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CHANGING TURKEY: POLITICAL PARADIGM

The article is devoted to the changes in the political paradigm of Republic of Turkey. In the article the author adheres to analysis of the results of elections held during 2002–2015 period, demonstrates electorate's views, and shows the premises of current changes in results of the voting.

Key words: Republic of Turkey, political paradigm, elections, international relations.

Republic of Turkey is an active actor of international relations; its internal policy processes as well as its steps on international scene is one of the relevant subjects of political researches. Scientific base is rather varied and is represented by the works of such researchers as Y. Gaber [7, 12], A. Guryev [4, 8, 9], G. Zyganshyna [6], N. Mosaky [5], S. Trubnycov [10] and K. Chulcovskaya [11]. As the source base statesmen's works [1, 2], official site of Central Election Commission of Republic of Turkey [3] are mentioned.

The represented article is aimed to show the main changes in the internal political paradigm of the state. Tasks of the article are to identify the main premises of current changes through the analysis of the results of elections held in Republic of Turkey during 2002–2015 period, and show its possible influence on the internal policy processes.

Republic of Turkey that transformed into politically stable and predictable state during Justice and Development Party (JDP) holding office is in change now. The first time JDP holding office the party couldn't take the majority of the votes in the current year parliamentary election.

It is possible to identify the premises of current changes through the analysis of all the results of the elections held in Republic of Turkey at the beginning of XX century. During 2002–2015 period parliamentary elections were held 4 times, local elections were held 3 times and 1 time according to the referendum decision presidential elections was held. Also at September 12, 2010 was organized initiated by JDP referendum which admitted the amendments to the Constitution of 1982.

I. Parliamentary elections

In parliamentary election of 2002 following the political crisis caused by critical contradictions appeared inside the coalition in office of that time — Democratic Left Party (DLP), Nationalistic Movement Party (NMP) and Fa-

therland Party (FP) — the victory got opposition pro-Islamic Justice and Development Party [10, P. 322]. Clear program of actions, impetuous reforms, active foreign policy based on some pan-Turkism and neo-Osmanism positions with the emphasis on such concepts as «zero-problems with neighbors», «political dialog and diplomacy», «economic interdependency» that is very close with the policy economization, «energy factor» and «different cultures and religions harmonic co-existence approach» initiated Turkey's transformation into one of the leading states of the region [1].

The factors mentioned above had given JDP the opportunity to win the next parliamentary election and form one-party government one time more that made possible then to organize two referendums which brought core amendments to all branches of power. Referendum of 2007 admitted to elect president by nation-wide voting that according to the party in office opinion presupposes the optimization of state governance, activation of economic and political reforms, foreign policy [8]. Referendum of 2010 «gave the green light» to the bringing to life amendments connected with transformation of executive and legislative branches of power. Thus, amendments were connected with changes of superior courts formation mode: enlargement of the composition of the Constitutional court from 11 to 17 members and enlargement of Superior Judicial and Public Prosecutor's Council from 7 to 22 members by acceptance to mentioned instances of ordinary judges and attorneys with the right of parliament to nominate 3 members of the Constitutional Court. Also amendments were aimed to limit the influence of army on the extension of the internal political situation and identifying of the foreign policy prerogatives of Turkish government, establish the power of the civil courts to judge armed forces personnel in case they commit crimes against state security and constitutional system. Other amendments were connected with widening of the democratic rights and freedoms for Turkish citizens and civil organizations. To the civil society was added the ombudsman institution, citizens (not only organizations but individual persons also) got the opportunity to file an appeal to the Constitutional court, public servants won the opportunity to make contracts and stage a strikes including political demands also. In general the amendments to the Constitution of 1982 accepted 57.9 % of the voters participated in referendum [4].

JDP's regular success was confirmed with the victory in the parliamentary election of 2011 that gave the party opportunity to form one-party government [9]. However parliamentary election of 2015 showed another results. JDP took 40.87 % of votes thus got 258 seats in parliament but didn't get the majority. The reasons of such results were caused by several subjective and objective factors as following: reduction of the state economic growth rate, rise of the unemployment rate up to 16 %, negative picture in the regional security sphere [3, 7].

Democratic Left Party (DLP) and Nationalistic Movement Party (NMP) in the parliamentary elections of 2002, 2007, 2011 and 2015 showed rather even results with flowing dynamics for DLP and growing dynamics for NMP. Despite this in opposition DLP — NMP tandem DLP is leading. Weakness of the

opposition, first of all, is in incapacity to work out united and clear program of actions. The opposition put the emphasis on criticism of current power instead.

During the mentioned period systematic growth of the pro-Kurdish parties support is observed. If in the elections of 2002, 2007 and 2011 seats in parliament got independent deputies who represented the interests of pro-Kurdish Peace and Democracy Party (PDP), in the elections of 2015 Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) overcame 10 % electoral threshold and thus took 13,12 % of votes and 80 seats in the parliament — equal to the quantity of seats NMP got [8, 9, 11].

Date / Party	JDP*	DLP*	NMP*	PDP* / PDP**
03.11.2002	34,28 % / 363 seats	19,39 % / 178 seats	8,36 % / 0 seats	1,0 % / 9 seats
22.07.2007	46,58 % / 341 seats	20,88 % / 112 seats	14,27 % / 70 seats	5,24 % / 26 seats
12.06.2011	49,83 % / 327 seats	25,98 % / 135 seats	13,01 % / 53 seats	6,57 % / 35 seats
07.06.2015	40,87 % / 258 seats	24,95 % / 132 seats	16,29 % / 80 seats	13,12 % / 80 seats

* Justice and Development Party

* Democratic Left Party

* Nationalistic Movement Party

* Peace and Democracy Party

** Peoples' Democratic Party [3]

Due to results of parliamentary election winner JDP began to provide consultations connected with forming of the coalition government. After the first round of negotiations held with the representatives of political forces which got seats in parliament Nationalistic Movement Party and Peoples' Democratic Party claimed that they abandon coalition negotiations. Political consultations between JDP and the main opposition force — Democratic Left Party became unsuccessful also. Thereby against a background of radical organizations revitalization and Kurdish «peace process» turn off, strengthening of the security measures and mass police raids within the framework of the anti-terrorist operation held by government, in conditions of de facto war with the «Islamic state» (IS) militants and Kurdistan Workers Party forces in Syria and Northern Iraq Turkey is on the threshold of the new electioneering. Early parliamentary elections are appointed for November 1, 2015 [12].

II. Local elections

Besides the parliamentary election an important place in the Turkey's internal politics local election holds. The reason of this is that in local election through voting not only regional government body composition but administration of the two main cities of Ankara and Istanbul also is selected. Local election results in particular show more fairly Turkish electorate views because in the regions fixed voting traditions for one or another party are

preserved frequently that gives the opportunity to observe the popularity of different political forces not only within the country but according to the regions also [6].

In local election of 2004 JDP got a confident victory. Despite the fact that election campaign of 2009 was held against a background of deep economic crisis in the country JDP held the leading positions in the local election [5]. Election results of 2014 also were marked with the victory of Justice and Development Party. According to elections results the Democratic Left Party and Nationalistic Movement Party kept rather even positions with little dominance of votes for DLP in 2004 and 2009, for NMP — in 2014. Pro-Kurdish parties that have no success in 2004 and 2009 showed significant growth in the election of 2014 [6, 8].

Date / Party	Number of votes		
	28.03.2004	29.03.2009	30.03.2014
JDP	41,673 %	38.39 %	45.43 %
DLP	18,231 %	23.08 %	16.87 %
NMP	10,451 %	15.97 %	20.71 %
PDP*	0,727 %	0.00 %	7.73 %
PDP**	–	–	0.38 %

[3].

III. Presidential election

August 10, 2014 in Turkey was held first presidential election according to which president was elected by popular vote. All three presidential candidates symbolize consensus over dissension, as they demonstrated similar political values in support of basic rights and liberties. The main shortcoming of the İhsanoğlu and Demirtaş campaigns, however, resided in their failure to convince the electorate of their ability to do a better job than Erdoğan in solving the constitutional challenges facing Turkey [2]. The victory in the election got Recep Tayyip Erdogan. His opponents — united candidate from Democratic Left Party and Nationalistic Movement Party Ekmeleddin İnsanoğlu and a candidate from Peoples' Democratic Party Selahattin Demirtaş got much less votes. Pro-Kurdish party candidate was the second-best and had much more better results than the united DLP and NMP candidate. It has to be mentioned that it's the first time in Turkey's republican history when Kurd representative takes part in the presidential election [8, 11].

Candidates	Number of votes
Recep Tayyip Erdogan (JDP)	51,79 %
Ekmeleddin Insanoglu (DLP/NMP)	9,76 %
Selahattin Demirtash (PDP**)	38,44 %

[3].

Conclusions

Thus, making the analysis of Turkey's internal policy processes, results of parliamentary, presidential and local elections of 2002–2015 period the following conclusions can be drawn. Despite the popularity of Justice and De-

velopment Party that has been in office for about 13 years significant change of electorate's views is observed. In 2014–2015 for the first time political authority gained pro-Kurdish political force thus changing traditionally existing political balance. If earlier JDP and R. T. Erdogan in particular was perceived as power that start «Kurdish peace process» and got significant results in stabilization of South-Eastern part of Turkey now electorates' views transformation and formation of easily gaining popularity new pro-Kurdish political force that is capable to influence on internal policy processes of the country is observed. In this situation results of the early parliamentary election in many respects depends on the capability of JDP and personally R. T. Erdogan to settle the destabilization of Turkey's South-Eastern region and confront the increased security threats and the strategy of Peoples' Democratic Party behavior, its capability to take effective decisions for settlement of current security crisis.

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МЕНЯЮЩАЯСЯ ТУРЦИЯ: ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ПАРАДИГМА

Резюме

Статья посвящена переменам во внутривнутриполитической парадигме Турецкой Республики. В статье проведен анализ результатов выборов периода 2002–2015 годов, показаны основные предпочтения электората, указаны предпосылки текущих изменений в результатах голосования.

Ключевые слова: Турецкая Республика, политическая парадигма, выборы, международные отношения.

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МІНЛИВА ТУРЕЧЧИНА: ПОЛІТИЧНА ПАРАДИГМА

Резюме

Стаття присвячена змінам у внутрішньополітичній парадигмі Турецької Республіки. В статті проведено аналіз результатів виборів періоду 2002–2015 років, показані основні вподобання електорату, вказані передумови поточних змін в результатах голосування.

Ключові слова: Турецька Республіка, політична парадигма, вибори, міжнародні відносини.