Bibliography

- Abadan, Nermin. 1966. *Anayasa hukuku ve siyasi bilimler açısından 1965 seçimlerinin tahlili* [Analysis of the 1965 elections from the perspectives of constitutional law and political science]. Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları.
- Abadan, Nermin, and Ahmet Yücekök. 1967. "1961–1965 seçimlerinde büyük şehirlerin oy verme davranışlarıyla ilgili bazı yorumlar" [Some interpretations of the voting behaviors of metropole residents in the 1961–1965 elections]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 21, no. 4: 103–17.
- Abramson, Paul R., and Ronald Inglehart. 1995. *Value Change in Global Perspective*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.
- Adnan, Akçay A. 1999. "Toprak ağalığından kapitalist ışletmeciliğe Türkiye tarımında büyük topraklı ışletmeler" [From landlordism to capitalist management: Large land firms in turkish agriculture]. In 75 yilda köylerden şehirlere [From villages to cities in 75 years]. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi.
- Agnew, John A. 1987. *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation of State and Society*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.
- Agnew, John A., and James S. Duncan. 1989. *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Ahmad, Feroz. 1977. *The Turkish Experiment in Democracy, 1950–1975*. London: C. Hurst for the Royal Institute of International Affairs.
- Akşit, Bahattin, et al. 1996. "Population Movements in Southeastern Anatolia: Some Findings of an Empirical Research in 1993." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 14: 53–74.
- Akyüz, Yılmaz, and Korkut Boratav. 2001. "The Making of the Turkish Financial Crisis." Paper prepared for a Conference on "Financialization of the Global Economy." Political Economy Research Institute, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Mass., December, 7–9
- Aliefendioğlu, Yılmaz. 1996. *Anayasa yargısı ve Türk anayasa mahkemesi* [Constitutional review and the Turkish constitutional court]. Ankara: Yetkin.
- Anderson, Christopher. 1995. *Blaming the Government: Citizens and the Economy in Five European Democracies*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.
- Andrews, Peter Alford, comp. and ed. 1989. *Ethnic Groups in the Republic of Turkey*. With the assistance of Rudiger Benninghaus. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
- Ayata, Ayşe. 1997. "The Emergence of Identity Politics in Turkey." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 17: 59–73.
- Babbie, Earl. 2004. *The Practice of Social Research*. 10th ed. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.

- Baloğlu, Zekai. 1990. *Türkiye'de eğitim* [Education in Turkey]. Istanbul: Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği.
- Bartolini, Stefano, and Peter Mair. 1990. *Identity, Competition, and Electoral Availability: The Stabilisation of European Electorates 1885–1985*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baykal, Deniz. 1970. *Siyasal katılma: Bir davranış ıncelenmesi* [Political participation: A behavioral analysis]. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi.
- Bilici, Faruk. 1999, "Alevi-Bektaşi ilahiyatinin günümüz Türkiye'sindeki işlevi [The role of the Alevi-Bektash theology in today's Turkey]." In *Alevi kimliği* [Alevi identity], ed. Tord Olsson, Elizabeth Özdalga, and Catharina Raudvere. Trans. Bilge Kurt Torun and Hayati Torun. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi.
- Bora, Tanil, and Kemal Can. 1991. *Devlet, ocak, dergah* [The state, the hearth, and the lodge]. Istanbul: İletişim.
- Boratav, Korkut. 1995. *İstanbul ve Anadolu'dan sınıf profilleri* [Class profiles from Istanbul and Anatolia]. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfi.
- Bozarslan, Hamit. 2003. "Alevism and the Myths of Research." In *Turkey's Alevi Enigma: A Comprehensive Overview*, ed. Paul J. White and Joost Jongerden. Leiden: Brill.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. 1992. *Agha, Shaikh, and State: The Social and Political Structures of Kurdistan*. London: Zed Books.
- ——. 1996. "Kurds, Turks and the *Alevi* Revival in Turkey." *Middle East Report* 26, no. 3: 7–10.
- Brynin, Malcolm, and David Sanders. 1997. "Party Identification, Political Preferences and Material Conditions: Evidence from the British household panel Survey, 1991–2." *Party Politics* 3, no. 1: 53–77.
- Budge, Ian. 1991. "Party Identification." In *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Science*, ed. Vernon Bogdanor. Oxford: Blackwell Reference.
- Bulutay, Tuncer. 1970. "Türk toplumsal hayatında iktisadi ve siyasal gelişmeler" [Economic and political developments in Turkish social life]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 25, no. 3: 79–119.
- ——. *Employment, Unemployment and Wages in Turkey.* Ankara: International Labour Organization and State Institute of Statistics.
- Bulutay, Tuncer, and Nuri Yıldırım. 1969. "Türk seçmenlerinin oy verme eğilimlerinde iktisadi sebeplerin önemi üzerinde bir deneme" [A paper on the importance of economic factors behind voting behaviors of the Turkish electorate]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 22, no. 4: 7–39.
- Butler, David, and Donald Stokes. 1969. *Political Change in Britain: Forces Shaping Electoral Choice*. London: Macmillan.
- Campbell, Angus, et al. 1960. The American Voter. New York: Wiley.
- ——. 1966. *Elections and the Political Order*. New York: John Wiley,
- Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey. "Inflation Report," June 3, 2000. http://www.tcmb.gov.tr.
- Cox, Gary W.; Frances McCall Rosenbluth; and Michael F. Thies. 1998. "Mobiliza-

- tion, Social Networks, and Turnout: Evidence from Japan." *World Politics* 50, no. 3: 447–74.
- Çakır, Ruşen. 1990. Ayet ve Slogan [Verses and slogans]. Istanbul: Metis.
- ——. 1994. *Ne şeriat ne demokrasi: Refah Partisini anlamak* [Neither Sharia nor democracy: Understanding the welfare party]. Istanbul: Metis.
- Çarkoğlu, Ali. 1997. "Macro Economic Determinants of Electoral Support for Incumbents in Turkey, 1950–1995." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 17: 75–96.
- ——. 1998. "The Turkish Party System in Transition: Party Performance and Agenda Change." *Political Studies* 46, no. 3: 544–71.
- Çarkoğlu, Ali, and Avcı, Gamze. 2002. "An Analysis of the Electorate from a Geographical Perspective." In *Politics, Parties, and Elections in Turkey*, ed. Sabri Sayarı and Yılmaz Esmer. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.
- Chhibber, Pradeep K. 1999. *Democracy without Associations: Transformation of the Party System and Social Cleavages in India*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.
- Dahl, Robert A. 1966a. "The American Oppositions: Affirmation and Denial." In *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, ed. Robert A. Dahl. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- ——. 1996b. "Some Explanations." In *Political Oppositions in Western Democracies*, ed. Robert A. Dahl. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- ——. 1971. *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- ——. 1973. "Introduction." In *Regimes and Oppositions*, ed. Robert A. Dahl. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- ——. 1989. *Democracy and Its Critics*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1996. *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Industrial Democracies*. 2nd ed. Chatham, N.J.: Chatham House.
- ———. 2000. "The Decline of Party Identifications." In *Parties without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, ed. Russell J. Dalton and Martin P. Wattenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dalton, Russell J.; Paul Allen Beck; and Scott C. Flanagan. 1984. "Electoral Change in Advance Industrial Democracies." In Dalton, Flanagan, and Beck, eds. (1984).
- Dalton, Russell J.; Scott C. Flanagan; and Paul Allen Beck, eds. 1984. *Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment?* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press.
- Dinçer, Bülent. 1996. *Ilerin sosyo-ekonomik gelişmişlik sıralaması arastırması* [A study on the socioeconomic development ranking of the provinces]. Ankara: State Planning Organization.
- Dix, Robert H. 1989. "Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 22, no. 1: 23–37.
- Dominguez, Jorge I., and James A. McCann. 1995. "Shaping Mexico's Electoral Arena: The Construction of Partisan Cleavages in the 1988 and 1991 National Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89, no. 1: 34–48.

- Dorussen, Han, and Michaell Taylor, eds. 2002. *Economic Voting*. London: Routledge. Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Duman, Doğan. 1997. *Demokrasi sürecinde Türkiye'de İslamcılık* [Islamism during democracy in Turkey]. Izmir: Eylül.
- Erder, Necat. 1996. *Türkiye'de siyasi parti seçmenlerinin nitelikleri, kimlikleri ve eğilimleri* [The characteristics, identities, and tendencies of party supporters in Turkey]. Istanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TÜSES).
- . 1999. *Türkiye'de siyasi parti seçmenleri ve toplum düzeni* [Party voters and social order in Turkey]. Istanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TÜSES).
- . 2002. *Turkiye'de siyasi partilerin yandaş/seçmen profili (1994–2002)* [The supporter/voter profile of political parties in Turkey (1994–2002)]. Istanbul: Türkiye Sosyal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TÜSES).
- Erdoğan, M. Murat. 1992. "'Olağandışı oy verme davranışı' ve mobilize katılım: Güneydoğu anadolu projesi bölgesinde toplu oy veren köyler üzerine bir araştırma" ["Unusual voting behavior" and mobilized participation: A study on collectively voting villages in the southeastern Anatolian project region]. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 47, nos. 1–2: 277–310.
- . 1991. "Güneydoğu Anadolu projesi bölgesi'nde seçmen davranışı: 1970–1990" [Voter behavior in the southeastern Anatolian project region, 1970–1990]. Master's thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Kamu Yönetimi ve Siyaset Anabilim Dalı.
- Ergüder, Üstün, and Richard I. Hofferbert. 1988. "The 1983 General Elections in Turkey: Continuity or Change in Voting Patterns." In *State, Democracy and the Military: Turkey in the 1980s*, ed. Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Erlat, Haluk. 2001. "Long Memory in Turkish Inflation Rates." Paper presented at the 21st Annual Conference of the Middle East Economics Association, New Orleans, La., January 5–7.
- Ertuğrul, Ahmet, and Faruk Selçuk. 2002. "Turkish Economy: 1980–2001." In *Inflation and Disinflation in Turkey*, ed. Aykut Kibritçioğlu, Libby Rittenberg, and Faruk Selçuk. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Ersson, Svante, and Jan-Erik Lane. 1998. "Electoral Instability and Party System Change in Western Europe." In *Comparing Party System Change*, ed. Paul Pennings and Jan-Erik Lane. London: Routledge.
- Esmer, Yılmaz. 1995. "Parties and the Electorate: A Comparative Analysis of Voter Profiles of Turkish Political Parties." In *Turkey: Political, Social and Economic Challenges in the 1990s*, ed. Çiğdem Bağlım et al. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- ——. 1999. *Devrim, evrim, statüko: Türkiye'de sosyal, siyasal, ekonomik değerler* [Revolutions, evolution, and the status quo: social, political, and economic values in Turkey]. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı (TESEV).
- Evans, Geoffrey. 1999. "Class and Voting: Disrupting the Orthodoxy." In The End of

- *Class Politics: Class Voting in Comparative Context*, ed. Geoffrey Evans. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fiorina, Morris. P. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Flanz, Gisbert H. 2003. "Turkey." In *Constitutions of the Countries of the World*, ed. Dobbs Ferry. New York: Oceana.
- Franklin, Mark N. 1992. "The Decline of Cleavage Politics." In Franklin, et al. (1992).
- Franklin, Mark N., et al. 1992. *Electoral Change: Responses to Evolving Social and Attitudinal Structures in Western Countries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Franklin, Mark N. 1996. "Electoral Participation." In *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspectives*, ed. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Gallagher, Michael; Michael Laver; and Peter Mair. 1992. *Representative Government in Western Europe*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Geddes, Barbara. 2003. *Paradigms and Sand Castles: Theory Building and Research Design in Comparative Politics*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.
- Gençkaya, Ömer Faruk. 1994. "The Kurdish Issue: Editorial Coverage of the Turkish Dailies, 1989–1993." Paper presented at 15th International Political Science Association (IPSA) World Congress, Berlin, August 22–26.
- Gunther, Richard, and José R. Montero. 2001. "The Anchors of Partisanship: A Comparative Analysis of Voting Behavior in Four Southern European Democracies." In *Parties, Politics, and Democracy in the New Southern Europe*, ed. P. Nikiforos Diamandouros and Richard Gunther. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Güney, Aylin. 2002. "People's Democracy Party." In *Political Parties in Turkey*, ed. Barry Rubin and Metin Heper. London: Frank Cass, 2002.
- Hamilton, Laurence C. 1992. *Regression with Graphics: A Second Course of Applied Statitsics*. Belmont, Calif.: Duxbury Press.
- Hazama, Yasushi. 1996. "Constitutional Review and the Parliamentary Opposition in Turkey." *Developing Economies* 34, no. 3: 316–38.
- ——. 1999. "Civil Society in Turkey." In *Aspects of Democratization in Turkey*, by Ömer Faruk Gençkaya, Ruşen Keleş, and Yasushi Hazama. M.E.S. Series no. 46. Tokyo: Institute of Developing Economies, JETRO, 1999.
- ——. 2006. "Democratization and Islamic Movements in Turkey." In *Popular Movements and Democratization in the Islamic World*. New York: Routledge.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1968. *Political Order in Changing Societies*. New Haven, Mass.: Yale University Press.
- ——. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 1981. "Post-Materialism in an Environment of Insecurity." *American Political Science Review* 75, no. 4: 880–900.
- ——. 1984. "The Changing Structure of Political Cleavages in Western Society." In

- Electoral Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies: Realignment or Dealignment? ed. Russell J. Dalton, Scott C. Flanagan, and Paul Allen Beck. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 1997. *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 1999. "Postmodernization Erodes Respect for Authority, but Increases Support for Democracy." In Norris, ed. (1999).
- International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA). 2002. *Voter Turnout since 1945: A Global Report.* Stockholm: IDEA.
- International Monetary Fund (IMF). 2003. *International Financial Statistics, October 2003*. Washington, D.C.: International Monetary Fund. CD-ROM.
- İstanbul Mülkiyeliler Vakfı Sosyal Araştırmalar Merkezi. 1999. *Türk gençlği 98:* Suskun kitle büyüteç altında [Turkish youth 98: A silent mass under scrutiny]. Ankara: Konrad Adenauer Vakfı.
- Johnston, Jack, and John DiNardo. 1997. *Econometric Methods*, 4th ed. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Johnston, Ron J., and Charles J. Pattie. 1998. "Composition and Context: Region and Voting in Britain Revisited during Labour's 1990s' Revival." *Geoforum* 29, no. 3: 309–29.
- ——. 2001. "Dimensions of Retrospective Voting: Economic Performance, Public Service Standards and Conservative Party Support at the 1997 British General Election." *Party Politics* 7, no. 4: 469–90.
- Johnston, R. J.; C. J. Pattie; and J. G. Allsopp. 1988. *A Nation Dividing: The Electoral Map of Great Britain, 1979–1987.* London: Longman.
- Kabashima, Ikuo. 1988. *Seiji sanka* [Political participation]. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press.
- Kaboğlu, İbrahim O. 1994. *Anayasa yargısı: Demokrasi kavramının dönüşümü üzerine* [Constitutional review: On the transformation of the concept of democracy]. Ankara: İmge.
- Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin. 1994. "Elections and Party Preferences in Turkey: Changes and Continuities in the 1990s." *Comparative Political Studies* 27: no. 3: 402–24.
- ——. 1999. "The Shaping of Party Preferences in Turkey: Coping with the Post-Cold War Era." *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 20: 47–76.
- Kalaycıoğlu, Ersin, and Ali Yaşar Sarıbay. n.d. "İlkokul çocuklarinin parti tutmasını belirleyen etkinler [Factors that determine the party support of primary school children]." In Türkiye'de siyaset: Süreklilik ve değişim [Politics in Turkey: Continuity and change], ed. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu and Ali Yaşar Sarıbay. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.
- Kardan, Ahmet, and Sezgin Tüzün. 1998. *Tükiye'de siyasi kutuplaşmalar ve seçmen davranışları* [Political polarization and voter behavior in Turkey]. Ankara: Veri Araştırma.
- Karpat, Kemal H. 1959. *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-party System*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- King, Gary. 1997. A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem: Reconstructing

- Individual Behavior from Aggregate Data. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- King, Gary; James Honaker; Anne Joseph; and Kenneth Scheve. 2001. "Analyzing Incomplete Political Science Data: An Alternative Algorithm for Multiple Imputation." *American Political Science Review* 95, no. 1: 49–69.
- Kirişçi, Kemal, and Gareth M. Winrow. 1997. *The Kurdish Question and Turkey: An Example of a Trans-state Ethnic Conflict*. London: Frank Cass.
- Kışlalı, Mehmet Ali. 1996. *Güneydoğu: Düşük yoğunlu çatışma* [The southeast: Lowintensity conflict]. Ankara: Ümit.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, et al. 1999. *Post-Communist Party Systems: Competition, Representation, and Inter-Party Cooperation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Knutsen, Oddbjørn, and Elinor Scarbrough. 1995. "Cleavage Politics." In *The Impact of Values*, ed. Jan W. Van Deth and Elinor Scarbrough. Vol. 4 of *Beliefs in Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuenzi, Michelle, and Gina Lambright. 2001. "Party System Institutionalization in 30 African Countries." *Party Politics* 7, no. 4: 437–68.
- Lane, Jan-Erik, and Svante Ersson. 1987. *Politics and Society in Western Europe*. London: Sage.
- . 1999. Politics and Society in Western Europe, 4th ed. London: Sage.
- Langbein, Laura Irwin, and Allan J. Lichtman. 1978. *Ecological Inference*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage.
- Lawson, Kay. 1999. "Cleavages, Parties, and Voters." In *Cleavages, Parties, and Voters: Studies from Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Romania*, ed. Kay Lawson, Andrea Römmele, and Georgi Karasimeonov. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1979. "Religious vs. Linguistic vs. Class Voting: The 'Crucial Experiment' of Comparing Belgium, Canada, South Africa, and Switzerland." *American Political Science Review* 73, no. 2: 442–58.
- ——. 2000. "Turnout." In *International Encyclopedia of Elections*, ed. Richard Rose. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2000.
- ——. ed. 1992. *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Linz, Juan, and Arturo Valenzuela, eds. 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1988. *Revolution and Counterrevolution: Change and Persistence in Social Structures*. Rev. ed., with a new introduction by the author. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.
- Lipset, Seymour M., and Stein Rokkan, eds. 1967. *Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives*. New York: Free Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott P. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Mair, Peter. 1993. "Myths of Electoral Change and the Survival of Traditional Parties:

- The 1992 Stein Rokkan Lecture." *European Journal of Political Research* 24, no. 2: 121–33.
- ——. 2001. "The Freezing Hypothesis: An Evaluation." In *Party Systems and Voter Alignments Revisited*, ed. Lauri Karvonen and Stein Kuhnle. London: Routledge.
- Mango, Andrew. 1991. "The Social Democratic Populist Party, 1983–1989." In *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Mardin, Şerif. 1989. *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey: The Case of Bediüzzaman Said Nursi*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.
- Markus, Gregory B. 1988. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 32, no. 1: 137–54.
- McAdam, Doug; John D. McCarthy; and Mayer N. Zald. 1996. "Introduction: Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Framing Processes—Toward a Synthetic, Comparative Perspective on Social Movements." In *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, ed. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAllister, Ian, and Donley T. Studlar. 1992. "Region and Voting in Britain, 1979–87: Territorial Polarization or Artifact?" *American Journal of Political Science* 36, no. 1: 168–99.
- McDowall, David. 2004. *A Modern History of the Kurds*. 3rd rev. and updated ed. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Mert, A. Baki, and Çınar Bahçacı. 1995. *Türkiye'de din eğitimi* [Religious education in Turkey]. Ankara: Türk Demokrasi Vakfi.
- Miller, Arthur H.; Gwyn Erb; William M. Reisinger; and Vicki L. Hesli. 2000. "Emerging Party Systems in Post-Soviet Societies: Fact or Fiction?" *Journal of Politics* 62, no. 2: 455–90.
- Miller, William L.; Harold D. Clarke; Martin Harrop; Lawrence Leduc; and Paul F. Whiteley. 1990. *How Voters Change: The 1987 British Election Campaign in Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moreno, Alejandro. 1999. *Political Cleavages: Issues, Parties and the Consolidation of Democracy*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.
- Mutlu, Servet. 1996. "Ethnic Kurds in Turkey: A Demographic Study." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 4: 517–41.
- Newton, Rae R., and Kjell Erik Rudestam. 1999. *Your Statistical Consultant: Answers to Your Data Analysis Questions*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Niemi, Richard G., and Herbert F. Weisberg. 1993. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.
- Norpoth, Helmut. 1996. "The Economy." In *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in Global Perspective*, ed. Lawrence LeDuc, Richard G. Niemi, and Pippa Norris. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- Norpoth, Helmut, Michael S. Lewis-Beck, and Jean-Dominique Lafay, eds. 1991.

- *Economics and Politics: The Calculus of Support.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 1998. "Introduction." In *Elections and Voting Behaviour: New Challenges, New Perspectives*, ed. Pippa Norris. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- ——. 1999. "Conclusions: The Growth of Critical Citizens and its Consequences." In *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Governance*, ed. Pippa Norris. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Norris, Pippa, ed. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nye, Joseph S., Jr.; Philip D. Zelikow; and David C. King. 1997. *Why People Don't Trust Government*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Nuhrat, Cenap. 1971. "Turkiye Köylerinde Olağandışı Oy Verme [Unusual Voting in Turkish Villages]." *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi* 26, no. 1: 219–244.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1: 55–69.
- Ölmez, A. Osman. 1995. *Türkiye siyasetinde DEP depremi: "Legal Kürt mücadelesi"* [The DEP quake in Turkish politics: "A legal Kurdish struggle"]. Ankara: Doruk.
- Özbudun, Ergun. 1976. *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- ——. 1980. "Voting Behavior: Turkey." In *Electoral Politics in the Middle East: Issues, Voters and Elites*, ed. Jacob Landau, Eugun Özbudun, and Frank Tachau. Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institute Press.
- ——. 1981. "The Turkish Party System: Institutionalization, Polarization and Fragmentation," *Middle Eastern Studies* 17, no. 2: 228–40.
- ——. 1987. "Turkey." In *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries*, ed. Myron Weiner and Ergun Özbudun. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- ——. 1993. *Türk anayasa hukuku* [Turkish constitutional law]. Rev. 3rd ed. Ankara: Yetkin.
- ——. 2000. Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2000.
- Özcan, Yusuf Ziya. 2000. "Determinants of Political Behavior in Istanbul, Turkey." *Party Politics* 6, no. 4: 505–18.
- Özek, Çetin. n.d. *Devlet ve din* [The state and religion]. Istanbul: Ada.
- Özötün, Erdoğan. 1988. *Türkiye'de gayri safi yurt içi hasılasının iller itibariyle dağılımı: 1979–1986* [The Distribution of gross domestic product in Turkey, 1979–1986]. İstanbul: İstanbul Sanayi Odası.
- Pacek, Alexander, and Benjamin Redcliff. 1995. "The Political Economy of Competitive Elections in the Developing World." *American Journal of Political Science* 39, no. 3: 745–59.
- Paldam, Martin. 1991. "How Robust Is the Vote Function? A Study of Seventeen Nations over Four Decades." In Norpoth, Lewis-Beck, and Lafay, eds. (1991).
- Palmer, Harvey D., and Guy D. Whitten. 2002. "Economics, Politics, and the Cost of

- Ruling in Advanced Industrial Democracies: How Much Does Context Matter?" In Dorussen and Taylor, eds. (2002).
- Parry, Geraint; George Moyser; and Neil Day. 1992. *Political Participation and Democracy in Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pattie, Charles J., and Ron J. Johnston,. 1997. "Local Economic Contexts and Changing Party Allegiances at the 1992 British General Election." *Party Politics* 3, no. 1: 79–96.
- Pedersen, Mogens N. 1979. "The Dynamics of European Party Systems: Changing Patterns of Electoral Volatility." *European Journal of Political Research* 7, no. 1: 1–26.
- Pennings, Paul; Hans Keman; and Jan Kleinnijenhuis. 1999. *Doing Research in Political Science: An Introduction to Comparative Methods and Statistics*. London: Sage.
- Powell, G. Bingham, Jr., and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37, no. 2: 391–414.
- Rae, Douglas W., and Michael Taylor. 1970. *The Analysis of Political Cleavages*. New Haven, Mass.: Yale University Press.
- Reed, Steven, and Gregory G. Brunk. 1984. "A Test of Two Theories of Economically Motivated Voting: The Case of Japan." *Comparative Politics* 17, no. 1: 55–66.
- Remmer, Karen. 1991. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3: 777–800.
- Richardson, Bradley M. 1991. "European Party Loyalties Revisited." *American Political Science Review* 85, no. 3: 751–75.
- Roberts, Kenneth M., and Erik Wibbels. 1999. "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations." *American Political Science Review* 93, no. 3: 575–90.
- Robinson, William S. 1950. "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals." *American Sociological Review* 15, no. 3: 351–57.
- Rodrik, Dani. 1991. "Premature Liberalization and Incomplete Liberalization: The Özal Decade in Turkey." In *Lessons of Economic Stabilization and its Aftermath*, ed. Michael Bruno, et al. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Rose, Richard, and Ian McAllister. 1990. *The Loyalties of Voters: A Lifetime Learning Model*. London: Sage.
- Rubin, Barry, and Metin Heper, eds. 2002. *Political Parties in Turkey*. London: Frank Cass.
- Rustow, Dankwart A. 1991. "Political Parties in Turkey: An Overview." In *Political Parties and Democracy in Turkey*, ed. Metin Heper and Jacob M. Landau. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Sabuncu, Yavuz, and Murat Şeker. 1996. "Seçimler [Elections]." In *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi: Yüzyıl biterken, 14. Cilt* [Encyclopedia of republican period Turkey: At the turn of the century, vol. 14]. Istanbul: İletisim.
- Sakallıoğlu, Ümit Cizre, and A. Erinç Yeldan. 1999. "Dynamics of Macroeconomic Disequilibrium and Inflation in Turkey: The State, Politics, and the Markets under

- a Globalized Developing Economy." Photocopy. Department of Economics, Bilkent University, Ankara.
- Schmitt, Hermann. 1989. "On Party Attachment in Western Europe and the Utility of Eurobarometer Data." *West European Politics* 12, no. 2: 122–39.
- Schüler, Harald. 1999. *Türkiye'de sosyal demokrasi: Particilik hemşehrilik alevilik* [Social democracy in Turkey: Partisanship, compatriotism, and Aleviism]. Istanbul: İletişim.
- Sencer, Muzaffer. 1974. *Türkiye'de sınıfsal yapı ve siyasal davranışlar* [The Class structure and political behavior in Turkey]. Istanbul: May.
- Somer, Murat. 2004. "Turkey's Kurdish Conflict: Changing Context, and Domestic and Regional Implications." *Middle East Journal* 58, no. 2: 235–53.
- ——. 2005. "Resurgence and Remaking of Identity: Civil Beliefs, Domestic and External Dynamics, and the Turkish Mainstream Discourse on Kurds." *Comparative Political Studies* 38, no. 6: 591–622
- Spicer, John. 2005. *Making Sense of Multivariate Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage.
- State Institute of Statistics (SIS). 1991. *Statistical Indicators: 1923–1990.* Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 1995. *National Education Statistics: Formal Education*, 1992–1993. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 1992. *Results of General Election of Representatives: 20.10. 1991*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 1996. *Results of General Election of Representatives: 24.12.1995*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 1998a. Results of General Election of Representatives: 15.10.1961, 10.10.1965, 12.10.1969, 14.10.1973, 05.06.1977. Diskette. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 1998b. Results of General Election of Representatives: 06.11.1983, 29.11.1987, 20.10.1991, 24.12,1995. Diskette. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 2000. *Results of General Election of Representatives: 18.04.1999.* Diskette. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 2001. 2000 Census of Population: Provisional Results. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. 2003. *Results of General Election of Representatives: 2002.* Diskette. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ——. various years. *Household Labour Force Survey Results*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- ———. various years. *Labour Statistics*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- -------. various years. *National Education Statistics*. Ankara: State Institute of Statistics.
- Stevenson, Randolph T. 2002. "The Economy as Context: Indirect Links between the Economy and Voters." In Dorussen and Taylor, eds. (2002).

- Şeker, Murat. 1995. *Türkiye'de seçmenin algılama süreci* [The voter perception process in Turkey]. Ankara: İmaj.
- . n.d., ca. 1998. "Türkiye'de tarikatlar [Religious orders in Turkey]." Photocopy.
- T. C. Başbakanlık (Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey). various years. *Kanunlar külliyatı* [Law corpus]. Ankara: Başbakanlık.
- Tabachinick, Barbara G., and Linda S. Fidel. 2001. *Using Multivariate Statistics*. 4th ed. Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon.
- Tachau, Frank., ed. 1994. *Political Parties of the Middle East and North Africa*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Tarrow, Sydney. 1998. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tekeli, Şirkin. 1983. "Cumhuriyet döneminde seçimler [Elections during the republican period]." In *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, 7. *cilt* [Encyclopedia of republican period Turkey, vol. 7]. Istanbul: İletisim.
- Toole, James. 2000. "Government Formation and Party System Stabilization in East Central Europe." *Party Politics* 6, no. 4: 441–61.
- Toprak, Binnaz, and Çarkoğlu, Ali. 2000. *Türkiye'de din, toplum ve siyaset* [Religion, society, and politics in Turkey]. Istanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Etüdler Vakfı (TESEV).
- Tosun, Tanju. 1999. *Türk parti sisteminde merkez sağ ve merkez solda parçalanma* [Center-right and center-left fragmentation in the Turkish party system]. Istanbul: Boyut Matbaacılık.
- . 2003. Siyasette yeniden mevzilenmeler: Liberal sosyal sentez, muhafazakar demokrat sentez ekseninde 3 kasim 2002 seçimleri [New positioning in politics: The November 3, 2002 general election from the perspectives of liberal social synthesis and conservative democratic synthesis]. Istanbul: Büke.
- Tuncer, Erol. 1999. *Seçim '99: 18 nisan 1999 milletvekili genel seçimleri, sayısal ve siyasal değerlendirme* [Election 1999: The April 18, 1999 general elections of representatives, numerical and political evaluation]. Ankara: Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TESAV).
- ——. 2003. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Seçimler (1877–2002)* [Elections from the Ottoman Period's to Today (1877–2002)]. Expanded 2nd ed. Ankara: Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TESAV).
- Tuncer, Erol; Coşkun Kasapbaş; and Bülent Tuncer. 2003. *Seçim 2002: 3 kasim 2002 milletvekili genel seçimleri, sayısal ve siyasal değerlendirme* [Election 2002: November 3, 2002 general elections of representatives, numerical and political evaluation]. Ankara: Toplumsal Ekonomik Siyasal Araştırmalar Vakfı (TESAV).
- Turan, Ali Eşref. 2004. *Türkiye'de seçmen davranışı: Önceki kırılmalar ve 2002 seçimi* [Voter behavior in Turkey: Prior fractures and the 2002 election]. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi.
- Yalçın, Soner. 1994. Hangi Erbakan [Which Erbakan?]. Ankara: Başak.
- Yavuz, M. Hakan. 2003. *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Yücekök, Ahmet N. 1971. *Türkiye'de örgütlenmş dinin sosyo-ekonomik tabanı* (1946–1968) [The socioeconomic basis of organized religion in Turkey (1946–1968)]. Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları no. 323. Ankara, 1971.

Zuckerman, Alan S. 1982. "New Approaches to Political Cleavage: A Theoretical Introduction." *Comparative Political Studies* 15, no. 2: 131–44.