

# Appendixes

## APPENDIX I

### POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 1961–77 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Party	Foundation (Split from)/ Succession	Abolition <sup>a</sup> (Merged into)	Ideology	Incumbent Elections <sup>b</sup>
DP	1973 (AP)		Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	
AP	1961		Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	1969, 1973, <sup>c</sup> 1977
MP	1962 (CKMP)		Right, Pro-systemic (Conservative)	
MNP/MSP	1970/1972	1971	Right, Anti-systemic (Religious)	1977
YTP	1961	1973 (AP)	Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	
GP/CGP	1967 (CHP)/ 1973		Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	1977
CKMP/MHP	1958/1969		Right, Anti-systemic (Nationalist)	1977
CHP	1923		Left, Pro-systemic (Center-left)	1965
TİP	1961/1975	1971	Left, Anti-systemic (Marxist)	
TBP	1966		Left, Anti-systemic (Alevi)	
Independent			Right, Pro-systemic (Conservative)	

Source: Compiled by the author from Tachau (1994).

Notes: 1. This list excludes minor parties that did not obtain at least one percent of the vote in any of the elections.

2. DP: Democratic Party, AP: Justice Party, MNP/MSP: National Order Party/National Salvation Party, MP: Nation Party, YTP: New Turkey Party, GP/CGP: Reliance Party/Republican Reliance Party, CKMP/MHP: Republican Peasants' Nation Party/Nationalist Action Party, CHP: Republican People's Party, TİP: Turkish Labor Party, TBP: Turkish Union Party.

<sup>a</sup> Abolition by the Constitutional Court. All political parties were disbanded in 1981 following the military intervention.

<sup>b</sup> Defined as an election until which the party stayed in government for more than one year.

<sup>c</sup> Excluding the above-party government during the 1971–73 period.

## APPENDIX II

## POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE 1987–2002 GENERAL ELECTIONS

Party	Foundation (Split from)/ Succession	Abolition <sup>a</sup>	Ideology	Incumbent Elections <sup>b</sup>
DSP	1985		Left, Pro-systemic (Center-left)	2002
SP	2001 (FP)		Right, Anti-systemic (Religious)	
AKP	2001 (FP)		Right, Anti-systemic (Religious)	
ANAP	1983		Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	1987, 1991, 1999, 2002
MÇP/MHP	1983/1993 <sup>c</sup>		Right, Anti-systemic (Nationalist)	2002
HADEP/ DEHAP	1995/1997 <sup>d</sup>		Left, Anti-systemic (Kurdish)	
SHP/CHP	1985/1992		Left, Pro-systemic (Center-left)	1995
DYP	1983		Right, Pro-systemic (Center-right)	1995
RP/FP	1983/1997	1998, 2001	Right, Anti-systemic (Religious)	1999
GP	2002		Right, Anti-systemic (Nationalist)	

Sources: Compiled by the author from Tachau (1994).

Notes: 1. This list excludes minor parties that did not obtain at least 1 percent of the vote in any of the elections.

2. DSP: Democratic Left Party, DEHAP: Democratic People's Party, SP: Felicity Party, AKP: Justice and Development Party, ANAP: Motherland Party, MÇP/MHP: Nationalist Work Party/Nationalist Action Party, HADEP: People's Democracy Party, SHP/CHP: Social Democratic Populist Party/Republican People's Party, DYP: True Path Party, RP/FP: Welfare Party/Virtue Party, GP: Youth Party.

<sup>a</sup> Abolition by the Constitutional Court.

<sup>b</sup> Defined as an election until which the party stayed in government for more than one year.

<sup>c</sup> Change of name.

<sup>d</sup> Although DEHAP was formed in 1997 in anticipation of the abolition of HADEP, HADEP was not disbanded until 2003. HADEP thus ran in the 1995 and 1999 general elections. Due to a growing fear of abolition, it did not take part in the 2002 general election (See interview with the party chairman, Murat Bozlak, in the *Milliyet* (Istanbul Daily), 21 October 2002). Instead, DEHAP ran, in alliance with two small parties, one leftist and the other center-left.

APPENDIX III  
GENERAL ELECTION RESULTS, 1961–2002

	1961	1965	1969	1973	1977
Registered voters	12,925,395	13,679,753	14,788,552	16,798,164	21,207,303
Actual voters	10,522,716 (81.4)	9,748,678 (71.3)	9,516,035 (64.3)	11,223,843 (66.8)	15,358,210 (72.4)
Valid ballots cast	10,138,035	9,307,563	9,086,296	10,723,658	14,827,172
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Political parties, 1961–77					
AP	3,527,435 (34.8)	4,921,235 (52.9)	4,229,712 (46.5)	3,197,897 (29.8)	5,468,202 (36.9)
CHP	3,724,752 (36.7)	2,675,785 (28.7)	2,487,006 (27.4)	3,570,583 (33.3)	6,136,171 (41.4)
CGP	—	—	597,818 (6.6)	564,343 (5.3)	277,713 (1.9)
CKMP	1,415,390 (14)	208,696 (2.2)	—	—	—
DP	—	—	—	1,275,502 (11.9)	274,484 (1.9)
MP	—	582,704 (6.3)	292,961 (3.2)	62,377 (0.6)	—
MHP	—	—	275,091 (3)	362,208 (3.4)	951,544 (6.4)
MSP	—	—	—	1,265,771 (11.8)	1,269,918 (8.6)
TBP	—	—	254,695 (2.8)	121,759 (1.1)	58,540 (0.4)
TİP	—	276,101 (3)	243,631 (2.7)	—	20,565 (0.1)
YTP	1,391,934 (13.7)	346,514 (3.7)	197,929 (2.2)	—	—
Independent	81,732 (0.8)	296,528 (3.2)	511,023 (5.6)	303,218 (2.8)	370,035 (2.5)

## APPENDIX III (Continued)

	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	2002
Registered voters	19,767,366	26,376,926	29,979,123	34,155,981	37,495,217	41,407,027
Actual voters	18,238,362 (92.3)	24,603,541 (93.3)	25,157,089 (83.9)	29,101,469 (85.2)	32,656,070 (87.1)	32,768,161 (79.1)
Valid ballots cast	17,351,510	23,971,629	24,416,666	28,126,993	31,184,496	31,528,783
Political Parties, 1983–2002						
RP/FP/AKP	—	1,717,425 (7.2)	4,121,355 (16.9)	6,012,450 (21.4)	4,805,381 (15.4)	10,808,229 (34.3)
DYP	—	4,587,062 (19.1)	6,600,726 (27)	5,396,009 (19.2)	3,745,417 (12)	3,008,942 (9.5)
ANAP	7,833,148 (45.1)	8,704,335 (36.3)	5,862,623 (24)	5,527,288 (19.6)	4,122,929 (13.2)	1,618,465 (5.1)
DSP	—	2,044,576 (8.5)	2,624,301 (10.8)	4,118,025 (14.6)	6,919,670 (22.2)	384,009 (1.2)
SHP/CHP	—	5,931,000 (24.8)	5,066,571 (20.8)	3,011,076 (10.7)	2,716,094 (8.7)	6,113,352 (19.4)
HADEP/ DEHAP	—	—	—	1,171,623 (4.2)	1,482,196 (4.7)	1,960,660 (6.2)
MÇP/MHP	—	701,538 (2.9)	—	2,301,343 (8.2)	5,606,583 (18)	2,635,787 (8.4)
HP	5,285,804 (30.5)	—	—	—	—	—
IDP	—	196,272 (0.8)	—	—	—	—
MDP	4,036,970 (23.3)	—	—	—	—	—
GP	—	—	—	—	—	2,285,598 (7.2)
Other parties	—	—	108,369 (0.4)	455,284 (1.6)	1,515,961 (4.9)	2,399,490 (7.6)
Independent	195,588 (1.1)	89,421 (0.4)	32,721 (0.1)	133,895 (0.5)	270,265 (0.9)	314,251 (1)

Source: Compiled by the author from SIS, *Statistical Yearbook*, various years.

- Notes: 1. Parties that failed to receive 1 percent of the vote in any of the elections are included in "other parties." This rule does not apply to the IDP in 1991, which formed an electoral alliance with the RP and MÇP to clear the 10 percent threshold. The three parties, which ran on the RP ticket, together received 16.9 percent of the vote.
2. Figures in parentheses are percentages.

## APPENDIX IV

## CALCULATING ELECTORAL VOLATILITY IN TURKEY, 1965–2002

Year	Volatility Type	Vote Swings <sup>a</sup>
1965	Total:	$(AP65 - AP61) + (CHP65 - CHP61) + (CKMP65 + MP65 - CKMP61) + (TIP65 - TIP61) + (YTP65 - YTP61) + (Ind.65 - Ind.61).$
	Left-right:	Left = $(CHP65 - CHP61) + (TIP65 - TIP61),$ Right = $(AP65 - AP61) + (CKMP65 + MP65 - CKMP61) + (YTP65 - YTP61) + (Ind.65 - Ind.61).$
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = $(AP65 - AP61) + (CHP65 - CHP61) + (YTP65 - YTP61) + (Ind.65 - Ind.61),$ Anti-systemic = $(CKMP65 + MP65 - CKMP61) + (TIP65 - TIP61).$
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = $CHP65 - CHP61,$ Opposition = $(AP65 - AP61) + (CKMP65 + MP65 - CKMP61) + (TIP65 - TIP61) + (YTP65 - YTP61) + (Ind.65 - Ind.61).$
	Traumatic:	Government experience = $CHP65 - CHP61,$ Never in government = $(AP65 - AP61) + (CKMP65 + MP65 - CKMP61) + (TIP65 - TIP61) + (YTP65 - YTP61) + (Ind.65 - Ind.61).$
	1969	Total:
Left-right:		Left = $(CHP69 - CHP65) + (TIP69 - TIP65) + TBP69,$ Right = $(AP69 - AP65) + (MHP69 - CKMP65) + (MP69 - MP65) + (YTP69 - YTP65) + (Ind.69 - Ind.65).$
Systemic:		Pro-systemic = $(AP69 - AP65) + (CHP69 - CHP65) + (MP69 - MP65) + (YTP69 - YTP65) + (Ind.69 - Ind.65),$ Anti-systemic = $(MHP69 - CKMP65) + TBP69 + (TIP69 - TIP65).$
Incumbent:		Incumbent = $AP69 - AP65,$ Opposition = $(CHP69 - CHP65) + (MHP69 - CKMP65) + (MP69 - MP65) + (YTP69 - YTP65) + TBP69 + (TIP69 - TIP65) + (Ind.69 - Ind.65).$
Traumatic:		Government experience = $(AP69 - AP65) + (CHP69 - CHP65),$ Never in government = $(MHP69 - CKMP65) + (MP69 - MP65) + (YTP69 - YTP65) + TBP69 + (TIP69 - TIP65) + (Ind.69 - Ind.65).$
1973		Total:
	Left-right:	Left = $(CHP73 - CHP69) + (CGP73 - CGP69) + (TBP73 - TBP69),$ Right = $(AP73 + DP73 - AP69 - YTP69) + (MP73 - MP69) + (MHP73 - MHP69) + MSP73 + (Ind.73 - Ind.69).$
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = $(AP73 + DP73 - AP69 - YTP69) + (CHP73 - CHP69) + (CGP73 - CGP69) + (MP73 - MP69) + (Ind.73 - Ind.69),$ Anti-systemic = $(MHP73 - MHP69) + MSP73 + (TBP73 - TBP69) + (Ind.73 - Ind.69).$
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = $(AP73 + DP73 - AP69 - YTP69),$ Opposition = $(CHP73 - CHP69) + (CGP73 - CGP69) + (MP73 - MP69) + (MHP73 - MHP69) + MSP73 + (TBP73 - TBP69) + (Ind.73 - Ind.69).$
	Traumatic:	Government experience = $(AP73 + DP73 - AP69 - YTP69) + (CHP73 - CHP69),$ Never in government = $(CGP73 - CGP69) + (MP73 - MP69) + (MHP73 - MHP69) + MSP73 + (TBP73 - TBP69) + (Ind.73 - Ind.69).$
	1977	Total:
Left-right:		Left = $(CHP77 - CHP73) + (CGP77 - CGP73) + TIP77,$ Right = $(AP77 - AP73) + (DP77 - DP73) + (MP77 - MP73)$

## APPENDIX IV (Continued)

Year	Volatility Type	Vote Swings <sup>a</sup>
		+ (MHP77 – MHP73) + (MSP77 – MSP73) + (TBP77 – TBP73) + Ind.
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = (AP77 – AP73) + (CHP77 – CHP73) + (CGP77 – CGP73) + (DP77 – DP73) + (MP77 – MP73) + Ind. Anti-systemic = (MHP77 – MHP73) + (MSP77 – MSP73) + (TBP77 – TBP73) + TİP77.
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = (AP77 – AP73) + (CGP77 – CGP73) + (MP77 – MP73) + (MHP77 – MHP73) + (MSP77 – MSP73), Opposition = (CHP77 – CHP73) + (DP77 – DP73) + (TBP77 – TBP73) + TİP77 + Ind.
	Traumatic:	Government experience = (AP77 – AP73) + (CHP77 – CHP73) + (CGP77 – CGP73) + (MP77 – MP73) + (MHP77 – MHP73) + (MSP77 – MSP73), Never in government = (DP77 – DP73) + (TBP77 – TBP73) + TİP77 + Ind.
1991	Total:	(DSP91 – DSP87) + (ANAP91 – ANAP87) + (SHP91 – SHP87) + (DYP91 – DYP87) + (RP91 + MHP91 – RP87 – MÇP87) + (Other91 – Other87) + (Ind91 – Ind87).
	Left-right:	Left = (DSP91 – DSP87) + (SHP91 – SHP87) + 1/2 (Other91 – Other87), Right = (ANAP91 – ANAP87) + (DYP91 – DYP87) + (RP91 + MHP91 – RP87 – MÇP87) + 1/2 (Other91 – Other87) + (Ind91 – Ind87).
	Systemic:	Pro - systemic = (DSP91 – DSP87) + (ANAP91 – ANAP87) + (SHP91 – SHP87) + (DYP91 – DYP87) + 1/2 (Other91 – Other87) + (Ind91 – Ind87), Anti-systemic = (RP91 + MHP91 – RP87 – MÇP87) + 1/2 (Other91 – Other87).
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = ANAP91 – ANAP87, Opposition = (DSP91 – DSP87) + (SHP91 – SHP87) + (DYP91 – DYP87) + (RP91 + MHP91 – RP87 – MÇP87) + (Other91 – Other87) + (Ind91 – Ind87).
	Traumatic:	Government experience = ANAP91 – ANAP87, Never in government = (DSP91 – DSP87) + (SHP91 – SHP87) + (DYP91 – DYP87) + (RP91 + MHP91 – RP87 – MÇP87) + (Other91 – Other87) + (Ind91 – Ind87).
1995	Total:	(DSP95 – DSP91) + (ANAP95 – ANAP91) + (CHP95 + HADEP95 – SHP91) + (DYP95 – DYP91) + (RP95 + MHP95 – RP91) + (Other95 – Other91) + (Ind95 – Ind91).
	Left-right:	Left = (DSP95 – DSP91) + (CHP95 + HADEP95 – SHP91) + 1/2 (Other95 – Other91), Right = (ANAP95 – ANAP91) + (DYP95 – DYP91) + (RP95 + MHP95 – RP91) + 1/2 (Other95 – Other91) + (Ind95 – Ind91).
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = (DSP95 – DSP91) + (ANAP95 – ANAP91) + (CHP95 + HADEP95 – SHP91) + (DYP95 – DYP91) + (Other95 – Other91) + (Ind95 – Ind91), Anti-systemic = (RP95 + MHP95 – RP91) + 1/2 (Other95 – Other91).
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = (CHP95 + HADEP95 – SHP91) + (DYP95 – DYP91), Opposition = (DSP95 – DSP91) + (ANAP95 – ANAP91) + (RP95 + MHP95 – RP91) + (Other95 – Other91) + (Ind95 – Ind91).
	Traumatic:	Government experience = (ANAP95 – ANAP91) + (CHP95 + HADEP95 – SHP91) + (DYP95 – DYP91), Never in government = (DSP95 – DSP91) + (RP95 + MHP95 – RP91) + (Other95 – Other91) + (Ind95 – Ind91).
1999	Total:	(DSP99 – DSP95) + (ANAP99 – ANAP95) + (CHP99 – CHP95) + (DYP99 – DYP95) + (FP99 – FP95) + (MHP99 – MHP95) + (HADEP99 – HADEP95) + (Other99 – Other95) + (Ind99 – Ind95).

## APPENDIX IV (Continued)

Year	Volatility Type	Vote Swings <sup>a</sup>
	Left-right:	Left = (DSP99 – DSP95) + (CHP99 – CHP95) + (HADEP99 – HADEP95) + 1/2 (Other99 – Other95), Right = (ANAP99 – ANAP95) + (DYP99 – DYP95) + (FP99 – FP95) + (MHP99 – MHP95) + 1/2 (Other99 – Other95) + (Ind99 – Ind95).
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = (DSP99 – DSP95) + (ANAP99 – ANAP95) + (CHP99 – CHP95) + (DYP99 – DYP95) + 1/2 (Other99 – Other95) + (Ind99 – Ind95), Anti-systemic = (FP99 – FP95) + (MHP99 – MHP95) + (HADEP99 – HADEP95) + 1/2 (Other99 – Other95).
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = (DSP99 – DSP95) + (ANAP99 – ANAP95), Opposition = (CHP99 – CHP95) + (DYP99 – DYP95) + (FP99 – FP95) + (MHP99 – MHP95) + (HADEP99 – HADEP95) + (Other99 – Other95) + (Ind99 – Ind95).
	Traumatic:	Government experience = (DSP99 – DSP95) + (ANAP99 – ANAP95) + (CHP99 – CHP95) + (DYP99 – DYP95) + (FP99 – FP95), Never in government = (MHP99 – MHP95) + (HADEP99 – HADEP95) + (Other99 – Other95) + (Ind99 – Ind95).
2002	Total:	(DSP02 – DSP99) + (ANAP02 – ANAP99) + (CHP02 – CHP99) + (DYP02 – DYP99) + (AKP02 + SP02 – FP99) + (MHP02 – MHP99) + (DEHAP02 – HADEP99) + GP02 + (Other02 – Other99) + (Ind02 – Ind99).
	Left-right:	Left = (DSP02 – DSP99) + (CHP02 – CHP99) + (DEHAP02 – HADEP99) + 1/2 (Other02 – Other99), Right = (ANAP02 – ANAP99) + (DYP02 – DYP99) + (AKP02 + SP02 – FP99) + (MHP02 – MHP99) + GP02 + 1/2 (Other02 – Other99) + (Ind02 – Ind99).
	Systemic:	Pro-systemic = (DSP02 – DSP99) + (ANAP02 – ANAP99) + (CHP02 – CHP99) + (DYP02 – DYP99) + 1/2 (Other02 – Other99) + (Ind02 – Ind99), Anti-systemic = (AKP02 + SP02 – FP99) + (MHP02 – MHP99) + (DEHAP02 – HADEP99) + GP02 + 1/2 (Other02 – Other99).
	Incumbent:	Incumbent = (DSP02 – DSP99) + (ANAP02 – ANAP99) + (MHP02 – MHP99), Opposition = (CHP02 – CHP99) + (DYP02 – DYP99) + (AKP02 + SP02 – FP99) + (DEHAP02 – HADEP99) + GP02 + (Other02 – Other99) + (Ind02 – Ind99).
	Traumatic:	Government experience = (DSP02 – DSP99) + (ANAP02 – ANAP99) + (MHP02 – MHP99) + (CHP02 – CHP99) + (DYP02 – DYP99), Never in government = (AKP02 + SP02 – FP99) + (DEHAP02 – HADEP99) + GP02 + (Other02 – Other99) + (Ind02 – Ind99).

Source: Compiled by the author.

Note: For definitions and counting rules, see Section 3.2 of Chapter 3.

<sup>a</sup> Total volatility is calculated as the sum of the absolute differences in the party vote percentage between two consecutive elections, divided by two. Inter-bloc volatility (left-right, systemic, incumbent, or traumatic) is calculated as the absolute sum of the differences in the vote percentage for the parties in either bloc between two consecutive elections.

## APPENDIX V

## SOCIAL CLEAVAGE INDICES BY PROVINCE

No. Province	Sunni Religiosity <sup>a</sup> (%)	Kurdish Ethnicity <sup>b</sup> (%)	Alevi Sectarianism <sup>c</sup> (No.)	No. Province	Sunni Religiosity <sup>a</sup> (%)	Kurdish Ethnicity <sup>b</sup> (%)	Alevi Sectarianism <sup>c</sup> (No.)
1 Adana	6.74	7.32	14	35 İzmir	2.61	3.98	43
2 Adıyaman	10.63	45.05	93	36 Kars	4.00	20.69	125
3 Afyon	10.31	0.03	4	37 Kastamonu	19.01	0.25	0
4 Ağrı	14.47	70.45	0	38 Kayseri	10.35	3.34	22
5 Amasya	11.49	0.76	17	39 Kırklareli	1.11	0.24	25
6 Ankara	2.96	5.29	6	40 Kırşehir	5.15	6.61	1
7 Antalya	7.54	1.63	26	41 Kocaeli	7.43	4.22	0
8 Artvin	11.36	0.02	0	42 Konya	12.56	4.70	2
9 Aydın	4.84	2.17	18	43 Kütahya	11.98	0.03	0
10 Balıkesir	7.33	1.28	49	44 Malatya	5.40	17.20	223
11 Bilecik	8.28	2.03	4	45 Manisa	8.69	1.77	31
12 Bingöl	10.54	76.58	0	46 Kahramanmaraş	8.16	15.37	97
13 Bitlis	3.34	64.03	0	47 Mardin	1.90	74.87	0
14 Bolu	12.80	0.61	0	48 Muğla	8.39	1.05	12
15 Burdur	10.55	0.20	3	49 Muş	5.13	67.70	0
16 Bursa	12.03	2.27	0	50 Nevşehir	7.46	2.10	15
17 Çanakkale	11.10	0.13	3	51 Niğde	8.57	2.81	5
18 Çankırı	10.35	1.26	0	52 Ordu	15.47	0.04	46
19 Çorum	13.45	3.89	80	53 Rize	12.76	0.07	0
20 Denizli	8.10	1.57	10	54 Sakarya	12.86	1.68	0
21 Diyarbakır	2.47	72.78	8	55 Samsun	13.10	0.58	4
22 Edirne	2.65	0.14	6	56 Siirt	4.42	78.78	0
23 Elazığ	6.28	43.16	19	57 Sinop	17.24	0.80	0
24 Erzincan	6.89	19.74	218	58 Sivas	8.73	11.73	215
25 Erzurum	8.31	16.00	127	59 Tekirdağ	3.11	1.75	8
26 Eskişehir	3.71	1.82	4	60 Tokat	12.46	1.71	93
27 Gaziantep	6.52	12.66	83	61 Trabzon	11.54	0.04	3
28 Giresun	15.73	0.26	0	62 Tunceli	3.58	55.86	676
29 Gümüşhane	14.25	2.07	0	63 Şanlıurfa	8.49	47.84	2
30 Hakkari	11.36	89.47	0	64 Uşak	8.21	0.22	1
31 Hatay	5.65	3.80	84	65 Van	3.21	70.70	0
32 Isparta	13.45	0.27	23	66 Yozgat	12.04	2.26	55
33 İçel	5.76	5.61	15	67 Zonguldak	9.24	0.13	1
34 İstanbul	2.86	5.47	0				

Source: Compiled by the author from SIS (1995); Mutlu (1996, pp. 517–41); and Andrews (1989). Note: In order to generate indices, the Kurdish population percentage and the number of Alevi villages were log-transformed. For details, see section 6.2 of Chapter 6.

<sup>a</sup> *İmam-hatip lisesi* junior students to total junior-high students.

<sup>b</sup> Kurdish population 1965/1990 mean.

<sup>c</sup> Number of Alevi villages.



APPENDIX VI  
TIME-SERIES DATA FOR THE RETROSPECTIVE VOTING MODEL, 1950–2002

Year	Month-Day	Incumbent Parties	Vote, (A)	Vote, -1 (B)	Swing (A)–(B)	Real GNP/Cap Change	Inflation Change	Jobless Change	No. of Parties	Years in Office
1950	May 14	CHP	39.9	53.9	-14.0	(0.6)	(6.5)	(-0.5)	1	4
1954	Feb. 5	DP <sup>a</sup>	56.6	53.4	3.2	(8.5)	(0.2)	(0.9)	1	4
1957	Oct. 27	DP <sup>a</sup>	47.3	56.6	-9.3	2.6	-2.6	-0.4	1	4
1963*	Nov. 17	CHP, CKMP, YTP	45.8	64.4	-18.6	5.3	1.9	0.0	3	2
1965	Oct. 10	CHP	28.7	36.2	-7.5	1.1	1.4	0.2	1	1
1968*	Jun. 2	AP	49.1	52.9	-3.8	(5.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)	1	3
1969	Oct. 12	AP	46.5	49.1	-2.6	2.9	0.6	0.7	1	1
1973	Oct. 14	AP <sup>b</sup>	41.7	46.5	-4.8	3.1	3.9	0.5	1	2
1977	Jun. 5	AP, MSP, MHP	51.9	45.0	6.9	(5.0)	(0.8)	(1.4)	3	2
1984*	Mar. 25	ANAP	41.5	45.1	-3.6	(1.7)	(0.6)	(-0.1)	1	0
1987	Nov. 29	ANAP	36.3	41.5	-5.2	5.9	-3.1	0.4	1	4
1989*	Mar. 26	ANAP	21.8	36.3	-14.5	(-0.7)	(34.8)	(0.5)	1	2
1991	Oct. 20	ANAP	24.0	21.8	2.2	2.7	1.4	-0.2	1	2
1994*	Mar. 27	DYP, SHP <sup>c</sup>	36.3	47.8	-11.5	(-0.8)	(18.1)	(0.4)	2	2
1995	Dec. 24	DYP, CHP	29.9	36.3	-6.4	6.0	11.0	-1.3	2	2
1999	Apr. 18	ANAP, DSP, DTP <sup>d</sup>	35.4	34.2	1.2	(4.2)	(2.1)	(-0.1)	2	2
2002	Nov. 3	DSP, MHP, ANAP	14.7	53.4	-38.7	-3.5	-12.5	2.1	3	4

Sources: For election data, SIS, *Statistical Yearbook*, various years. The incumbent vote percentage in the 1946 general election, which was not made public, was estimated from the incumbent vote percentage in the 1946, 1950, 1954, and 1957 general elections and the incumbent seat percentage in the 1950, 1954, and 1957 general elections. The following regression equation was generated:  $Y = 19.7 + 0.40X$  ( $R^2 = 0.96$ ). For real GNP per capita and inflation (measured by the consumer price index), SIS (1991), Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey's website, <http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/>. For unemployment (age 15 and above), Bulutay (1995, p. 256, table 8.A); SIS, *Household Labour Force Survey Results*, various years.

Note: Macroeconomic data for the year prior to the election are in parentheses.

\* General local elections.

<sup>a</sup> Democrat Party (1946–60), which is different from the Democratic Party (DP) shown in Appendix I.

<sup>b</sup> Democratic Party votes included.

<sup>c</sup> CHP votes included.

<sup>d</sup> Since the DTP, a splinter party formed by DYP defectors, did not exist at the time of the preceding general election in 1995, its vote in 1999 (0.6 percent) was not counted for the vote swing in 1999.

## APPENDIX VII

## TÜSES-VERİ ARAŞTIRMA SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

- 
- c12 Did Turkey's economic condition become better or worse over the last twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- c13 Did Turkey's social-political condition become better or worse over the last twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- c14 How will Turkey's economic condition be over the next twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- c15 How will Turkey's social-political condition be over the next twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- c20 If there were a parliamentary election today, which party would you vote for?  
(Party name)
97. Undecided
  98. Would not vote
  99. No answer
- c29 Did your family's economic condition become better or worse over the last twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- c30 Did the government play any part in your family's economic condition becoming better or worse?
1. Yes
  2. No
  3. No idea
- c32 How do you think your family's economic condition will be over the next twelve months?
1. Much better
  2. Better
  3. Almost the same
  4. Worse
  5. Much worse
  9. No idea, or no answer
- 

Notes: 1. Translated by the author from Turkish to English.

2. TÜSES: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırma Vakfı, The Turkish Social, Economic and Political Research Foundation; Veri Araştırma: Data Research Ltd.