

**THE RISE AND DECLINE OF
CENTER RIGHT PARTIES IN TURKEY**



HASAN TEKİN ENEREM

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

JUNE, 2018

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF
CENTER RIGHT PARTIES IN TURKEY

BY

HASAN TEKİN ENEREM

DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF PHD IN DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY

JUNE, 2018

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. M. Fazıl GÜLER
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilgen SÜTÇÜOĞLU
Head of Department

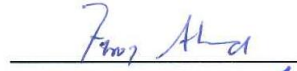
This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Prof. Dr. Feroz AHMAD
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

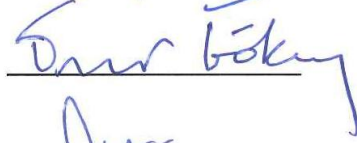
Prof. Dr. Feroz AHMAD Yeditepe University



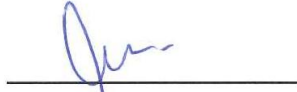
Prof. Dr. Cemil OKTAY Yeditepe University



Prof. Dr. F. Ömer GÖKAY Yeditepe University



Prof. Dr. B. Aykut ARIKAN Gelişim University



Prof. Dr. Erdinç ALTAY Istanbul University



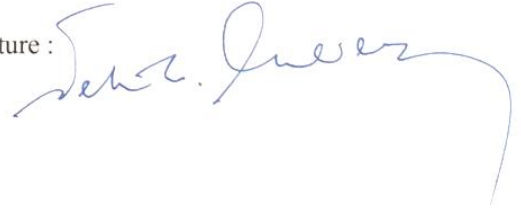
PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date : 27.06.2018

Name/Surname: Hasan Tekin ENEREM

Signature :

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Hasan Tekin ENEREM', with a long, sweeping flourish extending to the right.

Özet

Siyasi partiler demokrasiye geçiş sürecinden itibaren dünya siyasetinde ve ülke siyasetlerinde her daim önemli bir yer tutmuştur. Siyasi partiler, dünya siyasetinde gelişen ve değişen akımlara göre mevzilenmiş ve geliştirdikleri politikalar ile kendi iç siyasetlerini bu akımlara göre şekillendirmişlerdir. Bu süreçte ideolojik akımlara göre ortaya çıkan yeni partiler olduğu gibi mevcut partilerin de dönüşüm yaşadıkları ve dünya siyasetine hâkim olan ideolojilere paralel politikalar geliştirmeye başladıkları da görülmüştür.

Siyasi partilerin özelliklerini etkileyen bir faktör dünya siyaseti ve egemen olan ideolojilerin etkisi olmakla birlikte diğer bir etken ise ülkenin vatandaşlarının sahip olduğu siyasi kültürdür. Siyasi kültür bir ülkedeki siyasi partilerin, seçmenlerin ve adayların davranışlarına göre şekillenen ve bunun çerçevesinde mevcut siyasi partileri etkileyen en önemli faktörlerden birisidir. Ülkelerin vatandaşlarının bulundukları coğrafyanın da etkisiyle geliştirdikleri siyasi kültür sonucunda, siyasi partilerin de kendilerini bu siyasi kültüre göre tanımlamaları gerekliliği ortaya çıkmıştır. Sonuç itibarıyla partiler, ortaya çıktıkları ülkenin siyasi kültürü, dünya siyasetindeki gelişmeler ve dönemin hâkim ideolojisinin kesişim noktası olacak özelliklerle ortaya çıkmakta veya partiler kendilerini bu yönde dönüştürmektedirler.

Merkez sağ partiler de dünyada bu üç faktörün kesişimi sonucunda ortaya çıkmıştır. Merkez sağ partiler her ne kadar ortak özellikler gösterse de bu partilerin özellikleri ülkeden ülkeye değişiklik göstermektedir.

Bu tez çalışmasında, merkez sağ partilerin genel özellikleri tanımlanacaktır.

Bununla birlikte şu sorulara cevap aranacaktır: Türkiye’de merkez sağ partilerin özellikleri nelerdir? Türkiye’de merkez sağ partilerin gelişim süreçleri nasıl gerçekleşmiştir ve Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi’nde yer alan ve kendisini merkez sağ olarak tanımlayan partilerden hangileri merkez sağ partilerin özelliklerini göstermektedir? Türkiye’de merkez sağ partilerin yükselişi ve çöküşü hangi zaman aralığında nasıl olmuştur?

Anahtar kelimeler: Merkez sağ, Türk Siyasi Hayatı, Siyasi partiler, Türkiye’de merkez sağ partiler

Abstract

Political parties have always played a significant place in world politics as well as country politics ever since the transition to democracy. Political parties have been deployed according to developments and changing movements in world politics, as their internal politics are shaped in conformity to these relevant movements in world. As there are new political parties emerging with the influence of ideological movements, it has recently been observed that many already existing parties have gone through a process of transformation and started to develop policies that are pretty much in parallel to ideologies preponderating world politics.

While world politics and ideologies dominating the world are significant factors affecting features of political parties, another noteworthy factor is political culture of citizens in a given country. Political culture is one of the most important factors shaped according to behaviors of political parties, electorate and candidates in a country and it has a major influence on political parties. As a result of political culture citizens of a country develop with the effect of the geography, political parties are often required to define themselves in accordance with that political culture. Consequently, political parties emerge or transform with common features pertaining to political culture of the relevant country, developments in world politics and accepted ideology.

Center right parties have emerged as a result of an intersection of these three factors, as well. Although center right parties exhibit common features, their features are variable and depend on a given country.

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the general features of center right parties. Along with this, answers will be sought for the following questions: What are the features of center right parties in Turkey? How center right parties have developed in Turkey? Which parties in the Grand Turkish National Assembly identifying themselves as center right exhibit features of center right parties, indeed?

What is the time range for the rise and collapse of center right parties in Turkey?

Key words: Center Right, Turkish Political Life, Political Parties, Center Right Parties in Turkey

To my family;

My Wife, Demet ENEREM

My Son, Orhan Efe ENEREM

My Son, Hasan Alp ENEREM

My Daughter, Nazlı İris ENEREM

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am primarily grateful to my supervisor Prof. Feroz AHMAD for his extensive contributions in my dissertation, which would not have come forward, if he did not encourage me.

Secondly, I would like to extend my sincerese thanks and appreciation to Prof. Cemil OKTAY for his support and encouragement.

Thirdly, I would like to thank Prof. F. Ömer GÖKAY, Prof. Süleyman Seyfi ÖĞÜN, Prof. Cemil KIVANÇ, Prof. Aykut ARIKAN, Prof. Erdinç ALTAY, Asst Prof. Bilgen SÜTÇÜOĞLU & Mr. Hakan Sezgin ERKAN for the support and encouragement they provided ever since I started my post-graduate education.

My sincere thanks go to anonymous people who made it possible for me to complete my PhD degree in the Department of Political Science and International Relations.

I finally would like to thank the faculty members in the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Yeditepe University.

Table of Contents

Approval.....	i
Plagiarism.....	ii
Özet.....	iii
Abstract.....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	xi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
Introduction	1
CHAPTER I	7
POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY.....	7
1 Political Parties.....	7
1.1 Classification of Political Parties	11
1.2 Political Culture	26
1.3 Ideology.....	39
1.3.1 History of Ideology.....	42
1.4 Relationship among Political Parties, Political Culture and Ideology	48
CHAPTER II	51
CENTER RIGHT AND ITS FEATURES	51
2 Center Right	51
2.1 What is Center Right?	53
2.2 Features of Center Right in Turkey	56
2.2.1 Center Right Addresses Every Layer of Political Culture.....	57
2.2.2 Inclusive Party Characteristics	60
2.2.3 Forming Candidate Circles	61
2.2.4 Number of Active Members.....	64
2.2.5 Going beyond Ideological Patterns.....	64
2.2.6 Pragmatism	65
2.2.7 Focusing on Social Interest Areas and Problems	66
2.2.8 Vote-Seeking Characteristics	66
CHAPTER III	68

CENTER RIGHT IN TURKEY.....	68
3 Center Right in Turkey	68
3.1 Emergence of Center Right in Turkey	69
3.2 Understanding of Center Right in Turkey	70
CHAPTER IV	74
CENTER RIGHT IN TURKISH POLITICAL LIFE.....	74
4 Center Right in Turkish Political Life	74
4.1 Opposition Initiatives during the Single-Party Period.....	77
4.1.1 Second Group Opposition.....	78
4.1.2 Progressive Republican Party.....	80
4.1.3 Free Republican Party	83
4.2 Multi-Party Period.....	90
4.2.1 Democratic Party	90
4.2.2 Justice Party	112
4.2.3 Motherland Party.....	146
4.2.4 Justice and Development Party	166
5 Conclusion.....	187
6 Bibliography	200

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Number of Members and Relations between the Levels of Members' Participation	16
Table 2: Features of Policy-Seeking, Vote-Seeking, Office-Seeking Parties.....	25
Table 3: The number of member of parliaments gained by the political parties as a result of the elections in 1950.....	99
Table 4: 1961 Election Results	118
Table 5: 1965 Election Results	126
Table 6: Parties established around June – July 1983	149
Table 7: 1983 Election Results	153

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Almond & Verba: Classification of Political Cultures	38
Figure 2: The relationship between politics and interests	46
Figure 3: Circles around Candidates	63

Introduction

Political parties have gone through various stages in terms of emergence. Together with the emergence and prevalence of the concept of classes, politics have gained importance with regard to society in shaping individual behaviors and setting rules for social life.

Social approaches are significant in terms of shaping political parties. Features of political parties of a society that predominantly adopts majoritarian approach are outstandingly different from those of a pluralist society. As well, needs for such parties are different in two types of society.

At the same time, political culture of a country is determinant in structuring political parties. Individual expectations are directly affected by political culture. With this effect, individuals usually have different requests from political parties. As political parties shape themselves according to political culture they live in, they constantly refer to the political culture of masses they address to.

Political culture is one of major elements to understand a society, evaluate political perspectives and operate a political institution. Along with this, political culture of a society is also significant in comprehending policies and behaviors of political parties and policy-makers as well as development of world politics. Therefore, there is a significant difference between a political party established in a participatory political culture and one that is established and living in a community culture. Homogeneity or

heterogeneity of all individuals composing a society may change stances of political parties, their policies and target groups they address to. In societies where political culture is homogenous, the difference between political parties is minor. Policies of political parties in such type of homogenous societies are usually in parallel and coalition governments can sustain their operation seamlessly. On the other hand, this is rather different in societies where political culture is not homogenous. In such societies that harbor all varieties of political culture, political parties may exhibit many different aspects. Such differences are not small; on the contrary, they are generally very sharp distinctions. Thus, target groups to which political parties are addressing in societies with non-homogenous political culture tend to be narrower compared to societies with homogenous political culture. In this sense, it is useful to state that in case there is support from different sections of society with heterogeneous political culture may grant political parties the chance of coming to power alone by reaching up to majorities. In spite of this, in societies which lack a homogenous political culture, it is quite challenging for political parties to establish coalitions and operate any such coalition seamlessly. The reason for this is that political parties are usually pushed by the masses they are supported, and it is difficult to find a common ground between parties and their electorates.

Ideology may be regarded as the collection of opinions and thoughts about a certain subject matter. In this sense, ideologies come to the forefront as a factor impacting political parties and their policies. Certain parties limit themselves with a certain ideology and choose to address only electorate supporting that ideology. On the contrary, some other parties (center right parties, etc.) map out a route on the basis of ideological thought

that dominates the entire society, instead of limiting themselves with a smaller-scale ideology.

Along with this, ideology is a variable concept. Ideologies may fade away or transform together with the change of the world scene. Ideologies that are not accepted anymore have a great effect on political life of parties that ground on these ideologies. In case an ideology is eliminated from beliefs, acceptances or political tendencies of people, it is deemed to be eliminated from programs of political parties previously working on that ideology, as well. In this situation, if political parties cannot ensure the necessary transformation, they may face being erased from political life. Political parties may become obliged to change according to the required ideology or try to convince its electorates for the trueness of its ideology. Center-right parties appear to be more advantageous than other parties pertaining to ideological changes in world politics. Instead of a single ideology and a limited electorate adopting that ideology, center right parties do not confine themselves in ideological borders in order to be able to address the entirety of electorates. Thus, they have been able to adapt to changing and developing ideological environment in a short time.

Center-right parties are ones that have many aspects and involve many people with different ideas. These parties have come forward as parties developing their structures, administrative features and policies within the framework of political culture adopted by electorates of the country. Looking at party classifications, it is observed that center right parties have not yet been fully defined.

Instead of keeping certain groups of electorates together for a certain period of time, center right parties focus on electoral periods. As much as possible, they address to the largest masses of electorates during elections and put themselves meticulously in for victory. They have been able to acquire votes from various groups thanks to this meticulousness.

Center right parties, at the same time, address to different ideologies. In this context, center right parties do not confine themselves in ideological terms. As they do not confine themselves with a single ideology, addressing as many ideologies as possible has been crucial for center right parties. Acting pragmatically and not limiting yourself with dogma have provided center right parties with a large area of movement during the course of their political lives. Along with this area of movement, they have gained the capacity to address to electorates of each party and the flexibility to enter and exit from other parties' areas of movement. Another feature of center right parties is that they can rapidly tackle society's sensitivities and problems in a short time. Instead of tackling the long-term problems of a limited group of electorates, they prefer to lean on to the urgent situations for which social interest is exorbitant and this has been a driving force for center right parties in electoral periods.

There has been no consensus in the Turkish political life with regard to which parties are defined as center right or partially center right parties with certain features. Despite this irreconcilableness, many parties from Democratic Party to today's parties have been identified as center parties in Turkey. At the same time, there is also another ambiguity pertaining to the emergence of center right parties and their traditions in Turkey.

In light of this introductory chapter, the second chapter of this dissertation will dwell upon the particular political parties of Turkey. In this chapter, the term political party will be defined in light of the transformation the parties have undergone from their emergence to date. Again, under first sub-title of the second chapter, political parties will be classified and characteristics for this classification will be elaborated followed by understanding which party falls under what category according to their features. The subject of political culture will be tackled in another sub-title of the second chapter. Classification of political culture will be scrutinized in detail and differences in political culture will be focused as a result of this analysis. Another sub-title will elaborate on the subject-matter of ideology, which will first be defined and then analyzed to point out to its importance in political life. Since center right parties do not have a clear distinction with regard to their ideologies, the concept of ideology will not be elaborated in detail in this study. In general terms, the focus will be to understand the way how ideologies affect parties and how they shape their policies according to their ideologies. Furthermore, the relationship between political parties and ideologies as well as their point of view towards ideologies will be analyzed. Under the final sub-title of the second chapter, on the other hand, the relationship between political culture, ideologies and political parties will be analyzed. The focal point will be the effect of the political culture of the country and electorate as well as the ideologies they adopt on the political parties. Following the analysis of this interaction, the way how political parties position themselves will be elaborated on the basis of their policies in Turkish politics.

Center right parties will be studied with their particulars in the third chapter of the dissertation. First, center right will be defined and then its evident features will be

pointed out. Within the framework of these features, it will be determined which classification center right parties fall under with an evaluation of the features that make them inclined to that classification. Under the last sub-title of the third chapter, the emergence of the center right in Turkey will be analyzed.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation will dwell upon the political parties that have left their mark in the Turkish political life as ones that could be defined as center right parties. As a result of the practices and policies of these parties as well as their leaders' managerial mode, they will be analyzed in terms of their features that are associated with center right parties.

In this dissertation, the case study method is used so as to evaluate the features of each party to determine whether or not they can be defined as center right parties. As a result of this evaluation, the parties bearing the features of center right will be revealed. While trying to reach this result, two more methods will be used: The content analysis method will be used to assess parties, their programs, government programs and coalition protocols, if they have established coalition with another party. The other method used in this study is discourse analysis. Discourses of party leaders are useful in understanding whether or not parties are under the category of center right parties.

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL PARTIES, POLITICAL CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

1 Political Parties

Political parties have developed and gained multi-functionality in time, which has paved the way for great transformations with regard to modes of administration. Political regimes ruled by the authority of a single person started to fall down with the emergence of multiple political parties, while power and authority also started to be distributed among various parties. In other words, the unity of power, where all the authority was owned by only one person, underwent a change and transformation with the strengthening of political parties and the world system transformed to the order of separation of powers.

The fact that regimes without parties transformed into regimes with party and even multi-party systems with the force of changes in world politics and public demands also challenged the traditional ways of ruling to change. For this reason, it has become an obligation to evaluate political parties not in an isolated way, but together with the ways of administration or rule they operate.

Since this dissertation is focused on the 2th century and Turkey as the case study, it is not necessarily an obligation to analyze the traditional ways of administration or regimes, as Turkey adopted democratic system in 1923 with the proclamation of the

republic and gave up on the constitutional monarchy, one of its traditional regimes. Thereby, it will not be necessary to evaluate the relationship between the traditional regime, constitutional monarchy, and Turkish political parties.

With the simplest definition, democracy is a system where candidates compete in fair and impartial elections and electorates elect the one(s) they wish to come to power (Duverger, *Partiler ve Siyasi Rejimler*, 1962, p. 96). During the period of Greek city states, when democracy was implemented in an unmediated way, there was a direct connection between electorates and candidates. Candidates to become representatives of people were requesting directly from electorates to choose them and they were either elected or not elected as a result of that request. This order was transformed with the emergence of political parties. Political parties emerged as the third actor in the relationship between electorates and candidates for representation and this way, the direct relationship between electorates and candidates was ruptured. In this new system, candidates may directly run for office, while they can also be presented as candidates by political parties. Parties present their candidates by means of their lists and electorates vote for them in order to elect these candidates for the respected office.

Indeed, candidates for representations are presented and elected two times in this system. Candidates first are elected by parties they are members to and then run for office in the eyes of electorate for the second time. Candidates may be subject to intra-party preliminary elections together with other candidates or they can be directly presented as candidates by party management. This process runs naturally in political apparatus and finds a place for itself.

With shortest definition, politics can be described a set of relations that determine rules of social life, including behaviors and inter-relations of individuals in a society (Güler F. D., 2003, p. 5). Ruling political power, on the other hand, can be regarded as the power to rule the state as a result of winning the struggle for dominance in interclass conflicts.

In majoritarian approaches, the group that seizes the ruling power usually is not interested in the requests of others who lose the election race and tries to keep the majority intact for the next election. On the contrary, pluralist approach is composed of the idea that ruling power is multi-dimensional and that society is made of many groups representing social interests. Accordingly, these different groups have various demands and they will bargain among themselves in line with their demands. For this reason, pluralist approach casts arbitrator's role to state to consider everyone's interests.

Yet, the fundamental aim of parties wishing to come to power is to seize and utilize this power to the end. Political parties compete against each other during elections to obtain this ruling power and try to attract people's attention. In today's democratic societies, political parties obtain the ruling power by having majority of votes or ensuring majority of votes by establishing coalitions. That said, parties that do not or cannot form a coalition government are known as opposition parties and these parties acquire a new duty the moment the ruling party is determined. This new duty is to check and audit ruling party as opposition party (Abadan, 1966, p. 5).

As Niyazi Berkes defined, a party is a community or group of people who share similar points of view with regard to a problem as well as believing in the same method

for solving a particular problem. Political party, on the other hand, is a group of people or community who come together to obtain ruling power as a common will and to dominate other groups (Berkes, 1946, pp. 2-3). According to Server Tanilli, a political party is a tool for expression of different believes and ideas within class conflicts in political life (Tanilli, 1981, p. 211). Sigmund Neumann, on the other hand, argues that a political party is a mediator, which is interested in auditing rulers and competes with other groups in order to do this via obtaining social support. At the same time, it is a mediator that associates its ideology with political actions (Neumann, 1958, p. 396). Valdimer Orlando Key Jr. states that political parties are fundamental institutions to transform social preferences into public policies (Key, 1961, p. 433). Yet another scholar, Elmer Eric Schattschneider, argues that the only organization to transform the majority's decisions into phenomena or actions is political parties (Schattschneider, 1948, p. 10). Taking into consideration these various definitions, the term political party may be generally defined as follows: A political party is a formation by people who share similar beliefs and opinions and come together to obtain social support and have ruling power by competing against other groups and trying to convince others not sharing similar ideas or beliefs. In addition to these features, political parties may also have other properties. These properties of political parties may vary according to their geography and country. Similarly, the common point of political parties that change according to their political view is that they have to be based on a social basis within society they live. Parties not supported by society cannot be successful in elections and cannot get the chance to obtain ruling power. Moreover, political parties are among the most important actors in establishing stability in democratic systems.

1.1 Classification of Political Parties

Political parties have undergone various changes and transformations since the day they emerged in the world scene. Political parties have been analyzed under certain classifications as a result of the transformations they have undergone from the 20th century to the present day as they have to respond to demands of society, adapt to changing and emerging ideologies and developments in the world. As a result of these evaluations, various approaches have been adopted in different periods and certain classifications have been formed to understand political parties. These classifications have been revisited and extended when necessary, in accordance with changing ideologies, community demands and developments in global politics.

There are two basic criteria for classification of parties in the process up to the First World War: These are party ideologies and commitment to constitutional system (Güler F. D., 2003, p. 13). Parties were re-classified in the second half of the 20th century. During this period, parties were classified according to their characteristics, and many intellectuals and academics added different dimensions to these classifications. In this sense, classification of political parties after the Second World War will be to the point in understanding center right political parties.

The Second World War caused many alterations in world politics. At the same time, it is a significant breaking point affecting both domestic and foreign policies of countries. Due to bipolar structure of world politics, countries have made their domestic

and foreign policies adaptable to this new order. An important factor of domestic politics, political parties has also been affected by this change. Both their way to address masses and the order of domestic politics have driven political parties to alter and transform. The most important change in this area has been targets of political parties to address and obtain votes from larger groups of people instead of a single faction or class in a society.

There have also been changes in the classification of parties after the Second World War. Along with the alterations in world politics after the Second World War, ideologies that were among the most important factors in classification of parties started to lose their former significance. Instead of doing politics with their singular ideology around people defending that ideology, parties adopted new identities targeting more people to bring under the same roof. In other words, ideal and ideological structure of political parties have changed to be more comprehensive and inclusive due to the greater importance attributed to different values in world politics than before the Second World War.

Thus, ideological compounds which were vital for political parties before the Second World War that they never made concessions to were later made flexible. By this means, right parties accepted certain left ideas, whereas left parties adopted some elements of rightist ideology (Tunaya, Siyasal Kurumlar ve Anayasa Hukuku, 1980, p. 300).

1.1.1.1 *Cadre and Mass Parties*

For the first time in 1951, Maurice Duverger classified political parties with similar organizational structures and this categorization has been widely accepted and acknowledged to date (Duverger, *Siyasi Partiler*, 1974, p. 9).

Defining parties as cadre and mass parties does not necessarily mean differentiating political parties according to their size, policies or ideologies. When Duverger makes this distinction, he classifies parties by putting forward their organizational structures. Therefore, this classification was produced by a comparison of organizational structures of political parties.

The number of members is crucial for mass parties. Members are important in both political and financial terms. A political party is just like a school. Members are usually trained within party. The aim of this practice is to train people to rule a country, if their party comes to power as a result of elections. The basis and fundamental compound of a party is its members. In other words, mass parties can only exist as political formations through their members (Akillı, 2012, p. 160). Without their members, mass parties are doomed to disappear or left functionless. Ideological lines of mass parties are evident. They train their members to explain their ideological structure and believe that they raise cadres to rule a country. Members are equally significant in financial as much as political terms for mass parties. Accordingly, such parties cover their expenses by membership fees. They do not, however, endeavor to connect wealthy people to make them members and use their asset. In other words, they value quantity of their members

rather than quality and this is the reason why membership fees are crucial to them (Kapani, 2005, pp. 169-170). Financing is more democratic compared to system of cadre parties. Instead of a capitalist understanding of financing, a democratic financing model that encourages equal share of the burden is utilized (Duverger, Siyasi Partiler, 1974, p. 107). There are two more purposes for using this democratic financing model. The first of these purposes is that election campaigns may get out of the hegemony of capitalist economy when expenses for campaign and party promotion are equally shared among members. The other purpose, on the other hand, is members who pay the membership fee can feel as part of election campaign process and thus politics. By this means, members of mass parties work for their parties for a long term and actively participate in their works (Duverger, Siyasi Partiler, 1974, p. 107).

The other type of party defined by Duverger is, as briefly mentioned above, cadre parties. The most striking feature of cadre parties is gathering of the elite. Rather than quantity, quality of members is significant for cadre parties. This quality should not be, however, evaluated as only wealth. Cadre parties are formed by gathering teams of elite groups. Such an elite team is divided into three groups:

- The first category is composed of influential and prestigious persons who can support nominees in every field, pull votes, and put nominees forward thanks to their network (Duverger, Siyasi Partiler, 1974, p. 107). Such people are generally ones who are famous and prestigious across electorate or entire country. In other words, these are highly accepted people by society.

- The second category is composed of people who have advanced level of technical information about elections and electorate behaviors. These are experts with the knowledge to organize election campaigns, test the pulse of electorate and measure electorate's behaviors (Duverger, *Siyasi Partiler*, 1974, p. 107). This group of people may be composed of technocrats completely or people who have gained expertise in time through experience.
- The third and final category is people who financially support parties and finance election campaigns (Duverger, *Siyasi Partiler*, 1974, p. 107). These financiers provide financial support during the course of an election and they may also cover expenses of the second group given above, professionals, if necessary. Thus, usually a small group of wealthy people finance election campaigns for cadre parties and cover their expenses (Karakurt, 2016, p. 45).

Number of members or constant (periods except election periods) active participation of members is not important for cadre parties. Whereas mass parties ensure financial support by bringing together a number of people, cadre parties can supply the same amount of financial support by a small group of people.

Another difference between cadre and mass parties is about the process of becoming a member. Becoming a member to mass parties does not require any special skills or qualities. By nature of mass parties, they try to train even the most uneducated person, therefore membership criteria do not include any special quality. As opposed to this, the process of becoming a member to cadre parties is completely different. Becoming a member to a cadre party has a very different meaning from becoming a member to a mass party. Members to cadre parties are elected by measuring their

personal skills. Election and membership process is run through a closed circuit system (Duverger, Siyasi Partiler, 1974, pp. 107-108).

Number of Members	Level of Member Participation	
	Low Participation	High Participation
Low Number of Members	Classical Cadre Parties Examples: UDF (France) Liberals (Canada) Reformists Conservatives (Canada) Democratic (USA) Conservatives (USA)	Modern Cadre Parties Examples: PvdA, CDA, VVD (Netherlands) Workers' Party (United Kingdom) SPD, CDU (Germany) PS (France)
High Number of Members	Leader-focused Party Examples: RPR (France) Conservatives (United Kingdom)	Mass Party Examples: SAP (Sweden) PDS/PCI (Italy)

(Wolinetz, 2002, p. 144)

Table 1: Number of Members and Relations between the Levels of Members' Participation

The processes of member acceptance and membership to cadre and mass parties today are not as sharp as seen in the above table. Many parties that can be defined as cadre parties are well trying to ensure active involvement of their members in periods except election periods, as well, and to have higher number of members. The most relevant example to this in Turkey is Justice and Development Party . No matter how Justice and Development Party appears to be a cadre party, it has constantly endeavored to keep its members mobilized with its “Schools of Politics” with regard to the process of becoming a member.

Maurice Duverger’s classification and definition has brought in a new perspective to description of political parties and has been a primary and significant source for intellectuals and academicians.

1.1.1.2 Individual Representation Parties and Social Integration Parties

Following Duverger, another scholar to classify political parties is Sigmund Neumann. According to his way of classification, Neumann divides parties into two groups. This distinction is between social integration parties and individual representation parties (Neumann, 1958, pp. 400-401). There is no constant or permanent activity/effectiveness in individual representation parties. Individuals supporting a party and party members get mobilized during electoral periods and stagnate in between elections.

As participation to party is limited, the political area the party identifies and positions itself is also limited. Members of party assume their fundamental duty as voting. For this reason, party members lose their mobility in between electoral periods.

Furthermore, organizational structure of such parties is not different. Members in all layers of organization work hard during electoral periods and become stagnant after elections. Party discipline is very loose in such type of parties. Candidates usually extend their area of movement after being elected and may act against party politics. Therefore, candidates act upon their personal agenda rather than acting as part of integrated party. In other words, candidates, party members and electorates of party get mobilized only during electoral periods. They usually remain in standby mode until the next election.

In social integration parties, on the other hand, party and its members establish closer relationship with its voters and supporters. Party members pay membership fees to sustain their membership. This fee strengthens the sense of belonging in members and ensures that party is active not only during but also after elections. In addition, supporters of such parties expect party members to intervene in their daily life challenges with a solution. Party discipline is higher compared to individual representation parties. Party's candidates for office and its members act on behalf of party's agenda rather than their personal agendas. Party members, further, aspire to maintain and increase their share of influence in society.

1.1.1.3 Mass / Catch-All Parties

Otto Kirchheimer is one of intellectuals who put forward a new definition after being affected by this study.

This new understanding defined and systematized by Otto Kirchheimer can be conceptualized as catch – all party. According to this new type of party and system, parties endeavor to appeal to as many citizens as possible and respond to as many expectations as possible with their structure (Kirchheimer, *The Composition of the German Bundestag*, 1950, pp. 317-318). Catch all parties started to rise in Europe in the period of de-ideologization (Chandler, 1988, pp. 62-70). The basic features of catch all parties are as follows:

- Catch all parties are oriented towards elections. Instead of keeping citizens composit for a long term, they focus on electoral periods. Catch all parties make use of the method to address large masses with various ideologies during elections by keeping them together in order to come to power (Kirchheimer, *The Transformation of the Western Europe Party Systems*, 1966, p. 184).
- Instead of limiting target citizens they want to influence through various elements and factors, catch all parties try to lift such limitatios as much as possible and exert effort to reach larger groups of people as possible (Kirchheimer, *The Transformation of the Western Europe Party Systems*, 1966, p. 184).
- Instead of focusing on large-scope and long term duties, catch all parties tend to be more pragmatic. They aim to solve existing problems in a short term without getting stuck in certain limitations (Kirchheimer, *The Transformation of the Western Europe Party Systems*, 1966, p. 184).
- Catch all parties do not lean towards problems of certain groups in a permament or long term manner, however they focus on social interests and

extensive social problems (Kirchheimer, *The Transformation of the Western Europe Party Systems*, 1966, p. 184).

1.1.1.4 Electoral-Professional and Mass-Bureaucratic Parties

Angelo Panebianco attracts attention as another political scientist contributing to the classification of parties. Panebianco's primary purpose is to remedy the deficiencies of Kirchheimer's definition of catch all political party (Wolinetz, 2002, p. 146). According to Panebianco, mass-bureaucratic parties and electoral-professional parties are the two ideal typologies for classification. In this definition, Duverger's mass parties or Neumann's social integration parties are qualified as equal to mass bureaucratic parties in this definition (Wolinetz, 2002, p. 146). Panebianco states that mass bureaucratic parties are rather strict and strong in terms of ideology and their vertical organization is disciplined. Membership fees are used in this type of parties to finance party and its campaigns. Electoral-professional parties, on the other hand, are ones where there is no domination of a certain ideology and party management is composed of professionals. Vertical organization is weak and interest groups or state funds are used to finance party and its campaigns (Wolinetz, 2002, pp. 146-147).

1.1.1.5 Cartel Parties

Another addition to Neumann's party typology is Katz & Mair's definition of cartel parties. The most evident feature of cartel parties is their relationship with state.

Party classification is significant for understanding center right parties. The majority of center right parties in Turkey, particularly, shows similar features to fall under the definitions and classifications explained above. Therefore, these definitions and classifications are significant points to consider when defining center right. Nonetheless, it is evidently seen that above definitions and classifications of party are insufficient in understanding parties that are classified as center right. Although they bear similar features in general, not any classification seems to completely match the features of center right parties. For this reason, it is necessary to benefit from a new classification study that flourished in 1990s.

1.1.1.6 New Classification in 1990s

Due to insufficiency of the former classifications, a new type of classification of political parties emerged in 1990s. Putting forward this classification for the first time, Kaare Strøm divided parties according to their purposes and made this classification suitable with today's circumstances. According to Kaare Strøm, parties are classified under three groups and these are:

- Office-seeking parties
- Policy-seeking parties
- Vote-seeking parties

1.1.1.6.1 Policy-seeking parties

Simply put forward, such types of parties are subject-oriented, and they give priority completely to their policies (Wolinetz, 2002, p. 150). As requested policies may be uttered on the basis of a single subject-matter, a topic that is not compatible with party policy may well be protested. These parties may change and shape their policies according to their political agenda. The basic distinguishing feature of these parties is that they do not have any aspiration to have a large number of members. Followers of party founders and their policies adopt a route within the framework of these policies and focus thoroughly on party policies regardless of high or low number of members (Wolinetz, 2002, p. 151). In European countries, the current Greens Parties are shown as examples to this type of parties.

1.1.1.6.2 Vote-Seeking Parties

The most evident distinguishing feature of vote-seeking parties is that their fundamental purpose is to win elections. These parties never focus on policies or offices. The basic aim of party founders and members is to win first election ahead.

Another feature of vote-seeking parties is to act pragmatically to increase the level of support to party. Regardless of electoral system where they compete against other parties, their fundamental purpose is to win elections and have a permanent existence. Even if electoral system is single-member district or proportional representation election system with or without threshold, these parties may become a roof party as a result of coalition of many different groups in party in order to be able to address the majority of electorate and win elections. In other words, these parties try to ensure minimum

consensus under a single roof by combining groups with various opinions in order to reach largest number of electorates as much as possible.

Another feature of vote-seeking parties is that party, from lowest rank to highest, organizes well during the course of an election. Having said that, party sustains mobilization of districts, the smallest area to get organized, and continues with the largest areas, cities or states, during the course of electoral periods. While such an act of mobilization ensures dominance of party management in the field, it also means continuous active power during electoral campaigns. Vote-seeking parties tend to continue this structure in the lowest level as possible in the aftermath of elections, though. Instead of keeping the same crowded mass together, they prefer to minimize this mobilization.

For vote-seeking parties, party members do not have any significant voice in shaping party policies, although they have partial contribution in determining party member candidates. Although this may appear to be a weakness, these parties already adopt pragmatic policies due to harboring many different views and ideas within their body. It is for this reason that party members do find a piece of their opinion in party policies regardless of their general ideology.

Rate of activity in vote-seeking parties, as well, changes according to starting date of electoral campaigns. When electoral campaigns begin, parties maximize their rate of mobilization. As opposed to this, mobilization rate falls considerably in the aftermath of elections or in between electoral periods, when compared to electoral periods.

Examples to such parties are parties in the USA, leader-focused parties and traditional catch-all parties (Christian Democrats).

1.1.1.6.3 Office-Seeking Parties

The fundamental aim of office-seeking parties is to take place in government. Involvement in government may be in the form of winning elections or forming coalitions, however office-seeking parties choose small-scale parties to establish coalitions or parties that will enable a balance by nature of system. One of distinguishing features of these parties is that they refrain from drawing reactions of other parties when issuing electoral campaigns or regulating party policies. Office-seeking parties regard other parties as potential coalition partners, thus they strictly design their party policies and discourses in a way that will not draw any reactions from other parties (Wolinetz, 2002, p. 152).

Office-seeking parties may be small-scale or large-scale parties. In order to be able to take part in government, small parties may act together with larger parties and provide them with support in their policies. Party with the closest association with this party typology in the history of Turkish elections and governments is regarded to be the Republican Trust Party. The Republican Trust Party achieved to enter into government during the Nationalist Front Governments despite obtaining limited number of votes.

	Parties		
	Policy-Seeking	Vote-Seeking	Office-Seeking
Time spent for determining party policies	High	Low	Low
Scope of participation in determining party policies	Extensive	Limited	Limited
Level of participation in determining party policies	Participation from all levels of party	Limited with party leader or central board	Limited with party leader or central board
Characteristics of discussion in determining party policies	Long-term, subject-focused, intensive discussions	Disorderly, lack of a certain focal point	Disorderly, lack of a certain focal point
Continuity of assumed duty	High Level	From middle to low level: Varies generally according to leader's decisions and election opportunities.	From middle to low level
Importance attributed to party policies	High	Variable	Low
How party strategies are determined	By following party policies	By producing policies to maximize votes	By determining low-risk policies
Use of new election tactics and techniques	Low-Mid Level	High Level	Low-Mid Level

(Wolinetz, 2002, p. 155)

Table 2: Features of Policy-Seeking, Vote-Seeking, Office-Seeking Parties

1.2 Political Culture

Political scientists have always laid emphasis on the importance of societies' beliefs, values and behaviors in various situations on the field of politics as of the day politics started to be analyzed as a scientific branch. Despite this, scientists have not yet reached a consensus pertaining to the definition of political culture (Canan-Sokullu, 2016, p. 102).

Societies and individuals living in a society often have variable understandings with regard to politics and the mode of administration. Every society as well as every individual living in a society has different norms, principles and points of views. The economic and social structure of societies, mode of administration and structure of

states, religious values of individuals and societies, perspectives regarding regimes, social traditions and customs are all elements that help understand political culture of a society.

Every society has peculiar political traditions coming from their origins or formed as a result of experience. The tracks of political traditions are reflected on politics, while also in political institutions. Formed under the impact of political traditions, political institutions definitely carry the marks of political traditions of society despite having different purposes for foundation.

Although Western societies have accepted certain common values and shaped their democratic regimes within this framework, there are certain differences in their

political traditions consequent to their history and experiences. At the same time, reactions these societies show in political processes are also different at different times since their political culture is shaped by different elements during the course of history. Similarly, countries gaining their independence after the Second World War re-interpreted institutions formerly established by colonialist states on the basis of their own political culture. As a consequence, these political institutions did not sustain the operation style of colonialist states, but newly-independent states brought in their interpretation to these political institutions within the framework of their political cultures ensured their operation under this culture (Oktay, 2014, p. 223).

Political culture is the most important determinant factor for political system in a country. Political cultures and political institutions affect operation style and process of politics in country and they compose a factor that shapes and directs national politics. To be able to understand political culture, it is crucial to have knowledge about perception of politics by individuals in a society and comprehend their political inclinations (Canan-Sokullu, 2016, p. 103).

In this context, it is necessary to first define culture to be able to comprehend political culture. Culture is transfer of social habits, experiences and lifestyles from generation to generation through various methods. In light of this definition, it is necessary to tackle the definition of political culture on the same grounds. According to Almond & Verba, political culture is composed of attitudes of citizens with regard to their role in political system (Almond & Verba, 1989). Sidney Verba states that political culture is a system formed by beliefs and values obtained via experiences (Verba, 1965, p. 513). According to Roskin, on the other hand, political culture is psychology of a

society pertaining to politics (Roskin, Cord, Medeiros, & Jones, 2012, p. 83). Esat Çam asserts that political culture is the structure that establishes connection between individuals and the rest of society (Çam, 1990, p. 180) and this connection facilitates the process of decision-making (Çam, 1990, p. 156). In addition, Cemil Oktay defines political culture as the sum of political feelings, values and beliefs of citizens in a society (Oktay, 2014, p. 222).

Political culture may change from country to country and from society to society. Yet, no matter how it changes or has different contents, political culture is like a filter for political perception of individuals in a society and determines the stance of individuals in active or passive participation to political life. In other words, politics emerges after it is strained through political culture (Oktay, 2014, p. 223).

The consonance between political culture and political structure is crucial. Accordingly, if there is any inconsistency between political culture and political structure, there will be malfunctions in operation of politics. It is for this reason that democracies in countries where political culture is not consistent with democracy turn into either single-party system after a while or lose the feature of fair and competitive election system, which is the basic principle of democracy (Canan-Sokullu, 2016, s. 107-108).

When a political structure that is not suitable to political culture of a society is established, the biggest reaction will come from institutions and individuals accustomed to former political culture. The first result of such a situation may be that political structure is re-regulated in compliance with former political culture. After the colonial

period, countries such as United Kingdom and France withdrew from their colonies and institutions they established in colonized countries transformed and were abrogated since they were not fit to political culture of exploited countries. It is almost impossible for political structures, which are not in compliance with political culture, to sustain their existence for a long time. The second result of such a situation may be just the opposite. Political culture may also transform with the effect of a new political structure. In accordance with new political culture that is tried to be settled, existing political structure in a country may be re-shaped. Under these circumstances, there may be resistance, as well. Yet, if that resistance is broken, political structure and political culture may reach a certain level of consonance. For instance, political structures of Republic of Turkey after the Republican Revolutions faced such resistance. In consideration of the National Struggle Period, this resistance was experienced even within the National Assembly. Nonetheless, the political culture in the country underwent a period of transformation and the existing political structures maintained their existence. After a short time, on the other hand, harmony was established between the political culture and political structures in Turkey.

The first study on political culture was conducted by Almond and Verba between the years 1958 and 1963 in the USA, United Kingdom, Western Germany, Mexico and Italy and published in 1963. In this book, the authors assessed the relationship between democracy and political behaviors. At the same time, the authors further evaluated culture of citizenship within the framework of political culture. They classified individuals according to their citizenship culture and elaborated on political culture within this scope.

Political culture is a structure that varies according to countries. Almond & Verba point out to three different dimensions as the reason for this variability. These dimensions are cognitive, emotional and evaluator dimensions (Almond & Verba, 1989).

- **Cognitive Dimension:** Every individual in political culture has a certain level of knowledge on political system and political institutions. In other words, it is assumed that individuals are knowledgeable about the actors and elements that shape the political system (Çalışkan, 2017, p. 37).

- **Emotional Dimension:** Emotional dimension is reactions individuals show against political events. Excessive or calm reactions shown by people against political events form a part of their political culture. For example, the reaction shown by electorates against deriving power and personal gainings by making use of office is different in Eastern and Western societies (Çalışkan, 2017, p. 37).

- **Evaluator Dimension:** This dimension includes general evaluation of political system by individuals (Çalışkan, 2017, p. 37).

According to Almond & Verba, as stated above, political culture is formed of different dimensions, being cognitive, emotional and evaluator. These dimensions may be assessed on the basis of three different analysis levels. These analysis levels are system, political processes and political implications (G. Bingham Powell, Dalton, & Strøm, 2015, s. 40).

- **Political System:** The most important factor for individuals with regard to political system is legitimacy of system. Legitimacy of system, at the same time, shows the level of commitment to political system. While

individual support to system increases if it is legitimate, that support diminished if the situation is on the contrary. From a different perspective, high level of legitimacy ensures greater respect by individuals to authorities, while lower level of legitimacy causes questioning of authority by individuals. Questioning political authority, in turn, poses a threat to the existence and continuation of system (G. Bingham Powell, Dalton, & Strøm, 2015, s. 40).

• **Political Process:** Citizens in every country have a peculiar citizenship culture. This citizenship culture, in certain countries, is shaped as a primordialist understanding of nationalism with strong connection with nationalism¹. According to this understanding, there are certain coercive factors pushing society taking part in the formation of citizenship culture. This culture is formed as a result of these coercive factors.

Citizenship culture is also directly related to expectations of individuals from political process. As a result of citizenship culture of individuals, they may have excessive amounts of expectations from political processes. Yet, an opposite situation is also possible. Individuals may minimize their expectations with the effect of political culture, as well.

• **Political Implications:** Every state has its own understanding of government. According to their understanding, citizens produce certain implications on the basis of the way of governing. Thus, citizens have certain expectations in relation to the governing method of state. The political

¹ The primordialist approach is tackled within the framework of nationalism theories; however primordialism is not a nationalism theory, but an approach. This approach is evaluated under three different methods by people with primordialist point of view. These are naturalist, biological and cultural primordialist points of view (Özkırımlı, 2016, s. 82).

implications of citizens can be subtended, if government achieves to meet citizens' expectations.

The first study in the field of political culture, *The Civic Culture Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* by Almond and Verba is a pioneering study in its field. This study was conducted via the survey method in five countries in a comparative mode and three different definitions were acquired according to citizens' political inclinations. This study is still valid, although a number of other studies were conducted on its validity and classification of political culture. Still, it is a known fact that Almond & Verba's study required a revision after the end of the Cold War. Intellectuals and academicians studying in the field of political culture produced new researches on the basis of Almond & Verba's investigations. Together with criticism on Almond & Verba's findings, these new studies also have brought new points of view as well as new definitions.

Almond & Verba's *The Civic Culture Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* is considerably useful in defining center right and its version in Turkey and explaining its evident features.

It is crucial to comprehend classifications of political culture and the dominant political culture of a society so that mentality of center right and complaisance shown by Turkish people to center right parties are understood thoroughly.

Almond & Verba point out three distinctive patterns of political culture:

- Parochial Culture

- Subject Culture
- Participant Culture

1. **Parochial Culture (Communitarian and Local Political Culture):** Individuals directly associate themselves with the environment they are born in. Their point of view and area are confined to their place of birth or the closest vicinity. It is because of this narrow point of view that belonging of individuals is short-distanced and covers only the vicinity of their place of birth. This belonging is local and has only locality in itself. Political center or centers of state are completely insignificant for these individuals. In rare situations where they are significant, on the other hand, individuals are completely indifferent to political center. They do not have any expectations from institutions they are aware of. In other words, individuals do not have any expectation from state itself. Due to their point of view, these individuals' world and frame are confined to their place of birth and its vicinity. They do not wish to establish any connection with the outer world. Even if they do, they lack the ambition and belief to do so. Interest of these individuals is limited to village, community or city they live in. Individuals do not identify themselves as individuals in this type of culture. The existence of individuals becomes meaningful only in their villages, cities or communities. And individuals identify and express themselves within this circle and its periphery. The country they live in, the continent where this country is located, or the political situation in the country is not important for these individuals at all. What is important is the individuals' village, city or community. In other words, the

world of these individuals is composed of the narrow environment they live in. There is no other environment for these individuals other than their village, city or community and they refuse to recognize other settings (Almond & Verba, 1989, s. 16-17). For people endowed with this type of culture, there is no advantage in taking part in country's politics. As their lives are limited with circle they draw for themselves, they do not exhibit any political behavior and they do not aspire to do so.

2. **Subject Culture:** Contrary to local political culture or parochial culture, individuals are not indifferent to political center. Individuals are knowledgeable about political center and authorities as well as structure and features of political center. They also know about the existence of nation state. Yet, they do not believe that they have an impact on political center. They perceive themselves as subjects. Relationship of individuals with political center is based on passiveness. It is due to this passiveness that they do not have any effect on politics. They respect authority representing the political center and their approach towards this authority is always withdrawn or timid (Almond & Verba, 1989, s. 17-22). This timidity results from the fact that individuals believe they are not competent and politics is the job of pioneering senior managers (Oktay, 2014, s. 226). This passiveness is also supported by political authority. The elitist stance of political authority reinforces passiveness of individuals, as well. Cemil Oktay provides four examples to this situation from the Turkish political life: The first example is the idea coming from Shaykh al-Islam Chamber of the Ottomans during the proclamation of the First Constitutional Monarchy saying, "The Grand Ottoman

State cannot be ruled by seeking advise from the ignorant people of Anatolia and Rumelia” (Paşa, 1953). Acting President of the Grand National Assembly and the Minister of Public Works during the transition to multi-party system in Republic of Turkey after the Second World War, Cevdet Kerim İncedayı uttered in 1949 the following words in this regard: “When I visited these regions, I could only communicate with some people thanks to students who interpreted their dialect. If you leave them free, they will vote for either Hasso or Memo (villagers). Would your conscience be clear if you allow these people fill in the Grand National Assembly? (Aslandaş & Bıçakçı, 1995, s. 100-101). The third example is from Cemal Gürsel, who said, “How can you rule a country with people, who have never managed even a squad in their life?” (Oktay, 2014, s. 227). The last example in this regard is the expression by Mesut Yılmaz, Minister of Tourism during the term of ANAP (Motherland Party) government after the military coup in 1980: “Turkey was very politicized and needed to be de-politicized a bit” (Oktay, 2014, s. 227).

3. **Participant Culture:** In this culture, individuals are aware of political order, political structure and political authority. Therefore, there is no passiveness or being subject to a small environment. Individuals are well aware of political order they live in and thus, they affect political order. Thanks to this effectiveness, they actively participate in political life. While being active in politics, they have the equipment necessary to show this level of effectiveness. This effectiveness comes from recognition of others. In other words, individuals are knowledgeable about national and international values, assets and their importance. At the same time,

individuals do have a command on political processes, political center and political authorities. They do expect remedies for their problems from the political authorities and state and individuals push state to produce solutions. Individuals are sensitive and social problems. This sensitivity is both local/national and international. Individuals are citizens in full sense in this culture. They know their rights and duties and comply with and respect these rights and duties. Awareness of individuals is at a high level and they do not identify themselves with local values or subject culture. In this culture, people identify themselves as individuals and act accordingly. As a matter of fact, it is not necessary for individuals to be subject to system or confine themselves to local values in order to be able to take part in politics (Almond & Verba, 1989, s. 26).

Almond & Verba's classification of political culture is in this form. This classification will provide great contribution to the definition of center right. The classification of these cultures forms a general definition; however, they are significant in terms of explaining the political culture and center right parties in Turkey.

There may be competition or cooperation among people who have this culture in their country. Political parties address to people with this culture during electoral periods. As a result of their way of addressing and party programs, they aim and aspire to obtain votes from three different groups of electorates with different political cultures. For this reason, the structures of political structures have changed considerably as of the 20th century on.

Political culture is not invariable among people. Individuals may change their political culture or transfer to a different political culture. As is shown in Figure 1,

transition from one circle to another is possible. The method for this is socialization. Political socialization may be explained as teaching new generations about political culture (Oktay, 2014, s. 230). In other words, political socialization is identification of people with the society they live in and that individuals feel as a part of their societies (Yolçu, 2017, s. 41).



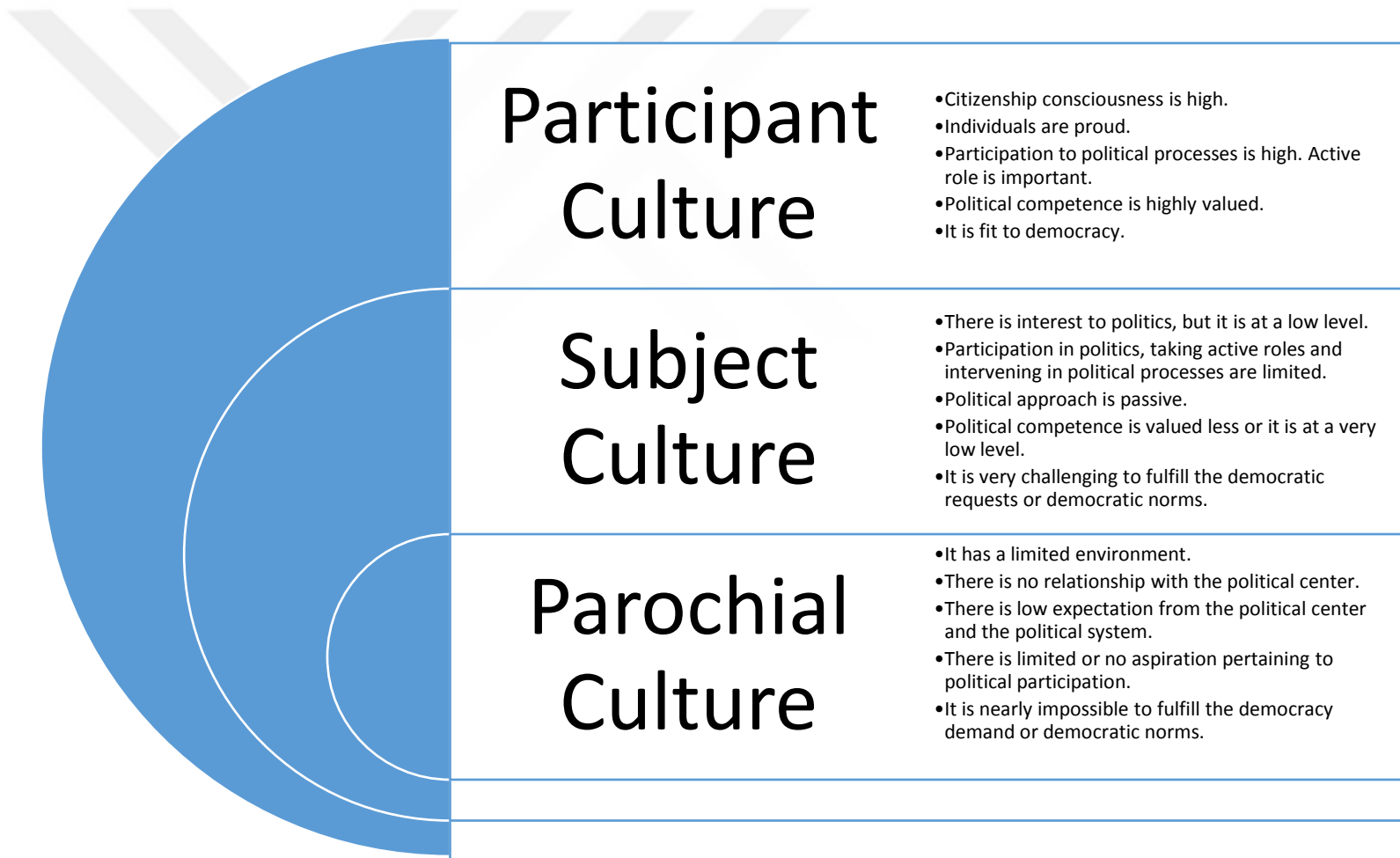


Figure 1: Almond & Verba: Classification of Political Cultures

1.3 Ideology

The concept of ideology is one of the most difficult concepts to reach a consensus over its general definition in social sciences. The basic reason for this difficulty in providing a definition is the nature of the connection between theory and practice. When the entirety of ideas used as political ideologies is tried to be implemented via political parties, the conflict between theory and practice becomes evident.

Political parties use ideologies, with which they shape their structure of thinking, to construct their policies. Therefore, the importance attributed by each structure of opinion to ideology or theory is different. This, in turn, evidently puts forward the difference in importance attributed by parties using ideology as basis and other parties using ideology as a tool.

Ideology was defined for the first time by Antoine-Louis-Claude, Comte Destutt de Tracy in 1796 as “science of ideas” and was a given place in the literature (Britannica, 2014). When Destutt de Tracy propounded ideology as an opinion, he stated that ideology and an entirety of opinions can be analyzed tangibly and that ideology would be the most important scientific branch (Antoine-Louis-Claude, 1905).

Ideology gained importance as stated by Destutt de Tracy after the term of Karl Marx. Karl Marx and then Friedrich Engels used the term extensively, which paved the way for ideology to gain significance in social sciences. Defining ideology, Marx also specified its reflections on the class consciousness, ruling classes and that ideology is the reflection of rulers (Heywood, 2014, pp. 24-25).

Marx defines ideology as a sort of diversion or deception. In Marx's articles, this concept is referred to as mystification and indeed, it is distorting the reality and causing illusions (Örs, 2016, s. 15-17). According to this approach, ideologies can be understood as a result of class-related analyses. They are composed as a result of the combination of production modes, production forces and relations and this style also shapes ideologies. According to Marx, every mode of production corresponds to a type of state. Along with this, there are three types of classes according to Marx regardless of the type of state or mode of production. These are: Dominant classes, rising classes and falling classes. Here, falling classes are described as dominant classes of former periods. It is stated that these classes would first lose their power and then disappear (Örs, 2016, s. 16-18).

The fundamental reason for Marx to define ideology as an illusion is that he believed every class created integrity of ideas in order to legitimize itself and maintain its survival. According to Marx, understandings of ideologies are variable depending on different classes. For instance, fallen classes defend as an ideology the future period when they would be the dominant class, arguing that period would be the best. Dominant classes think that the existing system is indispensable and follow a conservative approach in order to protect their system. Rising classes, on the other hand, desire a radical change and want to demolish ideology of dominant class. From this perspective, ideology has a different meaning for each and every class. Ideology for fallen classes is the assertion that the time when they will be dominant will be the best. For rising classes, it is a tool for changing the existing order and for dominant classes, ideology is a tool for rendering the system indispensable and protecting it. According to this perspective by Marx, ideology is a point of view where classes are used, and it is composed of thought shaped according

to classes. Marx's point of view, at the same time, brings clarity to the mentality of classes in the 19th century and provides explanations. Due to the fact that the distinction between classes is as not sharp as in the 19th century and interclass movement is relatively easier, classes have given up on viewing certain ideologies as precise and unchangeable. Thus, a part of political parties today started to use ideology not as a purpose, but as a tool. Thereby, the effect of ideologies on political parties started to fade away.

Marxists have brought a new point of view to the ideas of Marx by adding their interpretations. Antonio Gramsci, on the other hand, looks at ideology from an entirely different perspective. According to Gramsci, the main problem in Marxists' point of view is that they look from a narrow perspective to the relationship between state and civil society. Gramsci argues that state does not only use physical power in convincing a society. Ideology is a way more effective method than physical power in directing and administering society and it is frequently applied by states. In reference to Marx's illusion, this mentality turned into being the only truth in societies and started to be accepted by all, since dominant classes imposed their values and ideas on societies (Örs, 2016, s. 21-22). Gramsci calls this situation hegemony. Gramsci explains the concept of legitimacy as follows: Rule and sovereignty of dominant class are legitimate as long as it makes its ideology accepted by all the layers of society. On the contrary situation, dominant class loses its legitimacy.

Together with ideology gaining importance, another scholar touching upon this subject and ascribing importance to it is Louis Althusser olmuştur. Althusser's approach, which can be regarded as a counterpart to that of Marx, is called "Ideological

Apparatuses of State”. Althusser purports three different theses here. The first of these theses is that ideology is not historical. And the second thesis is that ideology describes the relationship between real life conditions and individuals (Kazancı, 2002, pp. 56-60). The third thesis is description of individuals as subjects (Assiter, 1990, p. 126). According to Althusser, states do not survive only via pressure mechanisms. To survive, states need tools to ensure their legitimacy. Althusser defines such tools or instruments as “Ideological Apparatuses of State”. Media, educational institutions, arts and literature movements are states’ ideological apparatuses and ruling classes use these apparatuses to transfer their ideology to societies and new generations so as to ensure their legitimacy.

1.3.1 History of Ideology

The concept of ideology emerged in traditional aristocratic social structure. Together with strengthening of the bourgeoisie, the struggle against feudalism formed the basis of the concept of ideology. This basis, at the same time, laid the foundation of the Enlightenment Era, as well. The concept of ideology is also used to put forward a set of thoughts defending progressivism and rationalism (Larrain, 1995, pp. 21-22).

In this context, ideology may be defined, on the basis of its starting point, as mentality of a social group representing its social stance and differentiating it from other groups (Kaya, 2000, p. 166).

Ideologies could not expand and prevail sufficiently until the 19th century. Yet, the 19th and 20th centuries became significant in terms of expansion of ideologies. Şerif Mardin analyzes expansion of ideologies during these centuries under three basic factors.

The first is that new publication means were developed and started to reach large groups of people. And intelligentsia started to become important in societies with their ideas. Secondly, ideologies are products of the 19th century when development was rapid and social turmoil was undergone in a number of regions. With the emergence of industrial societies, ideologies rapidly prevailed among mobilized masses. The third factor is that intelligentsia began to gain new features in the 19th century. Thanks to new features intelligentsia gained, it became easy for societies, which were differentiated with industrialization, to enable ideologies to take root and form a basis (Mardin, 1995, pp. 131-132).

The definition of ideology transformed in time and gained new properties with change of world politics. From this perspective, Terry Eagleton's definition of ideology draws attention as one of the most valid and encompassing definitions. According to Eagleton, primary definition of ideology is that it is a material process. This material process is also one that produces opinions and values. Secondly, ideology is a counterpart of opinions of a certain group in a society. Thirdly, ideology can also be deemed as legitimization of interests and desires of a certain group (Eagleton, 1996, s. 17-30).

In time, ideology changed and was redefined, gaining new properties. Ideology is directly related to rulers. In other words, it is directly associated with legitimization of power of dominant groups. In the process of legitimization, dominant classes primarily endeavor to ensure its ideas, beliefs and values are internalized. Secondly, they try to ensure that these ideas and beliefs are naturalized and universalized. Thirdly, dominant groups wage war against the ones rejecting their ideas and values and try to discredit them. Fourthly, dominant groups exclude ideas that do not belong to them and objects

internalization of these ideas. Finally, dominant classes try to legitimize their ideas by bending social truths in line with their interests and ideas (Eagleton, 1996, p. 23).

For political parties that have ruling power or aspire to obtain that power, ideology is an inspiring doctrine. Ideology has a few purposes for political parties that compete to obtain ruling power in democratic societies. Accordingly, ideology may be regarded as a road map or guide in determining policies. Secondly, ideology may be seen as an instrument to direct people who may potentially vote for a party. In addition, ideology is an inspiring doctrine by which political parties position themselves.

After the concept of ideology gained importance and spread in the 19th and 20th centuries, the 21st century was marked as the time when ideologies reached their peak in terms of significance and later started to lose their importance in gradual manner. From the end of the Second World War to the Cold War, the fact that the poles in the world became evident and state politics were determined according to the pole they belonged to paved the way for ideologies to keep their importance even if partially. Nevertheless, the 21st century became the time when ideologies lost their importance at the highest level when compared to the 19th and 20th centuries.

The 21st century is marked as a time with very active social and political dynamics and constant change and transformations. Yet, the weakest point of ideologies is that they are static and they are not open for change. The partial distinction between ideologies and political parties is for this reason and this is basically undergone in this century. In other words, ideologies have remained static in the changing and transforming world and they have failed to meet needs of political parties. Although ideologies

managed to meet needs of the age in which they emerged, they have ended up failing to meet needs in a short time with changing political and social structures.

Compared to the two former centuries, the 21st century has become more of a dynamic century. While politics was done on the basis of values in the 19th and 20th centuries, politics started to be grounded on three different types of interests in the 21st century. These are class interests, group interests and state interests. The basic duty of party that acquires ruling power is to endeavor to bring these three types of interests into a common ground. As a consequence, ideologies started to take part under politics since they failed to respond to constantly changing and transforming structures of political parties and they turned into guides that are applied only when needed in limited fields.

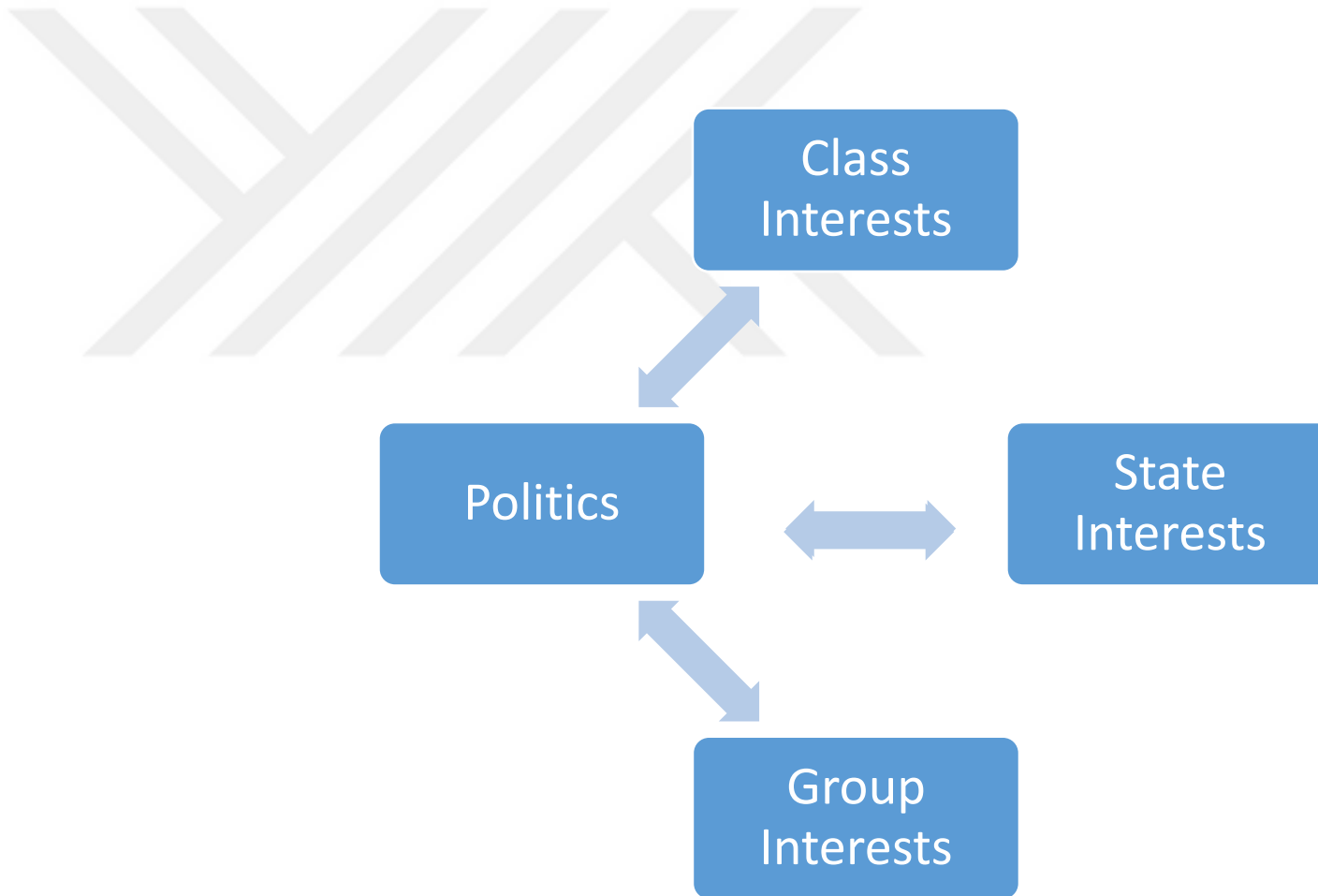


Figure 2: The relationship between politics and interests

In the 19th and 20th centuries, political parties across the world mobilized and formed their thoughts on the basis of certain ideologies. An example to this can be that left parties adopted office of general secretariat instead of presidency. Furthermore, ideologies started to be used as instruments by political parties in the 21st century. For constantly changing world politics and domestic politics, ideologies remained insufficient and for this reason, political parties did not want to confine themselves only to intellectual infrastructure of a single ideology. Thus, ideologies had to catch up with rule of politics and its dynamics structure, which caused to enter into a sort of depression. There are a few reasons to this situation. Firstly, political party or parties that seize ruling power also undertake the role to represent state and steer state policies. Accordingly, political parties endowed with ruling power establish direct relations with international conjecture and world politics. As a result of this relation, political parties may go out of the scope of the ideology that they take as basis (Kaya, 2000, p. 169). In other words, variable world politics makes it more difficult for political parties to move within the borders of a certain ideology. Secondly, there are coalition governments in democracies. Vote rates and therefore number of seats in assemblies may not suffice to come to power, and then political parties try to form coalitions with other parties. Even if political parties endeavor to form coalitions with parties that share their ideologies, there is also a possibility that they establish coalitions with parties with opposite ideological inclinations. In the history of politics, it is observed many times that two opposite ideologies are brought together under a coalition government. Consequently, parties do not remain within the borders of their ideologies under these circumstances. Thirdly, pragmatic parties that are focused on solution of urgent problems in a short time and not

limiting themselves with certain ideological patterns have developed in democratic regimes. By developing policies oriented towards elections, to which they prepare in a short time, these political parties prefer responding to the short term needs of society rather than adopting policies imposed by ideologies.

Under these three reasons, ideologies became the great discovery of the 18th and 19th centuries; however, they began to lose their significance in the 20th century. Therefore, political parties refrained from limiting themselves to certain ideological patterns in order to comply with rapidly changing world. On the other hand, rapidly changing world politics made great breaches on the walls built by ideologies adopted by political parties. Last but not least, coalition governments that are natural results of democratic regimes confined their ideological points of views, as well. Consequently, political parties started to leave ideological limits and patterns as of the second half of the 20th century.

1.4 Relationship among Political Parties, Political Culture and Ideology

It appears that there is an inclination in every society to form relationships between rulers and groups that rulers aspire to affect. The only exception to this is possible in situations where societies act according to a certain target and plans as well as programs determined to achieve that target. In other words, ruling forces and their impact cannot be established in society, if all members of that society agree on the method to achieve a common target.

This is almost impossible in modern societies as there has been individualization in such societies and every individual act with the impetus to protect their own interests. The ones who share common interests are organized together. As the consequence of this organization, interest groups and pressure elements emerged. Along with that, classes emerged and every class started to defend its own interests.

While classes protect their interests, conflicts between them cause different classes to try to prevent one another's interests. At this point, politics take the stage. The area of politics is used to soften conflicts and seek grounds for conciliation and bring groups around minimum common interests (Dahl, 1964, pp. 72-73). In certain situations groups may reach an agreement and form a coalition to share and use ruling power. In situations where coalition is not possible, on the other hand, they conduct a second round of elections and expect a change in distribution of votes.

In the period when political parties emerged, parties were developed with awareness of classes and ideological points of views. Individuals who shared similar ideologies and political views organized under the roof of a political party to either seize the ruling power or to form a force against the ruling power. Since the diversity of classes and interest groups in the 18th and 19th centuries were limited, political parties managed to express themselves with a certain ideology and mentality. As a result, political parties identified with ideologies flourished.

In the 21st century, on the other hand, political parties turned out to be important instruments with a role to combine interest groups under common interests due to the abundance of interest groups. The proliferation of interest groups and classes as well as

individual interests coming to the forefront drove interest groups to come together. Therefore, parties started to include many ideologies without being committed to only a single ideology.



CHAPTER II

CENTER RIGHT AND ITS FEATURES

2 Center Right

It can be argued that there are three fundamental elements to understand center right parties. Considering that political parties' features vary from country to country, it is necessary to evaluate the basic features of center right parties in Turkey after providing a general definition. At this phase, it is a prerequisite to look at classification, political culture and ideologies of parties in order to be able to provide a general definition of center right parties. As is stated above, these three concepts are significant for defining, understanding political parties and measuring their impact on political processes.

The first of the above-mentioned concepts is political culture of a country. Political culture affects structure of social behaviors and participation in politics and also has an impact on political parties. A part of political parties designs their features and policies in accordance with political culture of their country, while other parties do not see as an obligation to produce features and policies in parallel to political culture since they endeavor to change country's political culture.

In general terms, center right parties are formed by leaders and managerial cadre, who can thoroughly analyze political culture in their country and shape party according to this political culture. The fundamental reason for leaders and managerial staff to shape party in accordance with existing political culture is to address to a larger

group of electorates. With this purpose, center right parties use political culture as an instrument to make it easier for electorates internalize their party. At the same time, center right parties prefer to extend transformation of political culture over a period of time instead of establishing a new party. In other words, they assume that political parties that have strict discipline and target training electorates cannot address to extensive groups of electorates. Even though center right parties aim at such a transformation, they extend this transformation over a period of time to be able to address larger masses without losing any of their votes as much as possible.

The second feature comes forwards as ideologies. Political parties were established on the basis of ideologies in the 18th century. In terms of responding to the needs of social class or people political parties were appealing to, these parties chose certain ideologies and produced policies within the scope of these ideologies. As the number of social classes and people's expectations from political parties increase, ideologies started to lose their importance for these political parties. The fundamental reason for this is that ideologies for diversifying and increasing social classes started to appeal to only a small group of people. Although there are political parties sustaining their existence on the basis of their ideologies, these parties either cannot come to power or cannot go beyond being parties only on paper.

Another feature benefited to define center right is classification of political parties. Political parties, in time, have transformed together with changes in world politics. Political parties trying to do politics in a limited area and address to limited groups of people have had to incorporate different features in time in order to be able to

come to power. In addition, party typologies and classifications enabled changes in features parties gained.

2.1 What is Center Right?

In simplest terms, center right party is the type of party that meticulously endeavors to address all political cultures, makes good use of political socialization instruments and media, does not limit party policies with ideologies and chooses to address large masses rather than producing policies oriented towards a limited social class or group. Center means representing the common ground of majority of voting people. Center right parties try to gather political inclinations of electorates around a minimum common ground.

They are careful in understanding political culture thoroughly and organizing their propagandas and slogans in a way that will ensure addressing everyone from lowest to highest level of education. Together with this care, they consolidate their stance as pragmatic, understandable and solution-oriented parties.

Nevertheless, center right parties are regarded as status quo supporters within the frame of the Western perspective. They have been reinforcing the idea of protecting existing order and shown reaction against change. Stated in other words, center right parties have become new generation representatives of bourgeoisie parties that emerged as representatives of wild capitalism (Ince, 2000).

Center right has peculiar features in its body and these features will be scrutinized in the next chapter. Yet, it is of note now to dwell upon roots and starting point of center right, as well.

The starting point of center right is directly related to conservatism. The meaning of the word conservatism is “to protect what already exists or to conserve it as it is without allowing any change” (Marshall, 1999, p. 512). The emergence of conservatism as an ideology dates back to the French Revolution. Conservatives that stood distant from and acted cautiously toward the changes brought by the French Revolution undertook the defense of former order and requested protection of that old order. The idea of left and right emerged from the seating order at the French Constituent Assembly. The ones sitting on the right of the French Constituent Assembly were defending the protection of the existing order as conservatives, while the ones sitting on the left were called as the radicals, defending a radical change in the existing order (Bobbio, 1994, p. 30).

Along with the change of the existing order after the French Revolution, two classes were left under a great threat. These classes were the aristocrats and the clergy. Supporters of the idea that these classes were under threat as well as the members of these classes developed the conservative thought. Stated in other words, conservatism emerges as a reaction against the change of the existing order. Even though this mode of thought varies according to countries, the fundamental aim is to conserve the changing order. While this was oriented towards preventing the change in the order formed by the aristocrats and the clergy in France, this was about the separation of Islam from the state administration in Turkey.

Conservatism is directly correlated with opposition and resistance against change. However, there is no idea, thought or ideology that conservatism is directly opposing to. Conservatism did not emerge within the framework of a certain theory. Conservatism incorporates pragmatism, as well (Türköz, 2016, p. 105). Conservatism exhibits a pragmatic approach against change and produces policies within the scope of this approach.

Although the idea of center right emerged under the impact of the French Revolution, it has undergone changes in time and gained new properties. There are various factors impacting these properties. As it is elaborated in the first chapter, political culture and the transformation political cultures have been experiencing triggered the formation of center right parties and changed them after the French Revolution to a great extent.

Yet, the understanding of center right and political parties' ideas on center right are variable according to countries due to both social structures and political culture. The biggest factor in this variability is that changes in social structures of societies have affected political culture and shaped the understanding of center right in countries. Departing from the example of Turkey, the Turkish political culture (contrary to certain Western countries) and the order of the Republic have not allowed extreme ideas and ideologies to be effective.

To sum, center right is reflected as the result of a country's political culture. The other two side factors of center right in a country, on the other hand, are ideology and changes in structures of political parties. In a number of countries, center right parties

have not confined itself to a certain ideology and re-designed their structure through a pragmatic point of view in line with changing social structures.

2.2 Features of Center Right in Turkey

Center right harbors certain features in its body. Center right has emerged as an intersection point of these features and come forward basically with its ability to rapidly respond to changes and transformations in societies.

The basic cornerstone in formation of center right is political culture. Political culture has an unbelievable importance pertaining to understanding structure and approaches of political thought belonging to a society. Political parties, leaders and all other compounds of politics usually focus on political culture of citizens in a country; they try to understand and interpret political culture in order to develop consistent policies. As per ideologies, they lost their importance particularly after the Second World War and they completely lagged behind in terms of significance in underdeveloped and developing countries. In order to find a place in the polarizing world, solve the basic problems and ensure security as the main focal point, decision-makers of these countries chose ideological thoughts in pragmatic terms. The ideologies chosen by decision-makers could not find, though, any support from the societies, and those ideologies were rapidly transformed after the end of the Cold War.

Due to the fact that concept of center right changes from country to country, it is very challenging to produce a general definition. Nonetheless, an umbrella definition of center right exhibits eight features within its structure.

2.2.1 Center Right Addresses Every Layer of Political Culture

The understanding of center right can refer to every area of political culture specified in the first chapter of this study. Center right parties prefer to determine policies in accordance with opinions of all electorates and appeal to all culture regardless of the layers of that political culture. Within the scope of Parochial and Local Political Culture, first type of culture in classification provided by Almond & Verba, individuals associated themselves directly with their environment. This relationship is very narrow and thus, it is not open to interaction. Individuals, at the same time, refrain from interaction. Political centers of state are insignificant for individuals and these people are predominantly unaware of such centers. Individuals are also oblivious to political institutions, duties as well as structures of such institutions. Instead of identifying themselves as individuals, these people identify themselves with their villages, towns or communities. Since individuals live in a confined environment, they do not open their world and they do not broaden their horizon.

Together with globalization, the number of people living in this layer of political culture today has diminished to a great extent. Individuals feel more integrated with political centers thanks to social media, radio, television and printed media. The increasing urbanization has also paved the way for individuals to migrate to cities and get closer to political centers, which caused changes and transformation in layers of political culture, as well.

During the time when parochial and local political culture dominated, villages usually did not have any communication with center or had only limited contact with center and people lived in a closed area. The level of urbanization was very low, as well. People could not get sufficiently mobilized for political participation in geographies, where mass communication channels such as radio and television were not developed and even printed media could not penetrate. Thus, people ruptured from political agenda and withdrew.

One of the most evident features of center right parties is that they have ability to address to parochial and local political culture that is at the lowest layer of political culture. Center right parties have attributed importance to these communities, who are distant from center and cities, and definitely paid a visit to their geography even though only during electoral periods, which ensured that these people felt themselves important. Center right parties have also endeavored to produce policies to touch upon lives of people in this class and tried to make a room for this people in society. The change and transformation in political culture of people endowed with parochial and local culture have also been to the advantage of center right parties. In other words, the most important difference of center right parties from other parties is that they have accepted people with parochial culture as individuals and acted accordingly. The most attention-grabbing feature of people in parochial and local political culture is state of not being able to become individuals. Center right parties made a breakthrough in this regard and accepted people in this cultural class or layer as individuals even though only in their own society. They also encouraged these people to feel like individuals and managed to reach political as well as other important social achievements.

The other layer of political culture, where center right parties and their way of thought touch is people having subject culture and center right idea affects their lives. In this layer, individuals are unaware of political center. They are aware of its existence; however, they perceive themselves as subjects of center. More importantly, they do not believe that they have capacity to affect the center. They excessively respect the political authority and this respect is somewhat mixed with fear. The relationship among political center, political authority and individuals is based on passiveness.

Center right has also had an effect on this passive relationship. Despite being aware of the existence of political center, center right parties have partially declined the severity of the relationship between respect and fear. The level of passiveness established by members of this layer with political authority has also been reduced. In other words, center right parties have had a major role in evolution from the understanding of being subjects to the understanding of individuals. The importance attributed to people classified under this layer of culture has produced a positive impact, as it did for people living in parochial and local political culture. Consequently, level of political participation of these parochial people has increased and individuals have started to question their passive situations as well as thinking that they are effective in politics. This transformation in political perspective has been reflected as votes to center right parties and individuals have started to feel like individuals belonging to a party instead of feeling like subjects.

In addition to the impact of center right parties on local cultures and subject culture, they also have an effect on participant culture. People in this culture are well aware of the order, political authority, existence of political center and their effect on

these compounds. Political participation is at high level and individuals are quite active in parties thanks to this level of participation. By means of their features, center right parties are able to address individuals in participant culture, as well. Professionals in center right parties acquire support of all layers of political culture and they are able to address to all of them. As these professionals are experts in their fields, they are particularly popular for individuals, who live in participant culture and actively take part in politics, and they extend political range of center right parties.

2.2.2 Inclusive Party Characteristics

When political parties are classified according to their features, it is observed that center right parties do not have a complete match to a certain typology. Although they encompass certain features of all party classifications, none of these party classes could match tfeatures of center right parties until 1990s.

From the perspective of Duverger's definition, center right parties are observed to exhibit the features of cadre parties. Contrary to the features of mass parties, their ideological boundaries are not clearly defined (Kapani, 2005, pp. 169-170). As in cadre parties, the elite come together. Yet, the elite here are not necessarily the wealthy. The elite are elected by people in their polling district as pioneers in their field of profession. Their relationship with leader, their achievements or promising potential is sufficient for becoming nominees.

Evaluating center right parties within this scope, they reveal as a type of party established by an elite cadre. The central administration is at the hands of this cadre, yet

these parties have members from all parts of society, and people from across country have the right to take part in administration. Looking around the world, center right parties are run by liberals, conservatives, partially social democrats and religious members. As a matter of fact, center right parties functioned as umbrella parties gathering many values in their body, when ideologies lost their significance after the end of the Second World War.

2.2.3 Forming Candidate Circles

The structure of center right parties is extensively professional and developed. In center right parties that exhibit features of cadre parties, circles are formed around candidates and on the basis of polling districts/constituencies. The first circle around candidates determined by party's management is usually composed of people respected by electorates, successful in their private and business lives and highly acceptable by society with a potential to nominate for relevant upcoming elections. The fundamental aim of this first circle is to render respected candidate more popular and acceptable in the eyes of electorate and to direct support of society to candidate and thereby, to party.

The second circle around candidates is composed of people, who are experienced and knowledgeable about electorates' behaviors. While each constituency has its peculiar features, these people in the second circle have the capacity to measure the changing mentality of constituency as well as the way how constituency shapes their behavior in confrontation with problems. Thus, these experienced people in the second circle are directed to address in accordance with the expectations of constituency. Particularly due to their pragmatic structure, this circle around candidates in

center right parties is crucial for both candidates and party's vote rates. People with highest experience in elections are in this group. The third circle is composed of financiers to candidates and therefore the party. As a result of this financial support, financiers gain reputation and interest, when candidates from the party they support win an election (Kurtoğlu, 2012, p. 145).



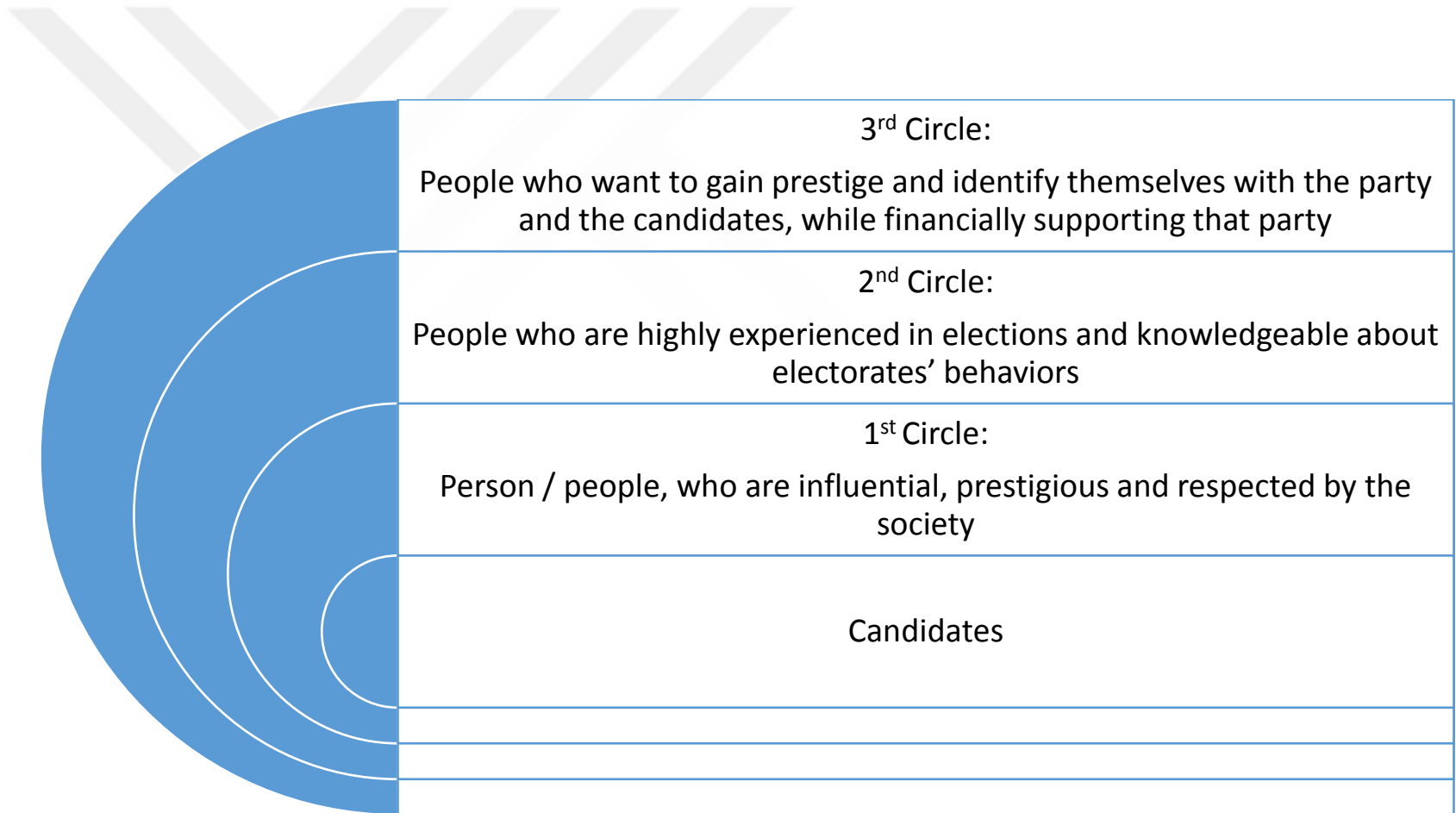


Figure 3: Circles around Candidates

2.2.4 Number of Active Members

Another feature of center right parties is that they do not regard keeping the number of active members always high as an important matter. Membership to the party is of course important; however, it is not expected from these members to regularly participate in party trainings, get involved in party mobilization movements or play determinant roles in party policies. With busy schedule in party programs during electoral periods, party members are needed; nonetheless these members are left free after electoral periods until the time the next election program will start. Nevertheless, it is necessary to not derive the result that center right parties resemble to individual representation parties due to the fact that party members lose their mobility at certain times.

2.2.5 Going beyond Ideological Patterns

Yet another crucial feature of center right party is that they do not confine themselves to certain ideological patterns. Although these parties adopt a certain layer of ideology, they aspire to address to multiple electorates as much as catch-all parties. It is for this reason that ideologies of these parties are not strictly or clearly defined. The ideological lines of these parties are mostly determined by policies that electorate does not want or that will lead to loss of votes. Similarly, center right parties do not approach electorates with limited factors. Thanks to party structuring scrutinized above, they develop different policies for each polling district and shape their election promises and the post-election period accordingly. This, in turn, paves the way for electorates to believe that center right parties are able to meet their needs.

Another advantage brought by not being limited to ideologies is to rapidly reach pragmatic solutions. Thanks to the 2nd circle of party structuring explained above, center right parties may easily take electorate's pulse. As a consequence, they can rapidly respond to expectations of people. This situation has led center right parties to act pragmatically and swiftly.

Center right parties, at the same time, can detect the areas of social interest and social problems very fast and can produce policies in this regard again in a rapid manner. Here, people in the 1st and 2nd circles explained above establish cooperation. Since people in the 1st circle are influential in society, they detect areas of social interest and others in the 2nd circle measure the impact of that focus on upcoming elections. As soon as certain focal points are found to be highly effective on elections, center right parties use pragmatism to produce fast solutions to the respected areas.

It was formerly stated that center right parties do not limit their party organizations to certain ideological patterns. However, it is of note that center right parties are not parties that are fully free from ideologies. They incorporate conservatism, liberalism and nationalism (Erken, 2016, p. 194). People who adopt one of these ideologies can find a place for themselves in party and party functions as a roof or center for such people. As not any ideology less important than another within party, there is no absolute superior ideology in center right parties, either.

2.2.6 Pragmatism

Pragmatism is derived from the Greek word *pragma* (Rosenthal & Thayer, 2017). This word basically means producing a practical solution or approach for a

problem or situation (Merriam Webster, 2018). The general approach of center right parties to problems is practical with the effect of not being confined to certain ideological patterns. As a result of this practical approach, a solution-oriented understanding to tackle problems through practical methods is developed. This system and mentality are composing one of the fundamental characteristics of center right parties. Problems faced are generally are tried to be solved within the scope of this system through practical approaches.

2.2.7 Focusing on Social Interest Areas and Problems

Another basic characteristic of center right parties is that they focus on problems that create social sensitivity, attract social attention and cause social disturbance and they endeavor to produce policies to solve these problems. Center right parties closely follow approaches of electorate and shape compliant policies. Keeping a track of electorate behaviors and focusing on their problems are among the vital features of center right parties.

In this sense, center right parties definitely consider areas where social attention is and/or there is a social problem before they determine their policies or clarify steps to be taken.

2.2.8 Vote-Seeking Characteristics

The fundamental purpose of center right parties is to win elections. In this regard, they keep electorate group as large as possible and determine policies to address all factions of society. Center right parties do not develop any policies to enter into

coalitions or to make society accept a certain policy. On the contrary, they aim to win elections and conduct transformations according to requests of society when they are in power.

Although the basic features of center right parties are elaborated above in a concise manner, they absolutely vary from country to country. For this reason, it is impossible to provide a precise and clear definition of center right. Still, party structures, their perspective towards ideologies and approaches toward electorate indicate similarities. Along with these similarities, general frame and features of center right parties and their basic understanding can be derived. Although such features, again, may change from country to country, they are like a guiding light in analyzing the understanding of center right in Turkey. Thus, center right parties are generally ones that are not limited to certain ideological patterns; do not have strict or clear distinctions pertaining to ideological attitudes; desire to address as large electorate groups as possible; seek votes rather than politics or office; choose policies according to the expectations of people and ones that have a pragmatic structure of thought which enables them to mobilize only in electoral periods.

CHAPTER III

CENTER RIGHT IN TURKEY

3 Center Right in Turkey

The understanding of center right in Turkey emerged with the Democratic Party. Referring constantly to electorate as well as candidate circles of center right parties were observed for the first time during the period of the Democratic Party. Nonetheless, Democratic Party does not reflect all the features of the universal center right parties; therefore, it is not qualified as a center right party in full sense.

The other representative of center right in Turkey after Democratic Party is Justice Party. It is observed that Justice Party has been the one that has reflected the universal features of center right to the highest level in the Turkish Political Life.

The other parties recognized as center right parties in the Turkish Political Life are the True Path Party and the Motherland Party. These parties, as well, exhibit certain universal features of center right, but not all.

The Turkish Political Life has witnessed great transformations in the 21st century. The majority of existing parties have lost their place, while Justice and Development Party came to foreground. The first center right parties in Turkey, the True Path Party and the Motherland Party could not gain success in consecutive elections.

Thereby, political parties, which were qualified as center right parties during the course of the 20th century, retrieved from the Turkish political scene.

Center right parties do not exhibit all features of center right in universal terms. In this chapter, the emergence of center right in Turkey as well as the degree to which the Turkish center right parties exhibit the universally accepted features of such parties.

3.1 Emergence of Center Right in Turkey

During and after the Second World War, center right developed in Turkey and across the world in line with conjuncture. As bourgeoisie class in Turkey strengthened and wanted to set itself free from state's shadow, center right has gained momentum in the eyes of people and started to be recognized.

Turkish people accepted center right parties as the reflection of their political, religious and social values in the Turkish political life. The first party to establish this understanding and correlations was the Democratic Party. Following the Democratic Party, the next center right parties also adopted this understanding and endeavored to sustain this relationship that was established by Democratic Party (Mert, 2007, pp. 20-135).

All the center right parties established after Democratic Party referred to Democratic Party and also tried to sustain the correlation established by Democratic Party with the society.

The primary *modus operandi* followed by Democratic Party while establishing this relationship with the society was to establish Organizations and Sub-Districts. Together with these organizations, Democratic Party managed to reach to the lowest layer of the society and organized across the country. Democratic Party could disseminate its organization even in the eastern provinces, where transportations was not available. Among the founders of the Democratic Party, Celal Bayar uttered the following words in order to refer to the importance he attributed to organizations/associations and sub-districts in the eastern provinces: “Even though we have our gendarmerie and army in the east, the traces of our language or culture are not there at all. In this respect, Democratic Party is decisive to go to the East,” (Demirel, *Türkiye’nin Uzun On Yılı Demokrat Parti İktidarı ve 27 Mayıs Darbesi*, 2011, p. 51).

Democratic Party reached villages by means of organizations and sub-districts in order to obtain support from people (Eroğul, *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*, 1990, p. 51). As a result of this, Democratic Party increased the level of support from society and won the elections in 1950. Known also as the White Revolution, this election victory (Yıldırımaz, 2004, p. 131) also marked the starting point of center right politics in the country as well as the entrance of center right in Turkish Political Life (Demirtepe, 1992, p. 25).

3.2 Understanding of Center Right in Turkey

Center right in Turkey has run through a combination of local values with universal values. In addition, center right endeavored to reduce level of problems caused by cultural differences and to establish balance.

Another characteristic of center right in Turkey is that it is closed to extremes and tries to incorporate all different ideas within its body. In other words, Turkish center parties have been functioning as roof parties or coalitions to involve numerous political opinions.

Furthermore, center right in Turkey achieved to combine liberal economic policies with the mentality, values and points of view of society after the end of the Second World War. In this regard, center right parties in Turkey had a dynamic structure and by following universal values, they endeavored to integrate with local values and to act in harmony.

The Turkish center right parties are also marked by consolidating the relationship between the state and people. Due to both because their place in layers of political culture and their structure of mentality, society – which was keeping distant from the state and central authority in the past – had strengthened connections with the center thanks to center right parties.

When it comes to center right in Turkey, political parties with this profile are identified as being distant from the extreme values and ideological extremes, based on large masses, having strong relations with both society and state, giving equal importance to society and state and being able to refer to local values in their discourses and policies despite being integrated with global policies. As a result of addressing to large masses,

center right parties have definitely given place to economic development plans that may be a common target for all parts of society, as well as social reforms and the concept of justice in their government policies (Erken, 2016, p. 196).

As of the term when center right parties were developed in Turkey, they have been also representing the periphery. Although they are not limited to any ideology, they have taken their place in the Turkish Political Life as a reflection of the periphery. Considering changing features of the periphery, it seems impossible to be fit into the narrow patterns of an ideology. Therefore, the Turkish center right parties, as their universal counterparts, preferred not to confine themselves with a certain ideology.

Another distinguishing feature of center right parties in Turkey is that they have different approaches towards conservatism and nationalism, which they involve in their organizations. Electorate in Turkey identifies conservatism with stability and this identification found its reflection in the political thought of center right parties. Furthermore, nationalism draws attention as one of the common grounds and basic factors for people within the scope of center right thought. From this perspective, conservatism emerged as a reaction within the scope of the understanding of center right and became reflection of the request for stability in politics (Aydoğdu, 2018).

Another basic distinction of center right parties in Turkey is that their politicians are very knowledgeable about electorates and their behaviors. This characteristic is particularly combined with charismatic leader of party, making these center right political parties appealing for people (Güler M. , 2012).

In light of the elaborations in this chapter, it can be deduced that center right parties in Turkey are close to rightist understanding despite being located at the center. Looking from ideological perspective, they include references to conservatism, nationalism and democracy at the same time (Erken, 2016, p. 198). Center right in Turkey, thus, has been representing the midway and moderation. Hence, the political thought and party policy of center right policies have been inclusive and reasonable. Inclusiveness and reasonable approach have also brought in pragmatism and production of dynamic policies.

CHAPTER IV

CENTER RIGHT IN TURKISH POLITICAL LIFE

4 Center Right in Turkish Political Life

Center right may be recognized as relatively new in the Turkish Political Life. Elections and legislation by absolute administrators came later to the Ottoman Empire than the European countries, while other movements that shaped world politics were accepted in Turkey at a later time, as well.

The first signs of center right in Turkey were observed in Republican People's Party and Democratic Party, yet the first party to exhibit features of center right explained above – and to be given in a table in next chapters – to the fullest was Justice Party.

Comprehending, analyzing and scrutinizing center right are significant in terms of understanding the inclinations, opinions and expectations of society. Pertaining to this significance, it is necessary to evaluate the roots of center right and the period when the first signs of the concept of center right appeared in Turkey.

The Party of Ottoman Liberals and the Party of Freedom and Understanding in the Ottoman Empire come forward as two parties where center right is originated (Başkan, 2011, p. 153). Progressive Republican Party and the Free Republican Party – trials for transition to multi-party system in the Republic of Turkey – can also be positioned as close to center right with a part of their characteristics.

After Republic of Turkey was declared and established, bureaucracy sustained its control over political institutions for a while. In this process, when reforms prevailed and put into practice rapidly, Republican People's Party also tried to create a bourgeoisie class in the republic. Due to the passive structure and the political culture of the people accustomed to being subjects coming from the Ottoman Empire, especially people living in the rural areas neither participated in politics nor requested anything from the political authorities.

One of the aims of Atatürk's reforms, developing and transforming political culture of people, was valued as from the first years of the Republic in trying transition to the multi-party system. However, the effect of people, who failed to transit from the subject political culture to participant political culture in society as well as the fact that Republican system was not yet well-entrenched caused the trials to transition to the multi-party system fail. Progressive Republican Party and the following Free Republican Party were closed due to same reason and until the year 1945, there were not any other trials for the transition to the multi-party system. Therefore, the period between the years 1930 and 1945 is referred to as the single-party period in Turkish politics.

The end of the Second World and the defeat of the Axis States had brought in great alterations in the world politics. It was with the defeat of the Axis States that the single-party systems changed into multi-party systems. Single-party regimes were first abolished in the Axis States and then in the Continental Europe. As one of the outputs in the world politics then, Turkey also took the necessary steps for the transition to the multi-party system, as well. In this regard, the reasons for Turkey to adopt the multi-party system can be summarized as follows:

- Turkey became a member to the United Nations.
- The single-party systems in Germany and Italy, the two leaders of the Axis States, were abolished.
- It was evident for Turkey that it would side with the Western Block and Turkey got closer with the USA. In that, the USA declared that it supported the transition to the multi-party system in Turkey.

When it comes to the year 1945, the bourgeoisie class, which was tried to be created by the Republican People's Party, was able to strengthen even if partially, and aspired to take an active role in politics. In other words, the bourgeoisie, becoming richer thanks to war economy, wanted to get out of the bureaucracy's protection and directly affect politics. On the other hand, the society, being considerably affected by the war economy as well, also requested to have an active role in politics. Consequently, the multi-party system was adopted in line with the bourgeoisie who wanted to get rid of the bureaucracy's effect as well as the regular people who wanted to take an active role in politics due to their fatigue from the war economy.

Evaluating the single-party period at this stage, it is obvious that it is different in Turkey compared to other countries' single party regimes. Duverger's definition of the single party period in Turkey is as follows: "... Turkish single party system has never been based on a single party's doctrine; they have not given any official quality to monopoly; and they have not tried to legitimize monopolies with a classless society or parliamentary conflicts or desire to demolish liberal democracy. The single party in Turkey was always disturbed and ashamed of its monopoly," (Duverger, *Siyasi Partiler*, 1974, p. 360). In light of this characterization, Atatürk stated the following during that

period: “Today’s view is more or less a dictatorship view. In fact, we do have an Assembly. However, they look at us as we are dictators in domestic and foreign terms. Visiting Ankara in the last year, a German author, Emil Ludwig asked odd questions about our regime and decided that we were dictatorship, and he went back and wrote about this observation of him. However, I did not proclaim the Republic for my personal interests. We are all mortal. After I pass away, I will leave despotism behind. However, I do not want to leave despotism to my nation after I die, and I do not want to go down to the history as such. We will endure all challenges. I do trust your friendship, morality, and knowledge. Our purpose is to ensure that the Republic takes root and gets entrenched in the country without depending on persons. You should undertake this responsibility,” (Okyar F. , 1980, p. 394). It can be observed that the single party regime in Turkey was in a more democratic structure and was oriented towards a rapid transition to the multi-party system. Indeed, the fact that this transition was tried two times without getting any demand from public demonstrates this message clearly.

4.1 Opposition Initiatives during the Single-Party Period

The first opposition party after the establishment of the Republic was the Progressive Republican Party, yet it can also be observed that there emerged an opposition movement in the country developing not under the identity of any political party immediately after the first Grand National Assembly was opened. Before Mustafa Kemal Paşa officially founded the Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia, Member of Parliament from Erzurum, Hoca Raif Efendi as well as Yeşilzade Salih Hoca and his comrades left the Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia and

established the Organization for Conserving Sanctity. One of the topics this organization was opposing to was increasing communist activities, while the other was alterations in the Resistance Organization. Still, this group could not evolve into a political party.

4.1.1 Second Group Opposition

Following Sivas Congress, the resistance organizations established in Anatolia and Rumelia were combined under the Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia. This period was marked by efforts to get organized and act together with a focus on rescuing the entire country instead of focusing on local resistances and the members of the Grand National Assembly were also regarded as members of this Resistance Organization, as well. However, a second group emerged within the assembly due to the difference of opinions in the Assembly.

Against the first group gathering under the name Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia, a second group was established under the leadership of the Member of Parliament from Erzurum, Hüseyin Avni Bey (Salman Bolat & Demiraslan, 2013, p. 29).

The first period was marked by various members of parliament and their deputies with differing opinions and thoughts. During the period of the Independence War, the fundamental aim was to rescue the country, but there still appeared different opinions pertaining to this fundamental aim. And the opposition movement gained momentum after it became obvious that the war was to be won. The sultanate and caliphate fans particularly including the opponents against Mustafa Kemal increased their opposition questioning the form of the regime to be adopted after the war. The Resistance

Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia otherwise referred to as the I. Group established in May 1921 was primarily aiming at rapid implementation of the targeted reforms via fast decision-making. As opposed to this, the supporters of the sultanate and the caliphate took their part in the contra-group arguing that they were outcast by the I. Group and worrying that the sultanate and caliphate would be taken out of the country's regime. The first explicit reaction against the I. Group was conducted in the National Pact facility of Hüseyin Avni Bey, the Member of Parliament from Erzurum, asserting that this facility was unjustly claimed by the I. Group, ignoring the effort exerted in this facility's construction by the I. Group (TBMM, p. 290).

There is not any precise date known for the foundation of the Second Group. The basic reason for this can be understood from the fact that it was not officially founded. As a matter of fact, the members of the II. Group joined in the consecutive election as independent members and could not formalize their foundation. Nevertheless, the Second Group was founded towards the end of the year 1921 (Güneş İ. , 2009, pp. 206-208).

Opposing to the First Group as of its foundation, the Second Group continued its opposition until April 1, 1923 when there was an election. Together with the common decision between the two groups, the election was renewed and the II. Group lost its existence in the Assembly. In November 1924, on the other hand, the opposition was more organized and systematic. Progressive Republican Party mobilizing under the leadership of Kazım Karabekir became the first opposition party in the history of the Republic.

On April 8, 1923, Mustafa Kemal issued 9 main principles in the name of Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia and gathered the organization around these main principles (Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler: 1859-1952, 1952, p. 559). Between August 7 and September 11, 1923, there were negotiations on the People's Party Regulations and the People's Party was officially established on September 11, 1923 (Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler: 1859-1952, 1952, p. 559). On November 10, 1924, on the other hand, the name of People's Party was changed as Republican People's Party.

4.1.2 Progressive Republican Party

Established by separating from the Assembly on November 17, 1924, the Progressive Republican Party included important names of the Independence War period. Kazım Karabekir, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Adnan Adıvar and Rauf Orbay are among the pioneering names.

The party started to actively work as soon as it was opened and shared ideas about all subjects discussed in the Assembly. The biggest criticism, though, was that the Republican People's Party was applying pressure on people and opposition during and after elections. The opposition movement, at the very beginning, was supported by Mustafa Kemal (Zürcher E. J., Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, 1992, s. 159-161). Particularly pointing out examples in the West, Mustafa Kemal stated that opposition was necessary, and government needed to be checked and balanced. Mustafa Kemal uttered his view about Progressive Republican Party as follows: "(...) With the single party in the Assembly, we give impression as dictators. Westerns who look at us say the regime of this country is party dictatorship. There must be two parties in our Assembly; a system to

audit the government must be provided and our parliament must look like the parliaments of the civilized countries,” (Tökin, 1963, p. 70). Within the framework of this understanding, when the members of Progressive Republican Party (PRP) applied to the assembly, they did not come across any challenge (Zürcher E. J., Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, 1992, s. 83). Another reason for PRP not to come across any challenge was that 1924 Constitution allowed multi-party political life. Certain circles, who were not satisfied with course of events and the structure of Republican People’s Party (RPP), established Progressive Republican Party (PRP) by making use of Mustafa Kemal’s tolerance and the advantage of 1924 Constitution allowing the transition to multi-party system. PRP, in a short time, became a party that gathered all opposing sides under its roof. As a result of the support it acquired from Istanbul as well as other opponents, it shortly turned into a party with a capacity to address a large quantity of people (Elmas & Kurban, 2010, s. 414-415).

In fact, the opposition movement emerging together with this party can be seen as the continuation of the Second Group’s tradition in the parliament. Elaborating on this issue, it can be observed that the opposition continued with similar political line as a tradition. In other words, it can be argued that PRP was a new and more organized and recognized version of that second group (Akşin, et al., 2000, s. 140).

PRP was the first party established during the transition to multi-party system on the basis of Constitution of 1924. It could sustain its political life for 7 month and included important people in its body. Along with this, it was the first party to start the opposition movement with a systematic and planned program. When it is compared to the former opposition movement, the Second Group, it can be stated that it could be effective

in a short time by gaining strength in the eyes of people and doing systematic opposition in the parliament. The underlying reason for the short life span of the opposition party is that all opponents against RPP and system gathered within the body of the party in a short time and that it faced a domestic threat only after a short time when the Republic was newly established. The emergence of PRP is important in terms of two aspects: Firstly, decision-makers were aware of the need for the transition to the multi-party system and supported this until the first internal threat broke out. Secondly, the first party established against the RPP, which was believed to represent state – managed to gather all opposing sides under its roof. Although the first try in multi-party system failed, trails for the transition continued in next periods. Transition to multi-party system was tried for the second time with Free Republican Party.

PRP published its party program the day after the party was established on November 17, 1924. Composed of 7 comprehensive chapters, the first chapter of this program included general principles and emphasized features of liberalism and public sovereignty. It is quite noteworthy that public inclinations were decided to be considered in enacting laws on the basis of the principle of public sovereignty.

There are numerous articles that are attention-grabbing in the first chapter of the party program. The second article, “The real profession of the party is liberalism and democracy”, gives an impression that the general thought of the party would be liberal. In Articles 3 and 5, on the other hand, it is underlined that legislations and amendments to legislations would be made according to the inclinations of the public (Zürcher E. J., *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*, 2003, s. 141-142). The most notable factor in the

party program, yet, is Article 6 in the second chapter. This article says, “The party is respectful to opinions and religious beliefs,” (Avşar, 1998, s. 37).

The second chapter of the party program also underlines decentralization. Here, as it is stated in Articles 14 and 23, all bureaucrats are supposed to come to power by elections (Zürcher E. J., Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası, 2003, s. 143). In the 3rd and 4th chapter of the party program, economic issues are tackled. The most striking point here is that Articles 40 and 41 regulate that the country should develop by using only domestic sources and capital.

PRP was closed with a cabinet decree on June 3, 1925 (Tunaya, Türkiye’de Siyasi Partiler: 1859-1952, 1952, p. 614). The reason for its closure was that the article in its party program saying, “PRP is respectful to religious ideas and beliefs” was argued to encourage people to obscurantism/reactionism. Furthermore, certain Independence Tribunals’ prosecutors reported to the government that the supporters of the PRP were financially and morally reinforcing revolution against the government (Anzerlioğlu, Doğaner, & Gökgöz, 2004, s. 93). Although PRP was not as effective in the history of Turkish Political Life as RPP, it brought to light that there were numerous people opposing to new regime in Turkey by bringing together opposition in a time as short as 7 months. Thus, it is necessary to regard PRP from its successor, Free Republican Party – the next trial for transition to multi-party system. With free will, PRP emerged as a cadre movement and its leaders acted as a group rather than falling under the rule of a single leader.

4.1.3 Free Republican Party

Free Republican Party (FRP) is the second try as an opposition party. Its difference from PRP is that it was established by Mustafa Kemal's direct support and order. Being the second experiment in Turkey for transition to multi-party system, the party's most notable characteristic is that FRP was established by Mustafa Kemal's initiative and support, while PRP a cadre movement coming out of RPP (Uyar, 1999, p. 118).

Due to the reason that not any industry was transferred from the Ottoman Empire to Turkey in full terms, Republic of Turkey experienced serious economic problems in the following years after its foundation. There was not any bourgeoisie to collect taxes from, since the villagers living on agricultural activities were not producing for the market, but only for themselves. Alcoholic beverages, salt, cigarettes, sugar and maritime transportation were the state's monopoly due to the industrialization policy of the state and the bourgeoisie which was tried to be formed by the state (Başar, 1945, s. 8-11). Although government policies were not generally against private enterprises, economic investments remained in statist area. When the stagnation in the international market was added to this statist economic view² Turkey entered a period of economic stagnation, as well. Between the years 1928 and 1929, Turkey's economy was completely based on agriculture and agricultural products were insufficient. Not enough yields were obtained from agricultural products. As a result, the Great Depression in 1929 caused Turkey to fall into a complete slump. Additionally, the public discontent increased even

² Although statism entered the party program in 1931, its foundation was laid in 1928. The state took a regulatory role only in economy at the very beginning; however, it gradually got actively involved in the economy. To encourage domestic goods and change the overall mentality in the country, the state put tremendous amount of efforts after the Great Depression in 1929. As a result of the strict economic policies implemented, the import rate, which was TL 256 million in 1929, fell down to TL 101 million in 1932, and the budget was balanced for the first time after the proclamation of the Republic (Boratav, 2006, s. 172).

more, when certain members of RPP used their party's influence for personal interests (Başar, 1945, s. 9-10). Under these circumstances, Mustafa Kemal projected foundation of another party by seeing public discontent; however, he acted cautiously due to the former negative experience that put the Republic under threat. Later, FRP was established as an opposition party that would not put the regime under threat and conduct fair policies under its duty.

Three fundamental purposes underlie the foundation of FRP. Firstly, it was necessary to establish an opposition party to overcome the public discontent³ The second reason is the belief that there was a need for a party that could criticize the implemented policies and undertake the role of opposition. Thirdly, the lack of an opposition party consolidates the image of an authoritarian regime, no matter how the regime was a republic. These three reasons as well as other circumstances described above paved the way for formation of FRP as the opposition party.

FRP was established under those conditions and in a controlled manner and it was expected that it would gain strength and undertake an important position in future (Lewis, 1955, s. 103).

The party program of the FRP is composed of 11 basic principles. The articles of the program are as follows:

1. "Free Republican Party is committed to the principles of republicanism, nationalism and secularity. The purpose is to make these principles eternal at the level of nation.

^{3 3} Here, it can evidently be seen that Mustafa Kemal was not detached from people and closely followed

2. Taxes shall not harm capacity of economic enterprise to be undertaken by members of the nation and they shall be arranged in a way that will not exceed the limits of people. Tax assessment shall be based on safer and more solid principles and corruptions in tax collection shall be eliminated.

3. The Party shall be attentive about using the state revenues in a productive manner and shall avoid burdening large ministry expenses on a single group within the society.

4. The Party is decisive in taking the necessary measures to determine the value of our currency and open ways to foreign investors willing to work in our country to ensure flow of foreign capital.

5. The Party will not accept government interventions that will hamper the financial and economic initiatives of people as well as the welfare of the citizens. Any initiative for the development of the country's economy is a reflection of competence. As long as individual capacity is seen insufficient for the economic initiatives necessary to be taken for the Republic's interests, the state will directly intervene in economics. The monopoly of ports shall be abolished.

6. One of the most important aims of the Party is to ensure that the peasants and farmers find capital with very low interest rates and without difficulty and to get rid of usuriousness that weakens our economic growth. Rendering the Ziraat Bank – established thanks to the sacrifices of farmers – capable of meeting the agricultural credit needs of people is essential.

7. Revitalizing and easily developing arts in the country is an important target the Party aspires to achieve. The Industrial Promotion Law will be rightly implemented. Protection and advantages regulated in this law will be expanded when necessary. The capacity and the area of activity of the Bank of Industries and Mines will be increased. Measures will be taken for the protection of local agricultural products and their supply in foreign markets. Transportation and port tariffs will therefore be put into order.

8. People's needs in governmental offices will be met and facilitated rapidly. There will be an unconditional struggle against bribery and abuse (Tunaya, Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler: 1859-1952, 1952, pp. 633-634)".

After a short time from its foundation, the FRP became the common point of the opposition and gained considerable support from the people. The tension between the RPP and the FRP starting with the explicit criticism of the railways policies by Fethi Bey in the parliament continued increasingly with the municipal elections. The RPP changed both the ministers of justice and economy and promised reform in economic policies⁴ (Karpat, 2013, s. 152-153). Against the FRP which gained considerable support from people (Karpat, 2013, s. 152-153). As a result of the large support to the FRP, it became a serious alternative to the RPP, which increased the tension between the RPP and the FRP. During the period of reciprocal accusations, the People's Party blamed Fethi Bey for signing the Armistice of Montrose, while also accusing the majority of FRP supporters

⁴ It is possible to state that FRP was partially successful, since RPP which was following strict and unchangeable economic policies revised its economic policies in a short time and adopted certain reforms in Ministries.

for being reactionaries (Karpas, 2013, s. 153). Similarly, the increasing interest in the FRP increased the reactions by RPP.

Visiting Western Anatolia in early September, Fethi Bey was welcomed by 40 thousand people in İzmir Port (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1930). Several incidents took place between the RPP and the FRP during the course of his visit to İzmir. 50 thousand people participated in the FRP meeting held at Alsancak Stadium (Ertem, 2010, s. 80). Fethi Bey stated that it was necessary to support private enterprises and that his party was not reactionary, criticizing the railway policy of the government. Following the incident after his statements, the lead writer of the Newspaper *Cumhuriyet* Yunus Nadi wrote the following letter to Mustafa Kemal on his newspaper:

“To His Excellency President Mustafa Kemal,

One of our printing houses in İzmir was attacked and since our building belonging to the Republican People’s Party was stoned, we appreciate the reality and importance of our new duties in this country. In the meantime, we see that there are ones who try to arrogate themselves to new parties other than Your Excellency, whom we regard as our eternal and perpetual Leader. Even if so, we find ourselves powerful enough to fulfill our duty of protecting the Republic entrusted to us. Not for the purpose of facilitating our duty, but to evidence our duty, we have been obliged to kindly plead the explanation of the situation. In every case and situation, be assured that the Republic will always be protected. Please accept our humble regards, our Glorious Leader,” (Nadi Y. , 1930). The next day, Mustafa Kemal’s response was published in the same newspaper, *Cumhuriyet* as follows: “I am the General President of the Republican People’s Party. The Republican People’s Party has been mobilizing and working together

with me since the day I stepped on Anatolian lands and it was born out of the Resistance Organization for Anatolia and Rumelia. I am historically bound to this organization. There is not and there cannot be any reason or necessity to rupture this bond,” (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1930). Stating that he was the leader of the RPP, Mustafa Kemal also advocated his impartiality here.

The Free Republican Party (FRP) shortly got organized and started its activities in Istanbul, Tokat, Çanakkale, Tekirdağ, Kastamonu, Konya, Antalya, Malatya, Bolu, Denizli, Kütahya, Bursa, Aydın, İzmir, Manisa, Kırklareli and Edirne (Okyar & Seyitdanlioğlu, 1997, s. 190). In the municipal election in 1930, this party joined the elections in 37 provinces and won 31 out of 502 polling districts (Yetkin, SCF Olayı, 2004, s. 267-268).

Mustafa Kemal’s response supporting the RPP and underlining his impartiality published in the Newspaper Cumhuriyet as well as the waiver from the idea of National Block⁵ caused Fethi Okyar and FRP managers to think that there was opposition against Mustafa Kemal. Fethi Bey later abrogated his party on the basis of this idea.

⁵ The National Block is an idea envisioning cooperation between the two parties. Mustafa Kemal was projected as the leader of the party and he would determine the nominees. Although Fethi Okyar accepted this idea, it was not put into practice (Okyar & Seyitdanlioğlu, 1997, s. 156).

4.2 Multi-Party Period

4.2.1 Democratic Party

4.2.1.1 *General Situation Prior to Democratic Party*

The year 1945 was a year marking the beginning of transformations in the world. After the demolition of the fascist empires, large states begin to compete for expanding their area of influence. Two great powers rising out of shambles of the war, the United States of America (USA) and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) presented two different models to the world.

To act together with its allies, Turkey cut its relations first with Germany and then Japan and allied with the Western countries. At the same time, Turkey was concerned due to the perceived threat from the Soviets that may come in case of their victory.

Although Turkey did not get involved in the Second World War, it could not isolate itself from the harms and turmoil of the war. There are three different results of this experience by Turkey. First is that Turkey adopted a strict regime due to the war. Therefore, Turkey experienced a period of authoritarianism/martial law and rationing⁶. Secondly, black market emerged as the result of the rationing system. Commodities with low market supply were held by a certain group of people and sold to the ones offering

⁶ Rationing is a system implemented by governments to prevent excessive rise in prices as result of an extraordinary imbalance in demands against supplies in the market. According to this system, the state takes a regulatory role when prices increase due to increasing demands with insufficient supplies and intervenes in the system to keep the demands at the same level with the supplies. Governments use rations to control the demanded goods.

the highest price, which paved the way for the emergence of a new class of the wealthy. Thirdly, Turkey kept a large army ready for the war, even though it did not get involved with the war. These three situations caused negative reaction in people and caused the formation of a significant opposition group against the single party government. Along with this, the land reform in 1945 (Law of Provision of Land to Farmers) and nationalization of forests caused reactions within RPP and discourses of immunity of property rights were put forward (Eroğul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, 1970, s. 3). Although there were members of parliament who objected to the land reform, it was still accepted and ratified as a law.

The land reform in the Turkish Political Life caused breakthroughs in two areas. The first is that even the cadres within parties could not protect their interests and this situation paved the way for them to identify themselves with the people who also cannot protect their interests. Secondly, the pioneers of the group within the RPP objecting to the law (the land reform) published a memorandum of the four and expressed their opposing stance. As a result, they concluded that they could not protect their interests unless they acquired the ruling power. This group also believed they could come to power if they acted together with the discontented people.

The USSR declared in March 1945 that the Agreement of 1925 would not be renewed, and its articles were to be revised under new circumstances which required the change of the Montreux regime and that Turkey needed to re-regulate its eastern border in favor of the USSR. Upon this declaration, Turkey was in between the two great powers after the war and chose the USA and shaped its domestic policies accordingly.

Three important results emerged as a result of this preference in the first phase within the Turkish Political Life. The first can be observed from İsmet İnönü's statement on May 19, 1945: "The fact that the Great Assembly has clearly proven so far is that public will has made the country reach free thought and freedom and it has been stronger than the authoritarian powers in the past in lifting anarchy in the country. The duty of new generations is to implement this real public will in a larger area and strengthen the country in every aspect," (Nadi N. , Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, 1945, s. 1-3). İnönü gave the first hints about the future development of democracy in this discourse. Secondly, the RPP did not nominate any candidates for the mid-term election on June 17, 1945. Thirdly, Nuri Demirağ applied to found a new party under the name of National Development Party in July 1945 and declared that he was permitted to establish this party with reference to Prime Minister Şükrü Saraçoğlu's speech on September 5 (Esen, 1945, s. 3).

Within the frame of this wave of transformation, Democratic Party was established on January 7, 1946 under the leadership of those who published the Memorandum of the Four.

4.2.1.2 *Foundation of the Democratic Party*

After the Law on Provision of Land to Farmers following June 7, 1945, the prospective founders of the Democratic Party, Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan proposed an offer to the Parliamentary Group demanding implementation the principle of national sovereignty in the Constitution and democracy (Ahmad, 2010, s. 29). Except the four people presenting the proposition, the party group unanimously rejected this proposition since the party group was not authorized the change laws or regulations.

With the impact of the conjuncture after the year 1945, the memorandum of the four did not cause any reaction within the RPP. Yet, it is stated that İnönü and an opposing group within the party encouraged the formation of an opposition party (Ahmad, 2010, s. 29).

Upon the rejection of the Memorandum of the Four, Fuat Köprülü and Adnan Menderes began to write critiques in the Newspaper *Vatan* (Eroğul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, 1970, s. 12). Due to these writings, the two were expelled from the party on September 21 (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1945, s. 1-3). Refik Koraltan, who criticized the expulsion of Menderes and Koraltan, was also expelled from the party on October 2 (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1945, s. 1-3). The founding president of the party, Celal Bayar resigned from his post as a member of parliament at the end of September and left the party in December. Thereby, it became evident that the ones who put forward the Memorandum of Four were going to establish an opposition party. On December 4, 1945, President İsmet İnönü invited Celal Bayar for dinner to discuss the party issues and stated that he would not reject the formation of a new party (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1945, s. 1). Ultimately, Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan founded Democratic Party on January 7, 1946.

The basic problem of Democratic Party as of the moment it was established was the lack of financial support. Additionally, the fact that Democratic Party had to be based on the wealthy people in the society revealed. As a matter of fact, Celal Bayar was aware of this situation and uttered the following words in this regard in his interview with the Newspaper *Cumhuriyet*: “Out of 18 million people, we can find 150 or 200 people who can support us. If we collect 500 TL from them per person, this makes 100 thousand TL

and we can get on for a year with this amount” (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1946). As Celal Bayar stated in his interview, Democratic Party expected support from the wealthy faction of the society until it prevailed in provinces and districts (Eroğul, Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi, 1970, pp. 12-13).

The Democratic Party’s bylaw can be analyzed under two titles. The first title refers to the general principles of the party and the second is allotted for the principles necessary for the governmental level. The emphasis on liberalism and democracy in the first chapter of the party’s bylaw is explained in terms of both economic liberalism and freedoms. The emphasis on democracy, on the other hand, is to point out to the need for conducting politics in the Republic of Turkey via a democratic mentality. In the chapter on liberalism, the emphasis was on the need to support private enterprises as a pre-request of democracy. Although the second chapter is mainly focused on state affairs, private enterprises and capital are also underlined here.

It will be important to differentiate general society as base and top in order to understand the period between 1945 and 1950. Regarding the top as the members of parliament and base as general society, it can be observed that Democratic Party attracted attention of the top when it was established. The members of parliament from the RPP did not transfer to Democratic Party and preferred to protect their status quo. At this stage, only Cemal Tunca, from RPP’s Member of Parliament from Antalya and Emin Sazik from Eskişehir transferred to Democratic Party. Democratic Party gained great attention from society, although it did not do so from the members of parliament. Three months after Democratic Party was established, it achieved its organization and mobilization in 26 provinces and 75 districts. Such a fast mobilization by Democratic Party in only three

months attracted attention of RPP, as well. The basic reason for this attention is that the cadres of RPP believed that the opposition party was controllable, and it did not have the intention to come to power (Fersoy, 1971, p. 120). On the other hand, there are two reasons for RPP to support the foundation of the Democratic Party: The first was that there was a desire to complete the transition to multi-party system which was first tried in 1920s and that the Republican People's Party wanted to rid of the totalitarian stamp on it. Secondly, there was a desire to solve the intra-party conflicts – not possible to be solved within the party – by means of a new party. Especially the opposing views between İsmet İnönü and Celal Bayar became quite evident in the party and they were started to be mentioned out loud.

4.2.1.3 *Political Understanding of Democratic Party*

Democratic Party is one of sixteen parties established between 1945 and 1946. Despite this, Democratic Party became the party undertaking the opposition's duty among all these parties. Basically, this was due to the fact that RPP was composed of important personalities and it mobilized rapidly after its foundation.

The establishment of Democratic Party paved the way for large changes in Turkish election system, as well. The open vote and confidential ranking system that had been used for a long time was transformed into a confidential vote – open ranking system after Democratic Party was established.

Another fundamental characteristic of Democratic Party is that it permitted the rural people – known as the men on the street – to be active in politics.

Evaluating Turkish electorates, it can be understood that war economy had its biggest effect on people who had fixed incomes. Another part of society affected by the war economy was rural people. Although large producers who owned lands increased their profits during the course of the war, people living in rural areas had lower purchasing power due to the devastating effect of the war. Creating a bourgeoisie class – one of the most important targets of the single party period – was actualized partially after the end of the war. Businessmen active in industries and trade areas benefitted from the war economy and got richer. Nonetheless, the state's revenues remained at the same level and the state became functionless. The majority of the state revenues – which were stuck at the same level for a long time – were used to mobilize the Turkish army. The government came up with the capital tax as a solution and wanted to balance the economy with this new tax. The basic output of the capital tax in the Turkish Political Life is that the bourgeoisie cut its alliance with the bureaucracy. Not feeling themselves safe, the bourgeoisie adopted the idea that the government should be changed to ensure its security and protect its profits.⁷

As a consequence, bourgeoisie, land owners and people living in rural areas formed an alliance under the roof of Democratic Party. Bourgeoisie believed its freedoms were not sufficient and a part of this class as well as associate professors at universities supported Democratic Party at the beginning. In other words, Democratic Party in Turkey

⁷ Entrepreneurs and the rich with accumulated capital gained significance after the Second World War. This group was composed of land owners, local elites and large tradesmen. It will be correct to define this group as the bourgeoisie class. As of the foundation of the Republic, these groups tried to flourish under the shadow of the RPP, however they later opted for dissolving their alliance with the RPP. The basic reason for dissolving with the RPP was that the bourgeoisie did not want the statist policies of the RPP to be active and it aspired to prevent the state from intervening in the economy undertaking the major regulatory role. Additionally, the land reform the RPP was trying to legislate was met with negative reaction by the majority of the land owners in the country. This also caused the land owners in rural areas to withdraw their support from RPP.

became the common point and an umbrella party for military, bureaucracy, intellectual elites, bourgeoisie and rural people in country. RPP, on the other hand, could not take sufficient number of steps to increase the number of its electorates and could not convince people living in rural areas. Thus, Republican People's Party could not substitute electorates coming from military, bureaucratic, intellectual elites and the bourgeoisie (Özbudun E. , 1976, p. 44).

Assessing Democratic Party in terms of exhibiting or not exhibiting center right characteristics, it can be observed that the party indicated most of the center right characteristics, although it did not incorporate all the accepted features of the center right mode of thought.

4.2.1.4 *Is Democratic Party a Center Right Party?*

Since its foundation, Democratic Party drew attention as the party formed by politically influential members leaving the RPP. Many groups dissatisfied with rule of RPP gathered under Democratic Party and as a natural result of this, Democratic Party became a party basically shaped by various groups composing it.

4.2.1.4.1 Addressing to All Layers of Political Culture

Thanks to its capability to address all people with different political cultures, Democratic Party gained high rates of votes and assigned many of its members to the

parliament. The election in the year 1950 was the first that actually worked and resulted with Democratic Party's victory. As a consequence of this election, Democratic Party could obtained 52,68% of the votes by addressing to all political cultures internalized in the society. As opposed to its vote rates, the RPP managed to obtain 39,45% of the votes. With the help of the majority system⁸, the DP got the 52,68% of the votes but dominated 85% of the parliament. The system allowed the DP to get 416 out of 487 seats in the parliament and the RPP got 69, while the Nation Party and the independents occupied 1 seat each.

In this sense, it can be concluded that Democratic Party owed its success in the election predominantly to its capability to appeal to all different factions of political culture as well as effect of the electoral system.

⁸ The majority system regulates that the party obtaining the majority of the votes in a polling district has the power to assign all members of parliament from its party. Although this system caused hesitation pertaining to justice in representation, it caused Democratic Party to occupy 85% of the parliament – not 100% - although the party obtained 52,68% of the votes in 1950 elections. If the d'hont model – proportional representation – was implemented in these elections, Democratic Party could have 275 members of parliament, while the RPP would have 200, the Nation Party 10 and the independents 2 members of parliament (Güvenir, 1982, s. 220). Looking retrospectively, it can be deduced that it would be highly probable that the transition to the multi-party system would take place in a calmer and moderate environment, if the system of proportional representation was practiced during that period. Since decisions taken by a balanced parliament can assure stability to a greater extent, the planned transformation could be actualized in a more balanced way. Therefore, the idea that the proportional representation system would have assured more advantages in the transition to the multi-party system is quite prevalent.

7. Siyasi parti ve bağımsızlara göre illerin çıkardığı milletvekili sayısı, 1950

İl	Toplam	CHP	DP	MİLLET PARTİSİ	BĞMZ	İl	Toplam	CHP	DP	MİLLET PARTİSİ	BĞMZ
Toplam	487	69	416	1	1						
Adana (Seyhan)	11	-	11	-	-	İstanbul	27	-	27	-	-
Afyonkarahisar	9	-	9	-	-	İzmir	17	-	17	-	-
Ağrı	3	-	3	-	-	Kars	10	10	-	-	-
Amasya	4	-	4	-	-	Kastamonu	10	1	9	-	-
Ankara	18	-	18	-	-	Kayseri	9	-	9	-	-
Antalya	7	-	7	-	-	Kırklareli	5	-	5	-	-
Artvin (Çoruh)	5	-	5	-	-	Kırşehir	4	1	2	1	-
Aydın	7	-	7	-	-	Kocaeli	11	-	11	-	-
Balıkesir	13	-	13	-	-	Konya	17	-	17	-	-
Bilecik	4	-	4	-	-	Kütahya	10	1	9	-	-
Bingöl	2	2	-	-	-	Malatya	11	11	-	-	-
Bitlis	2	2	-	-	-	Manisa	12	-	12	-	-
Bolu	7	-	7	-	-	Maraş	7	-	7	-	-
Burdur	3	-	3	-	-	Mardin	7	3	3	-	1
Bursa	12	-	12	-	-	Muğla	6	-	6	-	-
Çanakkale	8	-	8	-	-	Muş	2	-	2	-	-
Çankırı	5	-	5	-	-	Niğde	8	-	8	-	-
Çorum	8	-	8	-	-	Ordu	8	6	2	-	-
Denizli	8	-	8	-	-	Rize	6	-	6	-	-
Diyarbakır	7	-	7	-	-	Samsun	10	-	10	-	-
Edirne	5	-	5	-	-	Siirt	4	-	4	-	-
Elazığ	5	-	5	-	-	Sinop	5	5	-	-	-
Erzincan	5	5	-	-	-	Sivas	12	-	12	-	-
Erzurum	10	-	10	-	-	Tekirdağ	5	-	5	-	-
Eskişehir	6	-	6	-	-	Tokat	9	1	8	-	-
Gaziantep	7	-	7	-	-	Trabzon	12	9	3	-	-
Giresun	8	-	8	-	-	Tunceli	2	-	2	-	-
Gümüşhane	6	-	6	-	-	Urfa	7	1	6	-	-
Hakkari	1	1	-	-	-	Van	3	2	1	-	-
Hatay	6	6	-	-	-	Yozgat	7	1	6	-	-
Isparta	5	-	5	-	-	Zonguldak	10	1	9	-	-
İçel	7	-	7	-	-						

(TÜİK, 2012, s. 9)

Table 3: The number of member of parliaments gained by the political parties as a result of the elections in 1950.

In order to be able to address all layers of political culture within the country, Democratic Party was mobilized even in villages and rural areas, sending its party members to address constituency. The spokesperson from Democratic Party often underlined two important issues in places they visited. The first issue was that the election law was just and fair, and that election results were assured by laws. This was particularly underlined due to the perception of people with regard to the open vote – confidential ranking system applied in the 1946 elections. People thought that it was unnecessary to vote for any other party than RPP in elections since they believed the election results were already obvious, regardless of their participation rate. By trying to change this perception, Democratic Party explained in all places it visited that the electoral law was fair, and votes were to be distributed fairly by means of system of confidential votes – open ranking / counting votes. Another point Democratic Party spokespeople focused on was that people had power to change the ruling party with their votes. The party members particularly tried to convince rural citizens with parochial (local political culture) and subject culture – the lowest layer in the entirety of the political culture – that the ruling party could be changed by their votes, purporting these citizens' value as an image.

While utilizing propaganda methods, Democratic Party followed two different routes in order to address all compounds of political culture. The first of these routes was to reach the top layer of electorates via Newspaper *Zafer*, official media organ of Democratic Party. Since the most efficient method of the period in reaching this faction of the political culture composed of literate people who wanted to participate in politics was through media, Democratic Party opted for this method and wanted to establish

direct connection with electorates living under this political culture. Newspaper *Zafer* did not neglect warning these people at top layer of political culture about elections, as well⁹. The second route used by Democratic Party to be able to appeal to all compounds of political culture was to send educators/trainers to rural and remote regions of the country. These educators/trainers provided electorates with information as to how to vote and propagated to show how their votes were important and had power to change the ruling party in an effort to convince electorate.

Democratic Party also assigned its candidates to visit even smallest villages in polling districts to be able to reach every layer of electorates. Candidates of members of parliament directly talked to villagers and tried to ensure that they felt like a part of politics in the country, stating that they would not cease their ties with public by continuing to visit villages after they are elected. One of the best examples to this situation is a woman candidate by the Democratic Party, Müfide Hanım. The fact that she visited villages one by one attracted the attention of the Newspaper *Cumhuriyet* and referred to in an article by Nadir Nadi. With Nadir Nadi's words, she was taking individual interest with the electorates by visiting villages on her horse. The columnist stated that the women peasants were very kind to her in response (Nadi N. , *Cumhuriyet Newspaper*, 1950).

⁹ The articles of *Zafer* Newspaper during that period had significant titles so that they appealed to the top layer of political culture. The headline of *Zafer* Newspaper on March 13, 1950 was "Careful, citizens!" Here, the wrong writs of the election were mentioned, and citizens were warned to control the lists when necessary and object to Mukhtars otherwise referring to the possibility of not being able to use votes. Democratic Party informed that they established a liaison office for the election and in case any problem was not solved by Mukhtars, people were advised to apply to these liaison offices (*Zafer Newspaper*, 1950). Two days later, Newspaper *Zafer* mentioned the wrong election certificates and stated that those certificates should be checked to ensure they are free of mistakes. Similarly, the newspaper urged people to absolutely apply to Mukhtars in case of any mistake (*Zafer Newspaper*, 1950).

By frequently underlining democracy during the elections Democratic Party took part in, it endeavored to show people that they were powerful at the level that they could determine the government. Especially prior to the elections in 1950, it tried to break the people's perception that 'the government is the Republican People's Party' and used speeches as well as statements referring to the power of voting. In the Istanbul Provincial Congress, Celal Bayar referred to the importance they attribute to each citizen's vote by saying, "I do not think of any citizen, who says my vote will not create any difference. It is for sure that all children of our nation wait for the [election] day with excitement. Changing the government with national will has not been seen so far. We should first commit to this fact. Then, it will not be difficult for the nation to find the right way."

To address to all the compounds of political culture of Turkey, Democratic Party also opened election courses. People assigned by Democratic Party in these courses taught citizens how to vote, register as electorates as well as how and where to object in case of wrongness in electorate registers. These courses were addressing parochial-local political culture, subject culture and participant culture of the society. Citizens, who did not know how to vote, register as electorates or how to object as well as the ones, who belonged to participant culture supposed to vote for the first time, were trained in these courses as an informative study before the election. It is evident that Democratic Party was trying to increase the rate of participation to elections. Since keeping level of participation to politics by addressing all compounds of political culture meant for Democratic Party to be superior than RPP – which owns a participant culture – Democratic Party prioritized election courses, as well. Thanks to this prioritization, the electorates

who never participated in elections before registered and voted in the upcoming elections, and this paved the way for the ‘men on the street’ to take active role in politics. People, who thought their votes did not matter so they did not participate in the elections, started to vote in the elections and ensured their political participation as a result of the transition to the multi-party election system and encouragement by the Democratic Party.

Democratic Party endeavored to address all the tiers of the political culture and achieved its target during the elections it underwent in 10 years. The parties’ candidates visited villages and expressed themselves to the people who were endowed with the parochial and local political culture. They managed to penetrate into the area of impact of these electorates, who were confined to their place of birth and the vicinity in terms of the point of view. Thus, they were successful in showing to the people that the political center is not unimportant and that the electorates should vote, but not remain indifferent to the political center, since they had the power to change the ruling party at this center. At the same time, Democratic Party informed these people, who were unaware of political institutions, about the functions of those political institutions, showing that they can impact those institutions. Electorates living under the impact of their parochial and local political culture were rejecting to establish any relationship with the outer world. Therefore, Democratic Party also put effort to encourage these people to establish such a relationship with the party’s candidates from the party’s center.

Another group that Democratic Party affected and ensured political participation was the electorates owning the subject culture. The basic feature of this type of electorates was that they believed they could neither impact nor change the political center; however Democratic Party broke this perception and ensured their participation in

politics, convincing that they were powerful enough to change political center. Particularly Celal Bayar's speech in Istanbul Provincial Congress appeared as the demonstration of this effort. The relationship between electorates with the subject culture and political authority was based on these people's diffidence, therefore Democratic Party tried to rid people from timidity due to political authorities and encourage them to actively participate in politics during the course of the transition to multi-party political system.

Democratic Party also appealed to electorates with participant culture. The Newspaper *Zafer* was actively used for this purpose. Its columns named "DP's View" and "DP's Opinions towards Elections" provided information to the electorates with participant culture about inclinations of Democratic Party. People of participant culture were also notified about the faults in electorate lists as well as other subjects by means of Newspaper *Zafer*.

As a result, Democratic Party became one that has the ability to appeal to all three political cultures and this was also reflected on its vote rates. In addition, Democratic Party appealed for the first time to electorates with parochial-local political culture and subject political culture to ensure their political participation. In this sense, it can be deduced that Democratic Party fulfills the first feature of center right parties, which the ability to address all different groups of political culture in society.

4.2.1.4.2 Inclusive Party Characteristics

Democratic Party draws attentions with its feature to incorporate elites within its body. Especially its founders, Adnan Menderes, Fuat Köprülü and Refik Koraltan are political figures who may be regarded as opinion leaders fit to the interest and attention of public. Celal Bayar served as last Prime Minister for Atatürk and was a member of parliament during the last period of the Ottoman Empire. He further mobilized people as Galip Hoca during the term of tTurkish Revolutionaries and became a respected personality. Adnan Menderes, on the other hand, attracted attention within Republican People's Party and also agrarian elite, farmers and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Güneş & Akdağ, 2013, p. 185) as well as Fethi Okyar when Free Republican Party was established¹⁰ (Güneş G. , 2006, p. 117). Fuat Köprülü, on the other hand, descended from Ottoman Grand Vizier Köprülü Mehmet Paşa and conducted crucial studies in the field of history and honored with doctoral degree by Heidelberg and Athens Universities as well as Sorbonne College. Refik Koraltan worked in Trabzon Community for Protection of the National Order against the Pontus Greek Organization, took part in the Independence War and became a member to the Independence Tribunals (Yetkin, Karşıdevrim 1945-1950, 2007, p. 181).

As a result, the four founding members of Democratic Party were estimable elite people and their characteristics were reflected in elections with higher votes. Hence, its members did not have any problem with recognition by people. The reflection of this situation granted Democratic Party with the following advantage: Thanks to members from various classes, the Party became the common point for people who wanted to stand upright against the RPP.

¹⁰ Adnan Menderes served as the Provincial Head of the Free Republican Party under Fethi Okyar's leadership.

Another mark of the Democratic Party's inclusive features is that the party always aspired to keep its range of electorates as wide as possible and worked according to this purpose. A striking example to this approach can be seen from the fact that Democratic Party both enacted the Law on Protection of Atatürk (Habertürk Newspaper, 2017) and lifted the prohibition of Arabic recital of the azan (Hürriyet Newspaper, 2000). By this way, Democratic Party achieved to include and involve the majority of the electorates in the country and managed to bring electorates with different priorities under the party's roof.

4.2.1.4.3 Candidate Circles

Center right parties, by the nature of their structures, endeavor to increase the success rate of their candidates by the circles they form around candidates. This, in a sense, means professionalization of party organizations and election campaigns. Candidates are supported by people with various expertise, skills and personal traits. By this means, center right parties target acquiring support from various parts of society by reaching out to all. Despite this, parties endowed with this feature are limited in Turkey. This feature – acquiring support from various professions – is not observed in the Democratic Party. Evaluating candidates from party, it can be observed that they establish direct contact with people in their polling district and ask for their votes without support of professionals with various areas of expertise and skills. Although the Democratic Party's candidates go to the most remote villages in polling districts and try to inform constituency to vote for the Democratic Party, they do not have any circle of other people – professionals – around them to obtain support.

Accordingly, Democratic Party does not have any characteristic of candidate circles matching to that of center right parties. Instead, candidates carry out their election campaigns with their own effort on the basis of their effect in polling districts. There are not any external circles to support candidates in terms of electorate's behaviors or financial issues. Due to the lack of such circles, candidates act on their own to appeal to constituency with their election campaigns. On the other hand, it was not vital for Democratic Party to establish candidate circles, since populations in district polls were rather low and the candidates addressing constituency were generally registered to and living in these district polls. By benefitting both from the fact that Democratic Party was a strong opposition party against RPP and DP's leader was reputable, candidates visited all district polls to the most remote villages and tried to prevent any probable loss in votes.

4.2.1.4.4 Number of Active Members

Although center right parties do not have high number of members, they compose a type of party that is capable of rapid mobilization during electoral periods. In addition, their members are very loyal to party and work with a high level of discipline. The point to be considered here is not center right parties' number of members. It is necessary to look at the number of people who work actively for party on a regular basis. In other words, reference to number of active members means number of people, who regularly work for the party and spend the majority of their working hours for party work. In this regard, Democratic Party reached a high level of number of members. Number of members to parties can be seen in detail on the Supreme Court's webpage. Yet, this was

not possible in 1940s and 1950s. Therefore, party leaders' discourses came forward in determining the numbers of party members during those times. Among leaders of the Democratic Party, Celal Bayar stated in an interview after the foundation of the party that the number of members of Democratic Party immediately one month after its foundation reached a million, demonstrating the countenance shown by the public toward the party (Şahin & Tunç, 2015, p. 43). Nevertheless, the number of party members is way less than the number of active members.

According to this data, Democratic Party has low number of active members as in the center right parties and draws the picture of a party that is capable of rapid mobilization during elections. Consequently, Democratic Party exhibits the characteristics of number of active members present in center right parties.

4.2.1.4.5 Ideological Patterns

As center right parties aspire to be able to address large groups of electorates due to their political position, they have not determined strict ideological patterns and tried to refrain from acting within the limits of political ideologies as much as possible.

The Democratic Party, within this frame, has not limit itself to certain ideological patterns. Although the party has a certain ideological thought and fulfills the political requirements of this ideological thought, it has not attributed importance to political ideologies enough to limit party policies. For instance, the party transformed to protective policies when economy was following a declining trend, although it formerly promised to implement liberal policies. Another example is that the party often

emphasized liberal political ideology; however, the party leaders took and implemented political decisions that fall under conservative ideology.

Eventually, Democratic Party has not squeezed itself with certain political ideologies and resembles to center right parties in that regards. As much as the party has shaped its party program and government program on the basis of certain patterns in doing politics, it has neither remained in the borders of ideologies nor limited its maneuvers, allowing the party officials to develop their policies with flexibility.

4.2.1.4.6 Pragmatism

Pragmatism is not new in political literature. Having been in philosophy as of 1850s, pragmatism has been reflected on politics as one of the characteristics of center right parties. Pragmatism is defined as practical approach to a problem or a certain relationship (Merriam Webster, 2018)¹¹.

Referring to practical and solution-based approaches to problems, pragmatic approach is among the center right parties' characteristics. Accordingly, Democratic Party shows marks of pragmatism in its enacted by-laws and approaches to solve existing problems in the society. Elaborating on the party program of Democratic Party in detail, liberal views can be observed to dominate. Particularly the economic views in the program are based on liberalism and they are evident determinants of liberal principles including state support in private enterprises, transferring of public organizations to the public sector and preventing state intervention in markets (Takım, 2012, p. 164). Yet, Democratic Party fairly intervened in markets during the crisis in 1954 and acting

¹¹ See (Wiener, 1972) for the emergence of pragmatism and its development stage.

pragmatically, postponed prevention of state intervention in markets in order to be able to protect farmers. Due to the facts that climate conditions were not favorable and there were numerous problems in bringing spare parts of imported tractors, inflation rate first rose to 2.9% and then to above 20%. Under these circumstances, the state started to accept support in order to protect farmers and used a part of its limited sources to buy products at the hands of farmers (Öztürk, 2008, pp. 77-78). Giving up on its liberalist principles with this approach, Democratic Party followed a pragmatic route in order not to lose its constituency.

Along with this, Democratic Party also started to implement a price control policy in 1956. Again, with a pragmatic approach, the government took prices under control and started to limit prices with the effect of the rapidly increasing inflation rates and the consequent increases in prices.

As a result, Democratic Party implemented and incorporated pragmatism – one of the characteristics of center right parties.

4.2.1.4.7 Party as the Focal Point of Social Problems

Democratic Party adopted one of the most important features of center right parties, which is focusing on social problems and producing policies to solve these problems rapidly. For instance, Democratic Party realized the general public inclination pertaining to “Arabic Recital of Azan” and lifted the restriction in this regard, which resulted in Arabic recital of Azan in Turkey. Similarly, the party immediately responded to the demands of the public by price control policy against the increasing prices due to

the incrementing inflation rates. Another example may be the discourses on democracy at the foundation of the party. The democratic discourse was used by Democratic Party in a time when people were tired of strict economic policies during the Second World War to say that freedom would be ensured, and the demands of the people would be satisfied. Yet another example is the slogan, “Enough! The Word Belongs to the Nation!” which was used by Democratic Party as election propaganda. Democratic Party realized that people were feeling themselves outcast from politics and all the decisions were solely taken by the government. Upon this fact, the Democratic Party’s leaders developed this slogan to become the focus of interest in an attempt to focus on social problems.

Thus, Democratic Party exhibits the feature of focusing on social problems and taking the public’s pulse – as a feature of center right parties. This is evident in behaviors during foundation stage, party slogans and party policies.

4.2.1.4.8 Vote-Seeking Party Characteristics

Center right parties have always been centered on elections and pursuing the goal of winning elections. Regardless of election system they compete in, their fundamental goal is to win elections. They do not take part in election with the purpose of establishing coalitions or dictating certain policies. From this perspective, Democratic Party aimed at winning each election it took part in and shaped its policies according to this aim. Although party does not determine election campaigns on the basis of indispensability of certain policies or establishing a coalition, the basic target of this party is to constantly win elections. For this reason, Democratic Party has always grounded its election propaganda and campaigns on this principle. Nonetheless, it is not possible to

utter that Democratic Party was completely a vote-seeking party, since the possibility for the party to establish coalitions was rather low due to the single-member district system during its term and circumstances during that period were not fit to produce office-seeking parties. Democratic Party emerged also as a policy-seeking party and was established by four people who were opposed to the land reform. By stating that they would reinforce liberalization and private enterprises, Democratic Party appeared as a policy-seeking party in its founding stage.

As a result, it can be deduced that Democratic Party does not fully show the vote-seeking feature of center right policies. No matter how party representatives visited even the most remote villages in polling districts to campaign for their victory, the founding purpose of the party indicates the features of a policy-seeking party.

4.2.2 Justice Party

Democratic Party retrieved from political stage after the military coup in 1960. Later with the new Constitution, Turkish political parties came back to their places in the democratic system and politics started once again to be shaped according to elections by means of the proportional representation system where multiple parties could be involved.

In August 1960, 5000 commissioned officers were superannuated with the decision of the National Unity Committee. 235 of these commissioned officers were generals, who were supporting the RPP. The Four-Star General Ragıp Gümüşpala was among the superannuated generals, as well. Stating his view formerly as “My side is with İnönü, if I go into politics,” (Yorgancıoğlu, 2000, s. 45-47), Gümüşpala was in

connection with the RPP, but decided to establish a new party after his meeting with the Democratic Party's Former Second Provincial Head from İzmir, Mehmet Yorgancıoğlu. Being clearly aware of the sensitivity of the military with regard to the establishment of a new party as a continuation of the Democratic Party, Ragıp Gümüşpala met Cemal Gürsel and provided general information on the founding stage of the party, its general principles and the policies it would endeavor to apply. Even though the process after the foundation of Justice Party was quite tortuous, the party was not closed by the National Unity Committee and continued its political life.

In addition to Justice Party, two more notable parties were established after the year 1960. These parties are the New Turkey Party and the Workers' Party of Turkey. Looking at the ideologies of these parties, the New Turkey Party¹² drew an image of a rightist party close to the line of the Democratic Party. Workers' Party of Turkey, on the other hand, defined itself as a leftist party as opposed to those mentioned above.

Together with the establishment of the three new parties, the number of parties in the Turkish Political Life increased to 5 along with the Republican People's Party and the National Peasants' Party¹³. Constituency consolidated under the Democratic Party, on

¹² The New Turkey Party was founded by 19 members of parliament leaving Democratic Party and it is qualified as the continuation of the Freedom Party. The New Turkey Party is positioned as the natural inheritor of the Freedom Party, as it was founded by the members of parliament leaving Democratic Party due to the denial of the right to evidence. The New Turkey Party adopted liberal economic policies; advocated supporting private enterprises and keeping state intervention limited only with coordination and wanted the government to guide this system. Thus, the New Turkey Party defended the idea to approve foreign capital under the control of the government (Shaw & Shaw, 1983, pp. 497-498).

¹³ Originating from the Nation Party (1948-1954), the Republican Nation Party (1954-1958) and the Peasants' Party of Turkey (1952-1958), the Republican Peasants' Nation Party accepted and supported private enterprises; however, it also advocated during the Second World War on the basis of undeserved gains that the profits of private enterprises should be taken under control. Also defending the idea of granting workers with the rights to labor union and social security (Shaw & Shaw, 1983, pp. 497-498), the Republican Peasants' Nation Party became the 3rd party with 13.6% of the votes (1,415,390 people) in the elections in 1961 (TBMM, 2018).

the other hand, started to be regarded by other parties except the Republican People's Party and the Workers' Party of Turkey¹⁴ as the fundamental targeted constituency¹⁵.

In consideration of the membership acceptance criteria of Justice Party, it can be observed that the party prioritized keeping its members permanently mobilized, increasing its number of members and obtaining membership fees, rather than concentrating on center right parties' characteristics. Nevertheless, it is possible to regard this situation as a result of not Justice Party's preference, but the imposition of regulations and by-laws after the military coup (Güler F. D., 2003, s. 33-34).

Justice Party took its organizational structure one step ahead Democratic Party and opened representation offices in villages and neighborhoods as well as establishing local assembly groups in those areas (Güler F. D., 2003, s. 34). The organizational structure of Justice Party goes down from provinces to villages and neighborhoods, constituting a vertical organizational model. In this model, the relationship with the center demonstrates a hierarchical relationship. The center is at the top of the hierarchy as the final decision-maker and all decisions are taken according to this structure. Party organizations at provinces and districts prevail across the country by reaching out to villages and towns through representation offices. When the duties of the local organizations are evaluated within this framework, the strict nature of the hierarchical structure reveals. The primary duty of local organizations under the party is

¹⁴ Workers' Party of Turkey comes forward as a mass party within the scope of party classifications during its period. Benefitting from Duverger's definition, this party specifically underlined the number of members to the party and regarded increased number of party members as its core element. At the same time, the party's fundamental aim is to educate its members and the cadres with the possibility to rule the country when they come to power through winning the elections. As opposed to the other four parties, the Workers' Party of Turkey has a sharp and clear distinction of ideological point of view.

¹⁵

to inform the center and apply the center's decisions at local level. The role of local organizations, on the other hand, remains limited to local congresses and they have not strengthened further. It is crystal clear pertaining to candidates that the provincial and district organizations can only provide recommendations, while the center possesses the absolute decision-making authority (Adalet Partisi Tüzüğü: Büyük Kongrenin tasdikine ve tasvibine sunulmak üzere 12-13 Mart 1966 tarihinde toplanan temsilciler meclisinde 648 sayılı siyasi partiler kanununa uydurulan Adalet Partisi tüzüğü, 1978) according to the by law of Justice Party (This was submitted to the approval and affirmation of the Grand Congress so as to render Justice Party's by-law fit to the law number 648 of political parties via the representative assembly convening on March 12-13, 1966).

Just as the Democratic Party, Justice Party was established as a roof party gathering many different opinions under its body and has successfully fulfilled this duty. Gathering many views together, this party also demonstrated the majority of the center right parties' characteristics. To put it differently, Justice Party – just as other center right parties – has shown the quality of coalitions. The base of Justice Party was composed of various groups and these groups were formed by people who were members to different political cultures and executing different professions. Accordingly, the supporters of Justice Party may be ranked as follows:

- Trading bourgeoisie,
- Industrialists,
- Rich land owners,
- Pioneers of cities, districts or towns.

Along with this, Justice Party could acquire the support of the small business owners, manufacturers and public officials – who were supporting Democratic Party– even if partially (Çavdar, Adalet Partisi, 1984, s. 2090).

Concomitantly, Justice Party opened up for the markets and addressed to peasants manufacturing for the markets as well as the small bourgeoisie desiring to grow. These groups created a large scope of electorates for Justice Party and provided the party to seek votes on this basis. It is for this reason that the discourses of Justice Party were basically shaped on the basis of the economy. In this regard, the pioneering figures of the party kept the bourgeoisie class at a privileged position and they always advocated free economy (Keyder, 1989, s. 163). There are elements that distinguish Justice Party from Democratic Party and make it more difficult to keep the party's constituency consolidated. The primary element is that the agrarian elites, business owners, small business owners and upper-class bourgeoisie forming alliance under Democratic Party had difficulty in sharing their profits as their gains increased. The fast-growing privileged status of the bourgeoisie caused conflicts between large agricultural producers and industrial manufacturers. Except this conflict, there were other conflicts between large industrialists, manufacturers and small industrialists, producers. These groups desired to grow more and more and demanded allocation of state sources under the party's roof in a privileged way and also shaping the Turkish economy in line with their interests.¹⁶

Although Justice Party acted as a continuation of Democratic Party in designing its party structure, the party officials did not explicitly share this with the public. Still,

¹⁶ The National Order Party emerged as a result of this conflict. As a consequence of the conflict, Justice Party experienced a division, which caused it to become the party of large industrialists, traders and manufacturers (Şaylan, Ordu ve Siyaset, 1978, s. 409).

certain features of Democratic Party incorporated within Justice Party consolidated the idea that it was the continuation of the Democratic Party. Basically, there are the following similarities between the two parties: Primarily, both parties positioned themselves against the military bureaucratic elites. Secondly, both parties have been sensitive towards local demands. Patronage relations established by Democratic Party were sustained as they were by Justice Party. Party representatives became intermediaries conveying local demands to the center and the party headquarters. Thirdly, both parties gave the image that they sided with the people against the bureaucratic structure. This siding reflected itself supporting the ones rejecting the form of modernization from upward to downward (Abadan, 1966, pp. 147-148).

Justice Party became the most successful in 1961 elections out of the three parties claiming to be the continuation of the Democratic Party. Coming as the second party with 34,79% of the votes following the RPP, Justice Party got ahead of the New Turkey Party and the Republican Peasants' Nation Party, with which it was competing on the same lane. With these results, Justice Party proved that it was the inheritor of Democratic Party and that it was the umbrella party in the rightist line.

Party Name	Votes	Rates
RPP (Republican People's Party)	3,724.752	36,74
MP (Motherland Party)	3,527.435	34,79
NPRP (Republican Peasants' Nation Party)	1,415.390	13,96
NTP (New Turkey Party)	1,391.934	13,73
Independents	81,732	0,81

(TBMM 1961 Seçim Sonuçları, 1961)

Table 4: 1961 Election Results

Political life in Turkey did not turn into normal immediately after the elections in 1961. It took time to reduce the effect of the military on political life and parties had differing views in this regard. On October 24, 1961, all parties' representatives convened with Cemal Gürsel and reached an agreement. According to this agreement, Cemal Gürsel would be the president and the first civilian Prime Minister would be İsmet İnönü and there would be no amnesty to members of the Democratic Party. Despite the consensus in this regard, all parties except the RPP experienced both internal and external conflicts in ideas. The New Turkey Party and Republican Peasants' Nation Party accepted Prime Ministry of İnönü; however, they did not agree to take place in coalition government. The two main reasons for this rejection were that they believed involvement in the coalition would damage their claim to the Democratic Party's legacy and that the

majority of party members were opposed to such a coalition. Justice Party, on the other hand, was divided into two within this scope. A group of former Democratic Party members rejected coalition with RPP. As opposed to this, another group believed that a coalition with RPP would diminish impact of the military and lay the groundwork for the reassurance of political stability in the country (Güler F. D., 2003, p. 61). The group supporting Justice Party's coming to power also believed that it was important for the party to gain legitimacy and claim the legacy of Democratic Party. Coming to power after the first elections they participated, Justice Party would gain legitimacy to its claim for the legacy of Democratic Party in the eyes of not only partner rulers but also the society.

As a consequence of this process, the coalition government was formed, and two parties shared the ruling power for the first time in the history of the Republic of Turkey. While referring to the importance he gives to coalition government, İsmet İnönü started his words in the Government Program as follows: "I am honored to be in your venerable presence to explain the government program. The mixed government that I preside is a new organization that is unprecedented in our political history. In a long period of division, political parties, which were considered impossible to come together and speak the same language, ultimately reached an agreement and formed the government. This result is a new example to our nation's political maturity and power to overcome all obstacles, which is proven. The government's members in your venerable presence have seen that in a short time they can reach agreement and consonance by their cooperation in a short time. Republican Government, with all its members, is committed to the principles of Atatürk's reforms. Assuring the absolute rule of the Constitution is our target over each policy. During the formation of the government, I conserved my contacts

and relationship with the presidents of the opposing and ruling political parties. I re-determined that we agree on the fundamental principles of the democratic regime. As a summary, I can utter that the mixed/hybrid government is in a state and strength that suffices to ensure the full operation of the democratic regime in the country,” (Neziroğlu & Yılmaz, 2015, p. 6).

The coalition efforts continued for seven months and as a result, the coalition collapsed after İsmet İnönü resigned from Prime Ministry. İnönü explained the collapse of the coalition as that Justice Party requested the amnesty of Democratic Party members in the negotiations pertaining to amnesty for perpetrators of the attempted coup under Talat Aydemir’s leadership. By saying: “(...) By keeping the issue of amnesty above all issues within the last month, the government has been made paralyzed (...)” İnönü resigned (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1962).

Different reactions emerged within the party when Justice Party retrieved from being coalition party in a month. These reactions can be summarized as follows:

- Desire to gain legitimacy was damaged: The fact that the coalition was demolished due to RPP and Justice Party could not actualize its needs within this regard meant the idea of being the continuation of Democratic Party as well as its legitimacy was broken down. Especially the former Democratic Party members, who were rejecting the coalition from the beginning, gained strength from the dissolution of the coalition and started to take more active roles within the party.

- Legacy of the Democratic Party: Claiming to be the continuation of the Democratic Party, Justice Party's coalition with the Republican People's Party created hesitance in both the constituency and the former members of Democratic Party. Difficulty in explaining this situation to electorates was experienced to a greater extent by Justice Party when it was in position of opposition.
- Government Program: As much as the Democratic Party, Justice Party also attached importance to economic development and supported economic policies advocating rapid growth. On the other hand, the provision preventing recommendation of legislation to the Parliament pertaining to additional budget to that regulated by the Republican People's Party under the coalition's conditions was not in line with Justice Party's opinions and policies (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1962).
- The idea that the intra-party opposition was right: The former members of Democratic Party thought that the ministers in the coalition program were closer to İnönü and his program rather than the party policies. This situation caused delegations and impartial members side with the ones opposing to the coalition.

In light of the above-mentioned reasons, distortion of the coalition partnership led to many fluctuations with Justice Party. These fluctuations were reflected on the election of the General Administrative Board on November 30, 1962 and the people called extremists, who opposed the coalition, won the elections.

Following the breakdown of the RPP-JP coalition, the JP (Justice Party) began to serve as the opposition party. There had been alterations in the intra-party balances after the victory of the extremists and the opposing movement against Ragıp Gümüşpala incremented (Milliyet Newspaper, 1962). Yet, Gümüşpala run for presidency as the sole candidate and won the elections.

The coalition of Republican People's Party – New Turkey Party – Republican Peasants' Nation Party which was established after the breakdown of the coalition between the Republican People's Party and Justice Party lasted for 18 months in total. Justice Party came as the first party as a result of the local elections on November 17, 1963¹⁷ and this was perceived as a warning by the New Turkey Party and the Republican Peasants' Nation Party and therefore, the representatives of these parties retrieved resulting in the fall of the 27th Government.

Ragıp Gümüşpala was given the task of forming the government, upon the fact that İsmet İnönü declared he would not attempt to form a government again after the second coalition government. As Ragıp Gümüşpala could not form the government, the third coalition government was founded by the RPP and the independents via the support of the New Turkey Government¹⁸. During the term of the Third Coalition government, Justice Party continued to increase its votes. The participation rate to the elections decreased by 21.2% in the 1961 elections. On the other hand, the participation rate in the 1964 senate elections was 60.1% (Özgişi, 2012, p. 143).

¹⁷ Justice Party obtained 45, 87% of the votes in the local elections of 1963 (Yerel Seçim Sonuçları, 1963).

¹⁸ The third coalition government could be established upon the statement that New Turkey Party's President Ekrem Alican would support the government on the Cyprus issue.

Upon the death of Justice Party's leader Ragip, Gümüşpala on June 5, 1964 due to his health problems, Justice Party convened its Second Grand Congress and offered four candidates for presidency of the party. These candidates were Justice Party's General Vice President Saadettin Bilgiç, American Morrison Company's Representative Süleyman Demirel, Commander of the Turkish Air Forces Full General Tekin Arıburun (Türk Hava Kuvvetleri, 2015) and Member of Parliament from Istanbul Ali Fuat Başgil. As a result of the election, Demirel became the President of Justice Party by taking 1072 of 1679 votes. Saadettin Bilgiç came second with 552 votes.

The point to consider here is as follows: Although Saadettin Bilgiç was the Deputy Chairman of Justice Party and active in mobilizing the party, a large part of the delegates of Justice Party supported Süleyman Demirel. It can be said that there are two reasons for this preference: First, the military and Justice Party wanted to align their relations with a more compromising and peaceful leader. Secondly, they may be argued to choose a leader, who will be able to attract both the bourgeoisie and the peasants' votes and bring in a more liberal perspective to the party instead of Saadettin Bilgiç, who was a strict conservative person positioned at the far right of the political spectrum (Sherwood, 1967, p. 61).

As Süleyman Demirel was nominated for the party chairmanship, his statements focused on three main issues:

- Intra-Party Democracy: Demirel emphasized that the intra-party democracy should be established. This emphasis was influenced by the fact that Saadettin Bilgiç impacted the decisions taken in the party and also by the

importance attached to democracy as a part of the Democratic Party's legacy¹⁹.

- Relations with the Army: Demirel always emphasized that relations with the army should be kept in balance. It is possible to understand this emphasis in both his statements and in-party attitudes. In his speech prior to the elections, he underscored the relations with the army as follows: "The ones who want to pit Heroic Turkish Army against the Turkish people will be disappointed at the end. Justice Party is guarantor of this. We will not be deceived by this game. Turkish people are committed to the noble and heroic Turkish army with love, affection and gratitude," (Yılmaz, 2017, p. 33).
- Affinity to All Electorates: Demirel further underscored that Justice Party should produce policies in a wide range of appeal to many segments of society, not just a specific part of electorates. After general elections, he emphasized this view as follows: "Not the policy of a single leader or a group of people, but policies that are accepted by all groups are followed in Justice Party," (Güler F. D., 2003, p. 66).

Along with Demirel, Justice Party has changed its image, and started to pursue a more active path in party politics. It is possible to observe this new policy in the discourses of Demirel, as well. Justice Party began to take a more active role in politics after Demirel became General President of the party. As a matter of fact, Justice Party, New Turkey Party, Republican Peasants' Nation Party and Nation Party made a

¹⁹ As is known, one of the most important arguments in the establishment of Democratic Party was that the elements of intra-party democracy had not been implemented in the RPP.

consensus in February 1965 budget talks and passed an objection vote against the ruling party. Thereupon, the government fell and the 29th Government was established under the Prime Ministry of Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, the Member of the Kayseri Republican Senate (TBMM, 1965) (TBMM, 1965) with the proposal of Cemal Gürsel. Demirel set two goals for this government and acted accordingly in his policies. The first goal was to ensure that the government was not a transitional government, but one committed to execution of its mission. Demirel government opposed to those who described them as a provisional government and stated the importance he attributed to the government. Secondly, Demirel advocated the idea within the frame of the importance given to the government that it was important to reassure people prior to the elections and that Justice Party needed to invest in tcoming elections with its stance within the government.

The elections of 1965 resulted in the absolute victory of Justice Party. Along with this victory, Justice Party increased its votes in all elections since 1963. All in all, Justice Party obtained 52, 87% of the votes, and the party's members achieved to occupy 240 seats as members of parliament.

Party Name	Votes	Vote Rates
Justice Party	4,921.235	52,87
Republican People's Party	2,675.785	28,75
Nation Party	582,704	6,26
New Turkey Party	346,514	3,72
Independent	296,528	3,19
Workers' Party of Turkey	276,101	2,97
Republican Peasants' Nation Party	208,696	2,24

(TBMM, 1965)

Table 5: 1965 Election Results

This election result had many consequences for the Justice Party as well as other parties in the country. Primarily, Justice Party proved to be the true heir of Democratic Party thanks to the vote rate it received. Justice Party became the new center right party thereby its continuous growth, party structuring and Demirel's leadership. Secondly, the New Turkey Party and Republican Peasants' Nation Party's arguments to be the continuation of Democratic Party collapsed in total terms. As a result of their vote rates, Justice Party was actually accepted as the inheritor of the Democratic Party. Thirdly, Justice Party confirmed its place in the center right and became an umbrella party where

people of various political cultures convened and voted. Finally, it is also possible to say that Süleyman Demirel was accepted by people as the leader.

Demirel's post-election statements can also be considered to be in line with the perception that the party is a true center-right party. He particularly underscored that the government will support the foreign capital and private sector (Milliyet Newspaper, 1965). However, Demirel had to deal with the opposition in the party after the 1965 elections. Although Saadettin Bilgiç was perceived to have won the election and dominated the party, he was positioned in the opposing group of the party and had to compromise with certain members.

In the 1966 presidential elections, the reason for party delegates to elect Demirel once again revealed. Retired General Cevdet Sunay was elected President and he took another important step in the process of improving relations with the army, as the majority of the delegates of Justice Party wanted.

The 1969 parliamentary elections yielded quite interesting results for Justice Party. In the elections, where D'hont system failed, Justice Party lost 6,32% of the votes compared to the previous election, obtaining 46,55% of the votes in total. Nonetheless, Justice Party increased its number of deputies in the Turkish parliament. The elections in 1969 were also significant in terms of the occupations of the members of parliament. By showing the role of the central right party, influential people from both the bureaucracy and the clergy were assigned as members of parliament from Justice Party. Seven of the eight clerics who are deputies in the assembly are under Justice Party. 7 of 8 clergy serving as members of parliament were members of Justice Party. However, most of the

members of parliament from Justice Party were made up of bureaucrats. Justice Party followed such a path in order to appeal to every sect of the society (Şaylan, Parlamentonun Mesleki Açıdan Kuruluş Biçimi, 1976, p. 146).

Between 1961 and 1971, Justice Party assumed the role of center-right party as the right-wing integrative party. Incorporating many views from the rightist point of view, Justice Party clearly inherited the legacy of Democratic Party with the election of Demirel as the leader. The fact that Justice Party increased its votes in the 1965 elections and New Turkey Party as well as the Republican Peasants' Nation Party – who were trying to claim the legacy of Democratic Party– decreased their votes was accepted by the public as that the Democratic Party's legacy was given to the Democratic Party.

The year 1970 was a groundbreaking year for Justice Party. Integrating the right-wing thinking completely in its body and drawing a clear center-right party image, Justice Party gradually lost its ability to host many rightist ideas due to the developments in 1970. The main reason for this was the establishment of new parties in the right line²⁰ and that various political considerations within Justice Party began to shift into these parties. Nevertheless, Justice Party did lost its right to be the largest party on the right until the 1980 coup d'état. Still, it is necessary to distinguish between the years 1960 –

²⁰ Among the important figures of the 1960 coup, Alparslan Türkeş joined the Republican Peasants' Nation Party approximately two years after he came back to Turkey following March 23, 1963. On August 1, 1965, he was elected as the general president of the party. In 1969, the party adopted a new way of structuring and a new political ideology and changed its name into the Nationalist Movement Party. The party gained a new nationalist-Islamist identity and began to shape its political life on the basis of this identity (Türkeş, 2018). Another reason to dissolve from Justice Party (inherited from the Democratic Party) was the conflict between the large capitalists and the Anatolian capitalists. In this conflict, which came to light under the body of the Union of Chambers, there was an effort to protect and increase the big capital activities, whereas the growing Anatolian capitalists wanted to benefit from the privileges that the big capitalists were receiving. During the period of the Democratic Party, the reason why the conflict was not evident was that the Anatolian capitalists did not reach sufficient strength. As a result of the conflict emerging out of the effort to share the capital, the Islamic thought revealed itself as the National Order Party and tried to be the voice of the Anatolian capitalists (Toprak, 1984, s. 2105).

1971 and 1971 – 1980 when analyzing Justice Party. Justice Party was clearly exhibiting features of a center-right party in the period of 1961-1971. Between 1971 and 1981, the party positioned itself as the opponent of the RPP and the leading party of the right politics.

Despite the fact that 1971 Memorandum had dismissed Justice Party from the ruling power, it remained an important figure in the flow of events. Justice Party withdrew from the government as the army officials stated that they would seize the ruling power if the requirements of the memorandum were not met. As a result of the withdrawal of Justice Party from the government, the parliament was not closed down and the same parliament in the absence of Justice Party was attempted to be established. Justice Party under the leadership of Süleyman Demirel supported the first Nihat Erim Government²¹ regarding to keep the parliament functional as their main objective. Nevertheless, Justice Party did not see any problem in ceasing its support to the government in situations where they had disagreements (Demirel, Adalet Partisi İdeoloji ve Politika, 2004, pp. 64-65).

4.2.2.1 *Is Justice Party a Center Right Party?*

It is necessary to analyze Justice Party in two separate periods while looking at whether it has the characteristics of a center right party. The period between 1961 and 1971 was the first period of Justice Party and the party clearly showed the characteristics

²¹ The 33rd Government was formed under the Presidency of Nihat Erim and served between 26.03.1971 and 11.12.1971.

of center right party. During the second period between 1971 and 1981, the party lost its characteristics of a central right party due to four basic reasons:

- March 12 Memorandum: Süleyman Demirel compromised the stance of Justice Party and its principle of being the continuation of Democratic Party in order not to close the Parliament and prevent any cease in the political life. The withdrawal of Justice Party from the ruling power led to loss of its important position as the carrier of the Democratic Party's traditions in the eyes of electorate.
- New parties on the right: Establishment of the Democratic Party, restructuring of Republican Peasants' Nation Party under Alparslan Türkeş's leadership and strengthening of Anatolian capital[ists] paved the way for the foundation of the National Order Party and this caused the division of the rightist votes, which were formerly under Justice Party. Along with this division, Justice Party lost the ability to address all the layers of political culture.
- RPP's Rise: Increasing its votes with left-of-center rhetoric and Bülent Ecevit's leadership, RPP also became an inhibiting factor for the center-right features of Justice Party. The shift of RPP to the left ensured that majority of votes from the poor and the squatter districts provided to Justice Party were shifted to sphere of RPP. As a result of the fact that Justice Party's image as a party questioning the socio-economic order and aiming to correct income injustice was demolished by other parties, Justice Party's area to address different groups of political culture was

considerably narrowed down (Demirel, Adalet Partisi İdeoloji ve Politika, 2004, pp. 67-68).

- **Conjunctural Change:** As a result of changes mentioned above, Süleyman Demirel placed his party as the leader of right parties against RPP and the left-wing idea. Due to the fact that Demirel identified leftist idea with communism and conjuncture had challenging conditions, sJustice Party transformed into a party appealing to a certain audience instead of addressing all electorates.

In light of this information, it is necessary to examine whether Justice Party showed the features of a center right party in two separate periods.

4.2.2.1.1 Addressing All Layers of Political Culture

When Justice Party was formed, the army had an important influence on the political life as a result of the 1960 coup d'etat. Thus, the military was rather cautious toward Justice Party. Even though the military was relieved to a certain extent when Ragıp Gümüşpala undertook the role of party leadership, the military was disturbed by the fact that the majority of the former Democratic Party members became members of Justice Party.

Legacy of Democratic Party is important for three different parties: Republican Peasants' Nation Party, New Turkey Party and Justice Party. These three parties established their political life on the legacy of Democratic Party and aimed to appeal to

the Democratic Party's constituency through their propaganda claiming to be the continuation of the Democratic Party. The elections in 1961 manifested that the voters gave the Democratic Party's legacy to Justice Party. With 34,79% of the votes, Justice Party got ahead of the other two parties – its competitors – and came out of polls as the second party after the Republican People's Party.

The first term of Justice Party marked the advancement of Democratic Party pertaining to party organization and mobilization. Justice Party's mobilization from headquarters to provinces and districts expanded to neighborhoods and villages by means of representation offices. During the term of Democratic Party, duties of nominated members of parliament began to be executed by party representatives in small settlements such as villages and towns. Here, Justice Party deemed it necessary to conveniently appeal to people with parochial and local political culture, the lowest layer in the hierarchy of political culture. One of Justice Party's policies in this regard was to enter into local areas of these people, instead of transforming them as it would be rather difficult due to their sense of belonging to their vicinity. As Demirel was elected as the party leader, the importance attached to parochial and local political cultures became obvious in political slogans. Furthermore, Justice Party also addressed those who had a subject culture in its 1st period. Farmers and other members of this political culture, who were aware of political center but did not have any expectation from it, were provided with financial support, and purchasing policies. Within this scope, the nickname "Shepherd Sülü" for Demirel was used in political propaganda, as well²².

²² Throughout his political life, Demirel had been nicknamed many titles. Among these titles were: Morrison Süleyman (because he was the representative of the American Morrison Company), King of

The fact that Demirel gave importance to development and uttered that industrial development is as crucial as agricultural development as well as that he internalized liberal policies and embraced foreign capital helped him to appeal to the electorates with the participant culture, as well. Moreover, with his high level of education, modernity and being a symbol of the Republic, Demirel also managed to appeal to the electorates who desired to take active role in politics through the Justice Party, as these electorates were aware of their importance and role in Turkish political life. In this regard, Justice Party succeeded in addressing each stratum of electorate and was able to gather them under its own roof from 1961 to 1971. Evaluating this period, Justice Party demonstrated the first characteristic of being a center right party by achieving to mobilize constituency within its body despite the diversity in electorate typology, increasing urbanization and income injustice.

However, Justice Party had a different image between 1971 and 1981. Although Demirel did not want to change his style of address to the electorates along with the rise of RPP and diversification of right-wing parties, he had to position his party against RPP as a left-wing party. Even if partially, Justice Party lost its talent during this

Dams (because of the dams he constructed) and Shepherd Sülü (because he herded his family's sheep in İslamköy). Demirel liked and mostly used this last nickname basically for its message and advantage provided by that nickname to keep his relations with the peasants intact. Demirel's father uttered the following words: "I taught you how to treat the soil... You know how to remove firewood, shrub cutting, double plowing, cropping, sickle harvesting, planting of trees, bee breeding, tobacco, rose planting, hoeing and harvesting. Just in case, remember these. It's the world. The soils will never leave you hungry." With these words, Süleyman Demirel understood the peasants, but he did not confine only with this understanding. He always prioritized to share the message that peasants may benefit from the advantages of the Republic and become the Prime Minister of the Country. He always wanted to influence people with this style of thought. Accordingly, by benefiting from the blessings of the Republic, even the highest authorities could be granted to peasants as a result of hard work. It is evident that Demirel internalized this thought and the benefits of the Republican regime from his family as a child as it can be understood from his following words to his father: "According to the regime established by Atatürk, one day you may become a member of parliament" (Akar, 2015).

period to address all layers of Turkish political culture despite the fact that leftist way of thinking was adopted only as a means to oppose to RPP. During this period,

Justice Party generally tried to address conservative, liberal and nationalist sections via its electoral policies. It appears that voters who had participatory culture left Justice Party during the same period. With Bulent Ecevit becoming the leader of Republican People's Party, voters endowed with participant culture mostly begun to support Republican People's Party.

As a result, Justice Party demonstrated the feature of appealing to all parts of political culture between 1961 and 1971; however, it does not seem possible to propose the same argument for its second decade between 1971 and 1981.

4.2.2.1.2 Inclusive Feature of Party

From its foundation to the first period when Demirel became the leader and the party was qualified as a real center right party between 1961 and 1971, Justice Party manifested the characteristics of an inclusive party. The leader cadre of the party was made up of elite people with high reputation. The party's most influential figures were former members of Democratic Party and retired generals from the army. Although Justice Party attached importance to the number of party members as well as membership fees as mass parties, it did not show the actual characteristics of mass parties. Justice Party's organizational scheme was structured in a top-down hierarchy and the party chose

a vertical type of organization just as mass parties rather than a horizontal type of organization. Central and local organizations were separated from each other and acted in a hierarchical order. Especially after Demirel became the party leader, the hierarchical order became even more evident, while the relationship with the center and the local organizations was preserved bidirectionally. Despite the fact that local organizations did not have real power in defining policies, their requests were taken into consideration by the center. As a result of this arrangement, the party could share characteristics of many parties without limiting itself. Manifesting the characteristics of catch-all parties between 1961 and 1971, Justice Party restructured its organization in order to be able to seek votes of different groups of electorates.

Between 1971 and 1981, on the other hand, there was an entirely different situation. The party partially started to lose its inclusive features and upon this fact, officials who did not question Demirel and applied policies in line with Demirel's instructions were assigned to the crucial posts within the party. In this case, the party started to exhibit the features of a classical cadre party focused on leadership. On the other hand, Justice Party turned into a party that appealed only to right wing electorates as a result of the fact that new parties emerged and RPP cut the ties of electorates, who were suffering from income injustice as workers, from Justice Party with its left-of-center rhetoric.

Consequently, Justice Party showed characteristics of an inclusive party in the period between 1961 and 1971. The party prioritized obtaining votes from all sects of the society as a vote seeker party; tried to steer its policies by a leading cadre and endeavored to appeal to all electorates on the basis of catch-all characteristics of the party. On the

contrary, Justice Party lost characteristics of an inclusive party when it comes to the period between 1971 and 1981 due to the changing political conjuncture of Turkey and that Süleyman Demirel applied different party policies.

4.2.2.1.3 Forming Candidate Circles

The process of appointing candidates in Justice Party was a process in which

views of local organizations were listened to, but the central organization was taking the final decision. As a result of this process, candidates were being supported at the provincial and district levels as well as up to village and neighborhood levels. The first circle as it is called is facilitator for these candidates to meet and address the constituency. Especially after establishment of village and neighborhood representations (these representations were usually given to prominent people of villages or neighborhoods), candidates met with the public with support of these influential people accepted by the public. One of the most striking features of the period of Justice Party was that candidates visited coffee shops in neighborhoods and villages and this was transformed into an advantage with the influence of the people ranked in the first circle. Those who held the pulse of people in the second circle were organized around electorate within the body of Justice Party. While local organizations communicated the needs of the people to center, they also informed candidates about issues they should address as election promises. The relationship between local organizations and center was therefore based on the dominance of the center; nevertheless, local organizations were never put on the second plan. The third circle around candidates was composed of those who identified with party and wanted to earn respect through financial assistance and other ways. These

people formed the 3rd Circle around candidates of Justice Party during that period. Due to its nature and the argument that its administrators came from public, Justice Party prioritized personal relations rather than institutionalized relations. This third circle was formed by managers of chambers of commerce and industry, employer confederations, businessmen, industrialists, tribal leaders and local wealthy people so on and so forth (Demirel, Adalet Partisi İdeoloji ve Politika, 2004, s. 119-120). The presence of the third circle around candidates brought in patronage relations, as well. Justice Party faced intensive criticism due to patronage relations due to the presence of the 3rd Circle (Özbudun E. , 1981, s. 264-265).

From 1961 to 1971 it was possible to clearly see the three circles around candidates. These circles were very helpful to candidates and parties to get them prepared for elections in the best way possible and reach highest level of votes. One of the main reasons why these circles could be established so quickly was that Justice Party managed to take over and improve the organizational structure of the Democratic Party.

Between 1971 and 1981, on the other hand, the circles were preserved; however they were not seem to be clearly distinguished. Particularly in some parts of Anatolia, certain disconnections were experienced in the 1st and 2nd circles with the empowerment of the National Order Party. This situation can also be seen as one of the factors in the fall of Justice Party's votes.

As a result, Justice Party was in constant ascension between 1961 and 1971, and achieved to establish its candidate circles correctly, which was one of the factors that contributed to the increase in the party's votes. On the other hand, these circles were

broken in certain regions as a result of the new parties emerging under the influence of the changing world and Turkish politics between 1971 and 1981.

4.2.2.1.4 Number of Active Members

In the period when

Justice Party was established, it had to attach great importance to membership fees and the duties of members when determining criteria for member accession due to the imposition of both laws and conditions brought by the coup. The terms and conditions for membership were specified in detail in the by-law of 1961²³ which was made in accordance with requirements of the period. The by-law was partially amended in 1964²⁴ and more details were given to criteria to become party members in 1966²⁵. It was added

²³ According to the 1961 by-law, those who wanted to become members of Justice Party had to fulfill the following conditions:

- Laws shall not constitute any obstacle
- To fulfill military duty
- Not to be known as a notorious person by the public
- Not to be convicted of using an authority and influence to commit a violation of human rights, treason, communism, sacrilege, malice, murder, a crime that will damage honor or dignity and stealing government goods (Tüzük, 1961, s. 3)

²⁴ The criterion to fulfill the military duty was removed from this by-law. Instead, the following 2 articles were added:

- To adopt and internalize the Turkish Culture
- Not to be dismissed from any party before (Adalet Partisi Tüzük ve Program, 1964).

²⁵ According to Article 3 of this by-law, the terms of membership were detailed as below:

Article 3: Those who cannot be members to Justice Party are:

- Non-Turkish citizens,
- Minors,
- Restricted people,
- Those who have lost the right to be elected to membership to the Grand Turkish National Assembly due to absolute conviction of a crime,
- Students in high school or in lower education institutions,
- Public officials,
- Those who work in the management and supervision of banks and corporations established under a special law or authorization of a special law as well as in public economic enterprises;

in the beginning part of Article 3 to make pecuniary and immaterial sacrifice to the party and pay membership fees. Although paying dues for membership seems to be aimed at increasing the number of active members, this was not the underlying purpose. These dues were considered to cover a part of the financial needs of the party to sustain its material existence.

As a matter of fact, neighborhood and village representation offices established for the first time by Justice Party in Turkey did not become permanently active. Although there were representation offices in villages and neighborhoods, these bureaus were active, and their members mobilized only during electoral periods. Consequently, Justice Party structured its organization on the basis of having a permanent distinguished administrative cadre, who worked hard during electoral periods, instead of keeping the number of active members high. This situation remains the same, evaluating Justice Party in two periods, being 1961-1971 and 1971-1981.

salaried or per diem workers and those who work at central boards of associations working for public welfare, who are provided with special income sources by law,

- And those who are members of another party.

Every Turkish citizen can become a member of Justice Party provided that they fulfill the following conditions:

- To adopt and internalize the Turkish Culture,
- To declare by signing a declaration that they accept the Party's Statute and Program,
- Not to use authority and influence to commit any crime that violates human rights such as treason, communism, reactionism, desecration, any dishonourable and undignified crime and stealing public goods in any way (Those who have been convicted cannot register as party members even if they are forgiven).
- Among all Turkish citizens, who have lost their competence to become a member of parliament due to a precise crime, the ones for whom the restitution of divested rights are decided to be given or granted prior to July 9, 1961 and encouraged by the authorized courts precisely, are eligible to become members of Justice Party.
- University faculty members and assistants can not take duties in the party, except the Assembly of Representatives and the General Administrative Board.
- Independent officials in the electoral lists of Justice Party shall immediately become party members if they win the elections.

As a result, Justice Party was not a mass party trying to keep the number of its active members high. Despite the fact that there was a clause in the party's statute in this regard, the aim here was to support the financial structure of the party in the post-coup period rather than keeping the number of active members high. Indeed, it was stated with Demirel's being the party leader and the article added to the statute that membership fees and financial contribution to the party were expected from the members, yet the quality of these financial aids was not specified. Here, importance is attributed to supporting the party by referring to the 3rd Circle around the candidates. Justice Party demonstrated a center-right party feature with its structure not trying to keep the number of active members permanently high.

4.2.2.1.5 Not Being Confined to Ideological Patterns

As for other peculiarities, it is necessary to look at Justice Party's characteristic of not being confined to ideological patterns in two different periods. It is obvious that Justice Party did not benefit from electoral programs within the framework of a certain ideology between the years 1961 and 1971 and when the party obtained the ruling power, it did not use any government program, either. In addition to the liberal policies implemented by Justice Party in support of the private sector and private enterprises, the party also supported farmers by increasing the base price of wheat by 10% as well as ensuring government purchase of wheat. Moreover, Justice Party opened the way for graduates of religious schools to become primary school teachers. As a result, Justice Party did not limit itself to liberal ideology alone, and supported farmers by abandoning

this policy when necessary. Accordingly, the party also acted conservatively by granting the opportunity for graduates of religious schools to become teachers.

Yet, there emerged an entirely different situation between the years 1971 and 1981. The emergence of National Order Party – established in rightist line during this period – as well as Republican Peasants' Nation Party which changed its name to Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) caused narrowing down of political sphere of Justice Party. To add to that, RPP under Ecevit's leadership rose in leftist line and achieved to appeal to electorates who were suffering from the income injustice at the highest level. This caused Justice Party to sharpen its stance. Demirel assumed the mission to become the leader of right wing against rising RPP during the period of 1971-1981 and the party thereby shifted to the right line. It is also possible to understand from the party slogans and propaganda that Justice Party placed itself in the right political ideology during this period. Communism was particularly underlined in the election manifesto for the election in 1973, promising in the introduction of the manifesto that Justice Party would minimize areas of abuse by communism when it came to power (Adalet Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi, 1973, s. 4). It can be uttered at this point that Justice Party was confined to conservative area of rightist view and stood against leftist voters. Nevertheless, it was clearly stated that student movements were paired with communism and that these demonstrations were intended to bring about a communist regime (Adalet Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi, 1973, s. 7-9). While policies were publicly explained, threat of communism was always put forward, though.

The election manifesto for the election in 1977 was significant in terms of specifying the political ideology of Justice Party. In the face of communism, Justice Party

positioned itself with sharper lines and continued to present communism as a threat, while qualifying itself as the representative of national will (Kervan Yürüyecektir! Adalet Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi, 1977, s. 14).

Eventually, Justice Party specified its party policies from 1961 to 1971 according to domestic politics, will of electorate, and world conjuncture without being squeezed into certain political ideologies. However, this was changed towards the end of the year 1971. People started to give up on Justice Party due to the division in domestic politics and particularly in right wing. In turn, Justice Party positioned itself somewhere in right and began to produce rightist policies against leftist ideology.

4.2.2.1.6 Pragmatism

Pragmatism appears to be one of the most important features of the central right-wing parties. In this regard, Justice Party demonstrated the highest level of pragmatism when Demirel came to rule the party. With Demirel's leadership, it became possible to see more clearly the traces of pragmatic policies in his discourses. The pragmatic policies of Justice Party produced the policy of increasing the purchasing price of wheat by 10% in 1965, since the party followed liberal economic policies and advocated for market economy (Cumhuriyet Newspaper, 1965). Another pragmatic policy applied by the party was to make peace with the military bureaucracy. After taking over the legacy of the Democratic Party, Justice Party's relations with the military bureaucracy deteriorated. For this reason, Justice Party tried to reconcile with the military bureaucracy by making the

retired generals and former soldiers members of the party. This move by Justice Party indicating that they sustained the legacy of Democratic Party was a thoroughly pragmatic policy developed in accordance with that period's conditions. Demirel's meeting with Chief of General Staff Semih Sancar before the 1973 presidential elections was also an act of pragmatism. Upon these pragmatic approaches, Demirel was reported to say, "It was yesterday, but today is another day," in this line (Hürriyet Newspaper, 1973).

Within this framework, it is crystal clear that Justice Party followed pragmatic policies – one of the characteristics of center right parties – between 1961 and 1971 and endeavored to solve problems it faced by means of practical approaches. This internalization is also evident in Demirel's discourses as well as Justice Party's policies. As opposed to this, the decade between 1971 and 1981 was quite different in terms of applying pragmatic policies. During this period, Justice Party positioned itself within the right wing and produced relevant rightist policies. Therefore, the traces of pragmatic policies or pragmatic approaches to problems were not distinguished during that period. Notwithstanding this, the Nationalist Front Governments established in the meantime can also be considered as examples of pragmatism. Thus, the pragmatic approach was evident between 1961 and 1971, although this characteristic of the center right parties did appear in body of Justice Party during the period of 1971-1981.

4.2.2.1.7 Focusing on Areas of Social Interest and Social Problems

Agricultural development in Turkey started with term of the Democratic Party. Cultivated lands expanded and rate of yielded products incremented as industrial tools

such as tractors started to be used. Adding to this situation the fact that Europe could not do agricultural production after the Second World War and increased its demand for crops from Turkey more than expected, Turkey experienced a leap forward in the field of agriculture. Although this leap forward could be sustained only for a while due to the lack of real support by means of reforms, it paved the way for significant agricultural developments in Turkey.

For agricultural activities developing at this level, the equipment and fertilizers used were falling short, though. Formerly, peasants were not producing for markets and they were using fertilizers produced by their livestock. With increasing production and expanding treated soils, their fertilizers and agricultural tools remained insufficient. In order to solve this big problem, Justice Party increased production of fertilizer from 980 thousand tons to 2 million tons (Akbaş, 2013). And due to the fact that there was social demand for increased fertilizer production, Justice Party intervened as would do a center right party and found a solution to a social problem where people's focus was canalized.

Another problem in 1960s was that a large part of Turkish villages did not have electric power since Turkey was unable to produce enough electricity. During Justice Party period, various projects were initiated to provide villages with electricity and the number of villages reaching to electricity reached approximately 18 thousand (Akbaş, 2013). From this perspective, Justice Party managed to intervene in a problem – the lack of electricity in villages – which was focused by the public as an area of social interest. At the same time, Justice Party facilitated functionalizing the existing hydroelectric power plants and designing projects for new plants in order to increase power generation that fell short.

Another issue of social interest was about irrigation of basins and agricultural lands, which attracted the attention of Justice Party and oriented it to rapidly produce a series of policies. Justice Party tried to solve irrigation problem arising out of agricultural development and expanding planted lands by means of ponds and carrying water in dams to lands in an attempt to show its interest in social problems.

Justice Party focused on social interest areas as well as social problems and produced relevant policies both between 1961-1971 and 1971-1981. During both these periods, Justice Party conducted work and produced numerous policies to address the areas where society was interested and regarded as social problems.

In this regard, Justice Party may well be regarded to manifest the feature of tackling social interest and issues, which is among characteristics of center right parties. Generating policies to solve social problems waited to be figured out, the party targeted to remedy the issues to the interest of people.

4.2.2.1.8 Vote-Seeking Characteristics

As of its foundation, Justice Party demonstrated its party structure by wishing to take the legacy of the Democratic Party. Accordingly, Justice Party was focused on winning elections as the Democratic Party. Justice Party was not an office-seeking party as seen in the Nationalist Front Governments or a policy-seeking party seen in the examples of socialist parties. Instead, Justice Party was always concentrated on winning elections and collecting votes as a center right party.

Among characteristics of vote-seeking parties, the ability to address to all electorates from the lowest to the highest layer was observed in Justice Party. Justice Party opened representation offices in neighborhoods and villages targeting votes from all these places and its fundamental purpose was to win elections.

As a consequence, Justice Party exhibited the feature of vote-seeking as center right parties. In accordance with this feature, Justice Party wanted to win elections through votes rather than seeking office or policies.

4.2.3 Motherland Party

1970s can be regarded as the most depressive years far from stability in the Turkish Political Life. Stability could not be ensured due to the deep political polarization and failure to establish government; the establishment governments were weak and lasted only for a short term. In his speech on November 8, 1978, Bülent Ecevit stated that almost 800 people lost their lives due to political violence and 1800 people in total were arrested (Milliyet Newspaper, 1978).

As a result of the political violence and instability experienced in the 1970s arrests and death tolls incremented dramatically. Due to that increase, the military seized the ruling power in the country with a declaration in the morning of September 12, 1980. According to this declaration, the parliament was disassembled, immunity of the

members of parliament was abolished and the cabinet was demolished (Zürcher E. J., 2002, p. 405).

Political prohibitions were brought along with the military coup. Political parties were prohibited to do politics and their activities were forcefully ceased during this process. Approximately a year after on October 16, 1981, the National Security Council (NSC) abolished all political parties. It can be argued that the NSC did not want to transform into a new political order with the former system's actors²⁶ (Milliyet Newspaper, 1981).

Turgut Özal and the Motherland Party emerged as a result of these developments. Yet, it was not all of a sudden that Turgut Özal founded a party and came to power. Turgut Özal proceeded to these stages gradually.

Turgut Özal was assigned as the Vice Prime Minister responsible for economic affairs in the parliament under Bülent Ulusu's presidency after September 12. Considering his liberal attitudes in the State Planning Organization, Turgut Özal's presence in the government was welcomed positively by the business world in Turkey. Businessmen in Anatolia and Istanbul supported Turgut Özal, as he was from Malatya, to join the government.

The Constitution Commission established by Prof. Dr. Orhan Aldıkaçtı after the coup formed the new Constitution. This Constitution was approved by the National

²⁶ In his statement, Kenan Evren said, "We will start the democratic rule via parties that are not responsible for the past. The political parties today continue the same attitudes as they did before September 12. If the current political parties and their managers did not attempt to pressure us through journalist activities informing foreign countries by means of certain institutions, maybe we would not have to take this decision," purporting the fact that they would not continue the process of transition to democracy with the past's actors.

Security Council through consensus and was submitted to referendum on November 7, 1982 and accepted by 91,5% of the votes²⁷.

Together with acceptance of the Constitution, the Law on Political Parties was regulated and politicians, who were active before the coup, were prohibited from politics for a period of 10 years (Zürcher E. J., 2002, p. 410). According to the New Law on Political Parties (22.4.1983 Tarihli ve 2820 Sayılı Siyasî Partiler Kanunu, 1983), women and youth branches of political parties were prohibited and relations with labor unions were not allowed.

As the new Law on Political Parties was issued, new political party formation was legalized. The only criterion for establishing a new party was to obtain approval from the National Security Council.

After a time longer than one and a half year when political parties were not active at all, the first party established on May 16, 1983 was the Nationalist Democratic Party. Four days after the establishment of the Nationalist Democratic Party, the Populist Party and the Great Turkey Party were also founded. In the next three months, many other parties were formed in Turkey. Members of some of these parties were vetoed by the National Security Council and prohibited from foundation. The political parties established during the summer months were as follows:

²⁷ 91,5% vote rate was and still is a controversial topic. There are mainly three reasons for this controversy:

1. It is claimed that people cannot vote with their free will due to directions, pressure and control before, during and after voting process.
2. There is no permission before the Constitution is submitted for approval to produce propaganda and explain it to the public why not to accept the constitutional text.
3. It is claimed that the voting papers are transparent and people, who fear to vote no as it will be disclosed, feel that they have to vote yes (Özçelik, 2007, pp. 169-171)

Party Name	Date of Foundation
Social Democratic Party	06.06.1983
Supreme Duty Party	06.06.1983
Renascence Party	20.06.1983
True Path Party	23.06.1983
New Order Party	01.07.1983
Virtue Party	04.07.1983
Republican Conservative Party	07.07.1983
Our Party	08.07.1983
Welfare Party	18.07.1983
Turkey Peace Party	22.07.1983
Flag Party	29.07.1983

Table 6: Parties established around June – July 1983

An inflation of political parties was experienced after freedom was granted to establish political parties at the end of one and a half year of prohibition from politics. Nonetheless, fundamental aim of the military was to establish one left wing and one right wing party and to allow an additional smaller party in the parliament. The military

aspired to form the new political system by taking the American example. The aforementioned two political parties supported by the military were the Nationalist Democracy Party under the leadership of General Turgut Sunalp in the right wing and the Populist Party in left wing under the leadership of Necdet Calp, former principle clerk for İsmet İnönü. In addition, the Motherland Party under Turgut Özal's leadership was also designed as the 3rd small party of the parliament.

After Turgut Özal decided to found the party, he met Kenan Evren and asked for permission. Although Kenan Evren granted the permission for the formation of the party, he asserted that he did not want members or supporters of the National Salvation Party and Nationalist Movement Party to enter into that new party (Barlas, 2000, p. 37).

When Turgut Özal initiated works to establish the party, 37 people contributed to the hard work. These names called in list of founder on May 20, 1983 were as follows: Turgut Özal, Bedrettin Dalan, Adnan Kahveci, Abdülhalim Aras, Hüsnü Doğan, Vehbi Dinçerler, Prof. Ercüment Konukman, Sadi Pehlivanoglu, Leylâ Yeniay Köseoğlu, Veysel Atasoy, Mustafa Rüştü Tasar, Fahir Sabuniş, Aycan Çakıroğulları, Ferruh İlter, Güneş Taner, Bedrettin Doğançan Akyürek, Metin Emiroglu, Mükerrerem Taşçıoğlu, Abdullah Tenekeci, Erol Aksoy, Mehmet Altınsoy, Kâmil Coskunoğlu, Cemil Çiçek, Feridun Demsoy, Halil Şıvgın, Vural Arıkan, Sudi Türel, Mehmet Cavit Kavak, Alâaddin Kısakürek, Kâzım Oksay, İbrahim Özdemir, Ali Tanrıyar, Yener Ulusoy, Mesut Yılmaz, Mehmet Nejat Eldem, Muzaffer Atılğan, and Hüseyin Cahit Aral (Turgut, 1986, pp. 161-163). 7 out of 37 names in the list were vetoed by the National Security Council. Despite this veto, the minimum number required – 30 – was approved and the party started its political life (Turgut, 1986, pp. 141-142).

The obligation to obtain approval for the members in order to be able to compete in the elections on November 6, 1983 challenged a number of parties and caused them to remain political parties only on paper. As a consequence, the National Security Council approved only 3 parties: National Democratic Party, Populist Party and Motherland Party (Çavuşoğlu, 2010, p. 28).

During the course of election campaigns, Özal and the Motherland Party made many differences in comparison to other parties. These differences posed by the Motherland Party were as below:

- No complaint: It was realized that people were fatigued by the political conflicts, therefore the Motherland Party never complained about the other two parties, the National Democratic Party and the Populist Party. Targeted policies and projects were communicated to people and while doing so, the National Democratic Party and the Populist Party were not underlined in any comparison.
- Özal was in the forefront: As people knew the Motherland Party as Özal's Party, Özal was always put into the forefront. Özal was the party's face both on TV and in party statements.
- Positive developments were attributed to Özal: Decisions taken before and during the coup, the January 24 Decisions which partially relieved the economic condition and the relative economic boom were all attributed to Özal. Taking this one step ahead, Özal said that he was taking active role in the decision-making processes during the term when Demirel was in

power and that economy collapsed when Demireal departed his way from him (Arcayürek, 2000, p. 192).

- Message of Unity: The Motherland Party always underscored that it would reconcile different groups/camps and this reconciliation would bring unity which would be to the benefit of the country.

By following up the above-given methods, the Motherland Party rapidly increased its potential to obtain votes. Particularly by preparing cassettes/records to address the entire society formed the foundation of the party's achievements. On the other hand, Özal claimed that all the decisions taken, including the January 24 Decisions, were taken by him and this claim disturbed both Kenan Evren and Turgut Sunalp. Seeing that the Motherland Party was advancing towards ruling power, Sunalp told Evren he needed to intervene. Upon this incident, Evren delivered a speech criticizing Özal just 2 days before the elections and evidently expressed that he sided with the National Democracy Party (Çavdar, Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1950-1995, 2000, p. 293). This situation did not decrease votes of the Motherland Party; on the contrary, its vote rates increased especially with swing votes in the cities passing to the Motherland Party.

After the elections on November 6, 1983, the Motherland Party, which was designed as a small party in addition to right and left-wing parties, received 45,14% of the votes and came to power.

Party Name	Votes	Vote Rates
Motherland Party	7,833.148	45,14
Populist Party	5,285.804	30,46
Nationalist Democracy Party	4,036.970	23,27
INDEPENDENT	195,588	1,13

(TBMM, 1983)

Table 7: 1983 Election Results

The result of the elections was a disappointment for the other two parties competing in the elections of 1983. Indeed, the Nationalist Democratic Party abolished itself three years after the elections. The Populist Party, on the other hand, merged with the People's Democracy Party (HADEP) two years after the elections and was renamed as the Social Democratic Populist Party. Consequently, both of the parties competing in the elections of 1983 were erased from the political life in three years after the elections.

The Motherland Party became victorious in the local elections on March 25, 1984 and won the elections with 41% of the votes. The elections in 1984 also marked the Motherland Party's proof of legitimacy, as well. In 1987, the Motherland Party and Özal advocated to say no for the referendum conducted to determine whether the political bans should be lifted for political leaders or not. However, Özal and the Motherland Party lost

the referendum with receiving 49,76% of the votes as opposed to 50,24%. As a result of the referendum, Özal decided to conduct an early election in November, immediately after the referendum on September 6 without giving his competitors time to recover.

Becoming victorious in the elections on November 29, 1987, as well, the Motherland Party received 36,1% of the votes. Due to the electoral threshold, the Motherland Party won approximately 65% of the parliament by receiving 31,1% of the votes. Although the Motherland Party's votes decreased from 45% to 36%, the party won a precise victory in the elections and ensured its legitimacy in the political setting where all the political bans were lifted.

The 1989 local elections, on the other hand, resulted negatively for the Motherland Party (ANAP). The party came third according to the election results and lost the majority of its popularity. The increasing inflation rate and injustice in income distribution were the underlying reasons for the party's failure. New right and left-wing parties became competition elements and combined with the high inflation rate and injustice in income distribution, which paved the way for a considerable decline in the Motherland Party's votes. As a result of the 1989 elections, Turgut Özal run for president as Kenan Evren's tenure was over and he was elected the president. Yıldırım Akbulut continued to preside over the Motherland Party until 1991 and then Mesut Yılmaz assumed the duty of party leader and served as the leader until the year 2002. For this reason, the year 1989 must be evaluated as the year of a breakthrough when determining whether the Motherland Party was a center right party or not, while the periods of 1983-1989 and 1989-2002 must be assessed separately. This is mainly due to the fact that Turgut Özal became the President of the country, and then became the opposition party.

With these developments, Turgut Özal started to amend his party policies and the party's stance in accordance with the current conjuncture.

Assessing the Motherland Party's basic policies, it can be observed that the biggest challenge for the party in 1970s was the income injustice and high inflation rate. Therefore, the first target of the Motherland Party was to reduce the high inflation rates to single-digit figures (Ulagay, 1987, pp. 74-75).

Motherland Party also aimed at supporting private enterprises and banishing monopolies. However, free market economy caused a rapid increase in consumption and saving rates fell down significantly. To increase savings rate, Özal Government increased interest rates, yet this attempt did not produce good results at the level of society. Instead of the middle class, large savers with high amounts of capital benefitted from the high interest rates. In addition to that, new taxes tried to be created as a new source were not enough and the country had to face high amounts of domestic and foreign debts.

Targeted by Özal Government to fall down to single-digit figures, the inflation rate was around 45% in 1984 and 40% in 1985 (Ulagay, 1987, pp. 91-92).

Retrieving to being the opposition party in 1991, the Motherland Party remained in the opposition until 1997, except for Second Yılmaz Government established in 1996 and lasted only for three months. Motherland Party lost its power permanently against the rising True Path Party and was deprived of a part of its center right party - characteristics under Mesut Yılmaz's leadership.

4.2.3.1 Is Motherland Party a Center-Right Party?

Motherland Party emerged in political stage of Turkey at a time when all the political leaders were banned due to the coup; everything old was abandoned and not allowed to enter in political sphere. The Motherland Party was designed by the military rulers as a small 3rd party in the parliament and supposed to act in accordance with this design. Nonetheless, the Motherland Party became the 1st party with highest votes in the elections of 1983 due to the failure of the electoral propaganda by Nationalist Democratic Party and Populist Party, while Özal contributed great value to his party in the eyes of people. However, Motherland Party's votes began to decline when the political bans were eliminated and former political actors run in the elections. This decline in the party's vote rates was further triggered by the unpreventable inflation and injustice in income distribution. When Turgut Özal left the party, the loss of power by Motherland Party became even more evident. Motherland Party lost its characteristics of being a center party partially after 1989 and more significantly after 1991.

Along with the rise of True Path Party (TPP) and Welfare Party (FP), the Motherland Party lost some of compounds of political culture under its body to these two parties. Although losing these groups of political culture did not mean for the Motherland Party to also lose its characteristics of center right, the party was partially deprived of its skill to address these groups of political culture henceforth. Furthermore, the rising left parties and mobilization among them restricted the area of movement for Motherland Party. That period continued with competition between Motherland Party and True Path Party, both of which failed to address all political culture in the country as opposed to center right parties. Thus, these parties did not exhibit this feature of addressing the entirety of the political culture in 1990s.

4.2.3.1.1 Addressing Entirety of Political Culture

Motherland Party was not a continuation of another party established in the past. Yet, it did not present itself as an anti-thesis of another party or idea. Instead, the party was formed with a new approach and points of view. People, who were voting for another party in the past with different ideologies, started to vote for Motherland Party thanks to this way of structuring and even personally worked for the party. By this means, Motherland Party managed to spontaneously influence the entirety of political culture only through its political stance and without any connection with history.

Similarly, the Motherland Party's managerial staff accepted anyone who wanted to become party members without looking to the party they worked in the past or their position in the spectrum of political thought. Among these people were the ones who actively worked in other parties or the ones who supported the Motherland Party from outside (Taşar, 1996).

The Motherland Party stated that it brought together four inclinations dominating the Turkish Politics and Özal ranked these inclinations as below:

- Democratic Left
- Liberal Right
- Nationalist Right
- Islamist right (Gönensin, 2004).

The majority of these inclinations shared by Özal as well as people identifying themselves under these inclinations supported and voted for Özal and thereby Motherland

Party. Particularly business world in Turkey contributed significantly to Motherland Party in addition to providing financial support.

Thanks to videocassettes Özal prepared, he tried to reach as far as remote villages and gave importance to explain his policies in these regions. For people in the lowest layer of political culture, the videocassettes were not prepared with a technical narrative, but with an understandable and simple language to explain the ways to solve social problems.

When choosing the name of the party, Özal decided on a name that could especially appeal to all the voters, naming the party Motherland Party. Özal introduced the party name as follows: “Motherland is a unifying name. Currently, Turkey needs unifying symbols and unifying movements, as well. In the 1950s, there was a need for democracy in Turkey. This need emerged in 1940s, and Democratic Party was born on the basis of this need, which is why the party was named Democratic Party back then. In the 1960s, this time the country needed justice. As a result, Justice Party was founded and named after justice. Democracy and justice were undermined, and Turkey faced the threat of falling into pieces in the 1980s. Now integrity of the country must be symbolized. Motherland best describes integrity of the country. Now it is necessary to protect the country. This is why our party’s name is Motherland” (Doğan, 1985, pp. 332-333).

When naming the party, Özal wanted to create a party image that could address all voters and through which everyone could find a piece from their lives.

4.2.3.1.2 Inclusive Party Characteristics

Contrary to other parties located in center right, Motherland Party did not emerge from the body of another party and was not qualified as continuation of any party. From this perspective, it never stood against or supported any thought or any party ideology with its structure. It is for this reason that people, who voted for other parties in the past, could find a place for themselves in the Motherland Party and started do politics under its body.

Özal defined Motherland Party as follows: “I expressed that I thought to found a party that could unify everyone. I told that we were not against any opinion or thought. Back then, people thought that I could not even obtain 10% of votes. The miniature party that I will establish will be proof of democracy in Turkey. They founded two parties, one in the left and one in the right. This is what Evren Paşa told me: We think of [establishing] two parties. Our party will be proof of the fact that the democracy game is taken seriously,” (Barlas, 2000, p. 38)”.

As of its founding year to 1989, Motherland Party demonstrated the characteristics of an inclusive party. It became inclusive party of the period, since it incorporated different political ideologies within its body. Its type of organization was a vertical organization and Özal was at the top. During this period, when Özal was the most important figure for image of the party and interacted with people closely, Motherland Party became a party involving numerous features of different type of parties. Notwithstanding that, this situation changed after the year 1989. At this stage, the True Path Party and Welfare Party increased their strength and stole the role of Motherland Party. Motherland Party failed to respond to that act and its inclusive feature was partially

curbed. Motherland Party could not conserve its inclusive feature against the right parties consolidating their power with lifting of the political bans.

As a result, Motherland Party did have the feature of inclusiveness in its body as a characteristic of center right parties between the years 1983 and 1989. Nonetheless, the party lost this feature after 1989.

4.2.3.1.3 Candidate Circles

One of the most evident center-right characteristics of Motherland Party in the system established by Turgut Özal was the ability to establish circles around candidates. Motherland Party drew a rather successful profile particularly in terms of forming a 3rd circle around candidates and mobilizing these people. Motherland Party received great support from businessmen including Mehmet Okumuş, Erdoğan Demirören, Zeki Aytaç and Zeki Bilge (Turgut, 1986, pp. 58-160). Distinction of Motherland Party, on the other hand was as follows: Candidate circles in Motherland Party were formed around Özal. The circles established around candidates during the term of Justice Party were now focused on Özal during the term of Motherland Party and Özal preferred to delegate the circles to the respected candidates. In other words, candidate circles moved directly around candidates in polling districts during the period of Justice Party, while they were basically shaped around Özal during the Motherland Party and Özal personally delegated these circles to the party's other candidates.

Motherland Party mostly could not find the opportunity to involve highly experienced people who know electorates' behaviors and who are positioned in the 2nd circle. This circle was weak due to the fact that many pioneering political figures were banned from politics and number of political parties that could really compete in elections was very low. As a matter of fact, the deficiency of Motherland Party in this area could be seen more evidently after the political bans were lifted and previously banned leaders started to take their place once again in the political area.

Respected people in society also changed their point of view towards politics during the course of depolarization after the military coup. Along with this, it was very difficult for Motherland Party to establish the 1st circle with the impact of bourgeoisie class, which was tried to be established and developed as of the proclamation of the Republic.

Another basic reason for the Motherland Party to have difficulty in forming the circles around its candidates was that the party was predominantly referred together with Özal. Therefore, candidates presented by Motherland Party always remained in the second plan and people identified the party with Özal. Furthermore, another reason for the failure in establishing a solid system of candidate circles was that Motherland Party did not have a party tradition and it was established as a continuation of another existing party, but it was built from scratch.

Consequently, Motherland Party could demonstrate characteristic of candidate circles within the scope of center parties neither during the period of 1983-1989, nor during 1989-2001.

4.2.3.1.4 Number of Active Members

The act on political parties enacted after the military coup in 1980 regulated no women or youth branch could be opened in relation to political parties and that there was not any permission to establish relationship with trade unions and associations. This article prevented political parties from gaining large numbers of members.

Although Motherland Party was affected by this article, it had never exerted outstanding efforts to increase its number of members tremendously. As a feature of a center right party, Motherland Party focused on rapid mobilization of its members rather than increasing their number. Incorporating limited number of qualified members in its core as a center right party, Motherland Party did not aim to increase the number of members, as these members were already in forefront.

As a result, Motherland Party appeared to be a fast mobilizing party during electoral periods with its qualified core cadre rather than being a party with high number of active members. In this regard, Motherland Party did show characteristic of a center right party.

4.2.3.1.5 Ideological Patterns

Motherland Party was not a party with sharp and precise ideological lines. Stating that it is involving four political inclinations present in Turkey, the party officials said they were not belonging to any specific ideology but involving all ideologies within the body of the party.

Although Motherland Party gave place to liberal policies such as struggling against inflation, promoting private enterprises, and supporting private sector, it did not incorporate many concepts such as social justice and social security within its policies. In this context, Motherland Party encompassed many people with different political ideas and ideologies by means of refraining from advocating any certain political ideology or opinion. Especially due to the facts that newly emerging political parties after the 1980 coup could not run in the elections and that Nationalist Democratic Party and the Populist Party could not find any positive response from society to a sufficient extent, the Motherland Party found itself space for producing policies for all people with any political ideology. Indeed, party's organization did not limit itself to one ideology only, since party authorities were aiming at keeping this composition intact and represent the vast majority of people by embracing various political thoughts.

4.2.3.1.6 Pragmatism

Applying pragmatic solutions to problems and implementing pragmatism as a party policy were among crucial methods of Motherland Party. As it did not come from a particular political tradition and was a product of a very depressive political period, Motherland Party achieved to bring pragmatic solutions to economic, political and social problems.

In response to the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) problem in the east, Özal endeavored to maintain security in the country by providing a system of rangers in the eastern villages by means of a pragmatic approach. Along with the deportation decree, as well, he also tried to secure the Syrian border of Turkey. Upon the incrementing security

issues in the region, Özal further tried to take countermeasures against terrorism in the region by providing additional service indemnification to rangers and by releasing sale of arms, but these actions failed.

During Özal's period, decree-laws were used very frequently. Özal used the decree-laws intensively, as they were rapidly applicably against any problem as opposed to the process of law enforcement. During the 5-year period when he served as the Prime Minister, Özal's Motherland Party issued 161 decree-laws in total (Cemal, 1990, p. 129).

After 1989, on the other hand, Motherland Party (ANAP) began to lose its feature of hosting pragmatism in its body. In light of this information, Yıldırım Akbulut's period was quite clearly under Özal's influence and conflicts with Yıldırım Akbulut began to be experienced. Akbulut and Yilmaz could not produce pragmatic solutions even to establish intra-party balance, and the overall approach to problems was not based on practical solutions, but only on arguments.

As a consequence, Motherland Party lost part of its pragmatism feature in 1989, with Özal becoming president. And with Mesut Yilmaz being Prime Minister, it can be observed that this characteristic was almost totally lost as Yilmaz approached problems with a more status quo-based strict stance.

4.2.3.1.7 Being the Focal Point of Social Problems

The biggest challenge for Motherland Party under Özal's leadership when it came to power was the high rate of inflation and injustice in income distribution, as it is elaborated before in this study. In this context, policies of Özal and Motherland Party were based on lowering inflation rate and solving the problem of income injustice.

Motherland Party set policies its general policies in an attempt to lean on these problems. In this way, Motherland Party attached great importance to the field of social problems.

Motherland Party tried to orient itself in the same way with regard to the system of rangers established in the eastern region against the terrorist acts as well as providing a solution to the problem of not conveying sufficient amount of services to the east. The introduction of the system of rangers as protectors and the payment of additional service fees to people in the region attracts attention as solutions to regional problems in this framework.

Nevertheless, the feature of focusing on social problems started to be lost after 1989. As per the reasons for this, it can be argued that the Motherland Party's votes decreased day by day and political competition increased, while the politics that the party applied in the 1980's were not beneficial in real sense. As a result, the Motherland Party focused on stopping the decrease of its votes and shifted its focus from social problems to cease the decrease in vote rates.

As a result, the Motherland Party identified its party policies by making social problems a focal point, although the policies applied between the years 1983 and 1989 failed. On the other hand, in the period between the years 1989 and 2001, the interest in social problems decreased compared to the period of 1983-1989 due to the party's voting rates and that the party lacked a focal point.

4.2.3.1.8 Vote-Seeking Party Characteristics

The planning of the Motherland Party's place in the political scene was in the form of being a 3rd small party besides the Nationalist Democratic Party and the Populist Party. Nevertheless, the Motherland Party under Turgut Özal's leadership formed the party's propaganda and its purpose on obtaining from all sides. The party's ultimate goal was neither to acquire authority nor to set its policies in the election campaigns. The Motherland Party's overall objective was to win the election by getting the highest number of votes in all elections. The center-right party feature of the vote-seeking party was evident between 1983 and 1989. Yet, the vote rates declined as a result of the ban of political leaders and the successful implementation of the Motherland Party's policies in the 1980s. After Özal left the party leadership, the image that Motherland Party equals Özal was demolished and the party's vote rates decreased rapidly. On the other hand, the Motherland Party started to show the office-seeking feature first under the leadership of Akbulut and then Yilmaz. In other words, the ultimate objective of the party was revised as being the coalition partner rather than winning the highest vote.

As a result, the Motherland Party having the characteristic of vote-seeking party within the framework of center right party nature started to lose this feature after 1989. As a result, the party was unable to exhibit this feature as a vote-seeking party between 1989 and 2001.

4.2.4 Justice and Development Party

To understand the founding stage and cadre of Justice and Development Party, it is necessary to look at the 1980 coup d'état, and Islamic groups identify themselves with the Islamic thought as political philosophy. As a result of the 1980 coup d'état, Islam was

positioned as an antidote to communism, and it was ensured that Islamic groups were involved in politics in order to achieve this positioning (Yavuz, 2005, p. 287).

With the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, most of rights and freedoms recognized by the 1960 Constitution were restricted and the possibility of opposition was abolished. Thereby, the necessary conditions for the implementation of the decisions of January 24 were provided. The decisions of January 24 foresaw a major transformation in the economy. Accordingly, the basic aim was to convert the import-substitution economic model to the export-oriented economic model, to privatize state economic enterprises and to adopt the free market economy. This mostly affected two groups. These groups were the small and medium-sized enterprises and agriculture sector in Anatolia that did not produce for exports. As a result, a rapid wave of immigration to metropolitan cities started. The natural result of immigration was unemployment and injustice in income distribution as well as bringing economic crises.

Necmettin Erbakan, who left Justice Party in the 1970s and became the leader of the conservative and Islamist Anatolian bourgeoisie, entered the political life again with lifting of tpolitical bans and continued to do politics under the concept of National Vision Movement. In 1990s, Erbakan increased his votes rapidly due to decline in the Motherland Party's votes and that True Path Party had to struggle with the country's problems. The main reasons for this increase were:

- Unemployment that emerged with neoliberal economy during the Özal period
- Increased terrorist incidents and insufficient measures taken

- Inequality in income distribution and a decrease in the purchasing power of the people with a fixed income

Being the pioneer of Islamic movement since 1970s, Necmettin Erbakan was banned from politics with the 1980 coup, and came back in political stage in 1990s. As the Motherland Party and the True Path Party lost power, Necmettin Erbakan became even more powerful in political stage and the Welfare Party increased its votes in comparison to the 1994 local elections and 1995 general elections.

Necmettin Erbakan led the National Vision Movement, which was composed of critics of the founding members of the Republic with regard to westernization. According to the advocates of the National Vision, westernization was to be described as the denial of traditional values. In this regard, Erbakan stated that if they came to power, they would end westernization and that they would reinforce Islam and national values while also supporting industrial development (Dağı, 2005, s. 5).

The National Vision gradually increased its votes as of 1970s and became the 1st party with highest vote rate in 1995 elections, yielding 158 members of parliament with obtaining 21,38% of the votes. Erbakan became Prime Minister with formation of a coalition government together with the Welfare Party under Erbakan's Leadership and the True Path Party on June 28, 1996. Certain actions carried out after Erbakan became the Prime Minister caused certain reactions from both the military and the laic part of the society and this process continued until February 28. Common causes that created this tension were:

- Meals given to leaders of the sects and communities at the Prime Ministry's Office
- The incidents in Egypt and Libya visits²⁸
- Rhetoric of the mayors and members of parliament from the Welfare Party

On top of this, the National Security Council gave a list of instructions to the government for application on February 28, 1997. This list addressed the following issues:

- The introduction of a legal regulation similar to the abolished Article 163 of the Turkish Criminal Code, which prohibits activities and organizations in contradiction with secularism
- Implementation of the Revolutionary Laws guaranteed under Article 174 of the Constitution
 - Law on Closure of Islamic Monasteries and Zawiyahs
 - Law on Unification of Education
 - Clothing and Hat Law
- Supervision of schools, classes and courses in hands of sects and closure of those which are contraversial
- Legislation on sale of shotguns

²⁸ In the meeting between Necmettin Erbakan and Hüsnü Mübarek during the visit to Egypt, Erbakan said for the Al-İkhwan al-Muslimün (Society of the Muslim Brothers) that "They are in fact good people," and Hüsnü Mübarek responded by saying "If you like them a lot, then we should send them all to you [your country]". This formed the first crisis during the visit. The second crisis took place when talking with Gaddafi in Libya. Gaddafi said, "I always wondered why there is not a Kurdish state under the open sky," and a harsh criticism over the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey followed. Upon this fact, Erbakan remained silent and that silence caused tremendous reactions in Turkey. Another attention-grabbing fact here is that Abdullah Gül, the State Minister and one of the leaders of the so-called reformists in that period, left the tent where these talks proceeded (Çakır, 2011).

- Closure of religious schools that were redundant or surplus to requirement
- Implementation of penal sanctions on those, who act against the aforementioned laws; rendering the justice mechanism independent and consolidating its power; and discharging public prosecutors and judges, who do not fulfill their duties (Bila, 1997).

As a result of this situation, the National Vision Movement gave up on ideological applications and lost its power. Erbakan came to power as an anti-Western figure but sought ways for reconciliation with the West; he came to power with a harshly criticizing rhetoric against Israel, but entered into an agreement with Israel. These situations caused Erbakan and the Welfare Party to be questioned by the society.

The coalition government established between the Welfare Party and the True Path Party was broken down as a result of the above developments, and on January 17, 1998, the Welfare Party was closed by the Constitutional Court on account of the fact that the party officials acted against the principle of secularism (Milliyet Newspaper, 1998). Within this framework, Erbakan received a 5-year political ban. The newly established Virtue Party, on the other hand, softened its rhetoric and discourses, came to a market-friendly level in economy, adopted an approach to cease the strict attitude towards the EU, and declared that it would expand religious freedoms within secular boundaries (Öniş, 2006, s. 130). However, the 1999 elections were a milestone for the reformists within the Virtue Party. The Virtue Party received 15,41% of the votes in the elections and lost the ruling power. However, the party's rhetoric adopted by the reformists giving weight to policies such as human rights, democratization, increasing freedoms and avoiding conflicts started to be spoken aloud across the country. These policies were

contradicting with the so-called “fair order” advocated by the traditionalists as the core of the National Vision. Thus, trends in the party were revealed clearly and debated loudly for the first time. After Erbakan, Recai Kutan took over his post of leading the traditionalist group from Erbakan and he believed that Islamic policies formerly supported by Erbakan should have continued in a definite way. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül led the second group called reformists. In this group advocated change in the party organization, party policies and the leadership.

In the Virtue Party Congress held on May 17, 2000, Necmettin Erbakan's authority within the scope of the National Vision was challenged for the first time in its history during the presidential elections, where reformists competed against traditionalists. Against Recai Kutan, who was supported by Erbakan, the reformists nominated Abdullah Gül, since Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was politically banned. Recai Kutan defeated Abdullah Gül, who won 633 votes against Kutan's 521 votes.

With the closure of the Virtue Party on June 22, 2001, the reformists and traditions were separated. While traditionalists founded the Felicity Party, reformists founded Justice and Development Party as a consequence to that separation.

Although it is not known that Justice and Development Party (JDP) was founded by the reformist cadre, it has been identified with Islamism and national vision due its traditions. All meetings and electoral campaigns of JDP mostly underscore that they have cut their ties from the National vision and that they are not an Islamist party.

Turkey was full of conflicts and political tensions in 1990s. The crises of 1994, 1999, and 2001 also created a great distress for Turkish constituency. Especially after the

2001 elections, electorate acted pragmatic as always, and left all parties they blamed to be responsible for the crises out of the parliament. This attitude of electorate manifested their general approach prior to the elections. In order to win the elections and take the ruling power, JDP particularly emphasized the economy that was at the core of the social problems. Other issues that the party emphasized were the EU membership, democratization and implementation of the Copenhagen Criteria.

Even though JDP has center-right, center-left, partly nationalist and left-wing actors within its body, it attracts attention that core cadre is made up of people of the tradition of national vision. In the period JDP emerged, both the National Vision and the general situation in Turkey were in a deep crisis. As a result of failed economic reforms in 1980s, Turkey experienced a grave economic crisis in 2001 also due to the political instability in 1990s. This crisis directly affected the purchasing power of people and gave a shock to all sections of society. However, the National Vision Movement had to divide into two groups, as the Felicity Party fell from the ruling power in the 1999 elections, experienced a great difficulty, had to abandon its radical stance and could not explain the reason for this abandonment to its base. The group called as reformists preferred to establish their own party instead of continuing to do politics under the Felicity Party.

Therefore, JDP is notable as a party that emerged as a result of two crises and came to power. The crisis within the National Vision paved the way for the emergence of JDP, while the economic crisis in Turkey caused this party's coming to power solely (Koç, 2011, p. 4). From this perspective, JDP laid significant amount of focus on political stability as of its foundation and thereby, tried to explicate that political stability is a *sine qua non* for economic stability.

The first election through which JDP became the ruling power marked a period when political parties that could be qualified as center right parties were experiencing downfall. These parties could not pass electoral threshold and were left out of the parliament for the first time. With these elections, the True Path Party, which is the continuation of the Motherland Party and Justice Party, was not able to enter the parliament any more.

In this environment, JDP received 34,42% of the votes, assigning 365 members of parliament and the party came to power without the support of a coalition partner. Entering the parliament, the Republican People's Party assigned 177 members of parliament by obtaining 19,42% of the votes. In this context, ideologies including center-right, social-democratic, leftist or nationalist political ideas were either left out of the parliament or found a place for themselves in RPP or JDP.

As a consequence, there has been hesitance in defining JDP as a center right party due to its manager cadre's tradition of national vision, although the party's emergence and the constituency it wants to address make it seem like a center right party.

4.2.4.1 Is Justice and Development Party a Center-Right Party?

There was a great longing and desire for economic and political stability in Turkish politics when Justice and Development Party was established. Most of the parties competing in elections were on political scene during 1990s and had no remedy for political and economic instability in the country. For this reason, the Turkish electorate left political parties it saw as responsible for this instability out of the parliament. As a result of the threshold in the electoral system, the True Path Party, Nationalist Movement

Party and Young Party remained out of the parliament, even though they won over 7% of the votes. Therefore, the will of nearly 50% of the voters was not reflected to the polls.

Even though Justice and Development Party inherited the national vision, it has rejected this legacy as soon as it was established. Despite JDP leader Recep Tayyip Erdoğan' expression, "We took off the shirt of national vision. Forget the past; we are a new party", JDP's members of parliament continued to support and refer to the National Vision (Milliyet Newspaper, 2003).

The reformist group establishing JDP was aware of the fact that they could not get to the ruling power with the traditionalist structure of thought and even if they did, they would not hold the ruling power for a long time. The leader of the reformist movement, Erdoğan realized that he would never come to power if he sustained the idea of the traditionalist group. Thus, Erdoğan accepted to do politics within the frame of the reformist ideas and abandoned his national vision attitude thanks to the direction of the reformist cadre and the public demand. Until the year 2007, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and JDP continued in this line. The party emphasized democracy, adopted EU policies and tried to extend the scope of freedoms.

The 2007 Presidential Elections, the closure case against JDP in March 2008 and the e-memorandum on April 27, 2007 all constituted a turning point for JDP in rupturing from the reformist mentality. Trying to do politics on the basis of the reformist mentality, Erdoğan switched back to the traditionalist approach in the face of these two incidents. Along with this, the base of JDP also evolved into traditionalism together with Erdoğan due to the lack of a sufficient opposition and a center right party that could be a factor of

balance for Turkish politics. As of the moment JDP started to be identified with Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and cadres establishing JDP turned out to be passive, supporters of JDP gradually transformed and adopted the line drawn by Erdoğan. The ones who failed to follow up Erdoğan's line or who tried to conserve reformist structure of thought were dismissed from JDP.

The referendum on a Constitutional Amendment to elect the president by people in 2007 resulting in favor of JDP and Erdoğan evidently started to have more weight in the party. JDP came first among the equal political parties in 2002 and when it came to the year 2007, Erdoğan declared his leadership publicly. Underlining democratization, liberalization of institutions and enhancing the scope of freedoms when it was founded in 2002, JDP ensured that the independent boards were reporting to the Prime Ministry and changed the organizational scheme of the Ministries by means of decree-laws. Therefore, in-party coalition was significant for JDP between the years 2002 and 2007, while Erdoğan has become the dominant figure of the party as of 2007 and other influential people have become his followers.

In terms of understanding whether JDP exhibits the characteristics of the center right parties, it is essential to look at the transformation the party has undergone within 10 years after the crisis in 2001. For this reason, it is of note to determine the position of the electorates in the political spectrum when identifying JDP as a center right party. According to researches, the electorates in Turkey have gradually positioned themselves at the two extreme edges of the political spectrum after 2001 and they have been removed out of the center right line. Thus, JDP does not appear as a center right party with its stance, even if its characteristics are not evaluated deeply. The basic reason for this is that

there is not any constituency left in the center right line (Kalaycıoğlu, 2011). The electorates see JDP in the far right and vote taking this fact into consideration (Kalaycıoğlu, 2011). Similarly, constituency regards the RPP as a left-wing party. For this reason, center right and center left parties have disappeared in Turkey due to the fact that there is no electorate left in these areas. It can be uttered that there are right-wing and left-wing parties in Turkey right now. Yet, there have not left any party in the central parts of the political spectrum due to the polarization, thus there has been the lack of parties that could be a balancing factor between the two poles.

Within the scope of the rule of reciprocity, the period starting from the establishment of JDP to when Recep Tayyip Erdoğan became the President should be analyzed in comparison to the other political parties scrutinized in this study in order to determine whether JDP hosts the characteristics of center right parties or not. For this reason, the period until August 10, 2014 when presidential elections were held will be taken as basis to evaluate the features of center right parties with regard to JDP.

4.2.4.1.1 Addressing All Layers of Political Culture

As a result of the first elections after Justice and Development Party was established, the political actors of the existing order as well as the political parties were left out of the parliament as they could not pass the electoral threshold. Looking at the vote rates, it can be seen that JDP assigned 365 members of parliament despite obtaining 34,42 of the votes. The elections in 2002 were met with negative reactions due to the

resultant vote rates and it is considered that the election was carried out before the economic reforms implemented after the crisis in 2001 yielded any positive results. In this regard, it can be argued that the electorates' preference in the elections was reactionary and the election results were shaped in a political environment where there was extensive distrust to political parties.

Taking into consideration the fact that economic changes lead to changes in electoral behaviors, it can be observed that the deteriorating economic conditions were reflected in the form of declines in vote rates and electorate preferred to vote for the parties that were not involved in the political stage in the 1990s. The electorates wanted to orient toward the reconciliatory political parties that were refraining from political tension; these parties were not in the parliament during the course of the economic crisis in 2001 as well as during the process of February 28. The economic shrinking due to the rising unemployment rate and economic measures against the crisis constituted a significant reason for this behavior by the electorates.

Within this framework, JDP received high rate of votes in the 2002 elections not because of the party's ability to address the entirety of the political culture, but because all the compounds of the political culture in the society showed reaction against the other parties in these elections. On the other hand, JDP achieved to acquire support from the majority of the elements of the political culture when it was established and in the period, it competed in the elections for the first time. This support can be evaluated as a common point for the electorates who were reacting against the preceding ten years and the economic crisis and voting for JDP as a solution, rather than the type of support collected by center right parties. As a matter of fact, the electorates were left without an alternative

and wanted to keep all the political parties they held responsible for the economic collapse out of the parliament. Under these circumstances, the only party they could vote for was the newly emerging JDP. By this means, the electorates from different backgrounds voted for JDP not as a result of conciliation, but as a final resort. Evaluating this fact from another perspective, it is possible to argue that JDP could not appeal to all the layers of the political culture when it was established, instead the electorates opted for JDP as a result of reacting against the other parties and seeing JDP as the only alternative, which is why electorate carried JDP to the ruling power.

Consequently, JDP did not appeal to all the layers of the political culture – one of the main characteristics of center right parties – as the conditions of the period were not favoring JDP. Instead, electorates who were members of various political cultures voted for JDP as a reaction. Accordingly, it can fairly be deduced that JDP does not exhibit the feature of appealing to all the layers of political culture pertaining to center right parties.

4.2.4.1.2 Inclusive Party Characteristics

AKP bünyesinde kurulduğu andan itibaren bakıldığında bünyesinde kısmen seçkinleri As of its foundation, JDP is observed to have the elites in its body even if partially. In the center right parties; the elites, liberals and a group of conservatives as well as a few social democrats formed a coalition and were partially active in the body of JDP until 2007. This situation ended completely in 2013 and JDP turned its electorates into conservatives, as well, and lost its feature of being an inclusive party, which caused

its positioning in the right wing. In other words, people with the above-mentioned ideologies could partially sustain their presence and execute their duties in JDP until the year 2007. And this situation continued until the 2007 elections for the 11th president of the country. After these elections, the inclusive feature of the party started to erode and disappeared completely after the Gezi Park incident in 2013. Following that, JDP clearly positioned itself in the right wing.

In sum, JDP was a party striving to exhibit inclusive feature when it was established; however it is fair to argue that this was not intended as a structural feature, but one that was carried out to expand the group of electorates voting for the party. Yet, the party continued to have an inclusive feature until 2007 – even if partially – but this feature was abandoned for the first time after the 11th presidential elections in 2007. And with the Gezi Park incidents in 2013, JDP completely lost its inclusiveness.

4.2.4.1.3 Candidate Circles

One of the basic factors for electoral success of the center right parties, the candidate circles are not directly seen in JDP. Since the party's structure is highly disciplined and the party leader determines everything from candidates to the organizational scheme, it is not possible to think about candidates and their electoral circles act independently. In this context, JDP did not compose any circles around its candidates. Instead, the party members have acted together, and they have been directed by the central leader, working not for the candidates but the party itself. Candidates have

been working and organizing their campaigns in line with the orders and directives given by the center, and they are not surrounded by candidate circles. Instead, Erdoğan has been visiting all polling districts and introducing the candidates as the leader, personally explaining the electoral policies. For this reason, candidates are generally chosen from among reputable people known as the 1st circle; electoral surveys are used instead of benefiting from people in the 2nd circle with electoral experience; and the financial support is usually expected from the candidates rather than the people positioned in the 3rd circle.

Concomitantly, JDP does not also show the feature of forming candidate circles – one characteristic of the center right parties. Instead, the candidates are introduced to the public by the leader on the basis of his policies and the electoral campaigns are also formed by means of the policies produced by the leader at the center. The duty of keeping the electorates' pulse, on the other hand, is given to the party organization or people assigned by the center in accordance with the results of electoral surveys.

4.2.4.1.4 Number of Active Members

The basic feature of the center right parties, as expressed previously, is that they hold a strong sense of belonging to the party that ensures rapid mobilization during electoral periods, when the number of active members is low. The elite groups managing the center right parties direct the party policies and they determine party policies on the basis of feedbacks received from the district organizations. Again, with the order of the

center, the party policies are conveyed to the district organizations reporting to the center and it is ensured that these policies are implemented thoroughly by these district organizations. On the other hand, the number of members to the party paying membership fees and fulfilling duties is usually very low. The point to note here is that the number of active members to center right parties is very low, although the number of members to these parties is extensively high. This situation attracts attention as the preference of both the party members and the center right parties. Yet, center right parties are capable of mobilizing their members rapidly during the period of electoral campaigns, which ensures taking active roles during elections.

This situation is rather different in the context of JDP, though. JDP's number of members on January 14, 2013 was 7.551,472 (Seçim Atlası, 2017). This number was updated as 9.949,045 in February 2018, and JDP has seemed to be ahead of other parties in terms of number of members (T 24 Internet Newspaper, 2018). The underlying reason for the ever-increasing number of members of JDP compared to the other parties can be regarded as clientelism and patronage²⁹. JDP rapidly increased its vote rates thanks to the clientelism and patronage relationship established with the constituency. In this regard, people became members to the party as a result of the mutual relations. The party organization reached from the top to the neighborhoods and neighborhood representatives were specified. Chosen from all layers, these members have become important in keeping the party organization active and fresh with every opening, congress or meeting. Contrary to the center right parties, JDP implemented policies of keeping its members always

²⁹ According to the agreed basic definition, clientelism and patronage mean distribution of selected goods and services to the supporters of a political party in return for their political support (Sayarı, 2014, s. 656).

active and joining every activity or organization with a crowd by means of all the members in a region.

As a result, JDP does not opt for the method of center right parties having low number of active members and mobilizing them rapidly during electoral periods but aspires to keep its party members constantly active by means of the clientelism and patronage relations and ensure that all relevant organizations or events are full of JDP members. Looking from this perspective, JDP has been following up a distinctive route within its system and this route has prevented the party from exhibiting the feature of having low number of active members who are mobilized swiftly during electoral campaigns.

4.2.4.1.5 Ideological Patterns

As of its foundation, JDP carried out an election campaign propounding that they took off their shirt of national vision in order to show that it was free of ideologies so that the party could address all the electorates in the country. In the same period when it was established, the party endeavored to sustain appealing the entirety of the constituency through the economic and social policies applied without the limitations of ideological borders. The party stood distant from the areas of intellectual-social conflicts as much as possible and refrained from drawing the reaction of the electorates. Although this situation continued until the year 2007, the party started to adopt conservatism and Islamism as ideological patterns after the 11th presidential election in 2007. In 2013, JDP carried its political line from center to the right wing by Erdoğan's instructions and defined its ideological patterns on the basis of the rightist policies. Therefore, JDP started

to shape its policies on the basis of the rightist lines in 2013 and did not get out of the limits of these ideological borders. Converting the constituency together with itself, JDP shifted from its image of a party not confined to ideological patterns to the conservative and Islamist ideological line.

In sum, it is evident that JDP followed party policies not restricted with ideological patterns until the year 2007; however, it repositioned itself with the transformation of its constituency as of 2007. Together with this repositioning, JDP abandoned its policy to specify and apply party policies without being limited to certain ideological patterns – a center right party characteristic as mentioned before – and continued with a new understanding of politics.

4.2.4.1.6 Pragmatism

As stated before, JDP refrained from issues that could cause political polarization that would harm the party image in the period when it was established. Instead, the party followed a pragmatic policy focused on solving the problems in both domestic and foreign politics. With consecutive success in the elections, though, the party replaced pragmatism with policies determined via ideological patterns requesting everyone to obey and respect. Starting to gather the electorates under its roof by means of pragmatic party policies, JDP gave up on this characteristic basically in 2007 and initiated the process of generating policies within the limits of ideological patterns and as a result, political dissociation or polarization was inevitably experienced in the society.

Therefore, JDP manifested pragmatic features during its founding years; however it lost this feature in a short time. As a result, JDP abandoned the feature of pragmatism as a trait of center right parties.

4.2.4.1.7 Being the Focal Point of Social Problems

Economy and expansion of freedoms were regarded as the most important problems in Turkey before the elections in 2001. Wrong policies followed by the Motherland Party under Özal's leadership as well as the instability in the 1990s and the deteriorating economy caused the emergence of the economic crisis in 2001 and Turkey was negatively impacted by this crisis to a great extent. In addition, the social conflicts were exacerbated in the 1990s and electorate believed that these conflicts caused harm on stability and the national economy, which were important factors in bringing JDP to power.

In this regard, JDP attributed special attention to the economy when it came to power and implemented all the policies prepared together with the IMF, achieving to settle the economy as the focal point for the society on a certain trend. Along with this, transportation projects were supported in order to diminish the level of transportation problems perceived as a problem by the majority of the society.

Furthermore, JDP also tried to actualize projects that were not among the focal points of the society. In this regard, the party endeavored to develop projects in its political agenda in addition to the projects to solve the basic social problems. Canal Istanbul Project can be an example to this. Another example is the situation of the Syrian

refugees. Although local people complain about the Syrian refugees and definitely do not want them to settle in the cities, JDP persistently continued to implement its policy instead of solving an issue that was a focal point for the society.

As a result, JDP shaped its policies according to the social focal points in order to solve issues drawing attention in the society. Yet, JDP determined its own political agenda later and started to shape its policies on the basis of this political agenda.

4.2.4.1.8 Vote-Seeking Party Characteristic

JDP has been a political party oriented towards winning elections in the period of and after its establishment. JDP leader Erdoğan's words during and after electoral campaigns, saying, "A political party should always seek ranking the first in elections. If JDP does not become the first party out of the elections, I will leave the party," (CNN TÜRK, 2009) show the vote-seeking feature in this regard.

The only purpose of JDP as of its foundation as a vote-seeking party has been to win elections and orient the constituency to vote for it. The only exception to this was the elections in 2018. The reason for this is that Justice and Development Party started to internalize the office-seeking party feature together with the alliance with the Nationalist Movement Party. The purpose here was to win the office the party was seeking by means of establishing a coalition and winning the elections. In terms of strengthening its alliance and as a sign of turning into an office-seeking party, JDP stopped criticizing the Nationalist Movement Party, its leader Devlet Bahçeli and the party's political ideology. This was the result of being an office-seeking party (Wolinetz, 2002, s. 152) and this

means JDP adopted the office-seeking party feature instead of the vote-seeking party feature.



5 Conclusion

The rise and collapse of center right in Turkey took 50 years. As a result of the closure of political parties, which endeavored to demonstrate characteristics of center right parties after the transition to multi-party system, Democratic Party was established by members of Republican People's Party who left that party. Along with this occasion, Turkey was introduced to the understanding of center right and center right parties.

In order to define center right, it is first necessary to assess the examples of center right parties in the world. Left and right were first defined in relation to the seating order in the founding assembly in France after the French Revolution. The conservatives, who tried to protect the current order, sat in the right side, while the ones who wanted to change the current order from its roots sat in the left (Bobbio, 1994, p. 30). Consequently, the concepts of right and left emerged in current terms. It is essential to look at examples of center right parties across the world as well as their basic characteristics in order to be able to comprehend the concept of center right and define the typology of center right parties. It is further critical to distinguish center right parties from the extreme right-wing parties. In this regard, conservative parties, liberal parties and Christian Democrats in the world can be regarded as center right parties.

When the concept of center right as well as Turkish center right parties is compared to those in Continental Europe, it can be observed that there are common features despite certain differences. In this regard, center right parties in Turkey exhibit different characteristics due to the country's social, cultural and religious structure.

Examining the concept of center right in the world and Turkey in this light, 8 fundamental principles can be drawn as common features of center right parties. The first of these principles is that center right parties are endowed with the ability to address all layers of political culture in their country of residence. In other words, center right parties can appeal entire constituency in their country by means of policies they follow and implement regardless of political culture of electorate (participant, subject or parochial). Regardless of political culture electorates belong to, they can definitely find a piece from themselves in center right political parties. The second characteristic is being an inclusive party. Accordingly, center right parties are shaped around a certain elite group and their center runs by means of such elite groups. Nevertheless, these parties have been involved in numerous sections of societies. Across the world, center right parties have become such that liberals, conservatives, partially social democrats and people prioritizing religious views could gather under their roof. It can be uttered that this same composition is valid in Turkey, as well. Center right parties in Turkey are managed by conservatives who possess liberal views, yet there have been Islamists, leftists and social democrats within such parties in Turkey. Despite this fact, the distinguishing feature in Turkey pertaining to center right parties is that their managers are generally conservatives with liberal world view. The third characteristic draws attention candidate circles, which is notable in the case of Turkey. Candidates are usually supported by circles around them and these circles ensure that parties rapidly adapt to variable behaviors and demands of electorate in different polling districts. The fourth characteristic of the center right parties is the number of active members. Due to the reason that center right parties are oriented towards elections and specifically winning elections, their members have the ability to

mobilize rapidly during electoral periods; however, the number of active members is lower in the routine periods except the times of elections. The underlying reason for this situation is that the party is managed by a certain group with a specific leader. For election-oriented center right parties, active members are often needed during electoral periods and parties direct their members accordingly. The fifth characteristic is not being confined to certain ideological patterns. In this line, center right parties do not determine and follow policies not according to ideological patterns or limits, but in a way to appeal all the sects and different groups of the society due to the fact that center right parties host people with different political views and ideologies, they try to address all the layers of the political culture and they are the focal points for the social problems. Therefore, center right parties produce and implement policies that can touch every group in a society without restricting themselves to the narrow patterns of ideologies. Another characteristic that can be interrelated with this feature reveals as pragmatism. It has been observed that center right parties have been quite successful in developing practical solutions or approaches to emerging problems in societies. The seventh characteristic of the center right parties appears as being the focal point of areas of social interest and social problems. Center right parties always think about the upcoming elections as they are election-oriented political parties. From this perspective, they attach great importance to the areas of social interest as well as common social problems. Along with this importance, they deem their fundamental purpose to be able to reach the entire constituency in the relevant country. In other words, center right parties focus on areas where there is high social interest or areas where common problems are perceived as areas for implementing their policies within the scope of the above-mentioned

characteristics. The last and eighth characteristic, which is complementary to the others, is that center right parties are vote-seeking parties. In this light, center right parties regard elections fully in terms of obtaining votes and winning the elections. In contrary situations, they have not become office-seeking or policy-seeking parties. Due to the fact that they are not bound by certain fixed ideological theories, center right parties are not policy-seeking parties and they have not preferred this route. The general feature of the office-seeking parties, forming coalitions or refraining from criticizing other parties, on the other hand is not observed in center right parties.

In the context of these characteristics, the rise of the center right parties in Turkey started with the Democratic Party. Democratic Party took its place in the political history as the first political party to manifest the center right party characteristics and to pioneer the other parties shown as the reference. Due to the reason that the party brought many innovations in politics and became the first representative of the center right party in Turkey, Democratic Party is very significant in the Turkish Political Life. Becoming the common point for many different groups of electorates and layers of political cultures in the society, Democratic Party also became a reference point for the center right parties established after it as well as all the right wing parties, taking it as an example. Nevertheless, Democratic Party could not demonstrate all the characteristics of the center right parties. Still, the party brought great innovations in politics considering the conditions of its period and achieved to bring electorates with different political views under its roof for the first time. From this perspective, it became the first party to represent the center right and manifest the majority of its features.

Democratic Party was closed as a result of the coup in 1960; however, the party continued to impact the Turkish Political Life during the process of transition to the multi-party system again. After bringing back the civil politics, this impact turned into competition among newly established political parties trying to claim the legacy of the Democratic Party. The New Turkey Party and Republican People's Nation Party were involved in this competition together with Justice Party. However, Justice Party managed to claim all the innovations brought by Democratic Party and added new ones (opening representation offices in neighborhoods and villages, mobilizing in remote villages and towns, etc.) and Justice Party proved in the 1965 elections by increasing its votes against the other two parties that it became the precise claimant of the legacy of the Democratic Party. After Süleyman Demirel assumed the leadership of Justice Party, the party settled completely in the center right and not only claimed the legacy of the Democratic Party, but also improved this legacy. Nonetheless, Justice Party could do politics in the center right line only until 1971. The years between 1961 and 1971, though, were golden years for the understanding of center right and the center right parties in Turkey. The only party manifesting all the features of being a center right party, Justice Party between 1961 and 1971 showed Turkey the way to really become a center right party. Being aware of this situation, Süleyman Demirel referred to the concept of center right and center right parties as "registered lands". Justice Party withdrew from the ruling power after the 1971 memorandum, though, and started to lose its characteristics of being a center right party with the impact of the newly established political parties such as the Democratic Party, National Order Party, and the Republican Peasants' Nation Party that was restructured under Alparslan Türkeş's leadership. In order not to erode his party and lose the

leadership position, Süleyman Demirel shifted the party's political view to the right wing and Justice Party which was in the center right adopted the leading position among the left wing parties. Demirel positioned his party in two forms during this period. Firstly, Justice Party was the leading and pioneering party in the right wing. It managed to keep the rightist politics intact against the rising leftist ideology and the RPP increasing its votes together with Ecevit, and Justice Party therefore tried to prevent the leftist ideology from dominating the Turkish politics. Secondly, Justice Party positioned itself as the leader of the rightist politics. Here, as well, Demirel strived to protect the position of the party as the strongest and the leading right party among the others that dissolved from the body of Justice Party.

Justice Party was closed after the military coup in 1980 and Demirel was banned from politics for eight years. He came back to politics again on September 6, 1987 with a referendum (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2018). Nonetheless, Demirel assumed to the role of leader for the True Path Party and the party then transformed into one that lost the features of being a center right party and changed along with the altering political conjuncture. Indeed, Demirel ruled the country for a short time between 1991 and 1993 together with the coalition with the Social Democratic Populist Party, and later he run for president and elected the 9th president of the Republic of Turkey on May 16, 1993 by the Grand Turkish National Assembly.

The rest of the 1990s were marked the regression of the center right parties in Turkey. The decline in the Motherland Party's votes continued during these years and the fact that Süleyman Demirel left the leadership and politics of Justice Party which was

reflecting the center right party features in real sense caused acceleration in the decline of the center right parties.

It is necessary to evaluate multiple factors in looking at the rise and fall of the center right parties in Turkey. Primarily, the center right parties started to rise together with the Democratic Party. Exhibiting the features of the center right for the first time, Democratic Party became a conciliatory party where many classes and political opinions gathered. With this feature, the party appeared as a coalition and sustained its ruling power and reflected some of the features of a center right party even if not all of them until the 1960 military coup. Looking from the sociological perspective, it can be observed that Democratic Party was seen as the coalition of groups that were not yet powerful enough to come to power on their own. The rising bourgeoisie class, the land owners wishing to benefit from the land reform, a part of the bureaucracy, owners of private enterprises, small business owners in Anatolia and the electorates believing that they were having religious restrictions gathered under the roof of the Democratic Party. Yet, Democratic Party was not a party bringing these classes together. These classes voluntarily convened under the Democratic Party. Thus, Democratic Party was a reflector company in terms of reflecting the thoughts and demands of these classes. Thus, this was indeed a natural coalition and it was not formed as a result of the efforts exerted by the Democratic Party's leaders.

The next center right party, Justice Party, on the other hand was very different from its predecessors. Justice Party was formed as a result of Demirel's efforts to convince the growing bourgeoisie, small bourgeoisie emerging in Anatolia, land owners, and Islamists through his promised and implemented policies. Although Justice Party was

ruled by a conservative liberal administrative cadre, there were also social democrats, Islamists and nationalists within the party, as well. Justice Party between 1961 and 1971 was a party that harbored the characteristics of a center right party in this regard.

These classes who were convinced by Demirel established their own parties with new leaders after the 1971 Memorandum, since they consolidated their power, directly aspired for the ruling power and since the world conjuncture was changing to a great extent. Even in such an environment, the new National Order Party restructured itself and renewed its name, while the Republican Peasants' Nation also changed its name to the Nationalist Movement Party but could not separate from Justice Party. During the course of the 1970s, these parties continued their existence under the shadow of Justice Party and they could only become coalition partners.

As the "Green Belt" strategy dominated the world conjuncture, the Western Block supported Islam in countries around the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and regarded Islam as arms against the USSR. Having various reflections in many countries, this situation was reflected to Turkey as the combination of nationalism and Islam. The name of the policy and order that would ensure the national vision movement increase its votes significantly for the first time was the "Fair Order". According to this order, the state was supposed to ensure economic development in a way and invest in underdeveloped regions while also assuring a rapid increase in the exports. These classes who were convinced by Demirel established their own parties with new leaders after the 1971 Memorandum, since they consolidated their power, directly aspired for the ruling power and since the world conjuncture was changing to a great extent. Even in such an environment, the new National Order Party restructured itself and renewed its name,

while the Republican Peasants' Nation also changed its name to the Nationalist Movement Party, but could not separate from Justice Party. During the course of the 1970s, these parties continued their existence under the shadow of Justice Party and they could only become coalition partners. The structure of thought, which was communicated with a simple language fit to the spirit of the period, was mostly experienced by the people who severely suffered from impoverishment coming after the fast liberalization after 1980. Starting to identify themselves with the fair order, these people also convened against the rich and wealthy and defined their identities in accordance with that inclination. Together with the slogan of Fair Order, the Welfare Party developed a model called the bead model taken originally from Justice Party and began to interpret the Fair Order in line with the problems local people were experiencing. According to this understanding, the Fair Order would solve all the problems: The problem of development and security in the East, the problem of tea and hazelnut producers in Black Sea, the problems of the tourism traders in the Mediterranean, and all the industrialists in the country, so on and so forth. In other words, it was projected with the bead model of the Fair Order to solve all the local problems. Furthermore, the women branches of the political parties were also activated in the period of the Welfare Party. The spouses of the members of the Welfare Party and women working for the party visited household in cities with low income rates and gave the impression to these people that they had the power to change the existing order.

As a result of this, the National Vision started to rise and harvest its benefits in 1995. Coming out of the elections as the first ranking party with 21,38% of the votes, the Welfare Party increased its vote rates to a great extent although it could not obtain the

ruling power³⁰. The division between the reformists and traditionalists resulting from the Welfare Party caused a fight for leadership in the Welfare Party; as the traditionalists won this fight over the reformists the foundations for Justice and Development Party were laid. The reformist missed the chance for leadership with a slight difference and for that reason, the party officials gained self-confidence and started new initiatives. The traditionalists established the Felicity Party after the closure of the Virtue Party, while the reformists founded Justice and Development Party.

The rise of the Islamist parties in Turkey coincides with the same period when the center right parties started to decline. The Green Belt strategy and the fast liberalization during Özal's period were among the elements giving momentum to the Islamist politics in Turkey; however, the center right parties started to fall down with the impact of the economic failures of the right party leaders in the 1980s and 1990s, and that they could not envision the sociological changes in cities and failed to renew themselves in accordance with these changes. Along with this, the fact that the electorates shifted to center right and left became the basic reason for the regression of center right parties and the overall understanding of center right.

Coming to power after the 2001 elections, Justice and Development Party acted like a center right party during its first years of the tenure in line with the conjuncture in Turkey, but abandoned this stance completely after the presidential elections in 2007 and the Gezi Park incidents in 2011. The party under Erdoğan's leadership transformed its constituency together with the party itself and pushed the electorates in the center right to

³⁰ Another reason for this boom in the votes was the failure of economic policies during Özal's period and the economic crisis starting in 1994 when Çiller was Prime Minister.

either the left of the right. Thereby, there has not left any electorate groups in the center right in real sense.

In order to understand another reason in the regression of the center right in Turkey, it is essential to assess the structure of coalitions of the center right parties. The center right parties involved a rural bourgeoisie and rural elite in their body and were a mediator in protecting their interests against the government. This situation ended in the 1990s, though. By this means, the groups inside the center right parties started to look for other solutions to maintain their interests and found the Welfare Party. The same group later supported Justice and Development Party.

Thus, the electorates in the center right shifted to the right wing as a result of this process starting in 1995. As the electorates of critical importance became polarized once again, there has not left any electorates in the center right political line in Turkey (Kalaycıoğlu, 2011). Hence, the mid-ground constituency shifted towards the far righty and dictated a new order. Under these circumstances, there have not remained any center right electorates, and all the electorates were divided into either the left or the right. In this case, the Republican People's Party has been regarded as a left party by the electorates. The basic reason for this perception is that the electorates passed on to the right political line and look to the existing political parties from that perspective. As a result of this transformation, Justice and Development Party came to power.

Within this framework, the center right parties came to an end first with the Motherland Party and then partially with the True Path Party. Reflecting the center right political thought in real sense, Justice Party, as well as the True Path Party and the

Motherland Party reflecting the majority of the center right characteristics completed their life.

In light of the above given information and analyses, it is crystal clear that the Justice and Development Party is not a center right party. However, it is also evident that the electorates in the center right have transformed considerably with Justice and Development Party. This change and transformation carried Justice and Development Party to the ruling power and ensured that it won consecutive elections.

Conclusively, the concept of center right and center right parties in Turkey started with Democratic Party in Turkey, they reached their maximum level with Justice Party and started to regress together with the Motherland Party. In consideration that Justice and Development Party cannot be regarded as a center right party, the center right parties started to decline in the 1980s and collapsed towards the end of the 1990s.

It is not possible to clearly anticipate whether the electorates in Turkey will adopt the center right again in the future by shifting from the polarization of right and left. Even though certain groups of electorates who are depressed due to the politics of polarization state that they long for the center right parties and their period of rule in the past, it is ambiguous how much persistent demand and support they will put forward to establish or activate these parties today.

Taking into consideration the diminishing sources in the world and in Turkey as well as the challenges that have become ever more difficult to overcome, it appears at least for now that center right parties will not be able to successfully gather large social

groups and electorates around minimum common grounds and the desire to share, as they did in the past.



6 Bibliography

22.4.1983 Tarihli ve 2820 Sayılı Siyasî Partiler Kanunu. (1983, April 22). Retrieved from TBMM

Web Site:

https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/KANUNLAR_KARARLAR/kanuntbmmc067/kanuntbmmc067/kanuntbmmc06703032.pdf

Abadan, N. (1966). *Anayasa Hukuku ve Siyasi Bilimler Açısından Tahlili*. Ankara: AÜSBF Yayınları.

Adalet Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi. (1973). Ankara: Adalet Partisi.

Adalet Partisi Tüzüğü: Büyük Kongrenin tasdikine ve tasvibine sunulmak üzere 12-13 Mart 1966 tarihinde toplanan temsilciler meclisinde 648 sayılı siyasi partiler kanununa uydurulan Adalet Partisi tüzüğü. (1978). Ankara: Adalet Partisi. Retrieved from Yargıtay Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı Web Site.

Adalet Partisi Tüzük ve Program. (1964). Ankara: Doğu Ltd.

Ahmad, F. (2010). *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye*. İstanbul: Hil Yayın.

Akar, R. (2015, June 17). *Cumhuriyet Newspaper*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site:

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/turkiye/301057/Coban_Sulu_nasil_yukseldi.html

Akbaş, S. B. (2013, March 3). *Adalet Partisi'nin İktidarında Türkiye'nin Durumu*. Retrieved from Seyit Burhanettin Akbaş Web Site:

<https://burhanettinakbas.blogspot.com.tr/2013/03/adalet-partisinin-iktidarinda.html>

Akıllı, H. S. (2012). 2007 Milletvekili Genel Seçimi Öncesinde Siyasi Parti Tüzüklerinin Üye Stratejileri Bağlamında Analizi. *Nevşehir Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 1, 159-179.

Akşin, S., Koçak, C., Özdemir, H., Boratav, K., Hilav, S., Katoğlu, M., . . . Tanör, B. (2000). *Yakınçağ Türkiye Tarihi Cilt 1: 1908-1980*. İstanbul: Milliyet Kitaplığı.

Almond, G. A., & Verba, S. (1989). *The Civic Culture Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. California: Sage Publications.

Antoine-Louis-Claude, C. D. (1905). *Éléments d'idéologie*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Anzerlioğlu, Y., Doğaner, Y., & Gökgöz, S. S. (2004). *80.Yılında Türkiye Cumhuriyeti ve Demokrasi*. Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Arcayürek, C. (2000). *Demokrasi Dönemecinde Üç Adam*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınevi.

- Aslandaş, A. S., & Bıçakçı, B. (1995). *Popüler Siyasî Deyimler Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Assiter, A. (1990). *Althusser and Feminsism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Avşar, A. (1998). *Bir Partinin Kapatılmasında Basının rolü Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*. İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Aydoğdu, M. (2018). *Bursa'da Merkez Sağ Konuşuldu*. Retrieved March 12, 2018, from Özgürder Web Site: http://www.ozgurder.org/news_print.php?id=2026
- Barlas, M. (2000). *Turgut Özal'ın Anıları*. İstanbul: Birey Yayıncılık.
- Başar, A. H. (1945). *Atatürk'le Üç Ay ve 1930 Sonrası Türkiye*. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası.
- Başkan, B. (2011). Krizdeki Merkez Sağ - Yeniden Konumlanma Bunalımı. *Liberal Düşünce*, 153-168.
- Berkes, N. (1946). *Siyasi Partiler*. İstanbul: Yurt ve Dünya Yayınları.
- Bila, F. (1997, March 2). *Milliyet Newspaper*. Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Website.
- Bobbio, N. (1994). *Bir Politik Ayrımın Anlamı Sağ ve Sol*. (Z. Yılmaz, Trans.) Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınlar.
- Boratav, K. (2006). Kemalist Economic Policies and Etatism. In A. Kazancigil, & E. Özbudun, *Atatürk, Founder of a Modern State* (pp. 165-190). London: C. Hurst & Company.
- Britannica, E. o. (2014, August 24). *Encyclopedia of Britannica*. Retrieved January 1, 2018, from Antoine-Louis-Claude, Comte Destutt de Tracy, French Philosopher: <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Antoine-Louis-Claude-Comte-Destutt-de-Tracy>
- Canan-Sokullu, E. Ş. (2016). Siyasal Kültür. In S. Sayarı, & H. Dikici Bilgin, *Karşılaştırmalı Siyaset Temel Konular ve Yaklaşımlar* (pp. 101-122). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Cemal, H. (1990). *Özal Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınları.
- Chandler, W. (1988). Party System Transformations in the Federal Republic of Germany. In S. B. Wolinetz (Ed.). London: Routledge.
- CNN TÜRK. (2009, March 10). Retrieved from CNN TÜRK Website: <https://www.cnnturk.com/2009/turkiye/03/10/erdogan.siyaseti.birakma.sartini.acikladi/517221.0/index.html>
- Cumhuriyet Newspaper*. (1930, September 5). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.
- Cumhuriyet Newspaper*. (1930, September 10). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1945, September 22). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1945, November 28). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1945, January 5). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1946, January 8). Retrieved June 28, 2017, from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1962, May 31). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1962, April 27). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper. (1965, June 15). Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspaper Web Site.

Çakır, R. (2011, November 5). *Vatan Gazetesi*. Retrieved from Vatan Gazetesi Website: <http://www.gazetevatan.com/rusen-cakir-409274-yazar-yazisi-mubarek--kaddafi-ve-erbakan/>

Çalışkan, K. (2017). Siyasal Kültür Teorisi: 'The Civic Culture' ve Eleştirisi. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 50(1), 27-66.

Çam, E. (1990). *Siyaset Bilimine Giriş*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.

Çavdar, T. (1984). Adalet Partisi. In M. Belge, S. Gürsel, M. Tunçay, & B. Özükan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi Cilt: 8* (pp. 2089-2103). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Çavdar, T. (2000). *Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1950-1995*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Çavuşoğlu, H. (2010). Anavatan Partisi İle Doğru Yol Partisi'nin Karşılaştırmalı Analizi. *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9(1), 19-33.

Dağı, İ. D. (2005). Transformation of Islamic Political Identity in Turkey: Rethinking the West and Westernization. *Turkish Studies*, 21-37.

Dahl, R. (1964). *Modern Political Analysis*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Demirel, T. (2004). *Adalet Partisi İdeoloji ve Politika*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Demirel, T. (2011). *Türkiye'nin Uzun On Yılı Demokrat Parti İktidarı ve 27 Mayıs Darbesi*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Demirtepe, Ü. (1992). *Frak'tan T-Shirt'e*. İstanbul: Yılmaz Yayınları.

Doğan, Y. (1985). *Dar Sokakta Siyaset*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi.

- Duverger, M. (1962). Partiler ve Siyasi Rejimler. *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 19(1-4), 95-171.
- Duverger, M. (1974). *Siyasi Partiler*. (E. Özbudun, Trans.) Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları.
- Eagleton, T. (1996). *İdeoloji*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.
- Elmas, E., & Kurban, D. (2010). *Media policies and regulatory practices in a selected set of European countries, the EU and the Council of Europe: The case of Turkey*. European Commission. Retrieved from <http://www.mediadem.eliamep.gr/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/BIR1.pdf#page=412>
- Erken, B. (2016). Türkiye’de Merkez Sağ İdeolojisini Siyasi Hareket Üzerinden Temellendirme Denemesi. *Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 14(2), 191-222.
- Eroğul, C. (1970). *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*. Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası.
- Eroğul, C. (1990). *Demokrat Parti Tarihi ve İdeolojisi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.
- Ertem, B. (2010). Siyasal Bir Muhalaefet Denemesi Olarak Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası. *ODÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 1(2), 71-92.
- Esen, M. S. (1945, September 6). *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Web Site.
- Fersoy, O. C. (1971). *Bir Devre Adını Veren Başbakan: Adnan Menderes*. İstanbul: Mayataş Matbaacılık ve Neşriyat.
- G. Bingham Powell, J., Dalton, R. J., & Strøm, K. W. (2015). *Comparative Politics Today A World View*. Essex: Pearson Publication.
- Gönensin, O. (2004, November 25). *Vatan Newspaper*. Retrieved from Vatan Newspaper Website: <http://www.gazetevatan.com/okay-gonensin-40959-yazar-yazisi-anap-a-veda/>
- Güler, F. D. (2003). *Türkiye'nin Yakın Siyasetinde Bir Örnek Olay Adalet Partisi*. Ankara: Türkiye ve Orta Doğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü.
- Güler, M. (2012, July 1). *Dünya Siyaseti Nereye Gidiyor?* Retrieved March 1, 2018, from Müjdat Güler Web Site: <http://gulermujdat.com/author/mujdatguler/page/9/>
- Güneş, G. (2006). Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırka’nın Aydınla Teşkilatlanması ve 1930 Belediye Seçimleri Üzerinde Oluşan Tartışmalar. *Ankara Üniversitesi Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 25(39), 117-147.
- Güneş, G., & Akdağ, M. (2013). Çok Partili Hayata Geçiş Sürecinde Adnan Menderes'in Aydın İlindeki Siyasi Faaliyetleri (1946-1950). *Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 185-224.

- Güneş, İ. (2009). *I. TBMM'nin Düşünce Yapısı (1920-1923)*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları.
- Güvenir, M. (1982). Seçim Sistemleri ve Ülkemizdeki Uygulama. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 37(1), 215-250.
- Habertürk Newspaper*. (2017, October 5). Retrieved from Habertürk Newspaper Web Site: <http://www.haberturk.com/ataturk-u-koruma-kanunu-nedir-5816-numarali-kanun-nedir-1661361>
- Heywood, A. (2014). *Siyasi İdeolojiler*. Ankara: Adres Yayınları.
- Hürriyet Newspaper*. (1973, March 17). Retrieved from Hürriyet Newspaper Web Site.
- Hürriyet Newspaper*. (2000, June 16). Retrieved from Hürriyet Newspaper Web Site: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/ezan-18-yil-turkce-okundu-39161709>
- İnce, Ö. (2000, January 9). *Merkez sağ nedir, ne değildir?* Retrieved January 25, 2018, from Hürriyet Newspaper Web Site: <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/merkez-sag-nedir-ne-degidir-39124922>
- Kalaycıoğlu, E. (2011, June 20). AK Parti En Az İki Dönem Daha İktidarda. (M. Şenocaklı, Interviewer) Retrieved from <http://www.gazetevatan.com/mine-senocakli-384442-yazar-yazisi-ak-parti-en-az-iki-donem-daha-iktidarda/>
- Kapani, M. (2005). *Politika Bilimine Giriş*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.
- Karakurt, G. (2016). Siyasi Partilerin Doğuş Teorileri, Parti Tipolojileri ve Kurumsallaşmaları Bağlamında Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme. *Uluslararası Politik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 2(1), 41-51.
- Karpat, K. (2013). *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.
- Kaya, K. (2000). Yirmibirinci Yüzyıla Girerken İdeoloji ve Sosyoloji. *İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Metodoloji ve Sosyoloji Araştırma Merkezi Sosyoloji Konferansları* (pp. 165-176). İstanbul: İÜ İktisat Fakültesi Metodoloji ve Sosyoloji Araştırma Merkezi.
- Kazancı, M. (2002). Althusser, İdeoloji ve İletişimin Dayanılmaz Ağırlığı. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 56-87.
- Kervan Yürüyecektir! Adalet Partisi Seçim Beyannamesi*. (1977). Ankara: Adalet Partisi.
- Key, J. V. (1961). *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York: Knopf.
- Keyder, Ç. (1989). *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Kirchheimer, O. (1950). The Composition of the German Bundestag. *The Western Political Quarterly*, 3(4), 590-601.

- Kirchheimer, O. (1966). The Transformation of the Western Europe Party Systems. In J. LaPalombara, & M. Weiner (Eds.), *Political Parties and Political Development*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Koç, Y. T. (2011). *12 Eylül'den 12 Haziran'a Siyasi Partiler Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*. Ankara: SETA.
- Kurtoğlu, A. (2012). Siyasal Örgütler ve Sivil Toplum Örgütleri Bağlamında Hemşehrilik ve Kollamacılık. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 67(1), 141-169.
- Larrain, J. (1995). *İdeoloji ve Kültürel Kimlik*. (N. N. Domaniç, Trans.) İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi.
- Lewis, G. (1955). *Turkey*. London: Ernest Benn Limited.
- Mardin, Ş. (1995). *İdeoloji*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Marshall, G. (1999). *Sosyoloji Sözlüğü*. (O. Akınhay, & D. Kömürcü, Trans.) Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.
- Merriam Webster*. (2018, March 30). Retrieved from Merriam Webster Web Site: <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pragmatism>
- Mert, N. (2007). *Merkez Sağın Kısa Tarihi*. İstanbul: Sesli Kitaplar.
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (1962, November 29). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Web Site: <http://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/Arsiv/1962/11/29>
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (1965, October 13). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Web Site.
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (1978, November 9). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper.
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (1981, October 17). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Website.
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (1998, January 17). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Website.
- Milliyet Newspaper*. (2003, May 22). Retrieved from Milliyet Newspaper Website: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2003/05/22/siyaset/asiy.html>
- Nadi, N. (1945, May 20). *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Web Site.
- Nadi, N. (1950, April 7). *Cumhuriyet Newspapaer*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Newspapaer Web Site.
- Nadi, Y. (1930, September 9). *Cumhuriyet Gazetesi*. Retrieved from Cumhuriyet Gazetesi Web Site.
- Neumann, S. (1958). *Toward a Comparative Study of Political Parties*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

- Neziroğlu, İ., & Yılmaz, T. (2015). *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Koalisyon Hükümetleri, Koalisyon Protokolleri, Hükümet Programları ve Genel Kurul Görüşmeleri Cilt 1*. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi.
- Oktaç, C. (2014). *Siyaset Bilimi İncelemeleri*. İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım.
- Okyar, F. (1980). *Üç Devirde Bir Adam*. İstanbul: Tercüman Tarih Yayınları.
- Okyar, O., & Seyitdanlıoğlu, M. (1997). *Fethi Okyar'ın Anıları: Atatürk, Okyar ve Çok Partili Türkiye*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları.
- Öniş, Z. (2006). Globalisation and Party Transformation: Turkey's Justice and Development Party in Perspective. In P. Burnell, *Globalising Party Politics in Emerging Democracies* (pp. 122-140). New York: Routledge.
- Örs, H. B. (2016). İdeoloji: Karmaşık Dünyayı Anlaşılır Kılmak. In H. B. Örs, *19. Yüzyıldan 20. Yüzyıla Modern Siyasi İdeolojiler* (pp. 3-46). İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Özbudun, E. (1976). *Social Change and Political Participation in Turkey*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Özbudun, E. (1981). Politics of Political Clientelism: Turkey. In S. N. Eisenstadt, & R. Lemarchand, *Political Clientelism Patronage and Development*. London: Sage Publishing.
- Özçelik, A. (2007). 1960'dan Günümüze Türk Siyasal Hayatı. In S. İnan, & E. Haytoğlu, *Yakın Dönem Türk Politik Tarihi*. Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.
- Özgişi, T. (2012). *Türk Parlamento Tarihinde Cumhuriyet Senatosu*. Ankara: TBMM Basımevi.
- Özkırımlı, U. (2016). *Milliyetçilik Kuramları "Eleştirel Bir Bakış"*. Ankara: Doğu Batı Yayınları.
- Öztürk, F. (2008). Türkiye'de Tarımsal Yapı ve Tarımsal Destekleme Politikalarının Tarihsel Gelişim Süreci. In G. E. Arslan, *Çeşitli Yönleriyle Cumhuriyetin 85. Yılında Türkiye Ekonomisi* (pp. 61-91). Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Paşa, S. (1953). *İnkılâp hissi yahut Sultan Abdülaziz'in tahttan indirilmesi ile Beşinci Murad'ın tahta çıkarılması*. (M. Gezin, Trans.) İstanbul: Berksoy Matbaası.
- Rosenthal, S. B., & Thayer, H. S. (2017, April 1). *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Retrieved from Encyclopedia Britannica Web Site: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/pragmatism-philosophy>
- Roskin, M. G., Cord, R. L., Medeiros, J. A., & Jones, W. S. (2012). *Political Science An Introduction*. Boston: Pearson.

- Salman Bolat, B., & Demiraslan, T. (2013). Lozan Görüşmeleri Sırasında Mecliste Ortaya Çıkan II. Grup Muhalefeti ve Basına Yansıması. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılâp Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 29-60.
- Sayarı, S. (2014). Interdisciplinary Approaches to Political Clientelism and Patronage in Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 655 –670.
- Schattschneider, E. E. (1948). *The Struggle for Party Government*. Maryland: University of Maryland.
- Seçim Atlası*. (2017, April 21). Retrieved from Seçim Atlası Website: <http://secimatlası.com/ak-parti-uye-sayısı/>
- Shaw, E. K., & Shaw, S. J. (1983). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Modern Türkiye Cilt 2*. İstanbul: E Yayınları.
- Sherwood, W. B. (1967). The Rise of the Justice Party in Turkey. *World Politics*, 54-65.
- Şahin, E., & Tunç, B. (2015). Demokrat Parti'nin Kuruluş Süreci ve DP – CHP Siyasî Mücadelesi (1945-1947). *Sosyal ve Kültürel Araştırmalar Dergisi*, 1(2), 31-69.
- Şaylan, G. (1976). Parlametonun Mesleki Açidan Kuruluş Biçimi. In *Türk Parlamentoculuğunun İlk Yüzyılı 1876 - 1976 / Kanun-i Esasinin 100. Yılı Sempozyumu* (pp. 133-162). Ankara: Siyasi İlimler Türk Derneği Yayınları.
- Şaylan, G. (1978). Ordu ve Siyaset. In Collective, *Armağan (Kanun-u Esasi'nin 100. Yılı)* (pp. 387-418). Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi.
- T 24 Internet Newspaper*. (2018, February 22). Retrieved from T 24 Internet Newspaper Website: <http://t24.com.tr/haber/mhpnin-uye-sayisinda-45-ayda-14-bin-341-dusus,567043>
- Takım, A. (2012). Demokrat Parti Döneminde Uygulanan Ekonomi Politikaları ve Sonuçları. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 67(2), 157-187.
- Tanilli, S. (1981). *Devlet ve Demokrasi*. İstanbul: Say Kitap Pazarlama.
- Taşar, M. (1996). *1983'ten 2000'li Yıllara Anavatan*. Ankara.
- TBMM 1961 Seçim Sonuçları*. (1961, October 15). Retrieved from TBMM 1961 Seçim Sonuçları Web Site: https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/secim_sorgu.secimdeki_partiler?p_secim_yili=1961
- TBMM*. (1965, February 20). Retrieved from TBMM Web Site: <https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/hukumetler/o29.htm>

- TBMM. (1965, October 10). Retrieved from TBMM Web Site:
https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/secim_sorgu.secimdeki_partiler?p_secim_yili=1965
- TBMM. (1983, November 3). Retrieved from TBMM Website:
https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/secim_sorgu.secimdeki_partiler?p_secim_yili=1983
- TBMM. (2018, March 1). Retrieved from TBMM Web Site:
https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/secim_sorgu.secimdeki_partiler?p_secim_yili=1961
- TBMM. (n.d.). *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Zabıt Ceridesi Birinci Devre Cilt 10*.
- Toprak, B. (1984). Milli Selamet Partisi. In M. Belge, S. Gürsel, M. Tunçay, & B. Özukan, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi Cilt 8*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Tökin, F. H. (1963). *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler ve Siyasal Düşüncenin Gelişmesi*. İstanbul: Elif Yayınları.
- Tunaya, T. Z. (1952). *Türkiye'de Siyasi Partiler: 1859-1952*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi.
- Tunaya, T. Z. (1980). *Siyasal Kurumlar ve Anayasa Hukuku*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi.
- Turgut, H. (1986). *12 Eylül Partileri*. İstanbul: ABC Ajansı Yayınları.
- TÜİK. (2012). *Milletvekili Genel Seçimleri*. Ankara: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu Matbaası.
- Türk Hava Kuvvetleri*. (2015, October 15). Retrieved from Türk Hava Kuvvetleri Web Site:
https://www.hvkk.tsk.tr/tr-tr/Türk_Hava_Kuvvetleri/Türk_Hava_Kuvvetleri_Komutanları/Biyografiler/ArtMID/445/ArticleID/78/Orgeneral-Tekin-ARIBURUN
- Türkeş, A. (2018, March 15). *Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*. Retrieved from Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi Web Site:
https://www.mhp.org.tr/htmldocs/basbug/hayati/mhp/basbugumuzun_hayati.html
- Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı*. (2018, April 26). Retrieved from Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı Website:
https://www.tccb.gov.tr/cumhurbaskanlarimiz/suleyman_demirel/
- Türköz, E. N. (2016). Özalp'lı Anap Döneminde Muhafazakar Düşüncenin Gelişimi. *Niğde Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 103-116.
- Tüzük, A. P. (1961, February 11). *TBMM*. Retrieved from TBMM kütüphanesi:
<https://acikerisim.tbmm.gov.tr/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11543/2502/198104686.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

- Ulagay, O. (1987). *Özal Ekonomisinde Paramız Pul Olurken Kim Kazandı Kim Kaybetti*. İstanbul: Bilgi Yayınları.
- Uyar, H. (1999). *Tek Parti Yönetimi ve CHP*. İstanbul: Boyut Kitapları.
- Verba, S. (1965). Conclusion: Comparative Political Culture. In L. W. Pye, & S. Verba, *Political Culture and Political Development* (pp. 512-560). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Wiener, P. P. (1972). *Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Wolinetz, S. B. (2002). Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies. In R. Gunther, J. R. Montero, & J. J. Linz, *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges* (pp. 136-165). Ipswich: Oxford University Press.
- Yavuz, H. (2005). *Modernleşen Müslümanlar/Nurcular, Nakşiler, Milli Görüş ve AK Parti*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi.
- Yerel Seçim Sonuçları*. (1963, November 17). Retrieved from Yerel Seçim Sonuçları Web Site: <http://www.yerelsecim.com/YerelSecimSonuclari.asp?SY=1963>
- Yetkin, Ç. (2004). *SCF Olayı*. İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları.
- Yetkin, Ç. (2007). *Karşıdevrim 1945-1950*. Antalya: Yeniden Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Yayınları.
- Yıldırım, S. (2004). 1950 Seçimleri ve Propaganda. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 131-157.
- Yılmaz, E. (2017). Türk Siyasi Tarihinde Askeri Müdahalelere Bir Örnek: Demokrat Partililere Siyasi Hakların İadesi Meselesi ve 14-21 Mayıs 1969 Buhranı. *Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları*, 16(32), 21-64.
- Yolçu, N. (2017). Siyasal Katılım Düzeyi ve Siyasal Toplumsallaşma Araçlarına Yönelik Güven Ölçümü: Kocaeli İli Üzerine Ampirik Bir Çalışma. *Erciyes İletişim Dergisi*, 5(1), 40-58.
- Yorgancıoğlu, M. (2000). *Politikanın İbret Dolu Seyir Defteri*. İstanbul: Dönence Basım ve Yayın Hizmetleri.
- Zafer Newspaper*. (1950, March 13). Retrieved from Ankara Üniversitesi Gazeteler Veritabanı: <http://gazeteler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/66/1668/24991.pdf>
- Zafer Newspaper*. (1950, March 15). Retrieved from Ankara Üniversitesi Gazeteler Veritabanı: <http://gazeteler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/66/1668/24993.pdf>
- Zürcher, E. J. (1992). *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.

Zürcher, E. J. (2002). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Zürcher, E. J. (2003). *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*. (G. Ç. Güven, Trans.) İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

