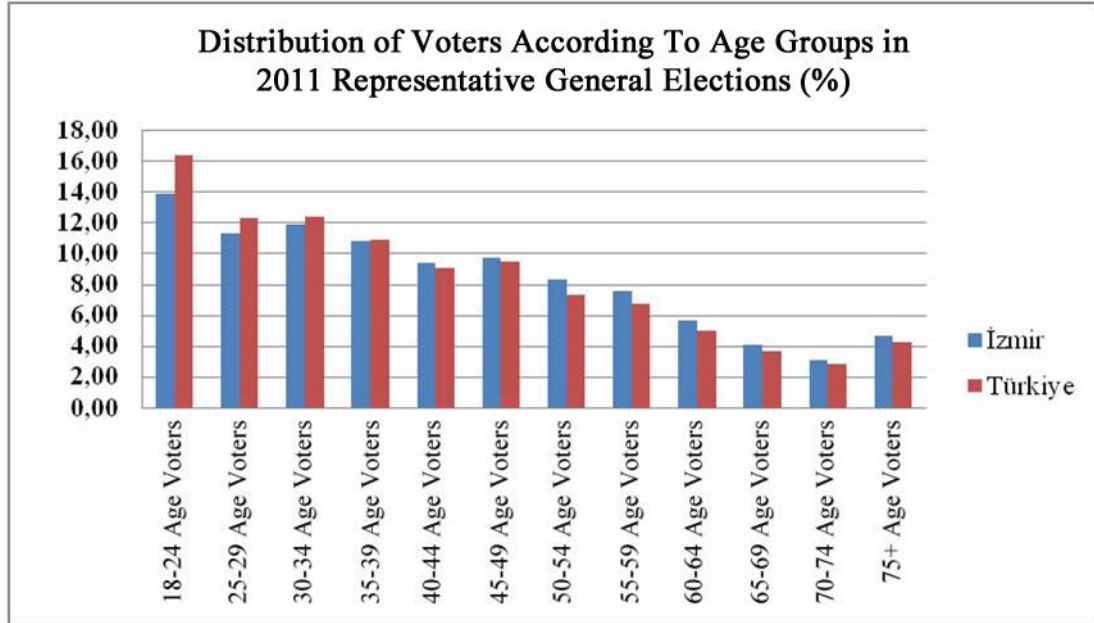
4.9.2 The Age Groups of the Voters in İzmir

The political tendency of rising generation is always wondered. The parties which manage to appeal to the rising generation increase their votes. TÜİK presented its voters profile in 12 age groups in respect of 18-24, 25-29, 30-34, 40-44, 45-49, 50-54, 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 69-74 and over the age of 75. The age groups under the age of 40 in İzmir are below the average of Turkey. The average ratio of 18-24 age group in Turkey is % 16.32, in İzmir % 13.83. It is similar in terms of 25-29 age group. The average ratio in Turkey is % 12.31, in İzmir % 11,25. Comparing of 30-34 age group, the ratio of Turkey (% 12.38) is higher than the ratio of İzmir (% 11.85). Again, Turkey's ratio (% 10.87) is higher than İzmir's (% 10.76) in respect of 35-39 age group.

All the age groups over the age of 40 in İzmir are above the average of Turkey. The ratio of 40-44 age group in İzmir (% 9.37) is higher than the average ratio of Turkey (% 9.01). While the ratio is % 9,73 in İzmir in terms of 45-49 age group, it is % 9.44 in Turkey. Comparing of 50-54 age group, the ratio in İzmir is % 8.28, in Turkey % 7.30. The ratio of 55-59 age group in İzmir is % 7,53, in Turkey % 6.69. Again, İzmir's ratio (% 5.66) in terms of 60-64 age group is higher than Turkey's (% 4.97). The ratios of 65-69 age group are % 4,05 in İzmir, % 3.61 in Turkey. The ratio of 70-74 age group in İzmir is % 3.07, in Turkey % 2.86. In respect of the age groups over the age of 75, İzmir's ratio (% 4.61) is again higher than Turkey's average ratio (% 4.25).

We can see from the chart that the voters in İzmir are older in contrast with whole Turkey (Table 4.24).

Table 4.23 Distribution of voters according to age groups in 2011 representative general elections (%)



The worldwide generations are called BB, X, Y and Z. People born in 1946-1964 are called BB, it is X for 1965-1980, Y for 1981-2000 and Z for the generations born after the year 2000. In Turkey, the Z generation does not have a voice in elections on account of the voting age is 18. BB, X and Y generations have voice in politics. It is seen that the 18-24 and 25-29 age groups represent the Y generation. We will here investigate how the Y generation has a distribution in the counties of İzmir.

In İzmir, the voters' population ratio of the 18-29 age group is % 25.78. The Y generation's ratio is higher than this rate only in 10 counties among 30. These counties are Menemen, Torbalı, Aliağa, Buca, Bornova, Kemalpaşa, Bayraklı, Gazimur, Çiğli and Karabağlar. The furthest ratios are in Menemen (% 28.52), Torbalı (% 28.14) and Aliağa (% 27.71). The fewest ratios are in Karaburun (% 16.35), Dikili (% 18.63) and Foça (% 20.32).

Young voters in İzmir are seen to be gathered from Bayraklı to Aliağa like a crescent figure. The counties in which the voters are mostly older are the counties in southeast, in north coast, in west coast and the counties away from the central county Konak (Figure 4.28).

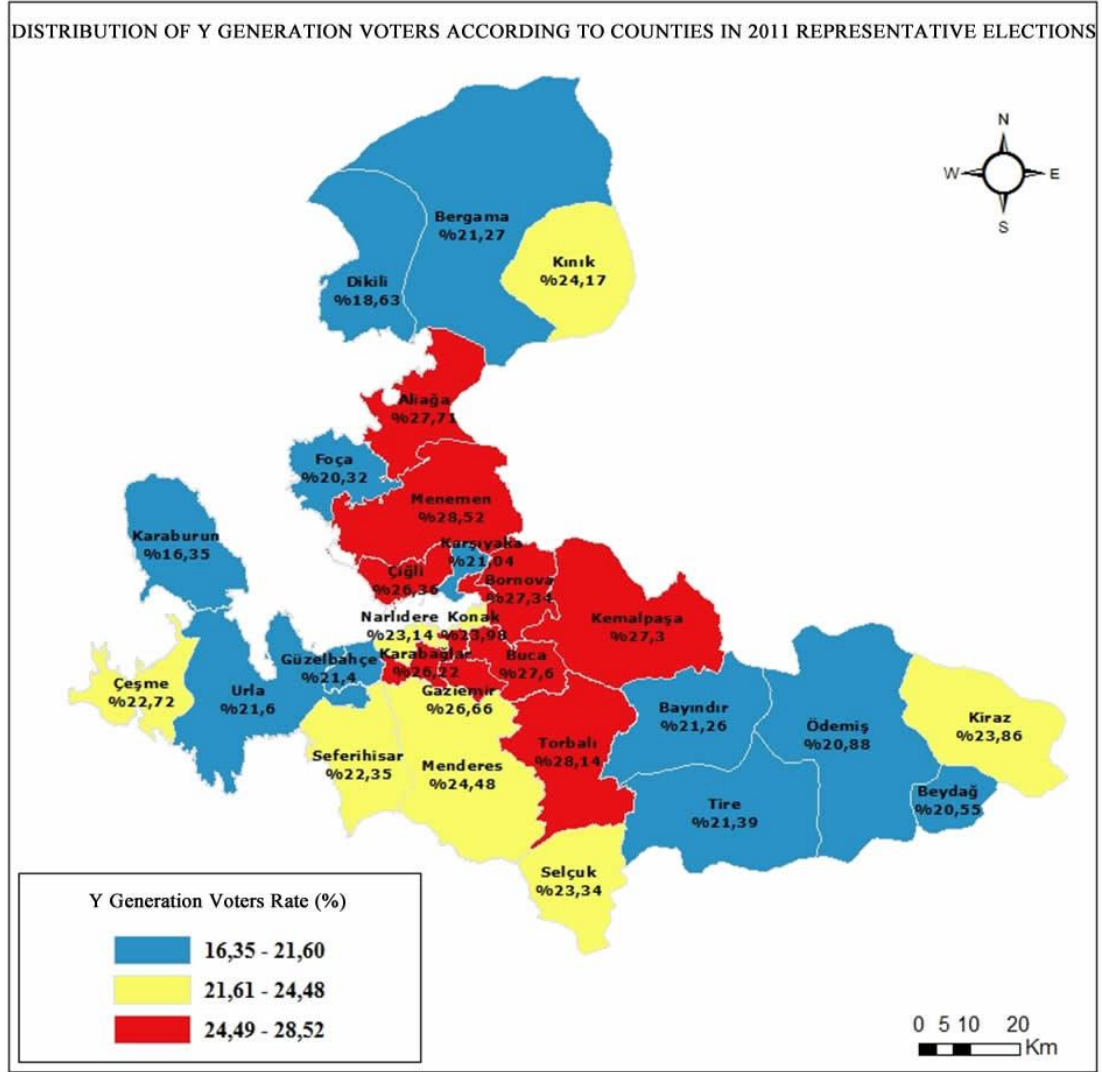


Figure 4.28 Distribution of y generation voters according to counties in 2011 representative elections

4.9.3 The Marital Status of the Voters in İzmir

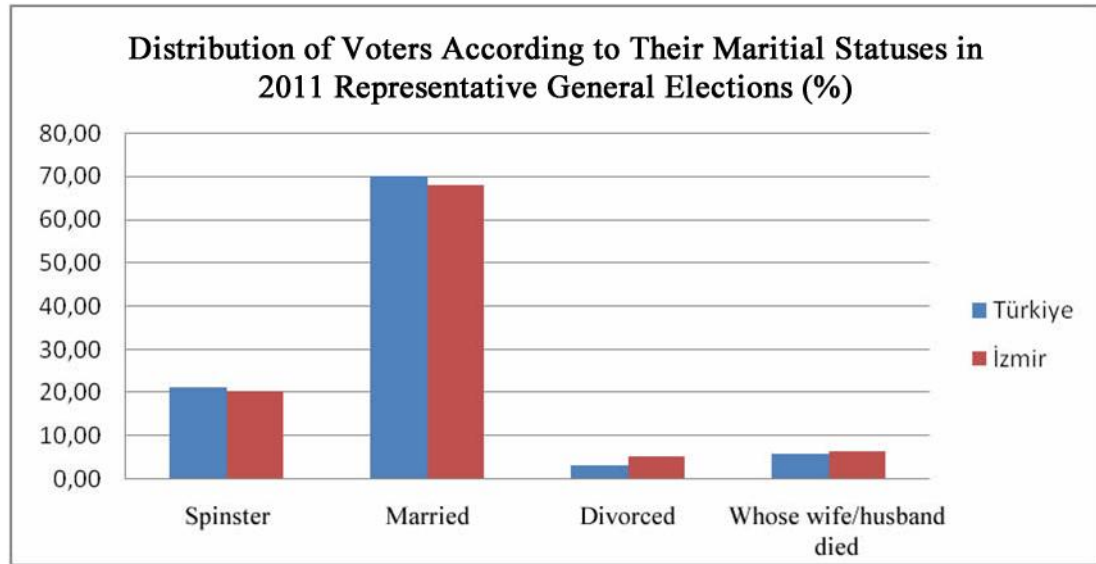
There are 4 groups of the marital status as spinster, married, divorced and wife/husband died. First, we will compare Turkey and İzmir and than we will investigate the distribution of the divorced voters in İzmir.

Investigating the divorced people takes its source from the sociologists which see divorcement one of the problems that affect the society. Turkish society has always been seeing the family as an institute throughout the history. It is because of their national, cultural and religious values. (Süleymanov, 2010) In western countries, the

omission of family and social matters causes many important communal problems. Many researchers indicate that the dissociation in social structure, the ethical erosion and the abrasion in families have more comprehensive results. (Yurtkuran Demirkan, 2009:5) Today, the increases of individualism and the number of economically free women are some of the reasons that cause divorcements. Therefore, it is waited that divorced people have reformist and libertarian political views rather than conservative views.

When we look at the marital status of the voters, the spinster people have % 21.11 ratio in all voters in Turkey. In İzmir, the ratio is below the average of Turkey with % 20.34. The married ones have % 69.83 ratio in Turkey. The ratio is again below the average in İzmir with % 67.79. In İzmir, the ratio of divorced people is % 5.43, in Turkey it is % 3.12. The ratio of the people whose wife/husband died is % 6.45 in İzmir, it is % 5.94 in Turkey.

Table 4.24 Distribution of voters according to their marital statuses in 2011 representative general elections



When we look at the divorced voters in İzmir, the ratio is above the average of Turkey (% 3.12) only in 5 counties among 30. These are Bayındır, Kemalpaşa, Kınık, Kiraz and Beydağ. The furthest ratios are in Konak (% 8.96), Karşıyaka (% 8.1) and Balçova (% 7.22). The intensity is in west coast and southwest of İzmir.

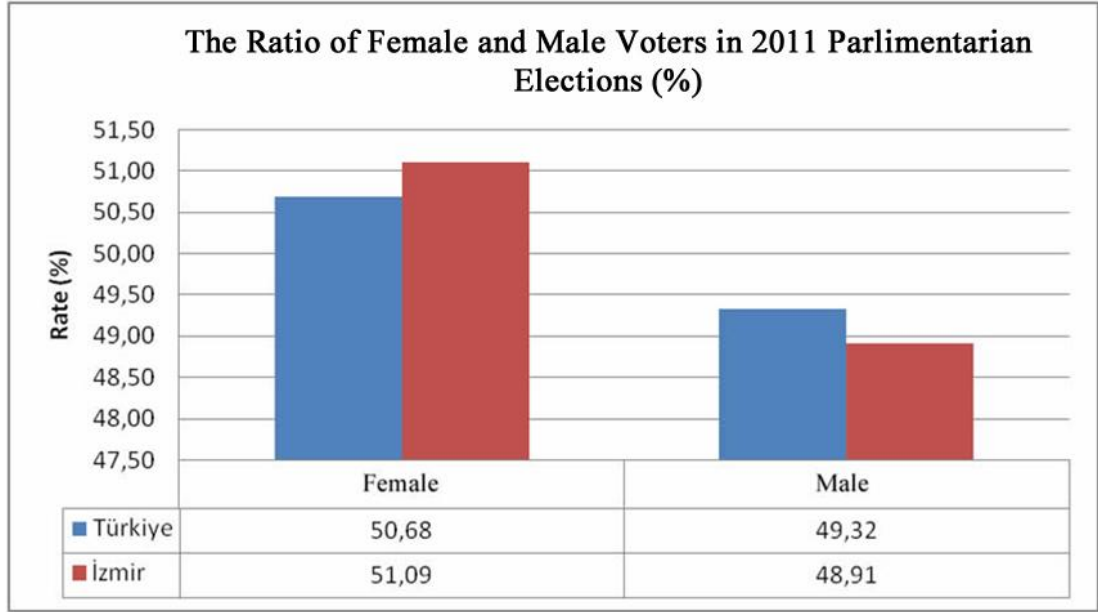
4.9.4 The Gender of the Voters in İzmir

Lastly; it will be pointed out that the gender who attends the parliamentary election in 2011. In Turkey, women got the right to elect and to be elected in the beginning of 1930s and after that; in 1934 the right of vote and be elected in parliamentary elections were given to women society. Women got this right in Turkey before many of European countries. However, they cannot find so much chance to be a representative for a party. According to a research made in the U.S.A, women voters have different expectations than men. In the U.S.A, women voters regard social problems, medical policies and family policies (Euronews, 2012). As it is seen that there are many differences between men and women voters.

In 2011 elections, the ratio of women voters is % 50.68 and the ratio of men voters is % 49.32 in Turkey. In İzmir, the ratio of women voters (% 51.09) is a little bit above the average of Turkey with the ratio % 0.41. The ratio of men voters is % 48.91 (Table 4.26).

On the basis of the counties in İzmir, the ratio is below the average of Turkey in 17 counties among 30. There are 22 counties which are below the average of İzmir. In only 8 counties the ratio is above. The furthest ratios of women voters are in Karşıyaka (% 53.36), Balçova (% 49.07) and Konak (% 51.94). The fewest ratios are in Çeşme (% 49.07), Aliaga (% 49.07) and Foça (% 49.75) (Figure 4.29).

Table 4.25 The ratio of female and male voters in 2011 parliamentary elections (%)



When we consider the intensity of women voters of counties geographical distribution; considering;the intensity of south counties,and in the southeast coasts counties and also in Bergama,a value above the average is seen.

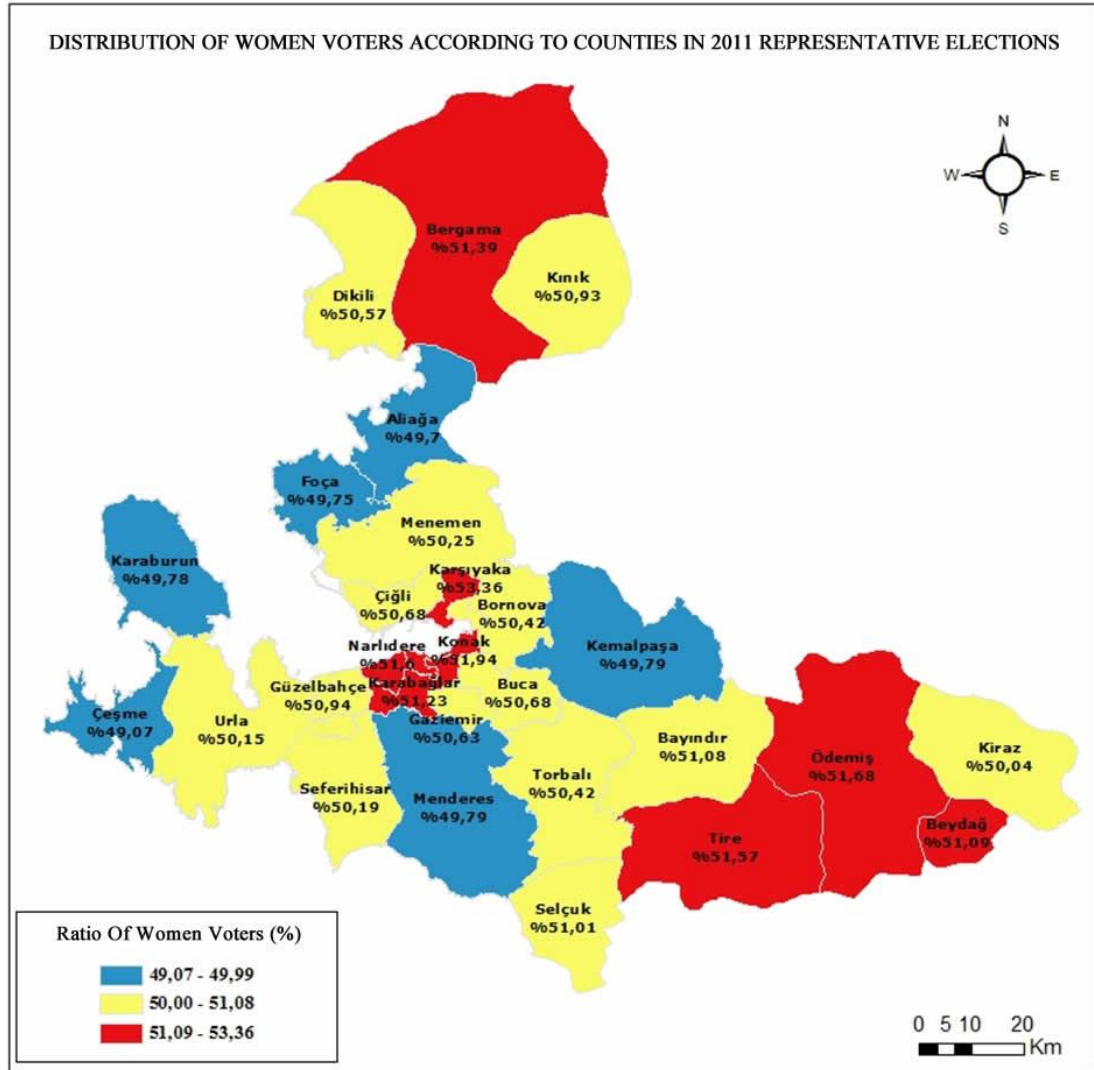


Figure 4.29 Distribution of women voters according to counties in 2011 representative elections

4.10 The Analysis of Demographical Factors on the Results of the 2011 Elections in İzmir

In this part of the work, the datas which belong to the demographical qualifications of the voters in the 30 counties of İzmir, the election results of the parties, and the analysis of multi-regression and correlation will be tried to associate. In fact, we will try to create the profiles of the voters who vote for any party. In 2011 parlimentarian general elections, the voting rates of AK PARTİ, CHP and MHP are considered as dependent (Y), whereas, education which is considered to affect them (university-graduated voters and illiterate voters) and demographic indicators (voters between the ages of 18-24 and 24-29, voters whose registered province is İzmir,

marital status is divorced and gender) are considered as independent (X_1, X_2, X_3, \dots) variables. By doing biserial correlation between the independent variables (the population registered in İzmir, the populations of illiterate voters, the population of university-graduated voters, the Y generation voters, the divorced voters, the population of moorland voters and the population of women voters), there is not a correlation value above the ratio 0.90. Therefore all of these independent variables are used in regression. These informations are the results of the 2011 ADNKS and 2011 general elections. They were regulated accordingly the website tuik.gov.tr. Here is the formula of the regression:

$$Y = a + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2 + b_3X_3 + \dots + b_n X_n \quad (5.4)$$

Table 4.26 Regression analysis results which belong to AK PARTİ votes and independent variables

Variables	B	Std. Error	β	T	P
(Constant)	-77.034	82.935		-.929	.363
Rate Of Voters Registered To İzmir Province	-.040	.162	-.117	-.244	.809
Illiterate Voters Rate	-.569	.688	-.215	-.827	.417
College And Faculty Graduate Voters Rate	-.933	.351	-.769	-2.657	.014
Y Generation Voters	1.052	.695	.427	1.514	.144
Voter Whose Marital Status is Divorced	-.713	1.168	-.161	-.610	.548
Women Voters Rate	2.070	1.744	.246	1.187	.248
Rural Area Population	.049	.110	.151	.448	.659
R = 0.826	R ² =0.628				
F=6.737	P=0.000				

Table 4.27 Regression analysis results which belong to CHP votes and independent variables

Variables	B	Std.	β	T	P
Error					
(Constant)	106.174	83.347		1.274	.216
Rate Of Voters Registered To İzmir Province	-.010	.163	-.025	-.061	.952
Illiterate Voters Rate	.279	.691	.090	.404	.690
College And Faculty Graduate Voters Rate	.972	.353	.681	2.754	.012
Y Generation Voters	-1.155	.699	-.399	-1.653	.112
Voter Whose Marital Status is Divorced	1.130	1.174	.217	.962	.346
Women Voters Rate	-1.027	1.752	-.104	-.586	.564
Rural Area Population	.057	.111	.147	.511	.614
R = 0.876	R ² =0.768				
F=10.379	P=0.000				

Table 4.28 Regression analysis results which belong to MHP votes and independent variables

Variables	B	Std.	β	T	P
Error					
(Constant)	88.485	29.433		3.006	.006
Rate Of Voters Registered To İzmir Province	.130	.058	1.375	2.260	.034
Illiterate Voters Rate	-.188	.244	-.255	-.771	.449
College And Faculty Graduate Voters Rate	.034	.125	.101	.274	.786
Y Generation Voters	-.091	.247	-.133	-.370	.715
Voter Whose Marital Status is Divorced	-.377	.415	-.305	-.910	.373
Women Voters Rate	-1.502	.619	-.640	-2.427	.024
Rural Area Population	-.123	.039	-1.346	-3.137	.005
R = 0.696	R ² =0.485				
F=2.958	P=0.000				

According to the regulated regression coefficient (β), while the ratio of the university-graduated voters is the best estimator for AK PARTİ and CHP, the registered population in İzmir is the estimator for MHP. The determinants for AK

PARTİ's votes are the ratios of illiterate voters, Y generation and women voters. For CHP, they are the ratios of Y generation and the divorced voters. The determinants are the independent variables for MHP. These are the ratios of illiterate voters, the divorced ones, women voters and the population of moorland voters. (Table 4.27, 5.28, 5.29) It is seen that the value of R^2 is 0.63 between AK PARTİ's votes and the independent variables. This means that the variables can only express % 63 of the status. The value of R^2 is 0.77 between CHP's votes and the independent variables and this can be defined with %77. And it is 0.49 between MHP's votes and the independent variables and this is also defined with %49. (Table 4.27, 5.28, 5.29)

According to the value of B, when we immobilize the other independent variables, there is no strong bilateral relation between the registered population in İzmir and the ratios of the votes of the three parties. With AK PARTİ (-0.040) and CHP (-0.010) there is negative poor relation. With MHP (0.130) there is positive poor relation. There is negative relation between the ratio of illiterate voters and the votes of AK PARTİ and MHP; and there is positive relation with CHP. With AK PARTİ (-0.569) there is negative strong relation, and with MHP (-0.188) there is negative poor relation. There is positive poor relation between CHP's votes and the ratio of illiterate voters (0.279). Between the votes of CHP and MHP and the ratio of university-graduated voters there is positive, between AK PARTİ there is negative relation. It is strong with CHP (0.972), poor with MHP (0.34), strong with AK PARTİ (-0.933). Between AK PARTİ and Y generation there is high positive relation (1.052). With CHP and MHP it is negative. Between CHP and Y generation there is high poor relation (-1.155). With MHP it is negative poor. When we look at the relation between the parties and the ratio of divorced voters, it is negative with AK PARTİ and MHP, and positive with CHP. The value of AK PARTİ is high negative relation (-0.713), CHP's is high positive (1.130). There is high negative relation between the ratio of women voters and CHP (-1.027) and MHP (-1.502). It is high positive with AK PARTİ (2.070). There is positive poor relation between the ratio of moorland voters and CHP (0.057) and AK PARTİ (0.049). It is negative poor with MHP (-0.123).

According to the results of these regression analysis, neither the university-graduated voters nor the illiterate voters are the supporters of AK PARTİ in İzmir. The people who vote for AK PARTİ are the people who are at the center of the scale and middle school-high school graduated people. It is seen that AK PARTİ also took the votes of the age group 18-29. Moreover, women in İzmir also vote for AK PARTİ. The divorced voters do not support AK PARTİ because of its conservative structure.

When we look at the educational status of the voters who support CHP in İzmir, it is seen that the voters of CHP are more educated. The university-graduated voters vote for CHP. Furthermore, the illiterate voters who are at the bottom of the scale also vote for CHP. In İzmir, not the age group 18-29, mostly middle-aged and elder people vote for CHP. As the reason of it; the elder ones vote ideologically. The socio-democratic structure of CHP can be counted as a reason of being taken the votes of the divorced voters.

It can be said that; the most powerful factor, which can comment on MHP votes with independent variable, is the effect of male voters. Additionally, the voters whose marital status are divorced, are seen that they cannot prefer this party. It is hard to define MHP votes according to these factors. Constituents of MHP vote according to different factors.

4.11 Voting Benchmark in Municipal Stages of İzmir with Refreaction and Central Environmental Model

4.11.1 Breaking Approach in Electoral Geography

Taylor&Johnston (1979) made voting researches deeply with modelling Rokkans researchs (1970) on. In the breaking model; it is insisted upon the regional groups which are against each other and which shows different electoral manners from each other. In the researches of Political Sciences and Political Sociologies, researchers concentrate upon the personal characteristics and the question of "who?". As for that

the researchers of electoral geography concentrate on the place in which the person lives. The researchers of electoral geography concentrate upon the differences and similarities between a place and the other (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

Lipset and Rokkan (1967) based the evolution of party systems upon the dialectic of integration and separation. Rokkan created a breaking model which depends upon the principle of controversial group determination. This model is a model that used and well accepted in electoral geography. "Lipset and Rokkan (1967) made the schematic classification of functions of social systems for researching the effections between national integrations periods, which shape party systems, and being reached the political and economical aims" (Özözen Kahraman, 2007).

According to Lipset; it is seen that almost in all industrial developed countries, the people in low-income groups such as workers and farmers, vote for democratic left parties and the people in high income groups such as employers and managers usually vote for right parties. (Lipset, 1964). The vicinity and centre in Turkey was defined by Çarkoğlu (1998) with using the explanation of big parties. Çarkoğlu determined two sides; Universal against traditional and market economy against the economy which is controlled by government. (Özözen Kahraman, 2007)

Secor (2001), in a research made in Turkey, said that there are four counter views in Turkey. These groups are; West-East, Secularism-İslam, Collectivism-Pluralism and Market economy and state economy.

Özözen Kahraman said that; controversial counter groups can be in many fields from regional scale to street scale, and also said that; there are some counter scales in Turkey, depending upon the differences of economical, ethnic and religious identities. He insisted that; these counter groups come across usually in municipal places and it is seen many contrasts such as rich and poor conflict.

In big cities, approaching to voting with a manner of urbanization may effect the traditional ideas and approach of voting manners on societies. The vote pattern of

voters who comes from rural areas with migration may be removed in a big scale. Breaking of rural-and urban give way to groups which come across in different places of cities (Özözen Kahraman, 2007). But; they reflect the manners of their region because of being not adopted to cities and being not acted the manners of cities. Different social, culturel and economical polarisations may create breaking fields because of heterogeneous structures of cities.

These breakings may be draw in location. These breakings may also create minor breakings related with sectarian, ethnic identification and citizenship. These breakings can be seen in counties on the other hand; this situation can be seen usually in streets. According to 2011 elections in İzmir; it can be said; there are some breaking fields at the level of counties.

- Citizens, well educated and elite class (centre left) and indigents (centre right) which occurs the small part of city. (Güzelbahçe-Karabağlar)
- Nationalist and secular groups (centre left) and anti-secular, religious supporters (political islam) in (Karşıyaka-Kemalpaşa's off-centered villages)
- Turkish nationalists and supporters of other ethnic groups (regional ethnic Kurdish nationalism) (Selçuk-Menemen)
- Republicans (centre left) and conservatice-democrats (centre right) (Narlıdere-Kemalpaşa)
- The people who live in central and satelite town blocks and live in shanties (Urla and some neighbourhoods of Buca)

4.11.2 Central - Half Environment and Environment Model

This is a system that is used by Sociologists and political scientists in central and environmental difference. Being represented by centre and environment, the field and the groups are handled in different ways. The fields show varieties according to centre and environment. Blaksell (2006), defined three sections in the "world system analyse". In the centre of this model which is made according to economical factors; there are industrial developed countries. He defined non-industrial countries and

undeveloped countries as vicinity. He also defines the countries in the zone of between two as half-vicinity. In the countries which complete their development, the difference between centre and vicinity is less on the other hand; this difference is higher in the countries which couldnt complete their development. The difference between economical and social norms in the countries which have vicinity features is also seen in urban fields. Especially; this discrimination is clear in the populated cities as a result of migration.

According to a investigation of Özbudun in which he examined the elections 1965, 1969 and 1973, the votes of CHP and AP are researched in the scale of İstanbul according to urbanised levels. In 1965 and 1969 elections, the votes of AP have a big lead from CHP votes in shanties fields. But in the 1973 election, CHP received %50 of shanties votes. In this election; AP is seen as the party of vicinities altough CHP is seen the party of central. According to Özbudun; AP have some disintegrations with modernisation of society although it is the party of business at the beginning. (Özbudun, 1980)

Considering the political challenges and breaking fields, centre-vicinty model may be created. In big cities such as İzmir; there are great differences from the aspects of social and cultural scales. In the investigation was made in 2004 by DPT, "Socio-Economical Development Ordering of Counties Research", the counties in the border of big cities are named as central-counties. In the first group, only Aliğa is placed. There are 11 counties in second group, 6 counties in third group and Only Kiraz is in the fourth group.

In the centre-vicinity model, which made us, Karabağlar and Bayraklı will be accepted as centre counties which have streets in the borders of Bornova, Konak and Karşıyaka in 2004. By the year 2011; in İzmir, which have 30 counties, Bornova, Karşıyaka, Buca, Konak, Balçova, Çiğli, Gaziemir, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Bayraklı and Karabağlar is accepted as central counties. On the other hand; Bayındır, Bergama, Kınık, Kiraz, Menemen, Ödemiş, Tire and Beydağ is accepted as vicinity counties. Except from these two zones; Aliğa, Çeşme, Dikili, Foça, Karaburun,

Kemalpaşa, Seferihisar, Selçuk, Torbalı, Urla and Menderes are thought as half-vicintycounties.

These kind of socio-culturel differences, shows themselves on elections in big cities such as İzmir. This difference is becoming clear if being away from city centre although it is hard to draw the borders between vicinity and centre. But these zones cannot be differentiated from each other with sharp lines. For instance; Menemen where is located in vicinty may rank among the centre and half-vicinty. But in the southern part of İzmir, zones are being differentiated more specifically.

Features of Centre-Vicinity and Half vicinity;

Bornova, Karşıyaka, Buca, Konak, Balçova, Çiğli, Gaziemir, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Bayraklı and Karabağlar, that have urban functions and complete the era of urbanised developments, may be accepted as central counties. Considering the elections 1983-2011 in central counties; it is seen that Bornova and Karşıyaka supported the central left party in the elections 1983 and 1987. Because of having not gained the county feature of other counties in centre; it is seen that they dont support any political parties in this election. (App. 1) In 1991 elections; Konak and Bornova support the central right party and Karşıyaka supports central left party. In 1995, 1999 and 2002 elections; Balçova, Bornova, Buca, Çiğli, Gaziemir, Güzelbahçe, Karşıyaka, Konak and Narlıdere are the counties which have the feature of central counties. In these elections;centre left party find supporters and became the first party in elections. In 2007 elections; Buca and Gaziemir support the centre right party on the other hand in other 7 counties;centre left part become the first party. In 2011 elections; there are two central counties which gained the county features, these are Karabağlar and Bayraklı. Central right party finds supporters in Karabağlar, Buca, Gaziemir and Bayraklı. In other 7 counties, central left party is the first. As it seen;in the counties which situated in central position in İzmir, Central left parties find many supporters.

The counties, which situated a bit far from central and includes rural populations, creates the vicinity counties. Bayındır, Bergama, Kınık, Kiraz, Menemen, Ödemiş, Tire and Beydağ are accepted as vicinity counties. Considering the eight elections in vicinity counties between 1983-2011, it is seen that, in 1983 general elections, Menemen and Ödemiş supported the central left point of view and other counties voted for central right parties. In general elections of 1987, it is seen that Kınık and Ödemiş supported the central left party and the other counties supported the central right party. Additionally; in 1991 general elections, only Kınık supported the central right party and in the other seven counties, central left party became the first. In 1995 general elections; Except Ödemiş, central right party took the first place in all counties. In Ödemiş, which seperated from other counties with election system, central left party took the first place. As for in 1999 general elections; Kınık supported the central right party on the other hand; in other counties, central left party became the first. In 2002 general elections, in the 8 counties which are situated in vicinity except from Menemen, central right party took the first place. Only in Menemen, central left party became the first. In 2007 elections; in the five counties among 8 which consisted the vicinity, right party and in two of them central left party (Beydağ-Kınık), and also in one county (Bayındır) the parties which have Turkish nationalist point of view, became the first parties. In last election 2011, Bayındır, Beydağ and Kınık supported the central left party on the other hand; other vicinity counties supported the central right party. As it seen; in İzmir, central right parties finds superior supporters. (App. 2)

The fields, which occur a transition zone between centre and vicinity and consist of rural population besides urban population and also consist of urbanised functions and rural functions, are named as half-vicinities. In İzmir, there are eleven counties which show the feature of half-vicinity. Aliağa, Çeşme, Dikili, Foça, Karaburun, Kemalpaşa, Seferihisar, Selçuk, Torbalı, Urla and Menderes are half-vicinity counties. We see that Menderes wasnt a county in the 1983 and 1987 general elections. In 1983 general elections, six counties among ten (Aliağa, Kemalpaşa, Seferihisar, Selçuk, Torbalı, Urla) supported the central left. Çeşme, Dikili, Foça and Karaburun supported the central right party. In 1987 general elections; six counties

among ten which show the feature of vicinity counties, supported the centre right party. Centre left took the first place in Dikili in which centre left party became first in 1983 election, centre right party took the first place in Seferihisar and Urla in which centre left part took the first place in 1983 election. In the election of parliamentarians in 1991, in nine counties among 11 half vicinity counties, centre right party became first on the other hand centre left party took the first place only in Selçuk and Aliğa. In the elections 1995, the same situation can be seen. But this time the counties that supported the centre left, became Aliğa and Menderes. It can be said that 1999 parliamentary elections is a beginning of a change for the half-vicinity counties. In 1999 election, in 11 half vicinity counties, Centre left party DSP became the first. In 2002 election; in nine counties among eleven; centre left part found supporters and Kemalpaşa and Torbalı supported the centre left party. In 2007 parliamentary election, there are eight counties in which centre left party took the first place. In other three counties; centre right party took the first place. In 2007 election; Menderes also supported the centre right such as Kemalpaşa and Torbalı that support centre left party in 2002 election. In the last election 2011 parliamentary election; nine counties except from Kemalpaşa and Torbalı which are defined as the castle of centre right; supported the centre left. As it seen; the half-vicinity counties became the supporter of centre left although they had a complicated situation until 1999 elections. (App. 2)

An election map in which two political views are represented attracted the attention in İzmir. In İzmir, Centre left and centre right point of views are dominant structures. The counties which situated in Centre and Half vicinity, supports centre left on the other hand; the counties that shows the feature of vicinity, support centre right.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

In Turkey transition to multi-party system occurred with the elections in 1946, 21st July although Democratically, the first election was made in 1950, 14th May. Open counting and secret voting made this technic democratical. Considering the first democratic election was made in 1950, the democratical movement of Turkey has 63 years history. In this 63 years period, two military coups and three memorandum caused hang on of Turkey's democracy abnormally. Democracy is one of the most discussed subjects of societies which are developed or developing. In Turkey it is needed to be done some reforms in the fields such as representative justice, minority rights, superiority of elected, and acceptance of civil and political freedom.

The current election system in Turkey, is seen that it is sufficient supplying the justice and the election threshold, which is applied into d'hont election system with %10 election threshold, is too high. It is needed to be removed election threshold for providing the representative justice which is one of the most important factors of democracy. In the countries where has election thresholds in central europe; it is seen that the election threshold doesn't go beyond %5. There should be a investigation while doing this because of being not endangered the stability of country.

İzmir, one of the most biggest and important cities of Turkey, is the city of which election results are wondered because of both its population and number of electors. In three general elections after 2000, number of electors showed an increase proportionately %19,93. İzmir showed attendance above the average of Turkey, in eight elections which made between the years 1983 and 2011. Between the years 1983-2011, the ratio of voters through out the Turkey shows a change between the ratio %5.40 and %5.91 and the ratio of İzmir representatives in parliament have the ratio between %4.01 and %4.73. These ratios shows that İzmir doesn't represented in parliament sufficiently such as İstanbul and Ankara.

According to Gallagher index; the imparity degree of İzmir is 33.01 in 2007 elections, 11.5 in 2011 elections 7.34. In sixtysix countries in which proportional representation is applied, the country average is 8.1. It is seen that in the last election 2011, there is a value which is close to this rate and in 2002 and 2007 elections; the value imparity representation is too high. According to number of active political parties index; the number of active parties is 4.02 in 2007, and it is 2.92 in 2011. According to these results; in 2002, 13 political parties, in 2007 10 political parties and in the last election 2011 14 political parties have no claim upon the parlimentarian election made after 2000. Additionally, it is seen that votes showed to be decomposed in İzmir.

When the variability of the parties in İzmir are calculated, it is seen that the voters made strict changes on their minds from one election to the other election. Another reason of it is that the parties which take part in the elections change too often.

The number of the parties was placed on account as 19 parties in 2002, 14 in 2007 and 16 in 2011. As a result of this, we see that the number of active parties, which was 6.03 in 2002, increased with the ratio 4.02 in 2007 and 2.92 in 2011. Accordingly, it can be said that 13 parties in 2002, 10 in 2007 and 14 in 2011 were pretensionless in İzmir in the elections made after the year 2000. It is also seen that the votes showed fragmentedness in İzmir.

Considering the distribution of votes throught out country in 2011 parlimentarian election, we see that the most valuable votes are in East and Southeastern Anatolia. For instance; in Tunceli, the value of vote of each elector is multiplied with one multiplier on the other hand; each value of electors in İzmir is multiplied with 0.26 multiplier. It is seen that big cities affected negatively from this situation. In the current electoral system, injustice among the regions attracts the attention. An elector in Tunceli is nearly equal to four elector in İzmir. It is needed to be removed of this injustice and to be renewed of election regions is also be needed. If needed, a few of cities, which have less number of electors should create a new electoral region.

When analyzed the last eight election periods; the hegemony of centre right and centre left parties is seen in İzmir and Turkey. From 1983 until 2011, centre left parties and centre right parties had received higher votes than the other political parties. Notwithstanding the first place is captured by a different political party which has different political view, dividedness in centre right and left caused this issue. Although, In İzmir, the average of centre right is under the average of Turkey in these eight elections, it is seen that centre left votes are above the average of Turkey. But in the elections made after 2000, it is seen that votes of centre left are seen above the average of Turkey with the ratio %13-18 points. In eight elections between the years 1983-2011 in İzmir, centre right party took the first place only in 1987 and 1991 elections, on the other hand in other six general elections, centre left parties took the first place. In the eight elections between the years 1983-2011, the party which took the first place in Turkey, also took the first place in İzmir. In other six election periods; the dissenter structure of it is remarkable. In these eight general election periods; it is seen that İzmir has a different situation from Turkey.

In İzmir, it is seen that immigration is an effective factor on the elections. We see that the registered population in İzmir decreased between the years 2007-2012. The ratio of the registered population is % 43.08 in the 2011 elections. The ratio is low in central counties and it is increasing radially. While the ratio of the registered population is increasing, the support to AK PARTİ is increasing too. The supporters of CHP are intense in the central counties let in immigrants.

The speed of immigration in İzmir decreased with the rate 2.93 between the years 2008-2012. So, we can say that İzmir is not an attraction center the way it used to be. When we look at the educational back ground of the immigrants in 2011, we see that they are mostly high school or university-educated people. It is also seen that they are educationally in upper stage.

When look at the population of the immigrants, the rate of the age group 15-34 is % 54.22 of the overall ratio. They are mostly young and educated people in 2011.

When analyse the registered provinces of İzmir population between the years 2007-2012, four of the provinces of which population is over 50.000 are in Aegean Region, four of them are in Eastern Anatolia Region. In the 2002 and 2011 elections, the only province which showed parallelism with İzmir in terms of being the first party was Aydın. In the 2007 election, there were not any provinces which had parallels with İzmir. It can be considered that the immigrant population living in central counties supported AK PARTİ.

When look at the profile of the voters in İzmir in the 2011 election, it is seen that they are more educated and older, have more divorced people, and have more women voters in comparison with the averages of Turkey.

According to the results of these regression analysis, neither the university-graduated voters nor the illiterate voters are the supporters of AK PARTİ in İzmir. The people who vote for AK PARTİ are the people who are at the center of the scale and middle school-high school graduated people. It is seen that AK PARTİ also took the votes of the age group 18-29. Moreover, women in İzmir also vote for AK PARTİ. The divorced voters do not support AK PARTİ because of its conservative structure.

When look at the educational status of the voters who support CHP in İzmir, it is seen that the voters of CHP are more educated. The university-graduated voters vote for CHP. Furthermore, the illiterate voters who are at the bottom of the scale also vote for CHP. In İzmir, not the age group 18-29, mostly middle-aged and elder people vote for CHP. As the reason of it; the elder ones vote ideologically. The socio-democratic structure of CHP can be counted as a reason of being taken the votes of the divorced voters. In recent years the regulations which are made by government may cause the women gender vote for AK PARTİ and this also causes that women gender dont support CHP.

The strongest independent variable on the votes of MHP is the male voters. It is also seen that the divorced voters did not prefer to vote for MHP. To explain the

votes of MHP with regards to these variables is hard. The supporters of MHP do the act of voting in regard to different variables.

For the more meaningful evaluations about elections; geographical informations systems should be established in TÜİK and YSK institutions and also in the political parties centres. This kind of step may turn out the election results into a visual map except from number collections. Especially; this situation may give the chance of making investigation about streets which are restricted, and also it may cause clear estimations about future. Also with this systems; there will be an historical background for voters and also others. The maps which are visualised in this information bank, may give the chance of reaching the informations faster.

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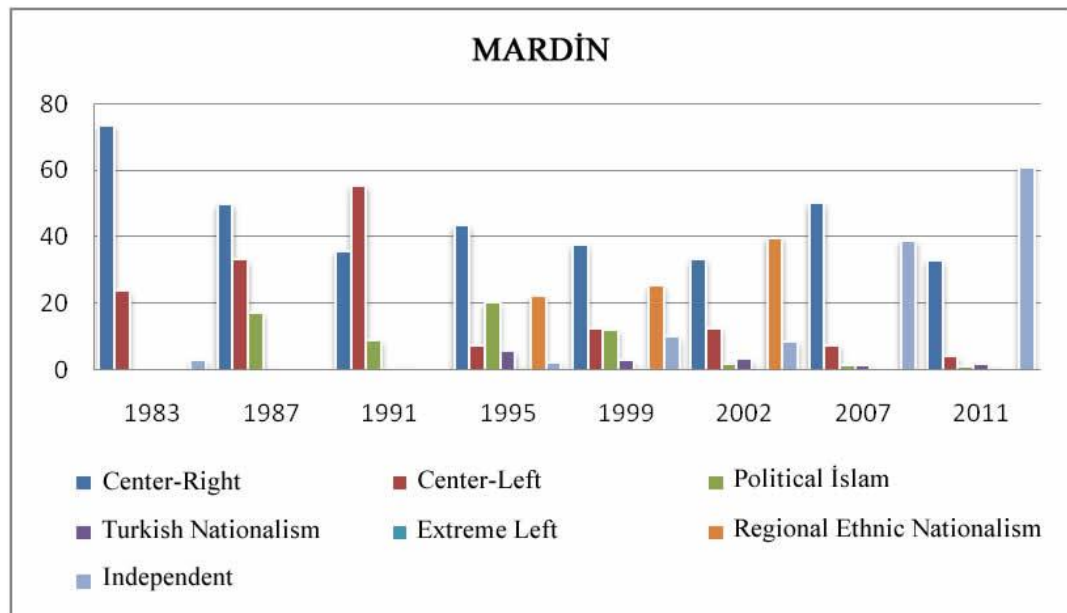
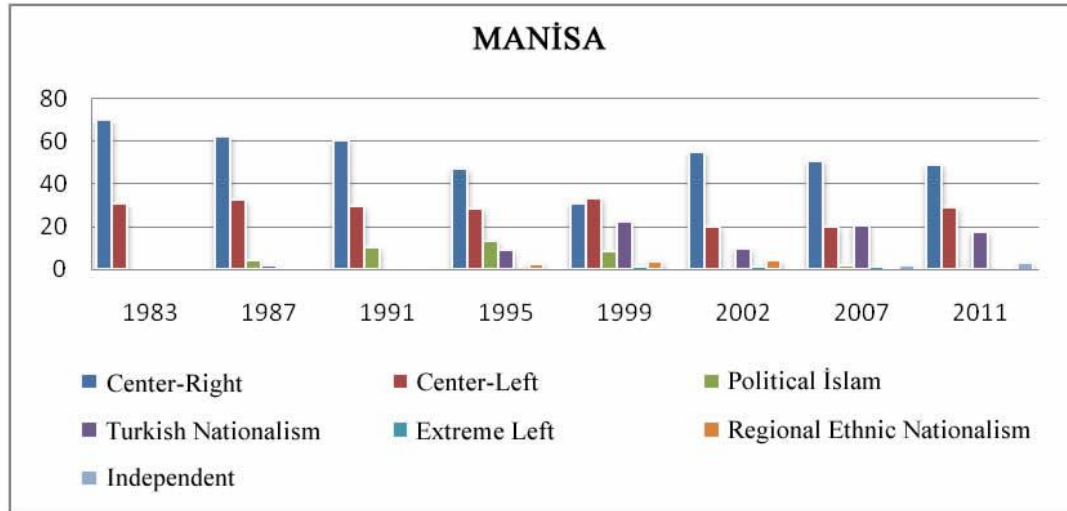
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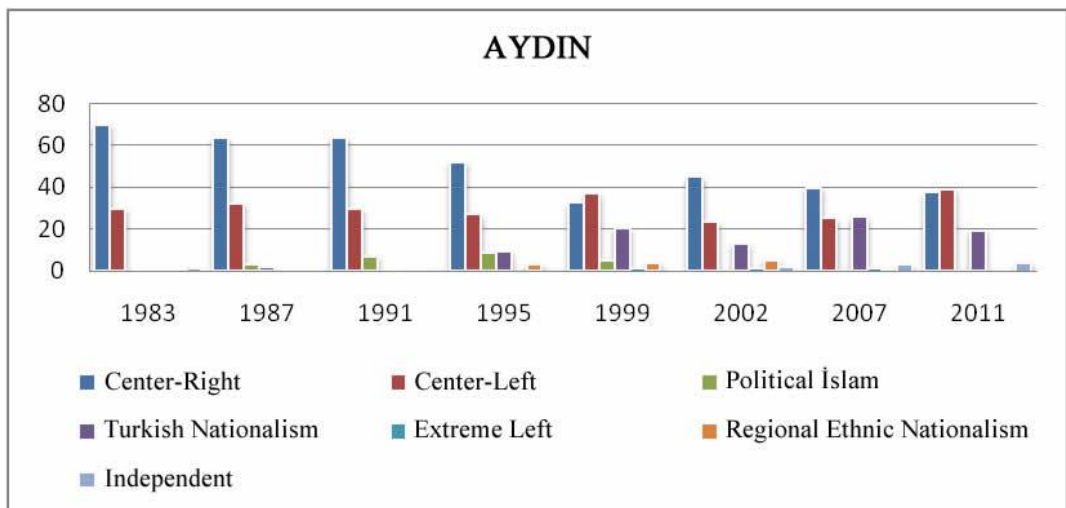
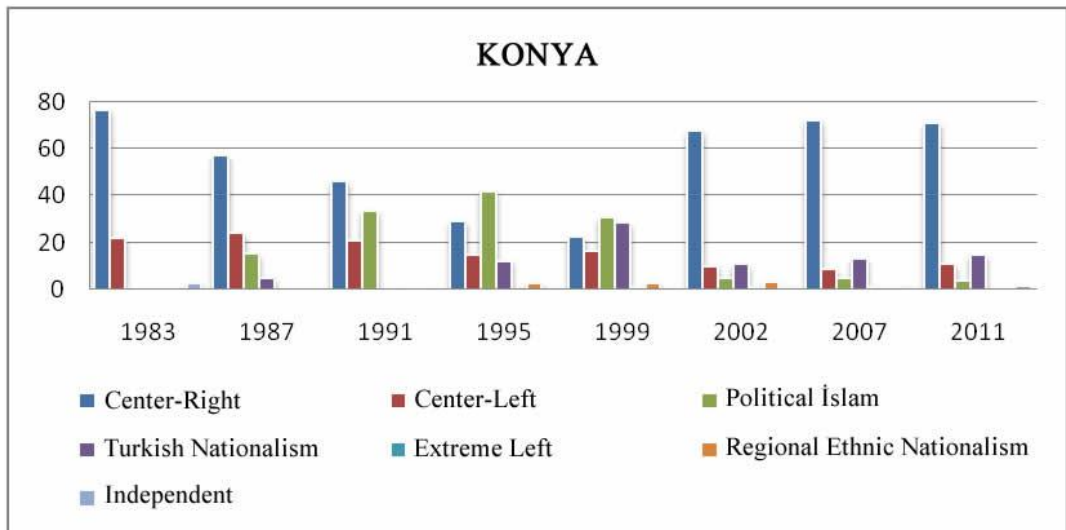
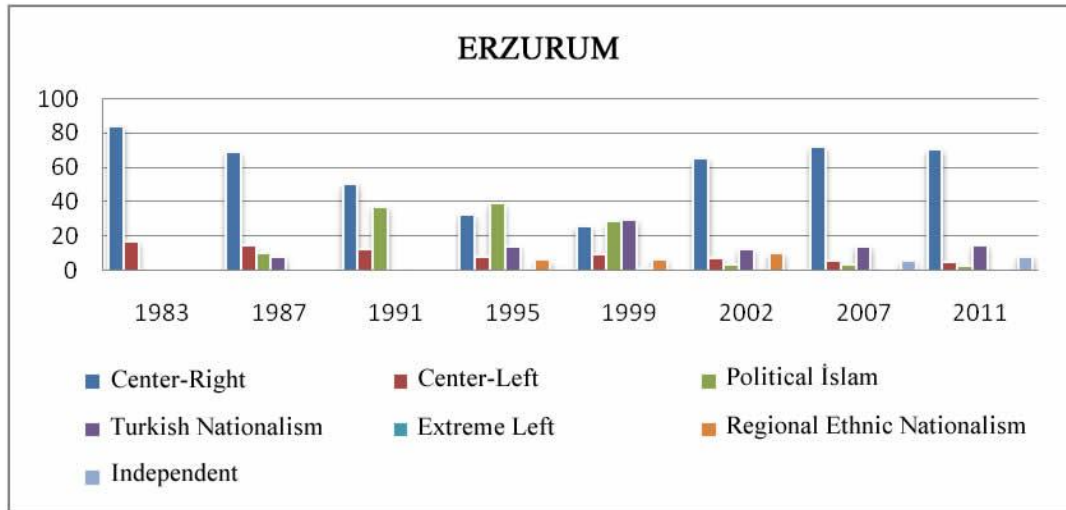
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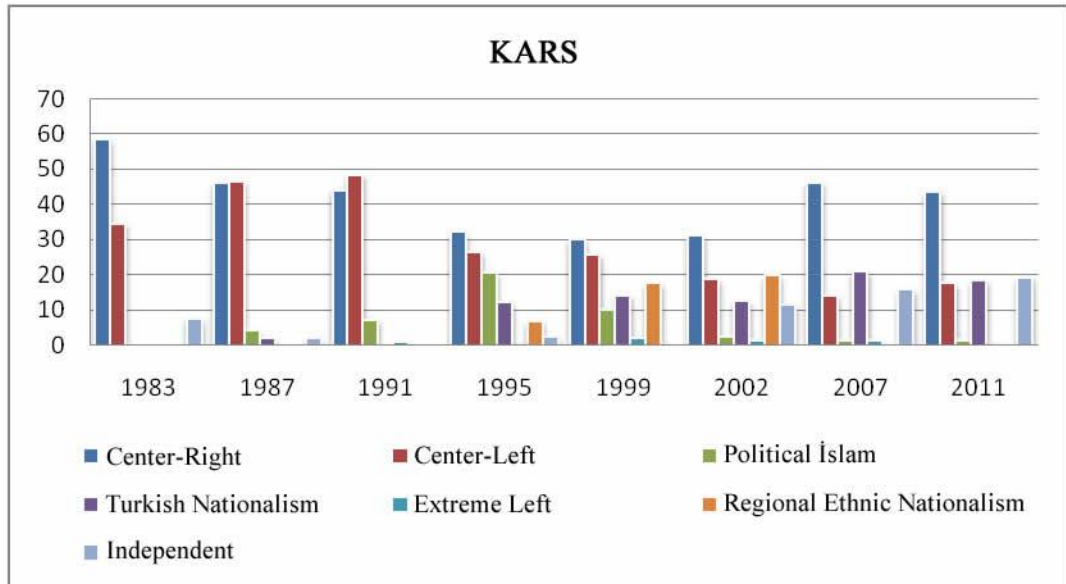
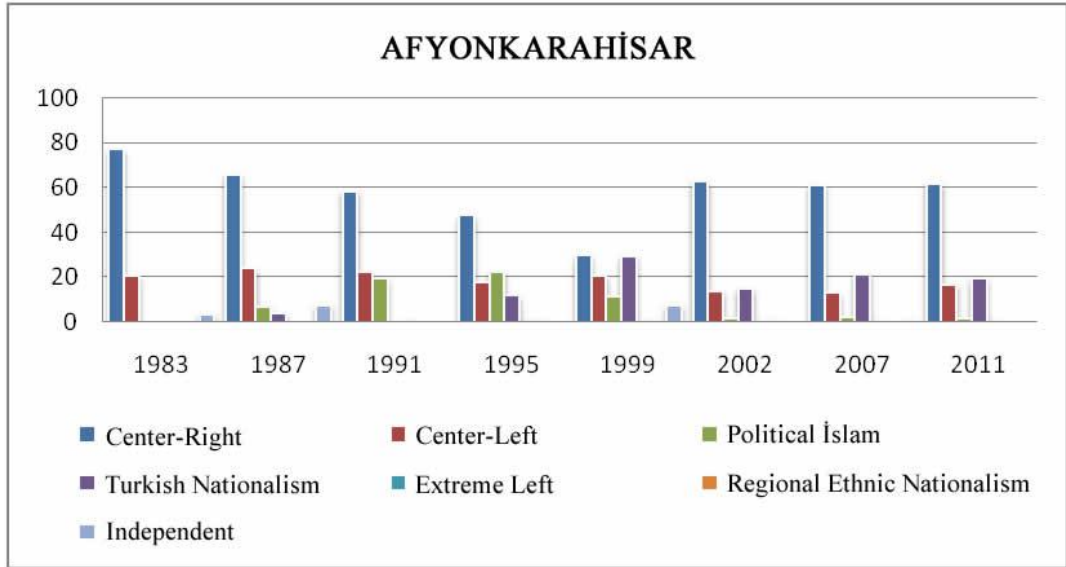
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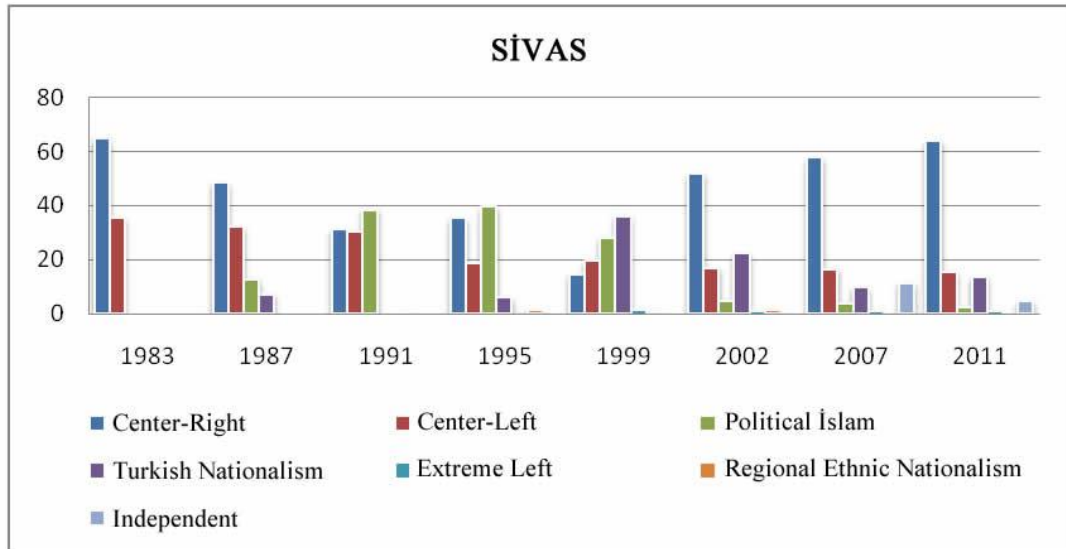
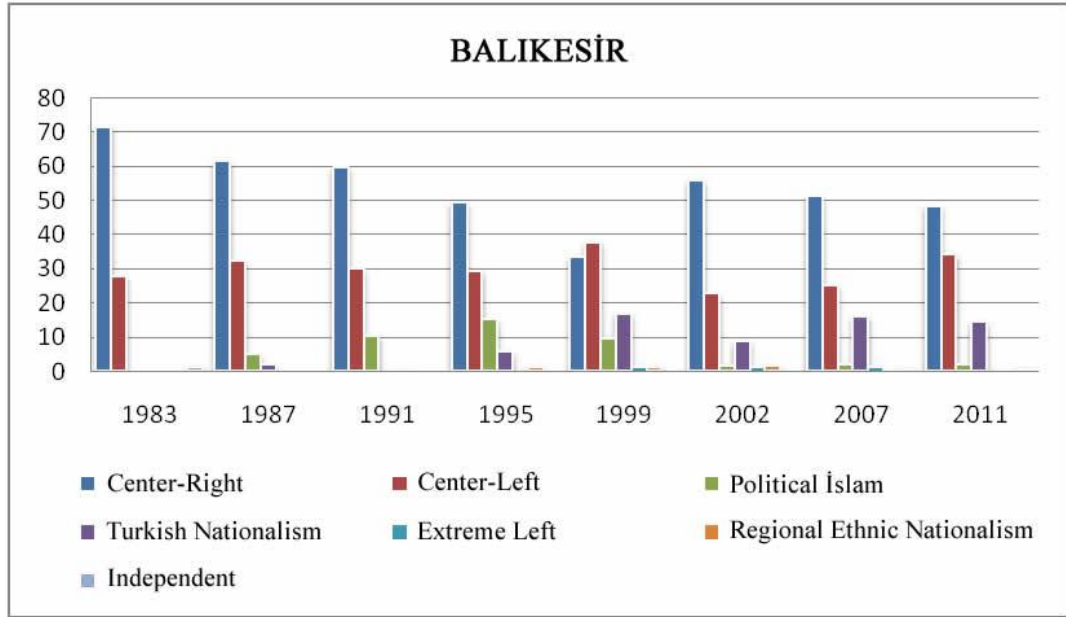
APPENDICES

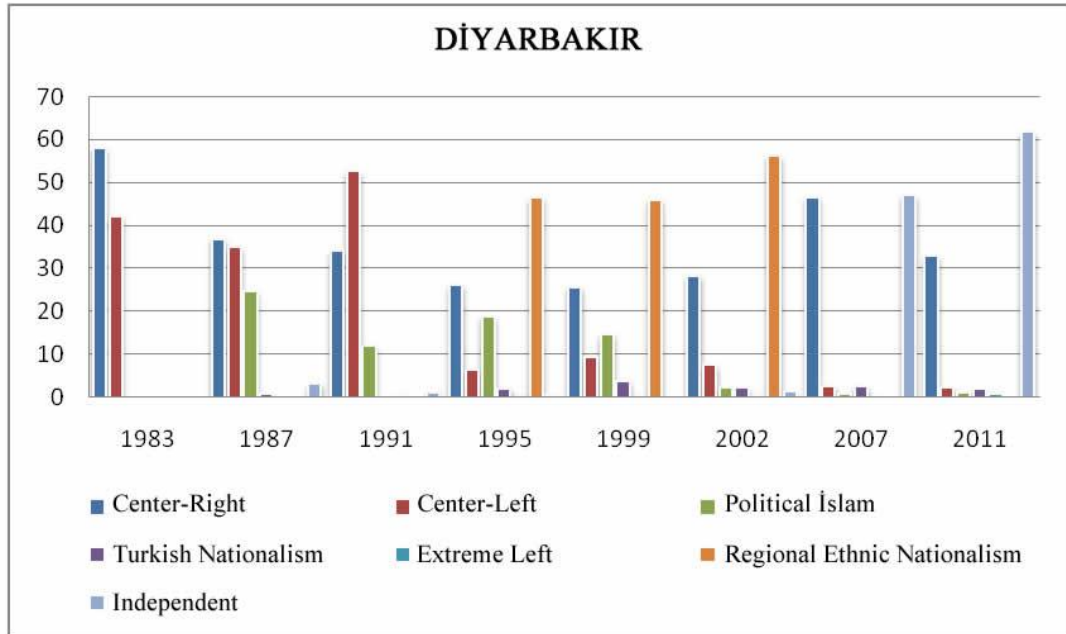
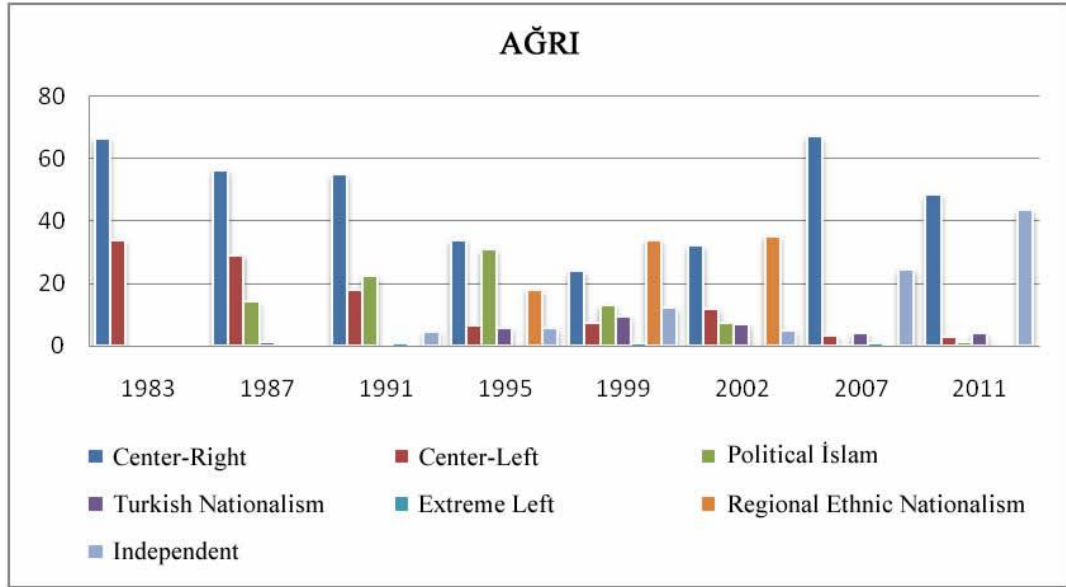
APP. 1 Political tendencies in the cities which are uttermost emigrant cities to İzmir in the last eight elections

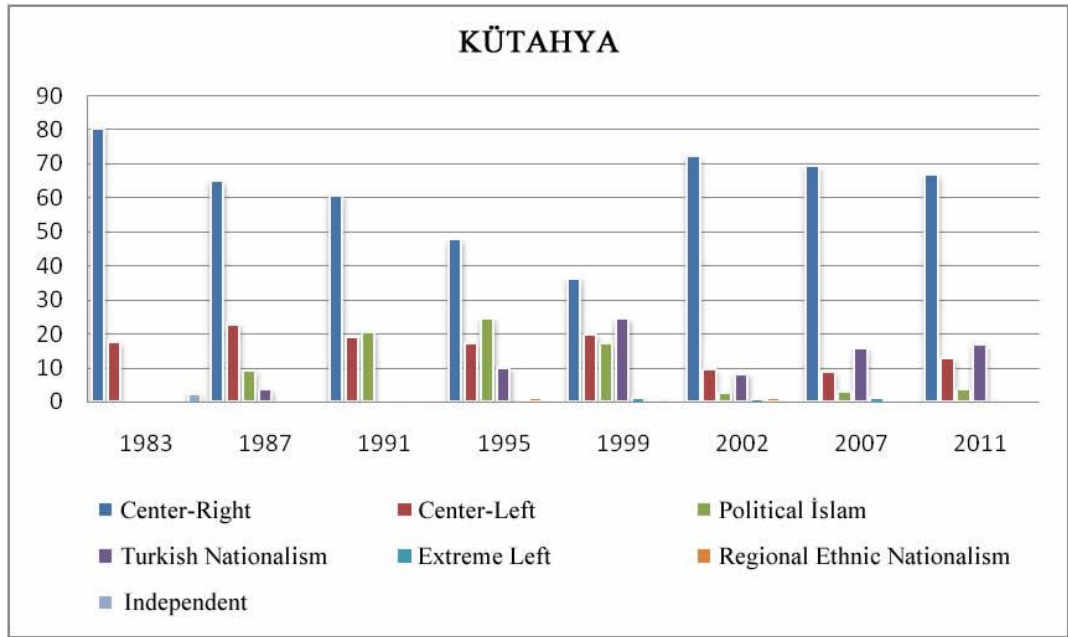
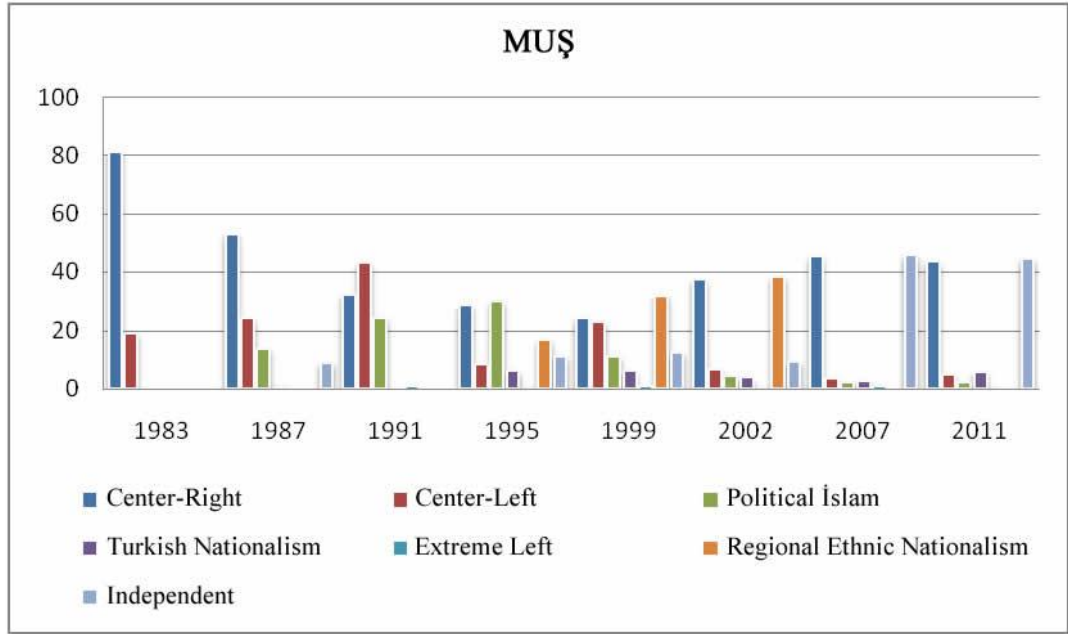












APP. 2 General political tendency in İzmir counties according to dominant party (1961-2011)

İLÇELER	2011	2007	2002	1999	1995	1991	1987	1983	1977	1973	1969	1965	1961
Aliağa	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-
Balçova	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bayındır	Left	T.N	Right	Left	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right
Bayraklı	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bergama	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right
Beydağ	Left	Left	Right	Left	Right	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bornova	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right
Buca	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Çeşme	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	Right	Left
Çiğli	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dikili	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Left	Right	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right
Foça	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right
Gaziemir	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Güzelbahçe	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karabağlar	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Karaburun	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right
Karşıyaka	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right
Kemalpaşa	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right
Kınık	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right
Kiraz	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right
Konak	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Menderes	Left	Right	Left	Left	Left	Right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Menemen	Right	Right	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right
Narlıdere	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ödemiş	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Left
Seferihisar	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left
Selçuk	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Left
Tire	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right	Right
Torbalı	Right	Right	Right	Left	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right
Urla	Left	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right	Left	Left	Left	Right	Right	Right

Left = Center Left, Right = Center Right, T.N. = Turkish Nationalism