

SPATIAL MODEL OF ELECTIONS IN TURKEY: TRACING CHANGES IN THE PARTY SYSTEM IN THE 2000S

NORMAN SCHOFIELD AND BETUL DEMIRKAYA

Abstract

The Turkish political party system underwent significant changes during the first decade of the 21st century. While secularism and nationalism remained the defining issues of electoral politics, both the number and the ideological positions of parties in the political system changed considerably. In the 2002 elections, none of the parties from the previous parliament were able to pass the electoral threshold. The new parliament was formed by the members of the Justice and Development Party (AKP)—a new conservative party founded by the former members of Islamist parties—and the Republican People’s Party (CHP)—a party with a strong emphasis on a secularist agenda. In the 2007 elections, AKP consolidated their power by receiving 46.6% of the votes while CHP increased their share of the vote by only 1.5 percentage points to 20.9%. In addition, the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and independent candidates supported by the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) were able to win seats in the 2007 elections. In order to explain these changes, this paper applies the spatial model to the 2007 elections and compares the results to previous analyses of the 1999 and 2002 elections (Schofield et al. 2011). First, we run a pure spatial model to estimate the relative role of the ideological position and the valence of political parties in determining their electoral success. Second, we use simulations to determine whether a Nash equilibrium exists for the position of political parties. Finally, we supplement the spatial model with the demographic characteristics of voters.

Introduction

During the first decade of the 21st century, electoral politics in Turkey underwent significant changes in terms of both the number and the ideological positions of political parties. The 1990s were marked by a historically high degree of fragmentation with the effective number of parties rising to 4.3 in 1995 elections and 4.8 in 1999 elections (Ozbudun 2000; Kalaycioglu 2008). This was partly due to a decrease in the vote share of the center-right and center-left parties and a concurrent rise in the vote share of the nationalist and Islamist parties. The 1999 elections resulted in a parliament with five parties, each with seat shares ranging between 15% and 25%.¹ A coalition government was formed by the center-left Democratic Left Party (DSP), the nationalist Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the center-right Motherland Party (ANAP). The 2001 financial crisis was followed by an early election in 2002, in which none of the parties from the previous parliament were

¹See Tables 1 and 2 for vote and seat shares of parties in the last four elections.

able to pass the electoral threshold.² The new parliament was formed by the members of the Justice and Development Party (AKP)—a new conservative party founded by the former members of Islamist parties—and the Republican People’s Party (CHP)—a party with a strong emphasis on a secularist agenda. In the 2007 elections, AKP consolidated their power by receiving 46.6% of the votes while CHP increased their share of the vote by only 1.5 percentage points to 20.9%. In addition, the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and independent candidates supported by the pro-Kurdish Democratic Society Party (DTP) were able to win seats in the 2007 elections.

[Insert Tables 1 and 2 here]

The changes in electoral politics brought about several important questions: What are the main issues that shape political debate? How can we describe the position of AKP and other parties on issues that are relevant for voters? How can we explain the voters’ preferences in this new electoral landscape? The characterization of political parties and voters along a left-right continuum has been widely-used and helpful in making comparisons across political systems. However, the reduction of political views to a single dimension may conceal the diversity of issues that may cut across each other. Moreover, the substantive content of the left-right continuum may change across countries and over time. It has been discussed that economic and social issues that define the political space in advanced industrial democracies were not sufficient in describing the electoral politics in Turkey in 2000s (Onis 2009). Self-placement of voters on a left-right continuum is explained by ethnic and sectarian differences rather than socioeconomic characteristics (Carkoglu 2007). Religion and nationalism emerge as the primary dimensions that separate voters and political parties in the spatial analyses of 1999 and 2002 elections. AKP is located on the right on the religion axis albeit closer to the electoral mean than the Islamist parties while CHP is located on the left. On the nationalism axis, there is pro-Kurdish DTP on the one end and Turkish nationalist MHP on the other end with other parties placed in between. (Hinich and Carkoglu 2006; Schofield et al. 2011). In this paper, we apply the spatial model described in the following section to the 2007 elections in order to trace the changes in the position of voters and parties.

Spatial Model of Elections

We start our analysis with a pure spatial model $M(\lambda, \beta)$ which includes the distance between the position of the voters and the political parties and the *exogeneous* valence (Schofield 2008). The valence term refers to the voters’ perceptions of political leaders that are independent from their policy positions (Stokes 1963). In the model, the utility that voter i with position x_i gets from voting for party j with position z_j equals

$$u_{ij}(x_i, z_j) = \lambda_j - \beta \|x_i - z_j\|^2 + \epsilon_j$$

²According to the electoral law of 1983, a political party needs to win at least 10% of the national vote in order to win seats in the parliament.

In the equation, $\|x_i - z_j\|$ denotes the Euclidian distance between the voter i 's ideal point and the party j 's policy position. ϵ_j is an error vector with a type I extreme value distribution. The intercept term λ_j gives the exogeneous valence of party j . The valence is exogeneous in the sense that it is not determined by the characteristics of the voter. We use a multinomial logit model to estimate the coefficients.

We continue our analysis with the calculation of convergence coefficient c which gives information about whether or not the position of the mean voter would be an Local Nash Equilibrium (LNE) given the spatial coefficient and the relative valence terms in the model. Schofield (2007) proves that $c < 1$ is a sufficient and $c < \omega$ is a necessary condition for electoral mean to be a LNE, where ω is the number of dimensions. By simulation, we search for a LNE and see whether the small parties have any incentive to diverge from the center given the spatial coefficient and the relative valence terms.

Finally, we incorporate the demographic characteristics of voters into the spatial model. In the joint model $\mathbb{M}(\lambda, \beta, \theta)$, the utility of voter x_i from voting for party z_j equals

$$u_{ij}(x_i, z_j) = \lambda_j + (\theta_j \cdot \eta_i) - \beta \|x_i - z_j\|^2 + \epsilon_j$$

where $(\theta_j \cdot \eta_i)$ refers to the sociodemographic valence of voter i for party j (Schofield 2007).

2007 Elections in Turkey

We analyze 2007 elections based on World Values Survey (WVS) conducted on a nationally representative sample in 2007.³ We limit our analysis to the voters who indicated that they would vote for a political party in the following elections and we use factor analysis to identify the issues that differentiate voters from each other. We start with a long list of questions about the attitudes of voters toward religion and nationalism as well as economic and social issues.⁴ Similar to previous studies, our analysis shows that religion and nationalism are principal dimensions that characterize the ideological position of Turkish voters.⁵

[Insert Figure 1 here]

Figure 1 shows the position of voters with the x axis corresponding to the religion dimension and the y axis corresponding to the nationalism dimension. A movement from left to right on the x axis indicates a view that favors an increasing role of religion in private and public life. A movement from south to north on the y axis indicates an increasing association with Turkish nationalism. The variance on the x axis is 0.729 while the variance

³World Values Survey 1981-2008 Official Aggregate v.20090901, 2009. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: ASEP/JDS, Madrid.

⁴The questions used in the factor analysis and the model are listed in Appendix 1.

⁵The factor loadings of the analysis are given in Appendix 2.

on the y axis is 0.498. The covariance between the two axes is 0.073. Thus the voter covariance matrix is the 2 X 2 matrix:

$$\nabla = \begin{bmatrix} 0.729 & 0.073 \\ 0.073 & 0.498 \end{bmatrix}$$

with $\text{trace}(\nabla)=1.227$. The covariance matrix reveals two important points that differ from the analysis of previous elections.⁶ First, the variance on the nationalism dimension is considerably smaller. The majority of voters are concentrated on the northern part of the Figure 1 with higher levels of association with Turkish nationalism. There is another group of voters concentrated on the southern part of the figure , most of whom are the voters of the pro-Kurdish DTP. Second, the covariance between the two axes is considerably smaller, which implies that the attitudes toward nationalism are not related very strongly to the attitudes toward religion.

The position of parties is calculated by taking the mean position of its voters on the religion and nationalism dimensions respectively. The party positions are given by the following matrix:

$$z^* = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{Party} & \textit{AKP} & \textit{CHP} & \textit{MHP} & \textit{DTP} & \textit{DYP} & \textit{ANAP} \\ \textit{x : religion} & 0.31 & -0.67 & 0.03 & -0.1 & 0.04 & -0.46 \\ \textit{y : nationalism} & 0.07 & -0.09 & 0.16 & -1.4 & 0.22 & -0.23 \end{bmatrix}$$

The position of parties is similar to the previous elections with relatively minor differences. On the secularism axis, CHP and AKP are located at the opposite ends with all the other parties located in between. Although position of AKP on the religion dimension is closer to the center compared to the position of pro-Islamist parties in previous elections, it is located to the right of the electoral mean. On the nationalism axis, there is a polarization between the pro-Kurdish DTP on the one hand, and all the other parties on the other hand. As discussed above, the position of parties other than DTP are very close to each other on this dimension. We are cautious, however, to interpret this as a change in the position of parties since we used questions that are different from the previous analyses. Due to the lack of questions related to policies on issues such as language, we used questions that measure association with Turkish nationalism. Interestingly, and unlike the previous years, the nationalist MHP is closer to the center on this dimension than DYP; however, this may be related to the small number of DYP supporters both in the population in 2007 elections and in our sample.

[Insert Table 3 here]

We use the pure spatial model $\mathbb{M}(\lambda, \beta)$ to estimate the relationship between the ideological position and valence of political parties, and their electoral success. The results are

⁶See Carkoglu and Hinich 2006 and Schofield et al. 2011 for a spatial analysis of 1999 and 2002 elections in Turkey.

summarized in Table 3. The spatial coefficient β is 0.658 and statistically significant. The valence terms are calculated with respect to MHP. The vector of relative valences is

$$(\lambda_{AKP}, \lambda_{CHP}, \lambda_{MHP}, \lambda_{DTP}, \lambda_{DYP}, \lambda_{ANAP}) = (1.413, 0.623, 0, -1.688, -1.479, -1.676)$$

The party with the lowest valence is DTP with $\lambda_{DTP} = -1.688$. According to the model, when all parties are located at the electoral mean, the probability that a voter chooses DTP is

$$\begin{aligned} \rho_{DTP} &= \frac{\exp(-1.688)}{\exp(1.413) + \exp(0.623) + \exp(0.0) + \exp(-1.688) + \exp(-1.479) + \exp(-1.676)} \\ &= [\exp(3.101) + \exp(2.311) + \exp(1.688) + \exp(0) + \exp(0.209) + \exp(0.012)]^{-1} \\ &= [22.225 + 10.084 + 5.409 + 1 + 1.232 + 1.012]^{-1} \\ &= 0.024 \end{aligned}$$

The standard error for λ_{DTP} is 0.36. Accordingly, the 95% confidence interval for λ_{DTP} is [-2.398,-0.978] and the 95% confidence interval for ρ_{DTP} is [0.01,0.05]. As explained above, DTP did not participate in the 2007 elections but supported independent candidates; therefore, it is difficult to assess the vote share of DTP in 2007. Table 1 shows that the independent candidates received 5.24% of the votes; however, this includes candidates that were not supported by DTP as well. The respondents that indicated that they would vote for DTP constitute 2.5% of our sample.

The convergence coefficient of the pure spatial model is given by

$$\begin{aligned} c &= 2\beta(1 - 2\rho_{DTP})\text{trace}(\nabla) \\ &= 2 \times 0.658 \times (1 - 2 \times 0.024) \times 1.227 \\ &= 1.537 \end{aligned}$$

We calculate a conservative confidence interval for the convergence coefficient using the upper bound of the β coefficient and the lower bound of ρ_{DTP} and vice versa. The standard error for β is 0.061 so the 95% confidence interval is [0.538,0.778]. Thus, the 95% confidence interval for the convergence coefficient is [1.194,1.863]. The confidence interval for the convergence coefficient satisfies the necessary condition for the electoral mean to be an LNE since the upper bound is smaller than 2. It does not, however, satisfy the sufficient condition since the lower bound is greater than 1.

The Hessian, or the characteristic matrix of DTP:

$$\begin{aligned}
C_{DTP} &= 2\beta(1 - 2\rho_{DTP})\nabla - I \\
&= 2 \times 0.658 \times (1 - 2 \times 0.024)\nabla - I \\
&= 1.253 \begin{bmatrix} 0.729 & 0.073 \\ 0.073 & 0.498 \end{bmatrix} - I \\
&= \begin{bmatrix} -0.087 & 0.091 \\ 0.091 & -0.376 \end{bmatrix}
\end{aligned}$$

The eigenvalues of the characteristic matrix are -0.06 with the eigenvector (-0.961,-0.278) and -0.403 with the eigenvector (-0.278,0.961). Schofield (2007) shows that a necessary condition for the electoral mean to be SLNE is that the eigenvalues of the characteristic matrix are negative. By simulation, we can verify that the electoral mean is an LNE in our case. When all the parties are located at the electoral mean their predicted vote shares were calculated as:

$$\begin{aligned}
\rho^{z_0} &= (\rho_{AKP}^{z_0}, \rho_{CHP}^{z_0}, \rho_{MHP}^{z_0}, \rho_{DTP}^{z_0}, \rho_{DYP}^{z_0}, \rho_{ANAP}^{z_0}) \\
&= (0.543, 0.246, 0.132, 0.024, 0.03, 0.025)
\end{aligned}$$

We compare this to votes shares in our sample:

$$\begin{aligned}
&(s_{AKP}, s_{CHP}, s_{MHP}, s_{DTP}, s_{DYP}, s_{ANAP}) \\
&= (0.556, 0.231, 0.134, 0.025, 0.03, 0.023)
\end{aligned}$$

This comparison is important as it tells us about whether the low valence parties have any incentive to move to the electoral mean. Schofield and Gallego (2011, 190) call an equilibrium at position z a *stable attractor* when the lower 95% bound of predicted vote shares of low valence parties at the equilibrium are higher than their actual vote shares. If an equilibrium is not a stable attractor than the party activists would have more incentive to pull the party from the electoral mean to z^* . As we see in the vectors, the equilibrium at the electoral mean is not a stable attractor for DTP or DYP.

By using simulation, we found another LNE with the following party positions:

$$z_1 = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{Party} & \textit{AKP} & \textit{CHP} & \textit{MHP} & \textit{DTP} & \textit{DYP} & \textit{ANAP} \\ x : \textit{religion} & 0.02 & 0.05 & 0.08 & -1.24 & 0.12 & 0.12 \\ y : \textit{nationalism} & 0.02 & 0.04 & 0.05 & -0.7 & 0.05 & 0.05 \end{bmatrix}$$

As can be seen in Figure 2, all the parties other than DTP are concentrated around the electoral mean and DTP is on the southwest of the graph. The difference between the initial party positions and the party positions at the equilibrium is given by the following matrix:

$$z^* - z_1 = \begin{bmatrix} \textit{Party} & \textit{AKP} & \textit{CHP} & \textit{MHP} & \textit{DTP} & \textit{DYP} & \textit{ANAP} \\ x : \textit{religion} & 0.29 & -0.72 & -0.05 & 1.14 & -0.08 & -0.58 \\ y : \textit{nationalism} & 0.05 & -0.13 & 0.11 & -0.7 & 0.17 & -0.29 \end{bmatrix}$$

This matrix shows how much and in which direction the parties are pulled from the equilibrium point by the party activists. The most obvious differences are seen in the positions of CHP and DTP. The former takes a position far to the left of the equilibrium position on the religion axis and the latter takes a position far to the south of the equilibrium position on the nationalism axis. The predicted vote shares at the equilibrium were calculated as:

$$\begin{aligned} \rho^{z_1} &= (\rho_{AKP}^{z_1}, \rho_{CHP}^{z_1}, \rho_{MHP}^{z_1}, \rho_{DTP}^{z_1}, \rho_{DYP}^{z_1}, \rho_{ANAP}^{z_1}) \\ &= (0.539, 0.245, 0.131, 0.03, 0.03, 0.025) \end{aligned}$$

Compared to the sample vote shares the equilibrium provides a higher predicted vote share for CHP, DTP and ANAP.

[Insert Figure 2 here]

Finally, we supplement the spatial model with the demographic characteristics of voters. Following previous studies, we include age, education, ethnicity and socio-economic status as independent variables. We measure ethnicity by the primary language that the respondents speak at home and construct it as a dummy variable that takes the value 1 for Zaza and Kurdish, and 0 for Turkish and all other languages.⁷ Previous studies point to a relationship between religious sect and vote choice. More specifically, Alevi voters were more likely to vote for CHP compared to other parties. (Schofield et al. 2011) We were not able to include religious sect in our analysis because the question was not asked to the respondents.

[Insert Table 4 here]

In the joint model, which is summarized in Table 4, the spatial coefficient is smaller than the pure spatial model but it is still statistically significant. However, none of the valence terms except the one for DTP are statistically significant. Among the demographic characteristics, the only one that is both substantively and statistically significant is ethnicity. Not surprisingly, Kurdish speakers are more likely to vote for DTP compared to

⁷See Appendix 2 for the list of questions used to measure demographic characteristics.

the baseline, which is the nationalist MHP. If we compare the Mc Fadden R^2 of the pure model to the joint model, we see that the joint model provides a better fit.

Comparison with Previous Elections

A comparison of our results with previous analyses of 1999 and 2002 elections enables us to trace the change in electoral politics in Turkey during the last decade. In order to facilitate comparison, we rerun the model by using DYP as the baseline and summarized the results in Table 5.⁸ The considerable increase in the relative valence of the three parties in the parliament compared to DYP points to the culmination of the decline of center-right parties. The valence of AKP increased compared to both CHP and MHP. This can be explained by the good performance of AKP's economic policies.⁹ It is important to note, however, that it is practical rather than ideological considerations about economic policy that effect voters' preferences. Our factor analysis did not detect any coherent attitudes toward economic policy that explain the variance among voters. Economic policy can be thought as part of the valence term to the extent it is perceived as the competence of the party leaders. The positive valence terms for all three parties –AKP, CHP and MHP– can also partly be explained by the role party activists in providing financial and organizational resources.

[Insert Table 5 here]

One of the critical findings of our comparison is the decrease in the convergence coefficient from 5.9 in 2002 to 1.5 in 2007, which implies an increasing likelihood of convergence to the electoral mean. By using simulation, we verified that electoral mean gives an LNE in 2007 elections. We also found another LNE with all parties except DTP aligned close to the electoral mean and DTP located in the southwest of the ideological space. We argue that the electoral strength of AKP pulls the equilibrium point to the right of electoral mean on the religion axis. The initial position of all parties except DTP and AKP are to the left of the equilibrium. The initial positions of parties except DTP on the nationalism axis got closer to each other compared to 2002 elections. DTP takes a position that is to the south of the equilibrium point. None of the parties except DTP diverge from the electoral mean on this axis in the equilibrium.

⁸In the previous section, we use MHP as the baseline because the small number of DYP supporters in our sample result in large standard errors in the joint model.

⁹In an analysis of 2007 elections, Kalaycioglu (2010) points that economic satisfaction is the primary determinant of both party identification and party preference for AKP voters.

Figures

Figure 1 - Voter Distribution and Party Positions in 2007 Elections

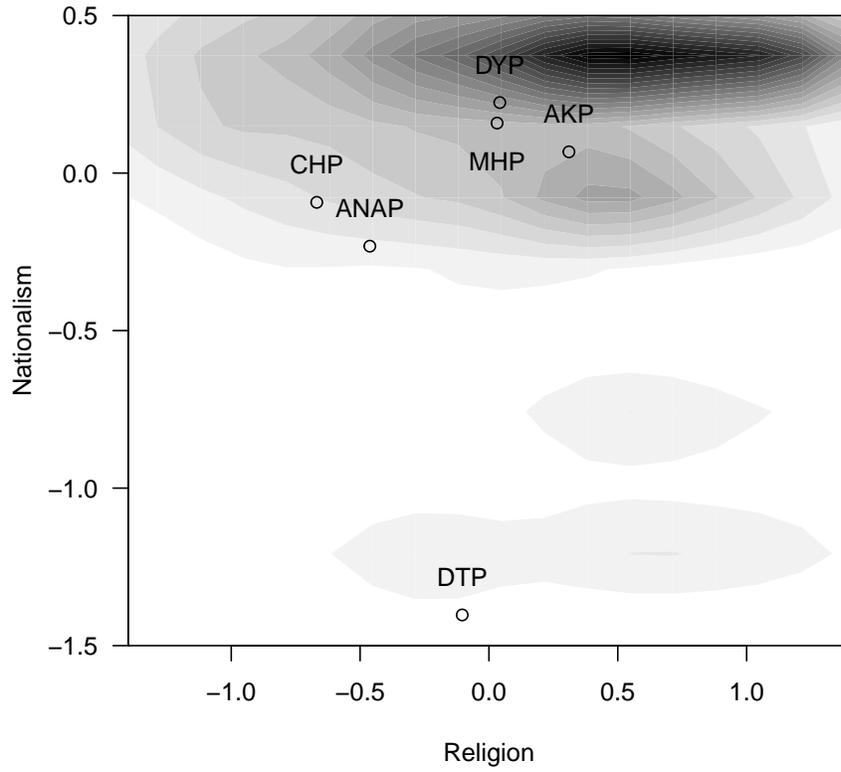
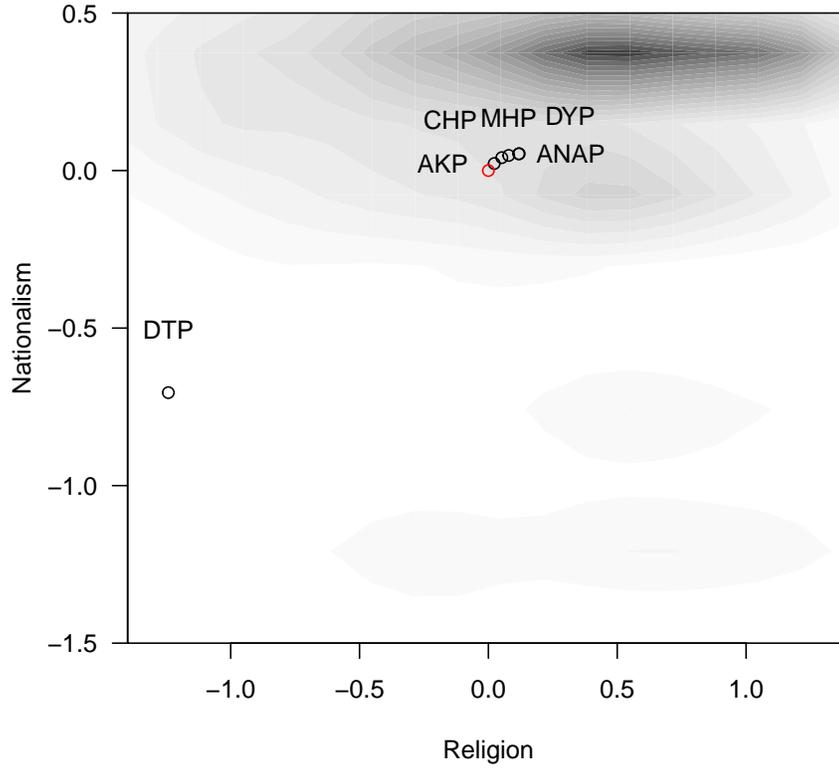


Figure 2 - Local Nash Equilibrium



Tables

Table 1 - Vote Shares (%) - 1999 - 2011

		Vote Shares			
Party Name		1999	2002	2007	2011
Justice and Development Party	AKP	-	34.28	46.58	49.80
Republican People's Party	CHP	8.71	19.39	20.88	25.98
Nationalist Action Party	MHP	17.98	8.36	14.27	13.02
Felicity Party	SP ^a	-	2.49	2.34	1.26
Virtue Party	FP	15.41	-	-	-
Democrat Party	DP		-	5.42 ^b	0.65
Democratic Left Party	DSP	22.19	1.22	- ^c	0.25
True Path Party	DYP	12.01	9.54	-	0.15
Motherland Party	ANAP	13.22	5.13	- ^d	-
Genç Party	GP	-	7.25	3.04	-
People's Democracy Party	HADEP	4.75	-	-	-
Democratic People Party	DEHAP ^e	-	6.22	-	-
Independents		0.87	1.00	5.24 ^f	6.59 ^g
Others		4.86	5.13	2.25	2.29
Total		100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Turnout		87.09	79.14	84.25	83.16

^aFelicity Party is the successor to Virtue Party, which was banned by the Constitutional Court.

^bDYP changed its name to Democrat Party in a failed attempt to merge with ANAP.

^cThe candidates of DSP entered the elections in the CHP lists.

^dANAP withdrew from elections and asked their supporters to vote for DP.

^eDemocratic People Party is the successor to People's Democracy Party, which was banned by the Constitutional Court.

^fMajority of independent candidates are supported by Democratic Society Party(DTP), which is the successor to DEHAP.

^gMajority of independent candidates are supported by Democratic Society Party(DTP), which is the successor to DEHAP.

Source: www.ysk.gov.tr; www.resmigazete.gov.tr

Table 2 - Seats - 1999 - 2011

Party Name		Seats			
		1999	2002	2007	2011
Justice and Development Party	AKP	-	363 (66)	341 (59.56)	327 (59.45)
Republican People's Party	CHP	-	178 (32.36)	112 (20.4)	135 (24.55)
Nationalist Action Party	MHP	129 (23.45)	-	70 (12.75)	53 (9.64)
Felicity Party	SP	-	-	-	-
Virtue Party	FP	111 (20.18)	-	-	-
Democrat Party	DP	-	-	-	-
Democratic Left Party	DSP	136 (24.73)	-	-	-
True Path Party	DYP	85 (15.45)	-	-	-
Motherland Party	ANAP	86 (15.64)	-	-	-
People's Democracy Party	HADEP	-	-	-	-
Independents		3 (0.55)	9 (1.64)	26 (4.74)	35 (6.36)
Others		-	-	-	-
Total		550 (100.00)	550 (100.00)	549 (100.00)	550 (100.00)

Source: www.ysk.gov.tr; www.resmigazete.gov.tr

Table 3 - Pure Spatial Model for 2007 Elections

Pure Spatial Model for 2007 Elections				
Normalized with respect to MHP				
Party Name		λ	Std. error	t-value
Justice and Development Party	AKP	1.413*	0.129	10.93
Republican People's Party	CHP	0.623*	0.151	4.138
Nationalist Action Party	MHP	-	-	-
Democratic Society Party	DTP	-1.688*	0.36	-4.684
True Path Party	DYP	-1.479*	0.269	-5.507
Motherland Party	ANAP	-1.676*	0.302	-5.551
Spatial Coefficient β		0.658*	0.061	-10.758
Convergence Coefficient		1.537		

n=558; Log likelihood = -603.57; McFadden $R^2 = 0.114$

* Significant with probability < 0.001

Table 4 - Joint Model for 2007 Elections

Joint Model for 2007 Elections				
Normalized with respect to MHP				
Variable	Party	Coefficient	Std. error	t-value
Spatial Coefficient β		0.603***	0.066	-9.167
Relative Valence λ_k	AKP	-0.694	1.228	-0.565
	CHP	-1.171	1.625	-0.72
	DTP	-5.183*	2.229	-2.326
	DYP	11.571	3083.355	0.004
	ANAP	11.583	4329.811	0.003
Age	AKP	0.025*	0.012	2.205
	CHP	0.032*	0.013	2.411
	DTP	0.004	0.032	0.109
	DYP	0.063**	0.019	3.266
	ANAP	0.025	0.025	0.995
Education	AKP	-0.227*	0.095	-2.392
	CHP	0.118	0.107	1.104
	DTP	-0.285	0.288	-0.988
	DYP	-0.228	0.193	-1.181
	ANAP	-0.113	0.209	-0.542
Kurdish	AKP	1.486	1.045	1.423
	CHP	-0.359	1.441	-0.249
	DTP	4.653***	1.245	3.738
	DYP	-14.527	3083.354	-0.005
	ANAP	-14.965	4329.811	-0.003
Socio-economic Status	AKP	0.314*	0.145	2.164
	CHP	0.288	0.174	1.651
	DTP	-0.36	0.484	-0.744
	DYP	0.252	0.305	0.826
	ANAP	0.541	0.36	1.503

n=558; Log likelihood = -565.6; McFadden $R^2 = 0.17$

*** Significant with probability < 0.001

** Significant with probability < 0.01

* Significant with probability < 0.05

Table 5 - Comparison with Previous Years

N Party Name	Comparison with Previous Years ^a ormalized with Respect to DYP		
	1999	2002	2007
Justice and Development Party	-	0.78*	2.893*
Republican People's Party	0.734*	1.33*	2.102*
Nationalist Action Party	0.666*	-0.12	1.479*
Democratic Society Party	-0.071	0.43	-0.209
Motherland Party	0.336	-0.31	-0.197
Democratic Left Party	0.724*	-	-
Spatial Coefficient β	0.375*	1.52*	0.659*
Convergence Coefficient	1.49*	5.94*	1.54*

^aThe entries for 1999 and 2002 are the results of the analysis in Schofield et al. 2011.

Appendix 1 - Survey Questions

The analysis of 2007 elections in this paper is based on World Values Survey (WVS).¹⁰The survey was conducted between January and March 2007, that is three - six months before the 2007 elections. The questions used in our analysis are the following:

Vote Choice

If there were a national election tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote?

Secularism

1) How strongly do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Strongly Agree, Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree

a) Politicians who do not believe in God are unfit for public office.

b) It would be better for Turkey if more people with strong religious beliefs held public office.

2) For each of the following, indicate how important it is in your life. Would you say it is Very important Rather important Not very important Not at all important? Religion

Nationalism

1) How proud are you to be Turkish? Very Proud, Quite Proud, Not Very Proud, Not At All Proud

2) People have different views about themselves and how they relate to the world. Using this card, would you tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about how you see yourself? I see myself as part of the Turkish nation. Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly Disagree

Demographic Characteristics

1) Age: Can you tell me your year of birth, please? This means you are ... years old.

2) Education: What is the highest educational level that you have attained? 1-No Formal Education 9-University Level Education - With Degree

3) Language: What language do you normally speak at home?

4) Socio-economic Status: People sometimes describe themselves as belonging to the working class, the middle class, or the upper or lower class. Would you describe yourself as belonging to the 1 Upper class 2 Upper middle class 3 Lower middle class 4 Working class 5 Lower class?

¹⁰World Values Survey 1981-2008 Official Aggregate v.20090901, 2009. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: ASEP/JDS, Madrid.

Appendix 2 - Factor Loadings**Table 6 - Factor Loadings**

n=588	Nationalism	Secularism
Politicians' belief in god	0.738	0.092
People with strong beliefs in public office	0.748	0.064
Religion important in life	0.478	0.246
Proud of nationality	0.071	0.656
Part of the nation	0.106	0.405
Variance	0.270	0.133
Cumulative Variance	0.270	0.403

Bibliography

Carkoglu, Ali and Melvin J. Hinich. 2006. "A Spatial Analysis of Turkish Party Preferences." *Electoral Studies* 25(2):369-392.

Carkoglu, Ali. 2007. "The Nature of Left-Right Ideological Self-placement in the Turkish Context." *Turkish Studies* 8(2): 253-271.

Kalaycioglu, Ersin. 2008. "Attitudinal Orientation to Party Organizations in Turkey in the 2000s." *Turkish Studies* 9(2):297-316.

Kalaycioglu, Ersin. 2010. "Justice and Development Party at the Helm: Resurgence of Islam or Restitution of the Right-of-Center Predominant Party?" *Turkish Studies* 11(1):29-44.

Onis, Ziya. 2009. "Conservative Globalism at the Crossroads: The Justice and Development Party and the Throny Path to Democratic Consolidation in Turkey" *Mediterranean Politics* 14(1):21-40.

Ozbudun, Ergun. 2000. *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation*. Boulder, Colo: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Schofield Norman. 2007. "The Mean Voter Theorem: Necessary and Sufficient Conditions for Convergent Equilibrium." *Review of Economic Studies* 74(3):965-980.

Schofield, Norman. 2008. *The Spatial Model of Politics*. New York: Routledge.

Schofield, Norman and Maria Gallego. 2011. *Leadership or Chaos: The Heart and Soul of Politics*. Berlin; New York: Springer.

Schofield Norman, Maria Gallego, Ugur Ozdemir and Alexei Zakharov. 2011. "Competition for Popular Support: A Valence Model of Elections in Turkey." *Social Choice and Welfare* 36(3):451-482.

Stokes, Donald E. 1963. "Spatial Models of Party Competition." *American Political Science Review* 57(2):368-377.

World Values Survey 1981-2008 Official Aggregate v.20090901, 2009. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: ASEP/JDS, Madrid.