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To cite this article: Murat İnan (2019): Party-voter congruence in Turkish politics: the ivory tower argument tested, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, DOI: [10.1080/02606755.2019.1705521](https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2019.1705521)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02606755.2019.1705521>



Published online: 27 Dec 2019.



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Party-voter congruence in Turkish politics: the ivory tower argument tested

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ABSTRACT

'Ivory tower' is frequently used phrase when Turkish executive politicians question the representativeness of other parties or their members. The intention of this claim is to provoke other parties into a discussion about the legitimacy of the targeted party. This research aims to shed a light on the problem of party-voter congruence in Turkish politics, which has important implications for the representativeness of Turkish political parties. Comparing the three major political parties in Turkey; the current study investigates to what extent these political parties' manifesto documents, fail to connect with their constituencies' policy positions on four prominent issues in Turkish politics: Left-right political positioning, democratic support, support for the military, and support for a controlled economy. Party level Manifesto Project data and aggregated individual level World Values Survey (WVS) data were combined for the analysis of this research and analysed by using a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression analysis. The findings suggest that the ivory tower claim is largely correct for all three political parties investigated. Finally, these findings also have important implications for the legitimacy of the Turkish democratic political system.

KEYWORDS

Political congruence; party politics; Turkish politics; World Values Survey; Manifesto project

Introduction

'They are sitting in their ivory towers and doing nothing for the people' is a statement that one can frequently hear in daily political debates in Turkey. This statement is important as it brings the representativeness of Turkish political parties, and by extension, the legitimacy of the Turkish democratic political system into question. In this statement, the image of the ivory tower symbol is used to provoke the targeted politician or political representativeness into an otherwise unwanted discussion. When a politician raises this argument against another political party, the underlying claim they are making is that the policy positions of the targeted political party are detached from the reality of the public's norms and values. Moreover, with this argument, politicians presenting this argument imply that the targeted political party is either incapable of protecting the people's interests, uninterested in doing so, or rather engaging in politics in order to protect its own

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interests or of some other organized groups. Finally an additional implication is that the targeted party has a pro-Western, modernist, elitist attitudes and behaviour, or uninterested and impassive to the daily economic problems of the people. The present research asks the empirical question as to whether some Turkish political parties' policy positions correspond less to the Turkish public's norms.

To better understand the mindset lying behind 'the ivory tower' accusation in Turkish politics, an attempt will be made to analyse some related examples. In this context, the Republican People's Party (RPP) and the members of the party are perhaps the most frequently criticized in this regard. Indeed, criticisms suggesting that the RPP is an elitist, modernist, a Jacobin political party which is disconnected from the people, while seeking alliance with the civil and military bureaucracy, have been around since the foundation of the party, but have been increasing recently. For example, criticizing the RPP, the then Prime Minister and the leader of the Justice and Development Party (JDP) Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, at his party's group meeting in 2012, said that: 'The RPP is a party living in the past. The RPP could not come to the present from 1940. The RPP cannot overcome elitist, guardianship, Jacobin mentality and keep up with democratic, parliamentary system'.¹

During the 2014 presidential election campaign, the RPP and the Nationalist Action Party's (NAP) joint presidential candidate, Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, stated that Erdoğan should abandon his partisan attitudes if he is running for an impartial presidential position. In response, the JDP's presidential candidate and the then Prime Minister Erdoğan criticized Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and gave him a nickname moncher²:

They [reporters] ask to the presidential candidate; 'Are you going to deal with the road construction when you become a president?' He answers: 'I am the presidential candidate, I have nothing to do with the road construction' Oh my God! How come a president has nothing to do with road, subway and tunnel construction. They are moncher. Monchers do not have such issues.³

Erdoğan is not the only executive political leader who criticized the RPP for being disconnected from the public values and norms. The idea has been shared by some other JDP senior politicians such as Hüseyin Çelik, the minister of National Education in the 59th and 60th government, who stated in a newspaper interview in 2010 that:

They (the RPP) are an elitist team. It has always been a team which has the belief that the people do wrong. It is not only to us, they did the same thing to Özal.⁴ They stood against Menderes⁵ too. These are the people who think that the society is made up of men scratching his belly.⁶ They are the ones who think the society always do the wrong.⁷

¹*Takvim*, 13 March 2012.

²The French word for 'my dear' is used in a pejorative meaning by some Turkish politicians in daily political language to criticize pro-western, modernist, elitist political attitudes and behavior.

³*Sözcü*, 6 July 2014.

⁴Turgut Özal: 19th Prime Minister and 8th President of Turkey. Since his death during his presidential term there have been allegations suggesting that he was poisoned.

⁵Adnan Menderes: 8th Prime Minister of Turkey. Since his execution by a military-led court during his primership there has been alleagetion suggesting that the military coup was masterminded by some foreign countries.

⁶This phrase is used to reflect a pejorative perspective by the opponents of the RPP to characterize the RPP's allegedly elitist ideas about the have-nots in Turkey.

⁷*Haber7*, 30 March 2010.

The RPP's critics were not only from the other political parties but some intra-party opposition figures from the RPP also repeated the same argument. Very recently, the RPP's vice provincial head in İzmir, Ali Yaşar Çalışkan, who was a supporter of Muharrem İnce as the RPP's candidate in the 2018 presidential elections criticized his own party by saying that:

The RPP should return to its principles. Therefore, we want this change. The party assembly which Muharrem İnce will create has no chance of behaving differently. If so, ten times reaction shown today will be shown to Muharrem İnce. Now the gin is out of the bottle. Now the period of making the old type of policy is over. Gaining the seat and sitting there for twenty years without producing anything ... You have to leave elitist understanding. Today's understanding is elitist.⁸

In response to the criticisms from the JDP, the chairman of the RPP, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu targeted the JDP and Erdoğan on the same grounds of distancing themselves from the values and norms of the Turkish people. For instance, Kılıçdaroğlu slammed Erdoğan for spending made for the construction of the new presidential palace for several times. Then, in a public speech Kılıçdaroğlu drew attention to the disconnectedness of the incumbent Prime Minister from the people by bringing the controversial construction of a presidential palace forward and argued that: 'Turkey will be more prestigious if we don't meddle in our neighbouring countries' domestic affairs. You won't be prestigious by building a palace with a thousand rooms. You will only be ridiculed by this'.⁹ In another instance, in a newspaper interview, Kılıçdaroğlu criticized Erdoğan on the same ground by saying:

If you establish a dynastic state can you solve Turkey's problem, no, you can solve the problem of the dynasty. Do you have a palace, yes, you have. Do you have planes, yes, you have. He's got a new plane too ... People are miserable, the palace lives the tulip period. Now in such a situation, we expect from the person who created this statement to solve the economic problems of Turkey. This is a mistake. This person has created this situation consciously, he cannot fix it.¹⁰

In another speech criticizing the governing JDP's economy policies Kılıçdaroğlu said:

This economic model has been applied for 15 years. Workers have been paying the taxes while other classes have been given exemptions. They have won billions with a table, a chair and a glass of whiskey in hand. We're the ones who can save you from this hardship my brothers. Today's government, I will be honest with you, is a government which serves to the interest rate lobby.¹¹

Similar criticisms were also directed to the NAP. True Path Party's¹² (TPP) deputy chairman Serdar Tosun said in a statement that:

The RPP and the NAP have approached each other ideologically. Both parties are in the view of trying to do politics despite the nation. The TPP is a civilian party. We are not a party that makes an elitist policy. We are with the nation.¹³

⁸Egede Son Söz, 27 July 2018.

⁹Sözcü, 15 November 2014.

¹⁰Cumhuriyet, 15 December 2018.

¹¹Bloomberg HT, 3 February 2018.

¹²A central right wing party which formed government in the 1990s. The party is political inheritor of the Democratic Party (DP) and Justice Party (JP).

¹³Haber7, 29 September 2006.

As one can clearly see from these comments and many more in daily political debates in Turkey, the ivory tower argument is a frequently used term in Turkish politics and parties accuse the others of somehow alienating themselves from the ordinary people by using this argument.

While politicians are well known for their passion and emotions at displays, they are devoted to their mission of overcoming their rivals at all costs. They are also known as trained and knowledgeable enough to manipulate mass ideas and emotions in political matters. Furthermore, politicians are also opinion leaders for millions of supporters. Many people trust them, believe in every word they say, follow their ideas and inferences, and rely on their predictions, vision and guidance. Consequently, while putting forward the ivory tower argument, do these politicians simply aim to destroy the targeted political figure's reputation in the eyes of the public? Are these simple daily political tactics rooted in the politician's passion to gain more popular support? Or, is this really the case? Can the ivory tower argument be based on real inferences of accusing politicians? These questions should be taken seriously and considered beyond daily political conflicts because if they are reflecting the real situation, this could lead to the questioning of representativeness of Turkish political parties.

Surprisingly, although ivory tower argument has been voiced repeatedly by some very high-ranking Turkish politicians and more importantly, in case it is an accurate description that has serious implications such as opening the representativeness of the Turkish political system into questioning; an empirical investigation testing this argument has not yet been conducted in the Turkish political literature. Consequently, this research attempts to contribute to this debate by introducing a robust and definitive empirical test to address the question to whether some Turkish political parties' policy positions are really disconnected from the Turkish public's policy positions to a greater degree than those of the other political parties. More specifically, this research investigates the extent to which policy positions of the three major political parties in Turkey, the JDP, the RPP and the NAP, correspond to the mean policy positions of the constituency on four salient topics in Turkish politics: (a) left-right political positioning, (b) democratic support, (c) support for the military and (d) support for controlled economy. Left-right divide has been a distinguishing feature in modern politics for centuries, so much so that it is widely known as 'the super issue' in the congruence literature. Democratic support, support for the military and government's role in the economy are topics that remain intrinsic to Turkish politics for decades.

The remainder of this paper proceeds as follows. The following theory section lays out the theoretical dimensions of the research. It briefly discusses the importance of representativeness for modern democratic systems and the importance of party-voter congruence for maintaining representativeness. It also presents an overview of theoretical discussions advocating the importance of political parties for maintaining representative political system, discussions revolving around the super issue of left-right congruence, issue congruence, issue salience, party type and electoral formula as determinants of party-voter congruence. The third section is concerned with the data and methodology used for this research. Some basic information about the data sets that were used while constructing our final data set, together with the wording of the questions that were used to derive our variables and a series of Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) Regression Analyses are introduced. The fourth section presents the empirical findings of the research. The final section discusses broad implications of the empirical findings and indicates avenues for future research.

Political parties, representation and party-voter congruence

Political parties hold a central role in modern democracies. As Schattschneider notes: ‘Political parties created modern democracy and modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties’.¹⁴ Political parties facilitate the process of democratic politics by providing voters with information about the candidates and debated political matters, standardizing the public’s divergent political preferences, making them more stable over time and thus linking citizen preferences with policy outcomes.¹⁵ Political parties complement these roles by first determining policy positions on diverse range of issues, from infrastructural investments to environmental policies, from the use of the armed forces to the redistribution of income and wealth. As Downs suggested:

A voter finds party ideologies useful because they remove the necessity for relating every issue to his own conception of the “good society” ... Each party invents an ideology in order to attract the votes of those citizens who wish to cut costs by voting ideologically.¹⁶

The spatial theory of elections postulates that while deciding which policy position to choose, political parties’ major motivation is maximizing their vote in order to gain the maximum number of seats at local councils, legislature or government. According to the theory, political parties seek for a vote-maximizing equilibrium which represents the point at which no votes can be gained anymore by changing policy.¹⁷ In response to this, as the spatial theory of elections and the advocates of the proximity model suggest, voters seek to support political parties that are closest to their own policy platforms.¹⁸ By voting for a political party which they believe will best protect their interests, voters seek maximization of their interests. Once the political party reaches an equilibrium configuration the representation process starts.

Representativeness is a key term in democratic theory. In its most basic meaning representativeness is the correspondence between actions of policy makers and the wishes of people. In the democratic government model, proportionality between the rate of a party’s supporters and the rate of its representatives in the government is required. Moreover, issue congruence between the preferences of the voters and policies of the representatives is also desired. In the counter scenario, where there is disproportionality or policy disagreement between the two, representativeness comes under question. Since representativeness is such a key concept in democratic politics, a considerable amount of literature has been published on this concept. Classical democratic theory suggests that democratic governments are supposed to represent citizenry’s political preferences.¹⁹ As Achen notes:

¹⁴E.E. Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York, 1942), p. 1.

¹⁵M. Duverger, *Political Parties* (New York, 1963); R.J. Dalton, ‘Party Representation across Multiple Issue Dimensions’, *Party Politics* 23, (2015), pp. 609–22; A.M. Belchior and A. Freire, ‘Is Party Type Relevant to an Explanation of Policy Congruence? Catchall versus Ideological Parties in the Portuguese Case’, *International Political Science Review* 34, (2013), pp. 273–88; A.M. Belchior, ‘Party Political Representation in Portugal’, *South European Society and Politics* 13, (2008), pp. 457–76; A. Wren and K.M. McElwain, ‘Voters and Parties’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Science* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 1–33; G.B. Powell, *Elections as Instruments of Democracy: Majoritarian and Proportional Visions* (New Haven, 2000).

¹⁶A. Downs, ‘An Economic Theory of Political Action in a Democracy’, *The Journal of Political Economy* 65, (1957), pp. 141–2.

¹⁷Duverger, *Political Parties*; Downs, ‘An Economic Theory’, pp. 135–50; G.W. Cox, ‘Centripetal and Centrifugal Incentives in Electoral Systems’, *American Journal of Political Science* 34, (1990), pp. 903–35.

¹⁸Downs, ‘An Economic Theory’; A. Blais, R. Nadeau, E. Gidengil and N. Nevitte, ‘The Formation of Party Preferences: Testing the Proximity and Directional Models’, *European Journal of Political Research* 40, (2001), pp. 81–91.

¹⁹H.F. Pitkin, *The Concept of Representation* (London, 1967), p. 213; R.A. Dahl, *A Preface to Democratic Theory* (Chicago and London, 1956), p. 155; B. Manin, *The Principles of Representative Government* (Paris, 1997), pp. 202–18.

‘The good representative resembles his constituents; by some measure, he is “close” to them’.²⁰ Moreover, according to Golder and Ferland good representation operates from voter preferences to voting which, in turn, determines the colour of the legislature from which the government is formed in order to produce subsequent policies.²¹ In contrast, according to Saward representative relationship works as a two-way relationship. Saward argues that the role of the representative cannot reduce to representing its constituency but it also involves the regeneration of grassroots values.²²

The most general understanding of representation is descriptive representation, which corresponds to a vote-seat proportionality rate while translating votes to the seats at stake. The perfect proportionality situation in this regard is defined as ‘a situation in which every party receives exactly the same share of the seats as it won of the votes’.²³ However, this is never the case in practice. For example, it is never possible to decrease the disproportionality rate to zero since there always exists some disproportionality between the number of votes cast and seats at stake owing to the very nature of mathematics of representation. For this reason, every method of seat allocation fails to perfectly translate votes into seats. Yet, descriptive representation is not the only indicator of party-voter congruence. Several authors suggest that our understanding of representation should move beyond descriptive representation to substantive representation which amounts to issue agreement between voters and their representatives.²⁴ For examples, Golder and Ferland define substantive representation as ‘the extent to which the actions of the representative are in line with the interests of the represented at a fixed point in time’.²⁵ Then, as noted by Powell; ‘Citizen representation does not end with the formation of the legislature, but continues as policies are made between elections’.²⁶ In line with Powel, Pitkin argues that representation emerges in four basic forms: (a) formalistic, (b) descriptive, (c) symbolic and (d) substantive representation. According to Pitkin these four forms of representation take on complementary roles in the maintenance of a democratic political system. According to Pitkin, substantive representation investigates the extent to which elected officials consider and act according to the interests, opinions and perspectives of the electorate.²⁷

A significant portion of empirical studies on representation have focussed on party-voter congruence.²⁸ In these studies congruence between parties’ policy positions and policy positions of the voters is regarded as the most important indicator of representation. Nevertheless, research on party-voter congruence reports some mixed empirical

²⁰C.H. Achen, ‘Measuring Representation’, *American Journal of Political Science* 22, (1978), pp. 475–510.

²¹M. Golder and B. Ferland, ‘Electoral Rules and Citizen-elite Ideological Congruence’, in *The Oxford Handbook of Electoral Systems* (Oxford, 2017), pp. 1–36.

²²M. Saward, ‘The Representative Claim’, *Contemporary Political Theory* 5, (2006), pp. 297–318; M. Saward, ‘Shape-shifting Representation’, *American Political Science Review* 108, (2014), pp. 723–36.

²³M. Gallagher, ‘Proportionality, Disproportionality and Electoral Systems’, *Electoral Studies* 10, (1991), p. 33.

²⁴Pitkin, ‘The Concept’; Cox, ‘Centripetal and Centrifugal’; G.B. Powell, ‘Election Laws and Representative Governments: Beyond Votes and Seats’, *British Journal of Political Science* 36, (2006), pp. 291–315.

²⁵Golder and Ferland, ‘Electoral Rules’, p. 3.

²⁶Powell, ‘Election Laws’, pp. 313–4.

²⁷Pitkin, ‘The Concept’.

²⁸W.E. Miller and D.E. Stokes, ‘Constituency Influence in Congress’, *American Political Science Review* 57, (1963), pp. 45–56; A. Blais and M.A. Bodet, ‘Does Proportional Representation Foster Closer Congruence between Citizens and Policy Makers?’ *Comparative Political Studies* 39, (2006), pp. 1243–62; G.B. Powell, ‘The Ideological Congruence Controversy: The Impact of Alternative Measures, Data, and Time Periods on the Effects of Election Rules’, *Comparative Political Studies* 42, (2009), pp. 1475–97; M. Golder and J. Stramski, ‘Ideological Congruence and Electoral Institutions’, *American Journal of Political Science* 54, (2010), pp. 90–106; I. Budge, M.D. McDonald, P. Pennings and H. Keman, *Organizing Democratic Choice: Party Representation Over Time* (Oxford, 2012).

findings in democratic countries. The first systematic study of party-voter congruence was carried out by Miller and Stoke. In their 1963 work, Miller and Stoke investigated the relationship between the policy positions of the representatives and those of the individuals and found a positive correlation between the two.²⁹ Their findings are challenged by some researchers, including Erikson and Achen. Erikson re-analysed the Miller and Stoke's 1958 data and found even greater correlation scores.³⁰ On the other hand, some researchers have found counter evidence suggesting disproportionality between the representatives and their voters. In a more recent investigation, Bakker, Jolly and Polk found that both left- and right-wing parties follow more radical stances than their voters.³¹ In line with this, a number of studies have postulated that MPs are generally more extreme in their policy platforms than their voters.³² Belchior explains this situation with political elites' greater levels of sophistication, stability and consistency compared to the average voter.³³

One important factor that needs to be taken into consideration while studying party-voter congruence is the electoral system. Lijphart defines electoral system as 'a set of essentially unchanged election rules under which one or more successive elections are conducted in a particular democracy'.³⁴ Some of the election rules that require consideration are assembly size, district magnitude, electoral formula, presidential elections and the number of electoral tiers.³⁵ There are four main types of electoral systems: Plurality, majority, PR and mixed.³⁶ The electoral system is a very powerful determinant of proportionality. In addition to proportionality, it affects many other outcomes in politics including the number of the parties in the political system,³⁷ party system extremism,³⁸ degree of electoral proportionality,³⁹ coalition formation,⁴⁰ government instability⁴¹ and macroeconomic outcomes.⁴² The vast majority of studies on the relationship between electoral rules and jurisdictional and government congruence suggest that proportional systems produce more ideological congruence than majoritarian systems.⁴³

²⁹Miller and Stokes, 'Constituency Influence'.

³⁰E.R.S. Erikson, 'Constituency Opinion and Congressional Behavior: A Reexamination of the Miller-Stokes Representation Data', *American Journal of Political Science* 22, (1978), pp. 511–35.

³¹R. Bakker, S. Jolly and J. Polk, 'Complexity in the European Party Space: Exploring Dimensionality with Experts', *European Union Politics* 13, (2012), pp. 219–45.

³²R.J. Dalton, 'Political Parties and Political Representation: Party Supporters and Party Elites in Nine Nations', *Comparative Political Studies* 18, (1985), pp. 267–99; J.J.A. Thomassen, 'Empirical Research into Political Representation: Failing Democracy or Failing Models', in W.E. Miller (ed), *Elections at Home and Abroad: Essays in Honor of Warren Miller* (Michigan, 1994), pp. 237–65; J.J.A. Thomassen and H. Schmitt, 'Issue Congruence', in *Political Representation and Legitimacy in the European Union* (Oxford, 1999); Belchior, 'Party Political Representation'.

³³Belchior, 'Party Political Representation'.

³⁴A. Lijphart, *Electoral Systems and Party Systems. A Study of Twenty-Seven Democracies, 1945–1990* (Oxford, 1994), p. 13.

³⁵A. Lijphart, 'The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945–85', *American Political Science Review* 84, (1990), pp. 481–96; M. Golder, 'Democratic Electoral Systems Around the World, 1946–2000', *Electoral Studies* 24, (2005), pp. 103–21.

³⁶Blais and Bodet, 'Does Proportional Representation'.

³⁷Duverger, *Political Parties*.

³⁸Cox, 'Centripetal and Centrifugal'.

³⁹Lijphart, *Electoral Systems*.

⁴⁰S.N. Golder, *The Logic of Pre-electoral Coalition Formation* (Columbus, 2006).

⁴¹S. Mainwaring, 'Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: The Difficult combination', *Comparative Political Studies* 26, (1993), pp. 198–228.

⁴²A. Lizzeri and N. Persico, 'Uniqueness and Existence of Equilibrium in Auctions with a Reserve Price', *Games and Economic Behavior* 30, (2000), pp. 83–114.

⁴³Dalton, 'Political Parties'; J.D. Huber and G.B. Powell, 'Congruence between Citizens and Policymakers in Two Visions of Liberal Democracy', *World Politics* 46, (1994), pp. 291–326; Powell, 'Elections as Instrument'; G.B. Powell and G.S. Vanberg, 'Election Laws, Disproportionality and Median Correspondence: Implications for Two Visions of Democracy', *British Journal of Political Science* 30, (2000), pp. 383–411; M.D. McDonald, S.M. Mendes and I. Budge, 'What are Elections for? Conferring

Nevertheless, a relatively new set of empirical evidence in the literature found that government congruence which corresponds to concordance between government and voters of the governing party or parties does not differ according to the type of the electoral rule.⁴⁴

Data and methods

This research is designed to investigate party-voter congruence in Turkey. The main departing point is the question of whether policy positions of some Turkish political parties are really distant from the Turkish public's policy positions in a greater degree than the others. To investigate this question empirically, first a data set that is suitable to measure the concordance between the policy positions of political parties and that of the citizenry is needed. A final dataset which was culled from two sources, the World Values Survey (WVS) and the Manifesto Project is generated with this objective in mind.

The first source of the final dataset, the WVS, contains repeated cross-sectional data on social and political values and norms. Since the start of the WVS project in 1981, nationally representative mass public surveys have been conducted in about 100 countries. Turkey has participated in the last five rounds of the survey. Thus, our final dataset involves data coming from five rounds the Turkish leg of the WVS conducted in the years 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2012. It consists of information about randomly selected 4,214 participants aged over 18, which constitute a sufficient enough sample to represent the whole population of Turkish voters. In addition, five waves of cross-sectional data spanning over 20 years provide enough hiatus to measure changes in attitudes over time. The WVS data are aggregated on mean scores of each party by each election year. While doing so, the participants' age by the time of the election year is considered. Those, who were over the age of 18 by the time of the election and stated that they would vote for a given political party if there were a national election tomorrow, are considered as the supporters of that party in that election. To give an example, if a respondent has answered the 2012 WVS question 'If there were a national election tomorrow, for which party on this list would you vote for? If you are uncertain, which party appeals to you the most?' as the option RPP and this respondent was older than 18 years old in the 2007 election, which means his birth year is earlier than 1989, we counted this respondent as a voter of the RPP in the 2007 elections.⁴⁵

The second source of the final dataset comes from the Manifesto Project. The Manifesto Project data contain experts' content analysis of political parties' electoral manifestos. It covers more than 1000 political parties in more than 50 countries all over the World. Data for three major political parties in Turkey, the JDP, the RPP, and the NAP, for the entire elections they have participated since their foundation were obtained for the final data set. Data are derived by using data to explore function provided by the Manifesto Project web page.

the Median Mandate', *British Journal of Political Science* 34, (2004), pp. 1–26; M.D. McDonald and I. Budge, *Elections, Parties, Democracy: Conferring the Median Mandate* (Oxford, 2005); I. Budge and M.D. McDonald, 'Election and Party System Affects on Policy Representation: Bringing Time into a Comparative Perspective', *Electoral Studies* 26, (2007), pp. 168–79.

⁴⁴Blais and Bodet, 'Does Proportional Representation?'; Golder and Stramski, 'Ideological Congruence'.

⁴⁵For the two general elections held in 2015, we used data collected from the respondent whom were over 18 in the 2012 of the WVS and voted for one of the three political parties in question.

Aggregated individual-level WVS data and party-level Manifesto Project data for each election year in Turkish history are used. This research investigated the four major issues in Turkish politics: (a) left-right political positioning, (b) support for democracy, (c) support for military, (d) support for controlled economy. The availability of corresponding individual and party level data and the importance of the issue in the Turkish political context were two main reasons underlying the selection of these issues.

In this research the choice of the variables was guided by the findings of the previous research and theoretical considerations. According to the median voter theorem, the best representative point is not, as it is traditionally thought, the mean, but the median because mean gives a stronger weight to those minorities occupying marginal positions and so it is biased against the majority's holding mainstream position.⁴⁶ This methodology departs from the perspective suggesting that in many-to-one representation all the citizens should be equally represented in the determination of their representative point. Nevertheless, using median as the most representative point is not free of trouble as the absolute median ignores the distribution of citizen preferences. On the other hand, as in this present case, taking the median as the most representative point created many collinearity problems owing to small variation of the median points across the election years. Yet, in the majority of the extant literature party-voter congruence is quantified by the absolute distance between the mean citizen and its representative, i.e. representing agent, government, the legislature or political party.⁴⁷ The greater number of cases there are in a data set, the smaller the problem we might have with weights. Departing from this final perspective, in this research the distance between mean citizenry preference and their parties' policy platforms are compared. The following formula is used for the analysis of this research: Party-voter congruence = $|MV-PP|$, where MV represents mean voter and PP party's policy position for each election year.⁴⁸

To identify participants' ideological positions the WVS asked the following question:⁴⁹ 'In political matters, people talk of "the left" and "the right". How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?' Following the question, the participants were given a 10-digit spectrum on which '0' representing the leftmost and '10' representing the rightmost political positions. In order to identify parties' political positions, the Manifesto Project asked experts to quantify the left-right position of the parties on an open-ended continuum centering zero by looking at their manifesto documents.

To examine the respondents' level of democratic support, the WVS asked the question that investigated participants' evaluations of several types of government. The question reads:

I am going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?

Then, participants were given 'having a democratic political system' statement and four answer categories to select from. In this setting greater values represented greater support

⁴⁶Cox, 'Centripetal and Centrifugal'.

⁴⁷M. Golder and G. Lloyd, 'Re-evaluating the Relationship between Electoral Rules and Ideological Congruence', *European Journal of Political Research* 53, (2014), pp. 200–12; McDonald and Budge, 'What are Elections'.

⁴⁸Golder and Stramski, 'Ideological Congruence'; Golder and Lloyd, 'Re-evaluating the Relationship'.

⁴⁹This is the English translation of the question. The wording of the question was taken from the WVS conducted in the USA in 2006. This question and all the others that were used for the analysis of this research were asked in Turkish language to the Turkish participants.

for democracy. The Manifesto Project, on the other hand, considered favourable mentions of democracy as ‘the only game in town’ in party manifestos and quantified party manifestos’ support for democracy in a way that greater values represent greater support.

To measure the respondents’ level of support for a military government, the WVS used the answers given to the army rule question from the above-mentioned protocol. A coding procedure that is similar to the one applied to the democratic support question is applied to the army rule question. The Manifesto Project, on the other hand, investigated favourable mentions of the military in order to quantify political parties’ attitudes towards the army in a way greater values representing greater favourable mentions of the military.

Finally, to determine voters’ support for a controlled economy, the WVS asked the question of to what extent government ownership of business and industry should be increased. Here, the respondents are given a 1–10 scale to state their own positions on which ‘1’ representing the view that ‘private ownership of business and industry should be increased’ and ‘10’ representing the view that ‘government ownership of business and industry should be increased’. The Manifesto Project evaluated political parties’ manifestos to investigate to what extent political parties support for direct government control of the economy in which again greater values represent greater support for governmental control of the economy. Statements include government’s control over prices and the introduction of minimum wages.⁵⁰

Having introduced the data sources, and final data and the variables that were made use of, it is now possible to turn to the methods used. Recent international surveys and developments in data collection and processing techniques allow for the empirical investigation of the representation problem. To estimate political parties’ policy positions by the policy positions of their supporters Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) regression method is used. The selection of the type of the regression method employed here is underlined by the type of dependent variable. Moreover, the OLS regression allowed a deeper understanding of the causal dynamic between preferences of voters and policy platforms of the political parties they vote for. By virtue of regression analysis, this research precluded firm inference about the causality aspect of party-voter congruence. This proved useful in explaining how the party-voter congruence equation is formed in Turkish politics. In addition to the OLS, the Locally Weighted Scatterplot Smoothing (Lowess) method was used to provide an explanatory visual inspection of the data points over time.

In the present study, there arose two limitations in terms of the data. The first is a quantitative limitation. While matching these two data sets first individual level data are aggregated according to the respondents’ birth year and the political party they said that they would vote for. There are two problems here. First, it is ignored the circumstance that respondent may have voted for a certain party in the 1983 elections, but would now like to vote for an alternative if there were a national election tomorrow. Second, the WVS dataset has an age bias that significantly increases as one goes from more recent to older elections. Our individual level data is biased against the older voters of the older elections owing to the fact that these surveys were conducted between 1990 and 2015. This is due to the fact that a greater number of members of the latter group has

⁵⁰Greater details on the wording of the questions and coding and recoding of the variables can be found in the table in the appendix section.

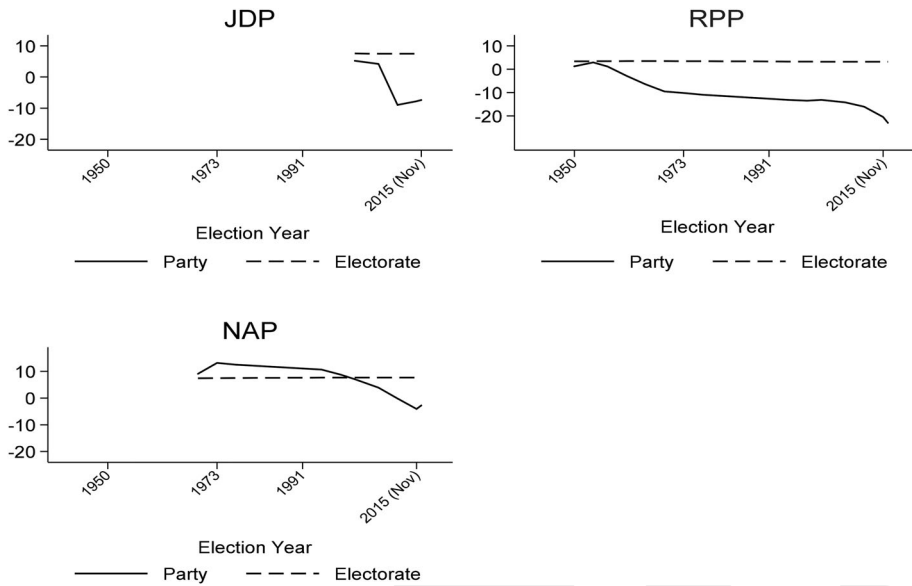


Figure 1. Left-right political positioning.

passed away and were not available for the surveys conducted between 1990 and 2015. For this reason, surveys represent the preferences of younger generations of the time of older elections in a greater degree than they do so the preferences of the older generations of the time of older elections. To overcome the second problem and to avoid further missing values related to younger political parties, the data is limited to those collected between 2002 and 2015 elections. Nonetheless, this constraint aside, this research strategy appears to be on the sound ground using this final data. This is because a large group of voters, although they were more likely to be the members of the younger generation of voters of an election time is still, to a certain degree, capable of representing the voting patterns of the whole electorate of that time. The second limitation of this study, which has a relatively lesser importance, is qualitative. It is important to recognize the fact that in the WVS data, concepts such as democratic support, support for the military and support for a controlled economy are not discussed in details, but rather questioned in its very slogan form which is the nature of survey research.

Findings

The following four figures incorporate three Lowess analysis each run with the data coming from the Manifesto Project and the WVS. From Figures 1–4 Lowess analysis of the predicted positions of (a) party’s manifesto, (b) party’s electorate for three major political parties in Turkey. The four figures indicate the degree of party-voter congruence on four issue areas; (1) left-right political positioning, (2) democratic support, (3) support for the military, and (4) support for a controlled economy respectively.

Figure 1 combines the Manifesto Project data, presenting experts’ evaluations of party manifestos on a continuum which centres 0 with the WVS data measuring voters’ self-assessment of their own position on the 10-digit political spectrum which centres 0 by

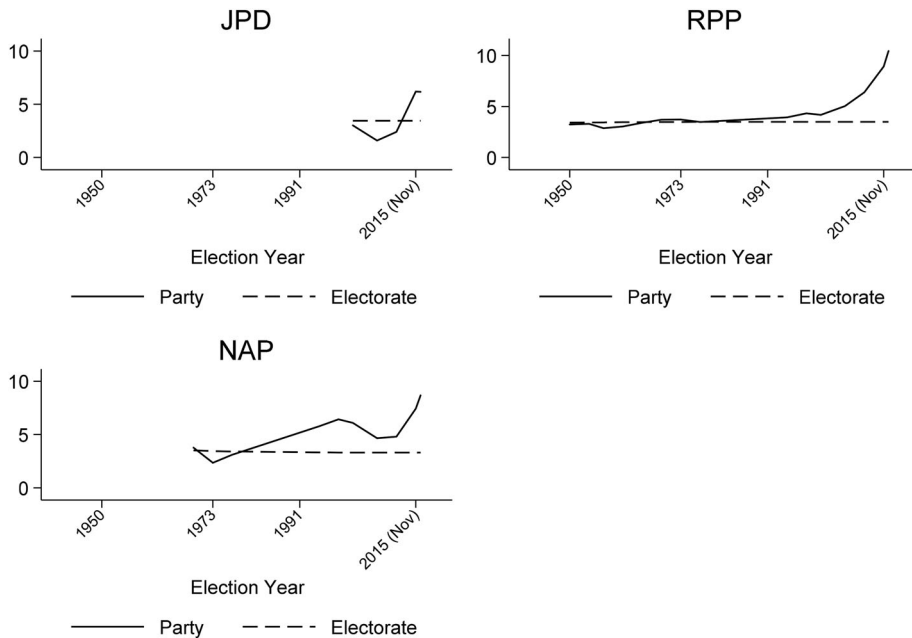


Figure 2. Democratic support.

election years.⁵¹ The figure signals a recent gradual trend of movement to the left in all the three political parties' manifesto documents. The change is gradual in the RPP⁵² and the NAP, which are relatively older political parties, but it is dramatic in the JDP which is only about sixteen years old. The RPP's left-right political positioning started almost from the very centre of the political spectrum, which corresponds to the debate over the uncertainty of the position of the party hinted at the prominent question whether the founding fathers of the party designed the party as a left-wing or right-wing party. Yet, especially after the 1970's, which corresponds to the RPP's leader Bülent Ecevit's ideological relocation of the party on the left-of-centre, the party seems to have adopted a more left-wing political position. The slope of the RPP's shift to the left is especially greater after the beginning of the 2000s, which corresponds to the establishment of the JDP and consolidating centre, centre-right and to some extent centre-left vote. Nevertheless, the 20 units overall changes in 75 years seem reasonable when we consider all the major changes in the Cold War politics during this period.

A similar trend of change, a shift in manifesto document to the left is much more dramatic in the JDP. Although it is a young political party, in only 10 years the JDP's manifesto documents made half the size of the move the RPP did in 75 years. Interpretively, the JDP's move to the left seems to have received a meaningful response from the constituency. This move to the left by the JDP corresponded to the period starting before the 2010 referendum, which was conducted to question the public's view on the military's domination in politics and supported by centre-left electorate with the motto 'yes, but not enough'.

⁵¹It should be noted that only some election years are labelled in the figures owing to reasons of space.

⁵²Although the RPP was established in 1923 the party did not enter the 1983, the 1987 and 1991 elections.

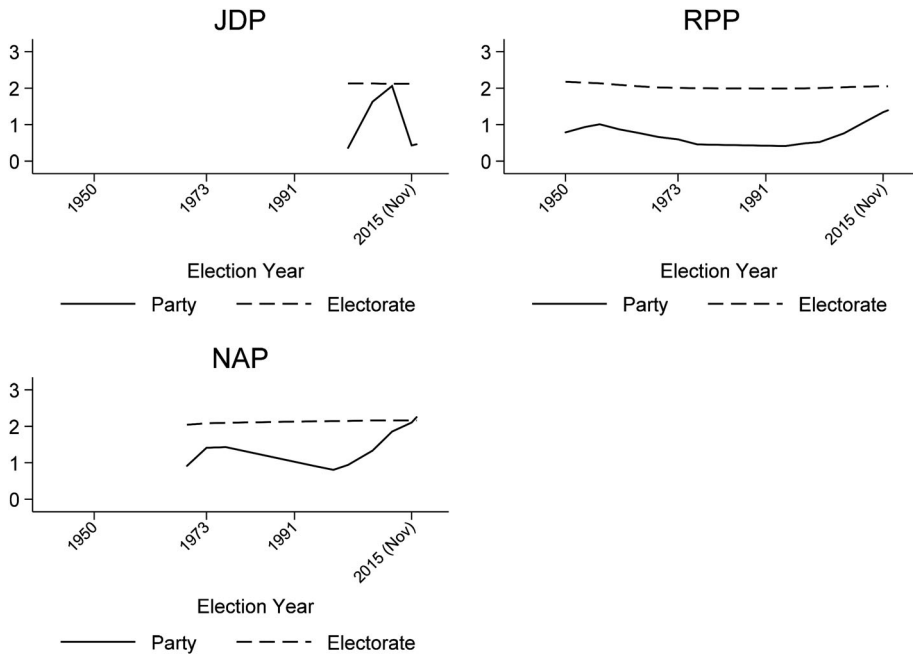


Figure 3. Support for the military.

When looked at the lines for the NAP, it is seen that although the party started with a very right-wing political position, which, in fact, is still the majority of the public's and its supporters' view about where the party is, it seems that the party gradually moved to the centre, especially after the JDP's successful consolidation of the centre and centre-right in 2000s, moved to the left side of the political spectrum. Contrary to fluctuations in the manifesto documents, when focusing on each party's electorate's left-right political position, it can be seen that they followed stable lines. The majority of the Turkish public seems to locate themselves around the centre of the political spectrum.

Figure 2 represents the findings of the same sort of an analysis applied to democratic support. It can be seen from the figure that, except for some small reverse trends, all the three major political parties in Turkey have moved from a less to a more pro-democratic position since their foundation. When examining the RPP's move over the years one can see that the party's manifestos have followed a stable trend in democratic support since its foundation until the beginning of the 2000s. We can observe a limited decline of democratic support in the RPP during the 1960s, which corresponds to the period, bringing Turkey to the 1960 coup against which allegedly the RPP did not hold a sufficiently strong stance. Nevertheless, from the beginning of the 2000s, a significant increase in democratic support can be identified in the RPP's manifesto documents.

The JDP manifesto documents seem to follow a fluctuating trend in democratic support in only sixteen years. Immediately after the foundation of the party, the JDP's manifestos started to decline in democratic support. Yet, after about the year 2007, which marks important benchmark, including the JDP's election victory and the nationalist groups' loss of power with the reactions against the killings of reporter Hrant Dink and pastor Santoro, the party has started to hold gradually increasing pro-democratic positions.

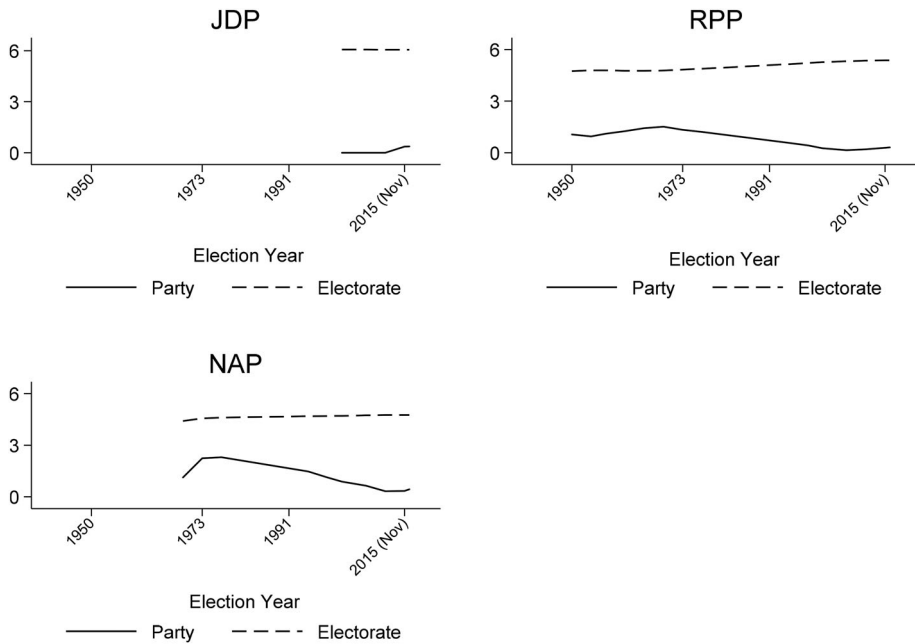


Figure 4. Support for a controlled economy.

During this period the JDP started political reforms, peace talks with the PKK, and increased negotiations for the EU membership. These trends can be followed by looking at the party's manifesto documents.

As can be seen from the graph, the NAP started from a relatively pro-democratic point in the late 1960s. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the 1970s, with the increasing rise of terror and street conflicts between the right and left-wing political groups, the NAP manifesto tone seems to show a decrease in support for democratic principles. After the 1980s, the party's support for democracy started to increase again. Indeed, the imprisonment of many NAP officials and supporters seems to have had effect of increasing the party's demand for democracy. By the beginning of the 2000s, the party's democratic support, as reflected in manifesto documents, declined but started to rise immediately afterwards. As was the case for left-right political positioning, the Turkish public's support for democracy over the years shows a stable general trend.

Figure 3 provides statistics for favourable mentions of the military in the manifestos of three major Turkish political parties and support for an army rule as the best form of government among the Turkish electorate. When the issue of support for the military is observed in the RPP manifesto documents over the years, one can see that immediately before 1960, the RPP's support for the military increased briefly that was followed by a long declining trend across the 1970s and 1980s. Since the 1980s to 2000s, the party manifestos held a stable position on the issue of support for the military. Nevertheless, after the early 2000s, parties' support for the military increased dramatically. First, after early 2000s Turkey's talks with the EU intensified and several democratization bills were passed by the parliament. This democratization environment declined the intensity of the war against the PKK. The PKK, which lost power in the early 2000s regained power and this may

have urged parties like the RPP to show its traditional reflex which is to consider the military as the fuse of the regime and the country and increased its support for it.

When the figure is read for the JDP, it can be seen that the JDP's support for the military has changed dramatically across only 15 years. Although the average support for the military was about the same as the other two parties during the establishment years of the party, it rose by more than 100% and spiked upward by about 2010. Immediately afterwards, it declined to the point where it started.

The data related to the NAP illustrates that the party's manifestos' favourable mention of the military started low in the foundation years of the party. It then increased dramatically, possibly owing to the fact that during the 1970s left wing groups gained power given the political freedom environment that the 1961 constitution provided. Yet, by the 1980s it started to decrease which may indicate that the senior official members and supporters of the NAP were also affected negatively by the military government's suppressive attitude towards all the political groups. By the 2000s the party's support for military started to rise again dramatically. It can be said that the NAP showed a similar reflex action to that of the RPP. There may also be some party-specific reasons for this rise. In particular, in 2002 elections the landslide victory of the JDP, which was then known to be an anti-system party in Turkey, may have frustrated the NAP and motivated the traditional reflex.

Figure 4 presents an overview of the three major Turkish political parties' favourable mentions for a controlled economy in their manifestos and favourable mentions of government ownership of the business and the industry of the electorate by years. As can be seen from the upper-right hand side of the figure, support for direct government control of the economy in the RPP manifesto started high and then declined gradually over the years. A certain peak during the 1970s can be observed as a reflection of strengthening left-wing movements in Turkish politics during the Cold War. This also corresponds to the era that started with a Turkish operational attempt to the Cyprus which was then cancelled. The US president Lyndon B. Johnson's letter to the Turkish Prime Minister İsmet İnönü warning Turkey not to use US aid weaponry in the operation and threatening a withdrawing of the US support against a Soviet invasion played a major role in this cancellation. This event promoted Turkey's increasing investment in the national armaments industry in order to decrease the dependency on US military aid. Yet, within ten years, Turkey was able to conduct the operation with its own means.

One can observe a similar trend, although with more dramatic fluctuations, when examining at favourable mentions of direct government control of the economy in the manifestos of the NAP. As discussed above, one can observe similar reactions of the RPP and the NAP to the similar challenges especially challenges requiring a unification of the nation.

However, as data shows from its foundation the JDP holds a distant position in relation to the direct government control of the economy. One can see this reflected in the application of the market economy model under the JDP governments. Tables 1 and 2 present the numerical illustration of the same data.

Before commencing an interpretation of the findings, it should be noted that because of missing data points, only the data that matches with the 2002, 2007, 2011 and 2015 general election years in Turkey are used. As shown in Table 3, the first set of regression analysis predicts each political party's left-right positioning by their voters' left-right self-positionings. The analysis shows that in none of the three political parties aggregated individual level left-right self-positioning has a significant effect on party's political positioning. The

Table 1. Mean values for party level political positioning.

Election years	Left-right position of party			Favourable mentions of democracy			Favourable mentions of the military			Support for direct government control of the economy		
	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP
1950	–	–5.10	–	–	0.80	–	–	0	–	–	1.50	–
1954	–	2.80	–	–	6.00	–	–	2.80	–	–	0.50	–
1957	–	21.20	–	–	5.40	–	–	0	–	–	0.80	–
1961	–	–3.60	–	–	0.80	–	–	0.80	–	–	0.20	–
1965	–	–15.80	–	–	0.20	–	–	2.10	–	–	3.40	–
1969	–	–2.60	7.67	–	0.50	4.30	–	0.10	0.74	–	1.30	0.74
1973	–	–19.50	16.50	–	4.80	1.10	–	0	1.80	–	0	3.10
1977	–	–19.10	16.50	–	8.28	1.10	–	0.60	1.80	–	3.39	3.10
1983	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1995	–	–14.89	–0.21	–	4.25	10.48	–	0	1.04	–	0	1.46
1999	–	–13.20	28.12	–	2.57	2.34	–	0	0	–	0	0
2002	5.18	–6.77	–0.42	3.02	2.01	10.13	0.36	0.23	0.42	0	0	2.49
2007	4.19	–1.18	10.74	1.59	0.74	0.96	1.63	1.49	1.99	0	0.06	0
2011	–8.97	–19.75	–6.73	2.41	3.99	2.59	2.06	0.24	1.64	0	0.20	0.06
2015 (June)	–7.79	–21.48	–3.90	6.19	9.60	8.08	0.43	1.47	2.05	0.36	0.34	0.06
2015 (November)	–7.38	–20.85	–2.49	6.16	11.07	8.22	0.46	1.59	2.31	0.37	0.26	0.66

Data: Party level Manifesto Project data, 2017a.

relationship is insignificant for the JDP ($p=0.344$), the RPP ($p=0.469$) and the NAP ($p=0.582$)⁵³ and the sign is negative for the RPP and the NAP. The second set of regression analysis estimates favourable mentions of democracy in party manifestos by voters' level of agreement with the statement related to a democratic political system. As can be seen from the related coefficient values and significance scores, for none of the three political parties, voters' level of agreement with the statement related to having a democratic government seems to predict significantly favourable mentions of democracy in the party's manifesto. The coefficient value is omitted because of collinearity for the JDP's and NAP's cases. The relationship is insignificant ($p=0.480$) and the sign is negative for the RPP. The third set of analysis predicts the relationship between the voters' level of agreement with the statement related to having army rule as the form of government and favourable mentions of military in party manifestos. As the result of the analysis shows for none of the three parties' voter statements related to the army is a significant determinant of favourable mentions of the military in the party manifesto. Nevertheless, the table shows that the sign of the relationship is positive for all the three parties, the insignificance level is higher for the JDP ($p=0.990$) than it is for the RPP ($p=0.270$) and for the NAP ($p=0.708$). The rightmost panel of the table reports regression results predicting support for direct government control of economy in party manifestos by favourable mentions of the voters regarding to the government ownership of business and industry. The analysis shows that for the JDP the relationship is insignificant ($p=0.219$), while it is significant for the RPP ($p=0.48$) and for the NAP ($p=0.32$). For the significant relationships the Adjusted R-square scores are quite high, 70 per cent for the RPP and 77 per cent for the NAP, which means that for these two parties voters' ideas on the controlled economy determines the variation in the party-level policies as revealed in the manifesto documents in a high level. Ironically, though, it seems that for

⁵³ P values are not shown in regression tables.

Table 2. Mean values for political positioning of party supporters.

Election years	Left-right self placement			Democratic support			Military support			Controlled economy		
	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP
1950	–	3.40	–	–	3.44	–	–	2.17	–	–	4.73	–
1954	–	3.34	–	–	3.41	–	–	2.20	–	–	4.82	–
1957	–	3.34	–	–	3.45	–	–	2.05	–	–	4.78	–
1961	–	3.61	–	–	3.44	–	–	2.17	–	–	4.92	–
1965	–	3.63	–	–	3.46	–	–	2.06	–	–	4.78	–
1969	–	3.47	7.44	–	3.52	3.52	–	2.04	2.05	–	4.53	4.36
1973	–	3.50	7.47	–	3.51	3.43	–	1.94	2.07	–	4.64	4.67
1977	–	3.43	7.52	–	3.50	3.37	–	1.91	2.14	–	4.92	4.68
1983	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1991	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1995	–	3.21	7.74	–	3.49	3.32	–	1.93	2.11	–	5.17	4.67
1999	–	3.19	7.68	–	3.51	3.31	–	1.99	2.15	–	5.27	4.66
2002	7.53	3.19	7.64	3.45	3.51	3.30	2.13	2.03	2.16	6.07	5.32	4.72
2007	7.45	3.20	7.66	3.45	3.50	3.30	2.13	2.05	2.17	6.07	5.35	4.75
2011	7.46	3.20	7.67	3.45	3.50	3.30	2.12	2.05	2.16	6.06	5.37	4.76
2015 (June)	7.46	3.20	7.67	3.45	3.50	3.30	2.12	2.05	2.16	6.06	5.37	4.76
2015 (November)	7.46	3.20	7.67	3.45	3.50	3.30	2.12	2.05	2.16	6.06	5.37	4.76

Data: Individual level WVS data for Turkey, rounds: 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2012.
N. of Obs.: 4.214.

the NAP the sign of the relationship is negative, which suggests that NAP's constituency's political preferences on the government's role in the economy is contradicted significantly with the parties' policy position in the same topic.

Conclusion

This research aimed to shed a light on the problem of party-voter congruence in Turkish politics. As discussed above, political parties are significant elements of a representative democratic political system, while party-voter congruence is an important indicator of representativeness. In Turkish daily political language, the representativeness problem is most frequently expressed with the ivory tower argument. When a political party or its members are accused of living in their ivory towers, this means that the advocate of this view brings the representativeness of the targeted political party or the person into question. Moreover, although in cases where the argument reflects the real situation, this could have important implications for the representativeness and legitimacy of the party system; there remains a paucity of empirical research, testing whether some political figures, this can either be a political party or a political person, have really alienated themselves from the general public. For this reason, the starting point of this research was to question whether some political parties are really distancing themselves from the values and norms of the general public in a greater degree than the others. With this research question in mind, a comparison was made of three major political parties in Turkey with their supporters and the overall public with respect to four major policy area; (a) left-right political positioning, (b) democratic support, (c) support for the military and (d) support for controlled economy. The findings allowed the achievement of a more realistic assessment of party-voter congruence problem in Turkey. As reflected in the manifesto documents, voter preferences are not a significant determining factor for the positions of political parties. This finding confirms the low level of party-voter congruence in Turkish politics. In view of these

Table 3. Regression models predicting party level policy positions by aggregated individual level policy positions for three major political parties in Turkey.

	Party level policy positions											
	Left-right position of party			Favourable mentions of democracy			Favourable mentions of the military			Support for direct government control of the economy		
	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP	JDP	RPP	NAP
Individual level policy positions	Left-right self placement	116.34 (103.83)	-904.50 (2878.58)	-172.35 (280.45)								
Democratic support				†	-434.00 (539.60)	†						
Military support							1.16 (84.08)	48.37 (35.80)	38.50 (93.55)			
Controlled economy										-24.33 (15.71)	5.64 (1.75)*	-55.74 (14.66)*
Adjusted R-squared	0.600	-0.0858	-0.1842	0.0000	-0.0968	0.0000	-0.3332	0.1711	-0.2621	0.2591	0.7012	0.7707

Data: Party level Manifesto Project data, 2017a, aggregated individual level WVS data for Turkey, rounds: 1990, 1996, 2001, 2007, 2012.

N. of Obs.: 4.214.

Note: Significance levels: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, standard errors are in parentheses.

†Omitted because of collinearity.

findings, one can argue that all the three major Turkish political parties are not listening to their supporters while producing their manifesto documents. By extension, the findings that suggest these three political parties are less representative of their grassroots values signal negative implications for both representatives of these parties and for Turkish democracy. Elites' indifference to voters' preferences, opinions and ideas make them unresponsive to their grassroots which result in the latter losing their belief, not only of their representative, but also the democratic ideal. This state of disjointedness between the Turkish political parties and their voters could potentially harm the Turkish public's belief in the democratic creed and pave the way for questioning the authority of the Turkish legislature and governments in the future. It is reported that Turkish public's rate of participation to other repertoires of political action than voting is already very low.⁵⁴ In addition to this, if people's preferences are not reflected in political policies the people may look for some undemocratic alternatives. Turkish policy-makers could consider these findings as a warning if they want to protect and further develop Turkish democratic standards.

Apart from this general finding, when the policy positions of each political party investigated here are observed over time, the findings are not surprising. Findings related to increasing levels of democratic support of three political parties are in line with the global democratization wave as well as with the democratization trend of Turkey. As Turkey applied to accede to the European Economic Community and opened accession negotiations with the European Union in 2005, which promoted the legislative, cultural and political harmonization with the European democratic nations, it is not surprising to observe an increasing level of democratic support at party level.

Owing to several military coups in the recent Turkish political history, one would expect that political parties' support for the military is on a declining trend but this is not the case. Several reasons underly this finding, including the leading role of the military in the foundation period, civil–military relations, the military's relatively quick withdrawal from the power following past coups and military's perceived position as the fuse of the regime, can be discussed in detail but this discussion is far beyond the scope of this paper.

Lastly, since Turkey has a long-lasting free market economy experience and accessed to the Customs Union in 1996, which further boosted commercial communication with the industrialized, free market economies of the Europe, it is not surprising to observe decreasing levels of support for the controlled economy on party level. However, there are some counter-trends that should be illustrated here. Although the JDP was based on a liberal economic doctrine, the party started to take steps towards nationalization of the armaments industry, strengthening the social welfare state, and price controls following the recent 2018 economic turmoil. In parallel to this, a very recent rising trend in support for direct government control of the economy can be observed in the manifesto document of the party.

These findings indicate other interesting avenues for future research. It should be stressed that this research did not provide a full account of party-voter congruence in Turkey, but the findings naturally lead to the investigation of party-voter congruence in some other issue areas. Further investigation concerning the congruence between grassroots values and party manifestos, either in relation to the opposition or government, would help to establish a greater degree of accuracy on the matter of congruence. As

⁵⁴M. İnan and M.T. Grasso, 'A Participatory Generation? The Generational and Social Class Bases of Political Activism in Turkey', *Turkish Studies* 18, (2017), pp. 10–31.

with some other indicators, a totally different picture may emerge. It is hoped that the findings of this research will contribute in several ways to our understanding of representation and party-voter congruence in Turkey.

Notes on contributor

Murat İnan is currently an Assistant Professor at the Politics and International Relations Department in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Abdullah Gül University, Turkey. He holds a BA in International Relations from Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Ege University, Turkey, an MA in European Union Studies from the Graduate School of Social Sciences, Dokuz Eylül University, Turkey, and a PhD in Politics from the Department of Politics, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. He is particularly interested in political behaviour, political tolerance, political participation, representation, political congruence, and quantitative methods in political science.

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Appendix

Variables of the analysis

Variable name	Questionnaire wording	Original value	Recoded value
Left-right self placement	In political matters, people talk of 'the left' and 'the right'. How would you place your views on this scale, generally speaking?	1=Leftmost 2= 3= 4= 5= 6= 7= 8= 9= 10=Rightmost	1=Leftmost 2= 3= 4= 5= 6= 7= 8= 9= 10=Rightmost
Democratic support	I am going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing this country. For each one, would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of governing this country?	1=Very good 2=Fairly good 3=Fairly bad 4=Very bad	1=Very bad 2=Fairly bad 3=Fairly good 4=Very good
Military support		1=Very good 2=Fairly good 3=Fairly bad 4=Very bad	1=Very bad 2=Fairly bad 3=Fairly good 4=Very good
Controlled economy	Now I'd like you to tell me your views on various issues. How would you place your views on this scale? 1 means you agree completely with the statement on the left; 10 means you agree completely with the statement on the right; and if your views fall	1= Private ownership of business and industry should be increased 2= 3= 4= 5=	1= Private ownership of business and industry should be increased 2= 3= 4= 5=

(Continued)

Continued.

Variable name	Questionnaire wording	Original value	Recoded value
	somewhere in between, you can choose any number in between.	6=	6=
		7=	7=
		8=	8=
		9=	9=
		10= Government ownership of business and industry should be increased	10= Government ownership of business and industry should be increased

GCRIS