

**Patterns of Political Participation in Post-1980 Turkey**

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**Boğaziçi University**

1998

## **Acknowledgement**

I want to express my distinguished sentiments to Ali arkođlu, who kindly supervised my thesis. I owe a special gratitude to him for his personal interest and intellectual support.

I also want to express my special thanks to Margaret Kirk, who patiently read my thesis several times and corrected my english.

Needless to say, all the mistakes and faults in this thesis belong to me.

# **Abstract**

## **Patterns of Political Participation in Post-1980 Turkey**

**By**

**Dikran Migirdiç Zenginkuzucu**

This study analyses the socio-economic dynamics of political participation in Turkey after 1980 and, in this context, tests the hypothesis of the socio-economic mobilisation theory. The project is an investigation of the question of “how the socio-economic development affects political participation in conditions of post-1980 Turkey?” and its focus is on the society rather than the person. The study is based on statistical interpretation of the aggregate level data on socio-economic indicators. The data are analysed from a geographical perspective.

The results underline several important conclusions. First, they support the findings of previous studies on political participation in pre-1980 Turkey, and thus demonstrate that the socio-economic developments in Turkey after 1980 have no specific effect on the patterns of political participation. Second, they show that the three types of elections in Turkey, namely general elections, referendums and municipal elections, have different socio-economic dynamics of their own. Finally, the results suggest that regional differences play an important role in political participation in Turkey: the east of Turkey shows significantly lower rates of participation in elections as well as referendums.

## Kısa Özet

# TÜRKİYE'DE 1980 SONRASI SİYASAL KATILIM ÖRÜNTÜLERİ

**Dikran Migirdiç Zenginkuzucu**

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası siyasal katılımın sosyoekonomik dinamiklerini çözümlemekte ve bu bağlamda sosyoekonomik mobilizasyon kuramının varsayımlarını sınamaktadır. Proje "1980 sonrası Türkiye koşullarında, sosyoekonomik gelişim siyasal katılımı nasıl etkilemiştir?" sorusunun bir irdelemesidir ve kişi yerine toplum üzerine odaklanmıştır. Çalışma, sosyoekonomik göstergeler üzerine yığınsal (aggregate) verilerin istatistiksel yorumuna dayanmaktadır. Veriler, coğrafi bir bakış açısıyla çözümlenmiştir.

Sonuçlar birçok önemli çıkarımın altını çizmektedir. İlk olarak, Türkiye'de 1980 öncesi siyasal katılım üzerine yapılmış çalışmaların bulgularını desteklemektedir ve Türkiye'de 1980 sonrası sosyoekonomik gelişmenin siyasal katılım üzerinde ayırt edici bir etkisinin olmadığını göstermektedir. İkinci olarak, Türkiye'deki üç çeşit seçimin, yani genel seçimlerin, halk oylamalarının ve yerel seçimlerin, farklı sosyoekonomik dinamiklerden etkilendiklerini göstermektedir. Son olarak, sonuçlar Türkiye'de bölgesel farklılıkların siyasal katılımıda önemli bir rol oynadığını ileri sürmektedir. Türkiye'nin doğusu seçimlerde ve halk oylamalarında anlamlı şekilde düşük katılım oranları göstermektedir.

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## INTRODUCTION

The present study is based essentially on an ecological analysis of sub-national aggregate voting data. More specifically, it is concerned with the ways in which political participation is affected by socio-economic modernisation. In Turkey, there are a few researches on the patterns of political participation.<sup>1</sup> Among these, Özbudun (1976) and Kalaycıoğlu (1983) are more recent and comprehensive than others, but they focus on the pre-1980 era. After 1980, some other researches notably Abadan-Unat (1989) and Erdoğan (1992) concentrate on the diverse aspects of political participation in Turkey. The former focuses on the legitimacy of the electoral system and the latter deals with mobilised participation in Southeastern Anatolia. Thus, there is no specific work on the patterns of political participation for post-1980 Turkey.

Since 1980, however, Turkey has experienced a rapid change in economic, cultural and social life, and new political institutions have been established in order to respond to the demands of the people and the new socio-economic framework. If there is indeed an association between socio-economic change and political participation, this should be clearly reflected in changing patterns of political participation. In this context, this study aims at contributing to the attempts to fill the existing gap in our knowledge of changes in political participation in post-1980 Turkey.

Furthermore, the present study comprises different types of elections and analyses them separately from each other. Accordingly, the analysis enables us to determine

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<sup>1</sup> For the most important of these researches, see: Baykal (1970); Sencer (1974); Akarlı (1975); Özbudun (1976); Kili (1978); Kalaycıoğlu (1983).

differences in the impacts of socio-economic indicators on participation in general elections, referendums, and municipal elections. In the analysis of socio-economic determinants of political participation, the political process and legal framework of post-1980 Turkey will also be taken into account.

Another important aspect of this study is its emphasis on regional variations. In Turkey, especially in recent years, the pattern of regional cleavages in social and economic development levels is one of the most salient issues in political discussions. The present study aims at contributing to these discussions in the context of political participation by testing whether or not they are reflected in gaps of political participation across geographical regions.

Chapter I of the present study introduces the concept of political participation. The hypotheses of modernisation and social mobilisation theories on political participation are discussed, and a general model of political participation is formulated in that section.

Chapter II gives the background of the political situation in post-1980 Turkey. It summarises the findings of the previous major researches on political participation in pre-1980 Turkey, and the economic, political and legal structure of the post-1980s.

Chapter III deals with general observations on political participation in Turkey, which are then used to develop the analysis in subsequent chapters. The stability and regional variations in votes are also discussed.

Chapter IV focuses on the socio-economic correlates of voting participation. The results of the analyses are given and discussed.

Finally, Chapter V, consists of the conclusions of the study, whereby a comparison with the pre-1980 studies on political participation are also presented.

# CHAPTER I: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## I. DEFINITION OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

The meaning attributed to the term "*political participation*" has been different in most studies. Verba and Nie propose the following brief definition: political participation comprises of "*behaviour designed to affect the choice of governmental personnel and/or policies*".<sup>2</sup> In that context, the forms of political participation have been categorised into four types of behaviour: voting, campaign activity, communal activity, particularised contacts.<sup>3</sup>

Other studies, however, include some different forms of political activity into the definition of political participation. Barnes and Kaase define political participation as "all voluntary activities by individual citizens intended to influence either directly or indirectly political choices at various levels of the political system".<sup>4</sup> This definition includes protest and violence as integral aspects of political participation. In this context, "*rational abstention*" also becomes an important mode of political participation. For example, in some elections, some communist groups called their followers to abstain from voting in elections as a show of protest against the existing political and economic regime. Some philosophical and religious believers also refuse to go to the polls. For example, Jehovah's Witnesses do not participate in political life

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<sup>2</sup> Verba, Nie (1972, 2-3).

<sup>3</sup> Lipset (1963, 182).

<sup>4</sup> Barnes, Kaase et al. (1979, 59).

and they claim that these are “earthly” matters which are not of direct concern to them.

Rational abstention has been interpreted, in another way, by the costs of voting theory.<sup>5</sup> When somebody is indifferent and sees that democracy works even if he does not vote or parties still cater to his interests independent of whether he supports them, or if he is sure that the party he supports will win the elections, he may not go to the polls.<sup>6</sup>

Huntington and Nelson, on the other hand, give us another definition of political participation as “activity by private citizens intended to influence governmental decision-making”.<sup>7</sup> Similar to Barnes and Kaase’s (1979) definition they also include illegal and violent actions intended to influence the government; and political action by the urban poor and peasants which is mobilised or manipulated by others into the definition of political participation<sup>8</sup>. Mobilised participants are induced to behave in ways designed to influence government, without being personally interested in, or even necessarily aware of the impact of their action on the government. The urban and rural poor in developing countries are particularly likely to engage in such mobilised participation. Three important categories provide the basis for mobilisation; traditional ties between leaders and their followers, patron-client links, and political

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<sup>5</sup> See, *supra*, footnote 26.

<sup>6</sup> Downs (1957, 275).

<sup>7</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 4).

<sup>8</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 4-7); Conge (1988, 243).

machines.<sup>9</sup> Lerner suggests that developing countries install some voting mechanism as a symbol of modern desires rather than as a functional agency of modern governance. Consequently, some modernising countries show extraordinarily high voting rates.<sup>10</sup> In Japan, results of analyses suggest that rural residence directly increase political participation. Japanese scholars explain high participation in rural areas with social pressures or social norms, which emphasise the value of participation.<sup>11</sup>

In Turkey, some studies have shown that voting participation in rural areas does not increase with the level of village modernity. This result suggests the existence of an induced participation among Turkish peasants especially in the less developed villages. In such villages, traditional leaders, such as landlords, tribal chiefs and religious leaders are usually able to secure high turnout rates and high voting percentages for the parties they support.<sup>12</sup>

A further definition of political participation, which includes incorporating behaviour outside the sphere of government and unintended political outcomes is given by Booth and Selingson (1978): political participation consists of "behaviour influencing or attempting to influence the distribution of public goods."<sup>13</sup> One important aspect of

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<sup>9</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 125-126).

<sup>10</sup> Lerner (1958, 68). For further comparative political participation results see Jackman (1987); Inkeles (1969); Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a).

<sup>11</sup> Watanuki (1977, 65-75).

<sup>12</sup> Özbudun (1975, 60).

<sup>13</sup> Booth and Selligson (1978, 6).

this definition is its emphasis on “public goods.” The term public goods is commonly used to refer to goods that “must be provided in equal quantities to all members of the community ... and the impossibility and the unefficiency of excluding others from its consumption, once it has been supplied to some members of the community”.<sup>14</sup> Although it is hard to find a perfect example of public goods, example typically given for pure public goods are national defence, police and fire protection. However, according to the writers, the provision of public goods is not limited to governments: communities (i.e., villages, and neighbourhoods) also supply these services.<sup>15</sup> In sum, all activities within a neighbourhood to provide public services also constitute political participation.

The present study focuses on a very narrow aspect of political participation and analyses some salient features of participation rates in elections from a geographical distribution perspective. In this context, some other form of political participation such as public activities, protest, violence, rational abstention are neglected in favour of voting turnouts. Voting participation is known as the most popular and frequent form of political participation because most people tend to understand political participation as going to the polls and determining the political administrators. On the other hand, the targets of the other forms of political participation also are the same. Consequently, they are intended to affect the choice of the voters at the polls. However, the attempts to change the political system from an anti-democratic form do not constitute the subject of the present study. The behaviour of rational abstention, on the other hand, is interpreted as a reflection of cultural, motivational

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<sup>14</sup> Mueller (1989, 11).

<sup>15</sup> Booth, Sellington (1978, 6).

and political preferences at the polls. Consequently, voting turnouts are the final indicator of all these forms of political participation. Finally, the voting population includes the whole of society and voting turnout rates reflect the behaviour of a whole society.

## II. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGE and POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Modernisation and political development was one of the most discussed subjects of social sciences in the 1960's. From a simplistic perspective, modernisation is overall processes of social, economic, intellectual, political, and cultural change that are associated with the movement of societies from relatively poor, rural, agrarian, conditions to relatively affluent, urban, industrial conditions.<sup>16</sup> In the days that followed, studies of "modernisation" concentrated on specific institutions and aspects of behaviour and invested more time and energy in attempts to develop better empirical indicators.<sup>17</sup> Consequently, many researches in political science have focused on political participation as an aspect of modernisation and political development. Lerner wrote that "modern society is distinctively industrial, urban, literate and participant; traditional society is non-participant."<sup>18</sup> Huntington argued, in the same way, that "the most fundamental aspect of political modernisation ... is the participation in politics beyond the village or town level by social groups throughout

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<sup>16</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 17).

<sup>17</sup> Akarlı (1975, 1).

<sup>18</sup> Lerner (1958, 50).

the society and development of new institutions, such as political parties, to organise that participation".<sup>19</sup>

### *A. The Social Mobilisation Theory*

The phrase "social mobilisation" is used to refer to the socio-economic portions of the "modernisation" process that involve urbanisation, industrialisation, commercialisation of agriculture, media and communication development, diversification of the occupational structure, and related processes.<sup>20</sup> The concept of social mobilisation implies that these processes tend to go together in certain historical situations and stages of economic development; that these situations are identifiable and recurrent, in their essentials, from one country to another, and that they are relevant for politics.<sup>21</sup>

As a nation develops economically three major changes occur;

- a) The shape of its social stratification structure is substantially altered, which engenders greater demand for trained labour, a growth of opportunities for social mobility, and expanded facilities for formal education. Consequently, the pyramidal class structure associated with peasant and peasant worker society changes to a more diamond-shaped structure. The middle class expands and eventually becomes the majority class.
- b) Larger numbers of citizens are concentrated in urban areas. Youths leave the farms and small towns in search of education or better-paid jobs in the

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<sup>19</sup> Huntington (1968, 36).

cities. Industry expands where there is population concentration, and availability of jobs attracts yet more people.

- c) The density and complexity of economic and secondary organisations increases. Differentiation and specialisation occur. Social life becomes more organised; work groups, leisure groups and special task groups expand in number.<sup>22</sup>

These social changes imply political changes. Social mobilisation brings with it an expansion of a politically relevant class including a greater proportion of the population who find themselves in life situations which lead to increased political information, political awareness, a sense of personal efficacy and other relevant attitudes.

The politically changing needs of these people bring about a change in the quality of politics. Their new demands for housing and employment, for social security and medical care and their need of instruction for themselves and education for their children push them in politics and determine their new political attitudes.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, the same effects of social mobilisation may be observed in countries with poor resources or investment policies with rapid population growth and economic inequality. Growing urban masses that having failed to find available

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<sup>20</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 17); Deutch (1966, 205).

<sup>21</sup> Deutch (1966, 205-206).

<sup>22</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a, 362-363).

<sup>23</sup> Deutch, (1966, 211-212).

jobs could be expected to become increasingly isolated and defending their own demands. In such cases, economically failed masses are expected to participate in political affairs for shaping and transforming political practices and institutions.<sup>24</sup>

In the light of the previous discussions, it is demonstrated that the major hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory are based on the passage from agrarian to industrial conditions. While more parochial ties of family, clan, loyalty, and ethnic or religious groups will lose their importance, political activities will be based on class and sectoral interests, and the growing importance of the middle class in politics will increase and overwhelm traditionally established elite interests.

When class and sectoral interests become the major determinants of political activity, socio-economic characteristics of an individual such as social status, education, organisational involvement strongly affect the likelihood of his engagement in various types of political activities.

In sum, according to the social mobilisation theory, there is a strong relationship between aggregate socio-economic measures such as per capita income, and level of education on the one hand, and aggregate measures of political participation such as voting turnout, on the other.<sup>25</sup> The present study aims at testing the latter hypothesis in the conditions of post-1980 Turkey.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Deutch, (1966, 211-212); Huntington, Nelson (1976, 19).

<sup>25</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969b, 361); Nelson (1987, 109-110).

<sup>26</sup> Another important theory on political participation and turnout is the “*rational model*”, which concentrates on the rationality of voting behaviour. In that theory, citizens preferences of voting for one candidate or another, or abstaining from voting,

### ***B. Determinants of Political Participation***

Most studies of political participation concentrate on the aspects of social mobilisation which lead individuals to political activity. The personal and social factors which have been correlated the most with mass political participation since the beginning of such studies are; urbanisation, socio-economic status, age group, sex, marital status, communication and organisational involvement.

**a) *Urbanisation;*** Urbanisation is one of the most important results of social mobilisation: a close relationship between rural-urban migration and urbanisation process, and increase in political participation is often underlined by many scholars.<sup>27</sup>

It has been argued that migration to the city tends to expand the range of needs, which in turn, becomes a specific demand from government.<sup>28</sup> Complex social and political mechanisms and easier access to information are some other causes of increased political awareness of urban populations.<sup>29</sup> Some scholars argue conversely that urbanisation weakens the ties between the individual and the community, and

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are transformed into *utilities* for outcomes. The individual prefers outcomes with a higher utility to those with a lower utility and chooses actions which receive more highly valued outcomes. There are costs of voting which affect *utilities*. These costs include the costs of obtaining information, processing it, and deciding what to do and direct costs of registering and going to the polls. *See* Aldrich (1976, 714); Aldrich (1993, 247); Riker, Ordeshook (1968, 25).

<sup>27</sup> Milbrath (1965, 211-212); Huntington (1968, 5).

<sup>28</sup> Cornelius (1974, 1126).

<sup>29</sup> Lipset (1963, 196-198).

decreases citizen participation in local politics.<sup>30</sup> Others conciliate the two opposing arguments; “urbanisation is increasing national participation and decreasing local participation”<sup>31</sup>. That is, urban people are aware of macro-political events because of their economic, political and cultural ties with a larger community, and lose their other interests in local problems. In the rural areas, on the other hand, close economic relations decrease the interest in macro-political problems. Consequently, it is expected that urban people participate more in general elections, but less in local elections than rural people.

*b) Socio-economic Status;* It is often argued by the followers of the social mobilisation theory that the socio-economic development of a society leads to a linear increase in the status level of that society<sup>32</sup>. The socio-economic status is associated with literacy, education level, income and occupation. Thus, the educated, wealthy and occupationally skilled citizen participates in political life at a greater rate than the uneducated, poor and occupationally unskilled ones. Scholars explain the high correlation between socio-economic status and political participation with the following factors: sense of citizen duty, information about politics, sense of political efficacy, attentiveness to political matters, and a perceived stake in political outcomes.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Dahl (1961, 282-301).

<sup>31</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a, 366-367).

<sup>32</sup> Huntington, Nelson (1976, 80); Nie, Powell, Prewitt, (1969a, 365).

<sup>33</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a, 372).

**c) Age Group;** In most of the studies on the determinants of political participation, lower participation rates are observed among young and old people than those in their middle years, are observed.<sup>34</sup> Another feature of the life cycle and political participation is that younger citizens who are long-term community residents are more active than those who have newly migrated to the community, and older citizens who remain in the active work force are more active politically than those who are retired.<sup>35</sup> A further explanation of the relationship between age and politics centres on the concept of “*political generation.*” A political generation may be defined as an age group that comes of voting age at the same time. These persons are exposed to certain politically relevant and conditioning experiences at the same age. Certain common experiences tend to mould how people perceive politics, political leaders, and political parties and identical political behaviours have been observed among the same political generation.<sup>36</sup>

**d) Gender and Marital Status;** In some studies, gender and marital status appears as a variable influencing political participation<sup>37</sup>. It is argued that men more than women and married persons more than single persons participate in politics. Moreover, in some traditionalist areas, docile wives vote as their husbands do.<sup>38</sup> In such cases, men determine whether the women will vote. Especially, low rates of female participation are expected in under-developed countries or regions.

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<sup>34</sup> Lipset (1963, 187); Inkeles (1969, 1132); Nie, Verba, Kim (1974, 319).

<sup>35</sup> Nie, Verba, Kim (1974, 339).

<sup>36</sup> La Palombara (1974, 445-447).

<sup>37</sup> Özbudun (1976); Kalaycıoğlu (1983); Kavanagh (1987); Lipset (1963)

<sup>38</sup> La Palombara (1974, 444-445).

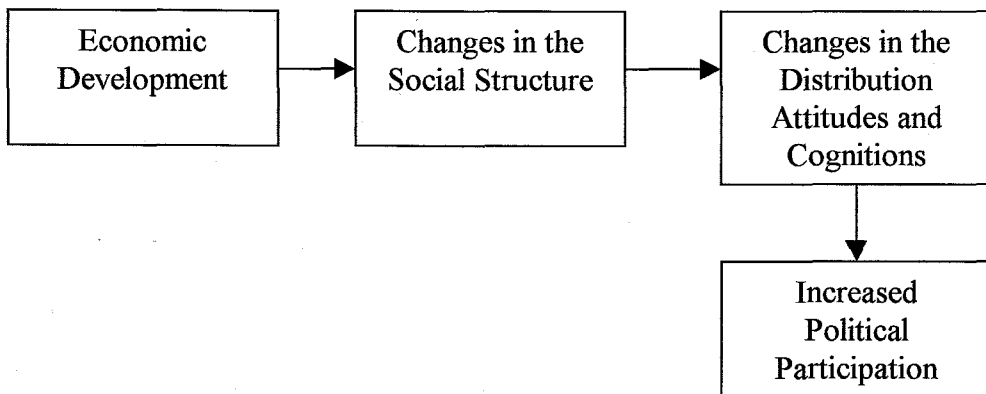
*e) Communication;* Access to information is another important determinant of political participation. People are aware of political affairs as much as they get available information of them. This may be defined as an input-output mechanism. The most efficient way to get information on politics is communication. Newspapers, radio and TV networks are some means, which give access to information. On the other hand, some other communicative means may also affect the political awareness. The number of telephone calls and mail correspondence are some other indicators, which define the closeness of an individual to the other components of the society.

*f) Organisational Involvement;* Results of the studies on political participation suggest that the strongest determinant of participation is organisational involvement.<sup>39</sup> An organisation is a strong body which can mobilise its members toward political goals, or more importantly, organisations provide inducements to their members for sociability which, in turn, provide political awareness and activity.

The above discussion on theoretically relevant set of variables for the analysis of participation has highlighted the main tenets of a model of modernisation from a political participation framework. The objective below is to offer a simple model of how modernisation and political participation relate to each other.

### III. A MODEL OF SOCIAL MOBILISATION AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

It is argued that while nation specific differences do exist, political participation typically increases as a nation develops economically. The general framework of the model suggested by some scholars is as below<sup>40</sup>;



Accordingly, a nation follows the above-illustrated steps during the process of modernisation, and therefore, the socio-economic patterns affect the political conscience. The variables influencing political participation in an economically developing nation are summarised in Table 1 in the light of the explanations given on the determinants of political participation above. The above model suggested by scholars will be the starting-point of this study. Determinants of political participation in Turkey will accordingly be specified with reference to these definitions, as well as relating them to specific studies of Turkish scholars referred to in this study and the considerations for the post-1980 Turkey.

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<sup>39</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a, 366).

<sup>40</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a, 372).

TABLE 1  
Social Characteristics Correlated  
With Voting Turnout

Indicator	High Turnout	Low Turnout
a) Residence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• urban area</li> <li>• old residents</li> <li>• high population density</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• rural area</li> <li>• newcomers</li> <li>• low population density</li> </ul>
b) Socio-economic status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• high income</li> <li>• high education</li> <li>• literate</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• low income</li> <li>• low education</li> <li>• illiterate</li> </ul>
c) Occupational Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• businessmen</li> <li>• government employees</li> <li>• commercial farmers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• unskilled workers</li> <li>• service workers</li> <li>• peasants</li> </ul>
d) Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• men</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• women</li> </ul>
e) Marital Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• married</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• single</li> </ul>
f) Life Cycle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• middle aged (35-55)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• young adults (under 35)</li> <li>• older (over 55)</li> </ul>
g) Organisational Involvement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• members of organisations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• independent people</li> </ul>
h) Access to information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• radio-TV listeners</li> <li>• newspaper readers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• not radio-TV listeners</li> <li>• not newspaper readers</li> </ul>

**Source:** Kavanagh (1983, 181); Lipset (1963, 189).

#### IV. The Method of the Study

The major target of the present research is to test the expectations of the “social mobilisation theory” in a socio-economically developing nation such as Turkey in the particular post-1980 conditions.

The question of “how does socio-economic mobilisation after 1980 affect the political participation in Turkey?” requires a macro level analysis of the political participation and socio-economic determinants on a national scale. There are three main methods applied to problems of macro-politics; case study, aggregate data and survey research.

A case study involves intensive study of a single participant over an extended period<sup>41</sup>. Case studies have obvious advantages in depth and appreciation of dynamic sequences. A case study can certainly be used to develop research hypotheses to be examined in later studies.<sup>42</sup> In the case of the present research, the aim is to test a well-established hypothesis and draw general conclusions about Turkey over a period of time. In that context, the study will concentrate on provincial data. Consequently, a case study is not supposed to be the main method of the present research.

Among the two other methods, the former is interested in gathering and analysing aggregate unit data on nation-states. It refers generally to information available for a social unit as a whole but not for its subparts, while the latter involves “obtaining information directly from a group of individuals” and, therefore, is more available to analyses of individual behaviours and attitudes.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> As an example of case study on political participation see Kili (1978).

<sup>42</sup> Dane (1990, 113-114).

<sup>43</sup> Dane (1990, 120); Verba (1969, 58-59).

With a survey, a researcher gets closer to the “real” hypothetical variables. Gathering and analysing raw data is a more flexible procedure than the others. It includes interviews or questionnaires, and provides opportunities to collect the data that more directly match the hypotheses.

Two characteristics, however, limit the usefulness of survey studies for macro-political analysis; they focus on the individual as the unit of analysis and they do not deal explicitly with variations in the social context, and omit the social and institutional context. Moreover, there may be variations along important contextual dimensions, but the survey study remains often non-contextual because these variations are ignored. Even when studies are carried out in different states, regions, cities, districts and the like, these contextual differences have rarely been considered explicitly within the analysis.<sup>44</sup> Consequently, patterns of political participation are explained largely as a function of individual attitudes and status characteristics.

Aggregate data, on the other hand, may provide better operational definitions of complex and multi-contextual concepts. Relatively systematic data are gathered from a large number of units. Thus, the risk of choosing an unavailable sample is suppressed. An additional attraction of this approach is that the data are on the level of nation-state and, therefore, quite appropriate for macro-generalisation. Finally, the aggregate data approach is cheaper than survey studies because already existing records and data are used.

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<sup>44</sup> Verba (1969, 60-62).

On the other hand, this approach entails a number of disadvantages.<sup>45</sup> The researcher is limited to the data made available through various governmental agencies, which usually means that one does not have attitudinal measures. However, in this research, the aggregate data approach is chosen, because the hypotheses deal with socio-economic groups and indicators of development, not with individuals' attitudes and relations with each other. The variables are generalised and existing data are usually available for these variables. Finally, the problems of that research show a multi-contextual dimension. To carry on a survey including regional and cultural differences would present difficulties of choosing an available sample and reaching it.

A further disadvantage, and perhaps the most important in such studies, is the mistake called "ecological fallacy" One does not penetrate into the social unit to deal with internal variations or the internal structure. Indeed, the use of measures on the level of the unit does not allow one validly to make statements about the relations among subparts of the unit without "ecological fallacy."<sup>46</sup> Ecological fallacy and reductionism are the most important obstacles that may trip up a study, which follows the aggregate data approach. "Ecological fallacy" refers to "a mismatch between units of analysis and the research hypothesis" and "reductionism" refers to "the logical fallacy of drawing conclusions about individuals' behaviours from units of analysis that do not deal with individuals."<sup>47</sup> These incorrect inferences about individual behaviour from aggregate data result in discrepancies, called "aggregation bias," between the expected values of parameter estimates at the individual and aggregate

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<sup>45</sup> Verba (1969, 58-59).

<sup>46</sup> Robinson (1950, 351-357); *see* Langbein, Lichtman (1986).

<sup>47</sup> Dane (1990, 185-186).

level of analysis.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, in a more recent work, some scholars argued that it is possible to use data from the other levels when these observations contain some information that are relevant to evaluating implications of the tested theory. Thus, if the relevant theory has implications at many levels of analysis, the researcher is allowed to use data from all these levels in order to provide some information.<sup>49</sup>

One of the most popular ways used by scholars for escaping aggregation bias is using aggregate level analysis to explore the behaviour of groups themselves, rather than the individuals comprising the groups.<sup>50</sup> For example, this research may study the political participation patterns of provinces with differing levels of industrialisation.

On the other hand, scholars have evaluated a few more solutions to the general problem of drawing conclusions about individual and group behaviour from aggregate data. One of the most useful techniques among these solutions is “ecological regression.” According to this technique, grouping procedures, which alter specification error in micro-models, obviously introduce aggregation bias in all measures of association and influence. However, grouping procedures affecting relative variation alone, introduce aggregation bias only in standardised measures, such as the correlation coefficient and the beta weight. Thus, one means of minimising aggregation bias is to use an unstandardised regression coefficient to infer individual level relations from group level data. To use an aggregate level regression coefficient as a surrogate for its individual level counterpart is to employ the technique termed

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<sup>48</sup> Langbein, Lichtman (1986, 10).

<sup>49</sup> King, Keohane, Verba (1994, 30-31).

<sup>50</sup> Langbein, Lichtman (1986, 10).

“ecological regression” .To use these regression estimates as a means of inferring the value of individual level correlations is to employ the technique termed “ecological correlation”<sup>51</sup> .

Ecological regression or correlation can be used with variables categorical at the individual level which assume interval level values once data are aggregated. For categorical individual level variables, ecological regression estimates individual level transition possibilities - the probability that individuals falling into a particular category of an independent variable will also fall into a particular category of the dependent variable. The technique for computing transition probabilities applies both to independent variables which are either dichotomies or polytomies, and to either bivariate and multivariate equations.<sup>52</sup>

To illustrate how transition probabilities are computed for dichotomous independent variables, a model is given below to determine, from provincial data, the probability of an illiterate and literate having gone to the polls.<sup>53</sup>

Table 2 labels the hypothetical cell and marginal frequencies for a possible relation between literacy and voting behaviour within a single province. The marginal frequencies are the number of individuals within each category of the independent and the dependent variable. The cell frequencies are the number of individuals within each category of the independent variable falling into each category of the dependent variable. When both cell and marginal frequencies are known the appropriate

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<sup>51</sup> Langbein, Lichtman (1986, 50-51).

<sup>52</sup> Langbein, Lichtman (1986, 52-53).

<sup>53</sup> For specific examples *see* Langbein, Lichtman (1986, 52-60).

proportions can easily be computed. Without data on individuals, however, the cell frequencies are unknown and must be estimated from the marginal frequencies, which are known for a large number of units.

TABLE 2

## Marginal and Cell Frequencies in Ecological Regression

		Literacy		
		Illiterate	Literate	
Turnout	Vote	a	b	a+b
	Do not vote	c	d	c+d
		a+c	b+d	N

Let ;

$Y = (a+b) / N =$  proportion of actual voters in each province (known);

$X = (a+c) / N =$  proportion of illiterates in each province (known);

$m = a / (a+c) =$  proportion of illiterates who voted (unknown);

$n = b / (b+d) =$  proportion of literates who voted (unknown).

If  $m$ , the proportion of illiterates who have gone to the polls, and  $n$ , the proportion of literates who have gone to the polls, were both constant from province to province, then  $Y$ , the proportion of voting turnout in each province would be a perfect linear function of  $X$ ,  $m$  and  $n$  according to the following equation ;

$$Y = n + (m-n) X$$

If a greater proportion of illiterates than literates has gone to the polls ( $m-n$  is positive), then the overall proportion of voting turnout in a particular province would increase as the proportion of illiterates increases. If a smaller proportion of illiterates than literates has gone to the polls ( $m-n$  is negative), then the overall proportion of voting turnout in a particular province would decrease as the proportion of illiterates increases.

The equation used to estimate values of  $Y$  is obviously identical in form to the linear regression equation  $Y = a + bX$ , where  $a = n$  and  $b = m-n$ . Thus, by regressing  $Y$  on  $X$ , the proportion of illiterates and literates having gone to the polls can be determined.

In this part, some methods, which will be used in the next parts, are discussed. It is seen that the "ecological regression" model may fit the purposes of the present research and may be used besides the other methods such as multivariate regression analysis.

## **CHAPTER II : SOCIAL, ECONOMICAL AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF TURKEY**

### **I. PATTERNS OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN PRE-1980 TURKEY**

Among the above-mentioned research on political participation in Turkey, the writings of two scholars, that of Özbudun and Kalaycıoğlu, are more relevant to the rest of this study because of their contents.<sup>54</sup> Both scholars studied the impacts of socio-economic development on political participation in Turkey, while their approaches were different from each other's. Özbudun concentrates on the elections of 1961, 1965 and 1969; and uses aggregate data. The work of Kalaycıoğlu, on the other hand, is a survey applied in pre-1980 conditions and makes comparisons with the results obtained from Kenya and S. Korea. The methods, models, and indicators used by the writers are quite different. The results reported by Özbudun are more convenient for this study because of identical level of analysis. However, the work of Kalaycıoğlu also is summarised in this chapter because of its important contents and the tested hypotheses. The present study aims at drawing some contributions from this work also.

The findings of the studies of Özbudun and Kalaycıoğlu are similar. The indicators such as urbanisation and educational level, which describe socio-economic development, have negative effects on political participation in both studies. The

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<sup>54</sup> see, *infra*, p: 1.

variables “per capita income” and “developmental indicators” also have negative effects in Özbudun’s results. Moreover, Özbudun reports that agricultural works have a positive effect, whereas manufacturing has a negative effect on political participation. The most important conclusion of the work of Özbudun is that the relationship between socio-economic development and voting participation in pre-1980 Turkey is negatively correlated.<sup>55</sup> The least developed regions showed the highest rates of participation.<sup>56</sup> That conclusion may be explained, in some way, by the mobilised participation in that stage of modernisation. The findings of Özbudun in a specific research also support this point of view.<sup>57</sup> On the other hand, it is observed that the negative relationship between developmental indicators and voting participation weakened in the 1970’s.<sup>58</sup> However, the writer abstains from relating the results directly to mobilised voting. The point to underline is that the findings of the writer do not support the hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory. Furthermore, Table 3 summarises the determinants and indicators used by the writers; Table 4 and 5 collects the results of these researches.

The methods, which are followed by the writers, determined the characteristics of the data that they used in their model. It is observed that Özbudun lacks some data which are directly related to the personal features, such as gender and age groups. Kalaycıoğlu, on the other hand, did not use some data which may determine the social position of the voters. Place of birth is one of the most important data which may

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<sup>55</sup> Özbudun (1976, 218).

<sup>56</sup> For a similar conclusion; Tachau, Good (1973, 561).

<sup>57</sup> Özbudun, Tachau (1975, 473-474).

<sup>58</sup> Özbudun, Tachau (1975, 474).

determine the position of the voter in the society. Population density also may give some information on the influence of the whole society on the individual voter. In the light of the explanations on method in the previous chapter and the works of the writers, the present study will include in the analysis some data, which define personal and social characteristics of the voters.

TABLE 3  
Determinants and Indicators of  
Political Participation

Indicator	Özbudun (1976)	Kalaycıoğlu (1983)
<b>Unit of analysis</b>	province	individual
a) Residence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• urbanisation</li> <li>• newcomers</li> <li>• population density</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• urbanisation</li> </ul>
b) Socio-economic status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• per capita income</li> <li>• education</li> <li>• literacy</li> <li>• per capita physicians</li> <li>• social security</li> <li>• native language</li> <li>• SPO development index</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• income</li> <li>• education</li> </ul>
c) Occupational Group	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• agricultural population</li> <li>• males in manufacturing industry</li> <li>• location quotient in manufacture</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• professional status</li> </ul>
d) Gender		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• sex</li> </ul>
e) Life Cycle		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• age groups</li> </ul>
f) Organizational Involvement		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• organizational activity</li> </ul>
g) Access to information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mass-media exposure</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mass-media exposure</li> <li>• political knowledge</li> </ul>
h) Political motivation		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• political efficacy</li> <li>• political interest</li> </ul>

TABLE 4  
Correlation Coefficients between Voting Participation  
And Provincial Characteristics in Özbudun (1976)

<i>Provincial</i> <i>Characteristics</i>	<i>1961</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1969</i>
Urbanisation	0.035	-0.041	-0.301
Literacy	0.284	-0.057	-0.557
Population density	-0.216	-1.154	-0.361
People born out of province	0.128	0.164	-0.169
Location quotient in manufacture	-0.023	-0.077	-0.412
No. of people Per physician	-0.226	-0.065	0.419
People in agriculture	-0.004	0.029	0.320
Males in manuf.	0.009	-0.082	-0.452
Voters under S.Sec.	-0.065	0.034	-0.231
Primary school grad.	0.329	-0.069	-0.549
Secondary school gr.	-0.089	-0.063	-0.366
Per capita income	0.029	0.016	-0.342
Value added per pers.	-0.212	-0.052	-0.310
SPO Dev. Ind. 1963	0.050	-0.019	-0.403
SPO Dev. Ind. 1965	0.041	-0.008	-0.375
SPO Dev. Ind. 1967	0.050	-0.003	-0.380
SPO Dev. Rate 63-67	-0.034	0.136	0.194
Rate of Urbanisation	-0.034	0.053	0.185
Turkish as native language	0.258	-0.088	-0.631
Media Ind.	-0.128	-0.029	-0.147

Source : Özbudun (1976, 130).

TABLE 5  
Effects of Independent Variables on  
Voting Turnout in Kalaycıođlu (1983)

<i>Indicator</i>	<i><math>\beta</math> values</i>	<i>Pearson</i>
		<i>Corr. Coef.</i>
Gender	0.09	0.08
Age Group	0.50	0.52
Urban Life	-0.08	-0.21
Education	-0.05	0.22
Professional Status	0.05	-0.14
SES	0.03	0.28
Mass-Media Exposure	0.04	-0.11
Organizational Activity	0.16	0.19
Political Efficacy	0.01	-0.01
Political Interest	0.07	-0.05
Political Knowledge	0.06	0.04

Source : Kalaycıođlu (1983).

## II. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

While some unalienable elements of the systems applied in elections, such as general, equal, secret vote and open count, are largely recognised; the electoral and political systems differ from one country to another according to the political, social, economic and cultural structure. As a part of that structure, the approach of the political and constitutional system of one country to the regulations relating elections and political institutions determines the limits and the quality of political participation in that country. In that context, an overview of the period 1980-1983, when the order of political life in Turkey after 1980 was established, would be useful for understanding the quality of political participation in post-1980 Turkey.

### A. *Economic and Political Process After 1980*

The military coup of September 12, 1980 marks a definite turning point in the history of the democracy in Turkey. On that date, the Armed Forces took over the governance under the command of the Chiefs of Staff, which became the National Security Council (NSC), and assumed all legislative and executive powers<sup>59</sup>. According to General Evren, the Chief of Staff who became the Head of the State, the military take-over was carried out “... to restore the authority of the government and to assure the existence of the state and eliminate the obstacles which prevented the

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<sup>59</sup> A constitutionally established NSC consisting of military and civilian members already existed before 1980. However, its composition and powers were drastically different from this one. For the composition and powers of the old NSC, *see* Tanilli (1990, 469-475).

democratic system from proper functioning”.<sup>60</sup> Following the military coup, NSC abolished the Constitution and all laws, and began to govern by declarations and decrees.<sup>61</sup> The old Constitution and laws were still in force, however the declarations and decrees of NSC, published in Official Gazette, were superior to them.

Furthermore, the activities of DISK (Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu - the Revolutionary Workers Trade Unions Confederation) as well as MISK (Milliyetçi İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu - the Nationalist Workers Trade Unions Confederation) and all political parties were suspended and their leaders and activists were arrested by the military government.

Bülent Ulusu, an ex-Admiral and Turkish ambassador to Rome, was appointed Prime Minister and formed a cabinet consisting chiefly of civilians. The economic policy of the new government kept the measures taken under the ex-Demirel government. The economic policy was executed by Minister of State Turgut Özal, who was the head of the State Planning Organization under Demirel's minority government and remembered as the designer of so-called 24 January Decisions which had caused an open campaign of strikes by DISK. Some of the chief measures long advocated by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and taken by the new government were the slowing of the economic growth rate, the reorganisation of the deficit, the devaluation of the currency to stimulate exports, and the development of a better foreign investment policy.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Karpat (1981, 5).

<sup>61</sup> Law relating Constitutional Order, *Official Gazette*, 28 October 1980, no: 17145.

<sup>62</sup> Karpat (1981, 6).

The debate between the theories of development and their reflections on Turkey is no concern of the present research. However, the above-mentioned measures were made to meet the preconditions of the IMF for granting to Turkey much needed hard currency credits. They also marked a new economical program which supported rapid industrialisation, capital accumulation, exportation and foreign investment, but which generated high inflation, prolonged devaluation, loss of purchasing power, and unemployment. The political requirements of these economical measures resulted in a controlled society and powerful government so that the economic and political demands of the people were kept at minimum as much as possible. The Constitution of 1961, even amended in 1971, did not fit the requirements of such an economic and social system. Thus, the main objective of this new political order was to limit the demands of the people. In other words, new legislators sought an anti-liberal constitution. In that way, the new Constitution prepared by a Commission and first approved by the Advisory Assembly<sup>63</sup>, finally altered by the NSC, was adopted in 1982 by a referendum.

The Constitution of 1982 can be considered as an antithesis of the previous one by placing a premium on the preservation of the state and order to the disadvantage of a pluralistic society.<sup>64</sup>

The new Constitution was approved by 91.4 % of the voters. However, it is hard to argue that it was the free choice of the people. First, people were afraid of the political future of the country because they did not know what the alternative of the

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<sup>63</sup> Law relating Founder Assembly, *Official Gazette*, 30 January 1981, no: 17386.

<sup>64</sup> Abadan-Unat (1989, 253); Tanör (1985); Parla (1993, 78).

new Constitution was. Moreover, people could not get enough information on the content of the Constitution. Propaganda against the Constitution was explicitly forbidden.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps, the result could be interpreted as people giving access to multi-party political life under any conditions.

It is often speculated that the referendums organised under extra-ordinary regimes and conditions have been used as a means of legitimacy. Thus, the governments provoked the people to participate in referendums and high approval votes have been observed in such referendums.<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand, it is a necessity to submit to the popular vote a new Constitution prepared by non-elected commissions. In Turkey, two Constitutions, those of 1961 and 1982, were submitted to popular vote. In 1961, the rate of actual votes was 81 percent and the rate of the approval votes was 61.7 percent. In 1982, on the other hand, the rate of actual votes was 91.27 percent, approximately 10 percent higher than 1961, and the rate of the approval votes was 91.37 percent. This extra-ordinary high rate of approval votes shows a motivated and mobilized participation in the 1982 referendum. When the approval or non-approval votes in the 1982 referendum are regressed separately on the party votes in the 1983 election, it is observed that there is no significant relationship. That is people approved the new Constitution without a political or ideological reference. This is another indicator of the mobilized voting behaviour in the 1982 referendum.

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<sup>65</sup> Işıklı (1990, 3).

<sup>66</sup> Parla (1993, 193).

## ***B. Legislation on Political Participation***

Article 67 of the 1982 Constitution is relevant to the right to vote, to be eligible, and to exercise political activities. Articles 68 and 69, on the other hand, established the clauses to the relevant political parties. All these above mentioned Articles were amended in 1995.<sup>68</sup> The legislature relevant to these laws are Political Parties Law and Electoral Law<sup>69</sup>, but these laws have been amended several times, usually before each election.

According to Article 67 of the 1982 Constitution, all Turkish citizens who had attained the age of twenty-one would be entitled to vote. This article was amended in 1989 to “all Turkish citizens who attained the age of twenty” are entitled to vote. Finally, the amendment of 1995 entitled “all Turkish citizens who have attained eighteen” to vote. As a result, Turkish citizens aged twenty-one and above at the date of the elections, voted in the 1982 and 1987 referendums, the 1983 and 1987 general elections, and the 1984 local elections; those aged twenty and over voted in the 1989 and 1994 local elections and 1991 general elections; and those aged eighteen and over voted in the 1995 general elections.

A regulation for Turkish citizens living abroad, was adopted in 1987 so that these citizens could vote in the 1987 referendum and the elections of 1987, 1989, 1994 and 1995, their votes being aggregated with the votes of the province where they had been registered.

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<sup>68</sup> *Official Gazette* , 26 Juin 1995, no: 22355.

<sup>69</sup> *Official Gazette* , 10 January 1983, no: 19464.

According to the same Article of the Constitution those doing military service as non-commissioned officers and private soldiers, military school students and those under arrest or detained in prisons could not vote.

Articles 68 and 69, however, determine the principles applied to political parties and indirectly the quality of political participation in Turkey. According to Article 68 / 3, no political parties may be in conflict with the principles of national unity, territorial integrity of the state, human rights, national sovereignty, and the democratic and secular character of the Republic. Parties oriented to class and group sovereignty and any kind of dictatorship cannot be founded. This item is supported by Article 69/1 which limits the activities of political parties with the clauses of Article 14 which prohibits the activities against indivisible territorial and national unity, the existence of the Turkish state and Republic, fundamental rights and freedoms, and is oriented to the sovereignty of a person, group or class over the others; as well as separation of language, race, religion or sect, and establishment of a state over such principles. Thus communist parties, parties oriented to ethnic separatism, religious distinctions, and racial differences are not allowed to exist. While under the amendments of 1995, Article 69 / 1 has been abolished, the contents of Article 68 / 3 <sup>70</sup> and 14 have not been altered.

According to Article 68/6, on the other hand, political parties are not allowed to establish organisations abroad, auxiliary branches for youth, women, and the like. Similarly the founding of extra-party organisations and foundations such as clubs, associations, labour unions, co-operatives, occupational and professional associations

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<sup>70</sup> Article 68 / 4 after the amendments.

are forbidden. The Law relating to Trade Unions<sup>71</sup>, in the same way, prohibits working interest groups to engage in politics.

This legislation reflects the most effective but not verbalised target of NSC policy, which was “depolitization” on a broad scale. These not only hinder interest articulation on behalf of the working class and rank and file, but also prevent social justice oriented political parties from enlarging their rank and file membership. Political parties are incapable of articulating and aggregating all interests which require a certain level of organisational capability.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Temporary Article 4 of the Constitution of 1982 prohibited former party leaders, managers, and deputies from participating in active politics.<sup>73</sup>

The Constitution of 1982 took the choice in favour of an authoritarian political system against a participatory democracy. Although political participation does appear to have been discouraged, on the contrary by adopting the principle of compulsory voting<sup>74</sup>, it had taken several measures for political participation to become instrumental. In the amendments of 1995, that item was abolished, and a way to a pluralistic society was opened.

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<sup>71</sup> *Official Gazette*, 7 April 1983, no: 18040.

<sup>72</sup> Abadan-Unat (1989, 19-21).

<sup>73</sup> That prohibition was abolished by popular vote in the referendum of 6 September 1987.

<sup>74</sup> Temporary Article 16 of the 1982 Constitution.

# CHAPTER I I I: PARTICIPATION IN TURKISH ELECTIONS

## I. ELECTIONS IN TURKEY AFTER 1980

In most formulations of democracy, widespread participation by the population in influencing important political decisions is a recurring feature; in definitions of a liberal and representative democracy, for example, the designation and control of the leaders by the electorate is the key element.<sup>75</sup> Beside a system of multi-parties and competition between the team leaders, an extensive participation and awareness of people result in a continuing responsiveness of the government to the preferences of its citizens and pressure groups which are the organized forms of the citizens interests.<sup>76</sup>

In spite of the fact that there are a number of methods of direct or indirect participation of the people to the affairs of government in different countries, for example "recall" in the U.S., or the proposal of constitutional amendments in Switzerland, the most known and, perhaps the minimum obligation of a democracy is the election. However, the realization of elections does not mean that there is a democracy in that country. In Turkey, also, the people build the political system upon the election of their representatives. Beside this, in the case of a lack of qualifying

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<sup>75</sup> Kavanagh (1983, 173).

<sup>76</sup> Dahl (1971).

votes, the President of the Republic may submit the proposals of constitutional amendments to the popular vote.<sup>77</sup>

According to the 1982 Constitution, there are two ways of popular election. The first is the election of representatives, and the second is the municipal elections. Both of them are repeated every five years. The former may be done earlier and unoccupied seats may be filled by a by-election<sup>78</sup>. However, the municipal elections, where the Mayors, the members of provincial councils, headmen (muhtar) and the members of the councils of a village or a quarter are elected, have to be organized every five years<sup>79</sup>.

The elections and referendums which were organized after 1980, are as listed below<sup>80</sup>;

November 7, 1982	Referendum on the Constitution of the Republic of Turkey
November 6, 1983	Election for Members of the House of Representatives
March 25, 1984	Elections of Local Administrations
September 6, 1987	Referendum on the temporary item No 4 of the Constitution
November 29, 1987	Election for Members of the House of Representatives
March 26, 1989	Elections of Local Administrations
October 20, 1991	Election for Members of the House of Representatives
March 27, 1994	Elections of Local Administrations
December 24, 1995	Election for Members of the House of Representatives

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<sup>77</sup> Constitution, Article 175.

<sup>78</sup> Constitution, Article 78.

<sup>79</sup> Constitution, Article 127.

<sup>80</sup> By-elections and partial elections are not included.

## II. STABILITY OF VOTES

The method of analysis outlined below makes it possible to measure voting stability.<sup>81</sup> The degrees of stability have been classified as "absolute" and "relative." "Absolute stability" as defined in this analysis, is the ratio between the total number of provinces where an approximately equal rate of participation has been observed in two elections across provinces. "Relative stability" on the other hand, is defined as the ratio between the total numbers of provinces where a maximum 5 percent fluctuation in the rates of participation have been observed in two elections and the total number of provinces. In Figure 3, the columns represent the rates of actual votes in the first election and the rows represent the rates of actual votes in the second election. As a result, the diagonal shows the numbers of provinces where no fluctuation in the rates of actual votes is observed between the two elections. Thus, "absolute stability" is the percentage of the total numbers in the squares on the diagonal within the total number of provinces. "Relative stability", therefore, is the percentage of the numbers in the squares on the diagonal plus the total number of provinces represented by the numbers immediately to the right and to the left of them within the total number of provinces represented in the graph.

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<sup>81</sup> Galli, Prandi (1970, 49).

**Figure 3 - 1 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1984 and 1989 Municipal Elections**

		<b>1989</b>									
		50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
<b>1984</b>	50-55%										
	55-60%										
	60-65%										
	65-70%										
	70-75%										
	75-80%										
	80-85%						1				
	85-90%				1	1	13	5	1		
	90-95%						1	19	12	1	
	95-100%								11	1	

N = 67

**Figure 3 - 2 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1989 and 1994 Municipal Elections**

		<b>1994</b>									
		50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
<b>1989</b>	50-55%										
	55-60%										
	60-65%										
	65-70%								1		
	70-75%								1		
	75-80%						1	1	5	6	
	80-85%							1	4	18	5
	85-90%								1	7	14
	90-95%									1	1
	95-100%										

N = 67

**Figure 3 - 3 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1982 and 1987 Referendums**

**1987**

**1982**

	50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
50-55%										
55-60%										
60-65%										
65-70%										
70-75%										
75-80%										
80-85%									1	
85-90%								1	15	2
90-95%									18	26
95-100%									1	3

N = 67

**Figure 3 - 4 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1983 and 1987 General Elections**

**1987**

**1983**

	50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
50-55%										
55-60%										
60-65%										
65-70%										
70-75%										
75-80%										
80-85%									2	
85-90%								5	9	
90-95%								1	26	6
95-100%										18

N = 67

**Figure 3 - 5 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1987 and 1991 General Elections**

**1991**

**1987**

	50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
50-55%										
55-60%										
60-65%										
65-70%										
70-75%										
75-80%										
80-85%										
85-90%					1	5				
90-95%						8	21	5	4	
95-100%						1		14	8	

N = 67

**Figure 3 - 6 Stability of the actual votes  
between the 1991 and 1995 General Elections**

**1995**

**1991**

	50-55%	55-60%	60-65%	65-70%	70-75%	75-80%	80-85%	85-90%	90-95%	95-100%
50-55%										
55-60%										
60-65%										
65-70%										
70-75%					1	1	1			
75-80%					1	5	6			
80-85%						4	16	5		
85-90%							3	14	4	
90-95%							1	6	6	
95-100%										

N = 74

**TABLE 7**  
**Stability Measures Across Elections**  
**in the Post-1980 Period**

		<u>Absolutely</u> <u>stable</u>	<u>Relatively</u> <u>stable</u>	<u>Totally</u> <u>unstable</u>	<u>Total</u>
<b>Municipal Elections</b>	<b>1984 - 1989</b>	2,99%	28,36%	68,65%	100%
	<b>1989 - 1994</b>	5,97%	19,40%	74,63%	100%
<b>Referendums</b>	<b>1982 - 1987</b>	32,84%	62,69%	4,47%	100%
<b>General Elections</b>	<b>1983 - 1987</b>	73,13%	23,88%	2,99%	100%
	<b>1987 - 1991</b>	5,97%	19,40%	74,63%	100%
	<b>1991 - 1995</b>	56,76%	40,54%	2,7%	100%

Table 7 shows the absolute and relative stability of the actual votes in referendums and elections. It is obvious that the participation in municipal elections is neither absolutely nor relatively stable. Figure 3-1 and 3-2 confirm that there is a sharp decrease from 1984 to 1989, and a sharp increase from 1989 to 1994 in the majority of provinces. On the other hand, the stability of the actual votes in referendums is highly stable. Table 7 and figure 3 also show that the rates of participation in referendums are relatively high. The actual votes between the general elections of 1983 and 1987 are absolutely and relatively high, the actual votes in these elections are high. However, the stability in the general elections of 1987 and 1991, when the winning party changed, is very low. The stability between 1991 and 1995 is relatively high, however the rate of actual votes in 1991 and 1995 is under 90 percent.

Some further tests on the stability of actual votes in the post-1980 elections will be developed in order to understand more clearly the patterns of actual votes observed in these elections. When it is assumed that there is stability between the actual votes in two elections, it is claimed that the actual votes in the second election are a function of the actual votes in the first one. Thus, this may be formulised in the following form;

$$V_t = \alpha + \beta * V_{t-1}$$

where,  $V_{t-1}$  refers to the actual votes in the first election and  $V_t$  refers to the actual votes in the second election. When, the estimate of the slope coefficient for  $V_{t-1}$  is equal to 1, there is a perfect stability between the actual votes. Then;

$$H_0 : \beta = 1$$

$$H_1 : \beta \neq 1$$

In order to decide whether the null hypothesis ( $H_0 : \beta = 1$ ) should be rejected or not, it is sufficient to run a significance test<sup>82</sup>. If the value of the obtained  $|t|$  is higher than the critical  $t$  ( $t_{0.025,65} = 2.000$ ), the null hypothesis should be rejected. That is, there is no perfect stability between the actual votes in two elections. The results of the analysis are reported in Table 8.<sup>83</sup>

Table 8

## Significance Test of Stability in Votes

		$\beta$	se( $\beta$ )	$t$
Municipal Elections	<b>1984 - 1989</b>	1.113856	0.083466	1.3641
	<b>1989 - 1994</b>	0.575906	0.078819	5.3806
Referendums	<b>1982 - 1987</b>	0.451636	0.061305	8.9448
General Elections	<b>1983 - 1987</b>	0.553503	0.059225	7.5389
	<b>1987 - 1991</b>	1.925136	0.157399	5.8776
	<b>1991 - 1995</b>	0.688057	0.059618	5.2324

It is observed that there is no stability between the elections. Only, the null hypothesis that there is stability between the 1984 and 1989 municipal elections can not be

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$$t = \frac{\beta - \beta^*}{\text{se}(\beta)}$$

where,  $\beta^*$ , the hypothesized numerical value of  $\beta$ , is 1.

<sup>83</sup> See Appendix C.

rejected. In all other elections, municipal elections, referendums, or general elections, the results show a significant deviation from the perfect stability case. In particular, the changing pattern of participation between the 1987 and 1991 general elections is quite significant; a unit of percentage change in 1987 leads to approximately a twice higher percentage change in 1991. In all other election pairs, the trend is a downward adjustment in the rates of increase; i.e. a unit percentage increase in year  $t-1$  leads to a positive but less than unity increase the year after.

These results confirm the necessity of an analysis of political participation in Turkey after 1980. However, the varying rates observed in the stability and percentages of actual votes, especially different results between referendums, general elections and municipal elections prompt the analysis to consider the determinants of the three types of elections separately from each other.

### III. GEOGRAPHIC PARTICIPATION PATTERNS

Turkey is such a country that regional differences may be very significant for political, economic and cultural analyses. Immigration, modes of productions, cultural and ethnical features are almost identical in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia. Transportation has always been the chief problem of the economic development of the Black Sea. On the other hand, industrialisation and urbanisation have always been relatively high in the west of the country and the west side of the country has been exposed to immigration. In that sense, socio-economic development has been significantly rapid in the west of the country; however, relatively high rates of participation from the east side of Anatolia have been interpreted as an indicator of mobilised participation in Turkey in the majority of analyses<sup>84</sup>.

In this analysis, Turkey is divided into seven traditional geographic regions and the regions by region rates of participation are observed. Table 9 shows rates of actual votes by region in referendums and elections after 1980.

TABLE 9  
Percent of Qualified Voters who voted in Referendums and Elections

Region	Referendums		General Elections				Municipal Elections		
	1982	1987	1983	1987	1991	1995	1984	1989	1994
<b>Marmara</b>	90,26%	91,90%	92,82%	92,44%	82,85%	85,46%	89,61%	76,76%	91,12%
<b>Aegean</b>	95,33%	95,42%	95,49%	95,28%	88,23%	89,06%	94,60%	85,32%	94,56%
<b>Mediterranean</b>	92,76%	93,89%	92,57%	93,76%	83,88%	84,89%	91,85%	82,03%	90,31%
<b>Central Anatolia</b>	90,89%	93,96%	92,44%	93,54%	86,89%	86,64%	90,98%	84,53%	91,40%
<b>Black Sea</b>	90,63%	94,51%	91,86%	92,96%	82,07%	83,62%	91,03%	83,32%	92,32%
<b>Eastern Anatolia</b>	89,66%	93,63%	89,33%	91,84%	79,07%	80,08%	89,13%	80,50%	89,44%
<b>S.eastern A.</b>	88,70%	92,67%	86,64%	93,04%	80,30%	80,33%	87,40%	79,65%	86,81%

<sup>84</sup> See, *infra*, p: 5.

# CHAPTER I V: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONSHIPS

## I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the analysis will concentrate more deeply on the relationship between socio-economic development and political participation in light of the theories and hypotheses mentioned in the previous chapters.

Provincial voting data was obtained from the publications of the State Institute of Statistics and Official Gazettes.<sup>85</sup> In the case of municipal elections, the results of the elections for provincial councils are included since they reflect the overall voter preferences over political parties in the country better than the election results on mayors elections, where the characters of candidates may play a determining role. The votes obtained from customs entrees are excluded because, first, it is impossible to assume that the electors abroad show the same socio-economic patterns as the electors in the cities that their votes are aggregated into. In addition, the persons who have come to customs are treated as electors and there is no registration list of electors abroad, as a result, the rates of participation is always 100 percent in customs entrees.

In this analysis, the rate of actual votes, the percentage of voters going to the polls over the total number of registered voters, is regressed in a series of socio-economic

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<sup>85</sup> S.I.S. (1983b); S.I.S. (1984a); S.I.S. (1984b); S.I.S. (1987); S.I.S. (1988b); S.I.S. (1989); S.I.S. (1992a); S.I.S. (1994a); *Official Gazette*, 3 January 1996, no: 22512.

data categorised considering the models mentioned in Chapter I. Unfortunately, all theoretically relevant data are not available in Turkey. There were three censuses in the period that the present analysis is involved in. These censuses were organised in 1980, 1985 and 1990. Many of the variables included in this analysis are not observed in the years between the censuses. In such cases, the results of the censuses are projected to the interval years by the following formula;

$$P_k = ((P_n - P_m) / (n - m)) + P_{k-1}$$

where,

**P** is the value of the indicator in different years,

**m** and **n** are the years of census,

**k** is a year between two censuses ( $m < k < n$ ).

The only census after 1990 was organised in 1997. However, detailed demographic and social data is not collected in this census and the results of the census of 1997 have not yet been published. In such a case, it is assumed that the rates of increase or decrease after 1990 are equal to those of the years 1985 – 1990. In addition I assume that the provinces recently established should show the same rates of increase or decrease with the province or with the average of the provinces that they have been separated from. However, there are no data for some provinces established after 1990, i.e. Yalova, in that case these provinces are excluded from the analysis.

## II. THE ANALYSIS

### A. *Research Design and Model*

The indicators, which define the components of the hypotheses of social mobilisation theory, are set out in the previous section. A simple model of the effects of socio-economic mobilisation on political participation is a multivariate regression analysis in the following form;

$$Y = \alpha + \sum \beta_i X_i + e$$

where  $X_i$  refers to socio-economic variables discussed above.

When the political participation in Turkey is regressed on the above mentioned indicators, it is obviously seen that the following variables are insignificant at 0.01 level of significance,<sup>86</sup>

Communication

Education level - primary school

Age group - young

Age group - middle

Age group - old

Economic activity - electricity, gas and water

Economic activity - construction and constructional works

Economic activity - wholesales and retails trade, restaurants, hotels

Economic activity - transport, storage and communication

Economic activity - financing, insurance, real estate and business services

As a result, the hypotheses that communication has a positive effect on political participation and that the middle-aged participate in elections more than young and older people, are rejected in the first step.

It is known that the referendums and the other ordinary elections may show different features from each other.<sup>87</sup> In order to clarify the different reflections of socio-

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<sup>86</sup> See Appendix D.

economic indicators on referendums and elections, an interactive dummy for referendums is added to the basic model of analysis. The F ratio obtained is 46,81 where the critical  $F_{0.01 (1, 598)} = 6,63$  and proves that the addition of an interactive dummy for referendums to the model significantly increases the  $R^2$  value<sup>88</sup>. Therefore, referendums are to be analysed separately from the rest.<sup>89</sup>

A further struggle to make the model more significant and more able to explain the relationship between socio-economic indicators and political participation in Turkey, is to test the hypothesis that the people consider the municipal and the general elections differently from each other.<sup>90</sup> That hypothesis let us to analyse these two types of elections separately in order to be able to observe the variations of the effects of socio-economic indicators on these elections. In that context, another interactive

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<sup>87</sup> See, *infra*, pp: 36-37.

<sup>88</sup>

$$F = \frac{R^2_{UR} - R^2_R / m}{(1 - R^2_{UR}) / (n - k)}$$

where  $R^2_{UR}$  and  $R^2_R$  are, respectively, the  $R^2$  values obtained from the unrestricted and restricted regressions and ,

$m$  = number of linear restrictions,

$k$  = number of parameters in the unrestricted regression,

$n$  = number of observations.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix E.

<sup>90</sup> For example, see, *infra* , p: 12.

dummy for municipal elections is added to the model and it is observed that the F ratio is 404,47 and is significant at 0,01 level of significance.<sup>91</sup>

Therefore, the present analysis should consider the effects socio-economic indicators on political participation in Turkey separately for referendums, municipal elections, and general elections. Thus, the socio-economic mobilisation hypothesis will be analysed below, within the framework of the following equation;

$$Y = \alpha_1 + \sum \beta_i X_i + \alpha_2 D^R + \sum \mu_i (D^R * X_i) + \alpha_3 D^M + \sum \delta_i (D^M * X_i) + e_i$$

where the dependent variable Y is the political participation in Turkey, actual votes in elections and referendums. The independent variables ( $X_i$ ) are the socio-economic indicators set out in Table 10.  $D^R$  and  $D^M$  are two dummy variables for referendums and municipal elections, respectively. The interactive variables created with the referendum and municipal election dummy variables delineate the incremental effects of being a referendum or municipal election on the base slope of an independent variable. The base slopes in this analysis are those that correspond to the general elections.

Table 10 summarises the indicators included in the analysis, and the expectations of the social mobilisation theory. The first column of expectations reflects the expectations of the social mobilisation theory, the second column sets out the trends of the variables in the previous research on political participation in Turkey or the expectations in the conditions of post-1980 Turkey.

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<sup>91</sup> See Appendix E.

TABLE 10  
INDICATORS and EXPECTATIONS of THE ANALYSIS

Indicator	Variable Name	Code	Definition	Expectations	
				Theoretical	Past research
Geographical Regions	East Black Sea	BSEAST		negative	positive
	West Black Sea	BSWEST		negative	positive
	Eastern Anatolia	EASTERN		negative	positive
	Southeastern Anatolia	SOUTHEAS		negative	positive
Political Efficacy		POLEFF	1 if same winning party 0 if winning party changed	positive	negative
Place of Birth	Old residents	ORES	rate of the people born in the province	positive	positive
Gender	Men	MEN	rate of male voters	positive	positive
Marital Status	Single	SINGLE	rate of never married voters	negative	negative
Population Density		PDENS	population divided Per real area	positive	negative
Urbanisation	Urban People	URBAN	people living in cities and district centres	positive	negative
Literacy	Literate	LITER	rate of literate people	negative	negative
Educational Level	High School	EHIGH	Diploma from a High School	positive	negative
	Faculty	EFAC	Finished University Education	positive	negative
Income	GDP Per Capita	GDP1992	GDP Per Capita in 1992 prices	positive	negative
Economical Activity	Agriculture	AHFF		negative	positive
	Construction	CSPS		positive	negative
	Manufacture	MANUF		positive	negative
	Mining	MINQUAR		positive	negative
	Inactive	INACT	Economically Inactive	negative	positive
Organisational Involvement	Organisation membership	ORGAN	Trade Union membership	positive	positive

### B. Results of the Analysis

A summary of the results of the above mentioned regression model where the dependent variable *partrate* is the political participation in referendums and elections are given below. The independent variables are set out in Table 10, and the results are reported in Table 11 and 12.<sup>92</sup>

TABLE 11  
Results of the Regression

Multiple R	0,86372		
R Square	0,74602		
Adjusted R Square	0,71960		
Standard Error	0,02930		
	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	60	1,45471	0,02425
Residual	577	0,49526	0,00086
F = 28,24655	Signif F = 0,0000		

The model is able to explain approximately 75 percent of the variation across provinces in political participation in Turkey after 1980. Table 12, which reports the estimates of the above formulised equation, shows that socio-economic patterns of the people affect the participation in general elections, referendums and municipal elections differently.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix F.

TABLE 12  
Socio - Economic Indicators and Political Participation in Turkey

	General Elections			Referendum			Municipal Elections	
	$\beta / t$	Standard $\beta$		$\beta / t$	Standard $\beta$		$\beta / t$	Standard $\beta$
Constant	0,900603 5,974	0,150766	Constant	0,916649 5,419	0,169161	Constant	0,319056 2,614	0,122041
EHIGH	-1,294573 -3,723	0,347688	SINGLE	-0,13919 -2,469	0,056372	ORGAN	1,410849 11,435	0,123376
MEN	0,321026 3,696	0,086866	URBAN	0,103213 3,036	0,033994	SINGLE	-0,334465 -4,511	0,074152
SINGLE	-0,403148 -4,701	0,085753	LITER	0,103063 3,39	0,030398	SOUTHEAS	-0,04187 -3,756	0,011147
ORES	-0,122763 -2,811	0,043679	ORGAN	0,049104 4,672	0,010511	EASTERN	-0,028872 -3,179	0,009082
SOUTHEAS	-0,057836 -4,359	0,013269	SOUTHEAS	-0,01892 -2,31	0,008189	BSEWEST	-0,020698 -2,418	0,008559
EASTERN	-0,038927 -3,565	0,01092	BSEAST	-0,01384 -2,282	0,006063	BSEAST	-0,032724 -4,024	0,008133
BSEWEST	-0,031079 -3,032	0,010251				GDP1992	-0,0004859 -8,137	0,0000597
BSEAST	-0,043155 -4,514	0,00956				PDENS	-0,0000665 -3,744	0,0000178
POLEFF	-0,039673 -7,215	0,005499						
PDENS	-0,0000541 -2,558	0,0000211						
GDP1992	-0,0000351 -3,409	0,0000103						

### a) Regional Differences

In this analysis, Central Anatolia and the west of Turkey is considered as base and it is supposed that the Black Sea region, and Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions will show different characteristics from the rest of the country.<sup>93</sup> The estimates of these three regions' dummy variable coefficients support this assumption. The statistically significant negative terms of the estimates prove that participation in the east of Turkey is lower than the rest. The decrease in political participation is observed more deeply in Southeastern Anatolia and the East Black Sea. The division of the Black Sea into east and west proves that the participation increases towards the west of the Black Sea region.

In Southeastern Anatolia, actual votes show a decrease of approximately 5.78 percent in general elections, 1.89 percent in the referendums and 4.19 percent in the municipal elections than the rest of Turkey. In the provinces of the East Black Sea region, the average decreases are approximately 4.31 percent in the general elections, 1.38 in the referendums and 3.27 percent in the municipal elections. In Eastern Anatolia, on the other hand, the provinces show a decreased voting participation of approximately 3.89 percent in the general elections and 2.89 in the municipal elections. Finally, in the west Black Sea region, it is observed that the actual votes are approximately 3.11 percent in the general elections and 2.07 in the municipal elections less than the other regions.

Furthermore, it is observed that the actual votes in these regions are regarding the types of election. The highest diminished rates are observed in the general elections

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<sup>93</sup> See, *infra*, p: 53.

and the least diminished rates in the referendums. That is, the populations of the eastern regions do not participate sufficiently in general elections, which is an indication of a lack of political integration with the centre.

All these regions are known as being more handicapped in economics, industrialisation, and transportation than the west of Turkey, and it is often speculated that there is a cultural gap between east and west Turkey. It is seen that these regions are not integrated, neither economically nor culturally and politically, to the development process of Turkey, yet. Otherwise, the rates of political participation should be closes to the rest of Turkey.

#### **b) Political Efficacy**

A dummy variable, which represents political efficacy of the political parties over their followers, is included in this analysis. People who are tied to a special political party are expected to go regularly to the polls in order to support their party and this behaviour may result in stability of actual votes. When the political parties always mobilise the same sections of the people, their votes and consequently the actual votes do not change. Party identification is an important factor in the elections. In this context, the variable "political efficacy" defines whether the same party wins the next election on a provincial basis. So the "political efficacy" dummy takes the value of "1" when the same party wins in two consecutive elections and "0" otherwise. Such an effect is measured for general elections and municipal elections because there is no winning party in referendums.

The variable “political efficacy” is significant in the general elections. The negative term of the estimate (-0.039673) of general elections indicates that the participation in general elections in the provinces where the winning party does not change is less than the other provinces where the winning party changes. This result may be explained as the inability of opposition political parties to motivate the people who foresee no change in the winner of prospective elections, to go to the polls and thus as a result the winning party is more likely to be the same as before. The lack of an alternative political program may be one of the causes of this absence. Another explanation of these results may be given by “rational model”<sup>94</sup> where people do not go to the polls when they decide that the outcome of the election is minimised; the lack of an alternative or certainty about the success of the leading party may be reasons for such a decision.

### c) **Place of Birth**

The analysis shows that, the effect of the place of birth to the political participation in Turkey is significantly negative (-0.122763) in general elections. That is, migrants are more politically aware than the old residents in general elections. The result is not surprising in a country where a rapid and uncontrolled immigration has been experienced since 1980. The failure of the immigrants to find an available job and residence led them to participate more in politics.

During the 1980s, immigration from the east Anatolia to the more industrialised metropolitan provinces of the west continued to be problematic of the socio-economic

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<sup>94</sup> *See* footnote 26.

development of Turkey. Some chronic ethnical problems were added to these long-term economic problems during this period. The negative estimate of the variable signals that the problem also affects the political process in Turkey. That is, the problems of migrants are one of the more important determinants of the political life in Turkey.

#### **d) Sex and Marital Status**

Sex and marital status are personal characteristics rather than socio-economic status. However, many scholars speculated that these factors also affect political participation.<sup>95</sup> The results of this analysis show that these personal characteristics have important effects on the voting behaviour. The proportion of male voters has an increasing effect on participation in general elections. On the other hand, as it is assumed, single people have a decreasing effect on participation in elections. It is interesting that the variable which defines marital status is significant for all types of elections and relatively more important than the others. In Turkey, the proportion of single people has a significantly negative effect on political participation. That is an expected result.

#### **e) Population Density**

Contrary to the expectations of the social mobilisation theory, it is observed that population density has virtually no effect on political participation in Turkey. An increase of 10 people of the population density has a decreasing effect of approximately 0.054 percent on participation in general elections and 0.065 percent

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<sup>95</sup> See, *infra*, p: 13 .

on participation in municipal elections. These results do not support the expectations of the social mobilisation theory.

Population density is one the most important indicators of socio-economic development at the provincial basis. The low and negative estimates are the indicators of a lack of relationship between socio-economic development and voting participation.

#### **f) Urbanisation**

Urbanisation is one of the most important components of the modernisation process and hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory.<sup>96</sup> However, it is observed that the rates of urbanisation have had no statistically significant effect on participation in general and municipal elections after 1980. It is obviously contrary to the expectations of the social mobilisation theory. However, the statistically significant positive effect of urbanisation on participation in referendums (0.103213) is an expected result of the social mobilisation theory. That is, the people who live in cities and district centres are more interested in referendums than the rural people - the larger the urban sector the higher participation rate in referendums.

To show more clearly the patterns of political participation in urban and rural areas, an ecological regression<sup>97</sup> is developed. The results<sup>98</sup> report that 86.26 percent of the urban people and 90.99 percent of rural people participate in the general elections.

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<sup>96</sup> See, *infra*, p: 12.

<sup>97</sup> See, *infra*, p: 22.

<sup>98</sup> See Appendix G.

However, 90.34 of the urban people and 87.55 of rural people participate in the municipal elections. That is, the interest of urban people in municipal elections is higher than rural people who are more interested in general elections. This observation shows that the assumption that “urbanisation is increasing national participation and decreasing local participation”<sup>99</sup> is invalid in Turkey.

To conclude, the statistically insignificant trend in political participation regarding population density and urbanisation may be caused by the failure of convenient industrialisation and urbanisation processes.

#### **g) Literacy and Educational Level**

In the social mobilisation theory the increasing rates of literacy and higher level of education in society is expected to be followed by political awareness and higher political participation. In this analysis, however, it is observed that literacy and educational level has little significant effect on political participation in Turkey. However, as it is illustrated in Table 13, the results of ecological regression report that the rates of political participation by the literate are much higher than those of the illiterate<sup>100</sup>. That is an expected result, however not an important finding in a country where the rate of literacy is quite high.

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<sup>99</sup> Nie, Powell, Prewitt (1969a), see, *infra*, p:11.

Table 13

## Political Participation among the Literate and Illiterate People

	<b>General Elections</b>	<b>Referendum</b>	<b>Municipal Elections</b>
<b>Literates</b>	0,900687	0,926259	0,965829
<b>Illiterates</b>	0,848092	0,778381	0,839904

Education level, on the other hand, has a minor negative effect (-1.29) on the participation in general elections. It is contrary to the expectations of the social mobilisation theory, however, these results support the findings of the previous research on the political participation in pre-1980 Turkey. On the other hand, many scholars speculated that it is vital for a democratic political system that some people and groups are considered cynical, enemies to democratic principals, ignorant of the functioning of the political system and destabilizers. It is preferred that they do not enter the political scene and remain apathetic.<sup>101</sup> This is an elitist theory and defends that there is an optimal rate of participation in each country and people who are educationally qualified and loyal to the political system should hold the majority or play a determining role in political life. From this point of view, the negative effect of the educational level consists a threat to the stability of the political system in Turkey.

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<sup>100</sup> See Appendix H.

<sup>101</sup> Gaxie (1989, 192-193); Huntington (1975, 114-115).

## **h) Income**

Contrary to the expectations of the social mobilisation theory, Table 12 shows that the growth in per capita GDP has a significantly negative effect in participation on both general and municipal elections. An increase of 1000 unit in the Per capita GDP in 1992 prices, results with a decrease of 3.51 percent in the actual votes in general elections and 4.86 percent in the actual votes in municipal elections. The followers of the modernisation and social mobilisation theories assume that the upper occupational groups and high-income people are better educated and their job activities continue their intellectual development; most executives and business owners, and many branches of the professions deal daily with complex legal, economic and technical problems which develop their understanding of the workings of complex social and political mechanisms.<sup>102</sup> Consequently, it is supposed that high-income people participate more in elections than the others. However, in our case, the findings reject these arguments; although on many occasions, great economical and social problems can lead to high participation in elections<sup>103</sup>. This result supports the findings of the previous research.

## **i) Economic Activity**

The results of this analysis show that the professional groups and political participation are not related to each other. Any professional group has a significant effect on political participation in Turkey. On the other hand, an ecological regression analysis shows that a significant difference exists between economically active and

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<sup>102</sup> Lipset (1963, 198).

<sup>103</sup> See, *infra*, p:12.

inactive people.<sup>104</sup> Economically inactive people including unemployed people and housewives, participate in elections less than economically active people. 93.68 percent of the economically active people participate in elections, while 82.78 percent of the economically inactive people go to the polls. It is an expected result for the social mobilisation theory.

#### **j) Organizational Involvement**

Organisational involvement defines the conscience and the will to act together, and naturally it is expected that political participation rises as much as organisationally involved people rise. However, the situation in Turkey has made several organisations and pressure groups incapable of participating in political life and functioning as they should.<sup>105</sup> Since 1980, this has been an important factor, which has hindered organisations having the expected effect on political life. The results of the analysis, on the other hand, show that the proportion of organisationally involved people has a positive effect in the elections. That is observed significantly in the referendums and municipal elections (0.049104 and 1.410849 respectively). These results support the hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory and the findings of the previous research.

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<sup>104</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>105</sup> See, *infra*, p: 33-34.

## CONCLUSION

One of the major targets of the present research was to find out the effect of social mobilisation on political participation in post-1980 Turkey. In that context, the social mobilisation theory is discussed in the first chapter of the study. The political and legal framework is not neglected in order to comprehend the period more clearly, and to use this background in the collection, classification, and interpretation of the data more comprehensively. Another major target of the present study was to compare the effects of the socio-economic indicators on political participation with the findings of the previous researches. Thus, a brief summary of the major previous studies on political participation in the pre-1980 period is given and their findings are set out. A measurement of stability on votes at provincial and regional level showed that there is a variation in actual votes. Finally, in search of the causes of that variation, some statistical analyses are developed and the findings are classified.

When the results obtained from this analysis are compared with previous research on this subject<sup>106</sup>, it is observed that there are no important changes in the relationships between socio-economic indicators and political participation in Turkey. The trends of the estimates of variables, which define the identical socio-economic indicators, are almost the same. For example, the effect of gender in Kalaycıoğlu's (1983) findings and the finding of my analysis is the same. The trend of the results on population density and income reported by Özbudun (1976) and my analysis are identical despite their contradiction to the hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory. However, a difference between the findings is that in Özbudun's study the variable "people born

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<sup>106</sup> See, *infra*, Table 4 and 5.

out of the province” had a negative effect in the 1969 National Assembly election in the Özbudun’s study. That is, the newcomers, migrants in other words, showed a decreasing participation in this general election. On the other hand, I observe in my analysis that there was a u-turn after 1980 and that migrants showed an increasing participation in general elections again. That should be the effect of the new industrialisation and immigration process observed after 1980. A further comparison between the values of the estimates could mislead us because of the different level of analyses and scales.

Furthermore, the results of the analyses show that different socio-economic indicators affect different types of elections, namely general elections, referendums and municipal elections. The rank of importance of the variables also is different in each type of election. The variables which have an effect on the participation in elections and their rank of importance according to standard  $\beta$ 's are as below; the determinants of general elections are regional differences and some indicators related to the socio-economic status and personal characteristics such as marital status, sex, income and residence. High school education and population density are the other determinants of participation in general elections. Regional differences, marital status, income, population density, and organisational involvement, on the other hand, affect municipal elections. Among the other type of elections, referendum is the least affected by socio-economic indicators. Marital status, urbanisation, literacy, and organisational involvement are the socio-economic determinants of participation in referendums. Another difference between the patterns of participation in elections is the rank of the socio-economic indicators by their proportion of effect on

participation.<sup>107</sup> In general elections, high education is the most important component, which is followed by the personal characteristics. In municipal elections organisational involvement and in referendums marital status are the most effective indicators.

Perhaps, the most important finding of the present research is the regional effect on political participation in Turkey. It is observed that Southeastern Anatolia, Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia regions show decreasing rates of participation in elections. The east and west of the Black Sea region also show significantly different rates of participation. The order of importance of elections is also the same in these regions. Referendums attract the attention more than the others in these regions. Municipal elections follow the referendums, and general elections attract the least interest. Özbudun, however, reported that these eastern regions ranked highest in voting participation in 1969<sup>108</sup>. Therefore, the political, social and economic process created some problems in these regions in the post-1980 period. The problems of East and Southeast Anatolia are widely discussed, however, the present study showed that the Black Sea region also deserves more analysis. The decrease in political participation is an indication of having problems with the economic and political system, and a sign that the loyalty to them is breaking.

On the other hand, there are no specific findings on the existence of mobilised voting after 1980. Some findings, such as insignificance of urbanisation and educational level, and the negative effect of population density on political participation, are not available for speculations on mobilised participation. However, there are some

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<sup>107</sup> See, *infra*, Table 11.

<sup>108</sup> Özbudun (1976, 104).

specific researches on the subject. For example, M. Murat Erdoğan reports that 74 Southeastern villages in 1983, and 158 in 1987, commonly voted for the same political party.<sup>109</sup> This study argued that there is still a mobilised political participation in Southeastern Anatolia.

In sum, the findings of the present research do not support sufficiently the hypotheses of the social mobilisation theory as do the previous researches which dealt with the pre-1980 period. That is, the effects of the rapid change in economic, cultural and social life after 1980 are not observed in the results of my analysis. Thus, the experiences of industrialisation and urbanisation did not change the political process and agenda in Turkey. Participation in referendums is not totally related to the socio-economic indicators. On the other hand, it is seen that some regional and personal components have an effect on political participation in general and municipal elections, rather than macro socio-economic indicators. The major socio-economic determinant of political participation in Turkey is economic problems. Contrary to the social mobilisation theory, low-income groups participate in elections more than the others.

The modernisation process and social mobilisation theory have been formulised in the context of developed countries where society has experienced a passage from economic development to political conscience as described in the chain of Nie, Powell and Prewitt.<sup>110</sup> In post-1980 Turkey, on the other hand, social development and political life were taken under control and the fundamental rights and freedoms were

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<sup>109</sup> Erdoğan (1992, 285).

<sup>110</sup> See, *infra*, p: 16.

minimised because of economic reasons as stated in Chapter II. In that context, the social mobilisation theory does not fit a later developing third-world country such as Turkey. For a more functional political participation by the ordinary people, democratic ways of participation to political life should be opened.

The present study dealt with the socio-economic explanation of participation in elections. However, as it is mentioned in Chapter I, there are some other forms of political participation. Some further survey studies will be useful to explore the characteristics of these other unconventional types of political participation in Turkey<sup>111</sup>. Moreover, an analysis of the relationship between the socio-economic indicators and the party votes after 1980 will be able to determine the effect of class cleavage on political behaviour in the conditions of post-1980 Turkey.

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<sup>111</sup> *See* Kalaycıođlu (1983).

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A: RELATION BETWEEN THE APPROVAL VOTES IN THE 1961 REFERENDUM AND THE NON-APPROVAL VOTES IN THE 1982 REFERENDUM

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      NONAPP82      nonapproval  
votes in the

Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter      APP1961

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..      APP1961      approval votes in the 1961 referendum

Multiple R                      ,36618  
R Square                         ,13409  
Adjusted R Square               ,12076  
Standard Error                  ,03514

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,01243	,01243
Residual	65	,08026	,00123

F =            10,06521            Signif F =    ,0023

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
APP1961	,096042	,030273	,366178	3,173	,0023
(Constant)	,022842	,019923		1,147	,2558

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

**APPENDIX B: RELATION BETWEEN THE APPROVAL VOTES  
IN THE 1961 REFERENDUM AND THE ABSTENTION IN THE  
1982 REFERENDUM**

\* \* \* \* M U L T I P L E R E G R E S S I O N \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      ABST1982  
Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter      APP1961

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..      APP1961      approval votes in the 1961 referendum

Multiple R                      ,54710  
R Square                         ,29932  
Adjusted R Square               ,28854  
Standard Error                  ,02253

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,01409	,01409
Residual	65	,03299	,00051

F =            27,76680            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
APP1961	-,102264	,019407	-,547100	-5,269	,0000
(Constant)	,978234	,012772		76,593	,0000

End Block Number    1    All requested variables entered.

## APPENDIX C: STABILITY MEASURES ACROSS ELECTIONS

### AFTER 1980

#### A. 1982 - 1987 REFERENDUMS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. REF1987 1987 referendum

Block Number 1. Method: Enter REF1982

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1.. REF1982 1982 referendum

Multiple R                   ,67456  
R Square                    ,45503  
Adjusted R Square         ,44665  
Standard Error             ,01330

#### Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,00960	,00960
Residual	65	,01150	,00018

F =           54,27286           Signif F =   ,0000

#### ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
REF1982	,451636	,061305	,674560	7,367	,0000
(Constant)	,534144	,055966		9,544	,0000

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

**B. 1983 - 1987 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

\* \* \* \* M U L T I P L E R E G R E S S I O N \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. GE1987 1987 general election

Block Number 1. Method: Enter GE1983

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1.. GE1983 1983 general election

Multiple R ,75719  
 R Square ,57333  
 Adjusted R Square ,56677  
 Standard Error ,01558

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,02121	,02121
Residual	65	,01578	,00024

F = 87,34355 Signif F = ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
GE1983	,553503	,059225	,757187	9,346	,0000
(Constant)	,427596	,054483		7,848	,0000

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

### C. 1987 - 1991 GENERAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. GE1991 1991 general election

Block Number 1. Method: Enter GE1987

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1.. GE1987 1987 general election

Multiple R ,83493  
R Square ,69710  
Adjusted R Square ,69244  
Standard Error ,03027

#### Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,13709	,13709
Residual	65	,05957	,00092

F = 149,59541 Signif F = ,0000

#### ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
GE1987	1,925136	,157399	,834928	12,231	,0000
(Constant)	-,957199	,147445		-6,492	,0000

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

**D. 1991 - 1995 GENERAL ELECTIONS**

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. GE1995 1995 general election

Block Number 1. Method: Enter GE1991

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1.. GE1991 1991 general election

Multiple R ,80765  
R Square ,65230  
Adjusted R Square ,64740  
Standard Error ,02852

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,10837	,10837
Residual	71	,05776	,00081

F = 133,19927 Signif F = ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
GE1991	,688057	,059618	,807651	11,541	,0000
(Constant)	,263578	,050521		5,217	,0000

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

### E. 1984 - 1989 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      ME1989      1989 municipal election

Block Number 1. Method: Enter      ME1984

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..      ME1984      1984 municipal election

Multiple R                      ,85593  
R Square                        ,73261  
Adjusted R Square              ,72850  
Standard Error                 ,02304

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,09455	,09455
Residual	65	,03451	,00053

F =      178,09049      Signif F =      ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ME1984	1,113856	,083466	,855926	13,345	,0000
(Constant)	-,185134	,076433		-2,422	,0182

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

## F. 1989 - 1994 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable.. ME1994      1994 municipal election

Block Number 1.      Method: Enter      ME1989

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..      ME1989      1989 municipal election

Multiple R                      ,67153  
R Square                         ,45095  
Adjusted R Square               ,44251  
Standard Error                  ,02832

### Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,04281	,04281
Residual	65	,05212	,00080

F =            53,38714            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ME1989	,575906	,078819	,671531	7,307	,0000
(Constant)	,440122	,065840		6,685	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

## APPENDIX D: DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation rate

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	YOUNG	Age group - young
2..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
3..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
4..	MEDIT	Mediterranean Region
5..	PDENS	Population Density
6..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
7..	AEGEAN	Aegean Region
8..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
9..	POLEFF	Political Efficacy
10..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
11..	INNER	Inner Anatolia
12..	EGW	economic activity - electricity, gas and
13..	CONCW	economic activity - construction and co
14..	INACT	economic activity - economically inacti
15..	COMM	Communication
16..	OLD	Age Group - old
17..	GDP	GDP per capita
18..	MEN	sex - men
19..	TSC	economic activity - transport, storage
20..	SINGLE	married status - single
21..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
22..	ESEC	Educational Level - Secondary School
23..	FIRBS	economic activity - financing, insurance
24..	EPRIM	Educational Level - primary school
25..	MARMARA	Marmara Region
26..	ORES	Old Residents
27..	WRTRH	economic activity - wholesale and retai
28..	MIDDLE	Age Group - middle aged
29..	URBAN	Urban Population
30..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
31..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
32..	LITER	Literate People
33..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting

Multiple R	,85676
R Square	,73403
Adjusted R Square	,70478
Standard Error	,02715

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	33	,61049	,01850
Residual	300	,22120	,00074

F =            25,08951            Signif F =    ,0000

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AEGEAN	8,66945E-04	,011724	,005641	,074	,9411
AHFF	,986485	,463002	2,338660	2,131	,0339
COMM	-2,33674E-04	1,5734E-04	-,124744	-1,485	,1385
CONCW	,309141	,681926	,035106	,453	,6506
CSPS	,816088	,449744	,407584	1,815	,0706
EASTERN	-,015494	,008825	-,122922	-1,756	,0802
EFAC	1,194258	1,016690	,205533	1,175	,2411
EGW	,927428	2,257219	,017246	,411	,6815
EHIGH	,125553	,472958	,049279	,265	,7908
EPRIM	-,196942	,164442	-,345992	-1,198	,2320
ESEC	-,849858	,337723	-,283357	-2,516	,0124
FIRBS	-2,169483	1,949518	-,201821	-1,113	,2667
GDP	-3,88657E-06	7,0237E-07	-,398159	-5,534	,0000
INACT	1,072840	,487806	1,442339	2,199	,0286
INNER	-,004630	,011045	-,035619	-,419	,6754
LITER	,237014	,143354	,527142	1,653	,0993
MANUF	1,096907	,477501	,624304	2,297	,0223
MARMARA	-,016400	,013092	-,120992	-1,253	,2113
MEDIT	,019213	,009956	,101319	1,930	,0546
MEN	1,354357	,220783	,421439	6,134	,0000
MIDDLE	,055079	,141518	,048444	,389	,6974
MINQUAR	,895905	,467877	,270943	1,915	,0565
POLEFF	-,038275	,005941	-,315411	-6,442	,0000
OLD	-,315410	,175086	-,240271	-1,801	,0726
ORES	-,066313	,043921	-,145572	-1,510	,1321
ORGAN	,038522	,009139	,182534	4,215	,0000
PDENS	-6,56366E-05	2,4745E-05	-,155558	-2,652	,0084
SINGLE	-,544057	,092369	-,439155	-5,890	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,013022	,011766	-,074615	-1,107	,2693
TSC	,737231	,844495	,077452	,873	,3834
URBAN	-,059239	,053263	-,155101	-1,112	,2669
WRTRH	1,491718	,608246	,351110	2,452	,0148
YOUNG	-,049661	,039998	-,069624	-1,242	,2154
(Constant)	-,466504	,519417		-,898	,3698

----- Variables not in the Equation -----

Variable	Beta In	Partial	Min Toler	T	Sig T
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BLACKSEA	,	,	,000000	,	,
End Block Number	1	Tolerance = 1,00E-04 Limits reached.			

**APPENDIX E: DEVELOPMENTAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION: THE EFFECT OF ELECTION TYPES**

**A. GENERAL REGRESSION**

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter

AHFF	CSPS	EASTERN	EFAC	EHIGH	GDP1992	INACT	LITER
MANUF	MEN	MINQUAR	POLEFF	ORES	ORGAN	PDENS	SINGLE
SOUTHEAS	URBAN	BSEAST	BSEWEST				

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
2..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
3..	MEN	sex - men
4..	PDENS	Population Density
5..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
6..	SINGLE	marital status - single
7..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
8..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
9..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
10..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
11..	INACT	economic activity - economically inactiv
12..	POLEFF	Political Efficacy
13..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
14..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
15..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
16..	LITER	Literate People
17..	ORES	Old Residents
18..	URBAN	Urban Population
19..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
20..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting

Multiple R	,72507
R Square	,52573
Adjusted R Square	,51035
Standard Error	,03872

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	20	1,02515	,05126
Residual	617	,92482	,00150

F =      34,19668      Signif F =      ,0000

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	,414268	,108291	,905589	3,825	,0001
CSPS	,414052	,118209	,200520	3,503	,0005
EASTERN	-,027967	,007707	-,197690	-3,629	,0003
EFAC	1,328545	,405417	,288420	3,277	,0011
EHIGH	-1,104739	,262177	-,469520	-4,214	,0000
GDP1992	-2,58009E-05	9,3631E-06	-,104459	-2,756	,0060
INACT	,367172	,124688	,464711	2,945	,0034
LITER	,059945	,036696	,123374	1,634	,1029
MANUF	,479127	,137794	,259736	3,477	,0005
MEN	,219762	,065706	,185461	3,345	,0009
MINQUAR	,621573	,171454	,141638	3,625	,0003
POLEFF	-,049368	,003818	-,434642	-12,931	,0000
ORES	-,084784	,031896	-,205581	-2,658	,0081
ORGAN	,028550	,007520	,138314	3,797	,0002
PDENS	-5,84723E-05	1,6115E-05	-,143671	-3,628	,0003
SINGLE	-,260707	,061526	-,207562	-4,237	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,037009	,009357	-,196848	-3,955	,0001
URBAN	,047200	,039039	,115291	1,209	,2271
BSEAST	-,033364	,006836	-,185015	-4,880	,0000
BSEWEST	-,025905	,007186	-,121199	-3,605	,0003
(Constant)	,584349	,110079		5,308	,0000

End Block Number      1      All requested variables entered.

## B. ADDING A DUMMY FOR REFERENDUMS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	D1BSEAW	West Blacksea - referendum
2..	PDENS	Population Density
3..	D1BSEAE	East Blacksea - referendum
4..	D1SEAST	Southeast Anatolia - referendum
5..	MEN	sex - men
6..	D1EAST	East Anatolia - Referendum
7..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
8..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
9..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
10..	SINGLE	marital status - single
11..	D1MANUF	manuf - referendum
12..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
13..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
14..	INACT	economic activity - economically inacti
15..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
16..	POLEFF	Political Efficacy
17..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
18..	D1MINQUA	minquar - referendum
19..	D1PDENS	population density - referendum
20..	D1ORGAN	organizational inv - referendum
21..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
22..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
23..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
24..	LITER	Literate People
25..	D1AHFF	ahff - referendum
26..	ORES	Old Residents
27..	D1EFAC	educational level - faculty- referendum
28..	URBAN	Urban Population
29..	D1GDP992	1992gdp - referendum
30..	D1CSPS	csps - referendum
31..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
32..	D1URBAN	urbanization - referendum
33..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting
34..	D1EHIGH	educational level - high school- refere
35..	D1SINGLE	single - referendum
36..	D1LITER	literacy - referendum
37..	D1ORES	old residents - referendum
38..	D1INACT	inact - referendum
39..	D1MEN	men - referendum

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Multiple R	,74982
R Square	,56223
Adjusted R Square	,53368
Standard Error	,03778

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	39	1,09632	,02811
Residual	598	,85364	,00143

F = 19,69241      Signif F = ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	,477828	,109143	1,044532	4,378	,0000
CSPS	,473177	,121952	,229154	3,880	,0001
EASTERN	-,035364	,008490	-,249973	-4,165	,0000
EFAC	1,507362	,417010	,327240	3,615	,0003
EHIGH	-1,134286	,275290	-,482078	-4,120	,0000
GDP1992	-1,74638E-05	9,3953E-06	-,070705	-1,859	,0635
INACT	,446606	,126647	,565246	3,526	,0005
LITER	,046911	,041291	,096548	1,136	,2564
MANUF	,545831	,140362	,295897	3,889	,0001
MEN	,215756	,068895	,182080	3,132	,0018
MINQUAR	,711849	,187724	,162209	3,792	,0002
POLEFF	-,040775	,003990	-,358991	-10,218	,0000
ORES	-,083809	,034245	-,203217	-2,447	,0147
ORGAN	,013500	,008967	,065403	1,506	,1327
PDENS	-5,31232E-05	1,6523E-05	-,130528	-3,215	,0014
SINGLE	-,279231	,066836	-,222310	-4,178	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,044252	,010241	-,235377	-4,321	,0000
URBAN	,039374	,043255	,096175	,910	,3630
D1AHFF	-,277612	,216317	-,927451	-1,283	,1999
D1CSPS	-,283622	,382016	-,168060	-,742	,4581
D1EAST	,023521	,018317	,084119	1,284	,1996
D1EFAC	-1,693219	1,219314	-,237990	-1,389	,1655
D1EHIGH	,579695	,809389	,235665	,716	,4741
D1GDP992	-5,10669E-04	,002598	-,020757	-,197	,8442
D1INACT	-,349758	,256833	-,941974	-1,362	,1738
D1LITER	,068313	,086984	,362022	,785	,4326
D1MANUF	-,360503	,356929	-,143039	-1,010	,3129
D1MEN	,149153	,367386	,540122	,406	,6849
D1MINQUA	-,311433	,401285	-,039840	-,776	,4380
D1ORES	,082803	,093514	,523087	,885	,3763
D1ORGAN	,033465	,028428	,115327	1,177	,2396
D1PDENS	3,48236E-05	6,0163E-05	,029434	,579	,5629
D1SEAST	,025546	,023446	,062774	1,090	,2763
D1SINGLE	,170157	,155518	,427621	1,094	,2743
D1URBAN	,066786	,097578	,219763	,684	,4940
BSEAST	-,039569	,007470	-,219425	-5,297	,0000
BSEWEST	-,031646	,007894	-,148057	-4,009	,0001
D1BSEAE	,023481	,017119	,062222	1,372	,1707
D1BSEAW	,024099	,017544	,054145	1,374	,1701
(Constant)	,541461	,110185		4,914	,0000

### C. ADDING A DUMMY FOR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	D2BSEAW	West blacksea - municipal
2..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
3..	D2BSEAE	East blacksea - municipal
4..	PDENS	Population Density
5..	D2SEAST	Southeast Anatolia - municipal
6..	D2EAST	Eastern Anatolia - municipal
7..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
8..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
9..	MEN	sex - men
10..	D2MANUF	Manuf - municipal
11..	SINGLE	marital status - single
12..	INACT	economic activity - economically inacti
13..	POLEFF	Poltical Efficacy
14..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
15..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
16..	D2MINQUA	Minquar - municipal
17..	D2GDP992	Gdp 1992 - municipal
18..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
19..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
20..	D2PDENS	Population density - municipal
21..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
22..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
23..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
24..	D2POLEFF	Political Efficacy - municipal
25..	D2AHFF	Ahff - municipal
26..	LITER	Literate People
27..	ORES	Old Residents
28..	D2EFAC	Educational level - faculty - municipal
29..	URBAN	Urban Population
30..	D2CSPS	Csps - municipal
31..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
32..	D2INACT	Inact - municipal
33..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting
34..	D2ORES	Old residents - municipal
35..	D2EHIGH	Educational level - high school - munic
36..	D2URBAN	urbanization - municipal
37..	D2SINGLE	single - municipal
38..	D2LITER	Literacy - municipal
39..	D2MEN	men - municipal
40..	D2ORGAN	Organizational inv - municipal

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Multiple R	,84148
R Square	,70809
Adjusted R Square	,68853
Standard Error	,03088

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	40	1,38074	,03452
Residual	597	,56922	,00095

F = 36,20295      Signif F = ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----					
Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	,323726	,091601	,707665	3,534	,0004
CSPS	,359279	,109877	,173994	3,270	,0011
EASTERN	-,029570	,007496	-,209018	-3,945	,0001
EFAC	1,001152	,386046	,217345	2,593	,0097
EHIGH	-1,411222	,256828	-,599777	-5,495	,0000
GDP1992	-4,95420E-05	8,3438E-06	-,200578	-5,938	,0000
INACT	,353117	,110529	,446922	3,195	,0015
LITER	,049980	,034749	,102865	1,438	,1509
MANUF	,279112	,128670	,151308	2,169	,0305
MEN	,342439	,062382	,288990	5,489	,0000
MINQUAR	,484939	,160501	,110503	3,021	,0026
POLEFF	-,052068	,004176	-,458414	-12,467	,0000
ORES	-,126302	,030828	-,306253	-4,097	,0000
ORGAN	,032355	,006957	,156749	4,650	,0000
PDENS	-5,33881E-05	1,6359E-05	-,131179	-3,263	,0012
SINGLE	-,318378	,059472	-,253476	-5,353	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,044309	,009130	-,235677	-4,853	,0000
URBAN	,038052	,037597	,092944	1,012	,3119
D2AHFF	-,744956	,102591	-2,699847	-7,261	,0000
D2CSPS	-,577252	,159566	-,422070	-3,618	,0003
D2EAST	,004832	,012907	,020938	,374	,7083
D2EFAC	-2,008791	,616784	-,462864	-3,257	,0012
D2EHIGH	1,226075	,430693	,720489	2,847	,0046
D2GDP992	-4,23427E-04	7,0637E-05	-,838725	-5,994	,0000
D2INACT	-,883998	,146486	-2,873581	-6,035	,0000
D2LITER	-,056580	,061682	-,367977	-,917	,3594
D2MANUF	-,606094	,198632	-,309939	-3,051	,0024
D2MEN	-,392796	,100539	-1,628489	-3,907	,0001
D2MINQUA	-,546390	,253703	-,072631	-2,154	,0317
D2POLEFF	,045549	,007677	,316707	5,933	,0000
D2ORES	,179140	,051923	1,264400	3,450	,0006
D2ORGAN	1,374704	,145390	6,976402	9,455	,0000
D2PDENS	-2,04615E-05	2,6284E-05	-,034603	-,778	,4366
D2SEAST	-3,42445E-04	,015949	-,001079	-,021	,9829
D2SINGLE	-,058662	,103852	-,171787	-,565	,5724
D2URBAN	-7,19934E-04	,067260	-,003046	-,011	,9915
BSEAST	-,033320	,006662	-,184772	-5,001	,0000
BSEWEST	-,025190	,006931	-,117853	-3,634	,0003
D2BSEAE	,001160	,011658	,003828	,100	,9208
D2BSEAW	,010335	,011920	,028325	,867	,3863
(Constant)	,674558	,089903		7,503	,0000

# APPENDIX F: REGRESSION RESULTS: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

## A. REFERENDUM

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1 Dependent Variable.. PARTREF participation rate

The following variables are constants or have missing correlations:

POLEFF

They will be deleted from the analysis.

Block Number 1. Method: Enter

AHFF	BSEAST	BSEWEST	CSPS	EASTERN	EFAC	EHIGH	GDP1992
INACT	LITER	MANUF	MEN	MINQUAR	POLEFF	ORES	ORGAN
PDENS	SINGLE	SOUTHEAS	URBAN				

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	URBAN	Urban Population
2..	SINGLE	marital status - single
3..	MEN	sex - men
4..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
5..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
6..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
7..	PDENS	Population Density
8..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
9..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
10..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
11..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
12..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
13..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
14..	LITER	Literate People
15..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
16..	ORES	Old Residents
17..	INACT	economic activity - economically inactiv
18..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
19..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting

Multiple R	,87530
R Square	,76616
Adjusted R Square	,72684
Standard Error	,01467

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	19	,07965	,00419
Residual	113	,02431	,00022

F = 19,48596 Signif F = ,0000

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTREF      participation  
rate

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	-,063561	,144452	-,262976	-,440	,6608
BSEAST	-,013835	,006063	-,151865	-2,282	,0244
BSEWEST	-,006229	,006128	-,058753	-1,017	,3115
CSPS	,005079	,165925	,004528	,031	,9756
EASTERN	-,008166	,006536	-,115828	-1,249	,2141
EFAC	-,757758	,519893	-,213036	-1,458	,1477
EHIGH	-,412176	,303391	-,273686	-1,359	,1770
GDP1992	-6,79347E-04	,001011	-,074436	-,672	,5029
INACT	-,195757	,162543	-,464938	-1,204	,2310
LITER	,103063	,030398	,427273	3,390	,0010
MANUF	-,102779	,184936	-,101850	-,556	,5795
MEN	,153492	,169370	,088723	,906	,3667
MINQUAR	,180346	,173199	,096388	1,041	,3000
ORES	-,002410	,033767	-,008943	-,071	,9432
ORGAN	,049104	,010511	,549379	4,672	,0000
PDENS	-3,00356E-05	2,3095E-05	-,089285	-1,301	,1961
SINGLE	-,139189	,056372	-,192957	-2,469	,0150
SOUTHEAS	-,018916	,008189	-,193851	-2,310	,0227
URBAN	,103213	,033994	,464483	3,036	,0030
(Constant)	,916649	,169161		5,419	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

## B. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTMUN      participation  
rate

Block Number 1. Method: Enter

AHFF	BSEAST	BSEWEST	CSPS	EASTERN	EFAC	EHIGH	GDP1992
INACT	LITER	MANUF	MEN	MINQUAR	POLEFF	ORES	ORGAN
PDENS	SINGLE	SOUTHEAS	URBAN				

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	URBAN	Urban Population
2..	SINGLE	marital status - single
3..	MEN	sex - men
4..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
5..	POLEFF	Political Efficacy
6..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
7..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
8..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
9..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
10..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
11..	PDENS	Population Density
12..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
13..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
14..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
15..	LITER	Literate People
16..	ORES	Old Residents
17..	INACT	economic activity - economically inactiv
18..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
19..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
20..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting

Multiple R	,89342
R Square	,79820
Adjusted R Square	,77650
Standard Error	,02623

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	20	,50621	,02531
Residual	186	,12798	,00069

F =            36,78468            Signif F =    ,0000

## \* \* \* \* \* M U L T I P L E R E G R E S S I O N \* \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTMUN      participation  
rate

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	-,099983	,137264	-,218587	-,728	,4673
BSEAST	-,032724	,008133	-,182211	-4,024	,0001
BSEWEST	-,020698	,008559	-,096945	-2,418	,0166
CSPS	,034903	,143352	,017031	,243	,8079
EASTERN	-,028872	,009082	-,203967	-3,179	,0017
EFAC	-,302458	,495839	-,067669	-,610	,5426
EHIGH	-,430841	,308779	-,184564	-1,395	,1646
GDP1992	-4,85932E-04	5,9718E-05	-1,409387	-8,137	,0000
INACT	-,210182	,155297	-,265994	-,353	,1776
LITER	,032700	,045692	,064258	,716	,4751
MANUF	-,059214	,170829	-,032652	-,347	,7293
MEN	,050784	,077517	,044963	,655	,5132
MINQUAR	,231599	,205703	,052467	1,126	,2617
POLEFF	,003392	,005509	-,030451	0,616	,5388
ORES	,017932	,037989	,044904	0,472	,6375
ORGAN	1,410849	,123376	1,955900	11,435	,0000
PDENS	-6,65141E-05	1,7764E-05	-,179751	-3,744	,0002
SINGLE	-,334465	,074152	-,273815	-4,511	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,041870	,011147	-,223483	-3,756	,0002
URBAN	,047846	,047542	,116326	1,006	,3155
(Constant)	,319056	,122041		2,614	,0097

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

### C. GENERAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTGE      participation rate

Block Number 1. Method: Enter

AHFF	BSEAST	BSEWEST	CSPS	EASTERN	EFAC	EHIGH	GDP1992
INACT	LITER	MANUF	MEN	MINQUAR	POLEFF	ORES	ORGAN
PDENS	SINGLE	SOUTHEAS	URBAN				

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..	URBAN	Urban Population
2..	SINGLE	marital status - single
3..	MEN	sex - men
4..	MINQUAR	economic activity - mining and quarrying
5..	POLEFF	Political Efficacy
6..	BSEAST	East Black Sea Region
7..	CSPS	economic activity - community, social an
8..	BSEWEST	West Black Sea Region
9..	GDP1992	gdp per capita at 1992 prices
10..	SOUTHEAS	Southeastern Anatolia Region
11..	PDENS	Population Density
12..	ORGAN	organizational involvement
13..	EASTERN	Eastern Anatolia Region
14..	MANUF	economic activity - manufacturing
15..	EFAC	Educational Level - Faculty
16..	LITER	Literate People
17..	ORES	Old Residents
18..	INACT	economic activity - economically inactiv
19..	EHIGH	Educational Level - High School
20..	AHFF	economic activity - agriculture, hunting

Multiple R	,80986
R Square	,65587
Adjusted R Square	,62930
Standard Error	,03619

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	20	,64669	,03233
Residual	259	,33931	,00131

F =            24,68139            Signif F =    ,0000

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTGE      participation rate

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
AHFF	,163963	,149729	,334858	1,095	,2745
BSEAST	-,043155	,009560	-,224927	-4,514	,0000
BSEWEST	-,031079	,010251	-,134880	-3,032	,0027
CSPS	,226756	,164161	,104926	1,381	,1684
EASTERN	-,038927	,010920	-,255097	-3,565	,0004
EFAC	,653960	,537466	,141519	1,217	,2248
EHIGH	-1,294573	,347688	-,532006	-3,723	,0002
GDP1992	-3,50503E-05	1,0282E-05	-,169882	-3,409	,0008
INACT	,237579	,171160	,284048	1,388	,1663
LITER	-,010283	,052700	-,019511	-,195	,8454
MANUF	,139554	,184302	,072412	,757	,4496
MEN	,321026	,086866	,298159	3,696	,0003
MINQUAR	,393693	,248384	,078122	1,585	,1142
POLEFF	-,039673	,005499	-,333585	-7,215	,0000
ORES	-,122763	,043679	-,296529	-2,811	,0053
ORGAN	,008414	,011030	,038854	,763	,4462
PDENS	-5,40570E-05	2,1131E-05	-,135287	-2,558	,0111
SINGLE	-,403148	,085753	-,309131	-4,701	,0000
SOUTHEAS	-,057836	,013269	-,292391	-4,359	,0000
URBAN	,010135	,055175	,023195	,184	,8544
(Constant)	,900603	,150766		5,974	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

# APPENDIX G: ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN RURAL – URBAN AREAS

## A. REFERENDUM

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRATE    participation rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    URBAN

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    URBAN    Urban Population

Multiple R                    ,10557  
R Square                     ,01114  
Adjusted R Square           ,00365  
Standard Error              ,02823

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,00119	,00119
Residual	132	,10516	,00080

F =            1,48770            Signif F =    ,2247

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
URBAN	,022429	,018389	,105569	1,220	,2247
(Constant)	,919777	,008251		111,472	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRATE    participation  
rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    RURAL

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    RURAL    Rural populationMultiple R                    ,10557  
R Square                     ,01114  
Adjusted R Square           ,00365  
Standard Error              ,02823

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,00119	,00119
Residual	132	,10516	,00080

F =            1,48770            Signif F =    ,2247

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RURAL	-,022429	,018389	-,105569	-1,220	,2247
(Constant)	,942206	,010785		87,362	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

**B. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS**

\* \* \* \* M U L T I P L E R E G R E S S I O N \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRMUN      participation  
rate

Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter      URBAN

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..      URBAN      Urban PopulationMultiple R                      ,06771  
R Square                        ,00459  
Adjusted R Square              -,00027  
Standard Error                 ,05549

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,00291	,00291
Residual	205	,63129	,00308

F =                      ,94431                      Signif F =                      ,3323

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
URBAN	-,027851	,028661	-,067715	-,972	,3323
(Constant)	,903397	,014067		64,221	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

## Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRMUN    participation  
rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    RURAL

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    RURAL    Rural population

Multiple R                    ,06771  
R Square                      ,00459  
Adjusted R Square         -,00027  
Standard Error             ,05549

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,00291	,00291
Residual	205	,63129	,00308

F =                    ,94431                    Signif F =                    ,3323

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
RURAL	,027851	,028661	,067715	,972	,3323
(Constant)	,875546	,015617		56,064	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

### C. GENERAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRGEN      participation  
rate

Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter      URBAN

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..      URBAN      Urban Population

Multiple R                      ,10964  
R Square                        ,01202  
Adjusted R Square               ,00868  
Standard Error                  ,05875

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,01243	,01243
Residual	296	1,02162	,00345

F =            3,60156            Signif F =    ,0587

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
URBAN	-,047291	,024919	-,109641	-1,898	,0587
(Constant)	,909940	,012194		74,625	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.



# APPENDIX H: ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN LITERATE AND ILLITERATE PEOPLE

## A. REFERENDUMS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRATE    participation rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    LITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    LITER    Literate People

Multiple R                    ,52024  
R Square                      ,27065  
Adjusted R Square            ,26513  
Standard Error               ,02424

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,02878	,02878
Residual	132	,07756	,00059

F =            48,98341            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LITER	,125926	,017992	,520242	6,999	,0000
(Constant)	,839904	,012957		64,825	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRATE    participation  
rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    ILLITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..    ILLITER    illiterate population

Multiple R                    ,52024  
 R Square                     ,27065  
 Adjusted R Square          ,26513  
 Standard Error              ,02424

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,02878	,02878
Residual	132	,07756	,00059

F =            48,98341            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ILLITER	-,125926	,017992	-,520242	-6,999	,0000
(Constant)	,965829	,005612		172,113	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

**B. MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS**

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRMUN    participation  
rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    LITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    LITER    Literate PeopleMultiple R                    ,29059  
R Square                     ,08444  
Adjusted R Square           ,07998  
Standard Error              ,05322

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,05355	,05355
Residual	205	,58064	,00283

F =            18,90779            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LITER	,147878	,034008	,290593	4,348	,0000
(Constant)	,778381	,025992		29,947	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRMUN    participation  
rate

Block Number 1. Method: Enter    ILLITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    ILLITER    illiterate populationMultiple R                    ,29059  
R Square                     ,08444  
Adjusted R Square           ,07998  
Standard Error              ,05322

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,05355	,05355
Residual	205	,58064	,00283

F =            18,90779            Signif F =    ,0000

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ILLITER	-,147878	,034008	-,290593	-4,348	,0000
(Constant)	,926259	,009070		102,128	,0000

End Block Number 1 All requested variables entered.

## C. GENERAL ELECTIONS

\* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTGEN    participation  
rate

Block Number 1.    Method:    Enter    LITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    LITER    Literate PeopleMultiple R                    ,10092  
R Square                     ,01018  
Adjusted R Square           ,00684  
Standard Error              ,05880

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,01053	,01053
Residual	296	1,02352	,00346

F =            3,04553            Signif F =    ,0820

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
LITER	,052595	,030138	,100917	1,745	,0820
(Constant)	,848092	,022961		36,937	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

## \* \* \* \* MULTIPLE REGRESSION \* \* \* \*

## Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1    Dependent Variable..    PARTRGEN    participation  
rate

Block Number 1. Method: Enter    ILLITER

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number  
1..    ILLITER    illiterate population

Multiple R                    ,10092  
R Square                     ,01018  
Adjusted R Square           ,00684  
Standard Error              ,05880

## Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,01053	,01053
Residual	296	1,02352	,00346

F =            3,04553            Signif F =    ,0820

## ----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
ILLITER	-,052595	,030138	-,100917	-1,745	,0820
(Constant)	,900687	,008175		110,177	,0000

End Block Number 1    All requested variables entered.

**APPENDIX I: ECOLOGICAL REGRESSION: POLITICAL  
PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE PEOPLE**

\* \* \* \* M U L T I P L E R E G R E S S I O N \* \* \* \*

Listwise Deletion of Missing Data

Equation Number 1      Dependent Variable..      PARTRATE      participation  
rate

Block Number 1.      Method:      Enter      INACT

Variable(s) Entered on Step Number

1..      INACT      economic activity - economically inactiv

Multiple R                      ,13794  
R Square                         ,01903  
Adjusted R Square               ,01744  
Standard Error                  ,05512

Analysis of Variance

	DF	Sum of Squares	Mean Square
Regression	1	,03647	,03647
Residual	619	1,88059	,00304

F =            12,00558                      Signif F =    ,0006

----- Variables in the Equation -----

Variable	B	SE B	Beta	T	Sig T
INACT	-,108958	,031446	-,137935	-3,465	,0006
(Constant)	,936826	,011904		78,695	,0000

End Block Number 1      All requested variables entered.

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