MAINSTREAM PARTIES' STRATEGIES ON THE ETHNIC DIMENSION IN NEW DEMOCRACIES: THE CASE OF KURDISH OPENING-UP PROCESS IN TURKEY 2009-2011

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DATA SOURCE ABBREVIATIONS

BILGESAM   Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi

                       (Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies)

CMP   Comparative Manifesto Project

ESS   European Social Survey

ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL ABBREVATIONS

GAP   Güneydoğu Anadolu Projesi (South-East Anatolian Project)

KCK   Koma Civaken Kurdistan (Kurdistan Democratic Confederation)

NSC   Milli Güvenlik Konseyi (National Security Council)

MÜSIAD   Müstakil Sanayici ve Işadamları Derneği

                       (Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association)

PKK   Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan (Workers' Party of Kurdistan)

SODES   Sosyal Destek Programı (Social Support Program)

TOKI   Toplu Konut Idaresi Başkanlığı (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

TUSCON   Türkiye Işadamları ve Sanayicileri Konfederasyonu (Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey

TÜSIAD   Türk Sanayicileri ve Isadamları Dernegi

                       (Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association)

POLITICAL PARTY ABBREVIATIONS

ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
BDP	Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (Peace and Democracy Party)
CHP	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
DP	Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party)
DEHAP	Demokratik Halk Partisi (Democratic People's Party)
DEP	Demokrasi Partisi (Party of Democracy)
DSP	Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)
DTP	Demokratik Toplum Partisi (Democratic Society Party)
DYP	Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)
EDÖB	Emek, Demokrasi ve Özgürlük Blogu (Labor, Freedom and Democracy Bloc)
FP	Fazilet Partisi (Virtue Party)
HADEP	Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (People's Democracy Party)
HDP	Halkların Demokratik Partisi (People's Democratic Party)
HEP	Halkın Emek Partisi (People's Labor Party)
HÜDA-PAR	Hür Dava Partisi (Free Cause Party)
MHP	Milliyetci Hareket Partisi (Nationalist Action Party)
RP	Refah Partisi (Welfare Party)
SP	Saadet Partisi (Felicity Party)
SHP	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democratic Populist Party)

THEORETICAL & METHODOLOGICAL ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Accommodative
AD	Adversarial
DI	Dismissive
ACAC	Accommodative – Accommodative
ACAD	Accommodative – Adversarial
ADAD	Adversarial – Adversarial
DIAC	Dismissive – Accommodative
DIAD	Dismissive – Adversarial
DIDI	Dismissive – Dismissive
CAQDAS	Computer-assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
ENP	Effective Number of Legislative Parties
ENEP	Effective Number of Electoral Parties
ETPs	Ethno-Territorial Parties
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
PSO	Position, Saliency and Ownership

1 Introduction

This research uncovers the causal mechanism connecting mainstream parties' strategies and ethno-territorial party vote share. Previous research has established the influence of the mainstream parties' strategies on ethno-territorial party vote share; however, the process behind this relationship remained a black box. Revealing this causal mechanism would enable researchers to make better predictions of the party vote shares and to better understand party competition dynamics. This research conducts explaining-outcome process-tracing on a specific case in a new democracy — the Kurdish opening-up process in Turkey — this research aims to provide a causal mechanism by identifying each step that leads to ethno-territorial party vote share increase.

1.1 The Research Question and the Motivation behind the Dissertation

The research question is, "Why did the ethno-territorial party (BDP) increase its vote share in Turkey's 2011 national elections even though the dominant mainstream party (AKP) initiated the Kurdish opening-up process?" This question is accompanied by a puzzle: why would a dominant party, which had won three consecutive elections and gained the majority in the parliament, enter a new issue dimension? Not only did the dominant party have all the state's resources and the means to solve the Kurdish issue, but this party had also managed to gain more than half of the Kurdish population's support in two previous national elections. However, although the dominant party initiated the Kurdish opening-up process, the ethno-territorial party increased its vote share and announced itself as the true representatives of the Kurdish people in the southeastern part of Turkey.

This research question has both theoretical and case-specific implications. At the theoretical level, analyzing a gray-zone country such as Turkey requires bridging between the existing literature on established and new democracies. Moreover, the analysis of this puzzle is one of the first examples of the interaction between mainstream parties and ethno-territorial party in a single case study. At the case-specific level, this research provides the first systematic analysis of the Kurdish opening-up process from 2009 to 2011 and contributes to the literature with a thick

explanation of a case that falls in the gray zone; that is to say, the case shows characteristics of both established and new democracies.

The literature on party competition dynamics in the ethnic dimension shows a striking gap between the ethno-territorial party research in established democracies and in new democracies. In established democracies, ethno-territorial parties are defined as a specific type of ethnic party, and their interactions with mainstream parties have been examined both at the national and at the local levels. However, the terminology and methodology differs when analyzing new democracies; the emphasis is put on the multi-ethnic parties' relations and their coalitions with regard to electoral competition. In this sense, in new democracies, the dynamic party competition between ethnic or specifically ethno-territorial parties and mainstream parties has not attracted attention yet. This research aims to fill this gap by emphasizing the importance of "concept travelling" (Sartori, 1970). In order to understand dynamic party competition in a new democracy, I suggest concept travelling as a way to begin examining new democracies with concepts developed for Western European party competition.

Moreover, many case studies on established democracies' party competition dynamics deal with the characteristics and evolution of ethno-territorial parties (Christiansen, 1998; De Winter and Türsan, 1998; Sandri, 2012; Elias 2009); however, the interaction in party competition has been examined mostly with large-N studies. In this regard, this research thoroughly examines the interaction between mainstream parties and ethno-territorial parties in one case while focusing on how the relationship between parties evolves over time.

At the case-specific level, the motivation of this research is to examine systematically how political parties and especially the government handled the ethnic issue during the Kurdish opening-up process. Kurds are the world's largest stateless ethnic group; they are mainly scattered across four countries in the Middle East: Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. The way that Turkey handles the Kurdish issue is not only crucial for politics in Turkey and the three other countries; it will also impact international actors' policies toward the region. Since Turkey is a prospective candidate country in the process of European Union accession, its progress reports since 1998 indicate that it should engage in further minority protection and introduce

more encompassing minority rights reforms. Therefore, the Kurdish opening-up process is a progressive step toward solving the Kurdish issue, and it is worthwhile to examine whether Turkey is willing to deal with its minority problems during the accession process.

Another case-specific motivation of this research is to study a gray-zone country. Turkey carries many features of established democracies, as it is a second-wave democracy, but it also resembles new democracies with regard to late capitalist development. In examining the party competition in Turkey, components of both established and new democracies should be taken into account, which makes Turkey a gray-zone country. As a nonconsolidated democracy, Turkey is at cross-roads; it can either become a consolidated democracy or slip back into electoral authoritarianism. In this sense, this research provides information on party behavior in a gray-zone country and the implications that this party competition has for the possible future regime. Hence, concentrating on a gray-zone country and providing a thick description of the case will not only enable researchers to understand the particularities of a gray-zone country but also provide a basis to compare gray-zone countries by tracing their commonalities.

1.2 Methodological Approach

The current research design fits into the explaining-outcome process-tracing category, which "attempts to craft a minimally sufficient explanation of a puzzling outcome in a specific historical case" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 3). In examining the Kurdish opening-up process from 2009 to 2011, I craft a minimally sufficient explanation to the question of why the ethno-territorial party increased its vote share in the 2011 national elections even though the dominant mainstream party initiated the process.

Explaining-outcome process-tracing is an iterative research process; in other words, it involves going back and forth between inductive and deductive reasoning; to combine existing mechanisms, modify existing theories and incorporate case-specific parts into an explanation.

To derive a causal mechanism by applying inductive and deductive reasoning, I employ all 188 parliamentary group speeches delivered by the four political parties in the Turkish parliament during the Kurdish opening-up process between 2009 and

2011. In the first stage, I apply the Position, Saliency and Ownership theory, which was developed for predicting the vote share of ethno-territorial parties in an interaction with the mainstream parties' strategies, in order to derive the mainstream parties' strategies in the Kurdish opening-up process. Using quantitative text analysis (Wordfish) on 157 parliamentary group speeches, I use the results of the analysis as the predicted evidence to test the proposed causal mechanism. As expected in the application of the explaining-outcome process-tracing, the theory at hand does not sufficiently explain the case; thus, I move to second stage, in which inductive logic is required. Using qualitative text analysis (MAXQDA), I concentrate on thoroughly examining the mainstream parties' strategies toward the ethno-territorial party in the Kurdish opening-up process. This stage of inductive reasoning resembles the logic of theory-building process-tracing, which enables researchers to generate "refined middle-range generalizations" (George and Bennett, 2005: 124) at the theoretical level. In the last stage, I combine all the proposed causal mechanisms and the collected predicted evidence to establish a sequential frame in order to apply the smoking-gun test.

1.3 Dissertation's Added Value

This research adds substantively to the theoretical and empirical understanding of how dominant mainstream parties' strategies influence ethno-territorial party's vote share in a new democracy. This research has four points of importance, two case-specific and two with theoretical implications.

Firstly, a close examination of the Kurdish opening-up process provides information about the way the Turkish government and parties handle the Kurdish issue. As the largest stateless group in the Middle East, Kurds have become the most significant actor in the region. Syrian Kurds fighting against Assad's regime have been seeking independence, and the Northern Iraqi Kurds have become the most significant actor in the fight against the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant. Similarly, in Iran, Kurds have been engaged in a long-running separatist dispute with the Iranian state. Therefore, Turkey's handling of the Kurdish issue may constitute an ethnic-based conflict resolution model for the region if Turkey can solve the Kurdish question. In contrast, if Turkey fails to create a peaceful society, then many lessons can be derived from this failure; however, this failure may have negative consequences by

encouraging Middle Eastern countries to engage in more detrimental and authoritarian combat against minorities (Aydinli and Özcan, 2011).

Secondly, this research provides the first systematic analysis of the Kurdish opening-up process in 2009-2011. Combining a detailed analysis of election results, parliamentary group speeches and social survey findings, this research offers a comprehensive picture of the process in combination with party behavior and political regime tendencies. In this sense, this research is one of the first examples to utilize unsupervised model-of-scaling texts to examine party ideology on the ethnic dimension in a new democracy. This study employs an unsupervised model-of-scaling texts technique in the Turkish language. Moreover, the systematic analysis of the process may suggest some explanations of the Kurdish people's expectations and the dominant mainstream party's goals. This study is important to Turkish politics because it approaches an ethnic issue in a party competition context and explains the puzzling outcome of the 2011 national elections.

Thirdly, this research offers a modification the Position, Saliency and Ownership theory by directing researchers to reconsider the operationalization and categorization of ethno-territorial party as niche party type. Furthermore, by uncovering the process behind the mainstream parties' strategic influence on the ethno-territorial party's vote share, this research reveals the impact of an intervening variable.

Lastly, this research suggests a linkage between party system institutionalization level, party system type and party competition on the ethnic dimension; this may provide a strong justification for further research. The ideal portrait of a highly institutionalized party system, as portrayed in the literature, may turn easily into a hyper-institutionalized system in combination with a dominant party regime achieved when the dominant party enters into ethnic dimension competition. For a new democracy that stands at the crossroads of either becoming a consolidated democracy or turning into an electoral authoritarian system, the party system institutionalization level and party competition dynamics constitute the main determinants of the future political regime type.

1.4 Dissertation's Plan

Chapter One provides reviews of the theoretical literature and the case's history and

social structure. In the first section, the theoretical literature review, I identify the discrepancies between the literatures of dynamic party competition in established democracies and in new democracies. Then, I devote my attention to understanding the different uses of ethnic and ethno-territorial parties with regard to party competition in established and new democracies. The main argument in this chapter relates to the need for concept travelling, providing a bridge between two different literatures in order to study a case that shares characteristics of both established and new democracies. In the review of the case's history and social structure, I briefly examine the history of the Kurdish issue, the characteristics of the Kurdish opening-up process and Turkey's party competition dynamics.

Chapter Two concentrates on the question how to study the case at hand (i.e., methodology). I identify the basic characteristics and types of process-tracing. Explaining the differences between the process-tracing, case study and quantitative methodologies, I concentrate on a special type of process-tracing that is employed in this research: explaining-outcome process-tracing. I also explain how explaining-outcome process-tracing can be applied to the Kurdish opening-up process and suggest a causal mechanism at the theoretical level.

Chapter Four examines the question of why the dominant mainstream party entered the ethnic issue dimension. First, I look at Turkey's party system institutionalization level and party system type to confirm the party behavior in Turkey shows a stable, predictable pattern. Then, I examine political parties' main objectives, particularly those of dominant parties entering into a new issue dimension.

Chapter Five deals with the question of how political parties respond to the Kurdish issue. This chapter employs a deductive approach and tests whether Position, Saliency and Ownership theory can predict the Kurdish party vote share based on quantitative text analysis the strategies employed by the mainstream parties.

Chapter Six examines the political parties' rhetoric and strategies regarding the Kurdish issue in general and the Kurdish opening-up process in particular. This chapter employs an inductive approach and uses qualitative text analysis to focus on understanding the specific strategies pursued by the political parties on the ethnic dimension.

Chapter Seven uncovers each part of the causal mechanism derived from the previous chapters and offers a sequential frame to explain the influence of mainstream parties' strategies on the ethno-territorial party's vote share. This chapter identifies both a theoretical and a case-specific causal mechanism.

Chapter Eight briefly summarizes my findings and how these findings are useful in understanding political party behavior on the ethnic dimension in new democracies. I first concentrate on the limitations of the research and then outline how the findings of this dissertation can enrich future research.

2 Investigating a new democracy – Turkey: Previous research on dynamic party competition and ethno-territorial party

Research on political parties in new democracies has opened a new chapter for researchers in terms of examining the structure of political party competition, party organization and the role of various party families in party competition. Both established and new democracies undergo transition in terms of the structure of party systems. In this sense, the comparison between established and new democracies provides a valuable source for gaining information about how relevant and vital political parties are for democratic politics. Furthermore, such comparison enables researchers to derive insights about whether political parties show a "generational life-cycle effect" (Webb and White, 2007: 362); that is, whether they follow the same pattern of development regardless of the time period when the transition to democracy happened. Although the structural factors of the party development have been extensively studied, the party strategies and their interaction in dynamic party competition in new democracies have not been addressed yet. Moreover, the emergence of ethnic parties in both established and new democracies have been studied with different terminologies. Ethno-territorial parties are considered niche parties, and their effect on dynamic party competition in established democracies has become a significant topic, whereas the literature of ethnic parties has dealt mostly with the interaction between democratization and the formation of ethnic parties in new democracies. Therefore, one of the aims of this chapter is to show that the terminology in party politics that was developed for explaining Western European cases can be applied to a new democracy; i.e., Turkey, in order to understand the dynamics of party competition from an ethnic dimension.

This dissertation project aims to explain the Kurdish opening-up process by analyzing political parties' strategies and provide an answer regarding why the ethno-territorial party increased its vote share in the 2011 national elections, although the mainstream party initiated the Kurdish opening-up process. Because the main objective of this study is to craft a sufficient explanation of a puzzling result in Turkish politics, I employ explaining-outcome process-tracing methodology in order to find out the causal mechanisms that led to vote share decrease in the mainstream party's Kurdish vote share. Therefore, this study concentrates on combining the elements of

dynamic party competition via analyzing mainstream parties' ethno-territorial vote share strategies on an ethnic policy dimension through the help of explaining-outcome process-tracing.

The chapter consists of two sections: (a) review of theoretical literature, and (b) review of history and social structure of the case. Under the review of theoretical literature part, I present research on static and dynamic models of party competition with a special emphasis on niche parties' role and the strategies that are employed in shifting policy preferences in dynamic party competition. Thereafter, I present how the notion of the ethno-territorial party as a type of niche party is studied and on what terms the literature on ethnic parties differ from that. Under the review of history and social structure of the case part, I explain why Turkey's Kurdish opening-up process should be studied under the influence of dynamic party competition and ethno-territorial party literatures. Finally, I briefly conclude this chapter.

2.1 Review of Theoretical Literature
2.1.1 Party Competition
2.1.1.1 Voting Behavior and Static Party Competition – 'Equilibrium'

Political parties are "channels of representation" (Sartori, 1976:27). In other words, they bridge the demands and interests of "authorizing demos" and "the authorized politicians" (Müller, 2000). In this sense, parties are "the only organizations" that convert "the idea of the majority rule" into policies (Schattschneider, 1948: 10; Key, 1961: 433).

Because converting ideas into policies stands on a relationship between voters and parties, models of voter behavior and static party competition – aiming to find the Nash equilibrium in the policy space – go hand in hand. This literature is situated on the following questions: Do voters cast their vote for a candidate or a party that advocates a policy position that aligns with their own beliefs, or are there certain circumstances under which circumstances voters prefer to cast their vote for a more intense or extreme policy position, even if they themselves may not hold it? How does a change in status quo affect voters' party choices?

In order to cover this literature, first I group, and then explain, the models of voter choice and candidate strategies. The fundamental difference can be found in spatial

models versus socio-psychological models of voting (Campbell, Converse, Miller and Stokes, 1960). Having mentioned this difference, I divert my attention to spatial models; e.g., the Downsian proximity model (1957), the Grofman discounting model (1985), Kedar's recently developed compensational voting model (2005, 2009); and, lastly, the Rabinowitz-Macdonald directional model (1989).

<u>Spatial models versus social-psychological models of voting.</u> In spatial voting models, both candidates and voters are considered as rational actors. It is assumed that the voters cast their votes for their favorite candidates with regard to their self-interest (Downs, 1957). However, according to the Michigan model, voting behavior is determined by "a set of social and psychological variables" (Enelow & Hinich, 1984: 4). In other words, social characteristics have an influence on voters' party identifications; in turn, party identification determines how voters perceive the issues (Campbell et al., 1960). The most striking difference between these models is that spatial models consider voters as engaging actors; whereas, in social-psychological models, actors are passive and their behavior is determined by the structural factors (emphasis added, Enelow & Hinich, 1984: 6).

2.1.1.1.1 Spatial models of voting

All spatial models assume that voters cast their votes with regard to the proposed policies of the parties in line with spatial thinking. Both voters and candidates are regarded as rational.

The Downsian proximity model argues that "the voter chooses the candidate or party closest to her own ideal point" and the candidates aim to maximize votes (Downs, 1957: 36). To find out which candidate is closer to the voter's ideal policy position, the location of the voter and party in a policy space via the calculations based on the Euclidean distance is used to predict the voters' voting behavior. In other words, "the shorter the distance between the voter and the candidate, the more positively voters evaluate the party" (Granberg & Gilljam, 1997). The findings generate the median-voter theorem, which claims that, in a two-party system that operates in a one-dimensional policy space, both parties' policy positions converge and become identical to the median voter's position, which produces a Nash equilibrium (Downs, 1957; Enelow & Hinich, 1984; Hinich & Munger, 1997; Banks & Duggan, 2008).

However, in multi-party systems, it is more likely that "parties strive to distinguish themselves ideologically from each other" (Downs, 1957: 126).

Keeping the basic premises of proximity theory, The Grofman Discounting Model revises two points: 1) the relative location of a status-quo point and 2) discounting candidate positions (Merrill & Grofman, 1999: 22). Grofman (1985) argues that voters take into account the status quo, parties' policy positions, and parties' ability to change positions. Voters prefer candidates who are closest to them on the policy space. Although the party platforms remain stable and unchanged, the voters may change their party preferences because "it is the comparative magnitudes of the expected changes from the status quo" after discounting (Grofman, 1985: 235). Thus, Grofman (1985) assumes that, if all voters consider the discounting effect for parties, then the voters expect the candidates to implement policies at a point between the status quo and the candidate's ideal point.

Based on Grofman's discounting model, Kedar (2005, 2009) proposes a compensational voting model that argues that, due to the nature of multi-party systems, policymaking is constrained by coalition building and inter-party bargaining. Mostly, the policies implemented by the parties are less extreme than their proposed positions; voters react to this watering-down by voting for extreme parties. Utilizing data from four parliamentary democracies – Britain, Norway, the Netherlands and Canada – she shows the impact of institutional context on voter behavior. The more power sharing that is proposed by the institutional environment, the more voters will vote for extremist policy positions. For instance, in the case of the Netherlands, if a voter has a weaker party attachment and is also well educated, the probability of compensational voting increases (Kedar, 2005: 190).

As an alternative to the proximity model, Rabinowitz and Mcdonald (1989) argue that voters' preferences on the direction and intensity of policy movement should be compared to the candidates' or parties' preferences on the direction and intensity of policy movement. The directional theory assumes that most voters have a preference on the policy space; i.e., left or right, and this issue preference's intensity also varies; i.e., regarding salient or non-salient issues. The voter's utility for a candidate is calculated by the scalar or dot products of the vectors that represent both the candidates' and voters' positions. In this sense, the implications of directional theory

differ significantly from those of proximity theory. In a one-dimensional space, if we assume that there are only two candidates – one is on the left and the other is on the right – then we would expect that each candidate garners the entire vote on her side of the center. Therefore, we would not expect a movement to the median voter's position. In a multi-party system, this would imply that voters always prefer extreme parties to moderate ones. However, in order to restrict the divergence of parties' positions from the center, Rabinowitz and Macdonald (1989) suggested a concept called 'region of acceptability'; that is, the parties taking extreme positions get punished by the electorate but do not specify a decision rule to delineate which parties fall into the region of acceptability.

The main difference between the proximity and directional models[1] is that the former predicts a centripetal (convergence) force in the policy space whereas the latter argues that political strategies are determined by centrifugal (divergence) forces.

Much research focuses on comparing the proximity model with directional models in terms of their capability of explaining party competition. Most of the papers that tackle this comparison problem conclude the superiority of proximity models in predicting voting behavior. Granberg & Gilljam (1997) test the directional model on six Swedish national election studies, 1979–1994, based on two premises that 1) centrists are indifferent toward parties and that 2) voters who slightly lean in one direction prefer extremely intense parties on policy preferences. By carrying out national election surveys, the authors ask voters to locate themselves and the parties on a left–right scale and to evaluate how much they liked and disliked each of the parties. They find out that the basic assumptions of directional theory were not supported by the Swedish case. Similarly, Fazekas & Meder (2013) examine 27 European multi-party systems, and their multilevel analysis of the 2009 European election study supports more proximity model than directional model. However, they argue that, in some cases, both models have overlapping predictions and, in more polarized party systems, the dominance of the proximity model decreases. Recently, Meyer and Müller (2014) test four spatial models – Downsian proximity, Grofman's discounting, Kedar's compensational voting and the Rabinowitz & Mcdonald

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[1] To the best of my knowledge, the first directional theory was proposed by Matthews (1979). In this theory, he only takes the direction of policy movement desired by voters and proposed by candidates into account. This is the reason why I refer to 'directional theories' as plural.

directional theory – on the Austrian case by using the 2008 Austrian National Election Survey data. Although Grofman's discounting theory performed best at predicting party policy positions, they figured out a common limitation in predictions of models; that is, a centripetal bias.

However, these results on the comparison of proximity and directional models have been challenged. Lewis & King (1999) argue that the existing data does not provide sufficient information to enable researchers to differentiate the two models. Their research demonstrates that both models are supported depending on which alternative set of assumptions is considered, and these assumptions bias the results. As a response to the findings of Lewis and King (1999), much research employs experimental studies on how voters employ issues to evaluate candidates in order to avoid the challenges related to survey data. The findings support that many voters are proximity voters, even though directional and discounted proximity voters rarely exist (Lacy & Paolino, 2000; Claassen, 2009; Tomz & Van Houweling, 2008). For instance, Claassen (2009) suggests that the issues at hand have an impact on how voters evaluate the candidates. Some issues, such as military spending, may direct voters to make decisions in line with proximity theory, whereas an issue such as abortion stimulates directional behavior.

2.1.1.1.2 Static party competition and unified theories of voting behavior and party competition

The previous section emphasized how voters cast their votes with regard to candidate or party strategies; in this section, I explain the implication of voters' preferences on party competition; i.e., static party competition. It is a static competition in the sense that parties do not actively pursue strategies or shift their positions in order to garner votes or defeat rival parties. Also, time dimension is not an essential component that constrains party strategies (Meyer, 2013).

Even though spatial theories of voting behavior and the Michigan school of voting behavior are considered two opposite bodies of literature, I group them together in this section because both models of voting behavior lead to static party competition. On the one hand, the spatial models have become sophisticated and integrated in multi-dimensional voting with an attempt to check whether the median-voter theorem and the assumption of multi-party equilibrium hold. On the other hand, behavioral research

paved the way for works on non-policy factors, such as valence issues (Stokes, 1963) and voters' socioeconomic traits, such as gender and race. However, in the last decade, some scholars have successfully reconciled theory and practice by integrating the behavioralist perspective into the spatial models. This attempt has enabled researchers to identify to what extent centrifugal and centripetal forces shape the policy space and provide an account for the reasons of both convergence and divergence of party policies (Merrill & Grofman, 1999; Adams, Merrill and Grofman, 2005).

Multi-dimensional voting and equilibrium. The traditional spatial model of voting behavior has two basic assumptions. The first assumption is that candidate policy positions converge to the median voter in equilibrium. In this sense, equilibrium is by nature static. In other words, if parties or candidates have no intentions to diverge from their positions, parties' or candidates' policy positions would stay in the equilibrium position. The second assumption is about the ideal policy preferences of voters, which are expected to be distributed symmetrically on the policy spaces. The assumptions are held when the policy space is one-dimensional. When the policy space is multi-dimensional, the assumptions turn into, as Calvert (1985: 73) puts it, "voter utility functions depend only upon Euclidean distance from the voters' ideal points, and those ideal points are distributed symmetrically in the issue space so that a majority rule equilibrium exists." In a multi-dimensional policy space, the existence of the idea of equilibrium has been challenged, and Schofield (1978) predicts that, in the absence of equilibrium, party positions are unstable. Moreover, the second assumption is relaxed by some scholars so that, even if the distribution of the policy preferences of voters is not perfectly symmetric, the expectation of parties' or candidates' convergence to the equilibrium gets higher (Calvert, 1985).

Much research on multi-dimensional voting models has shown the existence of majority-rule equilibrium regardless of the candidate policy motivations (vote-seeking, policy-seeking or office-seeking) and zero information extremes (Calvert, 1985; Banks & Duggan, 2008; Erikson & Romero, 1990). Humphreys and Laver (2010) argue that, if voters have a uniform city block preference, it would generate equilibrium in spaces with many dimensions. Moreover, these models include stochastic voting rather than deterministic voting, which means parties do not have information about voters' preferences. On the basis of stochastic voting, these studies are able to show whether or not equilibrium exists.

Non-policy factors & valence. Voters have not only policy preferences; they are also influenced by non-policy factors when they are making their choices. Stokes (1963: 373) differentiates "position-issues" from valence issues and defines valence issues as "those that merely involve the linking of the parties with some condition that is positively or negatively valued by the electorate." To put it more clearly, valence dimensions are those "on which parties or leaders are differentiated not by what they advocate, but by the degree to which they are linked in the public's minds with conditions, goals or symbols of which almost everyone approves or disapproves" (Stokes, 1992: 143). Obviously, events that create a negative image in the public's minds, such as political scandals or split of a political party, cause parties to lose vote share. Valence dimensions can be identified as competence, integrity and unity/division (Clark, 2009).

Valence dimension in party politics is also integrated into both spatial and directional voting models, particularly for addressing the existence of equilibrium. Interestingly, much research confirms that, when the valence issues are taken into account, it can create conditions where equilibria exist (Ansolabehere & Snyder, 2000; Kurella & Pappi, 2014; Groseclose, 2001; Schofield, 2003; Adams & Merrill, 2009). Moreover, the candidate or party with a valence advantage (mostly larger parties) has a tendency to move towards the center in policy space, whereas the disadvantaged (smaller parties) candidates or parties diverge from the center in their policy formulations (Ansolabehere & Snyder, 2000; Mcdonald & Rabinowitz, 1998; Kurella & Pappi, 2014; Groseclose, 2001). However, Adams & Merrill (2009) generate a 'Centripetal Valence Effects' hypothesis; namely, valence-disadvantaged parties take moderate positions on policy space and, in return, rival parties also respond this convergence as a strategy by shifting their policy position in the same direction. In any case, the general emphasis is on the importance of having higher valence values for political parties in order to attract more vote share.

A unified theory of voting and party competition. In this approach, scholars not only integrate various spatial models (proximity, discounting and directional models) but also non-policy factors.

In their unified theory of voting, Merrill and Grofman (1999) integrate spatial models with partisan identification as a non-policy factor in order to understand the

implications of how voters make choices. Their model gives relative weight to each factor of voting behavior and tests the significance of each with the data from national election studies for three countries – France, the United States and Norway. Merrill and Grofman (1999) conclude that, for these countries, the data suggest a unified theory of voting behavior causes parties to not pursue either convergence or divergence but, instead, intermediate strategies.

In a unified theory of party competition, Adams et al. (2005) analyze how spatial and directional factors such as policy distance, the saliency of policies, the dispersion of voters' preferences, and the discounting factor; non-policy factors such as partisanship, sociodemographic characteristics and retrospective economic evaluations; and abstention resulting from alienation have an impact on the party's strategic incentives. They examine four countries – the United States, France, Britain and Norway – by estimating parameters for all voting models using election survey data. Their results suggest that, while in France and Norway, the discounting model clarifies the parties' policy position, in the United States and Britain their unified model explains "the direction but not the extremity of party/candidate positioning, relative to the center of the voter distribution" (Adams et al., 2005: 228).

To conclude, I have laid the foundations of the mainstream literature on party competition and voting behavior with an aim to explain the terminology and to take a step towards dynamic party competition. I provide a more comprehensive review of the influence of non-policy factors on voting behavior in Turkey in Chapter Four.

2.1.1.2 Dynamic Party Competition

In static party competition, the main goal is to capture a moment in party competition when parties respond to voters' preferences and voters, in return, cast their votes and multiparty equilibrium holds or not; whereas, in dynamic party competition, the aim is to understand the party competition process. Dynamic party competition not only deals with taking time into account "as a constraint on party policy position preferences"; it is also about why and how parties employ strategies in shifting their policy preferences (Meyer, 2013).

Time factor has an effect on dynamic party competition in three ways: firstly, Walgrave and Nuytemans (2009: 190) show that party manifestos are indeed

characterized by friction and resistance to change "due to cognitive limitations and institutional delays." Moving away from the status quo may be costly for parties, so parties tend to stick to their policies, particularly if they have already have a reputation for owning a certain issue (Meyer, 2013, emphasis added). Secondly, parties must be consistent in their policy preferences (Downs, 1957). Parties' past policy preferences would be binding for their future policy choices. Inconsistency in policy preferences may lead a vote share loss.[2] Thirdly, when a party decides to enter into a new issue dimension and takes a position on the issue, timing matters. The amount of time that has elapsed between the salience of the issue and the party's choice of pursuing a strategy on the issue would have an effect on the party's vote share (Meguid, 2008: 37). Therefore, timing can be both rewarding and a punishing factor, depending on the situation and the party's capacity for action.

By putting an emphasis on time, I introduce the facets of party strategies in a dynamic competition to understand why and how parties shift their policy preferences and if voters respond to these shifts. These party strategies are employed to explain the party competition in Turkey during the Kurdish opening-up process in Chapter Five and Chapter Six.

2.1.1.2.1 Facets of party strategies[3] in dynamic party competition

Issue positions, issue salience – heresthetics and issue entrepreneurship – and issue ownership are the main facets of party strategies in dynamic party competition. By employing those strategies, parties can compete against their rivals or respond to shifts in public opinion and/or election results.

Issue positions. In the standard Downsian approach to party competition, parties try to minimize the distance between themselves and voters through positioning themselves on an n-dimensional space (Downs, 1957). In this sense, parties offer issue positions to voters that are already determined by voters' preferences. Therefore,

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[2] Meguid calls this point responsibility. Parties must act responsibly by not holding contradictory issue positions simultaneously (2008: 35).
[3] This phrase is borrowed from Meguid (2008).

parties aim to gain more vote share by attracting voters via presenting their policy preferences.[4]

Issue saliency. The salience of an issue means whether voters perceive issue as important or not. Although voters evaluate the policy preferences of parties, they also take the importance of the issue into account (Budge, Robertson and Hearl, 1987; Rabinowitz and Mcdonald, 1989; Budge and Farlie, 1983). Nonetheless, parties can also affect the vote choice through the articulation of certain issues in their political agenda. In this way, parties compete with each other on certain issue dimensions. Issue emphasis can shape and – in return – be shaped by a party's political agenda (Green-Pedersen, 2007). For instance, Budge and Farlie (1983) show that, in 19 countries' post-war manifestos, parties emphasized issues selectively.

In dynamic party competition, parties choose to emphasize the issues on which they hold an advantage, whereas they avoid the issues that may be detrimental to their policy position. Green-Pedersen (2007: 609) argues that the main mechanism behind this strategy for parties is that they can "force other parties to pay attention to the issues that are not necessarily attractive for them in electoral terms."

In line with the dominance of issue saliency literature, scholars come up with new party strategies, such as issue entrepreneurship and issue blurring, which enable parties to manipulate issues. De Vries and Hobolt (2012: 247) define issue entrepreneurship as a strategy employed by parties in order to "mobilize conflict on a new issue dimension to change the basis on which voters make political choices and thereby potentially improving their electoral fortunes." They observe that, on the issue of European integration by analyzing European Election Study data via multi-level modeling, voters are responsive to the issue of parties' entrepreneurial strategies. Moreover, Rovny (2012, 2013) develops the concept of issue blurring. While parties may choose to emphasize certain issues, they also disguise their stance on other dimensions by blurring their positions, depending on the parties' stakes in various issue dimensions. Rovny (2013) emphasizes the importance of party families and

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[4] The standard Downsian theory assumes that parties are vote-seekers. For the implications of policy-seekers and office-seekers and how these goals influence party competition, please see Chapter Four pages 107-09.

shows how radical right parties employ an issue blurring strategy on the established issues in order to attract more votes.

On the one hand, some scholars criticize standard spatial models for avoiding issue saliency as a facet of party competition. Meguid (2008) claims that standard spatial models assume that the saliency of issues is given and remains fixed during party competition. Also, Rovny (2013) mentions that issue blurring as a strategy is not consistent with spatial models' assumptions because political actors compete only through position taking. On the other hand, some early works demonstrate how issue competition involves positional competition, such as Riker's dominance and dispersion principles. "When one side dominates in the volume of rhetorical[5] appeals on a particular theme, the other side abandons appeals on that theme (the Dominance Principle), and when neither side dominates in volume, both sides abandon it (the Dispersion Principle)" (Riker, 1996: 6). Riker derives the significance of these principles and the rhetoric in campaigns from one case – the campaign for the American Constitution. Thus, the Dominance and Dispersion principles show not only how parties react to each other on issue saliency but also how they shift their positions as a campaigning strategy.

In his pioneering works, Riker (1982, 1986, 1996) develops the concept of heresthetics; i.e., structuring the world so that a candidate or a party wins. In this sense, three categories of heresthetical strategies – agenda control, strategic voting and manipulation of dimensions – enable a candidate/party to reach the desirable outcome; i.e., winning elections. Thus, politicians frame issues in a certain way via the art of heresthetics and they can either manipulate the salience of issues on particular issue dimensions or introduce new issue dimensions in order to influence the proximity of voters to the parties (Riker, 1996).[6]

Issue ownership. Issue ownership theory is developed as an extension of issue saliency theory. Budge and Farlie (1983) show the predictive ability of issue ownership on the parties' electoral shares in 23 democracies, and Petrocik advances

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[5] Rhetoric means the art of verbal or written persuasion that prepares the ground for a heresthetical strategy. The difference between heresthetics and rhetoric is that, in the former, actors explicitly manipulate the political structure to win an election and, in the latter, actors implicitly manipulate the political process via an act of speech.
[6] In Chapter Six, in order to explain my qualitative text analysis findings, I pay special attention to Riker's art of heresthetics.

the theory. Petrocik (1996: 828) argues that parties 'own' issues; i.e., parties tend to compete on issues on which they have a reputation and prove their competence. However, this competence and reputation is regularly "tested and reinforced". Similar to Riker, Petrocik (1996) highlights the significance of campaigning as a "marketing effort" of candidates or parties.

In recent years, the link between issue salience and issue ownership has started to be disentangled. Belanger and Meguid (2008) discovered that issue ownership strategy only has an effect on political competition as long as voters consider the issue highly salient. Moreover, depending on the degree of contestation among parties and party family types, increasing the salience of 'owned' issues may have a negative impact on a party's vote share (Geys, 2012). Geys (2012) argues that, in the context of a niche party – particularly the radical right – mainstream parties' attempt to increase the salience of immigration and integration issues by owning the issue may lead to vote share loss because, when the issue becomes more salient, this strategy may work in favor of radical right parties.

Another common practice in the contemporary literature is to combine elements of spatial theory with issue salience and/or issue ownership theories. For instance, Green and Hobolt (2008) analyze the 2005 British elections based on both voting behavior and party competition via issue ownership and issue saliency perspectives. Their research shows that, when party polarization on an issue dimension is high, the ideological positioning rather than party competence and credibility prevails; whereas, when there is a large degree of policy convergence, competence and credibility becomes decisive for voters' preferences.

2.1.1.2.2 Why and how do parties employ different strategies while shifting their policy preferences?

The pioneering studies in this field highlight the parties' decision rules that explain the strategies in policy shifts and establish a mechanism by which different parties interact with different decision rules. For instance, Budge (1994) investigates the dynamics of parties' ideologies in 20 Western countries through alternative decision rules.[7] These

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[7] These decision rules are 'The Stay Put Model,' 'The Alternation Model,' 'The Past Results Model,' 'Robertson's Rational Expectation Model' and 'The Marker Party Model' (Budge, 1994: 461).

decision rules motivate party elites' decisions regarding adjustment of policy preferences when the party has no clue about how the policy that is formulated will affect voting. In this sense, parties show an ideological stability in their preferences, and Budge (1994) attributes this ideological stability to the political environment's uncertainty.

Laver (2005) proposes a model based on dynamic agent analysis of policy driven competition and tests the model with the help of simulations. The main idea is to explore how different types of parties interact in the same policy space and to test different algorithms for party adaptation via different decision rules. Laver (2005) identifies four party types with distinct strategies: Aggregator (readapt their position in line with the party supporters); Hunter (hunts for votes and, therefore, is always going for rewarded policy moves); Predator (takes positions close to the largest party) and Sticker (sticks to the party policies). His model infers parties' strategies that would better fit the party's observed behavior.

The strategies that parties pursue in Laver's model correspond to the incentives of parties to shift their policy preferences. In this sense, the Aggregator corresponds to parties that react to the shifts in public opinion; the Hunter responds to elections results and the Predator shifts policy preferences with respect to rival parties. Basically, these three motives draw parties away from the status quo.

Shifts in public opinion. Parties do respond to public opinion in both the US or Western Europe, but the degree and the extent of this response in Western Europe depends on the level of shift in public opinion, the political interest of the voters, and the party type.

Stimson, Mackuen and Erikson (1995) analyze whether a shift in public opinion in the American electorate leads to a change in public policy at different institutional levels, such as the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Presidency and the Supreme Court. The result of the analysis is that each institutional level responds to shifts in public preferences with various degrees. Each institution translates public opinion directly into policies, and policymakers annually evaluate the future implications of current policies on voters' preferences.

Adams, Clark, Ezrow and Glasgow (2004) explore whether parties respond to public opinion or to past election results by adjusting their ideologies in manifestos. In order to determine the left–right shifts in parties' policies, the authors use the Comparative Manifesto Project's [CMP] codings of party programs for eight Western European countries between 1976 and 1998. Public opinion is operationalized based on Eurobarometer surveys of citizens' left–right placements. Their findings support that "parties shift their ideological positions in response to public opinion when opinion clearly shifts away from the party" (Adams et al., 2004: 608). However, they do not find any evidence that parties respond to past election results.

Employing the same data and operationalization schema, Adams, Haupt and Stoll (2009) conclude that both public opinion and global economic conditions force parties to change their ideological positions, but type of party is a mediating factor in this relationship. Although center and right parties respond to both forces, leftist parties do not tend to discernably respond to public opinion. Compared to parties on the center and right, leftist parties pay less attention to global economic conditions.

Moreover, Meyer (2013) argues that political interest of voters have an influence on party policy shifts. Meyer (2013: 211) concludes, "for shifts towards the majority of voters, the positive effect of voters' interests in politics is larger than for shifts away from the majority of voter preferences." Related with this finding, it is observed that government parties are more likely to shift their policy platforms because they are more visible by the voters.

Election results. Parties' positions not only respond to previous election results but parties also shape their issue preferences based on electoral risks and opportunities before the elections.

Janda, Harmel, Edens and Goffs (1995) analyze eight parties' manifestos in Germany, Britain and the USA from the 1950s to 1980 in order to find out whether election defeats lead to parties taking action by either changing their images or policy packaging. They operationalize policy packaging as emphasis on particular issues in the manifestos and election results as triumphal, gratifying, tolerable, disappointing and calamitous from each party's perspective. Their results suggest that the election results by themselves are not a sufficient cause to change parties' images; however, it does generate a necessity for parties to consider changing policy packaging.

Somer-Topcu (2009) highlights the significance of the time factor in elections, whether the magnitude of parties' policy shifts is determined by the previous election results, and how much time elapsed since the parties translated the previous election results into current policy preferences. Her analysis on 23 democracies shows that parties tend to shift their positions when they lose votes in the previous elections. The longer the parties wait to shift their position in line with the previous election results, the lesser the impact of previous elections' results for political parties.

Based on the issue yield model, which was developed in De Sio's (2010) earlier work, De Sio and Franklin (2012) test whether the issue yield model, rather than manifesto analysis, produces better results in detecting the issues that are important to voters. The issue yield model integrates the electoral risks and electoral opportunities for each issue at hand. Electoral risks concern to what extent an issue is divisive within the party base, while electoral opportunities refer to how widely the same issue is supported outside the party. In this sense, a high-yield issue gets support both from within and outside the party's base. The results show that, at both the aggregate and individual level, the issue yield model captures better what voters have in mind.

Rival parties. Parties shift their preferences as a response to their ideological rivalries in order to take part in the competition on newly rising issues in the policy space and to distinguish themselves from other competitors.

Adams and Somer-Topcu (2009) test the policy adjustments of parties in response to their rivalries in 25 post-war democracies by using CMP data. The authors find that parties responded mostly to their ideological counterparts such, as leftist parties adjusting their positions to align with other leftist parties, and parties generally shifting their policies in the direction of their rivals' policy shift in the previous election.

Green-Pedersen (2007) analyzes issue competition in Western Europe with party manifesto data and shows that the competition for the content of the party political agenda becomes more salient. The reasons for this increasing importance of issue competition are capacity – the increasing length of political agenda; complexity – how attention is spread across the issues; and party families. The declining significance of left–right dimension and the rise of new issues, such as environment and immigration, forces party families not only to develop new strategies to keep their voters satisfied

regarding their own issues but also to integrate newly rising issues into their political agenda.

In issue competition, in order to achieve policy differentiation and issue ownership, political parties choose to take extreme positions under certain circumstances. These conditions are, firstly, if parties have relatively a small vote share; secondly, if taking an extreme position makes them distinctive from their counterparts; and, lastly, if other parties do not emphasize the issue (Wagner, 2012).

2.1.1.2.3 Do voters respond to parties' policy shifts?

Parties adjust their policy preferences to public opinion, election results and rival parties' strategies; however, whether voters perceive these changes and cast their votes with regard to the new policy preferences is the other side of the coin.

The dominant assumption is that voters overcome uncertainty barriers and believe the pledges of parties, and only a few studies consider the opposite; i.e., that voters may be skeptical or uncertain. Enelow and Hinich (1984: 115-31) deal with candidate-induced uncertainty, voters' perpetual uncertainty and voters' predictive uncertainty on candidate policy preferences. They conclude that, notwithstanding any decision rule, voters attempt to maximize their utility. Moreover, Sanchez-Cuenca (2008) argues that, if voters do not believe the party closest to their position offers policies consistent with its ideological stance, then voters do not necessarily vote for that party. Providing an example of the Spanish Socialist Worker's Party's policies from 1982 to 1989, the research reveals that ideological convictions are not powerful enough if the voters approach the government's policies skeptically (2008: 65-71). From a different perspective, Adams, Ezrow and Somer-Topcu (2011) argue that voters do respond to parties' policy shifts, but voters' subjective perceptions of parties' left–right shifts matter more than the parties' actual shifts, as coded by manifesto data.

2.1.1.3 Party Competition in New Democracies

"Concept travelling"[8] (Sartori, 1970) becomes an obligatory tool to use when scholars engage in comparing cases, especially in party politics literature. Almost all of the

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[8] "The application of existing concepts to new cases" (Collier and Mahon, 1993: 845).

terminology in party system structure and party competition is developed from party experiences in the USA and Western Europe. In order to capture the structure and the dynamics of the "Third World",[9] the already existing Western categories "diffused" into third world polities via "conceptual straining" (Sartori, 1970: 1034). Although the danger of conceptual stretching[10] remains, certain methodological and categorization techniques may minimize the risks. As Collier and Mahon (1993: 852) suggest:

> This problem can be avoided by self-consciously thinking in terms of ideal types, by using a system-specific approach to applying categories in particular contexts, or by adopting other techniques that do not depend on the assumption that members of a category share a full set of defining attributes.

In this research, I am perfectly aware of the danger of concept stretching; however, I think the progress and accumulation of knowledge in political science depends on studying diverse cases, if it is necessary, and then formulating new concepts based on our cases. In this sense, although my research is based on a single case study, I occasionally compare Turkish party structures with other new democracies and with established democracies.

Doing research on new democracies or third-wave democracies [11] becomes significant due to the insufficient theorizing on party structures and competition and the introduction of the concept of "New Europe" in party politics (Keman and Müller-Rommel, 2012; Luther and Müller-Rommel, 2002).

Most third-wave democracies have distinctive features that require scholars to reformulate theories about party systems. Mainwaring (1999) argues that, because the theoretical literature has been so dominated by scholars whose empirical referents were Western Europe or the United States, the variance in the kinds of party systems

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[9] The terminology – third world, second world and first world – was employed by political scientists during the Cold War. The second world represented the Soviet Union and the third world was perceived as economically and politically developing or underdeveloped nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

[10] "The distortion that occurs when a concept does not fit to new cases" (Collier and Mahon, 1993: 845).

[11] New Democracies, or Third Wave democracies, are the democracies that made their transitions to democracy between 1974 and 1990 (Huntington, 1991), whereas established democracies made their transitions to democracy in between 1810 and 1922 (the first wave of democratization), and between 1942 and 1962, (second-wave democratization (Kurzman, 1998). In party politics literature, the Latin American and the Eastern European countries are especially considered as new democracies, and democracy is defined minimally. Based on Dahl (1971)'s definition, the only criteria for a regime to be considered a democracy are public contestation and inclusiveness (participation).

that have been the basis for most theorizing has been limited. This especially creates a problem with grasping Latin American party politics. Moreover, van Biezen (2003) points out that the research on Western European party systems is becoming more diverse and advanced; however, East-Central Europe and, partially, Southern European party organizations have been left untouched.

With the expansion of the European Union towards Central and Eastern Europe, a new research area called "New Europe" has been born. The main idea behind this research area is to study new democracies in Europe with a link to established ones in Western Europe and find out the similarities and dissimilarities among them with regard to 'Europeanness' in party politics (Keman and Müller-Rommel, 2012; Luther and Müller-Rommel, 2002).

Newer democracies, in some senses, diverge and converge from the models found in established democracies. Based on ten cases from Latin America and Eastern Europe, in an edited book, Webb and White (2007) identify whether a generational life-cycle effect or third-wave generation plays a role in party development. If generational effect plays a role, then it would show that new democracies follow the first-wave democracies' patterns in their party system structures; and, if the latter is correct, the result would be finding more similarities between new democracies and dissimilarities with established democracies. Webb and White (2007: 362) conclude that "the overall outcome is a generational difference between the two sets of cases, which may be attenuated by a periodic effect." In other words, one can trace back to the similarities between established and new democracies; but, due to "changing structure of mass communication," having "fluid cleavage structures" and "the dominance of presidential regimes," new democracies also differ (Webb and White, 2007: 360–2). Therefore, there is still a lot to discover in party politics literature before arriving at a definite conclusion.

A wealth of the research on newer democracies – i.e., those in Latin America and Asia – is related with party system structure rather than dynamics of party competition. The motivation of this literature is to understand the causes of high electoral volatility, the meaning of left–right in the policy space and the linkage between citizens and party elites (Harbers, 2010; Mainwaring and Scully, 1995; Wiesehomeier, 2010; Croissant and Völkel, 2012; Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011). I analyze the literature of party systems

in Asia and Latin America in the next chapter extensively. However, to the best of my knowledge, dynamics of party competition has not been studied as much as the European party competition has been, except for the extensive literature on presidentialism and its impact on electoral systems and parties (see Jonas, 1994; Negretto, 2006). The concepts in dynamics party literature might not be applicable to Latin American and Asian party politics literature. Therefore, I divert my attention to Central and Eastern European countries as new democracies and the findings of the research on dynamic party competition.

Party competition in Eastern Europe is concentrated on the issue position and salience, evolution of party competition and the role of extremist parties. Rohrschneider and Whitefield (2009) argue that party positions are structured in a common and one-dimensional way across the countries, based on an expert survey of 13 post-Communist democracies. In all Eastern European cases, socio-economic issues constitute the first policy dimension. The second dimension is structured to include country-specific dynamics, such as ethnic, religious or regional diversity. In the same direction, Tavits and Letki (2014) identify the role of values and interests in the evolution of party competition in Eastern Europe. With data from 22 post-communist countries in 1990–2010, both left and right parties employ certain strategies to increase their vote shares. Due to the differentiation in social structure and growing inequality, parties shift their programs from values to interests to polarize the economic dimension, which would be advantageous for leftist parties. However, right-wing parties shift their emphasis to values, such as values on ethnicity and religion, by toning down their economic appeals. Moreover, Eastern European party competition offers a great opportunity to test the influence of new party entries due to the frequent emergence of new parties. Tavits (2008) argues the existing parties' electoral faith depends on the new party's choice of location in the policy space and issues to emphasize and concludes that new parties mostly steal votes from their spatial neighbors. In terms of extremist parties' success, Ezrow, Homola and Tavits (2014), in a cross-sectional analysis, find that uncertainty on party positions drives voters away, while extreme positions reduce voter certainty; then, extremist parties garner more votes than centrist parties. In a complementary study, Ezrow, Tavits and Homola (2014) compare established democracies' party competition with party competition in the new democracies of Europe and show that the level of partisanship and voters'

preference of extremist parties are positively correlated. The main reason is because "parties are likely to be significantly less established and party loyalties weaker in younger democracies, while parties become better established in the electorate as democracies age and electorates gain more familiarity with them" (Ezrow et al., 2013: 3).

The evidence shows that party competition in Eastern Europe differs in many ways from the established democracies; however, when I compare Turkey with established and new democracies in Chapter Four on party system institutionalization, I show that the Turkish case has more commonalities with established democracies than both Latin American and Eastern European new democracies.

2.1.1.4 Niche Party and the Dynamic Party Competition

In dynamic party competition, party families matter. With the rise of the new issues such as immigration, environment and regionalism, new parties emerge. In order to compete with this new party family; i.e., niche parties, mainstream parties [12] are compelled to develop new strategies. Because I deal with an ethno-territorial party, which is type of a niche party, in my research, this section constitutes the backbone of my analysis.

I define the concept of niche party and then review the literature on the interactions among niche parties and mainstream parties and explore how these interactions affect dynamic party competition.

2.1.1.4.1 Niche party and its types

Although there is a consensus on the significant role of niche party actors in the policy space, the definition and features of niche parties differ. Meguid (2005, 2008) provides a detailed definition of the niche party, which rejects the traditional class-based structure of politics and emphasizes a limited set of issues that does not coincide with the left–right dimension. The three party families that show these characteristics are green, radical right, and ethno-territorial parties. Wagner simplifies Meguid's definition and identifies them as parties that "stress a small range of non-economic

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[12] Traditional party families that can be located on the left–right dimension correspond to mainstream parties. In Meguid (2005, 2008)'s work, mainstream parties correspond to one influential party on the left and one influential party on the right of center.

issues" (2012: 846). The most common definition of a niche party is "representing either an extreme ideology or a non-centrist ideology" (Adams, Clark, Ezrow and Glasgow, 2006; Adams, Ezrow and Leiter, 2012; Ezrow, 2008; Ezrow, De Vries, Steenbergen and Edwards, 2011).

Recently, minimalist definitions of niche party, such as "emphasizing policy areas neglected by its competitors" have become popular (Meyer and Miller, 2013; Meyer and Wagner, 2013). The differences in these various definitions show the diversity of niche parties. Although almost all researchers agree that the green and radical right parties are niche parties, they reach different conclusions about ethno-territorial parties (Meguid, 2005, 2008) and communist parties (Adams et al., 2006; Adams et al., 2012; Ezrow et al., 2011). I define the concept of ethno-territorial party extensively and then explore the implication of its definition in relation with ethnic parties in the second section of this chapter.

2.1.1.4.2 Niche parties in dynamic party competition

Niche parties diverge from mainstream parties in terms of their policy programs, voters' expectations and electoral strategies. The 'niche party phenomenon' (Meguid, 2008) has left a mark on dynamic party competition in the last decade in terms of the concept's ability to open up a new research field.

Policy programs. Adams et al. (2006) analyze the linkages between parties' positions, voters' preferences and election outcomes via formulating statistical models in eight Western European democracies from 1976 to 1998. The findings reveal that "niche parties' policy programs are less responsive to shifts in public opinion than are mainstream parties' programs" and, when niche parties moderate their programs, they get penalized by their voters (Adams et al., 2006: 525). In complementary research, Ezrow (2008) and Ezrow et al. (2011) show that niche parties adjust their policy programs according to the demands of their mean voter base, whereas mainstream parties aim is to garner votes of the mean voter in the general electorate. Also, because niche parties' supporters are more politically engaged than mainstream parties' supporters, niche parties respond enormously to their supporters' left–right attitudes (Ezrow et al., 2011). Similarly, political experts' perceptions on left–right policy shifts

reveal that, when niche parties alter their positions, the mean of the left–right positions of the niche party supporters significantly shifts (Adams et al., 2012).

Niche parties can employ many strategies in a multi-dimensional policy space. For instance, they can manipulate the dimensional structure of politics by deliberately engaging position- blurring (Rovny, 2013), or they can switch between niche and mainstream party profiles in response to electoral defeats (Meyer and Wagner, 2013). As a strategy, Rovny (2013) finds out that, to increase their vote share, radical right parties tend to compete on "neglected or secondary issues" and simultaneously engage in position blurring on established issues. Another strategy that niche parties – especially if these parties are young, small and in opposition – pursue is about shifting issue profiles with vote-seeking incentives. Meyer and Wagner (2013) argue that, although niche-to-mainstream transitions in party profiles are common, mainstream parties do not shift to a niche party profile with vote-seeking incentives.

Voters' expectations. Voters expect policy radicalism from niche parties. Wagner (2011) proposes that niche parties are "slightly less centrist than their mainstream opponents." When niche parties moderate their positions in line with the general public opinion, voters penalize them in elections; however, there is no clear evidence that voters penalize mainstream parties in this way (Adams et al., 2006). For instance, Lynch, Whitaker and Loomes (2012) conduct an analysis on the UK Independence Party, and evaluate the compatibility between party candidates' political attitudes and views on party strategies and the party supporters' views. Both candidates and voters align with the issues on Euroskepticism and immigration; however, candidates and voters disagree about what issues to focus on in extending the party platform.

Electoral strategy. The dominant approaches suggest that niche party vote share is determined by state structure, socio-economic conditions and electoral rules. In this sense, Meguid's (2005, 2008) pioneering research discusses for the first time, that niche parties' vote share is not only dependent on the aforementioned factors, but it also is influenced by the mainstream parties' strategic behavior. She analyzes three types of niche parties: green, radical right and ethno-territorial parties.

By combining issue position, issue salience and issue ownership theories, Meguid (2005, 2008) formulated a theory called Position, Salience and Ownership [PSO] that argues that mainstream parties can employ strategies and engage in a dynamic party

competition with specific to niche parties. The idea behind this theory is that niche parties are particularly vulnerable to the manipulation of issue salience and ownership by mainstream parties. When mainstream parties decide to enter a niche party's issue space; e.g., environmental issues, or immigration policies and/or regional autonomy, the strategies that a mainstream party employs have a direct impact on the niche party's vote share. Because mainstream parties are large in size, more experienced in governing and better equipped in terms of resources, they have a more capacity to attract votes from the niche party's support base (Meguid, 2008).

The theory revises all facets of party strategies and then integrates them under the PSO theory. Meguid (2005, 2008) criticizes standard spatial approaches, which consider that issue salience "is exogenously given and remains fixed" during dynamic party competition (Meguid, 2008: 25). Furthermore, standard spatial approaches undermine the impact of issue ownership by assuming that, if voters' positions are equally distant from two parties or candidates, then voters become indifferent in voting for one of those two candidates or parties. She objects to this view and highlights how issue ownership theory becomes influential in such a situation and influences voters' decision.

Meguid (2005, 2008) analyzes the influence of mainstream parties' behavior on niche party vote share in the niche parties' issue dimension. If a mainstream party accepts the niche party's position and moves towards (policy convergence) to its position, this means the mainstream party pursues an *accommodative position* [AC]. But, if a mainstream party disagrees with the position of the niche party, then mainstream party moves away (policy divergence) from its niche party competitor by employing an *adversarial strategy* [AD]. In some cases, mainstream parties may deliberately choose to avoid a competition with niche parties; then, they pursue a *dismissive strategy* [DI]. The same story goes for issue saliency and issue ownership as well. By increasing the saliency of niche parties' issues, mainstream parties may aim to attract more votes and claim to be the real owner of the issue. Based on these strategies, Meguid (2005, 2008) predicts the niche party vote share.

Meguid (2005) examines the electoral trajectories of niche parties – green, radical right and ethno-territorial – in Western Europe from 1970 to 2000. The dependent variable is operationalized as the percentage of votes received by a given niche party

in a national legislative election. The independent variables are mainstream party strategies, which were coded based on the CMP data, institutional and sociological variables. Her predictions on the impact of each strategy on niche party's vote share hold. Therefore, Meguid (2005, 2008) explicitly shows the influence of mainstream parties' strategic behavior on niche party electoral vote share in Western Europe.

PSO theory makes a valuable contribution to the literature in three ways. Firstly, PSO theory reinforces scholars to think about the established theories and investigate how they can be revised and integrated to better capture the dynamics of party competition. Secondly, it shows that party families do matter in the competition because niche parties have emerged and competed under different circumstances than mainstream parties. In this sense, PSO theory is the first theory showing that mainstream parties' strategic behavior is as influential as the electoral rules, state structure and regional GDP per capita and unemployment rate on ethno-territorial parties' vote share. Thirdly, researchers can take the time effect into consideration while studying mainstream parties' efforts to introduce policies into niche parties' issue dimension. However, this does not mean that the PSO theory cannot be improved, especially because this theory has not been tested on new democracies yet. Thus, I elaborately review the PSO theory's predictions, especially on the ethno-territorial party's vote share, in the next section and in Chapter Five.

By offering a valuable tool for researchers to understand dynamic party competition between mainstream and niche parties, PSO theory has inspired much research. Libbrecht, Maddens and Swenden (2011) apply PSO theory to regional electoral competition in Spain and United Kingdom to test if the predictions of PSO theory on mainstream party strategies hold in regional elections as well. The analysis reveals that the PSO's predictions "stack up quite well with but one exception" (Libbrecht et al., 2011: 637): mainstream parties may adopt regionalist parties' position and thereby increase the salience of the regionalist issue in regional elections unless these strategies contradict their strategy in national elections. Besides, Greenstein (2013) tests PSO theory on Swedish and German pirate parties' vote shares and concludes that Swedish pirate parties' rise and fall can be explained by the PSO, whereas the decline of German pirates is more related to dysfunctional party organization. Likewise, Williams (2013) explores the influence of mainstream parties' strategic behavior on Slovakian and Hungarian radical right parties through the 2009 Slovak language law

and 2010 Hungarian citizenship law. This research reveals that the accommodative tactics of mainstream parties on radical right parties' issues undermine the democratic credentials of a political system by loosening the relationship between citizens and the state.

To sum up, PSO theory has begun to be implemented into many other cases, and I think this valuable theory should be applied to new democracies as well. In the previous section, I showed that Eastern European party competition dynamics diverge from established democracies; however, this does not automatically translate into non-applicability of PSO theory to a new democracy, namely Turkey. Therefore, I apply PSO theory to check if the assumptions hold for the Turkish case in Chapter Five.

2.1.2 Ethnic and Ethno-Territorial Parties

Ethnicity is regarded as the most difficult type of cleavage to handle in democracies because ethnicity is embedded into "cultural and symbolic issues," which are associated with "the basic notions of identity and the self." Compared to the issues embedded in materialism, it is much harder to compromise with ethnic conflict through bargaining (Diamond and Plattner, 1994: xviii). Thus, ethnic parties' role in democracies and in electoral competition deserves close scrutiny.

The aim of this section is to define and evaluate the second most important concept for this research; i.e., ethno-territorial parties, which can be analyzed as either a sub-type of ethnic parties or as niche parties. After providing definitions for both ethnic and ethno-territorial parties, I explain why some studies consider ethnic parties and why some of them prefer ethno-territorial party conceptualization. Having analyzed these two studies, I define what the Kurdish issue means in Turkey; then, I link the emergence and the role of the Kurdish party as an ethno-territorial party to the literature on Western European ethno-territorial parties by indicating the importance of studying the Kurdish case.

2.1.2.1 What is an Ethnic Party? What Differentiates Ethnic Parties from Ethno-Territorial Parties?

Although it is impossible to produce a universally correct single definition based on ethnic group and ethnic party, Chandra (2011: 153) defines an ethnic party as "a party that is the champion of the particular interests of one ethnic category or set of

categories." The key aspects of an ethnic party are particularity – excluding other groups; centrality – representation of interests are central; and temporality – group identity evolves over time (Chandra 2011: 153). In this sense, Horowitz (1985) argues that the electoral base of an ethnic party is limited and ethnic parties do not have an explicit intention to attract more votes other than their ethnic base. Since only an ethnic group constitutes the voter base, the party programs of ethnic parties are shaped by the demands of the group (Kitschelt, 2001). Nonetheless, Ishiyama and Breuning (2011) mention the difficulty of operationalizing the definition of an ethnic party, which can be based on membership, voter base and/or interest. Their research reveals that party labeling matters and parties who portray themselves in non-ethnic ways; that is, by not adapting their ethnic group's name to the party's name, are more able to attract external voters and more likely to support democratic consolidation.

Ethno-territorial parties[13] [ETPs] base their claims on ethnic distinctiveness and requests for a political reorganization of the state's territorial structure through recognition of their ethnic identity (Türsan, 1998: 5; Müller-Rommel, 1998: 19). These parties are not only centered on regionalist and ethnic dimensions, but they also signal a particular form of nationalism that can be an amalgamation of culture, language and other elements of identity (Sandri, 2012). Thus, ETPs' main concern is "to secure party loyalty so as to limit the defection of voters to mainstream parties and therefore to avoid the emergence of cross-cutting cleavages that would weaken group solidarity" (Tronconi, 2006: 141).

Ethno-territorial parties combine the dimensions of ethnicity and regionalism. Regional parties are not necessarily ethnic parties and vice versa. Regional parties aim to mobilize region-based electorates and represent sub-national interests not built along ethnic lines, but on a purely economic nature, such as the Christlich-Soziale Union in Bavaria, Germany (Strmiska, 2002, Dandoy, 2010). Moreover, not all ethnic parties are regionalists, because some ethnic parties may devote themselves to protect ethnic identities without seeking regionalization, such as the Svenska Folkpartiet in Finland (Raunio, 2006: 126). Therefore, ETPs are considered as a separate party family due to their distinctive specificities on regionalism – from nationalism to

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[13] Ethno-territorial party and ethno-regional party are used interchangeably.

secessionism – and their common characteristics on ethno-nationalism, from culture to language (De Winter, Gomez-Reino and Lynch, 2006).

In the literature, scholars tend to classify ETPs "according to the intensity and radicalism of their territorial claims" because the defining characteristic of ETPs' programs is identified as their demand for self-government (Sandri, 2012: 290; Dandoy, 2010; De Winter, 1998; De Winter et al., 2006; Newman, 1996; Strmiska, 2002)[14]. However, it is important to note that ETPs can alter their territorial demands over time.

Although ethno-territorial parties can be seen as a sub-type of ethnic parties, ethno-territorial parties' existence is peculiar to Western Europe. To the best of my knowledge, this party type has never been studied for another region. In this sense, the research domains, in terms of space and time, differ for ethno-territorial and ethnic parties.

2.1.2.2 Why Do Ethno-Territorial Party and Ethnic Party Literatures Differ?

I argue that this conceptual difference arises from the clash of nationalization and the entrenchment of political cleavages processes, which is the foundational process of linking voters to parties.[15] In Western Europe, the nationalization and democratization processes went hand in hand. After the Second World War, Western European territorial configurations had already reached stability. As a result of both the integration of societies and parties' deliberate actions, center-periphery cleavages transformed into a homogenizing left–right alignment or "functional cleavage," which mobilized voters across territorial divides within nation states (Caramani, 2004: 291–93). These functional cleavages have formed the programmatic link between voters and parties.[16]

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[14] For instance, De Winter (1998) identifies five ethno-territorial categories in ascending order of radicalism: protectionist, autonomist, national-federalist, independentist and irredentist parties. Based on De Winter's typology, Dandoy (2010) improves and creates even a more sophisticated typology of ETPs.

[15] As a significant note, the literatures on ethnic parties and ethno-territorial parties cannot be sharply distinguished in certain cases such as Northern Ireland, Belgium and Spain. In this sense, my argument has limitations.

[16] Kitschelt (1995) identifies three types of parties – charismatic, clientelistic and programmatic. Among these types, programmatic parties have a more difficult task: building an organizational structure and attracting activists and leaders to implement the promised policies. Such an organization obviously has a higher capacity to encourage the spread of democratic values and to produce democratic consolidation.

The emergence and the rise of ethno-territorial parties in Western Europe are explained from different perspectives. The ETPs' distinctiveness has been linked to country differences, center-periphery cleavage and states' institutional behavior. Caramani (2004) mentions that some religious party families (Catholic and Protestant) and regionalist and ethno-linguistic cleavages resisted, to a certain extent, the centralization and nation-building processes; however, he attributes this resistance to country differences. However, Deutsch (1961) and Lipset and Rokkan (1967) do not attribute the emergence of ethno-territorial parties only to certain European countries. By describing it as a general European phenomenon, both authors explain the emergence of ETPs based on the center's inability to respond and integrate the economic and cultural needs of the periphery. These arguments are carried a step further by Müller-Rommel (1998), who argues that the old center-periphery conflict, which is based on an economic inequality assumption, cannot explain the contemporary rise of ETPs any longer. Rather, this rise in "collective identity mood" can be seen as "a territorial protest against the established political institutions behavior" (Müller-Rommel, 1998: 23–24). Thus, the emergence of ethno-territorial parties is linked to the nationalization process; however, their rise is more related to institutional behavior.

Even though Caramani (2004) identifies a one-way process towards nationalized politics in Western Europe, Chhibber and Kollman (2004) find cyclical tendencies of nationalization and regionalization in the formation of the nationalized party systems of the United States, Canada, India and Great Britain. Chhibber and Kollman (2004: 21)'s basic argument rests on the idea that "party systems become more national as governments centralize authority; in contrast, there are more opportunities for regional, state, or provincial parties to thrive as provincial or state governments gain more authority relative to the national level." Nevertheless, the major difference between Caramani (2004)'s and Chhibber & Kollman (2004)'s perspectives lies in the territorial distinctiveness of their unit of observation. Caramani (2004) analyzes ETPs in Western Europe, whereas Chhibber and Kollman (2004) investigate regionalist parties in line with the US scholarship tradition.

This pattern of formation of homogenizing left–right cleavages that blocked the regionalization of voting patterns cannot be detected in other regions of the world. Due to the simultaneous occurrence of nationalization and regionalization processes, "the

homogenization of functional cleavages remains weak in Latin America" (Harbers, 2010: 609). Moreover, Van Cott (2005) discusses the formation of ethnic parties in the Latin American context by referring only to the last two decades because of the deterioration of the party system. In the 1990s, Latin American countries underwent several reforms toward fiscal and political decentralization that led to "the decomposition of established political parties, the decline of class identities and cleavages and emergence of new parties organized around ethnicity" (Van Cott, 2005: 2).

As a result of the nationalization process, in Western Europe, local elites became weakened during the nationalization process; which, in turn, increased "accountability and responsiveness"; whereas, in new democracies, decentralization policies often contributed to the rise of local elites' power (Harbers, 2010: 608). In this sense, interestingly and different from the Western European ethno-territorial parties, indigenous ethnic parties are supported by not only indigenous people but also by outsiders. Due to the dominance of clientelistic party type in the political system and "unresponsive traditional politicians," voters look for new alternatives (Van Cott, 2005: 16).

The new democracies in Eastern Europe show convergence with Western European party systems to a certain extent, but ethnic pluralism complicates the party divisions. Kitschelt (1995) argues that, in post-communist countries, programmatic structuration of the link between voters and parties is possible, but the level of structuration depends on the former regime type. [17] In this sense, ethnic divisions are also strategically employed according to the regime type. For instance, in post-patrimonial regimes, former communist parties are forced to take a position either in favor of or against ethnic particularism. Therefore, ethnicity as an issue already stands in the way of democratic consolidation in Eastern European democracies.

To sum up, new democracies show various trends in the processes of nationalization and more entrenchment of political cleavages than Western European democracies experience; therefore, ethnic parties have emerged as a result of decentralization

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[17] Kitschelt (1995) differentiates three types of communist regime: bureaucratic-authoritarian communism, national communism and patrimonial communism. The democracies emerging from each particular regime type show various characteristics in terms of party–voter linkage formation.

policies in Latin America and/or long-surpassed identities under communist regimes. I only provide examples from Latin America and Eastern Europe but new African and Asian democracies also diverge from the Western European experience. I choose to mention these two regions for two reasons: firstly, the Turkish case has some similarities with Latin American party systems; secondly, I try to locate the Turkish case in comparison with the established and new democracies of Europe. I take up these points in the following chapters extensively.

2.1.2.3 On What Terms Do Ethno-Territorial Party and Ethnic Party Literatures Differ?

Although the literature on ethnic parties is voluminous, I try to capture the basic themes, which can be grouped under democratization processes and electoral competition. The literature on the interaction between the emergence of ethnic parties and democratization concentrates on how to solve ethnic conflicts in different stages of democratization, investigates what type of electoral and governmental systems promote peace, and deals with the politicization of identity issues in "conflict-prone societies."[18] Electoral competition is related to multi-ethnic parties' relationships, their coalitions and the explanatory capacity of ethnic outbidding theses in electoral competition.

Democratization processes. In explaining the interaction between ethnic party and democratization, the role of consociationalism,[19] democracy promotion, the role of conflict and violence in new democracies, and political party & electoral engineering constitute the main issues. Much research concentrates on the capability of consociational democracy to create a stable, multi-ethnic regime and the role of the international environment during the peace-building process (see Horowitz, 2003; Bryne, 2001; Ghanem, 2009). Additionally, the question of what differentiates peaceful democracies from the violent ones attracts attention with regard to ethnic parties' role (Chandra, 2005; Bertrand and Haklai, 2014; Birnir, 2007a; Newman,

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[18] To the best of my knowledge, this phrase was employed by Benjamin Reilly (2006) for the first time.

[19] Consociationalism basically means power-sharing; and, based on the experiences of the Netherlands, Lijphart (1969) develops this concept and identifies key four characteristics: grand coalition, mutual veto, proportionality and segmental autonomy. These characteristics would provide some autonomy to minority groups to handle their own affairs and take part in the national decision-making process. However, Lijphart's consociational model is criticized based on the unsustainability of grand coalitions in the midst of heightened political tensions and a situation where elite motivation for accommodation does not exist (Horowitz, 1985, 1993).

1996). In Turkish studies on the Kurdish question, this literature corresponds with inquiries on the Kurdish nationalist movement and its moderation or radicalization through ethno-political activists' participation in electoral politics. Kurdish nationalism and the Turkish state's response have even been compared to European cases, such as the Scottish case (see Watts, 2006; Somer, 2008; Tezcür, 2010). My research is about dynamic party competition; therefore, I put more emphasis on the next theme; i.e., political party engineering and electoral engineering.

In terms of political party engineering, Reilly (2006) argues that the literature shifts from constitutional reforms to structuring political parties, and new democracies become the most influential innovators in this field. Reilly (2006) identifies three strategies that sustain broad-based parties by providing examples from nine new democracies. Firstly, in order to reduce political fragmentation, institutional designs have been changed. Secondly, parties broaden their organizational base and restructure from the top down. Lastly, external interventions from non-governmental organizations and international organizations that aim to promote democracy become crucial to channeling ethnic conflict into the political level by providing assistance for establishing political party organizations. Some of the attempts are successful in decreasing the ethnic tension; however, each attempt can come with its cost. However, Liaras (2009) argues that a change in electoral formula does not lead to a change in party system in Turkey, Guyana, Northern Ireland and Sri Lanka. Thus, the three strategies mentioned by Reilly do not actually solve ethnic conflicts in those countries. Yet, Liaras (2009) suggests a discussion on extra-institutional instruments, such as elite cooptation, rather than electoral formulas would be fruitful in rebuilding a divided society.

Besides political party engineering, electoral engineering constitutes an important dimension in managing ethnic conflict. The rules of the game determine the outcome. The debate between Lijphart and Horowitz on which electoral system reinforces consolidation of democracy by solving ethnic conflicts in divided societies heightened the importance of the issue. On the one hand, Lijphart (2012) analyzes 36 democracies between 1945 and 2010 and argues that consensus democracy within a parliamentary regime and proportional representation performs better than presidential and plurality systems do. Especially in divided societies, where achieving peaceful coexistence is a necessity, various groups should be represented in the decision-making process, which

enables conciliation and compromise and fosters territorial consolidation. Such a power-sharing model can be implemented effectively in parliamentary and proportional systems than others (Lijphart, 2006: 81–83). On the other hand, Horowitz (1985) claims that the post-election coalitions are mostly unstable in proportional representation systems; and, in order to force parties to become more moderate and generate a consensus in the system, the alternative vote in large, multi-member districts should be introduced. In this discussion, interestingly, recent research reveals the conflict-reducing effect of proportional representation (Saideman, Lanoue, Campenni and Stanton, 2002; Huber, 2012; Mitchell, 2014).

Electoral competition. This literature concentrates on the role ethnic identities play in voting behavior during electoral competitions, as well as the dynamics of electoral competition among multi-ethnic parties in which the most underlying dimension of the policy space is ethnicity.

Ethnic identities can be useful for mobilizing voters, which escalates the electoral competition. Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010) show that the reduction in the salience of class and occupational identities results in voters' increasing ethnic identification in Africa. Their research, which is based on 22 public opinion surveys in ten African countries, provides strong evidence on the functionality of ethnic identities in African electoral competitions. Similarly, Birnir (2007b) argues that, in new democracies ethnic diversity has a stabilizing impact on voter behavior. She differentiates diversity based on race, religion and language. A cross-sectional analysis of first elections in all new democracies since 1945 and an individual analysis in Bulgaria reveal that linguistic diversity is more effective than religious and racial diversity in stabilizing early voting behavior. In contrast to the dominant literature's argument on the sincere voting behavior of ethnic party supporters, Chandra (2009) demonstrates that in a patronage democracy – India – scheduled caste voters act strategically and split their votes across elections by performing election results analysis, survey data analysis and an ethnographic study. Therefore, ethnic identities do not pose a threat to democratic systems and ethnic parties can easily adapt the democratic rules and become a part of the electoral competition.

The second dominant theme is about testing "the ethnic outbidding thesis"; i.e., once ethnic parties emerge in a political system, in order to attract more votes, it is

predicted that ethnic parties will pursue extremist policies that induce centrifugal forces to the electoral system (Rabushka and Shepsle, 1972). However, Zuber (2013) argues that ethnic parties are not destined to ethnic outbidding. On the contrary, ethnic parties defending the interests of Hungarians and Bosnians in Serbia implement a wide range of strategies within and across ethnic groups, although the institutional environment induces outbidding. Moreover, Northern Ireland's case is particularly analyzed by scholars from this perspective. Mitchell, Evans and O'Leary (2009) argue that, although the support for extreme parties in Northern Ireland has increased since 2003, nationalists' and unionists' attitudes converge. This result implies that voters defend their ethno-nationalist interests without creating polarization in the system. The authors explain this situation with power-sharing institutions' effectiveness at inhibiting outbidding. Similarly, Coakley (2009) analyzes different stages of ethnic competition in Ireland and concludes that ethnic outbidding is just a phase amid party evolution that can be easily warded off, introducing a power-sharing institutional set up.

Ethno-territorial literature is significantly supported by regionalist party research, which is due to different research traditions, a sign of "continental divide" (Jeffrey, 2009). European tradition concentrates on "territorial social mobilization," whereas much US literature deals with the impact of institutions on regional parties (Jeffrey, 2009: 641). This divide in research traditions also reflects on the methodological perspectives. As Jeffrey (2009) argued, institutional perspectives are studied in a comparative analysis across space and time but sociological perspectives are employed in case studies. I argue that the main reason of this divide arises from the fact that the US tradition analyzes the regionalist parties; however, the European tradition deals with a much intricate phenomenon – ethno-territorial parties. This prefix highlights ethnicity and, when ethnic demands enter into the picture, the dimension of political competition changes. Moreover, I think this continental divide is replaced with a merge of institutional and sociological perspectives that aims to explain the ethno-territorial party evolution.

I categorize ethno-territorial party literature in the following way; first, I point out the case studies' contribution to illuminate the ideological evolution of ETPs in electoral competition. Secondly, I divide the cross-sectional studies into two groups:

studies that focus on institutional and sociological variables and studies that examine the dynamics of inter-party competition in order to explain the success of ETPs.

Case studies on ethno-territorial parties integrate many analyses from the impact of institutional and sociological variables to the formation of ethno-territorial parties' manifestos with an aim to grasp the evolution of ETPs. Sandri (2012) argues that the Union Valdotaine, an ethno-territorial party representing a French-speaking community in the Alpine region, altered its focal point from linguistic claims to ethnic issues in its ideological program for two strategic reasons. Firstly, the boundaries of linguistic minorities are becoming less clear due to structural changes in the society; secondly, the party wanted to remain a strong competitor in the electoral arena by claiming ownership of an ethnic issue. The Union Valdotaine's strategic behavior to secure its political survival has turned the party from niche to a catch-all party (Sandri, 2012). The same pattern is observed for Plaid Cymru in Wales and the Bloque Nacionalista Galago in Galicia (Elias, 2009). Both parties' programs have become less nationalistic and more ideologically sophisticated due to different reasons. The multi-level political and institutional context forced Plaid Cymru to become more moderate; whereas, in the Bloque Nacionalista Galago's case, the drive for change arose from the regional competition. However, Elias (2009) argues that both parties cannot be considered niche parties any longer. To foresee the future of Belgian federalism via analyzing manifestos, Dandoy, Matagne and Wynsberghe (2013) examine the patterns of party preferences regarding the long-term evolution of Belgian institutions. They find that the manifestos of the 2007 and 2010 federal elections are shaped around four themes that basically reveal the country's linguistic cleavage; which, because it is highly salient, creates the "disagreement on the adequate devolutions of competences, and overall institutional equilibrium, as well as new and uncertain intergovernmental relations, [which] threaten the capacity of decision making of the federation, creating a joint-decision trap problem" (Dandoy et al., 2013: 348). Likewise, De Witner, Swyngedouw and Dumont (2006) analyze the Belgian party system in order to understand if party fragmentation emanates from the electoral system or socio-demographic and attitudinal variables, which is a sign of ethno-territorial voting. In this sense, they examine both Flemish and Walloon voters' characteristics with a multinomial logistic regression and conclude that, although the left–right dimension still matters for the Walloon electorates, among the Flemish electorate the salient

issues are political alienation and ethnocentrism. In terms of electoral system, the formation of a federal structure has not led to stable regional party systems. As for operationalizing decentralization on three levels, Cole (2006) analyzes the role of decentralization in structuring identity-based territorial mobilization in the regions of Brittany and Corsica in France. He finds little evidence on the impact of decentralization and argues that, even in Brittany, the existing French political parties rather than ETPs own the issue and integrate the interests of the region in their political agenda. Except for Corsica, French ethno-territorial movements are unable to shape institutional responses.

Cross-sectional studies of ETPs aim to explain the determinants of ETPs' vote share: the first group of studies combines institutional and sociological variables, while the second group concentrates on inter-party competition. In contrast to Jeffrey's (2009) classification of institutional and sociological approaches as two different trends, my literature review showed a different pattern. I find a tendency in the recent literature that scholars employ both institutional and sociological factors to determine the electoral results for ETPs. In this sense, Tronconi (2006) examines 24 parties in 17 regions belonging to five countries since 1945 and explains the success of ETPs with cultural and economic factors as well as the structure of party competition. He operationalizes cultural factor as the spread of minority language, status of minority language, religion, geo-ethnic (dispersion of the minorities in regions) and history of the region. Economic factors are operationalized in two ways: per capita income and share of GDP produced by the region. In his third regression model, Tronconi adds four components of structure of party competition that indicate the electoral system and elasticity of votes. His results reveal that cultural factors matter and the relationship between the economy and support for ETPs are positive. The only variable that has no influence upon the ETPs' success is the disproportionality of the system. By using cultural and economic factors and additionally, ETPs have easy access to patronage resources as a political factor. Gordin (2001) analyzes the success of 12 ETPs in six Western European democracies through Boolean analysis and concludes that the role of proportional representation in the success of ETPs is uncertain, whereas regional language better predicts the success of ETPs. Brancati (2008) draws evidence from a statistical analysis of 37 democracies that decentralization increases the strength of regionalist parties even when regional cleavages and institutional effects

are controlled. Her analysis provides significant evidence on the decreasing effects of presidentialism, fiscal decentralization, majority system, election concurrency and cross-regional voting laws on the strength of regionalist parties. De Winter (1998) compares 12 ETPs and also confirms that electoral systems have no influence but the strength of ethno-national identity, the strength of party organization and leadership resources have an impact on determining the success of ETPs.

The second theme in the ethno-territorial party success literature is associated with the relations between ethno-territorial parties and mainstream or statewide parties in terms of the perceptions of decentralization and the dimensions of electoral manifestos. Toubeau and Wagner (2015) explain party positions of statewide parties on decentralization. They take decentralization as a multidimensional concept and operationalize it on the basis of material and pre-material values. Additionally, the authors consider the impact of contextual factors, which include degree of regional self-rule, regional economic disparity, regionally based ethnic groups and regionalist party ideology. Their multi-level linear regression model on 31 democracies reveals that "parties on the economic right are more supportive of decentralization than parties on the economic left, while culturally liberal parties favor decentralization more than culturally conservative parties" (Toubeau and Wagner, 2015: 97). In terms of individual country context, they find that the higher the disparity among regions and the level of self-rule, the higher the likelihood that statewide parties pursue decentralization policies. Also, if regionalist parties take the same economic position as statewide parties, the authors observe that statewide parties pursue an accommodative strategy to counter the thread coming from regionalist parties. Moreover, Dandoy and Sandri (2007) provide a systematic and multi-dimensional comparison of ETP families with other party families based on electoral manifestos. In their research, they explore the evolution of three main dimensions in ethno-territorial parties' ideology: self-government, left–right cleavage and European integration in four countries from 1945 to 2003. After calculating the percentage of references given to the self-government dimension by each party family and locating parties on the left–right dimension, for each graph they draw tendency curves. Dandoy and Sandri (2007) trace back the evolution of these three dimensions in party manifestos by concluding that ETPs are the owners of decentralization issue; on the left–right scale, though ETPs are all over the space, they tend to locate on the center-

left. Lastly, on average, ETPs dedicate more positive attention to European integration than other party families.

Meguid (2008)'s seminal work[20] also shows how ethno-territorial parties' electoral vote share is determined by mainstream parties' strategies. In multivariate analyses, she examines the impact of institutional factors (district magnitude, proportionality of the electoral system and state structure), sociological factors (relative regional GDP/capita and relative regional unemployment) and mainstream parties' strategic behavior (accommodative, dismissive or adversarial) on the ETPs' vote share. As a reminder,[21] Meguid (2008) operationalizes ETPs on the basis of their demand for regional autonomy and consider mainstream parties' positions as either supporting these demands (accommodative) or rejecting decentralization demands (adversarial)– and avoiding the issue altogether (dismissive). The main idea of her theory is that ETPs are particularly vulnerable to the manipulation of issue salience and ownership by mainstream parties. Her analysis reveals that the behavior of mainstream parties is critical to determine ETPs' fortune. Moreover, her findings reveal that, in proportional representation systems, the vote share of ETPs tends to be lower and ETPs have higher votes in regions that have a higher GDP per capita than the national average. Therefore, these three studies provide strong evidence that ETPs' success influences and is influenced by mainstream or statewide parties.

2.2 Review of History and Social Structure of the Turkish Political System, Kurdish Issue and the Initiation of the Kurdish Opening-up Process

2.2.1 Basic Information about Turkish Political System and Democratization

In the previous sections, I covered the characteristics of party competition and voter behavior. Because I comprehensively analyze voting behavior in Chapter Four and the dimensionality of policy space and party competition in Turkey in Chapter Five, in this section I briefly introduce Turkey's political system.

Although Turkey is a second-wave democracy because its transition to democracy happened in the late 1940s through the introduction of multiparty politics, most of the

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[20] I dwell upon the details and implementations of Meguid's PSO theory in Chapter Five.
[21] For the basic definitions of the Position, Salience and Ownership theory developed by Meguid (2008), please see pages 30-2.

macro-level studies in democratization literature consider Turkey an example of third-wave democracy (Özbudun, 2000). The main reason is that Turkish democracy was interrupted three times – 1960, 1971[22], and 1980 – by military interventions that ended up rewriting the country's Constitution and changing electoral rules. As a result of the last military intervention in 1980, all political parties were banned. Under the 1982 Constitution, excessive powers were bestowed upon the executive branch, and a new official ideology called *Turkish-Islamic Synthesis* was promoted by the National Security Council.[23] All these changes not only reshaped the dynamics of Turkish politics but also transformed Turkish society deeply, which can be considered a reason why Turkey is included among the third-wave democracies in some studies.

The Turkish party system is comparable with both established democracies to a certain degree of exceptionalism and new democracies. Due to the existence of political parties, constitutionalism and the rule of law for more than a century, Turkey shows similar patterns in party development with established democracies. However, electoral volatility, fragmentation and polarization of the political system during the 1990s provide a basis for the comparison to new democracies.

Although Turkey has been able to break down "some of its overwhelmingly statist, bureaucratically-dominated political culture," the state's capacity still overshadows the "decision-making process than in any other Western democracy" (Rubin, 2002: 1). Also, Turkey managed to develop a stronger independent civil society; however, the political parties have not significantly contributed to this development because "they did not envision benefiting from it, and their own structures generally remain top-down and closed to new personalities or ideas" (Rubin, 2002: 1).

I identify five stages of party development in Turkey. The first stage traces back to the beginning of the twentieth century, before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In the Second Constitutional Era (1908–1922), the country's first political parties were

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[22] The 1971 military intervention was a coup by memorandum. The period between 1971 and 1973 can be seen as a semi-military regime.

[23] The aim of the National Security Council [NSC] was to provide unity and integrity and to promote social order by uniting society with Turkish nationalism and Islamic notions. NSC was created after the 1960 military intervention, which created "a double headed political system: the civilian council of ministers coexisted with the national security council on the executive level, and the military system of justice continued to operate independently alongside the civilian justice system" (Sakallioglu, 1997:157). In this sense, the NSC is considered a sign of the military's control over civilian politics. In 2003, Turkish parliament curbed the role of the military via changing the structure and the duties of the NSC under the seventh reform package in order to fulfill the requirements of the Copenhagen criteria.

established, elections were held and parties organized, even in the provincial small towns, "by the recruitment of local notables and by the systematic usage of patronage and economic regulation" (Rustow, 1966: 117). The second era started with the proclamation of the Republic in 1923 until the introduction of multi-party system in 1945. The founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, established the Republican People's Party [CHP]. Although there were attempts to introduce a multi-party system in 1924 and 1930 due to the regime's permission of limited pluralism, the first opposition party was established in 1945 – the Democrat Party [DP] competed in the 1946 elections under the plurality system with multiple-member electoral constituencies.

The third stage started in the aftermath of the 1960 military intervention, which changed the electoral system to proportional representation. This change led to the proliferation of parties in the Turkish parliament as well as polarization and fragmentation. The Justice Party, heir of the DP and the CHP, which were located, respectively, at the right and left of the center, and minor extremist parties also managed to enter the Turkish parliament, such as the far-right Nationalist Action Party and the Marxist Turkish Labor Party. Moreover, with the entrance of the first pro-Islamist party, the National Salvation Party, into the parliament in 1973, religiosity appeared as one of the issue cleavages in Turkish politics. Due to heightened tensions between the left and right ideologies, the military intervened in 1980. In the following four-year period, the military's institutional project introduced a 10% threshold in the electoral system in order to prevent smaller parties entry to the parliament and stabilize the formation of a majoritarian government. Although these policies prevented fragmentation in the Turkish political system during the 1980s, in the fourth stage of party development during the 1990s, the party system became polarized and fragmented and minority party government formations became common. Since all the previous parties were closed down, new parties emerged from the center-left[24] and center-right. The most important consequence of the 1980 military intervention that has had an impact on today's Turkish politics was the military's support of the Turkish Islamic Synthesis. This project planted the seeds of religious cleavage into the society.

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[24] The Democratic Left Party and the Social Democratic Populist Party are both located on the left and competed with the CHP. On the center-right, the closure of Justice Party led to the emergence of two parties, the Motherland Party and the True Path Party.

With the 2002 elections, the Turkish party system underwent another major transformation, which can be seen as the fifth stage. Sayari (2012: 188) argues that "this time, rather than the political engineering strategies of the military regimes, the main source of change was the shifting electoral preferences of voters." The Justice and Development Party [AKP], as a newly established party rooted in the Turkish Islamist movement, managed to garner 35% of votes and formed the government, while CHP entered the parliament as the second party. Apart from those two parties, Kurdish independents were able to gain only six seats in the parliament. In order to bypass the 10% national threshold barrier, Kurdish nationalists ran in the elections as independent candidates because they garnered enough votes in their electoral districts "to qualify for seats under the d'Hondt largest average formula" (Sayari, 2012: 187).

Since the 2007 elections, the pro-Islamist AKP, the center-left CHP, the Turkish nationalists (the far-right Nationalist Action Party [MHP]) and the Kurdish bloc have been represented in the Turkish parliament, which has led to the stabilization of the party system. In my research, although I concentrate on the period between 2009 and 2011, I analyze the party system institutionalization after the 2002 elections with a special reference to the 2011 election results.

2.2.2 Why Apply Ethno-Territorial Party instead of Ethnic Party Conceptualization in Turkey?

New democracies' experiences of cleavage formation diverge from Western European democracies. Ethnic parties have emerged as a result of decentralization policies, along with simultaneous nationalization policies in Latin America and in post-Communist democracies, whose ethnic identities emerged after long periods of suppression.

The question to be asked, then, is why apply the ethno-territorial party concept but not that of ethnic parties to Turkey? I put forward two basic reasons for applying the ethno-territorial party concept to the Turkish case: the similarity of political cleavage formation processes along with nation-building and the nature of my research question, which can only be tackled with ethno-territorial party literature's guidance.

Firstly, I argue that the pattern of nationalization and entrenchment of political cleavages in the Turkish party system resembles the Western European experience to a certain extent. This topic is taken up in Chapter Four to analyze the voter

composition; however, I introduce the Turkish case in order to show to what extent the cleavage formation and nationalization process converge with the Western European cases.

In their seminal work, Lipset and Rokkan (1967) identify two dimensions of cleavage structures in Western democracies, territorial-cultural and functional, and these two cleavage dimensions produce four axes of political expressions. Territorial-cultural cleavages that are center-periphery and state versus church are products of the national revolutions in Western Europe. Along the territorial axis, "the conflict between the central nation-building culture and the increasing resistance of the ethnically, linguistically and religiously distinct subject populations in the provinces and the peripheries" and along the functional axis, which "cut across the territorial units of the nation, the conflict between centralizing, standardizing and mobilizing nation state and the historically established corporate privileges of the church" (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967: 10 & 14). The other two cleavages are rural vs. urban cleavages and working class versus the owners of capital emanates from the Industrial Revolution. The former cleavage "was centered in the commodity market" and led to the emergence of agrarian parties in countries "where strong cultural oppositions have deepened and embittered the strictly economic conflicts," whereas the latter cleavage "in the labor market proved much more uniformly divisive. Working-class parties emerged in every country of Europe in the wake of the early waves of industrialization." Because all Western European countries went through the same phase of the accumulation of working-class versus the capital owners' interests, the basic structure of party systems tend to resemble each other (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967: 21).

Lipset and Rokkan's cleavage model fits the Turkish case to a certain extent. Özbudun (2013) argues that center-periphery and church-state cleavages are also products of the nation-building process and "these cleavages have often overlapped" in Turkey. Since Turkey is a Muslim-majority country, an autonomous religious institution like the Catholic Church does not exist but the existence of a secular versus devout Muslim, combined with center- periphery cleavage, can be observed (2013: 6). Moreover, Özbudun (2013) mentions that Turkey, as a late-industrializing country, never experienced those two cleavages, which emerged as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution.

As probably the most influential work on political cleavage formation in Turkish politics literature, Mardin (1973) conceptualizes center-periphery cleavage in line with Lipset and Rokkan. Tracing back to the 19th century, Mardin (1973) argues that Turkish Republic inherited a cultural cleavage between a modernizing military, bureaucratic center and a traditionalist periphery from the Ottoman Empire. This cleavage manifested itself intensively after the introduction of multi-party regime. The CHP as the center, representing the secular principles, "was unable to establish contact with the rural masses," whereas the DP was able to mobilize the masses by establishing an appeal to Islam (Mardin, 1973: 183). Thus, "the Republican People's Party represented the "bureaucratic center," whereas the Democrat Party represented the "democratic" periphery" (Mardin, 1973: 186). However, Wuthrich (2011) challenges the feasibility of center-periphery cleavage argument in the early multi-party regime period. By providing the average vote totals by province for the CHP, Wuthrich (2011) claims that, although the central eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey, where large portions of Alevis[25] and Kurds reside, have peripheral values and peripheral socioeconomic structures, these regions constituted "the mainspring of the party's electoral support in the initial elections until 1965" (Wuthrich, 2011: 147–8). However, the reason for this electoral support can be found in traditional patron–client relations. The DP effectively used political clientelism and was able to mobilize the masses, whereas the CHP continued to rely on traditional patron–client relations by which local notables and large landowners collaborated with the party (Sayari, 2014). I think this can be interpreted as a sign that peripheral areas followed their local notables' preferences and showed regional loyalty.

I argue that, besides the resiliency of center-periphery cleavage, the cleavage between working class versus the owners of the capital emerged during the 1960s in Turkish politics due to a change in electoral system and implementation of new economic policies. After the 1960 military intervention, the electoral system was changed from a simple majority system to proportional representation and two chambers were established. Although this newly introduced "d'Hondt with barrage system"[26] produced fairer results than a simple majority system for the lower house

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[25] Instead of using Alawites, I use the name Alevi in the thesis because Alawites refers to the distinct group of the Arabic speaking Alawites of Syria.

[26] The electoral threshold is determined by dividing the total number of valid votes cast in the constituency by the number of seats to be filled.

seats, it still weighted the results in favor of bigger parties (Hale, 1980: 404). As a result, more parties entered the Turkish Grand National Assembly and diverse groups were represented, such as laborers, Alevis and independents from regions with high Kurdish populations. [27] Secondly, with the introduction of import-substitution industrialization policies, the formation of a bourgeoisie and accumulation of private capital was achieved (Keyder, 1987). The economy grew vigorously on an average of 6.7% between 1963 and 1977 (Cecen, Dogruel and Dogruel, 1994). Also, during the 1960s and 1970s, labor became well organized and increasingly militant because the 1961 Constitution granted extensive organizational rights to workers. All these developments led to the emergence of a cleavage between labor and bourgeoisie.

In his analysis of the 1960s and 1970s economic developments in Turkey and the reflections of these developments on Turkish politics, Bulutay (1970) argues that political parties also went under a revision in terms of their ideological stances. The CHP transformed itself into a social democratic party, whereas the predecessor of the Democrat Party – the Justice Party – took The Federal Republic of Germany's Christian Democrat party as an example in its ideological formation. Furthermore, Kitschelt and Kselman (2013) analyze the relationship between economic development, democratic experience and political parties' linkage strategies in 88 countries through the Democratic Accountability Expert Survey. Their research reveals that an increase in per capita income and democratic experience show curvilinear relationships with the existence of clientelism. In other words, clientelism tends to prevail when a country moves from low to intermediate levels of democracy and economic development. In the same way, their results show that an increase in economic development and exposure to international economy also leads to the emergence of programmatic linkages between voters and parties. To implement these findings in a Turkish context brings out a clear picture. After the introduction of a multi-party regime, political parties employed clientelistic strategies to establish linkages with the voters. Nevertheless, as the economic development was produced and the changes in electoral system were introduced, new cleavages emerged that

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[27] The Workers' Party of Turkey was established in 1961. The party gained almost 3% of national votes and won 15 seats in 1965 and 12 seats in 1969 elections in the parliament. The party was banned after the 1971 military intervention but was re-established and gained seats in the parliament in the 1977 elections. However, the party was closed down after the 1980 military intervention.
The Unity Party, which was an Alevi Turkish party, existed from 1966 until the 1980 military intervention. The party managed to enter the parliament in the 1969, 1973 and 1977 elections.

propelled political parties to establish democratic networks with voters via party programs.

After the 1980 military intervention, the Turkish political scene converged more from a Western European experience to a Latin American experience, which also constitutes a reason for scholars to take Turkey as an example of third-wave democracies. With the introduction of a 10% electoral threshold; the enactment of the 1982 Constitution, which curbed the power of legislation and bestowed more power to the executive in order to create political stability; the ban of all former political parties; and the implementation of neo-liberal policies, the Turkish political system experienced many fluctuations in terms of polarization and fragmentation of the party system. The official promotion of the Turkish Islamic synthesis, centrist and traditionalist values were articulated into the Islamic parties beginning in the mid-1980s; this reshaped the cleavage structure in the politics. Also, Kurdish identity radicalized and turned into an armed struggle. In this time period, "in their quest for employment and better material conditions, millions of migrants from the villages and small towns in Anatolia have moved to the large cities in the West" (Sayari, 2014: 6). These newcomers settled in the periphery of the cities and built shantytowns; their main concern became the receipt municipal services (electricity, transportation, roads) and legal ownership of the houses that they built on public land. This was obviously an opportunity for the political parties to expand their voter base. Via establishing clientelistic networks, pro-Islamist parties managed to become the representatives of the low-income neighborhoods in the major cities (Sayari, 2014). The center-periphery cleavages that integrated into the left–right dimension in the 1960s started to dissolve and turned into a secular versus Islamist cleavage, namely "left–right *alla Turca"* (Carkoglu, 2012a: 161).

Traditionally, the left–right dimension in Western democracies is related to socio-economic issues. The parties on the right support private ownership of the means of production and less governmental control over the functioning of the market, while parties on the left support the opposite and are interested in more redistribution of wealth. However, in the Turkish context these terms "refer to a cultural-religious dimension" (Özbudun, 2013: 53). The right presents conservative, religious and nationalist values, whereas the left stands for secularism. Özbudun (2013) argues that the socio-economic positioning of the parties also does not resemble the conventional

meaning of the left–right cleavage. The center-right, conservative and Islamist parties have always showed sensitivity to the low-income groups' demands (Özbudun, 2013). However, it must be noted that leftist parties in Turkey pursue socio-economic policies on redistribution of wealth and states interference in economic regulations. Interestingly, rightist parties defend conventional rightist socio-economic ideology in tandem with establishing clientelistic relations with lower-income groups. The meaning of the left–right dimension, in the Turkish context, will be taken up extensively in Chapter Five.

In the course of Turkish political history, Kurdish identity has always been resilient, but it grew into an armed struggle after the 1980 military intervention. This identity has partly been assimilated and integrated into center-periphery and later a left–right dimension *alla Turca* during the nation-building process; however, the quest for Kurdish identity recognition gained its momentum in the 1990s. Therefore, analyzing the Turkish political system from a Western European style of cleavage formation would be more appropriate to understand the dynamics in Turkish party competition.

Secondly, my research question is related to the interaction of mainstream parties and an ethno-territorial party, which cannot be explained by the guidance of ethnic party literature because this literature involves multi-ethnic party competition and its impact on democratization processes in countries where ethnicity constitutes the most salient dimension in politics. Nevertheless, in this research, the Kurdish issue on the pro-Turkish versus pro-Kurdish dimension constitutes the second salient dimension in Turkish politics. The parties competing on this dimension are the Nationalist Action Party [MHP] and the Peace and Democracy Party [BDP]; however, MHP cannot be solely identified as an ethnic party. MHP shows characteristics of both mainstream and ethnic parties and can change its party profile by manipulating issue salience. In this sense, the dynamics in multi-ethnic party competition cannot be implemented into Turkish party competition. Furthermore, Kurds in Turkey have already integrated into the left–right *alla Turca* dimension and their votes are mostly divided between the pro-Islamist party and the pro-Kurdish party. Secondly, between 2009 and 2011, the Kurdish party fit into the characteristics of an ethno-territorial party. Kurds in Turkey are mostly populated in one region except in major cities; due to this regional concentration, independent candidates from the region are able to enter the parliament as deputies. Also, the Kurdish party mainly demands territorial autonomy. In such a

system, employing ethno-territorial party literature provides an advantage for my research to tackle the Kurdish voting patterns and party competition in Turkey in general.

2.2.3 Kurdish Issue in Turkey

In this section, firstly, the road that goes to the Kurdish opening up is evaluated through the Kurdish identity formation and the policies of the Turkish state in the country's history from the late Ottoman Empire period to the moment that the opening-up process started in 2009. Secondly, I examine the events of the Kurdish opening up and review the literature on what the AKP government has succeeded or failed to achieve with its policies in this process.

2.2.3.1 Kurdish identity formation and the policies of the Turkish state

"The resolution of the problem of ethnic conflict depends on the definition of the problem" (Horowitz, 1985: 356).

The scholars concentrating on the Kurdish question via Kurdish identity formation or Turkish states way of handling the issue agree upon two causes of the issue: nation-state building and weakness of the Turkish democracy or the Turkish state's repressive policies (Köker, 2010: Yavuz, 2001; Ergil, 2000; Tezcür[28], 2009; Mosseau, 2012; Gürbey, 2000; Saatci, 2002; Gunter, 2007)[29]. Although Tezcür (2009) argues that analyzing Kurdish nationalism as a reaction to Turkish nationalism or as a consequence of violent state policies underestimates Kurdish identity formation, I think the evolution of the Kurdish identity cannot be examined without considering Turkish nationalism. For instance, Yavuz (2001: 11) argues that "one of the most unexpected outcomes of the PKK[30] campaign was the deepening politicization of Turkish nationalism." Therefore, both nationalisms evolve together through constant interaction that is partly shaped by the Turkish state's policies.

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[28] Although Tezcür (2009) agrees the main problem lies with the Turkish state's repressive policies, he opens up discussions on to what extent the Kurdish question can be understood via the dichotomies of ethnic vs. civic nationalism, state vs. society.

[29] Some scholars reject the argument that the Turkish state employed assimilationist and repressive policies towards Kurds. For instance, Heper (2007) argues that "the periods of relative peace and quiet in the state-Kurd relationship" cannot be explained by the existing literature. Turkish nationalism as civic nationalism is supplemented by cultural nationalism" (Heper, 2007: 181–83).

[30] Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan – The Workers' Party of Kurdistan

In this section, I introduce very briefly how Kurdish cultural identity has transformed into a political identity and what kind of policies the Turkish state has pursued in four stages.[31] The first two stages (1924–1961 and 1962–1983) are taken up briefly and the last two stages (1983–1998 and 1999–2011) are analyzed with a special emphasis upon the venture of Kurdish political parties in electoral competition and the reforms introduced by the Turkish state to become a candidate for accession to the European Union.

Before introducing the stages, it is important to acknowledge that Kurdish identity cannot be seen as a monolithic identity. On the contrary, linguistic Kirmanji vs. Zaza, religious Sunni vs. Alevi and regional Western and Eastern differences, and class identities within Kurdish identity have prevented Kurds from achieving unity. For instance, "Islam has been both a unifying and dividing force among the Kurds" (Yavuz, 2001: 4). Secular reforms have been strongly supported by Alevi Kurds, and later this group established the foundations of leftist ideology in Turkey, whereas the Sunni Kurds have always been mobilized by the Islamic movements and parties.

Kurds constitute 18.3% of the total population in Turkey. 66% of the Kurdish population resides in the southeastern and eastern parts of Turkey and 18% lives in Istanbul (KONDA, 2010: 19–20).[32] The Kurdish region has been economically impoverished compared to the other regions of Turkey and has also kept the traces of tribal structures.

The origins of the Kurdish issue can be traced to the last years of the Ottoman Empire. The centralization of the Ottoman Empire since 1826 affected the Kurdish region intensively, which weakened the tribal ties; but, in return, centralization policies resulted in the politicization of the Islamic networks, such as the Naqshbandi order.

Because Kurdish religious and tribal leaders had derived their autonomy from the twin institutions of the Sultanate and the Caliphate, the abolition of these institutions

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[31] I borrow this timeline from Yavuz's (2001) construction of five stages of Kurdish nationalism, but I omit the first stage, which describes the Ottoman Empire's period.

[32] KONDA – the Public Opinion Research and Consultancy Company. Its report on Rethinking the Kurdish Issue is retrieved from
http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/2010_12_KONDA_Kurt_Meselesini_Yeniden_Dusunmek.pdf.

removed the temporal and spiritual basis of their legitimacy, which led to Turkish Republic outlaw all public manifestations of Kurdish identity" (Entessar, 1992: 83).

During the 1924–1961 period, as a reaction to the secular policies of the Turkish state, three major Kurdish rebellions took place that aimed to preserve the religiously sanctioned tribal structure of the region. However, some scholars take these rebellions as the first Kurdish nationalist rebellions, which were the revolts to establish an independent Kurdish state (see Entessar, 1992). Yavuz (2001: 4) states that Turkish state employed three competing policies to maintain the connection with the region:

> a) policy of assimilation by breaking down tribal structure, which usually resulted in armed rebellion; b) policy of co-optation of tribal leaders with the purpose of controlling these unruly regions; and c) a policy of divide and rule using one tribe against another.

In this period, Turkishness was constructed as modern and secular; however, without a reference to Kurdishness. Indeed, the region and its tribal structure were condemned as backward and traditional by the Turkish state.

The milestone of the Kurdish identity's secularization happened in the second period, between 1962 and 1983, after the 1960 military intervention. Due to the relative freedom that was provided by the 1961 Constitution, both Turkish and Kurdish leftist intelligentsia emerged. For the first time, Kurdish identity was openly recognized by the Worker's Party of Turkey. The most important development for the Kurdish identity was the establishment of the Revolutionary Cultural Society of the East, which aimed to raise Kurdish consciousness. The ideology of this organization combined Kurdish nationalism and Marxism. However, both the Worker's Party of Turkey and the Revolutionary Cultural Society of the East were outlawed in 1971 by coup by memorandum. It must be noted that, during this period, leftist groups were diverse, fragmented, and ideologically incongruent. For instance, Kurds argued the struggle for Kurdish nationalism and the socialist revolution should be pursued simultaneously. Adversely, the Turkish left argued that socialism should precede ethnic recognition. However, these leftist circles trained and constituted the core cadre of the future Kurdish movement's leaders, such as Öcalan.

The PKK was established in 1974 by a small group of university students in Ankara. The main drive for the organization was to gain official recognition of Kurdish language and cultural rights. The ideology of the PKK blended with Marxism-Leninism and Kurdish nationalism with an ultimate aim of uniting all Kurds in the Middle East and establishing an independent and classless Kurdistan. The 1980 military intervention stopped the activities of the PKK.

The third stage, 1983–1998, is marked by two developments: (1) enactment of new laws restricting the freedom of speech after the 1980 military intervention; (2) political violence by the PKK and the Turkish state's reactions to the pressing Kurdish issue; (3) the participation of Kurdish parties in electoral competition and the response of political parties to the Kurdish question. This crucial stage has not only changed the dynamics between Kurdish nationalism and the Turkish state but also redefined the parameters of the Kurdish question in the 21stcentury.

The laws that restricted the freedoms of speech and association with regard to the Kurdish question after the 1980 military intervention can be found on three grounds: the Political Parties Act of 1983 (Articles 81/82), the Language Ban-Act of 1983 and the Anti-Terrorism Act of 1991. In the Political Parties Act, according to articles 81 and 82, political parties must not claim the existence of minorities in the Turkish territory based on differences in national origin, religious culture, ethnicity or language. Also, they must not aim to create minorities by fostering, developing and disseminating other languages and cultures that would endanger the integrity of the nation. Moreover, political parties must not pursue regionalist or racist goals in an indivisible political unit[33]. In the 1990s, the first two Kurdish parties were closed down by the Constitutional Court based on violations of these articles. The Language Ban Act also promoted the Turkish language and illegalized speaking Kurdish, even in private. This Act was lifted in 1991 and replaced by the Anti-Terrorism Act.[34] Article 8 of this Act has forbidden written and oral propaganda and assemblies, meetings and demonstrations aimed at damaging the indivisible unity of the Turkish Republic with its territory and nation. The provisions of the Anti-Terrorism Act have eliminated the

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[33] Retrieved from http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.2820.pdf – the website of the General Directorate of Legislation Development and Publication –Turkish Prime Ministry Office.
[34] The Anti-Terrorism Act was published in the Official Gazette on 12 April 1991. Retrieved from http://www.opbw.org/nat_imp/leg_reg/turkey/anti-terror.pdf.

possibility of discussing the Kurdish question openly because "any discussion runs the risk of being prosecuted as propaganda against the inseparable unity of territory and nation" (Gülbey, 2000: 63).

The political environment after the 1980 military intervention, which destroyed the legal expressions of the Kurds, instigated the political violence of the PKK. In 1984, PKK launched first strikes and, from that time on, more than 30,000 people have lost their lives in the clashes between PKK militants and the Turkish Armed Forces (Ergil, 2000). During this period, the PKK started distancing itself from Marxist-Leninist principles but embraced more ethno-nationalistic objectives. The PKK even established an Islamic, Kurdish nationalistic group called the Islamic Party of Kurdistan and struggled to integrate Islamic Kurds into the movement. Cakir (2010) interprets such a development as a leap from 'class' to 'nation' perception.

The Turkish state declared a Regional State of Emergency Governorate in Kurdish-inhabited zones in 1987 that lasted until 2002. The regions under the enforcement of this state of emergency were not subject to the supervision of the Constitutional Court and were subject to a different legal rule, which also led to unfair treatment of the Kurdish people in the region. Moreover, the state pursued many strategies in order to maintain contact with the Kurds in the region, such as co-opting local elites through parliamentary politics, economic packages, stressing Islam's role as the binding element in the society and also introducing a village guard system.[35] As a result, many Kurds in the region became allies with the Turkish state by religion, interest, loyalty or fear. In response, the PKK attacked the pro-state Kurdish villages and killed many village guards to intimidate the Kurds, who established an alliance with the Turkish state in the region.

The first Kurdish party in the 1990s People's Labor Party [HEP] was established in 1990 and gained 22 seats in 1991 elections via an electoral alliance with the Social Democratic Populist Party [SHP]. However, the HEP deputies left the coalition with SHP and, in 1993, the party was banned by the Constitutional Court due to its promotion of Kurdish cultural and political rights. The party was succeeded by the Party of Democracy [DEP], which was also closed down by the Constitutional Court.

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[35] The Kurdish villagers entering this system helped the state fight against the PKK in exchange for a salary.

Both parties highlighted that the Kurdish issue can only be solved through peaceful and democratic reforms; however, both parties failed to offer concrete solutions. Moreover, Kirisci and Winrow (1997) argue that some of the DEP deputies showed intolerance towards the Kurds in other political parties and accused those Kurds as the betrayers of the Kurdish cause.

The People's Democracy Party [HADEP] was founded in 1994 after the closure of the DEP. HADEP followed a much more moderate path on the Kurdish question and maintained its distance from the PKK so that the party received more than 20% of votes from the Kurdish region; however, it performed poorly in the western cities. Due to the 10% threshold, the party did not manage to enter the parliament. As a result, HADEP officials received a tender from the pro-PKK 'parliament-in-exile' to join the movement, but they turned down the offer and sought an alliance with socialist parties (Kirisci and Winrow, 1997). Nevertheless, in 1996 at a party congress, the Turkish flag was lowered and replaced by the PKK flag, which led to the arrest of all HADEP members. As a result, the party was banned by the Constitutional Court in 2003.

In the 1990–1999 period, political party leaders and state officials responded to the Kurdish question from different perspectives. Turgut Özal,[36] who has Kurdish roots, recognized the Kurdish question as an ethnic issue for the first time by detaching the issue from its militaristic roots. He suggested options of introducing Kurdish in education, establishing Kurdish radio and television channels, developing new economic policies for the impoverished Kurdish region and decentralizing the state through an administrative reform that would give more discretion to local administrations. Özal did not consider federalism an option because, from his point of view, most Kurdish citizens had already been integrated in west Turkey; however, he considered presidentialism an alternative to prevent a possible ethnic disintegration (Gürbey, 2000: 66). Furthermore, Özal kept contacts with HEP MPs and, later, DEP MPs and defended an open dialogue; however, his sudden death prevented the realization of any of these reforms. Later, under the leadership of Mesut Yilmaz, the Motherland Party [ANAP] fluctuated between supporting Kurdish cultural rights and

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[36] Turgut Özal was the founder of the Motherland Party (ANAP), a center right party. He was the Prime Minister of Turkey (1983–1989) and, later, the President of Turkey (1989–1993) until his sudden death. He introduced neo-liberal reforms, such as privatization of state enterprises, and integrated the Turkish economy into the market economy.

following the official state discourse. Yilmaz differentiated the Kurds involved in terrorist activities from Kurdish citizens. He described the Kurdish question as a South Anatolian problem and refused to negotiate with the PKK.

The True Path Party [DYP], which was a center-right party – conservative and economically liberal – employed the same approach as ANAP's to the Kurdish issue. In the 1960s and 1970s, the predecessor of the DYP, the Democratic Party, was able to establish an alliance with conservative Kurds residing in southeastern Turkey. However, DYP lost its vote share in the region in the 1995 elections because "the party leadership replaced some of the traditional Kurdish candidates with individuals from outside the Kurdish-populated provinces who were not of Kurdish origin" (Kirisci and Winrow, 1997: 143).

Surprisingly, the MHP – the Turkish ultra-nationalists – managed to garner 5% of votes in the 1995 elections, although the party never officially recognized the Kurdish issue as an ethnic issue. The reason for this is that "the MHP was quite popular among the Kurdish tribes that have supported the village-guard system" and, as a result, seven originally Kurdish tribes who defined themselves as 'pure Oguz Turks' joined the MHP (Kirisci and Winrow, 1997: 141).

Leftist parties of the period, namely CHP and SHP, supported the cultural rights of the Kurds by emphasizing that Turkish should remain the only official language. Those parties merged in 1995 under the CHP's banner. Nevertheless, the CHP lost its popularity in the Kurdish regions during the 1990s.

In the 1995 elections, the pro-Islamic Welfare Party [RP] gained 24% of the votes in the southeast, which was a huge success. RP was able to integrate the Islamic Kurds in its organization by promoting Islamic and anti-secular discourses. PKK nationalism was considered the enemy because the unifying force of the Kurds and Turks was based on religion. Gürbey (2000) argues that both Özal and Erbakan – the leader of the RP – recognized the Kurdish issue; however, Erbakan's approach was the Islamic version of Özal's policy on Kurds.

Therefore, the 1983–98 period can be considered hardline politics on the Kurdish question. On the one hand, political parties on both the left and right promised to lift the state of emergency in the Kurdish region, improve the region economically and

introduce cultural reforms; however, none of these promises were kept. On the other hand, Kurdish parties' lack of autonomy from the PKK and their dependent policy line "have undermined their potential to be an effective advocate of greater pluralism and democracy in Turkey" (Watts, 2010: 98).

Until the fourth stage, 1999–2011, the Kurdish question was defined predominantly on the basis of PKK's terrorist activities. However, with some developments in the international scene such as the establishment of federal Northern Iraq, the initiation of Turkey's accession period to the European Union, the alteration of domestic politics structure by the capture of the PKK leader Öcalan in 1999 and the new rising power of AKP starting with the 2002 elections, "the Kurdish problem has shifted from the military sphere to the social and political spheres" (Yavuz and Özcan, 2006: 103). With impetus coming from the European Union, the Turkish parliament enacted eight harmonization packages[37] between 2002 and 2004. These packages abolished the death penalty[38] and State Security Courts, recognized the standards of the European Court of Human Rights, revoked the Anti-Terrorism Act and reduced the military's control over politics. The third and sixth packages were related to minority rights; in particular, the Kurdish question. With the third harmonization package, "the use of different languages and dialectics traditionally used by Turkish citizens in their daily lives" in radio and television broadcasting was permitted and these languages can also be taught via private courses (Hale and Özbudun 2010: 60). Also, the Turkish state "enacted partial amnesties targeting low-ranking PKK militants in 1999, 2000, and 2003" (Tezcür, 2010: 779).

In the fourth stage, the electoral venture of the Kurdish political parties proceeded as well. After the closure of HADEP, Democratic People's Party [DEHAP] was established; again, the party did not pass the 10% threshold in the 2002 elections. In 2005, DEHAP announced its merger with the Democratic Society Movement, which was established by Leyla Zana, an important Kurdish figure, and both movements formed the Democratic Society Party [DTP]. The party wisely decided to have its

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[37] Two harmonization packages (6 February 2002 Law no. 4744 and 26 March 2002 Law no. 4771) were enacted by the coalition government of the Democratic Left Party, Nationalist Action Party and Motherland Party. The rest of the six packages (3 August 2002, 2 January 2003, 15 July 2003, 30 July 2003, 3 March 2004, and 14 July 2004) were passed by the Justice and Development Party's government.

[38] Öcalan received a death sentence, but this amendment commuted him to life imprisonment.

candidates run as independents in order to refrain from the threshold obstacle in 2007 elections and managed to enter 20 deputies to the parliament. In 2009, the Constitutional Court banned the party due to the violation of the Political Parties Act and 35 party members were banned from joining any political party for five years. The party was succeeded by the Peace and Democracy Party [BDP], which was established in 2008. This party is the first Kurdish party that was not banned or closed down by the Constitutional Court; however, BDP dissolved itself in June 2014 in order to join the People's Democratic Party [HDP]. With this formation, the Kurdish movement aimed to integrate with laborers; LGBT groups; trade unions; other ethnic identities such as Armenians; the greens; and the Alevis. In this research, because I particularly look at the 2009–2011 Kurdish opening-up process, I concentrate on the BDP's perception of the Kurdish issue and the Kurdish opening-up process.

In this period, the electoral competition between the conservative democrat AKP and the Kurdish (DTP; after 2009 BDP) party, in order to attract Kurdish votes, escalated. In line with the introduced reforms after 2002, AKP gained significant portion of the Kurdish votes in the 2007 national elections; however, in the 2009 local elections, AKP lost ground to DTP in the Kurdish regions. This vote loss indicated that the piecemeal reforms satisfied the Kurdish voters for a while but were not adequate to address the Kurdish issue. The AKP government lost a significant number of municipalities to the DTP by giving the Kurdish nationalist movement confidence and, as a result, the PKK declared a ceasefire until June 2009. While the AKP government continued its endeavor of taking the Kurdish issue within a broad perspective, Prime Minister Erdogan realized that, in order to solve the problem, further democratization for the Kurdish people would need to be embraced. Thus, the AKP government mentioned for the first time the continuation of these reforms under the name of "The Democratic Opening Process" in August 2009, which encompasses three ethnic-religious issues within Turkey: the rights of the Romani people, the rights of Alevis and the rights of the Kurdish people. Then, the AKP government prepared a special plan for its democratic opening process, which it called the Kurdish opening-up process.

2.2.3.2 Kurdish Opening-up Process 2009–2011

The process started on August 1, 2009, when the government, under the leadership of the Interior Minister Besir Atalay, held its first workshop to receive suggestions from important intellectuals, including columnists and academics on the Kurdish question. In the first stage of the Kurdish opening-up process, the government paid more attention to the cultural dimension of the issue. In this sense, in January 2009 the state-run Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation launched channel TRT-6 for broadcasting in Kurdish; private Kurdish language courses were introduced and several institutes of the Living Languages in Turkey program were introduced.

The first concrete development of the process happened in October 2009 at the Habur border. A 34-person peace group involving eight PKK members and 26 residents of the Makhmour refugee Camp in Northern Iraq entered Turkey as a sign of good will. After a huge welcoming celebration, these people were questioned by officials and later released. This was considered as the first step to support the Kurdish homecoming. Both Kurds and Turks expected the return of the PKK militants, but "this project was shelved because of the reactions against what happened at the Habur border crossing" (Cakir, 2010: 181).

The optimistic atmosphere did not last long. In December 2009, the Constitutional Court closed down the DTP and introduced a political ban for 37 party members, including the co-chairs of the party. The co-chairs, Ahmet Türk and Aysel Tugluk, interpreted this decision as "sacrificing the doves instead of the hawks" (Cakir, 2010: 187). The doves and hawks analogy stands for the radicals and moderates within the Kurdish movement. Around the same time as the closure of the party, almost "1,500 Kurdish politicians," journalists and representatives of non-governmental organizations were arrested as being members of the KCK,[39] and "almost 2,000 children" were arrested for throwing stones at police force (Cicek, 2011: 21).

The Newroz celebrations, which are a Kurdish feast to welcome the spring, have always been a symbol of Kurdish cultural identity and organized by the Kurdish

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[39] The Kurdistan Democratic Confederation (Koma Civaken Kurdistan) serves as a bridge between the illegal PKK and the legal DTP/BDP. The PKK established this organization to extend its control over the Kurdish people. "The KCK seems to have deeply penetrated the BDP, and is even thought to have appointed local commissars to report on activities of BDP mayors and council officials" (Updegraff, 2012: 125). KCK is also treated as the urban extension of the PKK.

cultural associations or the pro-Kurdish parties. Cakir (2010) argues that the Newroz celebration in March 2010 provide hints about how pro-Kurdish parties think about the future of the Kurdish opening-up process. During the celebrations, a long message from Öcalan was read and prominent figures of the Kurdish movement, such as Leyla Zana, gave speeches.[40] In his message, Öcalan did not refer to the opening-up process and, according to Cakir (2010), the Newroz celebration was an open declaration of the Kurdish political identity and attitude.

The 2011 national elections marked the end of the Kurdish opening-up process. The AKP lost a significant Kurdish vote share and the pro-Kurdish party – BDP – strengthened its position in the region. Shortly after the June 2011 elections, the AKP government announced the need to draft a new constitution that would also solve the Kurdish question; however, Tait argues that the Prime Minister Erdogan "broke off contact with the BDP and continued to declare that the Kurdish problem had been solved and that only a PKK problem remained" (as cited in Gunter, 2013: 91).

The Kurdish opening-up process has failed due to: (1) the AKP government's failure to propose a clear outline for the process; (2) the non-supportive behavior of the opposition parties; and (3) the failure of the pro-Kurdish parties in engaging the process (Cakir, 2010; Gunter, 2013; Aydinli and Özcan, 2011; Larrabee, 2013; Updegraff, 2012; Bacik and Coskun, 2011; Cicek, 2011). Apart from the AKP government's ill-prepared project, Aydinli and Özcan (2011) find the timing of the opening-up to be problematic because it happened in the middle of an economic crisis. Due to this economic crisis, the government lacks the resources that could ease this tricky process. Beyond the government's inability to pursue a roadmap, Updegraff (2012) also mentions that AKP underestimated the power of Kurdish nationalism. In the same manner, Cicek (2011) argues that the main reason for the blockage of the process was the AKP government's nationalist ideological-political character. Moreover, both opposition parties, CHP and MHP, accused the AKP government of treason for negotiating with Öcalan. On the third point, the role of the pro-Kurdish

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[40] Leyla Zana is an active Kurdish politician who was imprisoned for ten years due to her engagement with the PKK. As the first Kurdish woman parliamentarian, when taking oath in the Turkish parliament to become a deputy in 1991, Leyla Zana spoke the final sentence of the oath in Kurdish in 1991. In her final sentence she said, "I take this oath for the brotherhood between the Turkish people and the Kurdish people." (Gunter, 2011: 114). She was re-elected as a deputy from Diyarbakir with the support of the BDP.

party in the opening-up process, scholars have diverging comments. On the one hand, scholars Aydinli and Özcan (2011) and Bacik and Coskun (2011) emphasize that, although the AKP government considered the Kurdish politicians as legitimate partners, the discussion has been dominated by PKK rhetoric, which caused the failure of the process. On the other hand, Cakir (2010) argues that the DTP did not get involved in the process because the DTP members declared Öcalan and the PKK as the true counterparts.

These three reasons provided by many scholars to explain the failure of the Kurdish opening-up process do not sufficiently clarify the influence of the Kurdish opening up process on dynamic party competition. In other words, how political parties positioned themselves in the process, what kind of strategies that parties pursue in order to maintain their voter base or increase their vote shares and most importantly, how political parties interact with each other during this process have not been explored yet. Moreover, none of the research provided empirical evidence on why the AKP government initiated the process, and how a tactful party like AKP could not foresee the failure of the process. The current research is the first systematic and empirical approach to delve into these issues.

2.3 Summary

In what follows, I argue that, in order to trace the causal mechanisms in the Kurdish opening-up process, which led to an increase in pro-Kurdish party's vote share, the concepts developed for understanding Western European ethno-territorial parties' role in the dynamic party competition should be implemented in the Turkish case. As the literature review reveals, a sharp difference between the way the established and new democracies are studied, with regard to dynamic party competition on ethnic dimension, dictates that researchers choose either one of the paths. However, certain cases, such as Turkey, fall into a gray zone in which both established and new democracies' features of political party formation, along with the structure of party competition, can be observed. On the one hand, Turkey's political cleavage formation and the formation of democratic institutions and electoral rules resemble those of Western Europe. On the other hand, during the 1990s, with the introduction of new electoral rules and devotion to a new ideology of Turkish-Islamic synthesis, new types of cleavages emerged. Thus, the Turkish political party system has turned into

functioning more like the Latin American party system. Furthermore, this literature review shows that the existing conceptual tools of party competition in new democracies are not sufficient to reveal the dynamic party competition on an ethnic issue dimension. Therefore, employing the conceptual tools developed for Western European cases to explain the Turkish case has become a compelling task to determine the causal mechanisms with process-tracing methodology.

The proceeding chapters of the dissertation are also organized in line with the arguments of this chapter. In the next chapter, I present the examining-outcome process-tracing methodology and how I employ this methodology with regard to the literature review and review of the history and social structure of the Turkish case. In Chapter Four, I provide an extensive analysis of the Turkish party system institutionalization in terms of its converge and divergence from Western European party systems. By laying out the rules of the party competition, I analyze whether the structure of party system enables political parties in Turkey acting strategically. As the first step in explaining-outcome process-tracing, significant attention is paid to explain why a mainstream party enters into a new issue dimension. In Chapter Five, I apply the Position, Saliency and Ownership theory [PSO], which was developed for predicting the niche party vote share via mainstream parties' strategies, to the Turkish case. Basically, the conceptual tools introduced in this chapter constitute the basis of applying PSO theory to the Turkish political parties in terms of the Kurdish opening-up process.

3 An introduction of process-tracing methodology: How to apply explaining-outcome process-tracing to the Kurdish opening-up process in 2009-2011 in Turkey?

3.1 Methodological Framework: Process-Tracing Methods & Explaining-Outcome Process-Tracing

The main idea behind process-tracing methodology is to go beyond the correlations between dependent variable and independent variable(s), and to trace the causal mechanisms (George and Bennett, 2005; Beach and Pedersen, 2013). As Gerring (2007: 45) argues, case studies in general, and single-outcome case studies[1] in particular enable researchers to "peer into the box of causality to locate the intermediate factors lying between some structural cause and its purported effect." By concentrating on causal mechanisms via process-tracing methods, researchers can "make strong within-case inferences about the causal process whereby outcomes are produced" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 2).

Beach and Pedersen (2013) differentiate three variants of process-tracing: theory-testing, theory-building and explaining outcome – based on whether they expose the causal mechanisms with theory- or case-centric aims, whereas George and Bennett (2005) categorize process-tracing methods based on their capacity of offering an explanation: detailed narrative, generating hypotheses and generalizations, analytical explanation, and more general explanation.

The current research design fits into the explaining-outcome process-tracing category, which "attempts to craft a minimally sufficient explanation of a puzzling outcome in a specific historical case" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 3). The ambitions of explaining-outcome are more case-centric, and the main aim does not test or build a theory. However, the line between explaining-outcome and theory-building process-tracing cannot be drawn too sharply. The reason is in the following:

> [E]xplaining outcome process tracing case studies often point out to specific systematic mechanisms that in principle can be tested in a wider population of cases or that can act as a building blocks for future attempts to create

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[1] Gerring (2007) employs the term of single-outcome case studies, which means the same as process-tracing.

generalizable causal mechanisms that can explain outcomes across the population of relevant cases (Beach and Pedersen, 2013 : 157).

In George and Bennett (2005)'s conceptualization, my research design aims at providing both a detailed narrative and an analytical explanation. The aim in this current research is to not only shed light on how an event came about, but also provide an analytical causal explanation. I think both aims can be targeted in a study because, while providing a detailed narrative, a researcher can also employ theories. However, to what extent a historical narrative can be turned into an analytical explanation may vary. In this sense, I think the categorization of the variants of process-tracing suggested by George and Bennett (2005) does not dictate a sharp delineation among the variants, which enables researchers to combine different variants.

Process-tracing methods differ from other case studies with regard to providing within-case inferences and its particular focus on investigating causal mechanisms. Firstly, process-tracing methods offer "within-case inferences about the presence/absence of a causal mechanism"; yet, most small-N methods provide "cross-case inferences about causal relationships" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 4). Secondly, the closest alternative to process-tracing can be considered congruence analysis (George and Bennett, 2005). According to Beach and Pedersen (2013), the difference between congruence model and the process-tracing methods comes from the emphasis on causal mechanisms. Process-tracing methods aim to reveal the specific causal mechanisms that produce the outcome, whereas the congruence method tests the predicted values of X and Y at different times in a historical process.

Moreover, George and Bennett (2005) emphasize that process-tracing complements other research methods. For instance, process-tracing is compatible with rational choice approaches because process-tracing is a research method while rational choice models are theories. Also, they differentiate process-tracing from historical explanations with regard to process-tracing methods' ability to develop and test theories (George and Bennett, 2005: 208-9). "[H]istorical, ethnographic or journalistic narratives … [are] essentially unfalsifiable; [i.e.], they cannot be proven or disproven" (Gerring, 2006: 714); however, causal explanatory driven single-outcome case studies are scientific and testable.

The process-tracing method differs from quantitative methodology in terms of its ontological assumptions on causality and the logic of causal inference. Beach and Pedersen (2013) argue two significant points in differentiating process-tracing methods' ontological assumptions from quantitative methods: mechanismic and deterministic understandings of causality. In quantitative methodology, the association between X and Y is analyzed and the regularity is a part of the patterns of correlation between X and Y. However, in process-tracing, the causal process which binds independent variable(s) to the outcome matters. In this sense, "a mechanismic understanding of causality does not necessarily imply regular association. Indeed, a mechanism can be infrequent" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: p. 23–5). The second point is the deterministic understanding of the causality of process-tracing in contrast to probabilistic understanding. In the probabilistic understanding of causality, the researchers consider "both systematic and random features of reality" by including error terms in their models. Therefore, researchers analyze "the mean causal effects of systematic parts across the population or a sample of the population of a phenomenon" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 26).

Although deterministic causality sounds like the avoidance of the error term in research, Mahoney (2008: 9) argues that it does not mean that researchers are able to "successfully analyze causal process in the world. But it does mean that randomness and chance appear only because of limitations in theories, models, measurement and data." Deterministic understanding of causality involves focusing on the question for "which causal conditions and/or causal configurations are 'necessary' and/or 'sufficient' "for the presence/absence of the outcome of interest (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 92). When a sufficient condition is present, it means the outcome will always occur, whereas if a condition is necessary, then the absence of the condition prevents the occurrence of the outcome.

In probabilistic understanding of causality, an increase in X raises the probability of the occurrence of Y in which X causes a variation in Y. The logic in process tracing differs greatly.

Process-tracing methods are closely aligned with the conceptualization of conditions that are used in set theory than when they are understood as variables. Set-theoretical causal relationships describe a causal condition (or set of conditions) that

is necessary and/or sufficient for the occurrence of an outcome…When analyzing set-theoretical relationships, the focus is not on the defining the full variation of the concept (differences in degree) but instead is on defining the concept itself and its negation (i.e., the concept is present or not present-differences in kind)" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 47).

By quoting King, Keohane and Verba (1994), who defend that a single-case study does not allow researchers to make causal inferences about causal effects because the dependent variable does not vary, Beach and Pedersen (2013) show that process-tracing methods have a different goal. In process tracing, researchers make inferences about whether causal mechanisms are present or not. For example, in explaining-outcome process-tracing, the goal is to show which causal mechanisms in combination has produced a particular outcome.

The concerns of process-tracing methods are first to determine the causal path connecting factors and the outcome; and, secondly, to test this connection empirically. Specifying a causal mechanism and employment of causal reasoning constitute the components of a causal theory (Gerring, 2010). Nevertheless, the nature of causal mechanisms has generated a debate among scholars. The causal mechanism can be conceptualized as: (1) a micro-level explanation for a casual phenomenon, (2) transmitter of causal forces between X and Y, (3) empirical events between X and Y, (4) intervening variables between X and Y (Gerring, 2010: 1500-2; Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 32-43). Depending on the variant of process-trace methods, researchers can specify what they meant by a causal mechanism.

I employ an explaining-outcome process-tracing method whose "aim is to craft a sufficient explanation of a particular outcome." It requires "combining mechanisms into an eclectic conglomerate mechanism to account for a particular outcome" (Beach and Pedersen 2013: 34–5). Both systematic and nonsystematic mechanisms are combined in case-centric process-tracing. Although nonsystematic mechanisms – mechanisms unique to case – are included, "single-outcome researchers should not assume, ex ante, that the truth about their case is contained in factors that are specific to that case" (Gerring, 2006: 717).

Rohlfing (2013) argues that there are ideal-typical processes to answer "why" questions in process-tracing; 'realized processes' and 'anticipated processes'. I think

Rohlfing (2013)'s differentiation of these two processes corresponds to the differentiation between studying at the theoretical and/or empirical level. In this sense, the causal mechanisms are explained at the theoretical level in realized process-tracing whereas, in anticipated process-tracing, researchers concentrate on their non-systematic mechanisms at the empirical level.

Although Rohlfing (2013) argues that a researcher should carefully choose between the processes with regard to the purpose of the research, I combine the two processes and work on both the theoretical and empirical levels. On the theoretical level, the causal mechanism turns into an intervening variable that may create "refined middle range generalizations" (George and Bennett, 2005: 124). At the theoretical level, the systematic mechanism that I develop to explain the causal mechanism between X and Y can be transferred; because, at that level, I do not use case-specific mechanisms. However, at the empirical level – when the theoretical level is converted into empirical observations – I employ case-specific causal mechanisms that cannot be transferred to any other cases. Therefore, besides the primary ambition of crafting a sufficient explanation for the occurrence of Y, this research provides, to a certain extent, a basis for refined partial middle-range generalizations.

Explaining-outcome process tracing is an iterative research process. In the first stage of conceptualization, the existing literature is investigated in order to find the potential mechanisms that lead to a particular outcome. However, in most of the cases, existing literature cannot provide a sufficient explanation. At that point, in the second stage, researchers reconceptualize the existing theories in the light of the evidence gathered (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). To develop sufficient explanations, Beach and Pedersen (2013: 64) offer some strategies such as "combining existing mechanisms (eclectic theorization), developing new theories, or incorporating nonsystematic parts into an explanation."

The second point differentiates process tracing from both quantitative and qualitative cross-case research is about making causal inferences. In contrast to data-set observations in statistical analysis, process-tracing methods use causal-process observations. According to Collier, Brady and Seawright (2004: 252), "a causal-process observation is an insight or piece of data provides information about context or mechanism and contributes a different kind of leverage in causal inference." Beach

and Pedersen (2013) argue that the term causal-process observation may conflate observations with evidence and highlight that, after evaluation, the empirical material turns into evidence. Furthermore, the logic of causal inference in process- tracing is analogous to a court trial, whereas the frequentist logic of inference, which was adapted by King, Keohane and Verba (1994), carries the same characteristics as a medical trial. Beach and Pedersen (2013) compare the frequentist logic of inference and comparativist methods of logic of elimination with the Bayesian logic of inference and show that the latter provides the necessary tools for assessing the inferential weight of evidences in process- tracing (George and Bennett, 2005; Collier, Brady and Seawright, 2004).

The Bayesian theorem sets forth that:

> our belief in the validity of a hypothesis is, after collecting the evidence (posterior), equal to the probability of the evidence conditional on the hypothesis being true relative to other alternative hypotheses (likelihood), times the probability that a theory is true based on our prior knowledge" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 83).

Based on Bayesian logic, researchers can evaluate whether specific evidence confirms or disconfirms a hypothesis. Here, Beach and Pedersen (2013) differentiate four types of evidence: pattern evidence, sequence evidence, and trace and account evidences. Pattern evidence is related to predictions of statistical patterns in the evidence, whereas sequence evidence engages in the temporal and spatial chronology of events. Trace evidence is employed to prove the existence of a mechanism, and account evidence concerns the content of empirical material. In this current research, I employ both account and pattern evidences.

Following the Bayesian logic of inference, Van Evera (1997) classified four types of tests with regard to necessary and sufficient conditions, which contributes to confirm or disconfirm the causal inference. Based on offering different degrees of hypotheses testing, Collier (2011:825) suggests that

If a hypothesis passes a straw-in-the-wind test, it only slightly weakens the hypothesis; with hoop tests it somewhat weakens them; with smoking-gun tests it substantially weakens them; and with doubly decisive tests passing eliminates them.

The stronger the test, the more we can be confident in the presence/absence of the hypothesized mechanism.

These tests will be taken up later in Chapter Seven, in which I implement some of the aforementioned tests to the hypotheses I generated. As a note, due to employing explaining-outcome process-tracing method, I test only for the sufficiency of a mechanism in single case. Thus, all parts of the mechanism "must be individually necessary for the mechanism, and the overall mechanism needs only achieve minimal sufficiency" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 92). An explanation of causal mechanisms would be deemed sufficient when all the important aspects of the outcome are covered in the research.

In process-tracing, case selection depends on the research aim; whether the purpose is to build a theory (theory-centric) or to uncover a mechanism (case-centric) (Beach and Pedersen, 2013). The case selection strategy in explaining-outcome process-tracing is driven by a strong motivation to explain a particular outcome. Blatter and Haverland (2012) argue that the small-N case studies mostly conduct research on very important historical events or phenomena. But, obviously "social importance is a relative concept – it can only be specified with reference to the specific audience of a research project" (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 103). As I already explained in the introduction of this thesis, I think that, if a certain political outcome may potentially change the power balances in the particular region and even lead to the formation of a new state at the international level; and, at the national level, if this particular outcome alters the state structure, which would have an impact not only on minorities in the nation-state, but also reshape the national identity, then this issue should be considered worth studying.

One of the biggest advantages of process-tracing methodology is that it is an "especially powerful empirical approach for distinguishing between ideational material affects" (Jacobs, 2015: 41). Compared to the materially driven causal processes, ideational mechanisms are difficult to study because "ideas are unusually difficult to measure and are often highly correlated with other plausible causes of political outcomes" (Jacobs, 2015: 41). The difference between an ideational theory from non-ideational or material theory is that

In a materialist logic of explanation, variation in choices is caused by variation in the objective, material parameters of actors' choice situations…In an ideational theory, by contrast, variation in choices across cases is explained by reference to variation in the content of actors' cognitions [such as], variation in the relative value placed by actors on different material outcomes (i.e. goals or normative commitments)…or differences in actors' descriptive beliefs about the state of the world (Jacobs, 2015: 44).

Such a differentiation between ideational and materialist logic of explanation is crucial for this research, because although I devote a special attention to the materialist logic in my next chapter while explaining why a dominant party enter a new issue dimension, the other two chapters in which I employ deductive and inductive approaches I refer to ideational logic of explanation. The reason for referring the ideational logic of explanation is that in this research, the focus is on the content of actors' cognitions. By employing parliamentary speeches, I look at how political party leaders recognize their opponent's strategies and how they locate on the ethnic dimension, which is relational. Moreover, the party leaders' beliefs and perceptions are mostly shaped by the lessons they draw from their formative historical experiences. I argue that to a certain extent the preferences are actors are shaped by the structure, such as the structure of the party competition as in the case covered in Chapter Four; however the cognitions of the party leaders' on the ethnic issue are "not simply reducible to material features of the circumstances of choice" (Jacobs, 2015: 44).

The problem of differentiating actors' cognitions and their material conditions of choice can be solved by "detailed, context-sensitive analysis of cases" (Jacobs, 2015: 47). To reduce this problem of Multicollinearity, that is identifying and exploiting independent variation in possible material and ideational causes, Jacobs (2015) suggests four strategies of process-tracing ideational effects: analyzing (most private communication), examining co-variation over time, examining within-case cross-sectional co-variation and tracing ideational diffusion. In this research, I employ examining co-variation over time by concentrating on the ideational stability of the actors in the sequence of decision-making. By this way, I can test the observable implications of the ideational approach: that,

> [B]ecause cognitive constructs are relatively resistant to change, we should see evidence of relative stability over time in both actors' ideas and in the choices that are hypothesized to result from them, even as material conditions change (Jacobs, 2105: 57).

Along with the smoking-gun test, I employ the strategy of examining co-variation over time in order to be able to trace back ideational approach in the sequence of decision-making. I especially examine the ideational background of decision-making in Chapter Seven.

Although process-tracing adds huge value to the studies of causal mechanisms, it also faces three main challenges or limits: infinite regress problem, overdetermination problem and external validity issues. When does the inquiry into causal mechanisms stop? As King, Keohane and Verba mentioned, the excessive details involved in process-tracing may potentially generate an infinite regress of "studying causal steps between any two links in the chain of causal mechanisms" (cited in Bennett, 2010: 209). In this sense, how micro should this type of research go (Checkel, 2006)? A proposed solution for this problem passes through the argument that "not all data are created equal" (Bennett, 2010; Beach and Pedersen, 2013). All depends on the quality of evidence that a researcher finds. If just a piece of evidence strongly affirms the assumption of causal mechanism, this would be considered enough for explanation. Therefore, it is not "the amount of evidence but its contribution to adjudicating among alternative hypotheses" (Bennett, 2010: 209).

Secondly, one hypothesized causal mechanism or even the results of process-tracing may be consistent with too many theories. This overdetermination problem may confuse researchers on evaluating whether alternative explanations are complementary, causal or spurious (George and Bennett, 2005; Vennesson, 2008). Vennesson (2008) offers several suggestions to deal with the overdetermination problem, such as determining potential conflicts of interpretation about the evidence and being sure about which aspect of the case is addressed by these alternative explanations.

Lastly, the external validity problem; that is, to what extent the inferences and mechanisms from a single case can be generalized and applied to a larger population, has been much discussed (Kittel and Kühn, 2013; Checkel, 2006; Gerring, 2007;

George and Bennett, 2005; King, Keohane and Verba, 1994). On the one hand, Checkel (2006) realizes the underlying reason of this problem in the eclectic theorization of mechanisms that lead to "partial middle range generalizations" (George and Bennett, 2005: 124). Thus, this problem arises from the epistemological assumptions of the process-tracing methodology. On the other hand, Kittel and Kühn (2013) do not particularly attribute the external validity problem to the method itself, but the authors consider this problem in relation to the research interest. In this sense, a particular phenomenon can be investigated both by concentrating on a "specific set of historical conditions" and by considering it as an explicit "manifestation of a general phenomenon, which can be subsumed under well-known regularities" (Kittel and Kühn, 2013: 3).

Therefore, process-tracing does not guarantee that a researcher can thoroughly and successfully identify all the causal mechanisms that led to a particular outcome. The limitations that any methodology faces also hold for process-tracing methodology. However, being aware of the challenges and limitations of process-tracing may enable a researcher to conduct better research.

3.2 How Can Explaining-Outcome Process-Tracing Be Applied to The Kurdish Opening-Up Process in Turkey in 2009-2011?

In this research, the aim is to go beyond the correlation between the mainstream parties' strategic behaviors and niche party vote shares by tracing the causal mechanisms that connect them. In line with the single-case study research design, the objective is to make strong within-case inferences about the causal processes by which the niche party vote share increases.

By conducting an explaining-outcome process-tracing, I craft a minimally sufficient explanation of a puzzling outcome in a specific historical case – that is, the Kurdish opening-up process. The puzzle in this research is, why did the ethno-territorial party (BDP) increase its vote share in the 2011 national elections though the mainstream party (AKP) initiated the Kurdish opening-up process? In order to answer this question, I conduct the study on two levels: theoretical and empirical. I present the theoretical level study in this section because, on this level, the causal mechanisms turn into an intervening variable that may generate "middle-range generalizations" (George and Bennett, 2005: 124). .

The independent variable is the mainstream parties' strategies on the ethnic issue dimension (initiation of the Kurdish opening-up process); the dependent variable is the niche party's vote share (increase in the BDP's vote share). The PSO theory suggests a significant relationship between these variables. At the theoretical level, I argue that the PSO theory only analyzes the statistical relationship between these two variables; however, the causal mechanisms between the variables constitute a black box. I illustrate the process in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 The black box – the missing steps between independent and dependent variables
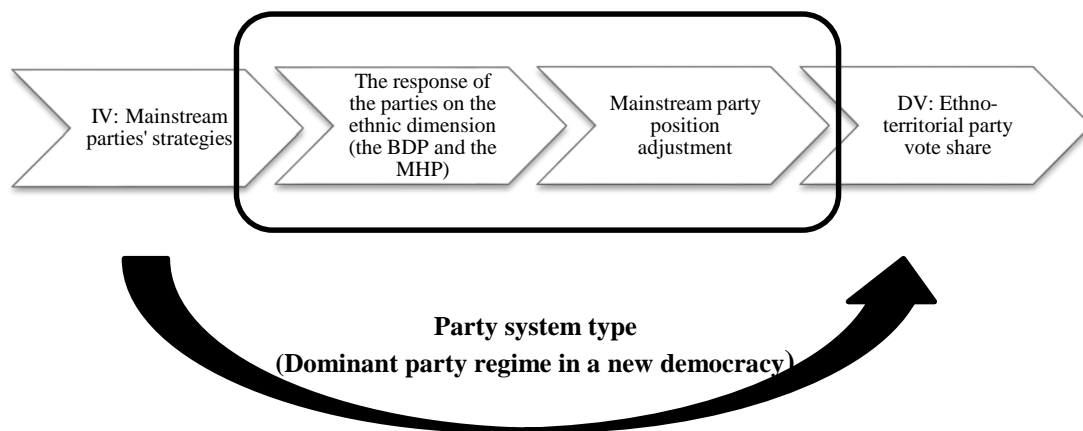
In Figure 3.1, I introduce two more steps that constitute a link between the independent and dependent variables. Competition on the ethnic dimension concentrates on attracting the ethnic median voter. Political parties on the ethnic dimension have their distinct voter bases, and these voters identify themselves with their ethnic identity. Therefore, when mainstream parties decide to take a position on the ethnic issue, the develop strategies in order to attract median voters, independent from ethnicity-based voting. Median voters can be defined as those who locate their interests, values and beliefs at the center of the ethnic policy dimension. Therefore, besides the core voter base of ethnicity, each and every political party aims to attract ethnic median voters. In this regard, I argue that (1) there is a relationship between mainstream parties' strategies and the ethno-territorial party's vote share, and (2) other parties' responses to mainstream parties' strategies on the ethnic dimension should be contemplated simultaneously.

After the mainstream parties enter the issue dimension, the ethno-territorial party and its rival on the ethnic dimension react to the mainstream parties' strategies.

Because the mainstream parties target the voter bases of both smaller parties (the BDP and the MHP), these smaller parties also implement certain strategies to prevent voter defections. Furthermore, mainstream parties have relatively more strategic flexibility in the ethnic dimension. In the last step, depending on the success of the implemented strategies, the median voter determines the vote share of the ethno-territorial party.

I argue that the relationship between mainstream parties' strategies and the ethno-territorial party's vote share depends on the party system type and the party system institutionalization level for new democracies. The level of party system institutionalization provides information about the stability and predictability of party competition. If the party system institutionalization level is low, then the mainstream parties' strategies cannot be predicted because the rules of the party competition are not yet established and sufficiently institutionalized. Additionally, party system type is important in predicting and assessing party strategies because it can predict, to a certain extent, the interactions among political parties. Therefore, I argue that *the characteristics of median voters* and the *party system type* determine the mainstream parties' strategies in relation to the smaller parties' responses on the ethnic dimension.

The theoretical model that explains the relationship between mainstream parties' strategies and niche party vote share is depicted in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2 Theoretical Model

Mainstream Parties' Strategies (ID)   Niche Party Vote Share (DV)

Ethnic Median Voter
(Causal Mechanism)
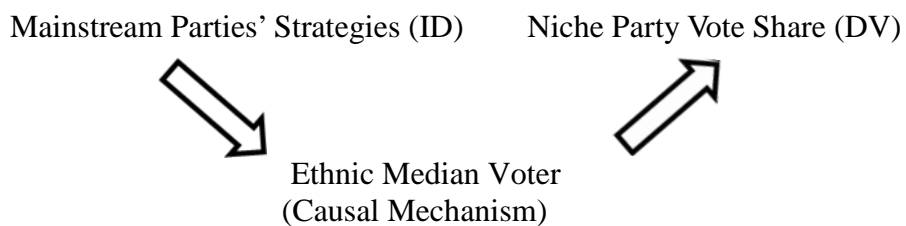
With regard to the capacity of explaining-outcome process-tracing to produce middle-range generalizations, this theoretical model can be generalized to other cases if there are similarities between median voter characteristics and party system types.

In the following chapters, I devote my attention to finding predicted evidence to support the hypothesized causal mechanisms during the Kurdish opening-up process by testing the persistency of the actors' aims at the ideational level, and I also examine the relationship between mainstream party strategies and the median voter. In Chapter

Five, I employ a deductive approach, constructing the causal mechanisms by applying the position, saliency and ownership theory [PSO] to the case at hand. I derive party issue positions, issue saliency and ownership from the data of 188 parliamentary group speeches via quantitative text analysis and test my case in line with the PSO theory. In Chapter Six, I divert my attention to working through inductive reasoning on the same data with qualitative text analysis and generating the mechanisms that have not been covered by the PSO theory. I present all the case-specific mechanisms that I derive through deductive and inductive logic in Chapter Seven.

In Chapter Seven, I will test each part of the mechanisms between the independent and dependent variables (as modeled in Figure 3.1) using the predicted evidence. The various types of identified predicted evidence work together and provide a jointly sufficient explanation for the occurrence of the causal mechanism – i.e., attracting the ethnic median voter. Because the method is explaining-outcome process-tracing, I employ a smoking-gun test for each part of the mechanisms to show the sufficiency of the provided explanations.

4 Predicting party behavior with the help of party system institutionalization level and party system type: Why did the AKP enter the ethnic issue dimension when initiating Kurdish opening-up process?

> "I will vote for the opposition when they are in power."
> - Anonymous Serb peasant[1]

When does a political party stop chasing more votes and more power? Why do voters both in established democracies such as Japan and in new democracies such as Mexico keep reelecting the same party? What kinds of strategies do the single parties employ in order to endure their dominance?

This chapter starts by analyzing the institutionalization level of the Turkish party system in comparison to other new democracies in order to grasp the extent to which political party behavior in Turkey can be predicted. After pinpointing the level of party system institutionalization, I divert my attention to understand the dynamics of the post-1980 Turkish party system by studying the type of party system. Determining the party system type provides a hint about the structure and rules of the party competition. The literature review in Chapter Two suggests that the main theories developed for explaining party competition focus on the established democracies; however the case study under inspection in this research is not an established democracy. Therefore, firstly the predictability of the party system and party behavior should be analyzed before delving into analysis.

Moreover, although "vote, office and policy" (Müller and Strom, 2005) are the main objectives of the political parties, the type of party system determines the objectives that constitute the primary motive for the political parties at a certain time. The finding that the Turkish party system has been shaped by a dominant party system in the last three consecutive elections raises the question of what the conditions that led to the emergence and endurance of the dominant party system are. By employing sociological, institutional and strategic explanations, in this chapter I tackle with the following question: why AKP entered the ethnic dimension when initiating the Kurdish opening-up process and whether the party achieved its aim. Once the motive behind increasing the saliency of an issue by initiating a policy

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[1] Ash (1997) cited in Giliomee and Simkins (1999:337).

program is understood, then the strategies of the mainstream party –AKP on the policy space with regard to niche party will gain meaning. In this sense, I hypothesize that the AKP entered the ethnic dimension with vote and policy motives. The party aims to attract the median voter, and it wants integrate the ethnic dimension to the main issue dimension in Turkish politics, which is secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. The ultimate aim of the dominant AKP is to introduce presidentialism with two-party system in order to endure its dominance.

The first two sections of this chapter deal with issues of defining the structural dimension of the party competition, whereas the last two sections are more actor-oriented. The latter is associated with identifying the strategies employed by the dominant party with regard to ethnic issue and how voters' responses to these strategies in the 2011 elections constitute the elements of dynamic party competition.

4.1 Party System Institutionalization and the Party System in Turkey in comparison with Established and New Democracies

I analyze the party system institutionalization and party system type in Turkey to understand the characteristics and the predictability of the party competition in Turkey. The dynamic party competition literature is shaped by the research on established democracies. Before applying these theories to the Turkish case, which is not an established democracy, I examine whether Turkish party system can be analyzed with these theories. This section of the chapter provides relevant empirical information that contextualizes this research.

4.1.1 Party System Institutionalization

In his seminal work, Sartori (1976) argued that a vital constituent of a functioning democracy is a consolidated party system. He created a typology of party systems based on two dimensions: the number of relevant parties and the degree of ideological polarization. Nevertheless, Sartori paid less attention to another equally significant concept in comparing party systems, that is, party system institutionalization (Mainwaring and Torcal, 2006).

In contrast to the research on party systems, party system institutionalization can be regarded as a recently developed concept that has started to become prevalent for comparing established democracies to new democracies. The following research has

already drawn attention and propounded thought-provoking results for further research on the level of party system institutionalization in Latin America (Mainwaring, 1999; Mainwaring and Scully, 1995), in Asia (Croissant and Völkel, 2012; Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011), in Africa (Kuenzi and Lambright, 2001; Lindberg, 2007) and in the post-Communist democracies (Bielasiak, 2002; Casal Bertoa, 2013; Casal Bertoa, 2012; Tavits, 2005).

Party system institutionalization has important consequences on the functioning of democracy in terms of the electoral accountability, representation, stability and predictability of the system. When a party system is institutionalized, political parties can channel and incorporate the demands of society. However, in an inchoate party system, parties would not take part in the political process as much; economic elites tend to become more powerful and influential in the decision-making processes, and thereby establishing legitimacy becomes difficult (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995; Mainwaring, 1999; Mainwaring and Torcal, 2006). Moreover, in an inchoate party system, charismatic and clientelistic politicians gain power, which in return weakens the programmatic linkages between parties and citizens (Hicken and Kuhonta, 2011, emphasis added). Therefore, in an institutionalized party system, the actors behave on the basis of fundamental rules, and the party competition, to a certain extent, can be foreseen and predicted, which provides stability in the political system.

In defining party system institutionalization, many scholars first employ Huntington (1968: 12)'s definition of institutionalization, that is, "[t]he process by which organizations and procedures acquire value and stability." Huntington (1968) also explains that the four factors that lead to institutionalization are adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence. Based on this definition and factors, Mainwaring and Scully (1995) develop the concept of party system institutionalization in order to locate each party system on a continuum and compare their levels of institutionalization. In contrast to Sartori (1976)'s differentiation of party systems as consolidated or not, Mainwaring and Scully (1995) conceive of party system institutionalization as a continuum. Moreover, Mainwaring and Torcal (2006) argue that party systems can also be deinstitutionalized; that is, the process of institutionalization is neither linear nor irrevocable.

Party system institutionalization can be measured across four dimensions: the stability of patterns in interparty competition, the party roots in society, the legitimacy of parties and the strength of party organization (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995; Mainwaring and Torcal, 2006; Croissant and Völkel 2012). Table 4.1 shows the dimensions of party institutionalization, their indicators and how these indicators are operationalized. In the next sub-sections, I analyze the post-1980 institutionalization of the Turkish party system based on these four dimensions in comparison both to established democracies and to new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia as long as data are available. By this comparison, the aim is to determine the post-1980 institutionalization level of Turkish party system, and to understand whether predicting the party behavior in Turkish politics would be convenient.

Table 4.1 Four-dimensional index of party system institutionalization

Dimension	Indicators[2]	Operationalization
1. Pattern of inter-party competition	1.1. Vote volatility	Average sum of all gains and losses in votes of all parties between elections, divided by two; ranges between 0 and 100 (Pedersen's index of electoral volatility)
2. Party roots in society	2.1 Party ID 2.2 Party Membership	Percentage of population that possesses an identification with a political party Percentage of people who are members of a political party
3. Legitimacy of parties	3.1 Party indispensability 3.2 Trust in Political Parties	Percentage of people who state that political party bans should not be allowed under any circumstances Percentage of population that had a great deal of or some confidence in political parties
4. Party organization	4.1 Party age	Percentage of parties ≥ 10 years Percentage of parties ≥ 25 years

Source: Adapted from Jones (2007: 5-13) cited in Croissant and Völkel (2012: 9)

4.1.1.1 First dimension: Stability of pattern in interparty competition

Electoral volatility, a sign of stability of interparty competition, is related to determining the balance of power among parties, and their interaction. A low level of electoral volatility is a necessary component for a healthy democratic system,

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[2] Indicators are compiled from different sources: Yardimci-Geyikci (forthcoming), Mainwaring and Scully (1996). Not all indicators are used due to the availability of data on Turkey.

because it stabilizes the party competition by strengthening "social roots of long-established parties" (Casal Bertoa, 2013: 416).

To capture the stability of inter-party competition, I employ Pedersen's classic index that measures "the net change within the electoral party system resulting from individual vote transfers" (Ascher and Tarrow, 1975 as cited in Pedersen, 1979: 3)[3]. In his seminal work, Pedersen (1990) applies this formula to 13 European countries and examines both the differences among countries and the changes in volatility within a country over time.

Table 4.2 Electoral Volatility across the World

Regions	Electoral Volatility
Western Democracies (including Australia and New Zealand)	10.4
Eastern Europe and Former Soviet States	44.1
Latin America	25.6
Asia	24.2
TURKEY	23.4

Source: Hicken (2008), Mainwaring and Zoco (2007) as cited by Hicken and Kuhonta (2001). Turkey: Author's calculations.

Table 4.2 shows the differences in the mean electoral volatility level between established and new democracies, and within new democracies. In terms of electoral volatility, Eastern Europe especially stands out in comparison to other new democracies. Moreover, the new democracies of Asia and Latin America show similar patterns to Turkey in terms of electoral volatility. However, a deeper analysis would provide a better picture of why new democracies—especially Turkey— tend to have higher levels of electoral volatility than established democracies. Why do established democracies show strikingly lower levels of electoral volatility than new democracies?

By controlling a range of possible variables, Mainwaring and Zoco (2007) analyze 47 countries to understand the causes of the salient difference in the volatility levels between established and new democracies. Their study reveals that the stabilization of party competition depends not on how old it is but on when democracy is born

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[3] Pedersen's formula is TEV $= \sum Vi_{t-1} - Vi_t/2$. Vi_t is the vote share for a party at a given election (t) and Vi_{t-1} is the vote share of the same party at the previous election (t-1).

(Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007: 155). In early democratizing countries, those that completed their transition to democracy before 1978, parties created new citizens by pushing for enfranchisement via mass party type. By building extensive organizations, mass parties represented diverse groups often rooted in farmer's associations and labor unions; thereby the linkages between political parties and citizens were strongly established (Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007). Similarly, Bartolini and Mair (1990 [2007]) argue that mass enfranchisement constituted the most significant moment in structuring the party system. However, in post-1978 democracies "television became a mass phenomenon before parties were deeply entrenched in society" (Mainwaring and Zoco, 2007: 167). Candidates used the media to convey their messages from a distance without the need for extensive organizations, which led to the emergence of clientelistic and charismatic linkages between parties and voters. Therefore, Mainwaring and Zoco (2007) and Webb and White (2007) relate the difference in electoral volatility levels between established and new democracies to a periodic effect or historical contingencies respectively.

Apart from periodic effects, high volatility in new democracies can be attributed to the structure of electoral institutions, low economic performance and realignment of cleavage structures. Institutional designs may have an effect on electoral stability, that is, whether institutional arrangements are permissive toward the new competitors in the electoral arena (Tavits, 2005). In this sense, the features of a party system, such as number of parties and ideological polarization, may influence its volatility level. Pedersen (1979: 15) finds a positive relationship between the number of parties and level of volatility: "the greater the number of parties…the less average perceived distance between parties, and the higher the probability that the average voter will transfer his vote from one party to another." For Western Europe (Bartolini and Mair, 1990 [2007]) and for Eastern Europe (Birch, 2003; Tavits, 2005), this positive relationship is confirmed. The same rationality goes for ideological polarization: polarization is expected to reduce the vote shifts between elections because parties have differentiated bases of support. Therefore, the basic logic is here: "the higher the degree of fragmentation, the smaller the ideological space and, therefore, the higher the probability that voters shift their preferences between (otherwise programmatically close) political parties" (Casal Bertoa, 2013: 418). In this manner,

Casal Bertoa (2013) shows that high electoral fragmentation is one factors that causes high electoral volatility in post-communist Eastern Europe.

The second factor that may lead to high electoral volatility is retrospective reactions of individual vote shifts to the government's economic performance.

> Economic hardship can be expected to increase volatility by increasing anti-incumbent votes, undermining existing party loyalties, or, more relevant in the case of young democracies, preventing those loyalties from emerging and encouraging voters to support not only opposition parties, but entirely new political alternatives (Tavits, 2005: 286-7).

Roberts and Wibbels (1999) purport that economic crisis damaged even many of the traditional, highly institutionalized parties in Latin American new democracies. Tucker (2002) and Tavits (2005) find strong evidence that the vote share of each party was affected by the economic crisis in Eastern Europe. Therefore, economic voting can destabilize party systems especially if the cleavages are not sufficiently entrenched. To analyze the post-1980 Turkish party system extensively, Table 4.3 provides the total volatility for general elections along with the volatility occurring between and within blocks.

Table 4.3 Electoral volatility in Turkey[4]

Period	Total Volatility	Inter-bloc Volatility[5]	Intra-bloc Volatility
1983–1987	38.5	2.9	35.6
1987–1991	16.5	1.8	14.7
1991–1995	17.9	5.8	12.1
1995–1999	22	7.4	14.6
1999–2002	42	8.2	33.8
2002–2007	17	6.0	11.0
2007–2011	9.5	5.3	4.2
Average	23.3*	5.3	18

Source: Author's calculations.
Election results retrieved from global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/secim_sonuclari/secim3_tr.pdf.
* The 1983 election following the military intervention is not included in the volatility calculations because all parties in the Turkish political system were shut down by the military regime.

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[4] See Appendices for election results and calculations.
[5] Inter-bloc and intra-bloc volatilities are calculated according to Bartolini and Mair (1990 [2007]: 29-31)'s formulae.

Volatility reached a peak of 42% in the 2002 elections because voters defected from all established parties in reaction to one of the worst economic crises that Turkey has experienced. The former coalition government partners were seriously punished by the voters. None of the coalition partners—the Democratic Left Party [DSP], which formed the coalition with nationalist party [MHP] and center-right Motherland Party [ANAP] after 1999 elections—could pass the 10% threshold in 2002 elections. "Nearly half of the electorate shifted from one party to another from the 1999 to 2002 elections" (Carkoglu and Kalaycioglu, 2007: 35). In their empirical investigation on economic voting, particularly on the results of 2002 elections, Baslevent, Kirmanoglu and Senatalar (2005) argue that economic evaluations constituted the backbone of voting behavior in the 2002 elections. Their multinomial logit estimates of voting intention reveal that young males who were adversely affected by the 2001 economic crisis tended to vote for the AKP. In their second study, which focuses on the characteristics of the AKP voters after the 2001 crisis over, Baslevent et al. (2009) find that voters who make optimistic judgments of the state of the economy tend to vote for the AKP. In addition, previous studies on the relationship between economic voting and electoral success in Turkish politics confirm that Turkish voters change their electoral support for the incumbents due to economic performance, particularly due to rising inflation and unemployment (Carkoglu, 1997; Hazama, 2007).

Lastly, high levels of volatility can be a sign of a weak cleavage structure in a political system. Following the argument of Lipset and Rokkan (1967), political stability emanates from deeply entrenched cleavages in society, which become institutionalized through party competition and the emergence of mass parties. Without the existence of social cleavages, volatility is associated with personality politics and authoritarian populism (Evans and Whitefield, 1993). In terms of cleavage structures in new democracies, on the one hand, Casal Bertoa (2013) argues that the cleavage encapsulation has a weak explanatory power on electoral volatility in Eastern Europe. On the other hand, Tavits (2005) highlights that although class and other socioeconomic cleavages matter less in Eastern Europe than in Western Europe, other types of cleavages such as ethnicity, religion, and urban versus rural setting have a persistent effect on post-communist electoral behavior. In her research on the conditions that facilitated the emergence of stable patterns of party support in

13 post-communist democracies, Tavits (2005) finds that ethnic cleavages did not affect electoral stability, whereas social cleavages had an impact only during economic downturns. The research on new democracies of Latin America supports the idea that cleavage structures have a modest impact on electoral instability (Roberts and Wibbels, 1999; Mainwaring and Scully[6], 1995).

In the post-1980 Turkish party system, the question of the linkage between cleavages and political parties would require a deeper analysis than what volatility results can offer us. Although Özbudun (1981) argues that electoral volatility in Turkey during 1946-1980 may result from voter realignments, Hazama (2003; 2007) states that the post-1980 Turkish electoral data do not support the voter-mobilization hypothesis. By dividing electoral volatility into (1) cleavage-type volatilities based on social cleavages and (2) retrospective- type volatilities based on voter punishment of the incumbent, Hazama (2003; 2007)'s study reveals that deep social cleavages increased the volatility level during the pre-1980 period. Since the 1990s, however, the social cleavages have been stabilizing voting behavior. Therefore, he argues that the main reason for high volatility rates in the post-1980 Turkish party system "stemmed not from a lack of representation in parliament of major social groups but from the poor performance of the government" (Hazama, 2007: 131)[7].

As displayed in Table 4.3, the low scores of inter-bloc volatility demonstrate that voters in Turkey have a fair knowledge about their own positions and the parties' positions. Based on face-to-face interviews with 1030 individuals, Kalaycioglu (1994) suggests that 75% of Turkish voters have moderate ideological tendencies and show consistency in their ideological preferences. However, intra-bloc volatility seems to be more salient in the post-1980 Turkish party system. The high within-bloc volatility level can be considered reasonable when the political parties' positions on the left-right scale are analyzed. According to the codings of the Manifesto Research

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[6] Mainwaring and Scully (1995: 11) argue that electoral volatility in Uruguay, Costa Rica, Chile, Venezuela, Argentina and Colombia in 1971-1990 "has on average not been vastly higher than in the advanced industrial democracies, indicating considerable aggregate stability in electoral preferences".

[7] To put it more clearly, although during the last four decades of Turkish elections, "(1) Sunni religiosity raised systemic volatility and (2) Kurdish ethnicity raised both left-right and systemic volatilities while (3) Alevi sectarianism reduced left-right volatility, this tendency has been mitigated by strengthening the ties between political parties and cleavage groups" during the post-1980 period (Hazama, 2003: 378).

Database[8], distinguishing center-right parties from each other becomes challenging regarding Turkish politics in the 1990s. For instance, the 1991 election manifestos locate three center-right and right-wing parties on the left-right scale with the values of 8.6, 14.5 and 16.5. Under such circumstances, which also indicate low polarization between center-right and right-wing parties, voter behavior may depend not on ideological orientations but on governments' economic performance. Another example is that in 1999 elections, according to the codings of the Manifesto Research Database, the center-left Democratic Left Party (DSP) takes a position on the right with a 19.5 score, close to the ultra-nationalist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), which has a score of 28.1. Inter-bloc volatility rose up as a result of this ideological shift. However, this result cannot be explained by a shift in voting behavior and the weak cleavage structures of society. On the contrary, recent works (Carkoglu, 2008; Kalaycioglu 2010) suggest that supporting leftist ideology—especially for the CHP—in Turkey is related with family socialization. Voters whose parents support a leftist ideology tend to vote for the left. Under these circumstances, when DSP shifted its position from center-left to center-right in the 1999 elections, DSP voters did not respond to this ideological change. Instead, because leftist voters are loyal to their ideological position, they kept voting for the center-left out of habit. Therefore, cleavage structures in Turkey do not seem to create high electoral volatility in the post-1980 Turkish party system.

Lastly, if the regular influx of new voters and changes in electoral turnout are taken into account, Wuthrich (2011) indicates that with each election, a net average of 3 million new voters has been registered. In contrast to the shrinking populations of established democracies, the population of registered voters in Turkey increased from almost 9 million[9] in the 1950 elections to 52 million[10] in the 2011 elections,

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[8] All the manifesto codings for Turkey can be found at
https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/countries/Turkey.
[9] The population of registered voters in 1950 retrieved from the official website of the High Election Council (Yüksek Secim Kurulu – YSK)
http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/faces/HaberDetay?training_id=YSKPWCN1_4444010921&_adf.ctrl-state=xi95nqua6_4&_afrLoop=39148077274497884&_afrWindowMode=0&_afrWindowId=xi95nqua6_10.
[10] The population of registered voters in 2011 retrieved from the website of Supreme Election Council
:http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/faces/HaberDetay?training_id=YSKPWCN1_4444009335&_afrLoop=959633994228526&_afrWindowMode=0&_afrWindowId=137pfc0p6n_91#%40%3F_afrWindowId%3D137pfc0p6n_91%26_afrLoop%3D959633994228526%26training_id%3DYSKPWCN1_4444009335%26_afrWindowMode%3D0%26_adf.ctrl-state%3Dm5mdt6bbg_18.

which might be "a serious confounding factor in national aggregate volatility scores for Turkey" (Wuthrich, 2011: 95).

4.1.1.2 Second dimension: Party roots in society

In institutionalized party systems, the linkages between voters and political parties are strong. By taking ideological positions, which are established through programmatic linkages between parties and voters, voters come to care about party labels and cast their votes accordingly. As Mainwaring and Torcal (2006: 206) put it, "party roots in society and the stability of interparty competition, while analytically separable, are intertwined because strong party roots in society stabilize electoral competition." Therefore, if the preferences of the voters are structured and their voting behavior shows regularity, then one can talk about the existence of strong party roots in society, which in turn inhibits high levels of electoral volatility. Such regularity in voting behavior leads to the institutionalization of the party system in the long term. The second dimension is operationalized through two indicators party identification and membership strength.

Party identification. This refers the degree to which voters identify themselves with a party. In order to determine the party roots in society, party identification as a measure provides clues about whether parties are able to establish a consistent support base.

Figure 4.1 displays the percentage of respondents who feel close to any party based on the European Social Survey [ESS] (2004, 2008) data. It indicates that in Western and Southern Europe, more than half of voters on average felt close to a party, whereas voters in the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe did not identify themselves with a party. Turkey's result stands exactly in between the established and new democracies. In this sense, voters in Turkey show stronger party identifications when compared to their Central and Eastern European counterparts.

Figure 4.1 Percentage close to any party
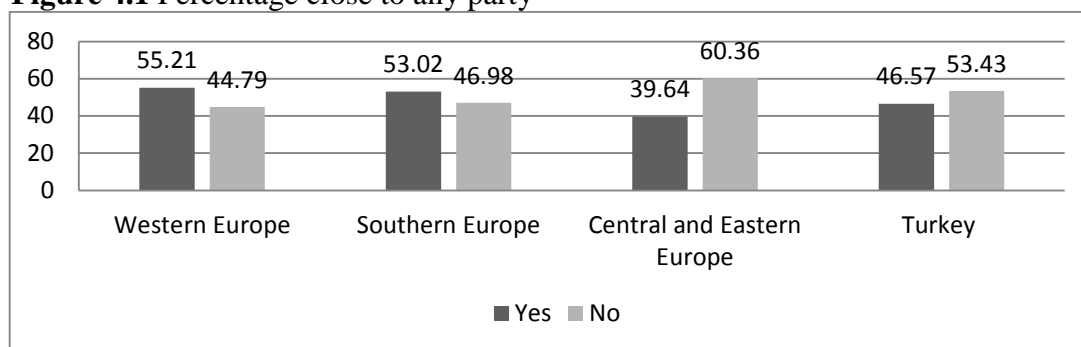
<u>Membership strength</u>. Previous research on party membership reports a decline in membership during the last decades with certain exceptions such as green parties (van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012). Mair and van Biezen (2001) suggest that not only have membership levels as a proportion of the electorate been declining since the 1980s, but the absolute number of party members across all established democracies has also started showing a major decline. One possible explanation for the decline in party membership rates rests upon the fact that the heyday of mass parties was over. With "the declining importance of traditional forms of institutionalized mediation" (Mair and van Biezen, 2001: 14), political parties have lost their grounds and suffered from "the impact of the individualization of social and political preferences. However, Scarrow and Gezgor (2010) claim that although the party membership is shrinking, party members have become a lot more like the general population. In this sense, parties have become even more representative of their fellow citizens, which indicates that "today's smaller but powerful memberships still have the potential to help link their parties to a wider electoral base (Scarrow and Gezgor, 2010: 823).

In her study, which tests theories related to party membership development with 47 parties in six European democracies between 1960 and 2010 by employing multilevel modeling and time-series analyses, Kölln (forthcoming) concludes that 23% of the parties studied have not been experiencing membership decline. Moreover, the more consolidated the parties are, the more they have experienced decline in membership, which means that membership decline is "a part of a party's life-cycle" (Kölln, forthcoming).

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[11] Because Italy was not included in ESS Data Round 4, Round 2 (2004) for Italy was employed.

Not only has party membership in established democracies been declining, but the research on post-communist democracies also indicates that their party membership levels are substantially lower than those of the established democracies (Mair and van Biezen, 2001; Biezen 2003). In line with this, the anticipation in the literature is that "the newer the democracy, the smaller is likely to be the membership level" (van Biezen et al., 2012: 26). Moreover, the size of a democracy matters for party membership levels. The main argument is that the larger a polity, the smaller the membership level is likely to be. However, van Biezen et al. (2012: 30) show that the relationship between size and membership level is not unequivocal. For example, Italy has a relatively high level of membership, whereas Latvia and Ireland have small membership ratios.

Table 4.4 summarizes the results of party membership levels. Compared to both established and new democracies, Turkey's party membership level is too high to ignore. In the individual data rankings, the Turkish party membership level in 2007 takes third place after Austria and Cyprus (Greek), which have 17.27% and 16.25% party membership rates respectively (van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke, 2012: 28). According to the data for 2013, Turkish party membership rates are steadily increasing. By acknowledging the fact that the Turkish party system has been disrupted by three military interventions, and each time political party members were imprisoned and repressed, the results show that people still become party members in Turkey, and the linkage between parties and citizens has remained somewhat strong and steady.

Table 4.4 Party membership levels

Regions[12]	Year (ranges from)	M/E[13]
Western Europe	2006–2009	4.88
Southern Europe	2007–2009	7.32
Central and Eastern Europe	2004–2009	3.04
Turkey	2007	**15.30**
Turkey	2013	**19.13**

Source: van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke (2012). Data for Turkey from Hürriyet (2007; 2013).
Data on registered voters retrieved from the Official Website of the Supreme Election Council.

The party membership levels in Turkey also challenge the main assumption on the relationship between polity size and membership levels. As in the case of Italy, Turkey seems to be an outlier because the country has a growing population with 52 million registered voters, and the party membership levels have been increasing too. Table 4.5 provides a closer look at the membership levels of the four major parties in Turkey that entered the parliament and indicates a pattern of people in Turkey becoming more engaged in politics.

Table 4.5 Party membership in Turkey (2007, 2013)

Year	Parties	Party Membership	M/E[14]
2007	AKP	1,834,520	4.28
2007	CHP	529,703	1.24
2007	MHP	307,747	0.72
2007	DTP[15]	277	-
2013	AKP	7,551,472	14.30
2013	CHP	953,416	1.81
2013	MHP	363,393	0.69
2013	BDP	44,156	0.088

Source: 2013 results retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/22588205.asp
 2007 results retrieved from http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/index/ArsivNews.aspx?id=5867722

All major parties in Turkey increased their membership levels, and more strikingly, in six years, the membership rate of AKP increased 10%. These high levels of

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[12] Retrieved from van Biezen, Mair and Poguntke (2012: 28): Western Europe: Austria (2008), Finland (2006), Belgium (2008), Norway (2008), Switzerland (2008), Denmark (2008), Sweden (2008), Netherlands (2009), Germany (2007), Ireland (2008), France (2009) and United Kingdom (2008). Southern Europe: Cyprus–Greek (2009), Greece (2008), Italy (2007), Spain (2008) and Portugal (2008). Central and Eastern Europe: Slovenia (2008), Bulgaria (2008), Estonia (2008), Romania (2008), Lithuania (2008), Slovakia (2007), Czech Republic (2008), Hungary (2008), Poland (2009) and Latvia (2004).

[13] M/E is calculated as total party membership a percentage of the electorate.

[14] M/E ratio for 2013 is calculated based on the number of registered voters in 2011.

[15] Democratic Society Party (DTP) was the predecessor of the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP), and both represented Kurdish nationalist interests. Neither party reached the 10% threshold in the elections; however their candidates, after getting elected as independents from their districts, united under their party label.

interest in politics and the major increases in party membership levels can also be interpreted as signs of heightened polarization. What is unique to the AKP's case is that the party emerged as "a new political force with a broad appeal to the former center-right, center and nationalist as well as a portion of Islamist voters" (Özbudun, 2006: 129). When the individual party membership in Turkey is analyzed, although many established parties have increased their membership levels from 2007 to 2013, member of center-right parties such as the Motherland Party (ANAP) and the True Path Party (DYP) have shifted to AKP membership[16].

4.1.1.3 Third dimension: Legitimacy of political parties

This dimension is associated with citizens' perceptions of the necessity of political parties in politics. Citizens and organized interest should deem parties and elections as necessary "means of determining who governs, and that the electoral process and parties are accorded legitimacy" (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995: 14). This dimension is operationalized through the indicators of party indispensability and trust in political parties.

Party indispensability. Party indispensability is operationalized as the issue of whether political parties that wish to overthrow democracy should be banned or not (ESS Round 4). This question provides a hint at society's perception of political parties; even if a party represents extremist ideas and demands coming from what may be a small portion of society, should this extremist party be allowed to exist? The gist of party indispensability presents the idea of tolerance and shows the extent to which the liberal values of democracy, such as freedom of association are rooted in society.

Figure 4.2 reports that in both established and new democracies, citizens prefer to ban political parties that wish to overthrow democracy. Strikingly, new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe have a tendency to either disagree or stay neutral. However, in Western democracies, although the majority is in favor of banning extremist parties, the highest proportion disagree that this option belongs to established democracies.

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[16] Party membership levels for the political parties in Turkey both in 2007 and in 2013 are calculated. See Appendices.

Figure 4.2 Percentage supporting the ban of parties that wishes to overthrow democracy
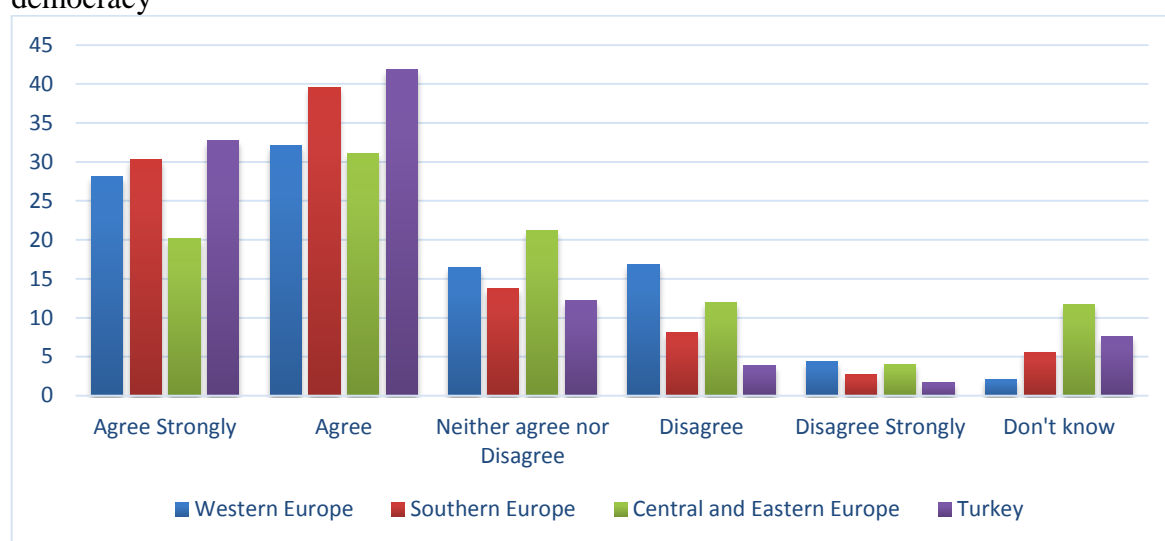
Source: ESS data Round 4 (2008), for Italy Round 2 (2004)

Turkey shows a similar pattern to Southern European democracies, which can be seen as a result of sharing same authoritarian regime experiences in the past. Both Turkey and Southern European democracies, namely Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, have suffered from repression, the excessive centralization of state power, the control of bureaucracy and the military over politics, and populist movements during the transition to democracy (Morlino, 1998; Schmitter, 1986). Such a common experience may explain to some extent why these countries hold the same attitude toward the ban of political parties.

Trust in political parties. Measuring public trust in political parties provides clues about the extent to which parties manage to establish close linkages to the electorate. Trust in political parties is especially important because democratic governments cannot rest upon coercion; on the contrary, they should be based on consent and legitimacy.

According to Table 4.6, a sharp difference between old and new democracies exists in terms of trusting in political parties. Due to the established linkage between society and political parties, 60% of the respondents from Western European societies have a considerable trust in parties. However, as a common malady, new democracies suffer from lack of trust. Following Southern Europe, respondents from Turkey have the highest percentage of trust in political parties in contrast to the new democracies of Central Eastern Europe and Latin America. Strikingly, in Turkey the

distribution of the respondents' trust shows a similar all-or-nothing pattern. Turkish respondents somehow express citizen disaffection by political parties; however, compared to other regions, the number of respondents indicating high trust is reasonably high. In other words, among other respondents from new democracies, respondents in Turkey put a slightly higher trust in political parties.

Table 4.6 Trust in Political Parties (%)[17]

Regions	No Trust	Low Trust	Moderate Trust	High Trust
Western Europe	7.71	29.22	57.93	5.15
Southern Europe	20.31	36.74	40.20	2.75
Central-Eastern Europe	26.81	42.89	27.73	2.58
Latin America	41.10	37.34	18.37	3.19
Turkey	33.21	31.12	26.99	8.68

Source: ESS Data Round 4 (2008) - Round 2 (2004) only for Italy and Latino Barometro (2008).

4.1.1.4 Fourth dimension: Party organization

In an institutionalized system, party organizations matter, that is, "party structures are firmly established, are territorially comprehensive, are well organized, and have resources of their own" (Mainwaring, 1999: 27). Parties are well organized in the sense that they have a presence at the local and national levels even though parties are centralized (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995: 16). Moreover, intra-party democracy should be established by routinizing procedures for selecting party leadership (Panebianco, 1988: 53-65), and a party as an institution should be only in the hands of party elites or the party leader. The last dimension is operationalized through party age.

Party age. Party age signifies the party's continuity. If the same political parties run for office over and over again, this would inject stability into the political system.

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[17] In an ESS survey, the respondents were asked "How much you personally trust in political parties?" on a scale from 0 (not at all) to 10 (complete). In Latino Barometro, the respondents were asked to "How much trust you have in political parties?" on a scale from 4 (no trust) to 1 (a lot). After appending both datasets, I rescaled the categories. Here, no trust refers to 0 in the ESS dataset and 4 in the Latino Barometro. Low trust refers to 1 to 3 in the ESS dataset and 3 (a little) in the Latino Barometro. Moderate trust is from 4 to 7 in the ESS dataset, and 2 (some) in the Latino Barometro. High trust is from 8 to 10 in the ESS dataset and 1 (a lot) in the Latino Barometro.

The electorate has a better knowledge about the parties, thereby cleavages, which are entrenched in society, will be represented at the state level.

Table 4.7 displays the average age of political parties in Turkey. Significant parties are considered to be those that received at least 10% of the vote during the last three parliamentary elections (based on Mainwaring and Scully (1995)'s criterion). Considering that the Turkish Republic was established in 1923, and the multi-party regime was initiated in 1946, the 44-year average age of political parties indicates party stability in Turkey.

Table 4.7 Party Age in Turkey

Party	Year of establishment
Justice and Development Party (AKP)[18]	2002—active for 13 years
Republican People's Party (CHP)	1923—active for 92 years[19]
Nationalist Action Party (MHP)[20]	1969—active for 46 years
Kurdish independents[21]	1990—active for 25 years
Average	44 years

Apart from the organizational age of the parties in Turkey, according to the Law on Political Parties, parties have to establish their organizations in at least 50% of provinces[22] in order to enter the elections. In this sense, most of the parties that have entered the parliament, with the exception of the Kurdish party, have a nationwide organizational presence in Turkey. Although party age and the organizational presence of political parties are in favor of party system institutionalization in Turkey, "highly-disciplined party leadership" and "overly centralized structures" are the main impediments to the development of intra-party democracy (Özbudun, 2000, 2002; Ayan, 2010).

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[18] Although AKP was established in 2002, the party was built on a coalition of liberals, pro-Islamists, nationalists, center-rightists and rightists from various parties. Therefore, deeming AKP as a new party would be a mistake because it does not represent a totally new cleavage in society.

[19] CHP was banned after the military intervention. The party was not in the political scene during 1981–1992.

[20] The Nationalist Action Party was established on 1969; however, two parties that were established before the MHP and followed the same ideological position can be considered its predecessors: the Republican Villagers Nation Party (1958) and the Villagers Party of Turkey (1952). If the Villagers Party of Turkey is considered the predecessor of MHP, then the age of the party is actually 63 years.

[21] Kurds have always been in the party politics in Turkey and mostly integrated into the leftist parties. However, the first Kurdish party, which was independently established from leftist parties and defended solely Kurdish interests ——called as People's Labor Party—was established in 1990.

[22] Organization at the province level means that parties have to be operational in one third of sub-provinces within a province. A sub-province is the smallest unit in which a party can be operational.

Table 4.8 Degree of party institutionalization in Turkey

Country	DI: Inter-party competition	D2: Party roots in society	D3:Legitimacy of parties	D4: Party organization	Aggregate index (D1+D2+D3+D4)/4
TURKEY	**75.9%**	**46.57%**	**35.67%**	**87.5%**	**55%**

DI: Average volatility of votes deducted from 100. D2: As a percentage of respondents with any party identification. D3: Sum of the percentages of moderate and high trust in parties D4: Average percentage of parties with at least 10% of votes that have at least (a) 10 and (b) 25 years in existence.

To sum up this section, Table 4.8 displays the degree of party institutionalization in Turkey. At all levels, Turkey seems to be more institutionalized than the Central and Eastern European region average[23]. Compared to the 55% institutionalization level of the Turkish party system, Latin America and Asia as regions show similar average levels of institutionalization, 54% and 51% respectively [24].

I infer from these results that party behavior in Turkey, depending on the party institutionalization level, can be predicted to a certain extent. After the 2002 elections, electoral volatility started to decline due to the government's stable economic performance and high ideological polarization. Political parties in Turkey have established a linkage with society, and thereby the party membership levels have been increasing. Trust in political parties constitutes something of a problem that has been experienced by all new democracies; however, a certain section of ESS respondents from Turkey puts complete trust in parties. In terms of party organization, political parties are highly institutionalized; routine selection of party leaders, nationwide organizational presence and ability to provide a stable existence in the party system despite within the overly centralized structure of the party organizations and clientelistic linkages between parties and the electorate stand as barriers to the consolidation of democracy.

To complement and interpret these results in a more comprehensive manner, I analyze the post-1980 Turkish party system by putting special emphasis on the last

[23] At the country level, certain Central European countries such as Hungary and the Czech Republic have more institutionalized party systems than Turkey (Bielasiak, 2002; Casal Bertoa 2013).

[24] The information on party system institutionalization in Latin America and Asia is taken from Croissant and Völkel (2012)'s article. However, the comparison of these levels to Turkey is limited due to the employment of different operationalization of the indicators. For the calculations of D1, Croissant and Völkel (2012) employ both vote and seat volatility. In D3, the authors measure the legitimacy of both parties and elections. Due to data unavailability on legitimacy of elections, I could not check this indicator for Turkey.

three elections. By looking at additional attributes of the party system, I portray the characteristics and limits of party competition in Turkey to explain why a dominant party enters into a new issue dimension.

4.1.2 Party System Type in the post-1980 Turkey

A party system is defined as "structures of competition (the competition for votes) and cooperation (the formation of governments)" (Pennings and Lane, 1998: 4) or "a set of patterned interactions in the competition among parties" (Mainwaring and Scully, 1995: 4). Having specified the underlying dimensions of party systems, many typologies of party systems have been formed based on the party system indicators (for a comprehensive review, see Mair, 1990). The main aim of this conceptual development has arisen from a need to compare party systems "according to their differences in their structural properties" (Croissant and Völkel, 2012: 3).

The party system typology can be analyzed broadly along two dimensions; electoral and governmental dimensions. The electoral dimension includes the number of parties (fragmentation), proportionality of electoral outcomes (disproportionality) and patterns of party behavior (ideological polarization). This long tradition of comparing countries along the electoral dimensions started with Duverger (1964)'s classification based on the number of parties in a political system, which resulted in three categorical schema: a single party, the Anglo-Saxon two-party system and the multi-party system. Later, Blondel (1968) improved the classification by taking the relative sizes of parties into account, which enabled him to capture the diverse nature of multi-party systems. Arguably, the most influential and dominant categorization of the electoral dimension of party systems has been Sartori (1976)'s typology of competitive party systems. Sartori (1976) also underlined the indicator of the number of relevant parties; but he went much beyond this by adding the ideological distance between parties as another criterion[25]. Many critiques have found these typologies outdated (Ware, 1996; Mair, 1997). However, in this section, I employ all the indicators that were defined in the beginning, and additionally I use Alan Siaroff

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[25] Based on the number of relevant parties, i.e., those parties with "coalition or blackmail potential" (1976: 123), Sartori identifies four types of parties: predominant, two-party, limited pluralism and extreme pluralism. By applying the second criterion of ideological distance, he further separates the extreme parties as being either moderate (small) or polarized (large). The combination of two criteria produces three types of party systems: two-party systems (with small ideological differences), moderate pluralism (limited pluralism and small ideological differences) and polarized pluralism (extreme pluralism and large ideological distances).

(2000)'s typology, which was developed based on Sartori (1976)'s approach, in order to define the post-1980 Turkish party system.

The second dimension—governmental dimension—analyzes "*the structure of inter-party competition*, and especially *the competition for government*" (Mair, 1997: 206). Mair (1997: 206-14) defines three factors to understand whether a party system is closed or open: (1) alternation in government, (2) governing formulae, and (3) access to government. In this research, this governmental dimension is ignored due to the existence of a dominant party system.

Table 4.9 Selected indicators of the post-1980 Turkish party system[26]

	Turn out	Volatility	ENP Seats	ENEP Votes	Disproportio nality	Fractionaliz ation
1987	91	38.5	2.05	4.35	20.77	0.75
1991	81	16.6	3.59	4.67	11.27	0.79
1995	82	17.9	4.40	6.50	7.26	0.84
1999	83	20.2	4.80	6.88	6.20	0.85
2002	76	41.7	1.85	6.05	24.23	0.82
2007	82	18.6	2.25	3.52	10.94	0.71
2011	81	11.6	2.34	2.96	7.34	0.66
Ave rage	83	23.6	3.04	4.99	12.57	0.77

Source: Author's calculation. Data retrieved from Turkish Grand National Assembly's website: global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/secim_sonuclari/secim3_tr.pdf
Turnout is the ratio of valid votes to registered electors. Volatility is calculated according to Pedersen (1979)'s formula. Fragmentation is the effective number of legislative parties (ENP) calculated according to the seat shares, and the effective number of electoral parties (ENEP) calculated according to the vote share of parties based on Laakso and Taagepera (1979)'s formula. Rae (1968)'s fractionalization index is used for measuring how a system's electoral strength is distributed among political parties. Lastly, disproportionality is calculated according to Gallagher (1991)'s index.

The basic characteristics of the post-1980 Turkish party system are summarized with five indicators[27] of the eight parliamentary elections in Table 4.9. The first indicator, voter turnout, signifies the engagement of citizens in politics and whether the citizens are committed to democratic norms and duties. Low electoral turnout has been considered bad for democracy because it generates a discussion on both a representation gap and legitimacy (Wattenberg, 2002). Turnout rates are calculated

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[26] To measure fragmentation, Laakso and Taagepera (1979)'s formulae are as follows: $ENP = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} p_i^2}$ p_i is the percentage of party seat shares, and $ENP = \frac{1}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} s_i^2}$ s_i is the party vote shares. The disproportionality is computed with the Gallagher index (1991) as $G = \sqrt{\frac{1}{2} (\sum_{i=1}^{n} V_i - S_i)^2}$ where V_i is the vote share of party i and S_i its apportionment of seats. Rae' (1968)s formula for calculating fractionalization is $rae_{ele} = 1 - \sum_{i=1}^{m} V_i^2$ where V_i is the share of votes for party i and m is the number of parties.

[27] The calculations of ENP and ENEP together represent the level of fragmentation; therefore, there are five indicators.

as the ratio of valid registered votes because compulsory voting was introduced in 1983 and disinterested voters cast invalid votes, which should be disregarded from turnout rate. The post-1980 elections have all had turnout rates exceeding 80%, with the exception of the 2002 elections; this can be explained by the 2001 economic crisis, which led to citizen dissatisfaction.

During the 1990s, Turkish politics was marked by high electoral volatility and high fragmentation and polarization, which are called the "three maladies" of the Turkish party system (Ergüder and Hofferbert, 1988; Sayari, 2002; Özbudun, 2013). The major factor is that the frequent military interventions hindered party system stability in Turkey "not only by the banning of certain parties, but also by causing splits within the major parties" (Özbudun, 2013: 81). The high levels of electoral volatility are related to these frequent party splits and formation of new parties.

After four single majoritarian governments[28] were formed by the center-right party ANAP, the three parliamentary elections held in 1991, 1995 and 1999 resulted in coalition governments, which also presented frequent cabinet crises. In these three elections, five parties entered the parliament despite the 10% threshold. Many parliamentarians switched parties, and the number of parties increased due to the factional splits during the legislative sessions. As a striking example, in 1995, the number of parties in the parliament reached 11 with only a few seats each and most of these parties disappeared after the end of the legislative session (Sayari, 2002: 18). In this sense, as Table 4.9 indicates the Turkish party system experienced high fractionalization and fragmentation during the 1990s.

Rae (1968: 414) defines fractionalization as "the proportion of pairs of members in a system which contain persons who have voted for (or belonged to) different parties in the last previous election." Basically, he combines the measures of the number of parties and their relative electoral weights. Laakso and Taagepera (1979) point out the limits of Rae's fractionalization measure: as the fractionalization increases, the index conceals the extent of party number change. Based on Rae (1968)'s fractionalization measure (F), Laakso and Taagepera (1979) calculate the effective number of parties by computing 1 / (1-F). The effective number of parties

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[28] Governments and government types in Turkey and vote shares of all parties in every election between 1983 and 2011 can be found in the Appendices.

measures fragmentation via its self-weighting rule, which indicates that larger parties have more influence than small ones in the decision-making process. I report the effective numbers of both electoral parties and parliamentary parties by considering the fact that the 10% threshold influences the translation of votes into seats.

Returning back to Table 4.9, there are two main reasons for the high fragmentation (at the electoral level, ENEP) and fractionalization during the 1990s. Firstly, although a clear differentiation between the center-right and center-left parties on the ideological spectrum can be seen, divisions within each ideological spectrum incited the fragmentation. Although the party manifestos within the center-right (ANAP and DYP) and the center-left (CHP and DSP) shared many common points and these parties aimed to garner votes from the same voter base, party leaders were reluctant about merging these parties and turning them into a single force that would help the consolidation of the political forces of the center-right and the center-left (Sayari, 2002). Such an ideological proximity also caused high levels of intra-bloc volatility because voters experienced difficulties in differentiating center-right parties from one another.

Secondly, the Turkish party system experienced a weakening of moderate center-right and center-left tendencies. The increasing salience of ethnic and religious issues led to a rise of three extremist parties, i.e., the Islamist Welfare Party (RP) and the Turkish nationalists MHP and the Kurdish nationalist parties. Due to the increased religious activism, the RP garnered 21.4% of the votes in the 1995 elections and formed a coalition government with the center-right party DYP. However, due to the February 28 process, which is known as a post-modern military intervention in Turkish politics, the Welfare Party coalition government ended. Shortly after, the RP was closed down by the Constitutional Court based on the party cadres' actions of anti-secular establishment. The successor of the RP, the Virtue Party (FP), which was also closed down by the Constitutional Court in 2001, garnered 15.4% of votes in the 1999 elections. Afterwards, the Islamist movement split into two factions: those who followed the Welfare Party tradition established a new party, the Felicity Party (SP), and those who were the dissenters and later called themselves not Islamists but conservative democrats established the Justice and Development Party (AKP) under the leadership of former Istanbul mayor Recep Tayyip Erdogan.

Even though the scores of effective numbers of both the legislative and electoral parties (ENP and ENEP) show a trend of decreasing fragmentation after the 2002 elections, these indicators do not actually clarify the level of dominance exerted by the largest parliamentary party, AKP. According to Caulier and Dumont (2010:47), "the main problem of the ENP is that it fails to identify the dominance when a single party has more than the majority of seats available in the assembly." Also, the effective number of parties in Turkey after the 2002 elections is two according to the ENP results, which do not accurately reflect how blackmail potential is distributed. In situations such as constitutional amendments, which require a two-thirds majority, the AKP's seat share has not been sufficient for it to act by itself; however, the AKP has been proposing and enacting many laws simply by having the absolute majority in the parliament. Therefore, the question becomes "once one party has more than 50%, how much does it matter whether it has 53% or 57%?" (Taagepera, 1999: 502).

Actually, it matters. In order to capture the level of fragmentation and party system type, I employ Siaroff (2000)'s typology because it is "systematically constructed, methodologically clear cut, easy to use and serves as an important heuristic for unraveling the otherwise crowded categories of multi-party systems" (Croissant and Völkel, 2012: 239). Siaroff has two typological criteria: the number of parties and the relative parliamentary strength of the parties. The number of parties is operationalized as parties winning at least 3% of the filled parliamentary seats. The second criterion encompasses (a) the absolute size, (b) the relative size of the two largest parties and (c) the relative size of the second- and third-largest parties (Siaroff, 2000: 69-71). Based on these criteria, the calculations[29] indicate that the Turkish party system can be identified as a two-party system after the 2002 elections and as a moderate multiparty system with one dominant party according to 2007 and 2011 election results.

Complementary to the other indicators, disproportionality indicates the difference between the percentage of votes received in an election and the percentage of seats a party gained. As Gallagher (1991: 43) points out, not only does a specific formula that is used for seat allocation have an effect on disproportionality, but other factors such as "the distribution of votes between parties, the impact of district magnitude,

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[29] See Appendices.

the possibility of malapportionment and the use of thresholds" also influence the disproportionality.

In the Turkish case, the major factor that causes the disproportionality of the electoral system is the 10% threshold. In the 2002 elections, the AKP received 34% of valid votes and 66 % of parliamentary seats, and 45% of the valid votes were wasted due to the threshold. Tezcür (2012) states that in the last two elections, although the AKP's vote share increased, the parliamentary seats that the AKP received decreased because the MHP passed the threshold and Kurdish independents entered the parliament. In this sense, there is no consistent relationship between disproportionality and fragmentation even though both disproportionality and fragmentation decreased in the last three elections.

Lastly, party polarization as an indicator of party system stability demonstrates the degree of ideological polarization among political parties. In his seminal work, Sartori (1976) concentrates on the degree of polarization within a party system and analyzes both centrifugal and centripetal forces that have an effect on political parties' locations along the left-right scale. By comparing polarized pluralism to two-party systems and moderate pluralism, Sartori (1976: 173-92) shows how centripetal forces influence electoral competition.

Following Downs (1957) and Sartori (1976), Dalton (2008) develops an index to measure the distribution of parties along the left-right scale and creates a polarization index (PI) based on voter perceptions of party positions in the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems[30]. The data for Turkey are only available for the 2011 elections, and the Turkish party system in 2011 has a polarization index of 5.85[31]. The index has "a value of 0 when all parties occupy the same position along the Left-Right scale and 10 when all parties are split between the two extremes of the scale" (Dalton, 2008: 906). Compared to the results of 24 democracies (both established and new), the Turkish polarization index score seems to be the highest, and the closest score is Czech Republic with 5.44 (Dalton, 2008: 907). Dalton (2008) explains that in new democracies, polarization scores are higher than established ones, because there are many parties that nearly span the entire left-right continuum.

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[30] Dalton (2008: 906)'s polarization index's formulae is PI = SQRT $\{\sum$ (party vote share$i$)*([party L/R score$i$ – party system average L/R score]/5)$^2\}$, where i represents individual parties.
[31] See Appendices for calculations.

Although it is logical to link polarization with the number of parties within a system, Dalton (2008: 908) correlates polarization with the Herfindal index of party fractionalization and concludes that these two indicators of party systems are unrelated. Thus, what are the factors that are related with high polarization in Turkey?

Ideological polarization, as the last malady of the Turkish political system, has been pointed out by many scholars (Carkoglu, 1998; Sayari, 2002; Özbudun, 2000, 2013; Wuthrich, 2011). In the 1990s, besides the left–right cleavages, a new type of polarization has emerged with the rise of Islamist and nationalist parties. In this sense, the dominant cleavage has shifted from a left–right axis to secular–Islamist and Turkish–Kurdish nationalism axes (Özbudun, 2013). Using a nationwide representative survey conducted in 2006, Carkoglu (2007: 263) finds that

> [E]thnic and sectarian backgrounds of individuals consistently appear significant in differentiating people's self-placements along the L-R scale…Minority identity affiliations are associated more with left-wing orientations than right-wing ones.

The rise of polarization especially after 2002 can be explained by many instances that ignited the contention between secular and Islamist camps. The secularist perceived the AKP from its victory in the 2002 elections as a radical Islamist party with a hidden agenda of introducing sharia-based law (Özbudun, 2013). Before the presidential elections in August 2007, the chief of the general staff issued a memorandum on 27 April 2007 in order to menace the AKP and remind the party that the office of the presidency represents the mainstay of the secular Turkish Republic. The Constitutional Court blocked the parliament's election of the president. The AKP, with the help of the ANAP, enacted a new law that provided that the president of Turkey would no longer be elected by the parliament but by the people. After fierce constitutional battles, the candidate of the AKP, Abdullah Gül, was elected as the new president. During this process, the main opposition party, the CHP, took a supportive position to the military and the Constitutional Court (Özbudun, 2013; KONDA Polarization Report, 2010).

Briefly after the presidential election, the AKP devoted its energy to exposing a supposedly high-profile, secularist clandestine organization called Ergenekon. The

alleged members were journalists and military officers who were accused of having secret plans to overthrow the government and plotting against the Turkish state (Özbudun, 2013). Around the same time in 2008, the Constitutional Court announced that the court had accepted the indictment of the Chief Republic Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Appeals and heard the case on the closure trial of the AKP, which was based on the charge that the party violated the principle of separation of religion and state in Turkey. After falling one vote short, the AKP was not closed down but was deprived of half of its state subsidies for a year. The polarization between secular and Islamist camps was still going on with no signs of lessening (Özbudun, 2013).

To sum up, a steady and high turnout, falling electoral volatility and decreasing party system fragmentation and fractionalization, and high levels of polarization indicate that the Turkish party system seems to be on the way to consolidation. However, this ideal picture of a party system harbors one potentially problematic feature: a dominant party system. The danger is that the dominant party system may stay stable, which would lead to consolidation, or it may turn into a hyper-institutionalized system and end up with electoral authoritarianism.

In the next section, after defining one-party dominance, I identify the implications of having a dominant party system and answer the question of why a dominant party would enter into a new issue dimension.

4.2 Dominant Party System: Why Does A Dominant Party Enter into A New Issue Dimension?

Previous sections indicate that Turkish party system institutionalization level, to a certain extent, allows for predicting the party behavior in Turkey. Also, these findings that contextualize the research reveal that Turkey has a dominant party system type. In the next sections, the aim is to check the hypothesis that dominant mainstream party takes a position on the ethnic dimension with policy- and vote-seeking motives.

4.2.1 Objectives and Strategies of Dominant Party - Kurdish Opening-Up Process under the AKP Initiative

The party system typologies provide hints of identifying dominant parties based on the number of parties in competition (Duverger, 1964) and their relative size (Blondel, 1968; Laakso and Taagepera, 1979). According to Sartori (1976: 177), a predominant party system "is qualified by its major party obtaining the absolute majority of seats," and three consecutive victories of a dominant party would be enough for a party system to exhibit pre-dominant-party-system characteristics.

However, by simplifying a snapshot of a party system at a specific point in time, these typologies set arbitrary cut off points that are not useful, because "dominant parties exist in different types of party systems with different configuration."[32] (Boucek, 2012: 8). Without attributing an arbitrary cut off point and by using a retrospective approach, Duverger (1964: 308) defines dominance as a "question of influence rather than of strength," and a dominant party can be "identified with an epoch when its doctrines, ideas, methods, its style, so to speak, coincide with those of the epoch."

But once the temporal and determinative approaches are put aside, the definition of dominant party definition becomes "possessing a relatively long-lasting efficacy advantage over all opponents" (Dunleavy, 2010: 41). In return, Boucek (2012: 10) argues that Dunleavy's conceptualization is not also free from assigning a criterion, so he questions how long the efficacy advantage has to last before a party can be characterized as dominant. In this research, I take a temporal approach into account, which notes that time is a crucial indicator in terms of a party's duration in office and a party's victories in consecutive elections, because I think having the office in succession definitely provides "a long-lasting efficacy advantage over all opponents" via determining the public agenda.

4.2.1.1 Objectives of political parties

Casting aside the concept of the dominant party and its endurance, what does a political party aim for? Although "our systematic knowledge of party objectives and

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[32] I do not differentiate between dominant party and dominant party systems. The reason is that the dominant party certainly turns the party system into a dominant party system, and studying these two as separate objects of study seems to be impossible.

behavior is still quite modest" (Strom and Müller, 1999: 5), rational choice theory has generated a model of competitive party behavior by identifying three factors—vote, office and policy—that constitute the main objectives of political parties.

The vote-seeking party. In his seminal work, Downs (1957: 28) argues that "parties formulate policies in order to win elections, rather than win elections in order to formulate policies." Political parties certainly aim to hold the office and design the policies they wish to carry out, but their main aim is to win elections. Although Downs (1957) builds his economic theory of political decision-making on a two-party system in a one-dimensional policy space, he claims that, even in a multi-party context, vote maximization is still the basic motive for political parties' behaviors. The spatial models of electoral competition have extensively covered vote-seeking party behavior (Enelow & Hinich, 1984; Hinich & Munger, 1997; Stokes, 1963).

The office-seeking party. The vote-seeking party provides a foundation for further study on the voting behavior of citizens, whereas the office-seeking party model has been developed to explain the dynamics of government coalitions in parliamentary democracies (Strom, 1990). Having differentiated his point of view from the Downsian vote-seeking party, Riker (1962) suggests that the winning condition in parliamentary democracies is to control as much of the executive branch as possible through coalitions. Budge and Laver (1986) clarify Riker's argument by separating the intrinsic—the value of holding the office itself— and the instrumental value, i.e., the ability to design and influence office policies.

The policy-seeking party. This model of party behavior is similarly derived from coalition studies in parliamentary governments. The political parties aim to maximize their influence in the process through policy-making. In coalition building, policy-seeking efforts can be valued either instrumentally (parties can manipulate their policies as a means of achieving the office) or intrinsically (parties may be only concerned with designing and implementing their own policies) (Budge & Laver, 1986: 494–7).

Undoubtedly, none of these models exists in a pure form (Strom, 1990; Strom and Müller, 1999). Parties can mix those goals or change their goals and strategies from election to election with regard to the dynamics of party competition and party

system. Moreover, diverse party families in a policy space may pursue different goals, which may lead to clashing and conflicting strategies. For instance, an ethno-territorial party in a dominant party system may put more emphasis on policy-seeking goals, whereas a center-right party may pursue vote-seeking behavior simultaneously. Because winning office or being part of a government coalition does not seem plausible for the ethno-territorial party in a dominant party system, it is expected that the ethno-territorial party in such a situation would aim to pursue a policy-seeking objective. Thus, parties may strive for conflicting goals and then choose their policy positions according to their objectives.

The following can be derived from this logic: in a dominant party system, in order to guarantee its endurance, the single party should be successful at implementing vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking strategies at the right time (Boucek, 2012). In this sense, the Turkish case—when the AKP government decided to start an opening up process for the Kurds in 2009—can be interpreted as an endurance strategy of the party. But the puzzle here is why the AKP as the dominant party decided to enter into a new issue dimension. How would this policy contribute to the endurance of single-dominant party? What was the intention behind introducing this process: vote, office or policy?

4.2.1.2 Dominant party strategies

The emergence of a dominant party and its capacity "to repeatedly skew competition for votes" (Boucek, 2012: 13), which explains the endurance of a dominant party, can be described via sociological (how societal preferences shape the party competition), institutional (structural determinants), and strategic and spatial (party strategies in competition) explanations. Therefore, dominant party strategies of vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking, with regard to the party's emergence and endurance, are analyzed via sociological, institutional and spatial theoretical perspectives.

Sociological explanations. Political parties appealing to voters depend on both electorates' socio-economic structure and the societal cleavages such as religion, class or ethnicity. Two main strategies can help dominant parties either to emerge or to endure: "social engineering" and mobilizing "specific sectional interests" (Boucek, 2012: 14).

If class is the main determinant of voting behavior, social engineering can be an effective strategy to change the existing social structure as in the case of British conservatives under Thatcher in the 1980s (Boucek, 2012). Thatcher's success was to "transform traditional labor supporters into property owners and conservative voters" via "encouraging local authorities to sell their stock of public housing to tenants" (Boucek, 2012:14).

Another alternative is about establishing links with and producing certain policies for specific sectional interests, which can guarantee the endurance of the dominant party, such as the policies introduced by Japan's Liberal Democratic Party to favor farmers and businesses in construction industry (Boucek, 2012).

In the Turkish case, the dominant party—Justice and Development Party [AKP]—defined as "the party of the rising devout bourgeoisie" (Gümüscü and Sert, 2009; Demiralp, 2009; Tür, 2011). The AKP has made the Islamic capital rear up and promoted specific sectional interests via both (a) economic and (b) ideological policies, whereby the AKP has established and continued single-party dominance.

The turning point in Islamists' moderation happened in 2011 after the closure of the FP by the Constitutional Court, and the young provincial entrepreneurs who were the followers of the party announced their split from the movement and established the AKP. In contrast to the former pro-Islamist movement, the faction that was established by the AKP declared its commitment to pluralism and free-market economy, as well as the reconciliation with the West. By challenging the prevailing argument that "state repression and party closures eventually tamed Islamists and assimilated them into the secularist regime," Demiralp (2009:317) claims that "the class heterogeneity and conflicting interests within the Islamist movement … significantly influenced their political interests, alliances and choices." In her analysis of in-depth interviews, Demiralp (2009) shows the fragmentation in Islamist entrepreneurial group—moderate AKP and radical Felicity Party (SP) fractions—in terms of their occupational background, their business agenda shaped by urban-provincial divide and their overlapping attitudes on secularist versus Islamist agendas.

After a transformation from the import substitution industrialization policies during 1960s-70s to the states' export-led growth and open economy in the 1980s, a

provincial bourgeoisie class slowly expanded in Anatolia. However, this small-scale family businesses in Anatolia in the long run was negatively affected by the export-led growth policies, because these policies were mostly in favor of "the larger conglomerates, banking sector and upper level technocrats" (Waterbury, 1992 cited in Demiralp, 2009). Known as the Anatolian Tigers, these entrepreneurs established the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association [MÜSIAD][33] in 1990. In contrast to the Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen Association [TÜSIAD][34] that was established in 1971 representing large firms and holdings located mostly in big cities of the Western part of Turkey, MÜSIAD represents "small- to medium-sized business from cities around Anatolia by adopting primarily Eastern-looking strategy" (Tür, 2011: 590). In a system in which TÜSIAD members who were secularist, urban and large-scale holding owners, were enjoying private networks of the Turkish bureaucracy in 1990s, MÜSIAD members "became increasingly politicized under Erbakan's[35] leadership in the 1980s and 1990s and constituted the backbone of the Islamist movement" (Demiralp, 2009: 319).

According to Demiralp (2009: 326), the rise of the Islamist entrepreneurs and their separation from the Islamist party can be explained by two factors: Turkey's admission to the European Customs Union and the expansion of political access of Islamist entrepreneurs through the 1990s. Islamist entrepreneurs have started trading with the West, which increased revenues and simultaneously, Islamists have begun to develop roots in the bureaucracy via controlling the metropolitan municipalities such as Istanbul and Ankara (Demiralp, 2009). Therefore, the interests and political vision of the Islamists have changed, and were no longer represented by the pro-Islamist party.

When the AKP came to power in 2002, the party's agenda was prepared to serve the needs of this rising devout bourgeoisie, such as passing a tax amnesty in 2003, initiating a rapid privatization program, and accelerating negotiations with the European Union (Bugra and Savaskan, 2014). Due to the failure in signing the Free Trade Agreement with the European Union, AKP turned to alternative trade partners

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[33] *Müstakil Sanayici ve Isadamlari Dernegi*
[34] *Türk Sanayicileri ve Isadamlari Dernegi*
[35] Necmettin Erbakan was a pro-Islamist political leader founded Welfare Party (RP), the Virtue Party (FP) and the Felicity Party (SP).

in the Middle East. Most MÜSIAD and TUSKON[36] members who "feel ideologically close to the Muslim nations in the Middle East" have had a chance to expand their businesses (Tür, 2011: 594). Moreover, not only small- and medium-sized businesses benefited from the AKP's economic policies, but larger firm holders and particularly TÜSIAD members also enjoyed free-market conditions and the economic stability provided by the AKP (Önis, 2006).

With regard to ideological policies, the AKP under Erdogan's dominance represented the excluded and marginalized sectors of society. In 2002 elections, the AKP garnered votes from the supporters of the pro-Islamist party FP, as well as the MHP and the ANAP. The voter profile indicates that the AKP received support from Turkish nationalist, Sunni Muslim (conservative) and the economically liberal electorate. The liberals who criticized the dominance of military over civilian politics along with the secular judiciary also took part in a coalition with the AKP during the 2002 elections. As Yavuz (2003: 257) writes:

> In the transformation of the Islamic movement in general, and the electoral victory of the AKP in particular, a 'new' urban class, consisting of horizontally connected solidarity-based groups within rural origins and shared Islamic ethos, played an important role. This 'new' urban class has been excluded culturally and economically by the Kemalist elite. The excluded segment of the population utilized Islamic idioms and networks to overcome their exclusion. Thus Islamic networks both facilitated this group's integration into modern opportunity spaces and offered it a hope for social mobilization.

The AKP synthesized Islam, modernity, Westernism and nationalism. Göle (1997) interpreted this as a sign of an inner secularization of Islamists as a result of their belated encounter with modernity. However, I think conservative democrats under the AKP rule have hardly been experiencing an inner secularization, but it may be seen as a phase of liberalization. Establishing an Islamic media, adopting capitalist consumption patterns and reconfiguring space and class are the signs of liberalization—but not secularization per se (Robbins, 2005). What was unique about the AKP was not to mobilize voters with regard to Islamic discourse, but by

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[36] The Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists of Turkey (TUSKON, *Türkiye Isadamlari ve Sanayicileri Konfederasyonu*) was established in 2005 as a private, voluntary umbrella organization comprised mostly of small- and medium-sized businesses by the MÜSIAD members.

acknowledging the fact that the principles of secularism and Westernism somehow infused into the minds of people. Rejecting these principles would prepare the end of the AKP, and the party might share the same faith with the previous pro-Islamist parties. In this sense, AKP's ideology—conservative democracy—can be seen as an "attempt to reconcile Islamic values with the legacy of Kemalism" (Alam, 2009: 371). Nevertheless, the success of the AKP is derived from "constituting a new social center and the socialization of the political center with the new hybrid ideas of nationalism, Islam and Westernism" (Yavuz, 2003: 259). Therefore, the emergence of the AKP as a dominant party can be explained by its creation of a new class— devout bourgeoisie—via economic and ideological policies; however, the endurance of the dominant party can partly be elucidated by the rise of a new class.

Institutional explanations. These types of explanations focus on the effect of electoral systems and electoral rules. The idea behind this explanation is that single-party governments via controlling the electoral process or putting up barriers inhibit any kind of challenge to the system from the opposition. The main indicators of electoral rules which may pose a challenge for the opposition are district magnitude and electoral threshold (Anckar, 1997).

According to Carey and Hix (2009:11), some countries such as Turkey "take a belt and braces approach to electoral system design by combining a legal threshold with moderately low-magnitude districts." In Turkey, the district magnitude by itself does not constitute a challenge to opposition parties. However, AKP's reluctance to abolish or reduce the 10% threshold (Milliyet, 2005) indicates that the dominant party's interest in keeping its endurance is more important than achieving more democratization. Erdogan argued that 10% threshold provides stability, which is needed most in Turkey (Milliyet, 2005). On the contrary, the AKP is expected to propose a plan in which a 10% threshold stays the same while decreasing the district magnitudes, whereby the shares of opposition parties will decrease even more dramatically (Magiya, 2013). Thus, the continuation of the 10% threshold and a possible reduction in district magnitudes will enable the endurance of the dominant party.

Strategic and spatial explanations. The emergence and endurance of dominant parties are explained by "resource theory" and "decision-theoretic models" (Ayan-

Musil, forthcoming). I think these two explanations are more related to the survival strategies of the dominant parties, which is at least the case in AKP by introducing the Kurdish opening-up process.

The resource theory suggests that "executive dominance enables ruling parties to transform incumbency advantages into partisan resources" (Boucek, 2012: 29). The possibility of politicization of state-owned enterprises provide resource advantages, such as outspending on campaigns and complementing ideological appeals with patronage goods (Greene, 2007). In Turkish politics, patronage takes the form of offering individual or collective benefits to voters in exchange for support in elections.

Following the pro-Islamist movements' practice, the AKP created many channels to generate support via appropriating resources. The AKP created horizontal relationships with its voters, including women organizations' face-to-face interactions via home visits and neighborhood collaboration (Kemahlioglu, 2012). Moreover, Aytac (2014) analyzed the expenditures of the Social Assistance and Solidarity Fund[37] in 878 sub-provincial districts in Turkey in 2005–2008. This significant research reveals that the incumbent party, AKP, directed the conditional cash transfer program as a strategy to districts whether the challenger, the MHP, is ideologically closer. In a similar vein, Akdag (2015) analyzed the possible factors increasing the effectiveness of the mobilization strategy of the AKP among voters of Kurdish origin. She tested particularly the effectiveness of mobilization through clientelistic linkage on gaining the support of potential swing voters by observing the neighborhoods in the four districts of Istanbul. By conducting interviews and participant observation during the electoral campaign in the 2011, Akdag (2015) found that the AKP's main strategy to mobilize voters of Kurdish origin was to contact them through co-ethnics. The "ability of the party to clientelistically mobilize voters of Kurdish origin" depended on "the amount of activities performed by the neighborhood organization" and "the time of incorporation of activists of Kurdish origin members of the ethnic social network in the party's rank" (Akdag, 2015: 251). In short, it is clear from the existing studies that the AKP has been employing

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[37] This social assistance organization was established in 1968 and financed by the earmarked taxes under the Prime Ministry's control. This fund allocates resources to provinces and aims to help poor people. To qualify for assistance, people must provide information about their economic conditions.

various clientelistic techniques to mobilize swing voters both of Turkish and Kurdish origins.

Another indicator of using resources for its advantage, "control of public information" provides an opportunity for dominant party via establishing "state broadcasting monopolies" or controlling the media (Boucek, 2012: 20). In democracies, except some examples such as Italy, this does not constitute a problem; however, in semi-democratic regimes, which walk a thin line between becoming consolidated and turning into an electoral authoritarian system, the freedom of press can give hints to researchers about the genuine nature and inclinations of the regime. According to both the Freedom House[38] and the World Press Freedom Index[39], Turkey's record has been deteriorating. In the report on the freedom of press in Turkey in 2013, the press was partly free, and the 2014 Freedom House report stated that the press is not free. Also, the World Press Freedom Index ranks Turkey 154th out of 180 countries with regard to the freedom of press.

During the AKP period, the media sector proved the political network penetration of the business world (Bugra and Savaskan, 2014: 97). The Dogan media group in Turkey was well-known for its opposition to the rise of political Islam. Bugra and Savaskan (2014) argue that in the second half of the 2000s, the battle between the AKP and the Dogan Group culminated in extensive tax audits. Due to receiving a tax penalty of $3.8 billion, "Dogan had to sell a larger portion of its newspapers and television channels" which led to downsizing (Bugra and Savaskan, 2014: 99). All these indications support the argument that the AKP employed both clientelistic and oppressive strategies to endure its dominance.

Dominant parties are more oriented toward power than ideology, and the main aim of a dominant party is to maximize support and capture the median voter by adapting itself to the changing electoral market conditions (Boucek, 2012). Similarly, under decision theoretic-models (Ayan-Musil, forthcoming), both Downs (1957) and Riker (1976) argue that political parties that chase median voters and operate in the center politically would have an advantage in elections. Many cases show that long-

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[38] https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2014/turkey#.VQxcaNLF_lg
[39] http://rsf.org/index2014/en-index2014.php

lived dominant parties have a tendency to deemphasize ideology to broaden the voter base (Boucek, 2012).

Strikingly, the dominance of the AKP cannot be explained from this perspective. The AKP is not a centrist, but a conservative, right-of-center party that emerged out of the pro-Islamic bloc, which also can be proved by analyzing its voter base (Carkoglu and Kalaycioglu, 2007; Gümüscü, 2013). Although the ideological appeal of the party led to its emergence as a dominant party, for its endurance ideological appeal was proven to be not enough in the changing parameters of the party competition.

In line with the relevant literature review on the dominant parties, I hypothesize that the dominant party (AKP) entered the issue dimension by pursuing two motives: vote-seeking and policy-seeking. I eliminate the office-seeking alternative because the AKP is already a dominant party that the party does not consider the office-seeking strategies. In order to test this hypothesis, I analyze firstly the 2002 and 2007 national elections and 2009 local election results, and then I identify the reasons which led to the need of initiating a Kurdish opening-up process. Secondly, under policy-seeking motives, I examine the parliamentary group speeches uttered by four parties in the parliament during 2009–2011 in order to understand how parties position themselves in the Constitutional amendment package proposed by the AKP in 2010. By constituting the relationship between constitutional-amendment debates and the Kurdish opening-up process, I intend to find out whether the dominant party has a policy-seeking motive.

4.2.1.2.1 Consolidating power: Initiation of the Kurdish opening up process as a response to opposition parties on ethnic dimension

In the 2002 elections, due to a 10% threshold, the AKP garnered all the votes cast for the Turkish ultranationalists, MHP and the Kurdish nationalists. However, in the 2007 elections, the MHP garnered 14.3% of the votes, which translated to 70 parliamentary seats, and the Kurdish nationalists DTP managed to receive 22 parliamentary seats by running as independent candidates to surpass the threshold. Even though the AKP doubled its vote share from 26% to 53% in the Kurdish region, the 2007 elections indicated that Kurdish and Turkish nationalism are salient issues, which constitute the second issue of dimension in Turkish politics.

Becoming the true representative of Turkish nationalism, the MHP's entrance to the parliament set the alarm bells ringing for the AKP, because both parties share the same vote base. However, Kurdish party DTP did not constitute a real threat to the dominance of the AKP until the 2009 local elections.

Table 4.10 reports the 2009 local elections' results for pro-Kurdish candidates under the DTP and the AKP. The Kurdish nationalist movement won a major victory by increasing the number of municipalities under its control to 99. In the 2007 elections, the AKP garnered 45.7% of the votes from these 14 Kurdish-majority provinces, and the party's share decreased to 37.8% in 2009 local elections. On the contrary, the DTP increased its vote share by almost 12% in the region. Local elections have carried a special meaning to the Kurdish nationalists because every chance they have received, they have been announcing the need for decentralization and for assigning more powers to local governments, who can provide quick responses to the problems that the region experienced.

Table 4.10 Support (%) in Kurdish-majority provinces for pro-Kurdish candidates and the AKP

Kurdish-majority provinces	DTP – 2007 elections	DTP – 2009 local elections	AKP – 2009 local elections
Agri	24.4	32.4	39.6
Batman	39.4	59.7	36.7
Bingöl	14.2	33.8	42.8
Bitlis	21.7	34.4	43.1
Diyarbakir	42.7	65.6	31.3
Hakkari	56.2	80.2	15.1
Igdir	26.8	39.6	30.5
Kars	12.9	14.7	32.7
Mardin	34.3	36.3	45
Mus	33.6	37.2	50.5
Siirt	25.3	49.4	45.8
Sirnak	51.8	53.7	42.6
Tunceli	27.3	30	21.6
Van	32.6	53.5	39.2
Average	31.6	44.3	37.8

Source: http://secim.haberler.com/2009/
http://www.secimsonuclariturkiye.com/2007/

Moreover, the structure of the public administration in Turkey prompts a tension between the appointed district governor and the elected mayor. Although district governors are civil servants, they are nominated by the Ministry of Interior Affairs and appointed by the Council of Ministers and the President. Therefore, district governors are known for their ideological closeness to the governments, and if the

mayor and the district governors have different party affiliations, this may create a problem in governing. That is why some critiques of the KCK[40] arrests interpreted this act as a way to curb elected mayors' actions and restore the power of the district governors in the Kurdish region.

The entrance of the MHP to the parliament as a result of the 2007 elections and DTP's vote-share increase in the 2009 local elections can be taken as signs that have shaken the solid ground of the AKP's dominance. From this perspective, the announcement of the Kurdish opening-up process in August 2009 was a move to win back the votes that the AKP lost both to MHP and the DTP.

With this move, to endure its dominance, the AKP employed the median voter strategy on ethnic dimension. The party could not change its position on secular-Islamist dimension where the party's basic constituency was located, but for garnering more votes the best strategy would be aiming at both the Kurdish and Turkish nationalists' moderates. In this sense, contrary to the main argument that the Kurdish opening-up process targeted the Kurdish nationalists' votes, I think this process was initiated with the aim to win over the votes of both parties' (MHP and BDP) swing voters.

4.2.1.2.2 Consolidating power: A strategy to polarize camps under pro-democratizers versus anti-democratizers

A second example which demonstrates the AKP's objective to win over moderates in the ethnicity dimension can be seen in the debates on constitutional amendments in 2010. In these debates, the AKP not only revealed the party's intention to receive support from all parties by playing the further democratization card, but also it showed signs of policy-seeking behavior. In order to reveal the positions of political parties on the debates of constitutional amendments, I analyze the parliamentary group speeches uttered between 2009 and 2011.

The constitutional amendments of 2010 changed 24 articles of the Constitution and added two provisional articles. With this amendment package, several democratic improvements were achieved, including the following:

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[40] See Chapter Two, page 63.

> [T]he introduction of an Office of Ombudsman, the adoption of constitutional complaint, introducing new fundamental rights or broadening the scope of certain old ones, and amending the article on equality permitting affirmative action in favour of underprivileged groups (Özbudun, 2012a: 48).

However, the most controversial issue on the amendment package concerned the judiciary, changing the composition of the High Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors and the Constitutional Court.

The procedure of amending the Constitution is regulated under Article 175 which states that the Turkish Grand National Assembly shall adopt the amendment bill with two-thirds majority. The AKP did not have the majority in the parliament, and the opposition parties were highly skeptical about the provisions of the amendment; therefore the amendment bill was submitted to a referendum (Özbudun, 2012b).

The referendum on the constitutional-amendment package was held on September 2010 and the package was adopted with 58% of votes. However, the debates over the referendum brought up three different approaches to constitution-making (Özpek, 2012). The first camp was composed of liberals, conservatives, some socialists and non-governmental organizations that supported the AKP's proposal. The opposition parties, the CHP and the MHP, as the second camp argued against the AKP's imposition and considered AKP's attempt to be "a trap to subordinate the judiciary" (Özpek, 2012: 155). The third camp was the Kurdish nationalist movement under the leadership of the BDP, who called for boycotting the referendum because none of the provisions in the amendment are related to the Kurdish question.

By employing the data of 188 parliamentary speeches, I checked the positions of political parties on the issue of constitution-making through a qualitative text analysis with MAXQDA[41]. In my data, I found that the AKP mentioned this topic in five documents (out of 34 documents), CHP in seven documents (out of 34), MHP (out of 45) and BDP (out of 44) each in 11 documents in monthly grouped documents[42]. Constituting-making as a sub-code is operationalized as the most-

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[41] MAXQDA is qualitative data analysis software. By importing speeches, it gives flexibility to researchers to create their own coding system by organizing, sorting and using categories.
[42] The dates of the documents are the following;
AKP: October 2009; November, June and July 2010; and April 2011.

debated topic regarding constitutional amendments in 2010 and as the long-running strategy of the AKP to draft a new constitution which recognizes Kurds as an ethnicity living in Turkey. These two issues are interconnected, and all political parties included the Kurdish issue into constitutional-amendments debate.

The coding unit of the parliamentary group speeches is "quasi-sentence", i.e., "the verbal expression of one political idea or issue" (Budge et al., 2011: 217). In this analysis, quasi-sentence corresponds to segments in which the parties talked about the constitution-making[43].

Figure 4.3 demonstrates how often codes overlap with the sub-code of "constitution-making" based on segments. In my coding scheme, I have three main categories: Kurdish opening-up process, Kurdish issue and proposed solutions to the Kurdish issue. These main codes are also supported with sub-codes. As one of my sub-codes under the category of Kurdish opening-up process, constitution-making bunches all the segments together that are related with the issue.

Employing the code-relations browser that is known as theory-development tool in MAXQDA, I crosstab all my codings with a constitution-making sub-code in order to see the relationships between Kurdish opening-up process, Kurdish issue, solutions to the Kurdish issue and constitution-making. This cross-tabulation reveals to what extent constitution-making is relevant to one of these categories.

The numbers that are circled in red in Figure 4.3 indicate the major issues that sizably overlapped with the constitution-making sub-code are the Kurdish opening-up process, the actors taking part in the process, the need for more democracy to create a solution under the code of solution to the problems and the lack of democracy as defined as the main problem of the Kurdish question.

In the overall picture, it is clear that parties associated the issue of constitution-making with the Kurdish opening-up process. According to the speeches of the CHP, this constitutional amendment package not only threatened the pillar of secularism

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CHP: August, October, November and December 2009; January, February and March 2010.
MHP: November and December 2009; January, February, March, April, June, July, October and December 2010; January 2011.
BDP: January, February, March, April, May, June, July, October, November and December 2010 and February 2011.
[43] Chapter Six provides detailed information about the coding procedure.

but also the national integrity. Voting yes to the constitutional amendment package was a first step to reinforcing AKP's dominance which might end up with losing the national identity. The only branch that has not been touched by the government was considered to be the judiciary, and the CHP was scared that when the last citadel of the secularism is invaded, the AKP could use this power to amend the constitution in favor of erasing the Turkish national identity. In this sense, CHP's speeches are highly cross-tabulated with the code of opening up and the sub-code of national identity[44].

Figure 4.3 How often codes overlap with the sub-code of constitution-making based on segments[45]

Code System	Constitution-m...
Opening-Up Process	
Process	4
cooperation with ter...	27
Language Laws	32
National identity	50
terror	37
legality	6
transparency	24
Constitution-making	
Habur-comingbacks	19
Actors	43
Results	13
opening-up perceptions	114
Defining Kurdish issue	
Terror	25
Democracy	112
Socio-economic reasons	18
role of international actors	9
identity- nationalism	33
ethno-political	2
ethno-cultural	56
discrimination	33
historical background	11
war - Turkish military	40
Kurdish issue perceptions	27
Solution Propositions	
ending terror	22
sanctions on internation...	
Socio-econ development	15
more democracy	57
ethnic-political solutions	10
ethnic-cultural solutions	14
overall solution	57

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[44] See Appendices for the cross-tabulation outputs specific to each party's documents.
[45] See Appendices for the description of thematic codes.

From MHP's perspective, this constitutional amendment project was proposed as a result of the Kurdish opening-up process. The speeches of the MHP's leader Bahceli equated the meaning of voting for the amendment package with terrorism, ethnic separatism and eradicating all the values that were established both by Kurds and Turks. The MHP linked the increasing terrorist attacks during June 2010 with the constitutional amendments by which the terrorist organization PKK's actions were encouraged. Due to this alleged linkage, the MHP leader argued that the AKP and the BDP had already agreed upon the terms of autonomy. The claims of both the CHP and the MHP resembled each other over the constitutional amendments, and both parties called for voting against the amendment package.

The BDP attached considerable importance to the constitutional amendments and associated this package with a chance for introducing more freedoms. In this sense, the cross-tabulation results of the BDP documents revealed that the constitution-making code is highly salient in conjunction with the sub-codes of democracy in defining Kurdish problems and that more democracy is a solution to the Kurdish question. Although the provisions of the constitutional amendments were approved and supported by the BDP, the party called for a boycott to the referendum because these provisions have nothing to do with the demands of the Kurds. Instead of criticizing the provisions, the party questioned Erdogan's willingness to make Turkey a more democratic country. The party said that if turning Turkey into a full democracy was the main motive, then the constitutional amendments would have included education in the mother tongue, strengthening local governments with further decentralization policies, and introducing the existence of Kurds as an ethnicity in the constitution. According to the BDP, the democratization process cannot be separated from the Kurdish issue. Reforming judiciary might be a step for further democratization but keeping the Anti-Terror Law, 10% electoral threshold and arresting the elected mayors under the KCK trials should have been the primary issues for further democratization.

According to the AKP's speeches, the main issue on constitutional amendment concentrated on the Kurdish opening-up process and the actors in the process. Erdogan acknowledged the demands coming from BDP with regard to the Kurdish issue, and he claimed that further rights can only be given by drafting a new constitution in the long-term. Interestingly, Erdogan employed a new kind of rhetoric

by which he did not distinguish society or parties along the secular versus pro-Islamist and nationalism axes. However, he categorizes the camps as pro-democratizers versus anti-democratizers. The constitutional amendment package was related only to disposing the 1982 Constitution, which was drafted by the military and should be supported by all fractions of the society: Kurds, seculars and Alevis. Anyone who would not support the package was deemed as an anti-democratizer.

Figure 4.4 demonstrates the results of a survey conducted by KONDA in 2010 on the polarization issue that also supports the fact that the constitutional amendment debates intensively polarized the political camps. This survey was conducted before the constitutional referendum, and according to the survey, 55.8% of the subjects found the amendments necessary for further democratization and 44.2% of the subjects considered the amendments a step toward civil dictatorship. The results announced by the KONDA were really close to the actual results of the referendum.

Figure 4.4 Constitutional Amendments on Debate
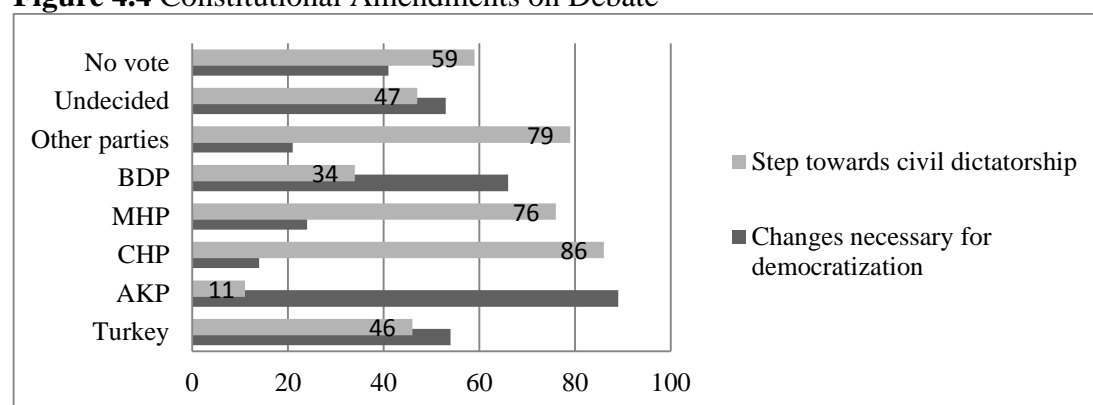
Source: KONDA's Report on Polarization in Politics and the Society, 2010: 8.

A striking result of KONDA's (2010) research revealed that during constitutional amendments debates, the views of the supporters of CHP and MHP shared a common base and became allies against AKP's proposal. In this sense, both parties' supporters responded and contributed to the AKP's polarization tactics of dividing the constituency as pro- versus anti-democratizers.

The AKP's strategy was to form a sub-dimension which differentiates democratizers versus status-quo supporters within the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. This strategy worked out for MHP's supporters, who are mobilized on

the ethnic dimension; however, BDP did not respond directly to strategy and played the game by establishing its own rules via calling for a boycott.

To conclude, I think the main motive of the AKP initiating the Kurdish opening-up process, and later changing the rhetoric, is to endure the dominant party regime via eradicating ethnic dimension from Turkish politics. The first attempt of the AKP was to attract median voters by proposing a solution for the Kurdish issue which had a potential to end the war. The second attempt during the process was to change rhetoric that polarized the society along with a new axis based on pro-democratizers versus anti-democratizers. In the long run, the endurance of the dominant party regime in Turkey depends much on the Kurdish issue's faith. If the issue is solved, then the ethnicity dimension may be easily integrated into the main dimension of Turkish politics, which is a secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. In this way, Erdogan can introduce the presidentialism with a two-party system[46], which was in his mind in the first place.

4.2.2 Did the Dominant Party Achieve What It Aimed For? Analysis of the 2011 National Elections with regard to Kurdish Opening up Process

The results of the 2011 elections show the characteristics of "critical elections" which are a particular "type of election in which there occurs a sharp and durable electoral realignment between parties" (Key, 1955: 16). The electoral realignment that was confirmed and stabilized in the 2011 elections first appeared in the 2007 elections, which had two important consequences for Turkish politics. Firstly, the increase in the saliency of Turkish and Kurdish nationalism issues has had an impact on the vote shares of the two main parties on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. Secondly, by winning the third consecutive national election as the majority, the AKP has proved itself a dominant party.

Table 4.11 summarizes both the results of the 2011 elections and the seat changes from 2007. Although the AKP increased its vote share by roughly five million, which corresponds to 3.2% in vote share, the dominant party lost 14 seats in the parliament.

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[46] The first time when Erdogan considered the presidential system as a more appropriate option for Turkey was on November, 19 2002. Retrieved from http://www.haber10.com/haber/598802/#.VQiXsNLF_lg.

Nine out of these 14 lost seats were gained by the Labor, Democracy and Freedom Bloc (EDÖB)[47].

Table 4.11 Results of the 2011 parliamentary elections in Turkey

Party	Votes	Votes (%)	Seats	Seat change from 2007
AKP	21,399,082	49.8	327	-14
CHP	11,155,972	26	135	+23
MHP	5,585,513	13	53	-18
Independents-EDÖB	2,819,917	6.6	35	+9
Other parties	1,951,279	4.6	0	0
Total valid votes	42,942,763	100	550	
Registered electorates	52,806,322			
Turnout: 81%				

Source: http://electionresources.org/tr/assembly.php?election=2011

On the one hand, the AKP increased its vote share by roughly 9% particularly in the Kurdish region, and the AKP was still able to hold onto a significant electoral support in the region (Carkoglu, 2011). On the other hand, the real winner of the 2011 elections was declared as the Kurdish party (Satana, 2012; Baskan and Güney, 2012; Yegen, 2011) because the party was able to steal nine seats from the AKP in the region and by increasing its vote share, the BDP consolidated its power in the Kurdish-majority populated provinces.

Although the AKP received more votes than the Kurdish bloc in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (in 14 Kurdish-majority populated), this does not automatically translate into the Kurdish citizens casting more votes to AKP than to the Kurdish bloc. To explain the reasons why one needs to go further into the results of the 2011 election to understand the real winner in the Kurdish region, three important facts can be derived from Table 4.12.

Firstly, the number of valid votes casted in the region was 5.849.810, and the EDÖB succeed in garnering 1,785,106 of votes that constituted 30.5% of the three regions' vote share. Nonetheless, given that only 62% of the population living in these three regions are Kurds and based on the assumption that non-Kurds did not vote for the Kurdish bloc in the 2011 elections, then actually 48.3% of the Kurds living in these regions voted for the Kurdish party. Such recalculation of the votes

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[47] Emek, Demokrasi ve Özgürlük Blogu was formed by the BDP and other small leftist parties' candidates.

indicates that "every second Kurd living in the region" supported the Kurdish party (Yegen, 2011: 158).

Table 4.12 Kurdish Regions and Labor, Democracy and Freedom Bloc's (EDÖB) votes

Regions	Provinces	Population	Proportion of Kurdish population (%)	Voter Turnout (%) Valid votes/ registered elector	Valid votes	Kurdish bloc votes	Kurdish bloc seats / Total seats
South Eastern Anatolia	Adiyaman	593.931	64.1	83.58	304.568	19.811	0/5
	Batman	524.499		81.33	219.876	113.993	2/4
	Diyarbakir	1.570.943		80.85	700.255	429.336	5/11
	Gaziantep	1.735.596		83.74	839.473	42.670	0/12
	Kilis	124.452		87.93	65.246	83	0/2
	Mardin	764.033		81.5	323.700	197.791	3/6
	Siirt	310.468		78.56	120.529	51.577	1/3
	Sanliurfa	1.716.254		82.48	699.715	150.969	2/12
	Sirnak	457.997		84.66	172.376	125.282	3/3
Eastern Anatolia	Bingöl	262.263	79.1	79.66	126.009	30.237	1/3
	Bitlis	336.624		82.72	145.762	58.788	1/3
	Elazig	558.556		83.41	315.571	0	0/5
	Hakkari	272.165		88.02	118.512	94.660	3/3
	Mus	414.706		79.60	170.578	75.885	2/4
	Tunceli	85.062		78.23	40.056	10.347	0/2
	Van	1.022.532		77.82	425.710	207.355	4/8
North Eastern Anatolia	Agri	555.479	32	72.60	202.315	82.996	1/4
	Ardahan	107.455		81.28	55.949	6961	0/2
	Bayburt	76.724		85.62	42.830	0	0/1
	Erzincan	215.277		87.75	128.585	0	0/2
	Erzurum	780.847		84.86	408.315	33.308	0/6
	Igdir	188.857		74.35	80.671	25.437	1/2
	Kars	305.755		77.33	143.209	27.620	1/3
Total		12.980.475	62%	81.64%	5.849.810 (100%)	1,785,106 (30.5)	30/106

Source: Data compiled from Turkish Statistical Institute, KONDA and Hürriyet[48].

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[48] The population of the provinces is retrieved from the 2010 Turkish Statistical Institute address-based civil registry records:
 http://rapory.tuik.gov.tr/19-03-2015-18:29:24_1375184007163677974311911157303.html.
Proportion of the Kurdish population in the regions are retrieved from KONDA's (2010) research publication Rethinking the Kurdish Question (*Kürt Meselesini Yeniden Düsünmek*):
http://www.konda.com.tr/tr/raporlar/2010_12_KONDA_Kurt_Meselesini_Yeniden_Dusunmek.pdf.
The 2011 national elections are retrieved from the newspaper Hürriyet:
www.hurriyet.com.tr/secim2011/default.html.
Yegen (2011: 157) published a very similar table; however, I report different figures. Yegen (2011) claimed to have used some of the same data sources that I used for this study, but he did not cite all the relevant sources in the references.

Secondly, all the provinces in three regions are included in Table 3.12 in order to show the composition and electoral preferences of the provinces. However, in some provinces, such as Bayburt, Erzincan and Kilis, Kurds do not have much presence (Yegen, 2011). Considering this fact, a recalculation of the Kurdish votes in 19 predominantly Kurdish provinces by excluding the 20% of Turks, Arabs and Zazas living in the region, the representation level of the Kurdish bloc in the region increases to 60% (BILGESAM Report[49], 2011).

Thirdly, KONDA's report on "Rethinking the Kurdish Question" (2010: 19), which considers the population growth in the provinces and the number of the households, states that the population ratio of adults to children is much higher among the Kurdish families than Turkish families, at 54:42 and 69:31, respectively. This fact can also be validated from the ratio of the valid votes to the population of the provinces in Table 4.12. To be more precise, according to Ekmekci, "in the 2011 elections, while voters constituted 53.9% of the population in the 12 provinces in which Kurds are in the majority, the proportion in Turkey's remaining provinces averaged at 69.6%" (cited in Yegen, 2011: 156). When the political tendencies of youth in the Kurdish region are taken into account, the support levels to the Kurdish party may increase significantly.

In these three regions, the influence of the CHP and the MHP is highly restricted. The MHP sent representatives to the parliament from Gaziantep (1), Elazig (1), Erzurum (1) and Igdir (1). The CHP was able to receive seats from Gaziantep (2), Adiyaman (1), Ardahan (1), and Erzincan (2). Strikingly, the CHP garnered 56.25% of the votes, which translated into two parliamentary seats, and turned into the only party representing Tunceli in the parliament. Tunceli's population is dominated with Kurdish Alevis and Zazas who "are not as enthusiastic as Sunni Kurmanji speakers in their support for the Kurdish party" (Yegen, 2011: 166).

The results of the 2011 election indicated that the MHP's support base has been eroding. The party lost 1.3% of its votes and 18 parliamentary seats, which raises a crucial question: where did the MHP voters go? Did they vote for the AKP and the CHP? In 51 out of 81 provinces, the MHP lost votes compared to the 2007 election

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[49] Wise Men Center for Strategic Studies – Bilge Adamlar Stratejik Arastirmalar Merkezi [BILGESAM]

results. On the one hand, due to the CHP's increase in its vote share in the Aegean region, it can be argued that the CHP was able to win over the MHP's constituency. On the other hand, the MHP lost more than 10% of vote share in the Central Anatolia; Ankara, Yozgat, and Samsun, which indicates that these vote shares transferred to the AKP because the AKP gained incredible support from these provinces. In this sense, it can be argued that the AKP's Kurdish opening-up process worked to gain the votes of Turkish moderates. As a reminder, the aim of the process was not only to grant more rights to Kurds in Turkey but also to end the war.

To conclude, the AKP and the Kurdish party are the main actors in the Kurdish region, which was confirmed by the results of the 2011 elections. Although the Kurdish opening-up process was not able to attract Kurdish median voters as much as expected, the AKP still managed to increase its vote share in the Kurdish region. However, a deeper analysis revealed that the real winner of the elections in the Kurdish region was the Kurdish party that consolidated its power in the region. Therefore, it seems like the dominant party strategy has worked out to a certain extent, but not as much as the AKP hoped.

4.3 Summary

This chapter has demonstrated why the AKP as the dominant party entered ethnic dimension by initiating the Kurdish-opening up process. The first two sections are related to the structural dimension of the party competition. In order to determine to what extent the political party behavior in the post-1980 Turkish party system can be predicted, I argue that the party system institutionalization level and the party system type could serve this purpose. Having utilized four indicators for measuring the party system institutionalization level, the results reveal that the party system institutionalization level of Turkey on average was higher than the new democracies of Central and Eastern Europe, and on average at the same level with the new democracies of Asia and Latin America; however, they fall behind the established democracies. Although the level of institutionalization provides a leverage to predict the Turkish political party behavior to a certain extent, a specific analysis to reveal constraints on and opportunities for political party behavior is needed. In the post-1980 Turkish party system, all the indicators of the structure of the party system such as high turnout rates, falling electoral volatility, reduction in fragmentation and

fractionalization levels, and increase in ideological polarization point out that Turkish party system is either on the way to getting consolidated or becoming hyper-institutionalized.

In the last two sections of the chapter, I devout my attention to understanding the strategies of the AKP as the dominant party to consolidate its power, and to reveal whether the party achieved what it sought. Although the sociological explanation of creating a specific sectional interest highlighted the dynamics of the emergence of the AKP as the dominant party, institutional, spatial and strategic explanations helped to recognize how the AKP endures its dominance.

The analysis of the last three election results and the constitutional referendum provide evidences confirming the hypothesis that the dominant party employed both vote-seeking and policy-seeking strategies. To enlarge its support base, the AKP played to win over median voter on the ethnic dimension. In a complementary way, in the 2010 constitutional amendments debate, the AKP tried to create a sub-dimension—democratizers versus status-quoist—under the pro-Islamist versus secular dimension via integrating the ethnic dimension. As a policy-seeking attempt, the AKP not only wanted to solve the Kurdish issue, but also integrate ethnic issue dimension into the main dimension of Turkish politics. In the long run, the erosion of the ethnic dimension could serve the interests of the dominant party that is introducing the presidentialism with a two-party system. This attempt would be the last step to consolidate the dominance.

Most importantly, the dominant party's strategy of introducing presidentialism with a two-party system constitutes the ideational explanation in the explaining-outcome process-tracing. In the following chapters while deriving causal mechanisms, I also examine whether this cognitive construct of introducing presidentialism with a two-party system is resistant to change, or stable over the time in both the dominant party's ideas and the choices that are hypothesized to result from them.

The strategies of the AKP to endure its dominance served the purpose to a certain degree. The 2011 national election results revealed that the AKP was able to mobilize only a small portion of the Kurdish nationalist swing voters. However, the

elections results clearly proved that eradicating ethnic dimension from Turkish politics is impossible under the existing political circumstances.

Having shown the motivations of a dominant party to enter the ethnic issue dimension, in the next chapter I assess what kinds of specific strategies were employed by the AKP to win the votes of the niche party, namely the Kurdish party BDP.

5 Mainstream parties' strategies toward ethno-territorial party: How do political parties in Turkey respond to the Kurdish issue? — Quantitative Text Analysis

This chapter deals with the question, "Can the Position, Saliency and Ownership [PSO] theory predict the case of Kurdish party vote share in the 2011 elections based on the strategies employed by the mainstream parties (especially by the dominant party, AKP) during the Kurdish opening-up process from 2009–2011?" By initiating this process, the AKP enters a new issue dimension, and behind all its intentions, this chapter concentrates on explaining the interaction among political parties in Turkey on the ethnic dimension.

This chapter constitutes the first step in explaining-outcome process-tracing methodology. By applying the PSO theory to the Turkish case, I employ a deductive logic in order to find out potential causal mechanisms that lead to the increase in ethno-territorial party vote share. I apply the PSO theory to the Turkish case because this theory tests the relationship between mainstream parties' strategies and the ethno-territorial party vote share in established democracies. In order to grasp the strategies pursued by the mainstream parties, I derive party positions, issue saliency and issue ownership on the Kurdish issue via quantitative text analysis.

The findings of the previous chapter revealed that (1) the party behavior in Turkey can be predicted to a certain extent, and (2) Turkish policy space is mostly shaped by dominant party strategies. Therefore, I expect that the PSO theory is applicable to the Turkish case on the Kurdish opening-up process. According to the theory's predictions the mainstream parties' strategies influence the ethno-territorial party vote share. Within the PSO theory's framework I propose the following hypotheses. The dominant mainstream party aims to attract the Turkish median voters – in line with the vote-seeking motive – because the number of the Turkish nationalists is higher than the number of the Kurdish median voters on the ethnic dimension. However, the dominant party has also policy-seeking motives and calls this process Kurdish opening-up; thus, the dominant mainstream party is expected to pursue some strategies toward the Kurdish median voter as well. Therefore, regarding the proposed hypotheses, I employ quantitative text analysis to find out predicted evidences by position, saliency and ownership strategies.

Theories of dynamic party competition have neglected the competition on ethnic dimension in new democracies. Isolating the literature of ethnic political parties in new democracies from the dynamic party competition in established democracies may lead scholars to overlook some issues and dynamics in party competition. In this sense, applying the PSO theory to a new democracy is a significant attempt to understand the divergence and convergence between established and new democracies' dynamic party competition with regard to ethnic dimension. This attempt is also valuable because the evolution of and concerns about ethno-territorial parties in both established and new democracies on a common scale can be compared and questioned. Moreover, to the best of my knowledge, this chapter provides one of the first examples that demonstrates the utility of unsupervised model -of-scaling texts to examine party ideology on the ethnic dimension in a new democracy[1].

This chapter proceeds as follows. Firstly, I identify the main pillars of the PSO theory and establish the logic of the theory. After discussing how to study the dimensionality of the party competition, I divert my attention to the dimensionality of Turkish politics. In the data and methods section, I introduce the parliamentary group speeches as my data and briefly summarize the available methods to analyze the existing data. I finish this section by introducing the quantitative text analysis method that I chose and by describing the statistical procedure that I used. I analyze and discuss the results based on three indicators as the PSO suggested: position, saliency and ownership. Then, I conclude.

5.1 Theoretical Framework: The Position, Saliency and Ownership Theory and the Dimensionality of Party Competition

5.1.1 The Position, Saliency and Ownership Theory

The PSO theory, which was developed by Bonnie M. Meguid (2005, 2008), argues that mainstream parties' issue position and salience- and ownership-altering strategies influence the niche party vote share. Specifically, on the ethnic dimension, Meguid (2008: 69–76) studies the strategic behavior of mainstream parties of center-left and

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[1] But see Sullivan and Lowe, 2011 for the application of unsupervised method of scaling to a new democracy—Taiwan. Also, see Aydogan and Slapin, forthcoming for the application of unsupervised method of scaling to Turkey's left-right dimension.

center-right and examines whether their strategies have an influence on the ethno-territorial parties' [ETPs] vote share.

By conducting a multivariate analysis on 12 ETPs in five European countries, she analyzes the impact of institutional factors (district magnitude, proportionality of the electoral system and state structure), sociological factors (relative regional GDP/capita and relative regional unemployment) and mainstream parties' strategic behaviors (accommodative, dismissive or adversarial) on the ETPs' vote share.

As a reminder, Meguid (2008) operationalizes ETPs on the basis of their demand for regional autonomy. In this sense, mainstream parties' positions are considered as supporting decentralization demands (accommodative [AC]), rejecting decentralization demands (adversarial [AD]) and avoiding the issue altogether (dismissive [DI])[2]. She employs the Comparative Manifesto Project [CMP]'s data that contain both measures capturing support for and opposition to the ETPs' issue of regional autonomy: "[V]ariable 301 measures support for decentralization, and variable 302 measures support for centralization. The former is suggestive for mainstream party accommodation; the latter, of mainstream party adversarial tactics" (Meguid, 2008: 70).

Meguid assumes that there are only three political parties in the political system: mainstream party A representing the center-left, mainstream party B representing the center-right and the niche party. The hypotheses on the predicted effects of both mainstream parties' strategies on niche party vote share are established in one dimension: the niche party's new issue dimension.

As Table 5.1 indicates, one party's behavior alone is not determinative of niche party support; however, "[m]ainstream parties can use strategies to thwart the strategic efforts of their mainstream competitor" (Meguid, 2008: 34). The six possible strategic combinations that can be pursued by the mainstream parties are: dismissive-dismissive (DIDI), dismissive-accommodative (DIAC), dismissive-adversarial (DIAD), accommodative-accommodative (ACAC), accommodative-adversarial (ACAD), and adversarial-adversarial (ADAD). Table 5.1 summarizes the predicted effects of mainstream party strategic combinations on niche party electoral support.

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[2] See p.31 for a detailed explanation of the strategies.

Table 5.1 Predicted effects of Mainstream party strategic combinations on niche party electoral support

		Mainstream Party B		
		Dismissive	**Accommodative**	**Adversarial**
Mainstream Party A	**Dismissive**	Niche party vote loss	Niche party vote loss	Niche party vote gain
	Accommodative	Niche party vote loss	Niche party vote loss	If AC>AD, Niche party vote loss If AD>AC, Niche party vote gain
	Adversarial	Niche party vote gain	If AC>AD, Niche party vote loss If AD>AC, Niche party vote gain	Niche party vote gain

Source: Meguid (2008: 34).

In her model of the determinants of the ETPs' electoral support, four strategies' influences on the ETPs' electoral vote share are tested: DIDI, ACAC, ACAD with relative intensity and delayed DIAC. Meguid (2008) predicts that when both mainstream parties employ dismissive approaches (DIDI), the ETPs' electoral share should decrease because the regional autonomy issue loses its salience and voters would direct their attention to the other issues promoted by both mainstream parties. She mentions that DIDI strategy is the most frequently occurring strategic combination. Another option is when both mainstream parties pursue accommodative strategies (ACAC). In such a situation, her prediction is a decrease in the ETPs' electoral share because the issue again loses its salience. In other words, the issue is employed and discussed by both mainstream parties, and for voters the issue no longer stands out or differentiates parties from one another. However, for other strategies, she predicts an increase in the ETPs' vote share. When the adversarial strategy of a mainstream party is stronger than the accommodative strategy of the other mainstream party (ACAD), the regionalist autonomy issue stays salient in the mind of voters. In the same vein, when both mainstream parties give a delayed response to the ETPs' demands by pursuing dismissive and accommodative strategies (delayed DIAC), then an increase should be observed in the ETPs' vote share due to lagged involvement of the mainstream parties to the issue.

Meguid's pooled cross-sectional time-series analysis reveals that the behavior of mainstream parties is critical to determine the ETPs' fortune. The PSO theory's results indicate that DIDI, DIAC and ACAD strategies are statistically significant and the direction of the relationship is correctly predicted; however, ACAC and delayed DIAC strategies are not statistically significant. Therefore, it can be concluded that in

a political environment in which both mainstream parties pursue ACAC or delayed DIAC strategies on the regionalist autonomy issue, those strategies would not have an influence on the ETPs' vote share. Moreover, her findings reveal that in proportional representation systems, the vote share of ETPs tends to be lower, and ETPs have higher votes in regions that have a higher GDP per capita than the national average.

Following the steps of Meguid (2008)'s research, I examine the mainstream parties' (representing both center-left and center-right in Turkey) strategic behavior and their impact on the niche party vote share in the 2011 elections. The AKP government initiated the Kurdish opening-up process in August 2009, and the implications of this strategic maneuver should be realized in the results of the 2011 elections. In this sense, I check the strategies of both the CHP as the center-left party and the AKP as the center-right party. Because the ETPs' issue is operationalized as demand on regional autonomy in Meguid (2008)'s research, the coding of the CMP data on variable 301 (support for decentralization) and variable 302 (support for centralization) are employed for the Turkish case as well. In the AKP's manifesto[3], variable 301 is coded 11 times, corresponding to 0.3% of the total manifesto length, and variable 302 is coded only one time; thus, the share of variable 302 is zero. In the CHP's 2011 manifesto[4], variable 301 is coded three times with only a 0.1% share of the total manifesto, and variable 302 is coded only two times corresponding to 0.1% again. These coding results indicate that both parties' strategies can be interpreted as dismissive with regard to the ETP's issue.

According to the predicted effects, mentioned in Table 5.1, when both mainstream parties employ the DIDI strategy, the predicted result for the niche party vote share is a loss. However, the Kurdish bloc increased their vote share in the 2011 elections, which does not fit the predictions of the PSO theory. Why cannot PSO predict niche party vote share in the 2011 Turkish elections accurately?

The puzzle here is that although both parties entered the ethnic issue dimension and increased the saliency of the Kurdish issue, how did they end up employing dismissive strategies to the issue? Meguid (2008)'s explanation for the niche party vote loss as a consequence for the mainstream parties' DIDI strategies is that both

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[3] https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/election_parties/3594
[4] https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/election_parties/3593

mainstream parties ignore the importance of the ETPs' issue, which is regional autonomy, and thereby decrease the saliency of the issue, leading voters to pay attention to other salient issues when they cast their vote. However, this logic does not fit the case in Turkey. One of the mainstream parties, the dominant party AKP, initiated the Kurdish opening-up process. Evidently, such a maneuver not only increased the saliency of the Kurdish issue but it also forced the other mainstream party, CHP, to take a position on the issue, although the coding of the CMP data indicated that both mainstream parties employed dismissive strategies.

In this sense, the main reason why the PSO theory cannot predict the niche party vote share in the 2011 elections can be sought in the operationalization of the ETPs' issue dimension. Meguid (2008) offers a minimalist definition of the ETPs' issue dimension by only taking regional autonomy into account and overlooking the cultural and linguistic aspects of the interests of the ETPs.

Employing a minimalist definition can be problematic for two reasons. Firstly, when the operationalization is only based on regional autonomy, then the ETPs' evolutionary characteristics may be ignored, which constitutes a problem for Meguid's research as well. For instance, one of the ETPs that Meguid analyzed was Plaid Cymru after the party attended the first election in 1929. However, the problem is that Plaid Cymru did not discuss regional autonomy until 1962; instead, the party concentrated on cultural autonomy and linguistic issues. Plaid Cymru turned into a regionalist party and mentioned the demand of Welsh autonomy for the first time in the 1964 general elections (Christiansen, 1998: 126, 129). Until the 1964 general elections, the mainstream parties' strategy on the demands for regional autonomy of the Plaid Cymru was dismissive, which is not surprising because regional autonomy was not an issue at all. Therefore, if one restricts the ETPs' objectives as merely regional autonomy, then the real issue put forth by the ETPs cannot be grasped, thereby rendering the mainstream parties' strategies toward the decentralization issue meaningless. Some researchers have already found this gap in the literature. For instance, to capture a better picture of mainstream parties' positions on the issue, Szöcsik and Zuber (2015) developed a new dataset on "Ethnonationalism in Party Competition", which measures cultural, linguistic, ethnic and territorial demands.

Secondly, the demands of ETPs on regional autonomy may differ with regard to the degree of autonomy. For instance, Dandoy (2010: 205) distinguishes three types of ETPs based on their demand for regional autonomy, i.e., "protectionist parties, decentralist parties and secessionist parties." In addition to these categories, Dandoy (2010:205) checks "the demands for recognition of linguistic, religious, cultural identity and for access and participation to the national life." In this sense, for a protectionist ethno-territorial party, demanding cultural and political rights are more salient than gaining more autonomy from the centralized state. Thus, when ETPs' demands are operationalized only at the regional autonomy level to capture mainstream parties' responses to this demand, then the mainstream parties' position on a protectionist party's main issue cannot be captured.

Due to the restrictive definition of ETPs in Meguid (2008)'s research, which formed the predicted effects of the mainstream parties' strategies on niche party vote share, mainstream parties in Turkey seemed to have a dismissive approach to the ETPs' issue dimension even though the AKP entered the ethnic issue dimension by initiating the Kurdish opening-up process. In the Turkish case, it is true that the Kurdish party demanded regional autonomy, and mainstream parties employed dismissive strategies toward this specific demand. However, this does not lead to niche party vote loss, because the Kurdish issue has many dimensions, such as cultural autonomy and linguistic demands. In order to understand the Kurdish party vote increase in the 2011 elections, the strategic behavior of mainstream parties toward each issue that is put forth by the Kurdish party should be taken into consideration.

Because I change the operationalization of the ETPs from regional autonomy to a more inclusive one that includes cultural and linguistic issues at the same time, the mainstream parties' moment of entering the ethnic issue dimension changes as well. In the Turkish case, the moment that the mainstream parties entered the ethnic issue dimension was in August 2009, when the AKP government accepted the existence of the Kurdish question and offered a long-term plan called the Kurdish opening-up. In order to derive political parties' positions on the Kurdish issue between 2009 and 2011 during the opening-up process, I employ parliamentary group speeches delivered by the four parties in the Turkish parliament. Before analyzing the positions of the political parties on the Kurdish issue, I introduce the ways to examine the

dimensionality of party competition and the dimensionality of Turkish politics specifically.

5.1.2 Dimensionality of Party Competition

The critical issue of dimensionality of party competition posits that there can be many issue dimensions in a policy space. However, what matters is taking salient dimensions which "are needed for a valid representation of the policy space" into account (Benoit and Laver, 2006: 49). Due to the abstract nature of policy positions and weights, these can be only extracted from the observable dispositions of parties' activities such as election manifestos, legislative speeches and any documents that contain political statements. As second-hand information, expert surveys are also employed (see, Huber and Inglehart, 1995; Ray and Narud, 2000).

The importance of using speeches or expert interviews and surveys depend on the researcher's aim. Benoit and Laver (2006) categorize these aims into two groups based on having *a priori* and *a posteriori* knowledge of the key policy dimensions. The former approach estimates parties' unknown positions using "known" issue dimensions, whereas in the latter approach, the researchers aim is to first identify the key and salient policy dimensions (Benoit and Laver, 2006: 59). In other words, the main aim of the *a priori* approach is to investigate the relative locations of actors because it is assumed that researchers have enough knowledge about the key policy dimensions. In the *a posteriori* approach, as an essential empirical task, the aim is to find "the best fitting empirical representation of the policy space under investigation, using techniques of dimensional analysis to infer latent policy dimensions" (Benoit and Laver, 2006: 59).

In this research, I take the *a priori* approach because two essential dimensions in Turkish policy space are already identified, and what is important in this research is to find how parties are located on second dimension, i.e., the ethnic dimension, which has never been analyzed before.

5.1.2.1 Dimensionality of party competition in Turkey

The literature on the dimensionality of party competition is shaped by two main motivations: either providing a spatial analysis of Turkish party preferences or locating Turkish experience in a comparative perspective. In the former approach, the main idea is to determine the policy dimensions of Turkish politics by deriving spatial maps from surveys (*a posteriori*), and in a complementary manner, the comparative approach makes sense of the already derived positions such as left-right in the Turkish context. Both *a posteriori* and *a priori* approaches are employed in the comparative approach.

In one of the prominent examples of the first approach, Carkoglu and Hinich (2006) offer a spatial interpretation of the issue space in Turkey in 2001 a year-and-a-half prior to the 2002 elections. By conducting a total of 1201 face-to-face interviews in 12 of the 81 provinces, they employ the utility-based choice theory, that is, they estimate "the structure of party positions in a latent political space with respect to voters' own positions in a latent political space that then is directly linked to issues of importance for voters and parties alike in the electoral system" (Carkoglu and Hinich, 2006: 375-6). The spatial map that is derived shows that the dominant ideological dimension sets secularists versus pro-Islamists, which is in line with center-periphery[5] approach in Turkish politics. The second dimension reflects rising nationalist sentiments on Kurdishness and Turkishness. Later, Carkoglu (2007) examines the nature of the left-right dimension in the Turkish context and, by using the results of a nationwide survey conducted in 2006, shows that the left-right scale has no tangible socioeconomic basis (such as economic deprivation) but instead has basis in ethnic and sectarian differences. Later, Carkoglu (2012b: 161) labels this dimension as left-right *alla Turca*.

Traditionally, in Western democracies, the left-right dimension is related with party positions on socioeconomic policy, whereas in Turkey left-right *alla Turca* signifies a dimension more related to religiosity. *Left* in the Turkish context is characterized by secular, progressive and tolerant attitudes with lower levels of religiosity while *right* refers to a commitment to conservative, religious and nationalist values (Carkoglu, 2008; Özbudun, 2006, Carkoglu, 2012b). Esmer (2002) (based on a survey research)

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[5] See Chapter Two.

and Aydogan and Slapin (forthcoming) (based on Wordfish analysis) indicate that the CHP voters' profiles can be described as high socioeconomic status with high levels of education in a paradoxical situation for a leftist party (in the Western sense). Also, Ayata and Ayata (2007) argue that the support base of the CHP consists of the new middle class, mainly professional, bureaucratic and managerial members.

Additionally, in their valence model of elections in Turkey in 1999 and 2002, Schofield et al. (2011) define Turkish policy space on both religion and nationalism, and they do not find any evidence of centripetal tendency towards an electoral center. Based on the resources of the Turkish media, Secor (2001) identifies four issue continua that defined the arena of competition in political parties' campaigns in the 1995 national elections: *western versus eastern orientation, secularism versus Islamism, collectivism versus pluralism (nationalism)*, and *market economy versus political distribution*. She concludes that the defining cleavages in Turkish politics are located at secularism versus Islamism and Turkish nationalism versus Kurdish nationalism dimensions. Therefore, all of the studies in this literature identify two salient policy dimensions for Turkish politics and point out the special meaning of left-right in the Turkish context.

The comparative approach in the dimensionality of Turkish policy space is based on expert interviews, hand-coding of manifestos from the CMP and quantitative text analysis of manifestos. Based on the findings of expert surveys, Laver and Benoit (2006) indicate that Turkish policy space can be ideally grasped by the positions of political parties on the religious versus secular issue dimension.

Table 5.2 shows the three most salient issues in Turkish politics according to the 2002 election manifestos: religion, EU joining (a representation of Westernization) and nationalism. According to the findings from expert surveys, on the secularism versus religious dimension, the CHP and the AKP represent two extremes whereas on the EU-joining dimension, both the CHP and the AKP support the action while the MHP is located at the other extreme. As expected, the MHP and the DEHAP (BDP) constitute two extremes of Kurdish versus Turkish nationalists on the nationalism dimension. Overall, the positions of the political parties seem to be consistent with what the Turkish political literature suggested: the MHP and the BDP are two

extremists on the left-right scale, and the CHP and the AKP constitute center-left and center-right respectively.

Table 5.2 Most salient issues in Turkish policy dimension based on 2002 election manifestos (%)

Policy dimension	AKP	CHP	MHP	DEHAP (BDP)
Left-Right	14.3	7.5	18.4	5.2
Religion	4.7	18.7	9.6	14.0
EU Joining	17.4	15.0	4.8	17.2
Nationalism	11.2	11.0	19.8	2.3

Source: Benoit and Laver, 2006: Appendix B: Country Data, 266.

The coding of the CMP data on the 2002 elections partially supports the findings of Laver and Benoit (2006), because only the AKP's and CHP's manifestos were coded by the CMP, and according to the scores, the CHP was located not on center-left but left (with a -13.2 score). In their close inspection of the 1995 elections, Budge et al. (2001: 35) discuss the uniqueness of the Turkish case in terms of military interference against politics that constituted a threat for the existence of pro-Islamist and Kurdish nationalist parties.

The only research on the political parties' election manifestos in Turkey based on quantitative text analysis—Wordfish—indicates that "the ideology in Turkish politics reversed, the center-left party CHP employing more populist rhetoric typically associated with right-wing parties in the West, and vice versa" (Aydogan and Slapin, forthcoming: 1). By analyzing 17 manifestos from nine parties in the last three national elections, Aydogan and Slapin (forthcoming) find that the words associated with the rightist rhetoric in the West, such as military success or nationalism, are identified with the Kemalist leftist ideology in Turkey.

All this research highlights both the uniqueness of the left-right dimension in Turkey and the importance of identity politics. The two most salient dimensions are religious and ethnic in Turkish politics; however, although some literature can be found in the religious dimension, the ethnic dimension, or Kurdish nationalist versus Turkish nationalist dimension, is highly ignored. Therefore, the present research is one of the firsts in this field that tackles the ethnic dimension via employment of quantitative text analysis.

5.2 Data and Methods

5.2.1 Data: Parliamentary Group Speeches

The data are all of the 188 parliamentary group speeches delivered by the four political parties in the Turkish parliament between August 2009 and April 2011. The political leaders delivered the speeches to their party groups in the Turkish Grand National Assembly every week on Tuesdays during a legislative term[6].

Parliamentary group speeches can be regarded as effective election manifestos[7] in terms of disseminating the parties' discourses for three reasons. Firstly, parliamentary group speeches are the immediate responses of party leaders to weekly issues. These speeches are informative with regard to leader's positions, especially on new, salient issues. Secondly, in terms of saliency, parliamentary group speeches provide more information than manifestos since party leaders have a chance to highlight the crucial topics for their parties every week. Thirdly, these speeches can reach a larger audience because they are broadcasted live on Turkish National TV and are also on the evening news with the crucial parts broadcast by all TV channels. Voters can easily get the information about party`s positions on certain issues.

On a related note, party leaders in Turkey have extraordinary dominance and authority on the decision-making processes (Sayari, 2012; Heper, 2002; Hale and Özbudun, 2010). The candidate-selection-method authority belongs to the party according to the Turkish Political Parties Law, Article 37 (Gözler, 2004). Yet, due to the lack of intra-party democracy, the final say on candidate placements on party lists belongs to the party leader. The drafts of the election manifestos either are prepared by the executive body of the party, where the influence of the party leader is dominant, or by a committee appointed by the party leader. The drafted manifesto is presented to the party delegates' for approval at national conventions (Kabasakal, 2010:13). Under these circumstances, the party leader's position can be regarded as the same with the party position[8].

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[6] AKP`s and MHP`s speeches are retrieved from their official websites; http://www.akparti.org.tr/site and http://www.mhp.org.tr/mhp_index.php Upon my request, CHP`s speeches were emailed to me by their headquarters. BDP`s speeches were the most difficult to reach. For these I must thank to Hilmi Asik the Vice Chair of the TGNA`s TV Channel who was kind enough to provide the video recordings.
[7] Turkish election manifestos (1950-2011) are analyzed by the Comparative Manifesto Project. https://manifestoproject.wzb.eu/.
[8] The CHP group speeches will be analyzed under the split of two party leaders because during the Kurdish opening-up process the CHP´s leader changed. The CHP had to elect its new party leader

I conducted a quantitative analysis on 157 parliamentary speeches that dealt with the Kurdish issue using Wordfish.

5.2.2 Quantitative Text Analysis with Wordfish

In political text analysis, election manifestos are the most commonly used tools to extract political parties' positions and issue weights on policy dimensions because manifestos are the official party policy statements "to which parties can be held accountable" (Benoit and Laver, 2006: 64). The main source of manifesto data and manifesto analysis has been generated by the CMP (Budge et al, 2001). Via trained human coders and according to a pre-defined, 56-category coding scheme, the CMP generated time-series data in democratic states. In this tradition of qualitative text analysis, while most scholars praise the CMP's work on producing party-specific saliency weights for different policy dimensions, some scholars criticize the CMP on its limits in identifying policy dimensions and its inability to capture policy positions (see Dinas and Gemenis, 2010; Pelizzo, 2003; Franzmann and Kaiser, 2006). Moreover, after coding manifestos based on the coding scheme, the CMP lumps all of the categories into one dimension, i.e., left-right dimension. In this sense, there have been some attempts to improve category identifiers of the CMP in order to better capture certain dimensions such as the ethnic dimension (see Protsyk and Garaz, 2013).

In contrast to qualitative content analysis, in order to handle the huge costs of human coded content analysis, researchers developed computerized text analysis such as Wordscores (Laver, Benoit and Garry, 2003; Klemmensen, Hobolt and Hansen, 2007; Bernauer and Bräuninger, 2009; Lowe, 2008) and Wordfish (Slapin and Proksch, 2008; Proksch and Slapin, 2009, 2010; Proksch, Slapin and Thies, 2011). These techniques enabled researchers to test the CMP findings (Coffè and Plassa, 2010; Coffè and Da Roit, 2011), and then compare the results in order to find which

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because Deniz Baykal, who held the party leader post from 1992 to May 2010, resigned after a scandal. At the end of the May 2010, Kemal Kilicdaroglu came to office as the CHP's party leader and he gave this first parliamentary speech on June 2010. Splitting the speeches under the party leader enables the research to track the impact of the leader on the party position change on the Kurdish issue.

method better extracts the positions of parties (see Pennings and Keman, 2002; Debus, 2009; Dinas and Gemenis, 2010).

I employ Wordfish to extract the policy positions of parties on Kurdish issue. The main reason for choosing Wordfish over Wordscores is that the former is more flexible and can be used in cases where researchers have no previous knowledge about actors' positions, and it is less prone to human bias. Wordscores can be applied only when a researcher has some previous information about the analyzed policy area, which makes setting reference texts possible. Wordscores estimates the position "by comparing the relative frequencies of words in the documents under examination to words contained in reference texts" (Proksch and Slapin, 2009: 324). Therefore, only a portion of the words, which are detected by reference texts, can be counted in virgin texts. However, Wordfish liberates the researcher from the obligation of setting reference texts (Slapin and Proksch, 2008).

Wordfish estimates time-series policy positions by treating words as data (Slapin and Proksch, 2008). The basic assumption in Wordfish is that political documents convey their ideological orientations through a particular usage of words (Proksch and Slapin, 2009). In this sense, Wordfish has been frequently employed to extract left-right positions of political parties and, to the best of my knowledge, this paper is the first to apply this technique to estimate the positions of political parties on the ethnic dimension. It is possible to extract the ethnic dimension since political parties prefer using certain words over others in this policy dimension. For instance, ultra-nationalists have a tendency to use the word "milli" (national) more often than other parties due to their special reference to Turkishness, whereas pro-Kurdish party gives reference to "demokratik özerklik" (democratic autonomy) in line with their demand of altering the territorial structure of the nation-state.

Before running the Wordfish algorithm, all documents need to be pre-processed; that is, firstly, the relevant dimension should be defined and secondly, a word frequency dataset should be generated (Proksch and Slapin, 2009).

Dimensionality. Wordfish is able to capture a single policy dimension from the texts in which the researchers are interested. The researcher should parse the texts along the dimension that is under examination (Proksch and Slapin, 2009), and this is done by a manual allocation of sentences to a specific policy area (Debus, 2009). To

capture the ethnic dimension in the speeches, I parsed a total of 188 parliamentary group speeches along the ethnic dimension that resulted in 157[9] speeches that are related to Kurdish issue.

Wordfish produces best results when the documents used in the analysis contain more unique words. Proksch and Slapin (2009) conduct Monte Carlo simulations in order to find the sufficient number of documents and unique words for the Wordfish analysis. They suggest that "thousands of unique words and more than a dozen documents" should do fine (Proksch and Slapin, 2009: 328). With this in mind, I aggregated the weekly speeches into monthly composites to get a better picture of the time-series data. Thus, the data were transformed into 61 units[10].

Stemming and stop-words. Researchers may choose either to count the words exactly as they appear in the texts or stem the words (Proksch and Slapin, 2009). I did not stem the words as I am unaware of any available stemming algorithm for the Turkish language. Additionally, as Proksch and Slapin (2009) show, stemming improves estimation efficiency but does not affect the results.

To make the estimation more efficient, I removed stop-words[11]. Stop-words occur frequently in any language but they do not contain any significant meaning. Examples include prepositions and conjunctions.

After selecting texts related to Kurdish issues and dealing with the language aspects, I used the open source software JFreq (Lowe, 2011)[12] to turn the texts into a word frequency matrix. This software counts all the unique words in the documents and creates a matrix specifying the frequencies of the words found in each text. Then, the Wordfish algorithm "takes this matrix as its input and creates a unidimensional spectrum on the basis of these data" (Aydogan and Slapin, forthcoming: 6).

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[9] The distribution of the number of texts by parties is AKP – 34/40, CHP - 34/57, MHP – 45/47 and BDP – 44/44. Unfortunately, 40% of the CHP's parliamentary group speeches cannot be taken into account because those speeches do not refer to ethnic issue. This information provides an early clue about the saliency of the Kurdish issue in the CHP's political agenda.

[10] The distribution of texts by parties is AKP-18, CHP-15 (Baykal-8, Kilicdaroglu-7), MHP-15 and BDP-13. See Appendices for the table that lists the length of monthly aggregated parliamentary group speeches.

[11] The list of the stop-words can be retrieved from http://www.ranks.nl/stopwords/turkish.

[12] Available at http://www.williamlowe.net/software/.

Estimation technique. Wordfish uses word frequencies that are generated by a Poisson distribution (Slapin and Proksch, 2008). "Document (party) positions, document (party) fixed effects, word weights (discriminating patterns) and word fixed effects" are the four components of the Poisson process (Proksch, Slapin and Thies, 2011: 119). These fixed effects control the repetition of words and the length of the document, whereas the other two parameters provide information about position differentiating words that allow researchers to discover diversity in political languages (Slapin and Proksch, 2008).

Wordfish employs an expectation-maximization algorithm that first calculates word parameters while party parameters are held fixed. Then, to estimate the party positions, word parameters are held fixed at their new values. This procedure is repeated "until the parameter estimates reach an acceptable level of convergence" (Proksch and Slapin, 2009: 326).

In the position estimation process, the item response model can be identified in two ways: either by "transforming all estimated positions to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1" or by "choose[ing] two documents and assign[ing] fixed values to them" (Proksch and Slapin, 2009: 326). I chose the latter and used two specific anchor documents. I chose these two documents[13] because they are the longest of their kind and the most radical in their discourses. It should be noted that this is a different procedure than assigning a reference text in Wordscores because estimators identify the extreme values in the texts (Proksch and Slapin, 2009).

5.3 Analysis and Discussion

5.3.1 Positions of the Political Parties on the Kurdish Issue in Turkey

Figure 5.1 displays the result of the estimation. In the graph, BDP and MHP constitute two extreme positions: Kurdish nationalism versus Turkish ultra-nationalism; the positions of AKP and CHP are scattered in between the extremes with some outliers. The position estimates of the AKP and the CHP are surprising in comparison to the existing literature on Turkish politics. Although CHP defines itself as a secular party by appraising its social democratic origins, many researchers equate CHP's position

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[13] I chose two documents; one from MHP and one from the BDP and both texts were delivered in the same month-06.2010.

with the ultra-nationalists on the Kurdish issue. The CHP and MHP rejected supporting the government's opening-up process, but researchers claim that these two had the same rhetoric with nationalistic and populist approaches (Kirisci, 2010; Bacik and Coskun, 2011, Bahcheli and Noel, 2011, Efegil, 2011).

Figure 5.1 Position estimates of political parties on Kurdish issue in Turkey

The AKP, as the initiator of the process, is regarded as the problem-solver through accommodating policies in favor of Kurdish identity. In Turkish political literature, the AKP is positioned close to the BDP (Bahcheli and Noel, 2011; Efegil, 2011). Also, nine Turkish experts contributed to the EPAC dataset on measuring ethno-nationalism; these scholars scaled the CHP closer to the MHP`s position and the AKP closer to the BDP's position (Szöcsik and Zuber, 2012). However, the data reveal different position constellations and the estimates of all parties' positions in the Figure 5.1 correspond with their positions on the left-right scale. Thus, the position of the CHP is more accommodating than the AKP on the Kurdish issue in 2009–2011.

As the initiator of the Kurdish opening-up process, the AKP's monthly positions on the issue fluctuate all throughout the graph, which is surprising. Although it is assumed that the party takes an accommodative approach to the Kurdish issue via opening-up, the graph indicates that in certain months, the AKP's position is getting closer to the ultra-nationalist MHP.

Similarly, the CHP's position also fluctuates greatly. The main reason for both of the mainstream parties' unstable positions can be explained by their support base being constituted of median voters on the Kurdish issue. The CHP, as a secular party, is mostly supported by Alevi Kurds located in Tunceli. Apart from this support, the vote share of the CHP amongst the Kurdish population in Turkey is very low. In this sense, as a center-left party, the CHP's position is much closer to the BDP; however it seems like the party also secures its nationalistic position on the issue from month-to-month.

The MHP and the BDP, in comparison to the mainstream parties, show stable patterns regarding the ethnic issue. These stable positions are expected in the sense that both parties are the issue owners. A major change in their positions may threaten the parties losing their core voter base.

For a closer examination of the positions, descriptive statistics of the data in Figure 5.2 provides crucial information regarding the mean and variation of the party positions. Both BDP and MHP have stable positions with low variations in the speeches, whereas the AKP has a symmetric distribution and the CHP shows positively skewed distributions with comparatively large variation. The main factor responsible for the large variation both in the CHP's and the AKP's positions is the short length of texts on the Kurdish issue[14]. On the one hand, this is an expected result, because those two mainstream parties were essentially competing on the secular-Islamist dimension. On the other hand, the amount of words uttered on the ethnic dimension was insufficient for capturing the exact positions of the mainstream parties. Thus, the shortage of words leads to a large variation in the parties' positions.

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[14] See Appendices for the length of the documents.

Figure 5.2 Policy positions by parties and leaders on the Kurdish issue[15]
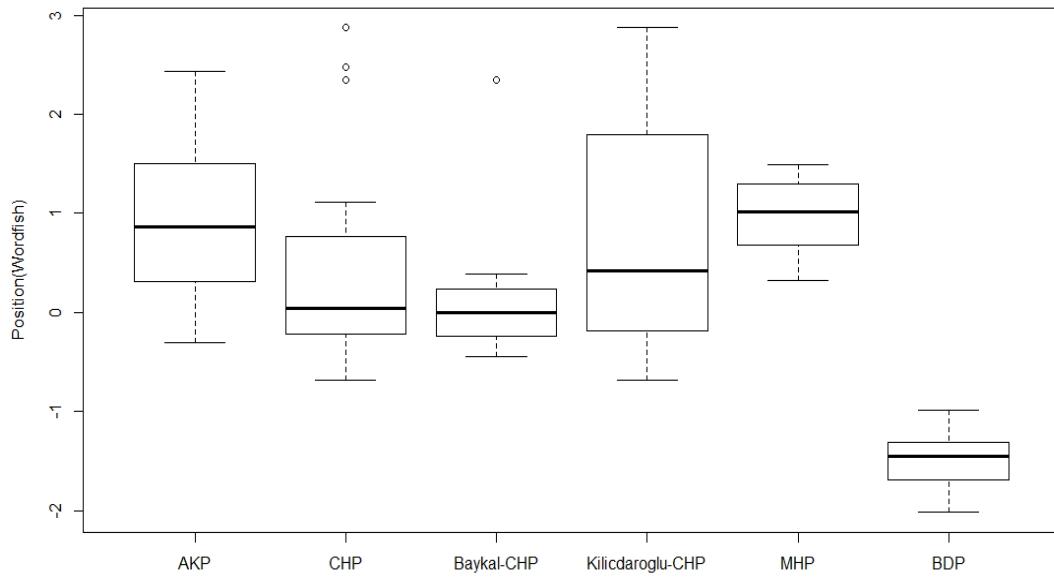
Figure 5.2 reveals a puzzle. The mean of the AKP's speeches are close to the mean of the MHP's speeches, respectively 0.92 and 0.97. Although according to the hypotheses, the dominant mainstream party aims to attract Turkish median voters, but such a close position to the MHP is unexpected. Also, the government initiates the opening-up process and holds an accommodative approach to ethnic issues; however, the data show that on average the AKP's position on the Kurdish issue is not really different from the MHP's position. Two alternative explanations are plausible. The first explanation is that more words are needed to reach an exact and conclusive result for the AKP's position because of the higher variation in AKP's speeches relative to the MHP. The second explanation is that political parties employ conservative-Islamist rhetoric in their speeches and the resemblance in word usage simply cannot be separated by Wordfish. In other words, the Secular-Islamist dimension's rhetoric is very closely intertwined with the ethnic rhetoric. Before analyzing speeches in depth with qualitative text analysis, locating the positions of the words in the same policy space may help to support the inference on the mixing of the rhetoric of Secular-Islamist and ethnic dimensions.

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[15] See Appendices for the table that shows the estimated policy positions with confidence intervals.

Figure 5.3 Word weights (beta) and word fixed effects (psi)
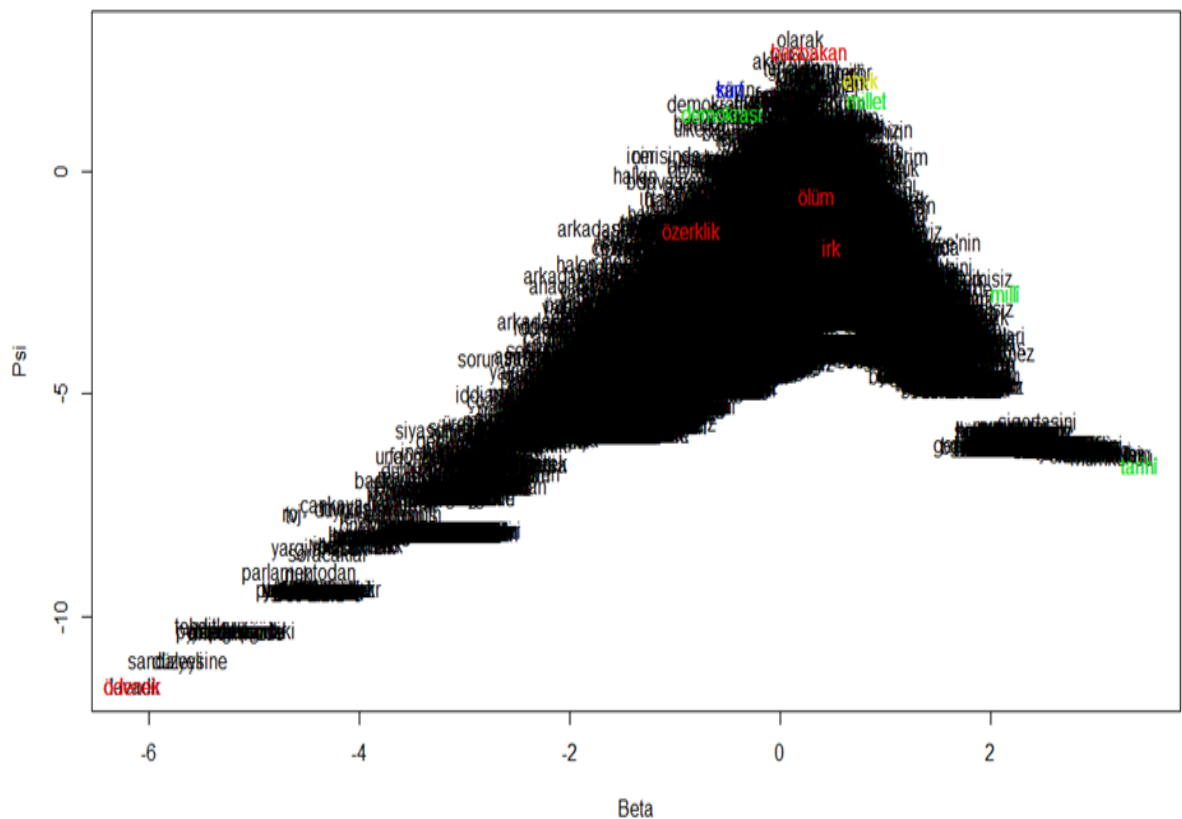
Figure 5.3 displays the distribution of the words with regard to word weights (beta) and word fixed effects (psi). Word weights, in this figure, represent the positions of the words from pro-Kurdish (-6 to -1) and pro-Turkish (0.3 to 2.8). Word fixed effects characterize the frequency of the words used, i.e., some words are used more than the others. "Words with a high fixed effect have zero weight, but words with low fixed effects have either negative or positive weight" (Slapin and Proksch, 2008: 715). In this sense, informativeness and frequency tend to trade off (Benoit, 2013). Thus, words accumulated around the value of zero on both the x- and y-axes are the most used words by the parties who have a middle position on the ethnic dimension.

Slapin and Proksch (2008) produced a scatterplot in the shape of an "Eiffel Tower of words" which is different from Figure 5.3's shape for two reasons. Firstly, in the pre-processing of data, I removed the stop-words from the texts, which unsurprisingly caused the trimming of the head of the Eiffel Tower in the scatterplot. Secondly, the right column of the Eiffel Tower is missing in this scatterplot. The left column of the tower reaches the -6 value, which means many distinctive words exist in the pro-

Kurdish position while on the pro-Turkish end of the spectrum, only a few words connote this specific position. Interestingly, pro-Turkish discourse is the dominant discourse on the ethnic dimension and the other three parties share and reproduce same kind of rhetoric, even though the AKP initiates an opening-up process and the CHP accepts the existence of the ethnic dimension in Turkish politics.

The words highlighted in the scatterplot are associated with the pro-Kurdish and pro-Turkish positions of political parties. The most frequent words used by all parties are "Basbakan" (prime minister), "ölüm" (death) and "irk" (race). On the top right side of the scatterplot, words that are frequently employed with a slightly pro-Turkish position are "etnik" (ethnic) and "millet" (nation). On the left side, "Kürt" (Kurd), "demokrasi" (democracy) and "özerklik" (autonomy) are frequently employed by the slightly pro-Kurdish speeches. On the scatterplot, three distinctive words are identified for both pro-Kurdish and pro-Turkish positions. The pro-Turkish speeches address the unity and integrity of the Turkish Republic by highlighting the words of "milli" (national) and "tarihi" (historical), which are located on the bottom right of the scatterplot. On the exact opposite, the pro-Kurdish speeches refer to "ödenek" (fund), which is a specific problem for the BDP. According to the Turkish Political Parties Law, all parties passing the 10% threshold have a right to receive state funding at the beginning of every year until the next election. Because the BDP has never passed the 10% threshold and formed its parliamentary group with independently elected deputies, the party has never received state funds. Thus, the BDP categorizes the funding issue as a discriminatory measure taken against the Kurdish party and complains about it.

In sum, the descriptive statistics, position estimates and word analysis indicate that the dominant ethnic discourse is the Islamist-conservative rhetoric and all three parties, except the pro-Kurdish party, contribute to the reproduction of Turkish ethno-nationalism as the dominant rhetoric via parliamentary group speeches. I analyzed the details of the party positions and the pro-Islamist – conservative rhetoric with the qualitative text analysis to understand whether the rhetoric employed in secular versus pro-Islamist and ethnic dimensions are intertwined.

5.3.2. Saliency of the Kurdish Issue in the Parliamentary Group Speeches

In addition to the positions of the parties on the Kurdish issue, the saliency of the issue is important because the mainstream parties` ownership-claims of the issue also affect

the vote share of the niche party according to the PSO theory. Table 5.3 summarizes the saliency of the Kurdish issue for political parties.

Table 5.3 Saliency of the Kurdish issue for political parties in Turkey, 2009–2011

	Saliency Mean	Standard Deviation	Texts on Kurdish Issue	Total number of texts
AKP	17.71	19.32	34	40
CHP	10.84	18.47	34	57
Baykal-CHP	18.21	22.89	24	30
Kilicdaroglu-CHP	2.64	4.27	10	27
MHP	30.55	25.44	45	47
BDP	65.91	20.90	44	44
Total/Mean	30.30	29.86	157	188

Considering the excessive number of topics to be touched upon and party leaders' time limits to deliver speeches, the political parties in Turkey seem to be interested in the Kurdish opening-up process except for the CHP party under Kilicdaroglu's leadership. The BDP devoted more than half of its total speeches to the Kurdish issue and the opening-up process, while the MHP dedicated one-third of their speaking time to this issue.

Although both parties are located on the ethnic dimension, the length of the speeches devoted to the ethnic issue does not reach 100% due to the nature of parliamentary group speeches. Comparatively, the AKP, as the initiator of the Kurdish opening-up process, talks about the ethnic issue in almost one-fifth of its speeches. The minor variations in the length of the speeches related to the Kurdish issue also illustrates the government's consistency of keeping the issue under debate because the AKP anticipated garnering more Kurdish votes by initiating this process. The CHP, under Baykal's leadership, paid attention to the government's project and criticized the AKP's approach. However, attention faded due to the changes both in domestic politics and intra-party issues. Kilicdaroglu took the leader position after a long and controversial intra-party election process. The party was disunited and confused about

whom to nominate for the post. Thus, instead of concentrating on the ethnic issue, Kilicdaroglu devoted all of his energy to criticizing the government's policies on the secular-Islamist dimension. By focusing on the main dimension in Turkish politics, he tried to unite all party members for one common goal and to dismiss the Kurdish issue, which could destabilize the party.

5.3.3 Issue Ownership

Parties can establish ownership over an issue (Petrocik, 1996). Issue ownership is defined as public trust in a "party's competence in handling these issues" (Holian, 2004: 97). Although it is assumed that such ownership gives a party an advantage in attracting attention and garnering more votes, Geys (2012: 406-7) argues that "increased salience of parties' owned issues may have both positive and negative effects on its electoral prospects, depending on the degree of issue contestation between different parties." Moreover, the ownership issue is considered a dichotomous variable, that is, a party is either the issue owner or not; however, Geys (2012) indicates that multiple parties can own an issue to different degrees as well.

According to the results of party positions and saliency of the issue, the AKP claims issue ownership to a certain extent. By challenging the positions of both the MHP and the BDP, the AKP takes a middle ground approach to attract the median voters. Interestingly, although the party initiated the Kurdish opening-up process, it takes a closer position to the MHP's position. On the rhetorical level, the opening-up was intended to grant Kurdish rights; however, on the policy level, it seems like the AKP approached the MHP's support base to win over votes. Moreover, as the dominant party, which has been running the office for seven years—when the opening-up was initiated—the AKP announced itself as the only option to answer the prolonged Kurdish question. By having all the state resources under control and curbing the military's power on civilian politics, the AKP declared itself the real issue owner.

Moreover, even though spatial theories of party competition argue that competition most likely occurs between ideologically neighboring parties—due to position, saliency and ownership strategies employed by the mainstream parties towards niche party issue— ideological proximity is no longer required (Geys, 2012; Meguid, 2005). In this sense, the initiation of the opening-up process can be interpreted as a strategic maneuver of the AKP to claim ownership of the ethnic issue.

The CHP, especially under the leadership of Kilicdaroglu chose to be out of the game. The ethnic issue was not their priority and the party preferred to pay more attention to the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. In that period, under the Kilicdaroglu's leadership, the party attempted to win over the AKP's votes by offering new policies for the benefit of conservative voters. Positionally and rhetorically, the CHP never demanded to become an issue owner over the ethnic dimension during 2009–2011. The strategy that was used by the CHP was to prove to the ethnic voters that the AKP cannot become an issue owner. Instead of providing new policies on the ethnic dimension, the CHP had a tendency to stay behind the curtain and discredit the opening-up process.

5.4 Summary

This chapter constitutes the first analysis of the thesis, that is, how political parties respond to the Kurdish issue. As the first step to understanding how mainstream parties respond to the Kurdish issue, this chapter employs a deductive approach and tests whether the PSO theory can predict the Kurdish party vote share based on the strategies employed by the mainstream parties.

The framework offered by the PSO theory falls into place in the Kurdish opening-up process. In other words, mainstream parties in Turkey employed the strategies proposed by the PSO theory during the Kurdish opening-up process; however, the PSO theory falls short in predicting the niche party vote share. I find the main reason in the operationalization of an ethno-territorial party's issue dimension. By ignoring the cultural and linguistic aspects of the ETPs' demands, and focusing only the regional autonomy aspect, the PSO theory cannot comprehend other possible strategies of mainstream parties. This analysis does not intend to refute the PSO theory nor shake its underpinnings. However, this analysis proposed another way to approach the mainstream parties' strategies on the sub-issues of the ethnic dimension. With a small revision, the foundations of the PSO theory can become even stronger. In this sense, this chapter shows that when the sub-issues such as the cultural and linguistic demands of the ETPs are considered, the nature of the party competition and how mainstream parties manipulate certain sub-issues via employing diverse strategies can be clarified elaborately.

By acknowledging the existence of the Kurdish issue, Wordfish analysis reveals that the AKP employs Turkish-nationalist rhetoric toward the issue. One way to explain these close positions of the MHP and the AKP is that the rhetoric employed in the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension and the rhetoric on ethno-nationalism is intertwined in Turkey; I examine this aspect in the next chapter. The Kurdish issue is a salient issue for the AKP's agenda because almost one-fifth of the speeches are dedicated specifically to the ethnic issue. In this sense, the AKP declares itself as the issue owner with the power bestowed upon the dominant party.

In Chapter Four, I mentioned that the AKP, as the dominant party, develops policies in order to endure its dominancy, and the Kurdish opening-up policy aims to attract ethnic median voter. However, the findings in this chapter reveal that, by aligning closely to the Turkish nationalist party's position, the AKP also targets the Turkish median voter. So further analysis is required in order to reveal what kind of rhetoric is employed by the dominant mainstream party to attract the Kurdish median voter. In order to investigate the strategies employed for the Kurdish median voter, I employ an inductive approach in the next chapter and analyze the sub-issues on the ethnic dimension indicated in the speeches via qualitative text analysis.

With regard to the explaining-outcome process tracing, this chapter reveals three predicted evidence for the proposed hypotheses. Dominant mainstream party pursues a strategy to win over the Turkish median voter by taking a position closer to the MHP. Simultaneously, the dominant party manipulates the issue saliency and claims to be the owner of the Kurdish issue in order to attract the Kurdish median voter. Pursuing two strategies at the same time to attract both ethnic median voter groups can be explained by the third predicted evidence; that is, the intertwinement of the rhetoric of secular versus pro-Islamist and the ethnic dimension. This hypothesis and predicted evidence will be taken up later in Chapter Seven.

6 Mainstream parties' strategies toward ethno-territorial party: How do political parties in Turkey respond to the Kurdish issue? — Qualitative Text Analysis

This chapter aims to solve the puzzle that is introduced in Chapter Five. Why does the AKP call the project Kurdish opening-up even though the party takes an adversarial approach like the one the MHP takes to the Kurdish issue? Moreover, besides attempting to provide an answer to this puzzle, this chapter deals with the content of parliamentary speeches and makes sense of the political parties' rhetoric on the Kurdish opening-up process in relation to defining the Kurdish issue and proposing solutions for it.

To understand the strategy of the dominant party (AKP) on the Kurdish issue, I employ Riker's conceptualization of heresthetics and rhetoric and the four approaches toward Kurdish ethno-nationalism in the theoretical framework. Riker's heresthetics has been employed to grasp the strategies of losers in the party competition; however, to the best of my knowledge, this research is one the first examples to apply Riker's heresthetics to understand the dominant party strategy in a new democracy. Furthermore, examining the four approaches to Kurdish ethno-nationalism prepares the ground for comprehending the political parties' positions toward the Kurdish issue. In Chapter Five, I claimed that the rhetoric of the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension intertwines with the rhetoric of the ethnic dimension in Turkish politics. These four approaches may provide a basis for examining the relationship between the party's rhetoric in secular versus pro-Islamist and ethnic dimensions.

This chapter constitutes the inductive part of explaining-outcome process-tracing. The objectives of this chapter not only examine the Kurdish median voter attracting strategies, which were introduced in the previous chapter, but also find out a causal mechanism that allows inference-making.

The chapter proceeds with explaining the data and the method. I choose qualitative text analysis or content analysis to analyze the 157 parliamentary group speeches. Via conducting an analysis with MAXQDA, I interpret the near occurrences of codes with cross-tabulation and a code relations browser. The

results produced by the cross-tabulation and code relations browser provide information about how political parties in their speeches relate one issue to another and what kind of rhetoric they employ. In the inferences from the analysis part, I interpret the results in relation to the puzzle at hand and the theoretical framework that is covered in the beginning. Then I summarize the findings of this chapter and conclude.

6.1 Theoretical Framework: Riker's Heresthetics as a Dominant Party Strategy and Four Approaches to the Kurdish Question

6.1.1 Heresthetics as a Dominant Party Strategy

In his seminal work "The Art of Political Manipulation", Riker (1986) addresses one of the most significant themes in political science: how political "losers" (out of power) improve their circumstances through heresthetics and rhetoric. While rhetoric is "the art of verbal persuasion, "heresthetics is an art" that enables political actors to restructure the world so that they can win (Riker, 1986: ix). Heresthetics is about "changing the space or constraints on the voters in such a way that they are encouraged, even driven, to move themselves to the advantage of the heresthetician," whereas rhetoric is only related with "changing the opinion of voters so that they, rather than motions or alternatives, move in the space" (Riker, 1990: 47). The most important distinction between rhetoric and heresthetics can be found in their appeals: rhetoric appeals to the reason or emotion – to the heart – but heresthetics does not need an appeal because it is about redefining a situation. Through heresthetical tools, political actors as agencies can outmaneuver their adversaries, manipulate agendas and reinterpret political situations. To transform "the situation from unfavorable to favorable" (Riker, 1986: 54), under the situation of a defeat or a prospective defeat, for a party or a candidate "the fundamental heresthetical device is to divide the majority with a new alternative, one that he prefers to the alternative previously expected to win" (Riker, 1986: 1). Therefore, heresthetics is an art of political manipulation that enables politicians to reach their goals. In this chapter, I employ both heresthetics and rhetoric because, as Riker (1996: 10) states, "heresthetic and rhetoric are inseparably linked and must be analyzed together."

Although Riker devotes attention to the losers, the logic of heresthetics that is "the art of constructing a choice situation so as to be able to manipulate the outcomes" can be applied both to winners and losers (Schofield, 2000, cited in Shepsle, 2003: 310). Shepsle (2003: 310) argues that "defeat is the mother of invention"; however, I think the fear of getting defeated and losing power is worse than the defeat itself. In this sense, it is more likely to expect dominant parties to engage in heresthetical moves in order to consolidate their dominancy and power.

Surprisingly, Riker's heresthetics has never been studied in dominant parties in new democracies, with one particular exception. Greene (2008) examines incumbent parties' strategies as a response to challenger parties' constant attempt of heresthetical moves by mobilizing regime issues into a partisan debate in a two-dimensional competition. He analyzes whether the incumbent party's strategy fits Riker's anticoordination thesis – fleeing the center – or Downsian center-seeking strategies. Greene (2008) looks specifically at the Mexico's Revolutionary Institutional Party's strategy as a response to its challengers on the issue of opening up the regime, because it is a dominant party in a competitive authoritarian regime. However, in this research the unit of analysis is a dominant party in a new democracy and opening up the regime for other parties does not constitute an issue. Therefore, to the best of my knowledge, this research is one the first examples to apply Riker's heresthetics to understand dominant party strategy in a new democracy.

Heresthetics can take three main forms: agenda control, strategic voting and manipulation of dimensions (Riker, 1986, 1990 and 1996). Agenda control is related with channeling decision making through a procedure that can guarantee the preferred decision in legislative bodies whereas strategic voting is a device for those who are not in a position to control the agenda that is employed to obtain the preferred outcome under the existence of an unfavorable distribution of preferences. The last form of heresthetics, which is the most relevant for this research is the manipulation of dimensions. Before elaborating the manipulation of dimensions, introducing another distinction would be helpful at this point because Riker's work focuses on the manipulations in parliaments or committees; however this research is related with the art of manipulation outside the parliament. Nagel (1993: 156) differentiates micro-heresthetics from macro-

heresthetics, that is, micro-heresthetics are "maneuvers that exploit parliamentary rules and specific legislative provisions to determine the fate of particular bills," whereas macro-heresthetics are "grander, overarching strategies that are aimed at preservation of his legislative and electoral majority that shaped his specific tactics and practices, both inside and outside Parliament."

Fixing or manipulating the dimensionality of the party competition as a form of macro-heresthetics corresponds to the introduction of a new dimension to upset an equilibrium. Adding another dimension to the space "– from a model where an equilibrium is likely to exist to one where it is not – allows a clever heresthetician to define a hyperplane separating the voters into a new majority-minority division that is advantageous to him or her" (Riker, 1990: 51). I argue that when the dominant party is captured by the fear of losing its dominance over a two-dimensional policy space, it can pursue the strategy of introducing a new dimension that would restore equilibrium in line with its advantage.

Much research has been conducted on Riker's heresthetical form of the manipulation of dimensionality. Dardanelli (2009) analyzes the issue of self-government in Scotland from 1994 and 1997 by looking at the competition among Conservative Party, Labor Party and Scottish Nationalist Party and concludes that Europeanization is used as a heresthetic tool in party competition in terms of opening up a new dimension. Analyzing Europeanization both from domestic and international levels, Dardanelli (2009) concludes that the Scottish National Party exploits the incentives offered by the properties of the European Union system to strengthen its case for independence.

Riker's heresthetics has been employed in many studies that concentrate on British politics. Taylor (2005: 433) examines Stanley Baldwin's heresthetics in the 1920s and shows that by the rise of multidimensionality in the issue space of British politics, Baldwin is able to "fix dimensionality by concentrating on an issue dimension (class) and position the Conservative party on that dimension to achieve an equilibrium at a time when the median voters' location is uncertain." By declaring the Conservative party as the only viable anti-socialist party and attacking Liberals via polarizing politics, Baldwin manages to reshape British politics around the notion of New Conservatism. In a similarly structured article,

Heppell (2013) claims that the Conservative party leader David Cameron as a possible heresthetician attempts to redefine the political center. By analyzing "debates on portfolio allocation, electoral reform and key policy areas such as fiscal adjustment and tuition fees," Heppell (2013: 260) shows how Cameron employs various heresthetical ploys of strategic voting, agenda control and manipulation of dimensions. Thus, the concept of heresthetics is applied mostly to plurality systems such as the United Kingdom and the United States; however, the role of the heresthetics under the proportional representation systems in continental Europe with regard to single-issue dimensions such as environment issues, the radical right and ethno-territorial parties has not been studied yet.

In this chapter, I devote my attention to analyzing how a dominant party in a new democracy employs the manipulation of dimensions for its own survival, and I argue that "further democratization" can be a heresthetical ploy in party competition in Turkey, notably in terms of integrating two existing issue dimensions that might result in a realignment of alliances able to reinforce the dominant party's power.

6.1.2 Four Approaches to Kurdish Ethno-nationalism

 The existing literature on the role of the factors that are both sources and possible solutions to the Kurdish question has drawn attention (Icduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999: Sarigil and Fazlioglu, 2013; Sarigil and Fazlioglu, 2014; Sarigil, 2010; Tezcür, 2009; Yegen, 2007; Somer, 2005; Kirisci and Winrow, 1997). These factors such as political, social, economic and demographic factors, are employed by civil society, state and academics. Although all of these factors constitute parts of the issue, depending on the approach to the Kurdish question, some of these factors have become prominent in the state's official discourse.

In general, four approaches to the Kurdish question can be identified: the socioeconomic approach, relative deprivation, pro-Islamist approach and regional terrorism. I elaborate each of these approaches, and examine whether they are also employed in the parliamentary group speeches by the political parties.

Socioeconomic approach. The idea behind the socioeconomic approach is that socioeconomic underdevelopment of a group or a region (i.e., southeastern part of

Turkey) set up a suitable environment for the emergence of ethno-nationalist or separatist movements. The socioeconomic approach has constituted the Turkish state's official discourse of the Kurdish issue until 2000s with regard to tribal resistance, remnants of the feudal system in the region and economic backwardness (Yegen, 1996; Ergil, 2000).

The southeastern part of Turkey has been the least developed region of Turkey (Icduygu, Romano and Sirkeci, 1999; Kirisci and Winrow, 1997; KONDA, 2010). In 2006, KONDA conducted a survey in 79 provinces and interviewed 47,958 randomly chosen people face-to-face in order to map Turkey's social structure. These surveys and interviews revealed that half of the poorest people live in southeastern Turkey. In Turkey, on average 16.4% of the population constitutes the poorest segment of the society, and 44.73% of the poorest segment resides in the southeastern region (KONDA, 2006: 17).

What is striking in these results is that going from west to east, from cities to villages, both education and income levels decreases while unemployment and the number of people per household increase (KONDA, 2006). In Turkey on average 61% of the population live in households with three to five persons, whereas in the southeastern party of Turkey, 16.47% of households have nine or more persons (2006: 14). Moreover, southeastern Anatolia is the region with the lowest level of education; that is, those who have eight years of primary education or less constitute 79.45% of the southeastern region.

As a result of the socioeconomic underdevelopment of the region, many Turkish governments have implemented several economic packages and projects to foster economic investment and curb the high unemployment level in the region. In this sense, a large portion of the public investment expenditure was channeled to the region between 1983 and 1992, which also continued during the AKP government (Kirisci and Winrow, 1997). A significant portion of the expenditures has been used to finance the gigantic South-East Anatolia Development Project (GAP). The aim of this project to build "a complex network of irrigation canals covering eight provinces" in the Kurdish region, which when completed would have "21 dams and 19 hydro-electric power plants" (Kirisci and Winrow, 1997: 124). As Ciment (1996: 122) states, the 10 completed and projected dams in the region would

"irrigate over two million acres of farmland and generate almost 3000 megawatts of electricity." However, the GAP has not yet been completed, and according to the official state discourse, the project was suspended due to the continuous armed conflict in the region.

The research on the relationship between socioeconomic development and ethno-nationalism has produced contradictory results. The first group of the research reveals that individuals with high socioeconomic status – i.e., with a high level of income and education – are less likely to have ethno-nationalist orientations. Gunes-Ayata and Ayata (2002: 143) argue that socioeconomic development "tends to reduce ethno-nationalist sentiments and fosters more diversified political loyalties." Using the fourth wave of the World Values Survey, Sarigil (2010) tests the impact of socioeconomic and pro-Islamist approaches regarding Kurdish ethno-nationalism in Turkey and finds that the socioeconomic approach better explains Kurdish ethno-nationalism. His findings show that individuals with a higher education and income are less likely to support Kurdish ethno-nationalism. The second set of research claims that socioeconomic variables do not have an impact on Kurdish nationalism. Ekmekci (2011) criticizes Sarigil's research based on the argument that the data of the World Values Survey consist of predominantly Turkish people, and he replicates Sarigil (2010)'s research within a sample of Kurdish-speaking people that is drawn from the 2009 World Values Survey data. Ekmekci (2011)'s results indicate that the relationship between support for Kurdish ethno-nationalism and socioeconomic status is either weak or nonexistent. Similarly, Sarigil and Fazlioglu (2014) test socioeconomic, pro-Islamist, relative deprivation approaches in a public opinion survey that is conducted with 6,516 respondents from 48 provinces. In their study, Sarigil and Fazlioglu (2014) differentiate cultural ethno-nationalism (linguistic) from political ethno-nationalism (regional autonomy, regional flag) and test their relationships with socioeconomic factors. The results show that on the one hand, high education is likely to reduce the support for Kurdish cultural ethno-nationalism, although income does not have an impact on it. On the other hand, they conclude that socioeconomic factors are not significant in defining the support for political ethno-nationalism.

Relative deprivation. Relative deprivation signifies the tension between the actual state and what an individual feels she should be able to achieve, that is "a perceived discrepancy between one's value expectations and value capabilities" (Gurr, 1970: 37). According to Petta and Walker (1992), this social comparison is the actual mechanism that generates relative deprivation. This term is linked to social exclusion and poverty and although the term is employed originally in the social psychology literature, sociologists and political scientists working on collective action consider relative deprivation as one of the causes of social movements (Gurr, 1993).

In this sense, in the Kurdish case, this approach can be linked to the notion of discrimination. Relative deprivation can take forms of economic and/or political discrimination that cause frustration and discontent in the group who perceives discrimination. Therefore, members of a group – Kurds – who perceive economic and political discrimination by the Turkish state are more likely to hold ethno-nationalist sentiments.

Icduygu, Romano and Sirkeci (1999) differentiate material insecurity from non-material insecurity while defining an environment of insecurity, and claim that both of these factors constitute the causal and intermediate variables behind the Kurdish ethnic revival. Their conceptualization of material insecurity corresponds to the socioeconomic approach whereas non-material insecurity is related with relative deprivation or perception of discrimination. Icduygu, Romano and Sirkeci (1999: 997) claim that Kurds in Turkey experience a deep sense of non-material insecurity "if culture and secure identity are regarded as basic psychological needs." Similarly, Sarigil and Fazlioglu (2014: 450) find out that "the perception of discrimination creates a favorable environment for cultural and political ethno-nationalism alike." The greater the perception of the threat from the state, the more likely for a Kurdish person to have an ethno-nationalist sentiment. By employing a different terminology, Ekmekci (2011)'s analysis with the World Values Survey indicates that in Kurdish ethno-nationalism, political factors are more dominant than the socioeconomic factors. Therefore, all studies indicate that there is a positive relationship between the perception of discrimination and the support for Kurdish ethno-nationalism.

Pro-Islamist approach. By attributing a prominent role to the idea of *ummah* (the worldwide community of Muslim believers) and *Islamic brotherhood*, Islam puts emphasis on unity and ignores cultural and ethnic differences in a community. Reminiscent of the late Ottoman pan-Islamic ideal, "ummah aims at establishing not only an administrative but a spiritual unity among Turks, Kurds, Iranians, Arabs and other ethnic Muslim communities in the Middle East" (Cizre-Sakallioglu, 1998: 81). In Turkey, the pro-Islamic approach is employed to curb Kurdish ethno-nationalism by highlighting that Islam functions as the cement that holds Kurds and Turks together (Yavuz and Özcan, 2006). Additionally, from the pro-Islamist intellectuals' perspective of the strict rejection of the Islam in the early Republican era in Turkey, "by upholding a secular, that is 'anti-religious nationalism' based on ethnicity, official Turkish nationalism contributed to the rise of its twin sister, Kurdish nationalism" (Cizre-Sakallioglu, 1998: 77).

In the last decade of Turkish politics, not only has the pro-Islamic approach become predominant in the conservative circles, but, strikingly, the leftist-secular Kurdish ethno-nationalists have started to embrace a positive attitude toward Islam (Sarigil and Fazlioglu, 2013). In other words, both Turkish and Kurdish nationalists employ a pro-Islamic approach with contradictory intentions: "to promote Kurdish political and cultural rights by pro-Kurdish groups and to constrain or rebuff Kurdish nationalist claims and demands by Turkish nationalists and Islamists" (Sarigil and Fazlioglu, 2013: 552). The former intentions are promoted by a recently established Kurdish political party, Free Cause Party [Hüda-Par] that follows the ideological line of Kurdish Hezbollah. Apart from sharing the same demands with the secular Kurdish party in the parliament, Hüda-Par also advocates for recognition of religious marriages, criminalizing adultery and the promotion of freedom of religion[1]. The latter intentions are mostly articulated by Turkish pro-Islamist political parties such as the MHP and the AKP.

The research on the relationship between religiosity and support for Kurdish ethno-nationalism indicates contradictory results. Sarigil (2010) finds that religion does not have a statistically significant effect on Kurdish ethno-nationalism whereas Ekmekci (2011) claims that the more religious Kurdish people have a

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[1] Hüda-Par's Party Program is retrieved from the party's official website, http://hudapar.org/Detay/Sayfalar/205/parti-programi.aspx.

lower tendency for supporting Kurdish ethno-nationalism. However, Sarigil and Fazlioglu (2014: 436) argue that "the religious sectarian differences among Kurds (i.e., the Hanefi – Shafi division) matter: the more religious Shafi Kurds have a stronger ethnic consciousness and a higher degree of ethno-nationalism." Therefore, it would be interesting to analyze the parliamentary group speeches of all of the parties because this approach is open to manipulation in so many ways.

Regional terrorism approach. This approach is associated with the armed conflict side of the Kurdish problem that is about the financial support of terrorism and the role of international actors. According to this approach, due to the prolonged armed conflict, the Kurdish region has remained socioeconomically undeveloped. As a resolution of the Kurdish question, those who adopt this approach suggest the counterterrorism strategy as a short-term solution and to take measurements against the international actors who support terrorism. For instance, Bacik and Coskun (2011: 260) indicate that one of the main reasons of the failure of Turkish governments to solve the issue is the international conjecture. They claim that "the PKK enjoyed a large field of maneuver, one that stretched from Syria to Denmark…the success of political agenda requires the consensus of large group of actors including statesmen, PKK rulers, Turkish opposition parties and relevant international actors." In the same vein, Aydinli and Özcan (2011) point out the significant role of the United States and Northern Iraq in the Kurdish question. To minimize PKK's armed potential, Aydinli and Özcan (2011) argue that the United States should engage and cooperate with the Turkish state to dismantle the PKK's Northern Iraq camp.

The literature on the regional terrorism approach concentrates on the role of a triangle of particular actors, i.e., PKK, pro-Kurdish party and the Turkish government, and "the absent interlocutor" (Bacik and Coskun, 2011: 263). Bacik and Coskun (2011) evaluate the problem of the absent interlocutor, which can be a non-state party or a sovereign authority. Apart from the absence of an interlocutor, they also pay attention the ill-defined actors in the Kurdish question. The role of the pro-Kurdish party increased during the Kurdish opening-up process, whereby the PKK might consider an autonomous Kurdish party as a threat to the organization's existence (Bacik and Coskun, 2011: 256). Similarly, Watts (2010) highlights the problem of "missing moderate" and asserts that the pro-Kurdish party has not been

able to differentiate itself from PKK or offered itself as an alternative. It is not necessarily about "parties' inability to acquire legitimacy sources," but Watts (2011: 111) attributes this problem to the nature of "the bifurcated Kurdish electorate." Therefore, with a regional terrorism approach, the economic and political ramifications of the support for terrorism and the problem of specification of the relevant actors in the Kurdish question are discussed.

In the analysis section, besides explaining the political party's rhetoric on the Kurdish issue, I check whether political parties in their parliamentary group speeches employ these four approaches in evaluating the opening-up process.

6.2 Data and Methods

The investigation below examines how the Kurdish issue, possible solutions to the Kurdish issue and the Kurdish opening-up process are represented in parliamentary group speeches and interprets these representations with regard to the rhetoric of political parties. Based on the literature review above, I pay particular attention to the usage of four approaches in speeches as well as the rhetoric and heresthetical ploys.

The data are the 157 parliamentary group speeches, which are parsed on the Kurdish issue, delivered by the four political parties in the Turkish parliament between August 2009 and April 2011. Having been analyzed through the quantitative text analysis, the same data is allocated for a qualitative text analysis, i.e., content analysis.

Qualitative text analysis or content analysis is "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the context of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004: 18). The aim of the conventional qualitative text analysis is not only to describe the characteristics of texts, but also to identify the relationships among those texts (Neuendorf, 2992). In this research, I employ content analysis to understand how political parties conceptualize and interpret the Kurdish opening-up process in relation to the Kurdish issue.

The advantage of the content analysis is the "clarity and parsimony" because "researchers limit themselves with the content they studied when inferring conclusions" (Neuendorf, 2002: 53). In addition, the knowledge is directly

generated from the text "without imposing preconceived categories or theoretical perspectives, which are based on the actual data" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005: 1279).

I identify three components of content analysis that can be a convenient way to evaluate the steps in conducting this type of analysis. These three components are unitizing, which consists of sampling and coding, representation of the data and narrating the data to answer the research question[2].

In the first step of unitizing, I determine the sampling units, "that are distinguished for selective inclusion in an analysis" (Krippendorff, 2004: 98). Out of 188 parliamentary group speeches, I draw 157 speeches that are related with the Kurdish issue. However, I take the definition of the Kurdish issue as open-ended, that is, no prior-categories are formed or imposed on the texts. Every piece of information referring to Kurds, the southeastern part of Turkey, terror or anything that might be associated with the Kurdish issue and opening-up process are included in the analysis.

Before the introduction of the second step, certain concepts should be clarified. A code is a contextual category, which serves as an analytical tool for the systematic analysis of the data. "The analyst starts by coding each incident in his data into as many categories of analysis as possible, as categories emerge or as data emerge that fit in an existing category" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 105). In this research, after the first reading of all texts, I assign basic categories and create the coding scheme.

In the second step, I define my coding units. The coding unit of the parliamentary group speeches is "quasi-sentence" i.e., "the verbal expression of one political idea or issue" (Budge et al, 2001: 217). Most of the time quasi-sentence corresponds to one sentence; however, in certain instances one sentence can be also divided into two or more units in line with the number of expressed political ideas. Also, sometimes a quasi-sentence may correspond to a paragraph-long idea.

During the coding process, for the sake of the reliability of coding, I pay particular attention to make categories "exhaustive" and "mutually exclusive" (Krippendorff, 2004: 132). Exhaustive means that the data language should be able

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[2] I compiled these components from the books of Krippendorff, 2004 and Neuendorf, 2002.

to represent all units. "No unit must be excluded because of a lack of descriptive terms" (Krippendorff, 2004: 132). In order to encapsulate all the texts, I developed three categories: Kurdish opening-up process, definition of the Kurdish issue and the proposed solutions for the Kurdish issue. I then create 22 codes and 8 sub-codes under these three main categories. Moreover, the codes are mutually exclusive, that is no data point is represented by more than one code. Each quasi-sentence is only coded once and assigned to one code.

For analyzing and analytically representing the data, I use a computer-assisted qualitative data analysis package (CAQDAS). The CAQDAS packages contain tools designed to facilitate a qualitative approach to data. The reason why I work with a CAQDAS package is that it helps to clarify analytical strategies by "forc[ing] the researcher to be more implicit about the categories that are developed in the ongoing research process" (Kelle, 2004: 456). Moreover, CAQDAS enables researchers to attain a comprehensive view on the qualitative theory-building. Kelle argues that (2004: 456) "[s]tructuring the material with the help of such a framework…transforms common-sense concepts or abstract theoretical concepts into empirically contentful categories, propositions and middle range theories."

Amongst many CAQDAS packages such as NVivo, Atlas/ti, I choose to conduct the qualitative text analysis with MAXQDA because in this research, the aim of doing a content analysis is to work with the data inductively, that is, no pre-determined theory, structure or framework is imposed on the data. In this sense, I think MAXQDA's tools are better suited to the needs of the research study. Moreover, when MAXQDA is compared to the NVivo based on "closeness to the data, ease of coding a memoing, and the interrelationship among the data, code and the memo", researchers find that MAXQDA is doing a much better job in terms of supporting interpretative style and offering an option of combining qualitative and quantitative text analysis (Kus Saillard, 2011: 1; Schönfelder, 2011).

The theory development tool in MAXQDA, cross-tabulation is used for analyzing the data inductively. The cross-tabulation tool enables researchers "to observe the frequencies of co-occurrences of values rather than simple categories" (Krippendorff, 2004: 195). In the last step, when I narrate the data to answer the

research question, the results of the cross-tabulations constitute the primary source for the narration.

6.3 Analysis and Discussion

6.3.1 Preliminary Analysis: Code Frequencies

The results of the qualitative text analysis provide significant information on positions of the parties on Kurdish opening-up process, Kurdish issue and solution to the issue. To start with, Table 6.1 displays the number of segments coded in each category for each document group. All the sub-codes are aggregated under three main categories, and this table provides the information about how many times a party refers to the three major issues, i.e., opening-up process, definition of Kurdish issue and solution propositions to the issue.

Table 6.1 The number of coded segments for each document group - aggregated

Code System	AKP	CHP	MHP	BDP
⊞ Opening-Up Process	206	222	702	217
⊞ Defining Kurdish issue	57	35	90	535
⊞ Solution Propositions	61	32	46	192

Both the AKP, as the initiator of the process (64% of speeches), and the CHP, as the main opposition (77% of speeches) devote their attention to the opening-up process rather than defining the issue or offering specific solutions to the issue. Expectedly, as an ethno-territorial party, the BDP in general talks about all of these issues more than other parties. But the BDP specifically puts more emphasis on defining the sources of the problem (57% of speeches). However, strikingly, the MHP prefers opposing the government's project (84% of speeches) to defining the party's position on the ethnic issue. In this sense, the MHP's behavior on the ethnic dimension is peculiar because under normal circumstances a party that is elected for its position on ethnic stance would act to strengthen its position by objecting its main opponent – the BDP. As mentioned in Chapter Two, the MHP can behave as a mainstream party or a niche party according to the specific issue. Table 6.1 indicates that from 2009–2011, in parliamentary group speeches the MHP prefers to behave as a mainstream party and recognizes the government as its main opponent. Strategically, this makes sense because by initiating the opening-up process the

AKP's aim is to win over the MHP's votes, and as a counter-attack the MHP responds by converting into a mainstream party in order to retain its support base.

Furthermore, this strategic behavior of the MHP may have had an impact on the ethno-territorial party's – BDP – vote share as well. Because when the MHP turns into a mainstream party and competes mainly with the AKP, to win over the votes of the MHP's voter base, the AKP concentrates on the competition with the MHP, which escalates the saliency of the ethnic issue. This in turn may radicalize the median Kurdish voter's behavior due to the heightened competition between the AKP and the MHP.

The overall distributions of the codes are represented in Figure 6.1. This information provides clues about the saliency of the three main issues in the parliamentary group speeches. I analyze how these codes are distributed in relation to other codes for each party group and the rhetoric that each party uses elaborately in the following tables.

In the Kurdish opening-up process category, parties mostly talk about the process itself for different reasons. It is expected that the AKP as the initiator of the process has an eagerness to represent its project and discuss the future benefits of this process. However, other parties in the opposition take their chances to discuss and criticize the process and in these discussions, oppositional parties relate the "process" code with other codes in the two main categories.

Figure 6.1 Distribution of codes (%) in the parliamentary group speeches for each category
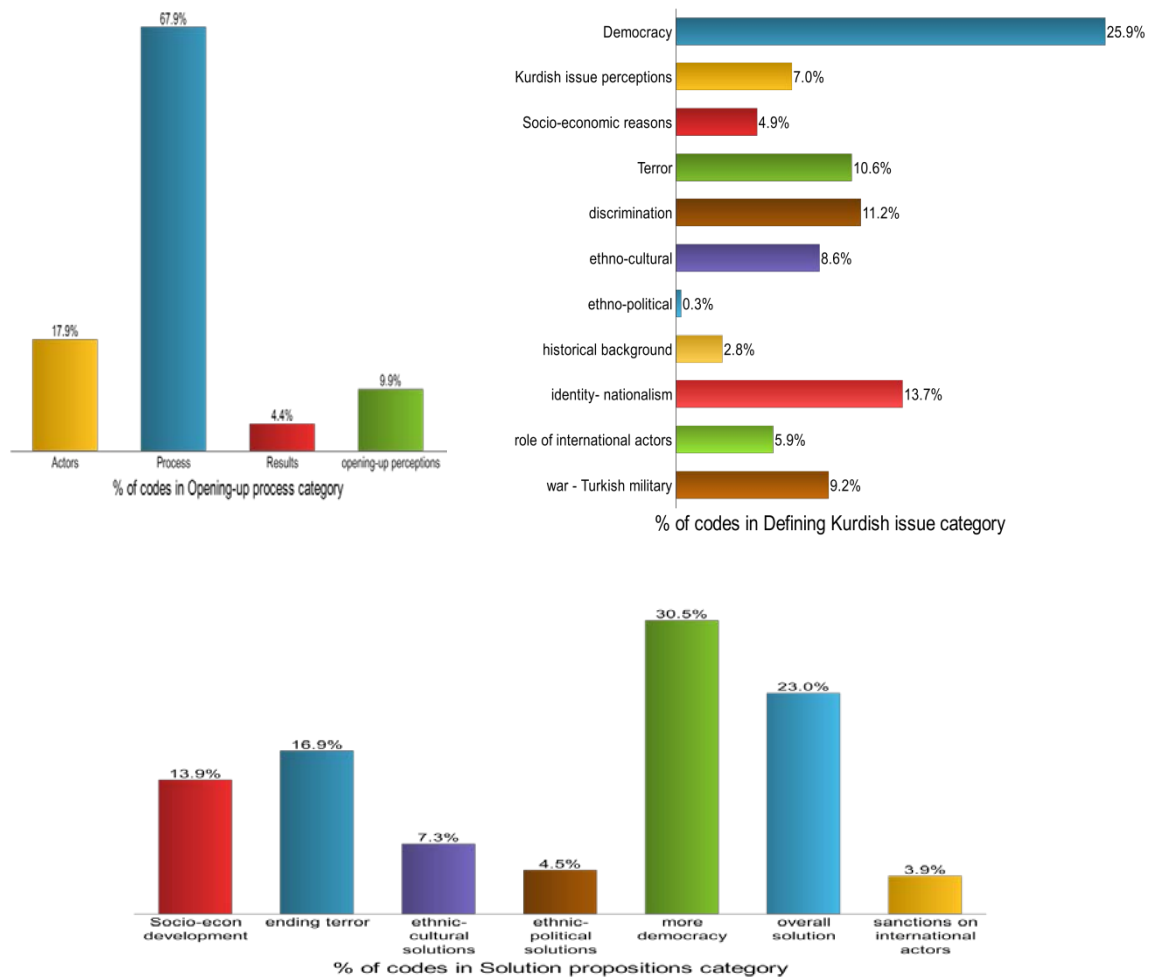
In the second category, defining the Kurdish issue, the "democracy" code seems to be the most employed reason to explain the sources of the Kurdish issue. One reason for this is that the BDP devotes a significant amount of energy to show the lack of democracy in the Turkish political and social system that eventually leads to discrimination against Kurds. Secondly, the AKP mentions the need to take steps to achieve "further democracy" in the system. However, the CHP and the MHP mostly emphasize the "identity-nationalism" code when defining the sources of the Kurdish issue. These two parties articulate their fear of losing the defining characteristics of the Turkish identity and offer ways on how to keep various ethnicities under the Turkish Republic together.

In the third category, solution propositions to the Kurdish issue, "more democracy" and "overall solution" codes are mostly employed in the speeches. The BDP mostly talks about the need for reforms that would bring more democracy

whereas the AKP and the CHP look at the issue from an overall perspective. In other words, the AKP and the CHP put more effort into analyzing other parties' approaches to the solution of the issue instead of promoting their own solutions.

To obtain a comprehensive picture on the party's positions and rhetoric, Table 6.2 displays the coding scheme and provides all the number of coded segments in parliamentary group speeches per each document group (party)[3]. The numbers circled in red in Table 6.2 indicate the major codes that are employed by each party.

In the opening-up process category, the AKP emphasizes the role of actors in the process and how the process is perceived by other parties. Surprisingly, the AKP does not put much effort into explaining the process itself, although in the distribution of codes among all speeches the process code is mostly employed (67.9% -from Figure 6.1). On the contrary, the AKP deals with the issue of the legitimization of the process in the eyes of other actors, i.e., opposition parties, the PKK, NGOs and other organizations. Furthermore, the AKP defines the Kurdish issue around the "terror" and "identity nationalism" codes, while the AKP proposes solutions on the basis of providing socioeconomic development and further democratization to the region.

The CHP approaches all three categories from a national identity perspective. The party declares its hesitance on the process that can lead to the destruction of Turkish national identity. Therefore, the party defines the Kurdish issue as an issue of identity and protects its Turkish nationalist stance. The main solution to the issue would be to provide socioeconomic development to the region, while introducing reforms for further democratization.

The MHP evaluates the opening-up process as a detrimental process for the Turkish national identity and considers the process an attempt to legitimize terrorist activities. In the same manner, the party recognizes the actors who support this process as traitors. Under defining the Kurdish issue category, the MHP addresses the issue of identity, role of international actors and terrorism. The actual source of the problem should be sought in the support for terrorism and the desire of actors to

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[3] See Appendices for the description of the thematic codes.

shatter the Turkish identity from the MHP's perspective. As a solution to the problem, the party offers strict measures toward ending the terrorism.

The BDP relates the opening-up process to the constitutional referendum in 2010 with the "constitution-making" code. According to the BDP's perspective, the process is initiated to gain the Kurdish support, both in drafting a new constitution and changing some of the articles of the existing constitution; however, the articles that are proposed for changing does not include anything about Kurdish identity so that the Kurdish party boycotts the constitutional referendum. Furthermore, the BDP talks about the actors who are involved in the process and if they really are representative of the Kurds. The party attributes the sources of the Kurdish issue to the lack of democracy and the only solution to the issue would be introducing more reforms and granting more rights both at the individual and collective levels.

Table 6.2 The number of coded segments for each document group - not aggregated

Code System	AKP	CHP	MHP	BDP
�−❑ Opening-Up Process				
▔ ⊟ Process			13	10
cooperation with ter…	9	39	91	
Language Laws	10	10	20	9
National identity	25	44	143	14
terror	29	29	124	13
legality	1	10	16	
transparency	23	26	13	14
Constitution-making	10	13	28	50
Habur-comingbacks	8	15	41	14
Actors	46	16	136	43
Results	14	2	36	7
opening-up perceptions	31	18	41	43
⊟ Defining Kurdish issue				
Terror	24	6	18	28
Democracy	1	1	3	181
Socio-economic reasons	1	4	4	26
role of international actors	2	3	19	18
identity- nationalism	14	14	36	34
ethno-political				2
ethno-cultural	2		2	58
discrimination	9	3	4	64
historical background		1		19
war - Turkish military				66
Kurdish issue perceptions	4	3	4	39
⊟ Solution Propositions				
ending terror	13	2	24	17
sanctions on internation…		1	7	5
Socio-econ development	24	14	1	7
more democracy	15	10	7	69
ethnic-political solutions	1		1	13
ethnic-cultural solutions	4	4	1	15
overall solution	4	1	5	66

Furthermore, it is important to double-check if the percentages of the codes used in document groups correspond to the number of coded segments in each document group. Because the unit of coding is quasi-sentence, a quasi-sentence can be a sentence, or half of a sentence or even a paragraph that has an impact on the frequency of the issue at hand. Table 5.3 provides the information on the percentages of codes in each document group.

In comparison with Table 6.2, according to the results of Table 6.3, the AKP devotes more attention to opening-up perceptions than the actors in the process. Moreover, "national identity" and "actors" are coded at equal percentages that show that the AKP talks about building a new national identity by recognizing Kurdish identity. On defining the Kurdish issue category, the results change in that identity becomes more salient than terrorism. In other words, the AKP attributes the source of the Kurdish issue to the national identity more than terrorism. In the third category, solution proposition to the issue, the number of coded segments corresponds to the percentage of codes so that "socioeconomic development" and "more democracy" codes remain salient in the AKP's speeches.

Table 6.3 Cross-tabs output table: Percentages of codes in each document group

Code System	Document group = AKP	Document group = BDP	Document group = CHP	Document group = MHP SUM
Opening-Up Process				
Process		1,3%		4,2%
cooperation with terrorism	3,1%		5,5%	7,3%
Language Laws	4,3%	2,6%	3,7%	3,6%
National identity	8,7%	3,8%	8,3%	7,8%
terror	6,8%	1,7%	10,1%	7,8%
legality	0,6%		3,7%	3,1%
transparency	6,8%	3,0%	3,7%	3,6%
Constitution-making	3,1%	5,1%	6,4%	6,3%
Habur-comingbacks	2,5%	2,1%	6,4%	6,8%
Actors	8,7%	4,3%	6,4%	7,8%
Results	5,0%	2,6%	0,9%	4,7%
opening-up perceptions	10,6%	4,7%	10,1%	7,8%
Defining Kurdish issue				
Terror	5,0%	3,4%	2,8%	3,1%
Democracy	0,6%	5,6%	0,9%	1,0%
Socio-economic reasons	0,6%	4,7%	3,7%	1,0%
role of international actors	1,2%	3,0%	0,9%	4,2%
identity- nationalism	6,2%	3,8%	3,7%	5,2%
ethno-political		0,9%		
ethno-cultural	1,2%	5,1%		1,0%
discrimination	3,7%	5,1%	1,8%	0,5%
historical background		4,3%	0,9%	
war - Turkish military		4,7%		
Kurdish issue perceptions	1,2%	4,3%	2,8%	1,6%
Solution Propositions				
ending terror	3,7%	3,8%	1,8%	3,6%
sanctions on international actors		1,7%	0,9%	2,1%
Socio-econ development	6,8%	1,7%	8,3%	0,5%
more democracy	5,0%	5,1%	2,8%	2,1%
ethnic-political solutions	0,6%	3,0%		0,5%
ethnic-cultural solutions	1,2%	3,0%	2,8%	0,5%
overall solution	2,5%	5,6%	0,9%	2,1%
Σ SUM	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%
# N (Documents)	18	13	15	15

In the CHP's speeches, national identity remains the most important aspect in the evaluation of the opening-up process. But results of Table 6.3 reveal that the CHP emphasizes the "opening-up perception" as much as the "national identity". In other words, other parties' approaches to the process are also taken into account by the CHP. In defining the Kurdish issue, socioeconomic underdevelopment of the region plays as much of a role as the identity. Interestingly, for the solution to the issue, after the "socioeconomic development" code, the CHP puts emphasis equally on the need of further democratization and introducing ethnic-cultural reforms. This point is meaningful in the sense that besides the BDP, the CHP seems to be the only party that considers the cultural dimension of the issue as a solution, which can be linked to the results of the previous chapter. As a reminder, the Wordfish analysis reveals that the CHP's position is closer to the BDP's position compared to the AKP's position against the common belief in the literature. The recognition of the ethnic-

cultural dimension of the Kurdish issue might be one of the reasons of the proximity between the positions of the CHP and the BDP.

When the results of Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 are compared, the MHP's codings show perfect consistency. That is also the case for the BDP with a minor exception. In the defining the Kurdish issue category, although lack of "democracy" stays as the mostly salient code, "discrimination" and lack of "ethno-cultural" rights carry the same weight of importance for the party.

Although the results between the two tables differ especially for the AKP and the CHP, in the further analysis I take number of coded segments as the main tool to analyze the speeches because what matters for this research is the expression of political ideas.

6.3.2 Interpreting Texts: Theory-Development via Revealing Relations

In this section, I analyze the Kurdish opening-up process in relation to defining the Kurdish issue and solution propositions to the issue. By analyzing the intersections between codes in the texts, I explain the puzzle that emerges from the last chapter, that is, why the AKP shares the adversarial position of the MHP although the AKP claims to take an accommodative position toward the Kurdish issue. Moreover, I investigate whether four approaches toward Kurdish ethno-nationalism have an influence on the party's rhetoric on the Kurdish issue.

In order to reveal the relations among categories, I use the code relations browser that is known as a theory-development tool in MAXQDA. The code relations browser specifies the frequency of the overlaps numerically and identifies the patterns of association in the data. When the browser is activated, I select the "Near" button in the type of analysis option and adjust the maximum distance in which the codes must equal to 0. Thus, two codes must appear in the same paragraph. The logic behind doing this adjustment is to identify proximate or co-occurring political ideas. If two or more political ideas are following each other, this means that the party leader links these political ideas together and these relations between the political ideas constitute the rhetoric. I examine all political parties' conceptualizations and evaluations of the opening-up process in relation to the other

two categories because the main focus of the research is the Kurdish opening-up process.

Tables 6.4, 6.5, 6.6 and 6.7 provide the results of the code relations browser for each party. By looking at the frequencies of the proximate of codes, I build an explanation for the parties' approaches to the process in relation to the definition of the issue and solution propositions. However, due to the big chunk of data and categories, I present the results under two main rhetorical categories: terrorism and identity. Under the terrorism rhetoric, I group "cooperation with terrorism", "terror" and "Habur coming-backs" codes because all these three codes are related with terrorism in general. Under the identity rhetoric, I group "national identity" and "language laws" codes together. As a third type of rhetoric, I group "transparency", "legality" and "constitution-making" codes under the characteristics of the process; however, I do not analyze this rhetoric because in Chapter Five the characteristics of the process are already analyzed with the constitutional referendum in 2010. Also, in this part of the analysis the main object is to grasp parties' evaluation of the opening-up process with regard to the Kurdish issue. The remaining codes are "actors", "results" and "opening-up perceptions" are employed in the discussion of these three rhetorical categories.

6.3.2.1 The AKP and the Kurdish opening-up process

Table 6.4 indicates that the codes "opening-up perceptions" and "actors" mostly co-occur with the "terror" and "identity-nationalism" codes under the defining Kurdish issue category. The reason for that Erdogan claims the purpose of one of the policies aimed at the initiation of the opening-up process is to put an end to terror; however, oppositional parties (the CHP and the MHP) accuse the AKP of cooperating with terrorists instead of struggling to put an end to terror. As a reply to those criticisms, Erdogan says that the BDP and the MHP take advantage of the terrorism issue to gain more votes. The policies implemented during the opening-up process, such as Habur coming-backs[4], enable the ones who joined the PKK but never engaged in combat with the Turkish Armed Forces, to leave the PKK and return to Turkey, so that the terror side of the Kurdish issue is resolved (AKP, 07.2010, 04.2011). By raising these points, actually Erdogan asserts that the issue

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[4] See Chapter Two, page 63 for the explanation of Habur coming-backs.

owner on the ethnic dimension with regard to making and implementing policies is the AKP, but not other parties.

Moreover, Erdogan replies to the BDP's questions with regard to the KCK[5] arrests during the opening-up process in a defensive manner and highlights that under the separation of powers, the AKP does not have power to influence the judiciary. If the elected mayors in the Kurdish region engage in terrorist activities, it is the duty of the judicial branch to investigate and arrest these mayors (AKP, 06.2010). Also, Erdogan mentions that the state of emergency is terminated in the Kurdish region as a sign of hope in the peace process and criticizes especially the previous CHP governments, saying that those governments did not notice that whenever a state of emergency was declared, the terrorist activities increased in the region.

In defining the Kurdish issue, terrorism rhetoric is mostly related with the "identity-nationalism" and "terror" codes. Erdogan explicitly associates the Kurdish issue with the terror issue; however, he strictly differentiates citizens with Kurdish origins from the PKK militants, and from the supporters of the PKK. Therefore, Erdogan accepts that in the Kurdish region terrorism exists and constitutes a problem, but terrorism does not originate from the Kurdish issue (AKP, 10.2009, 11.2010). In relation to the terror issue, the initiation of the opening-up process is presented as a response to the crying mothers who lost their children in the war. Erdogan says that "Motherhood cannot have any ideology and is above the politics" (AKP, 02.2011).

As a solution to the terror aspect of the Kurdish issue, Erdogan highlights the importance of "socioeconomic development" and further democratization under the code of "more democracy." Due to terrorist activities, private investors refrain from investing in the region, whereby unemployment increases. He talks about the economic achievements of the government especially during the opening-up process. For instance, GAP project has created more investments in the area, decreased the poverty level and lessened the unemployment rate, which in turn discouraged youngsters from joining the terrorist organization. Nevertheless, Erdogan complains about the PKK and the BDP's unsupportive and disincentive behavior on these

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[5] See Chapter Two, page 63 for the explanation of KCK trials.

investments (AKP, 04.2011). Also, as a social pillar of GAP, Erdogan talks about the success of the Social Support Program [SODES] that has been providing opportunities of social integration to the people living in the region. Moreover, the construction of the Ilisu dam is a really important issue for the Kurdish party, and the AKP deems the construction of the dam as a great achievement for the economy from Erdogan's perspective. The Housing Development Administration of Turkey [TOKI] would build new houses for the people who have to leave their villages due to the flow of dam waters, and also mosques, schools and social areas will be built around the area, which is a sign that the Turkish state is acting as a welfare state (AKP, 06.2010).

Based on the need for further democratization to solve the Kurdish issue, Erdogan claims that for the first time in the Turkish Republic's history, the evacuation of the villages, unsolved crimes and gangs in the region are investigated with the opening-up process. Therefore, anyone who is against the opening-up process can be deemed as a status-quo supporter because further democratization is associated with eradicating discrimination (AKP, 06.2010).

Under identity rhetoric, Table 6.4 reveals that in defining the Kurdish issue the codes of "terror," "identity-nationalism" and "discrimination" are relevant, while the solution of the issue is related with socioeconomic development and further democratization. Erdogan's conceptualization of national identity and definition of Turkishness varies and his statements even contradict each other, which might be the reason for the fluctuation of the AKP's position revealed by the Wordfish analysis. On the one hand, Erdogan condemns nationalism as an ideology and argues as in the following way:

> "We are refusing to discriminate people on the basis of ethnic, religious and regional nationalism. In our country, there are lots of ethnic constituents and for us they represent the richness of our land. All the ethnic constituents of this country: Lazs, Turks, Kurds, Circassians, Georgians, Abkhazian are sub-identities and signifies our prosperity" (AKP, 10.2009).

> "Turkishness constitutes the supra-national identity in Turkey, and the citizens of Turkey are equal, first-class, and free and, every citizen has a freedom of self-representation of their ethnic identity" (AKP, 11.2009).

On the other hand, Erdogan explicitly says that "We defended this in the past and we are also defending it today: one flag, one nation, one homeland and one state…All sub-identities are recognized under one condition, if they are united under one nation" (AKP, 01.2011). Interestingly, in his speeches, Erdogan never uses a pro-Islamist approach; however, he employs many phrases referring to Islam. For instance, he talks about the martyrs with a sentimental tone or he uses a famous phrase from Yunus Emre "I love the created for the sake of the creator" (AKP, 01.2010). He always refers to the glorious Turkish history from Seljuks to Ottomans to the victors of the Turkish Independence War, and claims that what unites the Turkish nation is this history and specifically the Turkish Independence War in which all these sub-identities fought together against the common enemy (AKP, 12.2010).

Moreover, Erdogan brags about the achievements of the opening-up process in terms of granting cultural rights such as the state-run Turkish Radio and Television Cooperation launched channel TRT-6 for broadcasting in Kurdish; private Kurdish language courses were introduced and several institutes of the Living Languages in Turkey program were introduced. However, Erdogan takes a strict adversarial position toward the recognition of Kurdish as an official language.

> "The bond between us is our official language, Turkish. Without a doubt, everybody shall speak their native language freely; no one shall hinder this right. But, please do not make the mistake of mixing this freedom up with accepting Kurdish as an official language, which would be really unfair and damage social peace and unity" (AKP, 01.2010).

Therefore, the AKP frequently employs socioeconomic development and relative deprivation approaches, whereas the regional terrorism approach is occasionally employed. Despite the common arguments in the Turkish political literature, Erdogan never uses the pro-Islamist approach. Significantly, in the speeches further democratization is represented as the cure of discrimination and progress.

Table 6.4 Code Relations Browser output: AKP

Code System	Opening-...	Process	cooperation with terrorism	Language Laws	National identity	terror	legality	transparency	Constitution-m...	Habur-coming...	Actors	Results	opening-up perceptions
Defining Kurdish issue													
Terror	2		8		19	6		5		2	10	2	22
Democracy													2
Socio-economic reasons													2
role of international actors					2						2		2
identity- nationalism			2	4	4	2				3		2	14
ethno-political													
ethno-cultural	2				2								4
discrimination	2		2		2						4	2	10
historical background													
war - Turkish military													
Kurdish issue perceptions					2						2		6
Solution Propositions													
ending terror	2				10	4		4		2	10	6	22
sanctions on internation…													
Socio-econ development	2				12	7		7		2	15	6	35
more democracy	2				10	4		6			12		24
ethnic-political solutions					2								
ethnic-cultural solutions	2				2			2			2	2	6
overall solution					2				4		2		6

6.3.2.2 The CHP and the Kurdish opening-up process

Table 6.5 displays the close relationship between the rhetoric of terrorism and identity in defining the Kurdish issue and the solution propositions cluster around the "socioeconomic development" and "more democracy" codes. Under the "opening-up perceptions" code, both leaders of the party attack the AKP government by using "identity-nationalism" and "socioeconomic development" and "more democracy" codes. The co-occurrences of the codes generally happen in the speeches uttered by Baykal. With numerous examples, I show that under Baykal's leadership, the CHP claims to be the issue owner on the ethnic dimension; however, under Kilicdaroglu's leadership, the ethnic issue is not salient and he devotes his attention more toward the issues of a secular-Islamist dimension. Combining the positions in Figure 5.1 in the previous chapter, in line with the quantitative analysis, Kilicdaroglu does not often refer to the Kurdish issue; however, whenever he talks about the issue, the party's position comes closer to the BDP's position[6].

Under defining the Kurdish issue category, Baykal puts emphasis on the relation between ethnic identity and national identity. He embraces the existence of various ethnicities in Turkey and respects the rights of the individuals who demand to exercise their freedom in terms of revealing their identity in the civil society (CHP, 08.2009; 11.2009; 12.2009). For that matter, Baykal supports granting more cultural rights on speaking and broadcasting in native languages. Additionally, he highlights the point that in the Turkish political history, the first party which recognized the Kurdish issue as a cultural issue and proposed a legislation regarding the removal of the ban on speaking Kurdish in the public was the CHP. That's why the CHP should be seen as the issue owner on the ethnic dimension (CHP, 08.2009).

However, in the representation of these ethnic identities at the state level, Baykal states that the Turkish state shall be blind to all ethnic, religious and regional differences and shall not discriminate between citizens. To ensure that citizens must accept that the national identity in Turkey is the Turkish nationality; that is, ethnic identity does not correspond to national identity. "Turkish state is not based on race or kinship but on civic nationalism" (CHP, 08.2009). Moreover, according to the

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[6] There are some exceptions obviously such as the speech uttered in 03.2011; however, the length of the speech (only three short sentences) is insufficient to determine the actual position of the party in that month.

former leader of the CHP, forming a national identity takes such a long time that if the particular ethnic identities are considered as more important than the national identity, this might lead to disintegration of the nation. The Turkish identity formed in thousands of years, first launched in Central Asia and proceeded until today with the success of the Turkish Independence War and Kemalist ideology. This national identity includes several aspects such as militaristic, political, diplomatic, cultural, philosophical and religious dimensions. If this highly dimensional identity is reduced to only one dimension, which is ethnicity in this case, this would pose a real threat to the citizens of Turkey (CHP, 11.2009; 12.2009). In this sense, Turkishness is regarded as a supra-identity that encompasses all kinds of differences among citizens. As can be seen, the CHP uses the rhetoric of the Turkish Independence War as the AKP; however, with a significant difference. The CHP highlights the role of the Kemalist ideology in establishing the nation-state.

The CHP, both under Baykal's and Kilicdaroglu's leadership does not define the Kurdish issue based on terrorism. Particularly, Kilicdaroglu put an emphasis on the Kurdish identity, recognizing that certain reforms need to be introduced for improving the individual and collective rights; however, terrorism is only employed to emphasize that the region is vulnerable because international actors have certain interests and to criticize the AKP government's foreign policies. In the speeches uttered in November 2009, Baykal questions the AKP's opening-up process in relation to the foreign policy. He criticizes that although the Foreign Affairs Minister visited Erbil and had a meeting with the Northern Iraq administration, the government did not ask for a commitment from the Northern Iraq administration for cutting the support to the PKK and dismantling the PKK camps in Erbil.

This point is also relevant for the "opening-up perception" code because in line with this argument, Baykal accuses Erdogan of acting in cooperation with the PKK and making policies with regard to the demands of the terrorist organization. In this sense, Baykal strictly opposes taking the PKK as an actor into account and defends that the Turkish state shall not negotiate with the PKK and shall not address the terrorist organization's demands (CHP, 11.2009). Furthermore, according to Baykal, the concessions made by the AKP government carry parallel perspectives with the report of the referee of the Council of European Human Rights and Legal Affairs, and the report on the protection of minorities written by the European Union. These

reports tend to restrict the Turkish state in using the motto "How happy to call oneself a Turk"[7] and signing the national anthem without a particular reason. The report also suggests a change in the definition of minority, which was determined by the Lausanne Treaty in order to improve the status of minorities. Such an improvement means to grant Alevis and Kurds the minority status that was strongly rejected by Baykal (CHP, 01.2010).

Under the solution proposition to the Kurdish issue category, both leaders emphasize the importance of socioeconomic development and further democratization. By criticizing the AKP's Kurdish opening-up process, which is about ethnic decomposition, Kilicdaroglu argues that the people living in the region demand jobs and more opportunities for their children's education. The first thing that should be done by the government is to think about the needs of the people in the region and focus on economic improvement (CHP, 06.2010).

The CHP puts down the policies of the opening-up process by claiming that the AKP enters into civil society's realm by introduction of Kurdish language classes in the universities and launching a national channel for broadcasting in Kurdish. These policies should be enacted by the civil society itself and the state keeps its distance from the civil society's organization. The policies enacted by the civil society organizations are the true sources of further democratization.

In comparison to Figure 5.1, which is produced by quantitative analysis, whenever the CHP criticizes the government's project and policies, and stresses the death of countless numbers of soldiers and civilians in the region, the CHP's position comes closer to the nationalists' position. Nonetheless, on the issue of granting cultural rights and enabling the development of civil society, the CHP's position approaches the BDP's position.

The CHP's rhetoric flourishes with the employment of socioeconomic development, relative deprivation and regional terrorism approaches, which is very similar to the AKP's rhetoric. However, the attribution of these approaches to the rhetoric differs. Both parties do not refer to the pro-Islamist approach, which is compatible with the CHP's ideology.

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[7] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk used this phrase in his speech delivered for the 10th Anniversary of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1933. This phrase has turned into a motto.

Table 6.5 Code Relations Browser output: CHP

Code System	Opening...	Process	cooperation with terrorism	Language Laws	National identity	terror	legality	transparency	Constitution-m...	Habur-coming...	Actors	Results	opening-up perceptions
Defining Kurdish issue													
Terror					5	7							6
Democracy													
Socio-economic reasons			3			3	2						2
role of international actors			2		4								4
identity- nationalism			7	3	12				2	2			16
ethno-political													
ethno-cultural													
discrimination			4				3						3
historical background													2
war - Turkish military													
Kurdish issue perceptions			3				2						2
Solution Propositions													
ending terror					3	2							4
sanctions on internation…													2
Socio-econ development			7	5	11	4			4		2	2	17
more democracy			7	4	8	2			4		2	2	13
ethnic-political solutions													
ethnic-cultural solutions			3	3									3
overall solution			3		2				6	2			2

6.3.2.3 The MHP and the Kurdish opening-up process

Table 6.6 shows that terror and identity-nationalism rhetoric are interconnected in defining the Kurdish issue. The solution proportions in relation to the process are associated with implementing sanctions to actors who support terrorism in the region to put an end to terror. In terms of the opening-up process itself, the MHP's speeches take a strong adversarial position and criticize all the policies that the AKP government offers. In the speeches, what is striking is that Bahceli, the leader of the MHP, structures his arguments in a way to show his opposition to the AKP, not to the pro-Kurdish party.

Bahceli defines the Kurdish issue as an issue of terrorism and he does not recognize the Kurdish issue as an identity issue. The source of the Kurdish problem arises from the various actors' interest in the region. Those actors' main objective is to break Turkey into pieces and create many nation-states out of it based on ethnicity, which then can be manipulated by these international actors (MHP, 06.2010). Bahceli argues that the PKK receives support from Israel, the Greek Cypriot Administration, Greece, Syria and mostly from the Northern Iraq administration and the United States. He places blame for the terrorist attacks primarily on the Peshmarga leader Barzani and the U.S. administration in the region for allying with Barzani. These countries try to revive the Sevres[8] spirit that would eventually enable them to reach their pending interests (MHP, 11.2009; 06.2010; 11.2010).

Strikingly, Bahceli adopts a pro-Islamist approach and defines Kurds as the Muslim brothers who fought for their country's independence during the Turkish Independence War. Thus, by participating in this war Kurds proved that their intention was not seceding from Turkey. "All the Turkish citizens share one God, one territory, one agony and one history" (MHP, 11.2009). Bahceli claims that if

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[8] The treaty of Serves was signed between the victorious allied powers and the Ottoman Empire post-World War I on August 20, 1920. The treaty abolished the Ottoman Empire and obliged the Empire to renounce all rights over North Africa. This treaty prepared the ground for an independent Armenia, and Kurdistan. The lands of the Ottoman Empire were shared among the victorious allied powers: Greece claimed rights in eastern Thrace and on the Anatolian west coast, the Eastern Mediterranean part was divided between Great Britain and France. In the Southern coast, Italy claimed to be the sovereign power. The zone of straits, i.e., the Bosporus and the Dardanelles were put under the control of the League of Nations. After the Turkish Independence War, this treaty was annulled and a new treaty was signed. This new treaty was the Lausanne treaty, by which Turkey was recognized as an independent country and the borders of the Turkish Republic were defined.

anyone denies this fact, then Turkey will no longer exist as a nation-state. Moreover, he asks this question of the audience: "Why do Kurds need an opening-up process? They are not outsiders/foreigners living in another country" (MHP, 10.2010). The problems that are claimed to make up the Kurdish problem are not specific to Kurds; all the people living in Turkey have experienced the same problems. Bahceli also gives reference to the glorious history of the Turkish nation via using Islamist rhetoric, but he also considers the Turkish Independence War to be part of this glorious history.

In his speeches, Bahceli uses a different jargon. He defines the actors taking part in the Kurdish opening-up process as "The mentor of this secessionist project is Öcalan, the sub-contractor is the AKP government and the center is beyond the ocean (refers to the U.S.)" (MHP, 07.2010; 11.2009; 01.2011). Bahceli associates this secessionist project with the Crusades. The "opening up perception" code is related to "more democracy" code. Bahceli strictly opposes the opening-up and evaluates the process as collaboration with terrorism. The idea of further democratization cannot obviate the national integrity and the existence of the Turkish state. Further democratization can only be achieved via compromise and recognition of unity; however, the AKP government tries to implement reforms based on recognizing the other and highlighting differences, which would bring the end of the Turkish nation (MHP, 10.2009). Overemphasizing minor differences can leave big scars (MHP, 02.2010). Moreover, Bahceli emphasized the increasing terrorist attacks after the initiation of the opening-up process. Because the AKP government shows weakness by giving incentives to the PKK, the terrorist organization's self-confidence increases and attacks even more (MHP, 05.2010).

Since the MHP leader defines the Kurdish issue on the basis of terrorism, the proposed solutions concentrate on ending terror and strengthening the national identity. Bahceli suggests four solutions to end the terror problem in Turkey. The first solution is to suspend the diplomatic and economic relations with Northern Iraq and to introduce trade barriers. Secondly, in order to discourage the nation-states that support terrorism, a diplomatic note should be sent. Thirdly and most importantly, the Turkish state should reveal determination that if the interlocutors do not grasp the seriousness of the issue, the severity of the sanctions will become heavier (MHP, 11.2009; 10.2010; 11.2010). Finally, the Turkish state should immediately declare a

state of emergency in the southeastern region. Furthermore, Bahceli criticizes the Habur coming-backs and the amnesty laws enacted by the AKP government and questions the government on how the family of a martyr should interpret these amnesty laws, and how the AKP can legitimize these laws in the eyes of the mothers who lost their sons for this country (MHP, 11.2010). Therefore, the Turkish parliament should immediately give authority to the Turkish Armed Forces to attack Northern Iraq and dismantle the PKK camps.

It is clear that the MHP frequently uses the regional terrorism approach and in defining the nation, Bahceli uses the rhetoric of the pro-Islamist approach. Relative deprivation and socioeconomic approaches are never employed by the MHP leader.

Table 6.6 Code Relations Browser output: MHP

Code System	Opening-...	Process	cooperation with terrorism	Language Laws	National identity	terror	legality	transparency	Constitution-m...	Habur-coming...	Actors	Results	opening-up perceptions
Defining Kurdish issue													
Terror			2		10	2				2	2		13
Democracy					2								5
Socio-economic reasons													4
role of international actors					2						10		10
identity- nationalism		6	2	14	11	2			2	2	10	2	40
ethno-political													
ethno-cultural				2									4
discrimination				3									5
historical background													
war - Turkish military													
Kurdish issue perceptions				2								4	3
Solution Propositions													
ending terror		4			25				2		8	2	21
sanctions on internation…		2			2						4		6
Socio-econ development													2
more democracy				5	2	2			3				11
ethnic-political solutions													2
ethnic-cultural solutions													2
overall solution	4								2				9

6.3.2.4 The BDP and the Kurdish opening-up process

Table 6.7 reveals that in defining the Kurdish issue with regard to the opening-up process, both terrorism and identity rhetoric are related to lack of democracy and discrimination against the Kurdish ethnic identity. In line with the definition, the BDP's speeches propose solutions on granting more collective rights, regional autonomy and implementing policies for further democratization. Also, the speeches indicate with the "perceptions of opening-up" code that other parties, specifically the AKP government, does not promote further democracy and enact policies that can prevent discrimination on an ethnic basis.

Both Demirtas and Kisanak, the co-chairs of the party, employ the term civil war instead of terror. Both define the source of this war based on the Turkish state's discriminatory policies toward Kurds. In this sense, in their speeches both co-chairs use the term society of Turkey while defining the nation because this term encompasses all the differences in the society. The BDP does not situate its constituency only on Kurds, but the party identifies as the main object "to meet the demands of Alevis, Kurds, Circassians, Turks, women, children and the laborers, i.e., the demands of proletariat and the oppressed" (BDP, 06.2010). Demirtas explicitly states that the party has a tendency to see the society of Turkey as groups, not as a nation (BDP, 04.2010). "Every group has a right to experience its own culture, speak its own language and practice its own culture; however, these rights have been taken away from Kurds" (BDP, 05.2010). In terror rhetoric, the BDP's speeches particularly refer to the historical background of the issue and the role of the Turkish Armed Forces in this war. By giving examples from the unsolved murders, mass graves and the torture that Kurds had to experience after the 1980 military intervention, the BDP demands from the AKP government to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (BDP, 03.2010). Demirtas claims that establishing such a commission would be the first step for further democratization. Additionally, the BDP's speeches criticize the Anti-Terror Law and explain that under this law, many innocent Kurds were arrested although most of them did not have a relation with the PKK. Even some of the children under the age of 18 are arrested under this law because they were throwing stones at the policemen, and Kisanak highlights that this has happened during the opening-up process (BDP, 03.2010; 06.2010). Referring to the prime ministers' speech on terrorism, in which Erdogan said "We will pursue our

battle with terrorism pertinaciously", Demirtas asks how to believe the good intentions of the AKP government (BDP, 03.2010).

According to both Demirtas and Kisanak, during the opening-up process, the only positive development was Habur coming-backs; however, after this "Peace Group" returned to their country, many of them were arrested or went on trial. This peace group responded to the calls of Ocalan and to show their good intentions on putting an end to war, they returned; however most of those people had to return to the PKK camp in Mahmur. Those who returned to the camp later declared that the conditions in Turkey for peace-building had not ripened enough (BDP, 07.2010; 10.2010). Moreover, in relation to "terror" and "opening-up perceptions" codes, the BDP complains about the ongoing KCK trials, under which many Kurdish mayors and journalists were convicted. The co-chairs question the intentions of the AKP government because the arrests under the KCK trials were accelerated during the opening-up process (07.2010; 11.2010).

Under identity rhetoric, the BDP's speeches concentrate on education in students' mother tongues and demonstrations during Newroz[9]. The co-chairs indicate that the party is very strict on the issue of education in students' mother tongue issue, and no concessions on this issue will be made. From the BDP's perspective, the policy that does not allow education in students' mother tongue has been enacted to assimilate the Kurds and make them forget their origins. This mentality forces people to accept that there can be only one nation, one people and one language, and the BDP calls it discrimination (BDP, 06.2010). Moreover, in 2010, during Newroz celebrations Kurds, laborers and Alevis came together to claim their rights from the AKP government. In previous years, because the police forces intervened in the demonstrations, many people got injured or died during these demonstrations; however, this year nothing happened because the police forces let people celebrate Newroz freely. According to the co-chairs, this signifies a step for further democratization (BDP, 03.2010).

Strikingly, in defining the ethnicity and societies in Turkey, the BDP differentiates "good Kurds" from others. These "good Kurds" are identified as the ones who are close to the government and are delegated as deputies from the AKP's

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[9] See pages 63-4 for further information on Newroz.

election list. Demirtas says that "While this war is going on, the society is in pain, good Kurds of the Turkish state are becoming even wealthier and one day they will have to answer to the BDP" (BDP, 07. 2010). In line with differentiating the Kurds supporting the AKP from the voter base of the BDP, the co-chairs criticize the AKP's attempt to meet with intellectuals, artists, authors and "good Kurds". The BDP advises the AKP government to take the demands of the Kurdish society under consideration rather than contracting with intellectuals and 'good Kurds' (BDP, 04.2010).

With regard to solution proposition in relation to the opening-up process, the main demand is to introduce democratic autonomy in the region, which means granting more decentralization to local governments, especially where the BDP holds the municipalities. Kisanak asserts that "Turkey has already been divided into 26 regions. We want to establish regional parliaments in those 26 regions; thereby we will introduce direct democracy in Turkey" (BDP, 06.2010). Moreover, Kisanak offers three steps to solve the Kurdish issue. The first step is to get rid of "the one" mentality, i.e., one nation, one flag and one state by accepting this country's plural structure. The second step is about the dissolution of the assimilation mentality, and the final step is through politics of dialogue, that is, the citizens of the country should be convinced that this is a project of peace. This project is intended for everyone that seeks a frank solution and a self-realization. If these three steps are not taken, even if the PKK's arms are seized, the Kurdish issue cannot be wiped out from the politics of Turkey (BDP, 06.2010).

By the "ethnic-cultural" code under the solution propositions category, the co-chairs emphasize the significance of ethno-cultural demands. The co-chairs discuss the projects of the AKP government that intend to generate socioeconomic development such as the GAP and Ilisu dam projects. From BDP's perspective, these two projects aim to carry out a cultural massacre. Due to the GAP and Ilisu dam projects, many historical sights submerge, and the government tries to sink these cultural heritages, which are an accumulation of thousands of years of human history (BDP, 06.2010). Moreover, the party is well-aware of the regions' underdevelopment and the co-chairs attribute this fact to the Turkish states' discriminatory policies. By keeping the Kurdish region underdeveloped, the Turkish state has attempted to assimilate Kurds (BDP, 04.2010).

In all these speeches, the co-chairs evaluate all the approaches that are used in identifying the Kurdish issue. By using this "good Kurds" differentiation, the BDP addresses the pro-Islamic approach and criticizes the ones who are under the influence of this approach. The party refers particularly to the relative deprivation approach and considers the socioeconomic approach through the lenses of the relative deprivation. This is the only approach in which the BDP does not refer to regional terrorism because the party does not consider the PKK as a terrorist organization nor their activities as terrorism.

6 Mainstream parties' strategies toward ethno-territorial party - Qualitative text analysis

Table 6.7 Code Relations Browser output: BDP

Code System	Opening-...	Process	cooperation with terrorism	Language Laws	National identity	terror	legality	transparency	Constitution-m...	Habur-coming...	Actors	Results	opening-up perceptions
Defining Kurdish issue													
Terror				4	2			3	12	2	2		13
Democracy		7		19	12	11		16	65	15	43	9	74
Socio-economic reasons				2	5	3			4	2	8	4	12
role of international actors					2	2			3		8		7
identity- nationalism		2		2	9	9		8	15	4	18	5	18
ethno-political					2								3
ethno-cultural		2		2	7	3		5	24	2	8		22
discrimination		4		2	7			2	11	4	6	2	20
historical background										5	2		8
war - Turkish military		6		2	4	9		10	25	9	30	3	43
Kurdish issue perceptions				2	9	2		6	10	5	14		29
Solution Propositions													
ending terror		2			2			2	8	2	4		10
sanctions on internation…													
Socio-econ development					2	3					4	2	4
more democracy		8			5	4		3	36	2	12		31
ethnic-political solutions		3			4	2		5	10		9		9
ethnic-cultural solutions		6		2	7	2		6	11		11		13
overall solution		6		6	16	10		10	28	4	40	6	57

6.3.3 Inferences from the Analysis

Three important points can be inferred from the analysis. The first point is associated with political parties' usage of four approaches to the Kurdish issue. In the previous chapter, the analysis results reveal that the AKP's and the MHP's positions are close to each other and the parties' locations on the ethnic dimension corresponds to their positions on the secular-Islamist dimension. The explanation provided for these results was the intertwinement of secular-Islamist dimension's rhetoric with the ethnic dimension's rhetoric. The qualitative text analysis also confirms that this is the case via the employment of four approaches.

Table 6.8 provides information on whether political parties employ these four approaches in their rhetoric or not. Political parties employ these four approaches toward the ethnic issue according to their positions on the secular-Islamist dimension.

Table 6.8 Summary of the usage of four approaches by political parties

Parties	Socioeconomic approach	Relative deprivation approach	Pro-Islamist approach	Regional terrorism approach
AKP	✓ (mostly)	✓		~ (partly)
CHP	✓ (mostly)	✓		✓
MHP			✓	✓ (mostly)
BDP	✓	✓ (mostly)		

The only surprising point here is that the AKP break the pattern at least on the rhetoric level. According to the Turkish political literature, AKP uses a pro-Islamist approach to mobilize the Kurdish voters; however, the parliamentary group speeches indicate the opposite. AKP does not define the nation via employing the pro-Islamist approach; however, Erdogan uses certain Islamist rhetoric such as quoting from Islamist poets or using a sentimental tone on praying for martyrs. Therefore, this Islamist tone in AKP's speeches and the word choices in that manner resemble the MHP's Islamist tone. Moreover, AKP highlights the relative deprivation approach and addresses the discrimination issue that is unexpected from a pro-Islamist or conservative democrat party. This brings the discussion to the second point.

Similar to the usage of different approaches, the mainstream parties take positions on the ethnic dimension by compartmentalizing the issue. By

compartmentalization, I mean the mainstream parties create sub-ethnic categories in the ethnic issue while taking positions. Table 6.9 summarizes the mainstream parties' positions on each sub-ethnic category.

Table 6.9 The mainstream parties' positions on sub-ethnic categories based on the PSO theory

	AKP	CHP
Accepting Kurdish issue as an identity issue	ACCOMMODATIVE	ACCOMMODATIVE
Granting individual rights	ACCOMMODATIVE	ACCOMMODATIVE
Granting collective rights	CONTADICTORY STATEMENTS - In some speeches ACCOMMODATIVE - In others ADVERSARIAL	ADVERSARIAL at the state level ACCOMMODATIVE at the societal level
Regional decentralization	DISMISSIVE	DISMISSIVE
Drafting a new constitution and re-identifying the Turkish nation	CONTADICTORY STATEMENTS - In some speeches ACCOMMODATIVE In others ADVERSARIAL	ADVERSARIAL

Both the AKP and the CHP accept the existence of the Kurdish issue as an identity issue and link the source of this identity issue to socioeconomic underdevelopment and discrimination (relative deprivation). Moreover, granting individual rights such as recognizing the Kurdish language and offering partial amnesties do not constitute any problem for both of the mainstream parties. Regional autonomy is the most crucial issue in the BDP's speeches, and both mainstream parties have a dismissive strategy on that matter.

Surprisingly, the AKP takes many contradictory positions on the sub-ethnic categories, and that's also the reason why in the Wordfish analysis the AKP's position displayed a symmetric distribution. The dominant party jumps from a pro-Kurdish position to the Turkish nationalists' position. Granting collective rights and re-defining the Turkish nation and identity are unacceptable demands from the MHP's perspective; however, these two essential demands are put forth by the BDP.

Therefore, the AKP takes both accommodative and adversarial approaches to those issues, most probably to be able to attract the votes of both Kurdish- and Turkish-nationalists. In order to reach this aim, AKP shows a volatile behavior via employing Riker's heresthetics, which is related with the third inference.

The qualitative text analysis reveals that the AKP relates the Kurdish issue to discrimination and socioeconomic underdevelopment and the specific solution prescribed by the AKP is further democratization. The discussion of the opening-up process and the oppositional parties' behavior is always conceptualized through the further democratization rhetoric.

In this sense, further democratization can be considered a heresthetical tool for the dominant party AKP, notably in terms of integrating two existing dimensions that may result in a realignment of alliances able to consolidate the dominant party's power. Erdogan equates the opening-up process with further democratization, and in his rhetoric whoever goes against this process is condemned as being status-quo supporters. The CHP and the MHP are considered to be nationalist parties with a status-quo ideology, and these parties are portrayed as in denial and patronizing, in short anti-democratic (AKP, 11.2009).

The ethnic issue is a complicated issue especially in new democracies like Turkey. Taking positions on the ethnic dimensions has costs in party competition and the dominant party initiates the opening-up process because the ethnic issue cannot be ignored any more. The MHP's entrance to the parliament in the 2007 elections indicated that the dominant party's voter base shows signs of eradication and voters switched their preferences by carrying the votes of the MHP above a 10% threshold. In this sense, the AKP have to find a new way to keep both moderate Kurdish voters and Turkish nationalists in the coalition of the party. However, choosing each side would cost some votes from the other side. Therefore, the AKP pursues a strategy of creating a new dimension in Turkish politics based on the rhetoric of further democratization by merging two existing dimensions. Parliamentary group speeches indicate that all parties but the MHP make references to the need for introducing reforms in line with further democratization; however, each party has a different understanding of democracy, and therefore a different rhetoric of democracy. This

rhetoric on democracy is determined regarding the secular-Islamist dimension's dynamics.

By going beyond these two dimensions and the rhetoric of the secular-Islamist dimension, which is limited to mobilize the ethnic voters, the dominant party attempts to create a new dimension in Turkish politics called 'democracy/democratization. In line with the Riker's heresthetics, when the dominant party realizes that it cannot consolidate its dominancy, it just opens up a new dimension, but in the Turkish case the AKP attempts to integrate the ethnic dimension to a secular versus pro-Islamist dimension via creating pro-democratizer versus the status-quo supporter dimension.

As Riker suggested, the AKP divides the majority of Kurdish party supporters and Turkish-nationalist party voters with a new alternative, i.e., being pro-democratizers that would enable the dominant party to consolidate its power. The AKP's move is tactful in the sense that the history of Turkish politics is full of democratic breakdowns, which are caused by the frequent military interventions, and the Turkish society has reservations about being deemed anti-democratic or as clinging to the status-quo. The AKP actually managed to be successful in applying this strategy and reaped the fruits of its victory in the constitutional referendum in 2010. In the referendum, even those who do not share the AKP's ideology voted for the constitutional change because the AKP represented this change as a need for further democratization and as an act of erasing the military's shadow on civilian politics. This heresthetical ploy of creating a new dimension for mobilizing ethnic voters worked partly because the AKP is able to raise its vote share in the Kurdish region and to win over a part the MHP's votes. However, this strategy is limited in terms of changing the dimension of politics in the Turkish political system, and the ethnic issue dimension is highly salient in Turkish politics and cannot be wiped out easily.

With regards to explaining-outcome process-tracing in this chapter, I derived a causal mechanism that the dominant mainstream party employs a heresthetical ploy in order to attract the Kurdish median voter in particular, and all the voters in general. This chapter provides three predicted evidence: the intertwinement of both dimensions' rhetoric, the compartmentalization of the ethnic issue, and an attempt to

create a new dimension that integrates both existing dimensions. I employ these three predicted evidence to confirm a part of the causal mechanism in Chapter Seven.

6.4 Summary

As the second analysis of the thesis, this chapter has demonstrated that the mainstream parties compartmentalize the ethnic dimension and create sub-ethnic issues in dealing with the ethnic issue. This strategy enables them to manipulate the voters' perception on the ethnic dimension. Instead of taking an all or nothing approach, the mainstream parties frame the Kurdish issue via sub-ethnic issues by employing four approaches to Kurdish nationalism. These four approaches include: socioeconomic developments, relative deprivation, pro-Islamist and regional terrorism. All these approaches function as a bridge between the Secularist versus pro-Islamist and ethnic dimensions. One of the most striking results that the qualitative text analysis provides is that the AKP does not employ a pro-Islamist approach in defining the Kurdish issue; however, the usage of Islamist rhetoric resembles the MHP's rhetoric. In this sense, the qualitative analysis is able to explain the puzzle that is revealed in Chapter Five. The AKP and the MHP take closer positions on the Kurdish issue, not because both parties employ similar strategies, but because both parties employ the same kind of rhetoric on the Kurdish issue.

The second puzzle of Chapter Five is also answered with the qualitative text analysis, which is why the AKP called the project the Kurdish opening-up if the party does not take an accommodative approach to the Kurdish issue. This puzzle is solved in two stages. Firstly, the qualitative text analysis reveals that although the AKP accepts the Kurdish issue as an identity issue, it takes controversial positions on two sub-ethnic issues, i.e., granting collective rights and redefining the identity of the Turkish nation. As the dominant party, the AKP's position slides from the pro-Kurdish end to the Turkish-nationalist end on the issue dimension, because the party aims for the votes of both parties' moderate voters. In this sense, with a strategic twist, the dominant party creates a new dimension, which can be labeled as further democratization. This new dimension integrates the ethnic dimension to the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. Riker's concept of heresthetics explains this strategy as an attempt to upset the existing equilibrium in party competition in order to reach the objectives. The AKP, as the dominant party, pursues this heresthetical ploy in

order to attract the median voters from both extremes on the ethnic dimension. That's why the dominant party called this process Kurdish opening-up but stayed closer to the MHP's position via rhetoric. Therefore, this chapter indicates that Riker's concepts of heresthetics and rhetoric can also be used to explain the dominant party's behavior on the ethnic dimension.

7 Why the Ethno-Territorial Party (BDP) increased its Vote Share in the 2011 Elections in Turkey Although the Dominant Mainstream Party (AKP) initiated the Kurdish Opening-Up Process: An Explaining-Outcome Process-Tracing Account

The Position, Saliency and Ownership theory suggests that mainstream parties strategies influence the vote share of ethno-territorial party [ETPs] along with the relative regional GDP per capita (Meguid, 2008). Although Meguid (2008) tested the strength of the relationship between mainstream parties' strategies and the ethno-territorial party vote share, this theory treats the process in between as a black box. The main objective of this research is to uncover each part of the mechanisms between the independent and dependent variables, at the empirical level, and to determine a causal mechanism, at the theoretical level.

In Chapter Three, I argued the existence of a causal mechanism— i.e., the ethnic median voter—at the theoretical level. My argument is that mainstream parties' strategies have a direct effect on the ethnic median voter, whose decision influences the ethno-territorial party's vote share.

The importance of the ethnic median voter as a causal mechanism or an intervening variable can have two connected explanations. Firstly, ETPs cannot be taken as a sub-type of niche party because, in contrast to niche parties, ETPs can face an oppositional party. In other words, ETPs can produce their counteractants. I define counteractant in this context as a political party that is established with the sole purpose of defeating or challenging niche party's policy positions. In this sense, because green parties and radical right parties do not have specific counteractants, their policy positions can be accommodated and/or opposed by the mainstream parties. However, ETPs can produce their counteractants: therefore, they do not compete only against the mainstream parties but also against their specific counteractants. For instance, in the UK, many ethno-territorial parties such as the Scottish National Party or Plaid Cymru have produced counteractants such as the Free England Party (disbanded in 2009), the British National Party, and the UK Independence Party. Similarly in Italy, as a reaction to Südtrioler Volkspartei, Fratelli d`Italia (Brothers of Italy) was founded in 2012. In Spain, Uniòn Progreso y Democracia (Union, Progress and Democracy) was

established in 2007 that defends a union against peripheral nationalistic parties such as Herri Batasuna, Partido Nacionalista Vasco (Basque Nationalist Party), Convergència i Uniò (Convergence and Union), and Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (Republican Left of Catalonia). Such examples of counteractants in Turkey correspond to the Nationalist and Action Party - MHP, which can act both as a mainstream and a niche party depending on the conditions of the party competition. Therefore, I argue that ETPs cannot be deemed as a sub-type of niche parties, and while analyzing the party competition, the counteractant parties' roles should be taken into account.

Secondly, ETPs and their counteractants have core voter bases. Because the main objective of the ETPs is "to secure material, cultural and political benefits and protections for a particular group in its competition with other groups" (Gunther and Diamond, 2001: 23), the core voter base is restricted and cannot be easily attracted by the mainstream parties. In this sense, mainstream parties in federal systems have the potential to mobilize the ethnic voter by creating an opportunity to carry ethnic issues at the national level; however, in unitary systems, it is very unlikely that mainstream parties can attract ethnic voter. Moreover, when the attachment mechanism between a party and its constituency is based on ethnicity, it is difficult to channel those interests to a mainstream party unless the party represents identity issues in another policy dimension. In the Turkish case, both policy dimensions are identity-based; secularism versus pro-Islamism, and pro-Kurdish versus Turkish nationalism. In such a case, voters define themselves on both of these two dimensions and, depending on how they define themselves, mainstream parties can manipulate the voters. Therefore, the ethnic median voter becomes a target for mainstream parties because it is unlikely for mainstream parties to win over the ethnic voter. The ethnic median voter can swing the balance in the mainstream parties' favor. In short, the influence of mainstream parties' strategies on the vote share of ETPs depends on the ability of the mainstream parties to attract the ethnic median voter.

Previous chapters generated predicted evidence. In this chapter, I test each part of the mechanism (or hypotheses) via predicted evidence in order narrate the process at the empirical level. I apply a smoking-gun test to the hypothesized causal mechanism.

The aim of this research is to generate a minimally sufficient explanation as to why the ethno-territorial party (BDP) increased its vote share in the 2011 elections although the dominant mainstream party (AKP) initiated the Kurdish opening-up process. In this sense, an explaining-outcome process-tracing method only provides a sufficient explanation for a particular historical outcome, and the smoking-gun test reveals whether a cause is sufficient to generate the mechanism. The assumption here is that "if the cause is sufficient for a mechanism that is known to be sufficient for the outcome, the cause itself must be sufficient for the outcome" (Mahoney, 2012: 582). In this case study, this corresponds to testing whether mainstream parties' strategies attract the ethnic median voter. In other words, I explore whether the main causal factor – mainstream parties' strategies – is sufficient for attracting the ethnic median voter, which will be tested by smoking-gun observations. I argue that each part of the mechanism constitutes a step by which mainstream parties –especially dominant mainstream party – pursue strategies to attract ethnic median voter.

The metaphor indicates that a gun is an important piece of evidence, especially if we observe the gun still smoking after being used with significant consequences, like killing somebody (Blatter and Haverland, 2012). In most cases, the aim of conducting a process-tracing method is to identify the person who shot the victim. Blatter and Haverland (2012) relate this metaphor to actor-centered elements. To reveal the causal processes "that have occurred at 'critical moments,' we attempt to determine how individual, corporate, or collective actors behaved, why they acted as they did" (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 117). Therefore, they put the actors' behavior at the center in smoking-gun observations.

In this research, with smoking-gun observations as traces of causal mechanisms, I check the "confessions," i.e., "explicit statements of actors in which they reveal why they acted the way they did" (Blatter and Haverland, 2012: 117). In this sense, I provide a comprehensive storyline that provides the big picture by tracing the process. As a result, the smoking-gun observations generate certainty regarding the link between the cause and the outcome. However, when a hypothesis passes the smoking-gun test the hypothesis is strongly confirmed, whereas "failure does not strongly undermine it" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013: 103-4).

Figure 7.1 summarizes the case-specific median voter mechanism. Each part of the mechanism constitutes a significant step in the sequence that led to the outcome of interest. At the empirical level, which is also a case-specific level, I explore the influence of mainstream parties' strategies on the ethnic median voter that led to an increase in the ethno-territorial party's vote share.

In Chapter 4, I analyzed the level of Turkish party system institutionalization and its party system type in order to understand whether party behavior in Turkey is predictable and whether the rules of party competition are sufficiently institutionalized. The empirical information used in determining the level of party system institutionalization and in classifying the Turkish party system revealed that party competition in Turkey is predictable, to a certain extent; thus, the Turkish case can be analyzed using the theories developed to explain Western European party competition. In terms of party system type, I showed that the party system in Turkey revealed patterns of dominant party system after the 2002 election. Therefore, while conducting an explaining-outcome process-tracing analysis, I put the dominant party strategies at the center because the dominant player in the competition has more power to shape and direct party competition on the ethnic issue.

Before operationalizing the independent variable – mainstream parties' strategies on the ethnic dimension – I diverted my attention to understand why the dominant mainstream party entered a new issue dimension. The answer to this question is significant, because without understanding the motives behind an action, detecting strategies and their influence would provide only a half-completed picture in explaining the case at hand. Moreover, when a political party has remained in power through three consecutive elections, holds a majority in the parliament enabling it to enact any law it wishes, and enjoys great support from large sections of society, why would such a party decide to take a position on an issue as highly controversial as the Kurdish issue? This strategic move could end up dissolving the coalition among the sections of society that voted for the dominant party. Although the conservative democrats, who are pro-Islamist and economically liberal, constituted the core voter base of the dominant party, other social and ethnic groups also supported the rise of the dominant party such as Kurds, Turkish nationalists, liberals, workers, and so on. Therefore, there was too much at stake compared to what could be gained.

Figure 7.1 The case-specific median voter mechanism

X	Causal Mechanism (Median Voter)					Outcome
Mainstream Parties' Strategies on the Ethnic Dimension (The dominant mainstream party's strategies in particular)	Dominant mainstream party takes a position on the ethnic dimension with vote- and policy-seeking motives.	Dominant mainstream party aims to attract the Turkish median voter, in line with its vote-seeking motive. Dominant party is also expected to pursue a strategy toward the Kurdish median voter, in line with its policy-seeking motive.	The parties on the ethnic dimension – the ethno-territorial party (the BDP) and its counteractant (the MHP) – reinforce their positions as a response to the dominant mainstream party's behavior.	Dominant mainstream party employs a heresthetical ploy in order to attract the Kurdish median voter, in particular, and all voters in the ethnic dimension, in general.	The Turkish median voter responds to the strategies of the dominant mainstream party; however, the Kurdish median voter responds to the strategies of the BDP.	Ethno-territorial Party Vote Share Increases

With these motivations, I hypothesize that (H1) the dominant mainstream party takes a position on the ethnic dimension with vote- and policy- seeking motivations. I ruled out the option of office-seeking motives because these motives are mostly directed toward taking part in a coalition, which would not be an objective for a dominant party. I assume that the dominant party would employ certain strategies for further stabilizing and consolidating its dominance.

In order to test the presence the causal mechanism and whether this theory-based prediction matches the empirical record in reality, I employed both pattern and account evidence. Pattern evidence is associated with predictions of statistical patterns in the evidence; thus, I analyzed the vote-share loss or gain in the 2007 and 2011 national elections and the 2009 local election as pattern evidence to determine whether the dominant party pursued a vote-seeking motive. To test the policy-seeking motives of the dominant party, I examined the parliamentary group speeches on the 2010 constitutional referendum campaign as account evidence that deals with the content of empirical material. For the dominant party, this campaign constituted one of the most important steps in tackling the Kurdish issue.

The results of the 2007 national election and the 2009 local election revealed that both Turkish nationalists and the pro-Kurdish party increased their vote shares by stealing votes from the dominant party as the salience of the Kurdish issue increased greatly. The MHP's successful entry into the parliament by crossing the 10% threshold was deemed as a threat for the dominant party because both parties shared the same voter base. On the one hand, the MHP was successful in mobilizing the Turkish nationalists against the dominant party's policies by highlighting the perpetuation of terrorist attacks and increasing the Kurdish issue's saliency. On the other hand, the pro-Kurdish party – DTP and the successor BDP – increased its vote share by almost 12% in the Kurdish region. As a result, the DTP gained three out of four metropolitan municipalities and eight out of eleven municipalities in the Kurdish region, which obviously damaged the dominance of the AKP in the region. Therefore, the dominant party in both elections lost almost 20% of its vote share to the MHP and the BDP. These loses can explain why the dominant party entered the ethnic issue dimension with vote-seeking motivations.

The moment in which the dominant party's policy-seeking motivations reached their peak was the 2010 constitutional referendum debate. By proposing to amend certain articles of the constitution, the dominant party aimed to garner the support of all sections of society to leave the military's influence in the past and to take a step further in its proposed solutions to the Kurdish issue.

In order to examine the policy-seeking motivations of the dominant party, I employed parliamentary group speeches that referred to this particular debate as account evidence. The qualitative text analysis revealed an interesting finding. The dominant party had aimed to kill two birds with one stone, banding the Kurdish issue together with getting rid of the hegemony of the military or secular political rule; however, the BDP challenged this strategy. In 2009, when the Kurdish opening-up process was introduced, the dominant party announced that it would to draft a new constitution, in which it promised to redefine the Turkish nationality, as a long-term solution to the Kurdish issue. When debate regarding the amendment of the articles in the constitution started in 2010, the BDP asked for amendments to other articles in the constitution that excluded Kurdish identity. The BDP's response to the constitutional referendum debates made things difficult for the dominant party.

The qualitative text analysis revealed that the dominant party employed strategic rhetoric claiming that those who opposed amendment of the constitution were anti-democratizers and supporters of the status-quo. The dominant party played the democracy card and polarized the debate even more by dividing the constituency as pro-democratizers versus anti-democratizers regardless of their ethnicity and ideology—which was also confirmed by the KONDA report (2010). This attempt to introduce a new dimension into Turkish politics by integrating the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension and the ethnic dimension was a first step for a greater aim: to introduce presidentialism with a two-party system.

The ideational explanation at the level of actors' cognition, in this case, would point to the introduction of presidentialism with a two-party system. I think this ideational explanation fits the dominant party's objective of ensuring its continued dominance. The introduction of presidentialism with a two-party system would consolidate the power of the dominant party because the ethnic voter could then be integrated into the system through one-dimensional politics.

Strikingly, this ideational explanation also complements to the pattern of Turkey`s party system institutionalization. I have argued that the indicators of the party system structure – i.e., high turnout rates, falling electoral volatility, reduction in fragmentation and fractionalization levels, and increase in ideological polarization – suggest that the Turkish party system is on the way to being either consolidated or hyper-institutionalized. Two complementary and simultaneous processes go hand in hand: the dominant party's objective of constituting a two-party system would contribute to the hyper-institutionalization of the party system, through which the regime could easily turn into an electoral-authoritarian regime. In this sense, a hyper-institutionalized party system with a consolidated dominant party could lead to the emergence of electoral-authoritarianism.

In Chapter Five, based on the requirements of explaining-outcome process tracing, I employed deductive logic by asking, "Can the position, saliency and ownership theory predict the case of Kurdish party vote share in the 2011 elections based on the strategies employed by the mainstream parties (especially by the dominant party, AKP) during the Kurdish opening-up process from 2009–2011?" Within the PSO theory perspective, I hypothesize (H2) that the dominant mainstream party aims to attract the Turkish median voters – in line with its vote-seeking motivation – because the number of Turkish nationalists is higher than the number of Kurdish median voters on the ethnic dimension. The dominant mainstream party also pursues other strategies – in line with policy-seeking motives – toward the Kurdish median voter because the process was initiated to solve the Kurdish issue.

The analysis revealed that the PSO theory's logic can definitely be applied to party competition on the ethnic dimension in Turkey. Nevertheless, the PSO theory could not predict the ethno-territorial party vote share in the 2011 election in Turkey due to its restricted way of defining the demands of the ethno-territorial party and avoidance of the role of the third party or counteractant of the ethno-territorial party. This was an expected result because, as explaining-outcome process-tracing suggests, "existing theorization cannot provide a sufficient explanation, resulting in a second stage of research" (Beach and Pedersen, 2013:19).

In order to find out whether the hypothesis could be explained by the empirical data, I employed pattern evidence. In other words, I examined whether the statistical

patterns (i.e., position, saliency, and ownership results) produced by 157 parliamentary group speeches supported the hypothesis.

The Wordfish analysis of the party positions on the Kurdish issue constituted the first predicted evidence for the hypothesis-testing. The position graph indicated that the AKP took a closer position to the Turkish nationalists (the MHP) on average. Although according to the hypotheses the dominant mainstream party aimed to garner Turkish median voters, but such a close position to the MHP was unexpected. In the hypothesis, I argued that due to vote-seeking motivations the dominant party would aim to attract the Turkish median voters. The graph produced by Wordfish revealed that the dominant party took a clearly adversarial position toward the Kurdish issue by imitating the MHP's position. I explained this unexpected result by suggesting the idea of the intertwinement of the rhetoric of the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension with the rhetoric of the ethnic dimension. Also, the distribution of the specific words that discriminate positions regarding parties' usage confirmed the idea of intertwinement. I will return to this point in discussing the fourth step of the mechanism due to the nature of explaining-outcome process-tracing that requires an iterative research process.

Moreover, in contrast to what literature suggests, the position graph showed that the CHP took a more accommodative approach toward the Kurdish issue than the AKP. This result also became interesting after conducting the qualitative text analysis because, although the CHP takes a slightly more accommodative approach than the AKP as revealed in the qualitative text analysis, the CHP employed the same tactic as the AKP did via compartmentalizing the ethnic issue. Therefore, the CHP's position, to a certain extent, can be taken as a proof of the intertwinement of the dimensions in Turkish politics.

The results of the issue saliency and issue ownership analyses provide the second predicted evidence for the second hypothesis. In line with the predicted policy-seeking motivation, the dominant party increased the Kurdish issue saliency by reserving one-fifth of its speeches for this topic. Furthermore, the AKP as the dominant party declared itself as the issue owner due to its control of state resources and announced itself as a referee in the Kurdish issue. In contrast, the other mainstream party, the CHP, did not devote much of its speeches to the Kurdish issue because the AKP was

successful at ousting the CHP from the party competition on the ethnic dimension. The AKP increased the polarization between seculars and pro-Islamists by introducing many controversial issues, such as lifting the ban on headscarves in the public sphere, and triggering judicial operations, such as the Sledgehammer case against the military's alleged plans to overthrow the AKP government and the Ergenekon trials against secular journalists, academics, police and military personnel whose allegedly involved in terrorist actions. The CHP concentrated on opposing the government's proposals and reinforcing its secular positions on controversial issues. Therefore, the dominant party not only pursued strategic behavior on the ethnic dimension but also took a strategic position toward the main opposition party on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension.

The predicted evidence of the position, saliency and ownership analysis confirmed that the dominant party aims to attract both Turkish and Kurdish median voters via various strategies. However, the positions of the parties on the ethnic dimension also matter for the dynamic of party competition and the ethno-territorial party vote share.

In the third causal mechanism, I hypothesize (H3) that parties on the ethnic dimension (the ethno-territorial party and its counteractant or third party) reinforce their positions as a response to the mainstream parties' behavior. In order to test this hypothesis, I employed both account and pattern evidence: the vote share in the 2007 national and 2009 local elections and position, saliency and ownership analysis on parliamentary group speeches. Also, the results of the qualitative text analysis in Chapter Six can also be counted as account evidence.

The parties on the ethnic dimension have basically three options: they can reinforce their positions against the dominant party's strategies, cooperate with the dominant party, or avoid responding to the dominant mainstream party's policies on the Kurdish opening-up process. I argue that for the parties on the ethnic dimension, it is too risky to avoid the Kurdish opening-up process because both parties attract votes based on the saliency of the ethnic issue. If both parties leave the ownership of the ethnic issue to the dominant mainstream party, they would be punished for this by their core voter base. Therefore, this leaves two options: either cooperating with the dominant mainstream party to solve the ethnic issue – particularly to put an end to armed conflict – or reinforcing their position by taking an adversarial approach to the dominant

party's project.

In line with the predicted evidence of the vote share increase in the 2009 local election and of the Wordfish analysis on the Kurdish issue position, the BDP took an adversarial approach to the AKP initiated Kurdish opening-up process and reinforced its ideology accordingly. Since the pro-Kurdish movement entered the parliament as independent candidates, the saliency of the ethnic issue increased and the movement proved to its constituency its capabilities by becoming deputies. The moment that the pro-Kurdish party candidates took seats in parliament pointed out that the mainstream parties ran late to mobilize the Kurdish voters. This time lag of mainstream parties entering the ethnic issue secured the self-confidence of the pro-Kurdish party, especially because the 2009 local election results indicated that the ethno-territorial party became the true representatives of the Kurds in the southeastern region. The co-chairs of the BDP, in their parliamentary group speeches, defined the 10% electoral threshold as anti-democratic and a psychological barrier in front of the Kurds. Once this psychological barrier was overcome, the co-chairs claimed that this constituted a historic moment for the Kurds and proved that they could defend their rights until the end. Therefore, the ethno-territorial party did not hesitate to take a strict position against the Kurdish opening-up process initiated by the dominant party. Moreover, both quantitative and qualitative text analysis revealed that the ethno-territorial party constituted one extreme on the ethnic dimension. The ethno-territorial party insisted tenaciously on the demands of regional autonomy, education in mother tongue, recognition of Kurdish identity and equal citizenship recognized under the constitution.

In line with the predicted evidence of the vote share increase in the 2007 national elections and the Wordfish analysis on the Kurdish issue positions, the MHP took an extreme position on the ethnic dimension, located on the right side of the position graph produced by Wordfish. The analysis indicated that the MHP is a very interesting party in the sense that it can act both as a mainstream and a niche party. On the secular vs. pro-Islamist dimension, the MHP competes with the AKP, while on the ethnic dimension the party takes an adversarial position towards the pro-Kurdish party and even denies the existence of an ethnic problem but defines it as terror problem. In this sense, the MHP is able to attract voters from both policy dimensions. The party base attracts mostly pro-Islamist Turkish-nationalists; however, in the 2007 elections the

party managed to mobilize some secular voters who took an extreme position on Turkish nationalism. Those secular voters usually voted for the CHP, but in the 2007 elections the CHP's leader lost his popularity and corruption scandals plagued the party. As a result, some of the CHP voters defected from the party and voted – strategically for the MHP in the sense that, due to 10% threshold, CHP voters were aware of the fact that small leftist parties do not have a chance to enter the parliament. The votes casted for those parties, in the end, served the interests of the dominant party; thus, the defected CHP voters preferred the second best option: the MHP.

For the MHP, having an alliance with the dominant party would mean shooting itself in the foot, because the MHP and the AKP share the same voter base on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. Also, the AKP presented the Kurdish opening-up process as a part of further democratization by recognizing the existence of the ethnic differences in society and granting more rights, which contradicted with the MHP's perspective. Therefore, the account and pattern evidence show that both the BDP and the MHP reinforced their positions on the Kurdish issue against the dominant party's initiation of the opening-up process. The BDP reinforced its position due to the time lag in the issue and its increased vote share in the 2009 local election, whereas the MHP reinforced its position due to sharing the same voter base as the AKP and the increased vote share in the 2007 national election.

To derive the fourth causal mechanism, I employed an inductive approach via qualitative text analysis and examined the parliamentary group speeches as account evidence in order to uncover the dominant mainstream party's strategies. The assumption in predicting the behavior of the dominant mainstream party on the ethnic dimension is that the dominant party aims to garner both Kurdish and Turkish median voters; thus, the party is expected to develop strategies in line with that goal. However, the second causal mechanism indicated that the dominant party took the Turkish median voter more into account and adjusts its position in order to target that group. But then how did the dominant party attract the Kurdish median voter? To understand the specific strategies that were developed for the Kurdish median voter, I pursued an inductive approach.

The qualitative text analysis revealed three sources of predicted evidence with regard to the dominant party's strategies: the intertwinement of the rhetoric of both

dimensions, the compartmentalization of the ethnic issue, and an attempt to create a new dimension that integrates both existing dimensions. The quantitative text analysis hinted at the existence of the intertwinement of the rhetoric of the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension and the rhetoric of the ethnic dimension. When I conducted a qualitative analysis with the help of the existing literature on the Kurdish issue, I discovered that the intertwinement of both dimensions' rhetoric is supported by the four approaches that have been used to explain the sources of the Kurdish issue: socioeconomic approach, relative deprivation, pro-Islamism and regional terrorism. All these approaches function as bridges between the secular versus pro-Islamist and the ethnic dimensions. Political parties employed these approaches while taking positions on the ethnic dimension according to their orientation on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension. For instance, the CHP, as a center-left and secular party, put more emphasis on the socio-economic foundations of the problem together with relative deprivation. One of the most striking results provided by the qualitative text analysis provides was that the AKP employs the same strategies as the CHP by putting emphasis on these two approaches, although each parties' definitions of these approaches were diversified. Another striking result was that the dominant party does not employ a pro-Islamist approach in defining the Kurdish issue; however, the usage of Islamist rhetoric resembles the MHP's rhetoric. In this sense, the qualitative analysis is able to explain the puzzle revealed in Chapter Five. The AKP and the MHP take closer positions on the Kurdish issue, not because both parties employ similar strategies, but because both parties employ the same kind of rhetoric on the Kurdish issue. Therefore, I think the dominant party was able to exploit the intertwinement of the rhetoric of the dimensions. The message for the Kurdish issue was built around the secular and leftist notions; however, the rhetoric remained pro-Islamist. In other words, the AKP conceptualized the Kurdish issue from a pro-Islamist perspective, but served it in a leftist and secular package. Therefore, this provided an advantage to the AKP not only in attracting the pro-Islamist Kurds and Turks but also the secular Kurds as well.

The second predicted evidence found in the qualitative text analysis was the compartmentalization of the ethnic issue. Compartmentalization is employed as a strategy by the mainstream parties because it allows them to easily satisfy their voter bases while appealing to the ethnic median voter. The CHP's voter base has not only

strict secular characteristics but also nationalist tendencies, which cannot go together in the Western sense of ideology. Here one can separate the nationalism that the CHP puts forward from the one that the MHP defends. The CHP offers a civic nationalism with a special emphasis on the ideals and characteristics of the Republic, created in the Republican era by the founder of the Republic – Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Nevertheless, the MHP's conceptualizations of nationalism get blurred from speech to speech, the MHP's nationalism can be defined as ethnic nationalism that refers to the Republican era as well as promoting pan-Turkic[1] ideals.

This way of compartmentalizing the ethnic issue provided an opportunity for the CHP to keep its voter base satisfied with the ethnic policies: the secular leftists are satisfied because the discrimination against the Kurdish is recognized in the relative deprivation rhetoric, while nationalists are pleased with the acknowledgement of terrorism as a sub-dimension of the Kurdish issue. Although the CHP can employ this tactic of compartmentalization to its advantage, the dominant party sends contradictory signals in order to attract both Kurdish and Turkish median voters. The qualitative analysis indicated regarding the most controversial issues, on which parties cannot take the risk of taking ambiguous positions such as granting collective rights and drafting a new constitution, the dominant party totters in taking a position.

To compensate for this ambiguity, the dominant party employs a heresthetical ploy by introducing a new issue dimension that can be thought of further democratization by integrating two existing issue dimensions. Through this strategy, the dominant party tries to rule out the CHP and the MHP by stigmatizing both parties as anti-democrats and status-quo supporters. The AKP actually managed to be successful in applying this strategy and reaped the fruits of its victory in the constitutional referendum in 2010. In the referendum, even those who did not share the AKP's ideology voted for the constitutional change because the AKP represented this change as essential for further democratization and as an act of erasing the military's shadow on civilian politics. This heresthetical ploy of creating a new dimension for mobilizing ethnic voters worked partly because the AKP was able to raise its vote share in the

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[1] Pan-Turkism signifies the aim of unifying all the Turkic peoples in Central Asia culturally and politically. This idea was brought up by the Ottoman intellectuals in the 1880s. Today it can be argued that the MHP still carries these ideals but with an ambition to establish an economic-political union like the European Union.

Kurdish region and to win over a part the MHP's votes. However, this strategy was limited in terms of changing the dimension of politics in the Turkish system, and the ethnic issue dimension is highly salient in Turkish politics and cannot be wiped out easily. With this last and most effective strategy, the dominant party not only aimed to attract ethnic median voter, it targeted the secular voters as well.

I argue that in the fifth and the last step of the causal mechanism – in which the ethnic median voter decides which party to support – determines the ethno-territorial party vote share. The hypothesis (H5) is that the Turkish median voter responds strongly to the strategies of the dominant mainstream party because the party takes a position close to the MHP. In this sense, as spatial theorists' expect, this movement along the ethnic dimension would lead to an increase in the dominant party's vote share; however, the Kurdish median voter does not respond to these strategies, again due to the positional change of the dominant party on the ethnic dimension.

The predicted evidence for this hypothesis that explains why the Kurdish median voter defects from the dominant party includes time lag on the Kurdish issue and actual events going on in the southeastern part of Turkey, such as the KCK trials and the arrests of the elected Kurdish mayors and journalists. The predicted evidence regarding why the Turkish median voter responds to the dominant party's strategies includes the AKP's close position to the MHP on the ethnic issue, and other factors such as economic stability. As a result, the dominant mainstream party increased its vote share, by winning over the Turkish median voters, and the ethno-territorial party also increased its vote share, by consolidating its power in the Kurdish region and sending a message to the dominant party that Kurds are not buying the dominant party's strategies on the ethnic dimension.

The results of the 2011 elections show the characteristics of "critical elections," which are a particular "type of election in which there occurs a sharp and durable electoral realignment between parties" (Key, 1955: 16). The 2011 elections are critical in two senses. First, this election constituted a significant step for the AKP to consolidate its power as the dominant party, and for both the CHP and the MHP this election was critical to curb the dominant party's power. Second, this election was also a chance for the ethno-territorial party to consolidate its power in the Kurdish region and declare itself the true representative of the Kurdish people. Thus, in the 2011

elections there was much at stake for the political parties.

Although the dominant party employed many strategies at the rhetorical and heresthetical levels, the AKP managed to slightly increase its vote share in the Kurdish region, while the pro-Kurdish party consolidated its power in the region. I argue that these strategies were partly successful at attracting the Kurdish median voter in the metropolitans. However, the Kurds living in the southeastern region voted for the pro-Kurdish party due to the issues about which they have been complaining, such as the continued armed conflict in the region. Additionally, although the dominant party started an opening-up process at the rhetorical level, simultaneously under the KCK trials many mayors and Kurdish journalists were arrested. The KCK trials were interpreted by the people in the region and the pro-Kurdish party an attack on the national sovereignty. The AKP was taking back what it lost in the 2009 local nations via these trials, and in this sense, the lives of the Kurdish people residing in the region were not affected in a positive way by the AKP's Kurdish opening-up policies. Moreover, the results of the 2009 elections provided self-confidence to both the pro-Kurdish party and the Kurdish people in the region that they could achieve their aims.

In contrast to the Kurdish median voter, the Turkish median voter responded to the dominant party's strategies. The most powerful strategy of the dominant party was to shift its position towards the MHP's position, although the rhetoric of the party significantly differed from the MHP's rhetoric. Above all, the dominant party's message was to put an end to armed conflict by which the ethnically Turkish people were most affected. The reason is that in Turkey, most often the sons of ethnic Turks residing in Central Anatolia were called for military service in the Kurdish region and these people's sons engaged in combat with the PKK and lost their lives. Therefore, because the dominant party obviously had sufficient means and sources to end the armed conflict, hopes for peace became the main drive for the Turkish median voter in voting for the AKP.

Besides the strategies pursued on the ethnic dimension, I argue that economic success and strategies of polarization on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension contributed the vote share increase of the dominant party and attracted the Turkish median voter. As mentioned in Chapter Four, Turkish voters take economic stability and development into account while voting. Economic voting is an important factor in

explaining the victory of the AKP in the 2002 elections because the voters punished all the parties in coalition before the 2002 elections for one of the worst economic crises that Turkey had experienced. In this sense, the vote share increase of the dominant party cannot be explained by its strategies on the ethnic dimension alone. Moreover, the dominant party increased tension on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension while highlighting the economic success that the government had achieved. Increasing the tension on the main issue dimension can also be considered part of creating a new dimension in Turkish political strategy. This tension between anti-democratizers and pro-democratizers soon turned into tension between anti-AKP and pro-AKP Turkish citizens. Consequently, this strategy worked to increase the polarization in society; however, it did not function in the way the dominant party wanted – that is, to eradicate the ethnic dimension.

Figure 7.2 Mechanisms in explaining-outcome process-tracing: The case of the Kurdish opening-up process

Theoretical Level

Mainstream parties' strategies (especially the dominant party's strategies)

THE MEDIAN VOTER

Ethno-territorial Party Vote Share Increase

Empirical Level

-Position
-Saliency
-Ownership

✓ Mainstream parties' time lag in entering the issue
✓ Rhetorical level strategies: intertwinement of the rhetoric of both issue dimensions & compartmentalization of the ethnic issue
✓ Heresthetical strategy: creating a new issue dimension

The increase in the BDP's vote share in the 2011 national elections

To conclude, Figure 7.2 summarizes the mechanisms derived in the Kurdish opening-up process with explaining-outcome process-tracing at both theoretical and empirical levels. Each causal mechanism (i.e., hypothesis at the empirical level) was turned into one broader causal mechanism – that is, the ethnic median voter. The objective of the research was to provide a sufficient explanation for a specific case: the Kurdish opening-up process. Due to the nature of explaining-outcome process-tracing, the empirical level of the analysis cannot be generalized. However, the theoretical level of the analysis may produce middle-range generalizations. At least the proposed causal mechanism in this research can be tested on other cases, if they share certain similarities with the case at hand. Moreover, all the causal mechanisms supported the ideational explanation, which is the dominant party's aim to introduce presidentialism with a two-party system. The predicted evidence supported not only the specific hypotheses but also the broader ideational explanation. Testing ideational explanations constitutes a challenge; however, bearing in mind the motivations of the actors can contribute to understanding why they acted in a particular way instead of choosing another way. In this research I argue that the dominant mainstream party's strategy was primarily to attract the ethnic median voter with the Kurdish opening-up process, but the party also gave signals for its fundamental objective to consolidate its power and to change the structure and rules of the party competition in favor of ensuring its dominance. In this sense, the predicted evidence provided only a glimpse of this fundamental objective; however, further research on dominant parties' strategies in new democracies may shed more light on how the restructuring of party competition contributes to the consolidation of the dominant party's power and the regime type.

8 Conclusions and Directions for Further Research

The present study provides a comprehensive framework for party competition dynamics in a new democracy. By applying the concepts developed for established democracies' party competition, this study bridges two existing literatures. The literature on established democracies concentrates on ethno-territorial parties' characteristics, evolution and interactions with mainstream parties. The literature on new democracies deals with ethnic parties' (and particularly multi-ethnic parties') relations and coalitions on the ethnic dimension with regard to electoral competition. However, dynamic party competition between mainstream parties and ethno-territorial party in new democracies has not been addressed yet. Therefore, in this research, I analyze a new democracy with the concepts developed for established democracies by combining these two literatures. Furthermore, the party politics literature provides many case studies on the characteristics and evolution of the ethno-territorial parties, but a thick description of the interaction between mainstream parties and ethno-territorial party has not yet been provided. In this sense, this research fills this gap by studying a case thoroughly and offering a thick description of the process through which mainstream parties' strategies affect the ethno-territorial party's vote share.

This research provides a detailed and systematic analysis of the Kurdish opening-up process in Turkey from 2009 to 2011. The Kurdish opening-up process constitutes a significant moment not just for in Turkish political history but for the Kurds living in the region. If Turkey could solve its Kurdish issue, the process would have constituted an ethnic-based conflict resolution model that could be used by other countries, such as Iran and Syria, where a considerable number of Kurds reside. Moreover, the analysis of the Kurdish opening-up process is valuable in terms of understanding Turkey's handling of its minority issues. Turkey is still a prospective candidate in the European Union accession process; one of areas in which it needs improvement is minority rights. The analysis of the Kurdish opening-up process can be helpful in comprehending the intended reforms and the actual situation of the Kurdish issue.

8.1 Ethnic Median Voter: An Intervening Variable

This research has three important findings: (1) the causal mechanism of the ethnic median voters; (2) the significance of the counteractant or third party in party competition and (3) the relationship between party system type, the mainstream parties' strategies and the political regime.

Firstly and most importantly, PSO theory suggests that mainstream parties can pursue three strategies on the ethno-territorial party's issue dimension: accommodative, adversarial and/or dismissive. However, this research revealed a fourth strategy: targeting for the ethnic median voter.

Attracting the ethnic median voter is less costly for mainstream parties because they can act as an arbiter when the ethnic conflict is heightened. In an ethnic conflict, taking a side would require that the mainstream parties to push away some ethnic voters; however, pursuing a policy that targets the ethnic median voter provides not only more votes but also a ground for appealing to the ethnic voters in the long term.

Furthermore, quite unlike other issues, the ethnic issue is multifaceted. This enables mainstream parties to develop alternative strategies of attracting votes on the ethnic dimension. As described in previous chapters, competing on the ethnic issue dimension is different from competing on other dimensions because the ethnic or ethno-territorial party represents the interests of a particular group. Regarding competition with the ethno-territorial party, the theories in party competition dynamics literature assumes that mainstream parties do not have much choice; they can either accepting or rejecting the ethno-territorial party's demands. However, mainstream parties develop alternative strategies to escape from this dichotomy. This research also revealed the alternative median-voter strategies, such as compartmentalization of the ethnic issue, intertwinement of both issue dimension's rhetoric and a heresthetical strategy (i.e., creating a new dimension that integrates the ethnic issue dimension into the more salient secular versus pro-Islamist dimension).

Compartmentalization of the ethnic issue is the best technique to employ toward the ethnic median voter. Both mainstream parties in Turkey implemented this strategy, taking various positions on each sub-dimension of the ethnic issue. In this way, the mainstream parties were able to keep a foot in both camps. Similarly, the

intertwinement of the rhetoric of the ethnic dimension and of the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension backed up the compartmentalization of the ethnic issue. By supporting their approach to the ethnic issue with positions on the secular versus pro-Islamist dimension, mainstream parties attempted to attract the ethnic median voter. The heresthetical strategy of creating a new issue dimension was only employed by the dominant mainstream party, which adhered to the dominant party system type specific to the Turkish case.

Secondly, in relation to the first finding, this research shows the importance of the counteractant or the third party in party competition. The existence of a third party challenges the mainstream parties to pursue a strategy on the ethnic dimension. In other words, while taking positions on the ethnic dimension, mainstream parties take not only the ethno-territorial party but also its counteractant into account. The PSO theory also ignores the role of the third party in predicting the ethno-territorial party's vote share based on the mainstream parties' strategies. However, when the third party is neglected, the mainstream parties' strategies to attract the ethnic median voter cannot be fully analyzed. Moreover, the rise of counteractant parties on the ethnic dimension is not unique to new democracies (as mentioned in Chapter Seven). Since the 2000s, counteractant parties have also achieved increasing vote shares in established democracies. This study suggests a reconsideration of the ethno-territorial party definition because if ethno-territorial parties can produce their counteractants differently from other niche party types, such as green and radical parties, then ethno-territorial parties should not be considered a niche party type.

Lastly, this research showed the intricate relationship between party system institutionalization level, party system type and political regime. To reiterate, the party system type determines party competition dynamics. When the level of party system institutionalization increases, the stability and predictability of the party competition also increases. New democracies are at a crossroads; they can become either consolidated democracies or electoral authoritarian systems. What is highlighted in this study is that the path that each new democracy chooses may depend on the party system type. In the Turkish case, I indicated that when the dominant mainstream party was threatened on the ethnic dimension with losing its dominance, it decided to enter the ethnic dimension and disrupt its stability. The strategy of the dominant mainstream party was to create a new dimension that will reconstitute the party competition

equilibrium in its favor when the existing equilibrium shifts in favor of ethnic parties. This attempt can be taken as a policy that will not only consolidate the dominant party's power but also inject stability into the party system; that is, it will increase the level of party system institutionalization, which can close up the political system and lead to an electoral authoritarian regime.

8.2 Limitations of the Research

The first methodological limitation of the research is that it analyzed a single case; thus, the findings of the research cannot be generalized. Employing an explaining-outcome process-tracing methodology can craft a sufficient explanation for a particular historical outcome; in this research, I explain the causal mechanism between the mainstream parties' strategies and the ethno-territorial party's (BDP) vote share in the 2011 Turkish national elections. Due to the similar natures of explaining-outcome and theory-building process-tracing methods, only at the theoretical level middle-range generalizations can be produced; however, this research cautiously suggests testing the proposed causal mechanism on other cases.

The second limitation of this research relates to its use of predicted evidence. Explaining-outcome process-tracing, in testing ideational explanations, privileges the documents that are generated behind doors in private settings. In other words, in public settings, actors or politicians have a tendency to act in socially desirable ways; however, in private settings, "decision-makers can let their guard down" (Jacobs, 2015: 52). In this regard, when testing ideational explanations, closed-door deliberations are preferred to be employed as predicted evidence. Nonetheless, I did not refer to any closed-door deliberations, as I could not find any such documents. This point may constitute the second limitation of this research.

8.3 Directions for Further Research

The causal mechanism found in the current research can be tested in other new democracies to see if the findings can be replicated. In addition, applying PSO theory's suggested revised version might bring a new dimension to party competition dynamics in literature on new democracies.

Further research on the intricate relationship between party system institutionalization, party system type and political regime might reveal more

interesting results. I analyzed a dominant party system and hypothesized that dominant party systems create more stability. This means an increase in party system institutionalization level, but it also has terrible consequences for the political regime type. Because these are new democracies, they may still slip backward and turn into electoral authoritarian regimes. Therefore, I suggest that the first and second research topics be tested further, especially in the cases like those of Hungary and Taiwan that show dominant party regime characteristics.

Another potentially rewarding research topic resulting from this research is the challenge of conceptualizing the ethno-territorial party as a niche party type. In this research, I highlighted the significance of the third party player and the power of ethno-territorial parties in creating counteractants in party competition. In this sense, this study provides a strong justification for further research to decide if an ethno-territorial party is a legitimate sub-type of niche party or if it should be categorized uniquely in new democracies like Turkey.

Finally, further research can address the second Kurdish opening-up process, which was initiated by the dominant mainstream party in 2013. By using the same framework as the current research, scholars can look at the second Kurdish opening-up process to provide more information about the mainstream parties' strategies. Such an attempt can enable researchers to make temporal comparisons and investigate whether the mainstream parties have developed new strategies toward the Kurdish issue.

Appendices

Appendix A: Supplementary information on elections and calculations (Chapter Four)

<u>Electoral Volatility Calculations</u>

The following decisions are used to calculate volatility (Tezcür, 2012: 133):

In the case of mergers, the vote shares of parties A and B in election t are compared with the vote share of AB in election t+1.

In the case of electoral coalitions, the vote shares of parties A and B in election t are compared with the vote share of A in election t+1.

In case of splits, the vote share of A in election t is compared with the combined vote share of all of its offspring parties.

In the case of party dissolutions followed by the formation of multiple successor parties, the vote share of party A in election t is compared with the combined vote share of its successors in election t+1.

In the case of independent candidates sponsored by a party in multiple provinces, the vote share of party A in election t is compared with the combined vote share of all independent candidates sponsored by party A in election t+1.

Actual Formulas are:

<u>1983–87</u>: ∑(|ANAP87 - ANAP83||SHP87 - HP83||DYP87 - 0||DSP87 - 0||RP87 - 0||MCP87 - 0||IDP87 - 0||0 - MDP83||Independents87 - Independents83|)/2

<u>1987–91</u>: ∑ (|DYP91 - DYP87||ANAP91 - ANAP87||SHP91 - SHP87||RP91- RP87 + MCP87 + IDP87||DSP91 - DSP87||SP91 - 0||Independents91 - Independents87|)/2

<u>1991–95</u>: ∑ (|RP95 + MHP95 + MP95 - RP91||ANAP95 + YDP95 + YP95- ANAP91||DYP95 - DYP91||DSP95 - DSP91| |CHP95 + HADEP95 - SHP91||IP95 - SP91||YDH95 - 0||Independents95 - Independents91|)/2

<u>1995–99</u>: ∑ (|DSP99 + DEPAR99 - DSP95||MHP99 - MHP95||FP99 - RP95||ANAP99 + BBP99 - ANAP95||DYP99 + DTP99 - DYP95||CHP99 - CHP95||HADEP99 + SIP99 -

HADEP95||ODP99 - 0||LDP99 - 0||DP99 - YP95||MP99 - MP95||BP99 - YDH95||IP99 - IP95||EMEP99 - 0||YDP99- YDP95||DBP99 - 0||Independents99 - Indepedents95|)/2

<u>1999–2002</u>: ∑ (|AKP02 + SP02 - FP99||CHP02 - CHP99||DYP02 - DYP99 + DTP99||MHP02 - MHP99||GP02 - 0||DEHAP02 - HADEP99 + EMEP99||ANAP02 + YP02 - ANAP99||DSP02 + YTP02 - DSP99||BBP02 -BBP99||IP02 - IP99||BTP02 - 0||ODEP02 - ODP99||LDP02 - LDP99||MP02 - MP99||TKP02 - SIP02||0 - DEPAR99||0 - DBP99||0 - YDP99||0 - DP99||0 - BP99||Indepedents02 - Indepedents99|)/2

<u>2002–07</u>: ∑ (|AKP07 - AKP02||CHP07 + HYP07 - CHP02 - DSP02 - YTP02||MHP07 - MHP02||DP07 + ATP02 - DYP02| |DTP - Indepedents07 + EMEP07 - DEHAP02||GP07 - GP02||SP07 - SP02||BTP07 - BTP02||IP07 - IP02||TKP07 - TKP02||ODP07 - ODP02||LDP07 - LDP02||0 - ANAP02||0 - YP02||0 - MP2||NonDTPIndepedents07 - Indepedents02|)/2

<u>2007–11</u>: ∑ (|AKP11 - AKP07||CHP11 + DSP11 - CHP02||MHP11 + MMP11 - MHP07 - ATP07||BDP11 + EP11 - DTP07 - EMEP07||SP11 + HAS11 - SP07||DP11 + DYP11 - DP07 - BTP07||TKP11 - TKP07||LDP11 - LDP07||0 - ODP07||0 - GP07||0 - HYP07||I˙PINDP11 - I˙P07||HEPAR11 -0||BBP11 - 0||MP11 - 0||NonBDPIndependents11 - NonDTPIndepedents07|)/2.

Percentage of Votes and Parliamentary Seats won by parties 1983-2011 in Turkey.

Table A.1 Percentage of Votes Won By Party in Parliamentary Elections, 1983-1999.

Party	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999
Right					
ANAP	45.1	36.3	24.0	19.7	13.2
DYP	-	19.1	27.0	19.2	12
MDP	23.3	-	-	-	-
MCP-MHP	-	2.9	-	8.2	18
RP-FP	-	7.2	16.9	21.4	15.4
IDP	-	0.8	-	-	-
YP	-	-	-	0.1	-
BBP	-	-	-	-	1.5
LDP	-	-	-	-	0.4
DP	-	-	-	-	0.3
DTP	-	-	-	-	0.6
MP	-	-	-	-	0.3
YDP	-	-	-	-	0.1
Left					
HaP-SHP	30.5	24.7	20.8	-	-
DSP	-	8.5	10.7	14.6	22.2
CHP	-	-	-	10.7	8.7
HADEP	-	-	-	4.17	4.8
SP	-	-	0.4	-	-
YDH	-	-	-	0.5	
IP	-	-	-	0.2	0.2
ÖDP	-	-	-	-	0.8
BP	-	-	-	-	0.2
EMEP	-	-	-	-	0.2
SIP	-	-	-	-	0.1
DEPAR	-	-	-	-	0.1
DBP	-	-	-	-	0.1
Independents	1.1	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.9

Source: global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/secim_sonuclari/secim3_tr.

Table A.2 Parliamentary Seats Won By Party, 1983-1999.

Party	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999
Center-Right					
ANAP	211	292	115	132	86
DYP	-	59	178	135	85
MDP	71	-	-	-	-
Right					
MCP-MHP	-	0	-	0	129
RP-FP	-	0	62	158	111
Center-Left					
HaP-SHP	117	99	88	-	-
DSP	-	0	7	76	136
CHP	-	-	-	49	0
Pro-Kurdish					
HADEP	-	-	-	0	0
Independents	-	-	-	-	3

Table A.3 Percentage of Votes Won By Party in Parliamentary Elections, 2002-2011.

Party	2002	2007	2011
Right			
ANAP	5.	-	-
DYP	9.5	-	0.2
DP	-	5.4	0.7
GP	7.2	3.0	-
AKP	34.3	46.6	49.8
MHP	8.4	14.3	13
SP	2.5	2.3	1.3
BBP	1.0	-	0.8
YP	0.9	-	
BTP	0.5	0.5	
LDP	0.2	0.1	0
MP	0.2	-	0.1
ATP	-	0.3	
HAS	-	-	0.8
HEPAR	-	-	0.3
MMP	-	-	0.1
Left			
DSP	1.2	-	0.3
CHP	19.4	20.9	26
YTP	1.1		
DEHAP-DTP-BDP as independents	6.2	4.7	6.6
IP	0.5	0.4	
ÖDP	0.3	-	
TKP	0.2	0.2	0.2
HYP	-	0.5	
EMEP	-	0.1	0.1
Independents	1.0	0.5	0.3

Table A.4 Parliamentary Seats Won By Party, 2002-2011.

Party	2002	2007	2011
Center-Right			
AKP	363	341	327
Right			
MHP	0	70	53
Center-Left			
CHP	178	112	135
Pro-Kurdish			
DEHAP-DTP-BDP[1] **as independents**	1	22	35
Non-DEHAP-DTP-BDP independents	8	4	-

---

[1] The total number of independents in the Turkish Parliament was 9 but only Esat Canan, who got elected from Hakkari, has connections with the Kurdish party.
In 2007, the total number of independents is 26 but 22MPs were the independent candidates of the pro-Kurdish party.
In 2011 elections, 35 independent candidates were elected, 34 of them were pro-Kurdish party members.

Party Membership levels in Turkey (2007, 2013)

Table A.5 Party Membership level in 2007

Parties[2]	Party Membership	M/E
AKP	1,834,520	4.28
CHP	529,703	1.24
MHP	307,747	0.72
DYP	2,292,376	5.36
ANAP	891,827	2.08
Hürparti	153,576	0.36
DSP	192,454	0.45
BBP	15,475	0.036
SHP	12,420	0.029
EMEP	10,134	0.002
GP	158,529	0.37
LDP	6,338	0.015
BTP	4391	0.010
MP	1726	0.004
ÖDP	3,435	0.008
SP	121,559	0.28
ÖTP	2307	0.005
TKP	1915	0.004
IP	16,735	0.039
BCP	1581	0.003
YP	1461	0.003
Total	6,560,209	15,30

Source: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/index/ArsivNews.aspx?id=5867722
Registered Votes: 42,799,303 – retrieved from
http://electionresources.org/tr/assembly.php?election=2007&constituency

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[2] Political parties which have less than one thousand members have not been included into the calculations.

Appendices

Table A.6 Party Membership level in 2013

Parties[3]	Party Membership	M/E
AKP	7,551,472	14.30
CHP	953,416	1.81
MHP	363,393	0.69
BDP	44,156	0.083
DP	726,611	1.38
DSP	116,117	0.22
BBP	18,899	0.036
EMEP	6,235	0.012
GP	57,766	0.11
HYP	9584	0.018
LDP	6339	0.012
MP	1691	0.003
MMP	1742	0.003
ÖDP	4299	0.008
SP	214,708	0.41
TKP	2247	0.004
HEP	7420	0.014
IP	12459	0.02
Total	10,098,554	19,13

Source: http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/22588205.asp
Registered Votes: 52,806,322 – retrieved from
http://electionresources.org/tr/assembly.php?election=2011&constituency=

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[3] Political parties which have less than 1000 members have not been included into the calculations.

Governments and Types of Governments in Turkey, 1983-2011

Table A.7 Governments in Turkey, 1983-2011

Period	Type of Government	Governing Party(ies)	Prime Minister
13.12.1983-21.12.1987	Single Party/Majority	ANAP	Özal
21.12.1987-09.11.1989	Single Party/Majority	ANAP	Özal
09.11.1989-23.06.1991	Single Party/Majority	ANAP	Akbulut
23.06.1991-20.11.1991	Single Party/Majority	ANAP	Yilmaz
21.11.1991-25.06.1993	Coalition / Majority	DYP and SHP	Demirel
25.06.1993-05.10.1995	Coalition / Majority	DYP and SHP	Ciller
05.10.1995-30.10.1995	Single party/ Minority	DYP	Ciller -fail to gain vote of confidence
30.10.1995-06.03.1996	Coalition / Majority	DYP and CHP	Ciller
06.03.1996-28.06.1996	Coalition / Majority	ANAP and DYP	Yilmaz
28.06.1996-30.06.1997	Coalition / Majority	RP and DYP	Erbakan
30.06.1997-11.01.1999	Coalition / Majority	ANAP, DSP, DTP And Independents	Yilmaz
11.01.1999-28.05.1999	Single party / Minority	DSP	Ecevit
28.05.1999-18.11.2002	Coalition / Majority	DSP, MHP and ANAP	Ecevit
18.11.2002-14.03.2003	Single party / Majority	AKP	Gül
14.03.2003-29.08.2007	Single party /Majority	AKP	Erdogan
29.08.2007-06.06.2011	Single party /Majority	AKP	Erdogan
06.07.2011 -	Single party /Majority	AKP	Erdogan, Davutoglu

Source: Data compiled from the official website of Turkish Grand National Assembly's Library Resources.   Retrieved from http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kutuphane/e_kaynaklar_kutuphane_hukumetler.html

Siaroff (2000)'s Typology of Party Systems

Table A.8 Criteria and Operationalization

Typological Criteria	Operationalization
Number of parties	(a) Number of parties winning at least 3% of the filled parliamentary seats [P3%S]
Relative parliamentary strength of parties	(b) Sum of percentage of seats for the two parties obtaining the most seats in the parliament [2PSC]
	(c) Ratio obtained by comparing the seats of the party with the largest numbers of seats to the seats of the party with the second-largest number of seats [SRI:2]
	(d) Ratio obtained by comparing the seats of the party with the second largest number of seats to seats of the party with the third largest number of seats [SR2:3]

Source: Croissant and Völkel, 2012: 238.

Table A.9 Party System Types

[1] Two-party systems	P3%S = 2-3; 2PSC ≥ 95%
Moderately fragmented multiparty systems	
[2] Two and-a-half-party-systems	P3%S = 3-5; 2PSC = 80-95%; SRI:2 < 1.6; SR2:3 ≥ 1.8
[3] Moderate multiparty systems with one dominant party	P3%S = 3-5; SRI:2 ≥ 1.6
[4] Moderate multiparty systems with two main parties	P3%S = 3-5; SRI:2 < 1.6; SR2:3 ≥ 1.8
[5] Moderate multiparty systems with a balance among the parties	P3%S = 3-5; SRI:2 < 1.6; SR2:3 < 1.8
Extremely fragmented multiparty systems	
[6] Extreme multiparty system with one dominant party	P3%S ≥ 6; SRI:2 < 1.6
[7] Extreme multiparty system with two main parties	P3%S ≥ 6; SRI:2 < 1.6; SR2:3 ≥ 1.8
[8] Extreme multiparty system with balance among the parties	P3%S ≥ 6; SRI:2 < 1.6; SR2:3 < 1.8

Source: Adapted from Siaroff, 200: 70-1, as cited in Croissant and Völkel, 2012: 238.

Calculating Polarisation for 2011 elections

Dalton (2008: 906)'s polarization index's formulae is

PI = SQRT {∑ (party vote share i)*([party L/R score i – party system average L/R score]/5)^2}, where i represents individual parties.

AKP: Vote share: 49.8%   L-R score: 8   Average: 5   result=17.928

CHP : Vote share= 26%   L-R score: 1.9   Average: 5   result= 9.9944

MHP: Vote share = 13%   L-R score= 7.9   Average: 5   result= 4.3732

BDP: Vote share =6.6%   L-R score: 2.3   Average: 5   result = 1.92456

Sum = 17.928 + 9.9944+ 4.3732 + 1.92456 = 34.22016 $\sqrt{34.22016} = 5.85$

Appendices

Cross-tabulation Outputs of Political Parties on the 2010 Constitutional Referendum
Debate

Figure A.1 Cross-tabulation output: AKP

Code System	Constitution-m...
Opening-Up Process	
Process	
cooperation with ter...	8
Language Laws	
National identity	4
terror	11
legality	
transparency	3
Constitution-making	
Habur-comingbacks	
Actors	10
Results	6
opening-up perceptions	19
Defining Kurdish issue	
Terror	7
Democracy	2
Socio-economic reasons	2
role of international actors	
identity- nationalism	
ethno-political	
ethno-cultural	
discrimination	
historical background	
war - Turkish military	
Kurdish issue perceptions	2
Solution Propositions	
ending terror	4
sanctions on internation...	
Socio-econ development	6
more democracy	
ethnic-political solutions	
ethnic-cultural solutions	2
overall solution	4

Figure A.2 Cross-tabulation output: CHP

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Figure A.3 Cross-tabulation output: MHP

Code System	Constitution-m...
⊟ Opening-Up Process	
⊟ Process	
cooperation with ter...	8
Language Laws	4
National identity	18
terror	13
legality	2
transparency	
Constitution-making	
Habur-comingbacks	
Actors	10
Results	4
opening-up perceptions	42
⊟ Defining Kurdish issue	
Terror	
Democracy	
Socio-economic reasons	
role of international actors	
identity- nationalism	4
ethno-political	
ethno-cultural	2
discrimination	
historical background	
war - Turkish military	
Kurdish issue perceptions	
⊟ Solution Propositions	
ending terror	
sanctions on internation...	
Socio-econ development	
more democracy	3
ethnic-political solutions	
ethnic-cultural solutions	
overall solution	

Figure A.4 Cross-tabulation output: BDP

Code System	Constitution-m...
Opening-Up Process	
Process	4
cooperation with ter...	
Language Laws	19
National identity	7
terror	5
legality	
transparency	11
Constitution-making	
Habur-comingbacks	10
Actors	15
Results	3
opening-up perceptions	35
Defining Kurdish issue	
Terror	18
Democracy	110
Socio-economic reasons	16
role of international actors	9
identity- nationalism	25
ethno-political	2
ethno-cultural	54
discrimination	33
historical background	11
war - Turkish military	40
Kurdish issue perceptions	25
Solution Propositions	
ending terror	18
sanctions on internation...	
Socio-econ development	3
more democracy	52
ethnic-political solutions	10
ethnic-cultural solutions	12
overall solution	50

Description of Thematic Codes

 * I develop those codes only to code BDP's ideas.

 ** The code of 'Process' under the Kurdish opening-up process category has 8 sub-codes: cooperation with terrorism, language laws, national identity, terror, legality, transparency, constitution-making and Habur coming-backs. These sub-codes are either defining specifically what this process is about or evaluating some of the events such as constitution-making and Habur up-coming in relation with the process.

Appendices

Table A.10 Description of thematic codes

Category	Code	Description
Opening-Up Process		
	Process**	How are this process' dynamics conceptualized and understood by the political parties?
	Actors	Who are the influential actors in the process? Who are the masterminds of this project from political parties' perspectives?
	Results	What has changed with the initiation of this process?
	Opening-up perceptions	How do political parties perceive other parties' approaches to the process?
Defining Kurdish issue		
	Terror	The role of terrorist organization, terrorist attacks, martyr and the Anti-Terror Law
	Democracy	Lack of democracy
	Socio-economic reasons	Low income, unemployment and low levels of education – underdevelopment of the Kurdish region
	Role of international actors	The role of international organizations and nation-states
	Identity-nationalism	What does Turkish identity signify? How to define Turkish identity in relation with the Kurdish identity?
	Ethno-political*	The role of the political demands such as autonomy
	Ethno-cultural	The role of cultural demands such as recognition of Kurdish as an official language or traditional Kurdish celebration of Newroz
	Discrimination	The discriminatory policies implemented toward Kurds- why do Kurds feel being ostracized?
	Historical background*	How does the history shape today? Historical aspects of the issue
	War-Turkish military*	The role of the Turkish Armed Forces in the conflict
	Kurdish issue perceptions	How do parties perceive other parties' role and opinions on the issue?
Solution Propositions		
	Ending terror	Terrorist organization should be wiped out/Ceasefire periods should be evaluated more effectively to solve the problem
	Sanctions on international actors	Sending a diplomatic note to the states which support the terrorist organization, cutting ties with those state
	Socio-economic development	Private investments should be channelled to the Kurdish region, economy should be revived
	More democracy	Introducing reforms both at individual and collective levels
	Ethnic-political solutions*	Decentralization or regional autonomy should be granted
	Ethnic-cultural solutions	More cultural rights such as recognizing Kurdish as the second official language should be granted
	Overall solution	How can peace be reached through the eyes of other parties? What kinds of efforts have been put by the parties so far?

Appendix B: Supplementary information on data (Chapter Five)

Table B.1 The Lengths of Speeches – monthly aggregated, word counts

	2009	2010	2011	Total	Average
AKP (Justice and DevelopmentParty)	August = 2465 October= 3044 November= 1706 December= 846	January= 2334 February= 2172 March= 1135 April= 373 Mary= 582 June= 8641 July= 1473 October= 522 November = 2282 December = 949	January= 1484 February = 564 March= 172 April= 890	31624	1757
CHP (Republican People`s Party)	August= 5049 October = 5218 November= 10438 December = 3944	January= 1344 February= 1823 March= 419 May= 321 June= 385 July= 445 November = 372	January = 562 February = 108 March= 227 April = 402	31057	2070
CHP-Baykal	August=5049 October= 5218 November=10438 December= 3944	January=1344 February=1823 March=419 May= 321		28556	3570
CHP-Kilicdaroglu		June= 385 July= 445 November = 372	January = 562 February = 108 March= 227 April = 402	2501	357
MHP (Nationalist Action Party)	October = 4796 November = 9968 December = 2585	January= 4903 February= 2519 March= 2947 April= 1950 May= 200 June= 9223 July= 6205 October= 3023 November = 3953 December = 3853	January = 2269 February = 750	51738	3449
BDP (Peace and Democracy Party)		January= 8341 February= 5683 March= 8810 April= 9707 May= 9256 June= 17402 July= 9587 October= 9722 November = 8739 December = 6265	January = 2719 February = 11975 March = 12479	120685	9283

Table B.2 Estimated policy positions

	Estimate	Standard Error	Lower	Upper
akp08_09.txt	1.31870	0.053130	1.21457	1.42283
akp10_09.txt	0.12606	0.044346	0.03915	0.21298
akp11_09.txt	0.56833	0-063401	0.44406	0.69259
akp12_09.txt	2.25187	0.070568	2.11356	2.39018
akp01_10.txt	0.54861	0.053811	0.44315	0.65408
akp02_10.txt	1.01090	0.056501	0.90016	1.12164
akp03_10.txt	1.00914	0.075793	0.86059	1.15769
akp04_10.txt	1.56912	0.133888	1.30671	1.83154
akp05_10.txt	1.54367	0.106546	1.33484	1.75250
akp06_10.txt	0.12094	0.025848	0.07028	0.17161
akp07_10.txt	0.05307	0.062272	- 0.06898	0.17512
akp10_10.txt	2.43211	0.085212	2.26510	2.59912
akp11_10.txt	0.88626	0.054353	0.77973	0.99279
akp12_10.txt	1.50421	0.081965	1.34356	1.66485
akp01_11.txt	0.83818	0.068518	0.70389	0.97247
akp02_11.txt	- 0.30575	0.093470	- 0.48895	0.12255
akp03_11.txt	0.31571	0.184310	0.04553	0.67696
akp04_11.txt	0.79028	0.087501	0.61878	0.96178
	Estimate	Standard Error	Lower	Upper
chp08_09.txt	0.02977	0.033496	- 0.03588	0.09542
chp10_09.txt	- 0.23398	0.031731	- 0.29617	- 0.17178
chp11_09.txt	2.35232	0.019957	2.31321	2.39144
chp12_09.txt	- 0.44017	0.033529	- 0.50589	- 0.37446
chp01_10.txt	- 0.03161	0.062846	- 0.15478	0.09157
chp02_10.txt	0.38706	0.060886	0.26772	0.50639
chp03_10.txt	- 0.44832	0.102330	- 0.64888	- 0.24775
chp05_10.txt	0.07891	0.132777	- 0.18133	0.33915
chp06_10.txt	- 0.41433	0.108013	- 0.62603	- 0.20263
chp07_10.txt	0.04299	0.111934	- 0.17640	0.26237
chp11_10.txt	0.41905	0.129603	0.16503	0.67306
chp01_11.txt	- 0.68012	0.081765	- 0.84038	- 0.51986
chp02_11.txt	1.11405	0.259435	0.60557	1.62254
chp03_11.txt	2.87414	0.107750	2.66295	3.08532
chp04_11.txt	2.47742	0.097366	2.28659	2.66825
	Estimate	Standard Error	Lower	Upper
mhp10_09.txt	0.40902	0.035237	0.33996	0.47808
mhp11_09.txt	1.01078	0.025644	0.96051	1.06104
mhp12_09.txt	0.39120	0.047310	0.29847	0.48393
mhp01_10.txt	0.44591	0.035138	0.37704	0.51478
mhp02_10.txt	1.30560	0.050367	1.20688	1.40432
mhp03_10.txt	1.49760	0.045909	1.40762	1.58758
mhp04_10.txt	0.32533	0.054774	0.21798	0.43268
mhp05_10.txt	1.24901	0.171598	0.91268	1.58533
mhp06_10.txt	1.06664	0.026850	1.01401	1.11926
mhp07_10.txt	0.98219	0.032566	0.91837	1.04602

Appendices

	Estimate	Standard Error	Lower	Upper
mhp10_10.txt	1.33940	0.046074	1.24909	1.42970
mhp11_10.txt	1.30186	0.040460	1.22256	1.38116
mhp12_10.txt	0.95241	0.041323	0.87142	1.03340
mhp01_11.txt	0.91245	0.048935	0.81654	1.00836
mhp02_11.txt	1.29237	0.094696	1.10677	1.47797
bdp01_10.txt	- 1.41799	0.016199	- 1.44974	- 1.38624
bdp02_10.txt	- 1.41290	0.019720	- 1.45155	- 1.37425
bdp03_10.txt	- 1.75289	0.013305	- 1.77897	- 1.72168
bdp04_10.txt	- 1.66603	0.013425	- 1.69234	- 1.63971
bdp05_10.txt	- 1.66911	0.013771	- 1.69610	- 1.64212
bdp06_10.txt	- 1.68905	0.009957	- 1.70856	- 1.66953
bdp07_10.txt	- 1.44952	0.015126	- 1.47917	- 1.41987
bdp10_10.txt	- 2.01961	0.010878	- 2.04094	- 1.99829
bdp11_10.txt	- 1.69732	0.014102	- 1.72496	- 1.66969
bdp12_10.txt	- 1.31184	0.020172	- 1.35137	- 1.27230
bdp01_11.txt	- 0.98747	0.034489	- 1.05507	- 0.91988
bdp02_11.txt	- 1.28844	0.014490	- 1.31684	- 1.26004
bdp03_11.txt	- 1.21883	0.014451	- 1.24716	- 1.19051

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DIE ETHNISCH ORIENTIERTEN STRATEGIEN ETABLIERTER GROßPARTEIEN IN NEUEN DEMOKRATIEN: DIE KURDISCHE ANNÄHERUNG IN DER TÜRKEI, 2009-2011

Die vorliegende Untersuchung erforscht den Kausalzusammenhang zwischen den Strategien etablierter Großparteien *(mainstream parties)* und dem Stimmenanteil ethno-regionaler Parteien. Frühere Studien belegten bereits einen Einfluss der Strategien etablierter Großparteien auf den Wähleranteil ethno-regionaler Parteien. Es blieb jedoch ungeklärt, wo genau die Gründe für diesen Zusammenhang liegen. Die vorliegende Arbeit schließt diese Forschungslücke durch das systematisch-schrittweise Nachzeichnen der Erhöhung des Stimmenanteils ethno-regionaler Parteien. Am Beispiel der Türkei wird die folgende Forschungsfrage beantwortet: „Warum konnte die ethno-regionale Partei der Türkei (BDP) bei den Parlamentswahlen 2011 einen Stimmenzuwachs verzeichnen, obwohl die Regierungspartei AKP eine Annäherung an die kurdische Bevölkerung eingeläutet hatte?".

Der in dieser Arbeit herangezogene Forschungsansatz der ergebnis- und erklärungsorientierten Prozessanalyse *(explainig-outcome process-tracing)* zielt auf minimal hinreichende Erklärungen ab. Dies beinhaltet einen iterativen Forschungsprozess, d.h. einen Kreislauf aus Induktion und Deduktion, das Zusammenführen bereits identifizierter Erklärungsmechanismen, die Erweiterung bestehender Theorien und die Anpassung allgemeiner Erklärungsmuster an Fallspezifika.

Im vorliegenden Fall führte die induktiv-deduktive Suche nach einem minimal-hinreichenden Erklärungsansatz über die quantitative (Wordfish) und qualitative (MAXQDA) Textanalyse von 188 Abgeordnetenreden der vier türkischen Parlamentsparteien im Zeitraum 2009 bis 2011, d.h. während der Phase der kurdischen Annäherung. In beiden Analyserunden wurden zuvor aufgestellte Hypothesen anhand des erhobenen Datenmaterials überprüft und zu einer Reihe möglicher Erklärungsmechanismen verdichtet. Im letzten Analyseschritt wurden die erhobenen Daten und vorgeschlagenen Mechanismen zu einem empirisch fundierten Sequenzmodell zusammengeführt.

Als wichtigste Erklärungsfaktoren ergaben sich (1) die intervenierende Variable des ethnischen Medianwählers, (2) die Bedeutung rivalisierender Drittparteien im Wettbewerb um Wählerstimmen und (3) der Wirkungszusammenhang zwischen der Art des Parteiensystems, den Strategien etablierter Großparteien und dem politischen System.

Die obige Analyse ermöglicht nicht nur die Weiterentwicklung einer wichtigen politikwissenschaftlichen Theorie (der *Position, Salience, and Ownership* bzw. PSO-Theorie von Meguid), sondern liefert auch eine dichte Beschreibung eines bis dato untererforschten empirischen Falls. Damit leistet die vorliegende Arbeit einen maßgeblichen Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis der Auswirkungen der Strategien etablierter Großparteien auf den Wähleranteil ethno-regionaler Parteien in neuen Demokratien.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Hiermit erkläre ich Berna Öney, dass die Dissertation von mir selbstständig angefertigt wurde und wurde und alle von mir genutzten Hilfsmittel angegeben wurden. Ich erkläre, dass die wörtlichen oder dem Sinne nach anderen Veröffentlichungen entnommenen Stellen von mir kenntlich gemacht wurden.

Darüber hinaus versichere ich hiermit, dass ich mich bisher keiner weiteren Doktorprüfung unterzogen habe. Ich habe die Dissertation in der gegenwärtigen oder einer anderen Fassung an keiner anderen Fakultät eingereicht. Ich habe die Standards der guten wissenschaftlichen Praxis der CvO-Universität angehalten.

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