ELECTIONS AND ELECTION SYSTEMS IN TURKEY AFTER THE TRANSITION TO THE MULTI-PARTY PERIOD

TÜRKİYE'DE ÇOK PARTİLİ DÖNEME GEÇİŞTEN İTİBAREN YAPILAN SEÇİMLER VE UYGULANAN SEÇİM SİSTEMLERİ

Meltem HAYTOGLU[1]

Abstract

Electoral systems are political instruments that enable elected thoughts and political tendencies to be represented. The electoral systems, which are formed on two basic principles of justice in representation and stability in governing, are divided into two groups as proportional representation and majority vote systems. Many proposals do arrive most beneficial voting systems to be applied before every general election in Turkey. The experience of different electoral systems, Turkey has had over the last 60 years has resulted in the establishment of coalition and single party governments. The d'Hondt system, which has been preferred since 1969, has always been to the benefit of powerful parties as it is implemented with the electoral threshold. The electoral threshold in Turkey is quite high compared to other modern democracies. The ideal system for Turkey is a system in which there is no electoral threshold, each region is represented in equal proportions according to population density, voters do not have strategic voting anxiety and vote-chair distribution is fair. Framework of this study contains implemented election systems in Turkey and within this context analysis of their succeeding results.

Keywords: Political Elections, Elections in Turkey, d'Hondt System, Electoral Thresholds

Özet

Türkiye'nin son 60 yıldır geçirmiş olduğu farklı seçim sistemleri deneyimi koalisyon ve tek parti hükümetlerinin kurulması sonucunu doğurmuştur. 1969'dan bu yana tercih edilen d'Hondt sistemi seçim barajıyla birlikte uygulandığı için her zaman güçlü partilerin yararına işlemiştir. Türkiye'de uygulanan bu baraj, diğer modern demokrasilerle karşılaştırıldığında oldukça yüksek düzeydedir. Türkiye için ideal olan sistem, seçim barajının olmadığı, her bölgenin nüfus yoğunluğuna göre eşit oranda temsil edildiği, seçmenin stratejik oy kullanma kaygısı taşımadığı ve oy-sandalye dağılımının adaletli olduğu bir sistemdir. 2017 yılının ilk aylarında Türkiye'de sistem tartışmaları devam ederken dar bölgeli veya daraltılmış bölgeli çoğunluk seçim sistemi üzerinde durulan bir model olarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Çalışmanın konusu, Türkiye'de kullanılan seçim sistemleri ve bu bağlamda seçim sonuçlarının analizinin yapılmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Seçimler, Türkiye'de Seçimler, d'hondt Seçim Sistemi, Seçim Barajı

[1] Arş. Gör., Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi ABD, meltem_amber@hotmail.com

INTRODUCTION

In 1876 the electoral system and multi-party life began in Turkey. Although the process to date has been much debated, there have been many exchanges. As a result, there is no consensus on the whole. Discussions about the electoral system are notably increasing in the coming election periods. Importantly, the party that receives the most votes is not willing to change the existing electoral system that gives it an advantage. But the parties that weren't able pass the election threshold keep the system change on their agenda nevertheless. The electoral systems are in a wide range. Indeed, two groups are separated in this range, giving a place for dichotomization. On the one hand there is a majority system. And, on the other side, there exists a relative representation system. In light of evidence since 1960, Turkey has tried both systems for 56 years and finally decided in the d'Hondt method which is a kind of relative representation. D'Hondt is a method that operates for the benefit of large parties but allows small parties to enter parliament in accordance with the nature of relative representation, today.

The election system in Turkey, especially after the 1980 military coup, is still in force. The electoral system in effect since the 1982 constitutional process was regulated by the intention of establishing stable governments. Therefore, many quotas have been put in practice at high levels either in regional and country level or in some periods only at country levels. That is say, it was deemed appropriate to put the election threshold method. The double-electoral threshold based d'Hont method, which was put into practice in 1982, took its present form with an arrangement made in 1995. This system can be defined as d'Hondt with 10% country wide electoral threshold today. Moreover; an election law was also created to support this system.

Election systems affect voting preferences, number of political parties and government form in the country where it is applied. It is extremely important for each country to determine the appropriate electoral system for its political and cultural structure. Turkey is a country that has different ethnic, religious and cultural identities, has a rapid population growth and is struggling with immigration problems. The electoral threshold based d'Hondt system provided a multi-party structure. The fact remains that this system, somehow, has also prevented the reflection of votes in a fair way towards the parliament. The creation of stable governments was, in fact, adopted in the electoral code, previously mentioned. However, until 2002, it has also led to the formation of many coalitions.

The electoral threshold as 10% based system in Turkey sustained that a single party government came out after the year 2002 up until today, following the all parliamentary elections behind socio-economic, cultural and political developments as well. In this respect, it is obvious that the electoral system in practice was not the only factor to determine the results of winning elections.

In this study, the two basic methods of election systems are explained briefly, and then the periods they applied in Turkey and how they affected the outcomes of the election in each period are also examined. The study is based on the method of scanning relevant literature and resources and concluded with the relevant inferences and evaluation.

1. A Brief Summary of Election Systems Applied in Turkey

Herein, brief descriptions have been made in order to better commentate the election systems mentioned in the study.

1.1. Simple majority rule by list in elections

The simple majority rule by the list is one of the varieties of the majority selection system. The essence of majority systems depends on a principle. At the end of the election, the candidate receiving majority of the votes or party elections is considered to have won. Thus, the main purpose of the majority system is seen identical to the aim on emergence of a strong government. Therefore, the principle of stability in utility or governance is described as the forerunner in majority electoral systems (Yavaşgel, 2004: 87).

The majority system is divided into three groups according to the number of elections and the number of elected ones in the same region. These are the one person and one-round election system (single member district system), the absolute majority system and the listed majority system. The majority system by list is not concerned with voting pattern of elector. Instead, it is related with the presentation patterns about candidates to be presented for voters. Every elections by list are multi-nominal, but every multi-nominal elections are not the ones by list. Indeed, when the voter uses the ballot with a list, it is names as an election by list. Herein, more than one candidate is voted, so it is also named as multi-nominal election (Teziç, 2003: 281-282). The majority system by list can be one-round or two-round. The country, an election to be held can be divided into different electoral areas where more than one deputy is going to be elected from each electoral district. Each party puts the same number of candidates to be elected in the electoral areas to their own lists and present it to the electors. Great electoral districts are the subjects for competing party lists in order to win two or more representatives. In the one round majority system by list, no criteria for qualified majority is demanded, so all the candidates in the list of party which gained the majority of votes can get into the parliament (Armaoğlu, 1953:43).

One round majority system by mixed member list was seen proper to apply for voters on the date June 5th, 1946 by the law named as Representatives Election Law, numbered 4918. In the mixed member list, voters could make whatever change they want in the list determined by the party. They had the right to rub off the name of a candidate in the list, and write new names from different parties' lists (Özbudun, 2009: 271).

1.2. National remainder election system

National remainder system is one of the proportion election systems. Proportion election is among the election systems in which the relation between the votes and chairs is described in a more proportional manner, by juxtaposing those terms. Hence, the equitable principle is given a particular importance. Some prerequisites are also needed in order to make the proportional election system applicable. The most important one among those prerequisites is the one on determining the size of electoral areas. In order to determine the number of chairs in the parliament, via the number of votes in proportional terms, the secondary prerequisite in the proportion election system is described as finding the number of elections (election quotas). After the district-election number were determined and the first distribution of chairs was performed, the remaining votes of parties and the exposed deputies are centered at the national level by the system known as national remainder system. The distribution of chairs across the lists is performed according to the proportion election in the great election areas before the remaining votes are evaluated at the national level. The remaining votes of each party at the national level are collected under the scope of national election area which cover the all election districts in which the elections are performed, and this total number is divided by the nationwide exposed deputy number, then the national election number is gained. How many elections exists in

the remaining vote of a party also determines how many deputies this party wins more owing to its remaining votes (Yavaşgel, 2004: 119).

The national remaining was prescribed in the law numbered as 533 on the date February 13th 1965, in Turkey. This was applied for the general elections of the year 1965, the Republican Senate Group B renewal in 1965 and the by elections of Republican Senate and National Assembly. Indeed, the country was divided by the number of provinces into electoral areas, and then the district election number was calculated. Herein, the parties gained the number of chairs in the parliament, which is proportional to the votes they received.

1.3. D' Hondt election system

D'Hondt procedure is the method which was developed in order to find a solution for the problem about remaining vote and undetermined chair. The votes received by the political party lists in an electoral district are divided by firstly 1 and then 2, 3, 4, 5 and etc. This process can be continued to reach the number of representatives to be deputed, if it is needed. The numbers which were received after the divisions are sorted large to small, without practicing favoritism on parties, in a process to reach the number of representatives to be provided. However, the independent candidates are not subjected to the division (Varlık, Ören, 2001: 45).

As in all other relative representation systems, the system must be applied in a wide range of electoral districts so that the d' Hondt system can also provide fair results. The statements on deputing representatives in the ratio of great election area's size mean that the possibility on deputing representatives by small parties would be high at the same degree with this manner (Özbudun, 1995: 527).

In Turkey, since 1961 up until today, d' Hondt system has been used for all parliamentary elections and by-elections, except for 1965 and 1966 elections. In addition to this, it has also been applied for general provincial council and municipal council elections since 1963. D-Hondt system is applied with runoff electoral threshold in all elections at national and electoral area level, or being only with single electoral threshold at national level, except for the period between 1969 and 1980.

2. Election Results and Election Systems Applied in Turkey since 1950

After World War II, Turkish democracy shifted to a multiparty political system. During this process, it was interrupted three times by military coups. In addition to this, there were prepared 2 new constitutions and created 6 different electoral systems. In this subsection, the legal regulations in election law were paid attention. Herein, subheadings are also defined in this direction.

Table 1: Election Systems and Governmental Forms in Turkey since 1950

Period	Election System	Governmental Form
1950-1960	Simple Majority By List	Single Party
1960-1965	d'Hondt with Electoral Area Threshold	Minority Government + Coalitions
1965-1969	National Remaining (Territorial Surplus)	Coalitions
1969-1980	d'Hondt without threshold	Minority Government + Coalitions
1983-1987	d'Hondt with Runoff Electoral Threshold	Single Party
1987-1995	d'Hondt with Runoff Electoral Threshold + Contingent Candidacy	Single Party+ Coalitions
1995-1999	d'Hondt with national threshold as 10%	Coalitions
1999-2002	d'Hondt with national threshold as 10%	Coalitions
2002-2015	d'Hondt with national threshold as 10%	Single Party

As is seen in Table 1 above, it can be stated hereby that the election systems applied in Turkey across different periods can be seen among the factors upon shaping the form of government.

2.1. Multi period regime for the period between 1946 and 1960 and first elections

From the year 1923 towards the end of Second World War, Turkey was ruled by single party regime except for the existence of Progressive Republican Party (1924-1925), which served in a short term, and Republican Free Party (1930). In his opening speech of parliament (Turkish Grand National Assembly) on November 1st, 1945, the former President of Republic İsmet İnönü stated that trustworthy opposition parties were needed and provided an opportunity for establishing the opposition parties (Heper, 2011:177-178). Following this, on December 1st 1945, four deputies who left Republican People's Party (RPP) as Celal Bayar, Adnan Menderes, Fuad Köprülü ve Refik Koraltan declared that they would establish a new political party, and then the Democrat Party (DP) was founded on January 7th, 1956 by them. Afterwards, again following the establishment of Democrat Party, many other parties were also established in order to bring their political views to the parliament. Thereby, a transition to a multi-party regime was realized in Turkey, and then the first competitive elections were held in the same year. In the year 1946, the Election Law on Being Member of Parliament was abolished, and then the Law of Electing Deputies was enacted. In the new law, it was prescribed that one round or monograde election principle would be applied for elections. Moreover, candidates' obligation on being at the list of political party in order to participate the elections was also abolished (Aydoğdu, 2015: 169).

This period covers the elections of 1946, 1950, 1954 and 1957 in which two party regime was dominated. At these election, the simple majority method by list was applied, in spite of the objections of DP on proportional representation for all these elections. This method led to the emergence of representation injustice in the parliament.

The parliamentary election which was held in 1946, followed the open voting and secret counting principle and accorded the majority system, in addition to the judicial

inspection procedures. Republican People's Party, Democrat Party, Nationalist Peasant Party and some newly established small parties participated in the election. As a result of the election, 465 deputies at total got into parliament, in which 395 deputies from RPP, 66 from DP and 4 independent deputies existed. DP dramatically increased its number of chairs in the parliament, though it could be the ruling party in the term (Koçak, 2002:182). The election in 1946 is accepted as the first election of multi-party regime in which the electors directly returned their own deputies. After this election, the discussions about the election safety was begun, and then the criticism of DP on election methods increased pressures on RPP about this issue (Karamustafaoğlu, 1970: 108).

The new election law was accepted on the date February 16th, 1950 in Turkish Grand National Assembly, so the very first election law in new multi-party regime was started in this respect. According to the law numbered 5545, the election system was not changed, and the simple majority rule was preserved. However, holding elections as one round with general and secret free voting, giving permission for the political party representatives" being in the councils of ballot boxes, applying the principle on secret voting and open counting and accepting the judicial control based holding for elections as a principle were all prescribed. High Election Council was established by this law. Following this newly introduced law, new elections were held on May 14th, 1950 (Koçak, 2002: 192-193), and those results are obtained as

- Democratic Party along with 53.3 % voting rate and 408 deputies,
- Republican People's Party along with 39.9 % voting rate and 69 deputies,
- Nation Party along with 3.1 % voting rate 1 and deputy,
- Independents along with 4.8 % voting rate and 9 deputies come to the election's conclusion.

Looking at the results of elections, the ruling party position was transferred from RPP to DP, and the opinion that the sovereign party position could be changed via the votes of electors became a common view in the society. Hence, in the sphere of political participation the biggest revolution was occurred (Eroğul, 2015: 229). Celal Bayar became the President of Republic and the cabinet was established under the Prime Ministry of Adnan Menderes. The liberal view was added up with the common economic, political and social unhappiness, which was commonly felt throughout world after Second World War, and then these circumstances facilitated DP's becoming sovereign ruling party. As a result of simple majority system, DP gained the right on representation which is highly more than the votes gained, via being reflected by the number of seats in parliament.

The general elections held on May 2nd, 1954 was realized on an atmosphere in which political polarization emerged. According to the election results (rapory.tuik.gov.tr);

- Democratic Party owing to the voting rate as 58.4 % gained the number of deputies as 503,
- Republican Peoples Party owing to the voting rate as 35.1 % reached the number of deputies as 31,
- Republican Nation Party owing to the voting rate as 5.3 % achieved the number of deputies as 5
- Independents received the number of 2 for deputies
- At total the number, 541 was reached.

Following result of the elections held in 1954, another change in the elections regime was discussed as a necessity. However, DP deputies brought new regulations to strengthen the position of sovereign ruling party via Election Code (Aydoğdu, 2015: 172):

- A prohibition on declaring common list by political parties was prescribed, and the collaborations in elections was ceased.
- An individual who became candidate from a political party, though didn't exist in the list of this political party was banned from being in the list of another political party or independent candidate.
- Civil servants would have been bound to the prerequisites on resigning their offices before at least six month, if they had wanted to be a candidate.
- Propaganda throughout the elections were banned.
- In addition to this, a new article was prescribed in order to sustain that the deputies having left DP and founded Liberal Party couldn't be reelected. In this respect, it was stipulated that parties could only take part in the elections for the provinces in which they could have established provincial and district level political party organizations (Üste, 1999:166).

General election results in the year can be seen in the following data (Akşin, 2002: 218):
- DP achieved 48% voting rate and gained 424 seats for deputies,
- RPP reached 41% voting rate and gained 178 seats for deputies,
- Republican Nation Party (RNP) received 7.1 % voting rate and gained 4 seats for deputies
- Liberal Party reached %3.9 voting rate and gained 4 seats for deputies
- At total the number, 610 was reached

Although DP won the elections, its voting rate was comparatively lower than its position in previous elections. Because of the unjust distribution, which was created by the election system, DP could be the single ruling party, whilst the bigger pie of the total votes coming from opposition parties. Due to some policies carried out by DP and the increasing tension which had been resulted from polarization in society, Turkish Armed Forces seized power along with a group of colonels and lower rank holders on May 27th, 1960, in other words a coup was staged. In this respect, the multi-party period which was started in 1949 was interrupted by the military coup of 1960.

2. 2. The elections held in the interim period as 1961- 1980 signified with coups

After the military coup on May 27th, 1960, the powers of parliament and other institutions were transferred to National Unity Committee (NUC). NUC introduced a new law in which it was prescribed that a new constitutional law and election law would be prepared by a new Constitutional Assembly. In the same law, it was also declared that a New Constitutional Law Commission, composed by 20 members and also again a twenty-member Election Commission would be founded. The Constitutional Law Commission accepted the new constitutional law which was prepared on May 27th 1961 (Aydoğdu, 2015:174). This constitutional law established the National Security Council and Constitutional Court. It increased the power of the Council of State and brought autonomy for universities and Turkish Radio And Television Corporation (Heper, 2011:154). Freedoms were strengthened in this time, which was not previously seen insofar, so various citizen communities got together in order to campaign in an aim to declare their views or interests and proclaim them from the sovereign political authority (Eroğul, 2015:229).

The Election Commission introduced three different codes, which were all related with election law. These were (i) The Law about the Election of the Members of Republican Senate numbered as 304 (ii) The Law on Election of Deputies numbered as 306 and (iii) The Law about the Key Provisions of Elections and Electoral Rolls numbered as 298. In this respect, a new structure which was bicameral was introduced. Looking at

all these codes, it was prescribed that the elections would be held as universal direct suffrage and by the principle as equal and secret vote. The legal age on being an elector is determined as 21. In addition to this, it was introduced that the ministers of justice, internal affairs and transportation would retire from their offices in order that elections could be held impartially, and the intervention of sovereign ruling party could be reduced before the National Parliament elections (Alkan, 1999:56). According to the Law about the Election of Republican Senate Members numbered as 304, every Turkish citizen who was older than 40 years old, being university graduate, not restricted on using civil rights, having no political party membership before would had the right on being elected as Senate member. Mixed list method was used in elections. Elections were held as to the one round majority system by single name for the areas in which only one member would be elected. On the other hand, the elections in the areas where more than one member would be elected were decided to be held via one round majority system by list. Owing to the legal amendment, introduced in 196, the election method which would be used for the elections of Senate was determined as d'Hondt. The Senate which was established by the Constitutional Law of the year 1961 was abolished by the military coup of the year 1980. Looking at this interim period, which lasted for 19 years, 10 different elections for Senate were held (Aydoğdu, 2015:177).

The Law on the Election of Deputies Numbered as 306 prescribed election threshold based d'Hondt method as a new election system, as this method was one of proportional election systems. Along with this law, every province was accepted as an electoral district for parliament elections which was composed by 450 members, after elections. Another renewal which was brought by this law was that the preferred list method was accepted in the distribution of political party lists of deputies. Thus, the candidates will be determined in line with the preferences of the voters in the list of the political parties. In other words, it will emerge as much as the number that the party has obtained from the deputies sharing in this election circle. They will be selected according to the order of preference (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1996: 114-115). The Constitutional Law of 1961 was accepted and came to power with the affirmative vote as "Yes" at 61.7 % voting rate, in a referendum held on July 9th, 1961. The vote as "No" was at the voting rate as 38.3%, and this share can be accepted as high rate if we pay attention the government propagandas on behalf of constitutional law. This situation gives an idea about Menderes supporters. It shows that these voters voted against the referendum, even though there was no propaganda work (Zürcher, 2009:357).

During and after the preparation of the Constitution of 1961, there have been intensive debates on electoral systems in Turkey. All elections since this period have a common aspect. In all, different forms of the proportional representation system have been applied (Yavaşgel, 2004: 162). After the March 12 coup d'état, no consensus was reached on all political parties in all elections until 1987, except for the 1973 elections. Indeed, this system was built on a mutual relation between ruling party and opposition party, established by mutual insecurity (Sertel ve Kalaycıoğlu, 1995: 23). Since 1970, coalition periods have begun. Serious government crises have been experienced in Turkey. There were oppositionists who did not support the coalitions and did not believe in the regime. As a result, instability has manifested itself in this period. By the date on September 12th 1980, the country was ruled by coalitions. Twelve governments were established in the 10 years between 1970 and 1980. This has emerged as a political problem in terms of stability (Kuzu, 1999: 255-256).

The result of the general election of deputies made on 15 October 1961 is as follows (Özdemir, 2002: 242):

- Republican Peoples Party gained the voting rate as 36.7 % reached 173 deputies
- Justice Party gained the voting rate as 34.7 % reached 158 deputies
- New Turkey Party gained the voting rate as 13.9 % reached 65 deputies
- Republican Peasant Nation Party gained the voting rate as 13.7 % reached 54 deputies
- At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

The majority system was applied for the election of the Republic Senate. The results are as follows:

- Justice Party gained the voting rate as 35.4% reached 71 senators.
- Republican Peoples Party gained the voting rate as 37.2 % reached 36 senators.
- New Turkey Party gained the voting rate as 13.9 % reached 27 senators.
- Republican Peasant Nation Party gained the voting rate as 13.4 % reached 16 senators.
- At total, the number of senators as 150 was reached.

In the 1961 elections, the CHP lost the vote compared to the elections of 1957, despite being the first party with votes seen in ballot box results. Apart from this, the AP and the New Turkey Party, which are in second place, shared the votes of DP. Republican Peasant Nation Party received votes from the countryside and benefited from the CHP's regression (Özdemir, 2002: 243). In the 1961 elections, no party could reach the number of deputies that could form the government alone. For the first time in the history of Turkish democracy, a coalition government was established in this period. President of Republic Cemal Gürsel gave the task of forming the government to the RPP leader İsmet İnönü. RRP reached the elected deputy number as 173. İnönü agrees with the JP which had reached the number 158 for newly elected deputies. On the date 20th November, 1961, the 26th government of Turkish Republic was founded, following this coalition. This very first coalition government lived only 7 months (Aydoğdu, 2015: 175). Up until the year as 1965, which was the next specific date for elections, four coalition governments was established, indeed three of them was founded under the leadership of İsmet İnönü.

In the month of February of 1965, new amendments were prescribed for election law, and then a new election law was introduced in July. It was also called Political Parties Code. In addition to this, by the law numbered as 533, the national remainder system was determined as the new election method on the date February 13th, 1965.

According to the national remainder system, the remaining votes which couldn't be evaluated in a specific electoral district were going to be integrated at country level. It was envisaged that these would be distributed among the parties, and then the remaining chairs would be divided again among the parties (Özdemir, 2002: 250). Another change has been made in the electoral system. It is now decided to use the combined ballot papers in the elections.

Before the elections of the year 1965, RPP chose its side as "the left of center" in the political sphere. The leadership position of JP was transferred to Süleyman Demirel. The results of the general elections held on October 10th, 1965 can be seen below as (Güvenç and Kirmanoğlu, 2009: 55):

- Justice Party gained the voting rate as 52.67 % and reached 240 deputies,
- Republican Peoples Party gained the voting rate as 28.87 % and reached 134 deputies,
- Nation Party gained the voting rate as 6.29 % and reached 31 deputies,
- New Turkey Party gained the voting rate as 3.74 % and reached 19 deputies,

- Turkey Labor Party gained the voting rate as 2.98 % and reached 15 deputies,
- Republican Peasant Nation Party gained the voting rate as 2.25 % and reached 11 deputies,
- One independent deputy was elected,
- At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

As a result of the new election process, after the 1965 elections, small parties also won representation in the parliament. Justice on the spot is fully implemented. Despite the new electoral system, JP took a large part of the votes. On October 27th, 1965, it established the government alone. The vote distribution in the elections shows that the JP has received DP votes.

In 1968, the JP government prepared a new election law. It brought the electoral threshold d' Hondt system as the method of choice. However, the application of the electoral threshold was canceled by the Constitutional Court on the grounds that it is contrary to the principle of equality. Essentially, the d'Hondt method has been adopted without an electoral threshold.

According to the parliamentary general elections held on October 12th, 1969, the following results are obtained below (Alkan, 1999:57):
- Justice Party gained the voting rate as 47% and reached 256 deputies,
- Republican Peoples Party gained the voting rate as 27.3% and reached 143 deputies,
- Republican Trust Party gained the voting rate as 6.6% and reached 15 deputies,
- Turkey Union Party gained the voting rate as 2.8% and reached 8 deputies,
- Nation Party gained the voting rate as 3.2 % and reached 6 deputies,
- New Turkey Party gained the voting rate as 2.4 % and reached 6 deputies,
- Turkey Labor Party gained the voting rate as 2.7 % and reached 2 deputies,
- Nationalist Movement Party gained the voting rate as 3 % and reached 1 deputy,
- Independents gained the voting rate as 5.7 % and reached 13 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

Although the JP lost some votes in the aftermath of the 1969 elections, it maintained the position having the majority of deputies in the parliament and formed a government by itself. Despite the fact that the electoral system changed, the d'Hondt method, a type of proportional representation, enabled small parties to be represented in parliament.

In December 1970, 41 deputies and senators from the JP left and established the DP again under the leadership of former President of National Assembly who was Ferruh Bozbeyli. The Government of Demirel, on 12 March 1971, was fallen by the will of the Turkish Armed Forces. In 1973 and 1977 parliamentary general elections were held. Unstable coalition governments formed as a result of elections (Zürcher, 2009: 366). The instability of the government after the 1977 elections brought social unrests. The escalation of the tension between the right-left conflict and the events that took place on May 1, 1977 completely polarized society. The economic crisis has also been added to all these negativities. On September 12, 1980 the third military coup took place in Turkey.

During the 1961 Constitution, d'Hondt and the national electoral system were tried. At this time, the national remnant system has been more successful in terms of justice in representation. The d'Hondt system allows small parties to enter the parliament, but it is a system that protects the interests of large parties. However, the two electoral systems were under the influence of memorandums and minors. In other words, they

have not been able to remedy the formation of coalition governments. The pluralistic democracy institutions brought by the 1961 Constitution are important. Here, in line with the basic rights and freedoms regulations, important regulations have also been made about election principles and electoral system. During the period 1946-1960, the majority system, which produced extremely disproportionate results, was abolished. Instead, the proportional representation system adopted until 1980 was applied. Among the different electoral systems implemented in Turkey, the system with the highest degree of proportionality was the one applied the interim period as 1961-1980, known as proportional representation

2. 3. Constitutional law of 1982 and its own period along with 1983 elections

Before the September 12 coup d'état, many negativities began to take place in Turkey, especially in the economy and politics. Between 1970 and 1980, increased security issues were an important issue. The clogged political system and the collapsing economy prepare the substructure of the coup. The social turmoil started. Every day an average of 30 people lost their lives because of the social chaos. According to Kongar, among the reasons that prepared the September 12th coup (Kongar, 2006: 206-208) the following ones can be recalled;

- The fact that the class structure and body politic of Turkey didn't come to a stage where it would produce and support a true democracy,
- The Cold War continued in the world at full speed. As a result, a bipolar world was formed and Turkey was on the US side.
- There was no life safety in the country
- All the democratic institutions and organizations in the country had to be rearranged.
- There was a reaction to the 1961 Constitution. In addition to this, there is a need to reorganize the constitution.

The minority government established by Demirel after the 1977 elections, and then it became the beginning of an important period. In this period, "24 January Resolutions" prepared by Turgut Özal entered into force in order to be able to come up with solutions to economic turmoil. In line with the January 24th decisions, the trade was liberalized and the money rate of Turkish lira was reduced. In addition to this, controls over prices and interest rates were gradually phased out. Thus, the traditional import control is abandoned in the name of increasing exports. Negotiations have begun to reorganize foreign borrowing. External financing has become accessible. As a result of the measures taken, inflation from the level as 110% began to fall since 1980. For example, in 1981, consumer prices' fell realized as much as 37% (Mango, 1995: 39).

In Turkey, a statement was announced in the broadcasting channels, on behalf of the military junta at 4.30 am on September 12, 1980. Along with the report read here, the Armed Forces stated that the organs of the state were not acting. For this reason, it was also declared that military forces confiscated the country's government. The declaration also stated that the parliament is adjourned, that the ministers' board is terminated. Besides, the legislative immunity of members of the National Assembly was abolished. The activities of all political parties in the country have stopped. The activities of the two trade union confederations, the Revolutionary Trade Union Confederation (DISK in Turkish) and the Nationalist Confederation of Trade Unions (MISK in Turkish), were also suspended. In addition, all political party leaders have been arrested. All the power was transferred into the hands of the army. Those powers were gathered in the hands of the National Security Council, in which Chief of General Staff Full General Kenan Evren became president (Zürcher, 2009: 401).

The National Security Council (NSC) stated in the new law that on 26.06.1981 it was necessary to establish a Constituent Assembly in order to prepare a new constitution. The Constituent Assembly consists of the NSC and the Advisory Council. The Advisory Council, which consists of 160 people, has established a Constitutional Commission composed of 15 people elected among them. It has been presented to the public on November 7, 1982, after the constitutional draft prepared by the constituent assembly was discussed and accepted with the voting rate 92% giving the answer "Yes". Kenan Evren was elected as the new president by popular vote (Ertan, 1994: 28). Along with the 1982 Constitution, general elections are based on three basic laws. These are the Law on Basic Provisions of Elections and Voter Rolls (298-26.4.1961), the Parliamentary Election Law (2839-10.6.1983) and the Political Parties Act (2820-22.4.1983).

As is existed in the 55th article of the 1961's Constitutional Law, the 1982 Constitution envisages the provision in its Article 67 which prescribed that "elections and referenda will be held under the jurisdiction and legal control in accordance with the principles of free, equal, secret voting, one round, general vote, open counting and casting". Thus, the basic principles of the electoral law have been preserved. The Constitution protects electoral law permanence as a rule. Unlike the 1961 Constitution, the 1982 Constitution envisaged a unicameral parliament. The number of deputies in the 75th article is 400. Later on in 1987, amendment to Law No. 3361 was made. With the change made, this number was increased to 450 before. With the Law No. 4121 dated 23.7.1995, the number of deputies increased to 550 fixed numbers (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1996: 122). The law on election of deputies dated 10.06.1983 and no. 2839 prescribes a mixed regime. According to the law, the choice of deputies in Turkey will be made according to the proportional representation system. However, it was requested that the small parties should not interfere with the distribution of votes. In order to stabilize the continuity of governments in parliamentary activities, the country adopted the two-electoral threshold based d'Hondt system, which were composed by country wide and electoral district stages (Kuzu, 1999: 255-256). According to the Law on the Election of Deputies, each province was accepted as an electoral district. It was predicted that the number of deputies would be determined according to the population of the provinces. The provinces which reached more than seven deputies, were actually divided by more than one electoral districts. Political parties participating in the election have been required to nominate twice as many candidates as parliamentarians to be elected (Aydoğdu, 2015: 180).

According to the 33th article of the law, it was introduced that "The political parties having not exceed the 10 % of the all votes, being valid for all electoral districts in which elections were held, in the by-elections can't make a deputy". In the 34th article, it was prescribed that "The deputyship is not given to the independent candidates or the political parties who reached less votes than the value obtained via dividing the number of valid votes by the number of deputies coming from this electoral district (Özbudun, 2011: 530).

On 24 April 1983 political party activities were released. Firstly, the Nationalist Democracy Party (NDP), the predecessor of the military administration, was established. The secondly established party was the People's Party under the leadership of Necdet Calp. The Populist Party had great similarity to the CHP in terms of party logos and party programs. The third party, which gave the founding declaration to the Ministry of Interior Affairs, is the Motherland Party (ANAP) established by Turgut Özal. ANAP (The Motherland Party) defined itself as nationalist and conservative. In the party program, economically liberal principles were adopted. The NSC, which has adopted the electoral system and the 10% threshold, has vetoed some politicians and parties. The NSC did not allow them to participate in the election.

Apart from three parties, the Great Turkey Party, the True Path Party, the Welfare Party (RP), the Social Democracy Party were established. However, none gained the approval of the council (Çavdar, 1995: 273-274). According to the results of the parliamentary general elections held on November 6, 1983, the elections could only be attended by ANAP (The Motherland Party), Free Party and NDP due to the demands of the National Security Council, and the results can be seen as follows (Öste, 2016: 117):

– ANAP (The Motherland Party) gained the voting rate as 45.1 % and reached 212 deputies,
– Free Party gained the voting rate as 30.5 % and reached 117 deputies,
– NDP gained the voting rate as 23.3 % and reached 71 deputies,
– At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

The operation for the benefit of large parties existing at the base of the d'Hondt system has been reinforced by the introduction of double thresholds and narrowing of the electoral districts. This, in turn, caused the powerless parties to fail the threshold. The bigger party gained the advantage in this situation. A disproportionate picture emerged in the Assembly. The aim here was to emphasize the principle of stability in administration. Indeed, what had been desired was to support the manageability by selection system (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1993: 164).

ANAP (The Motherland Party) won the absolute majority in the TGNA as a result of election. ANAP came to power alone. The People's Party took the votes of the RPP. It could enter to the parliament as a second party. NDP has become a third party despite the support of the National Security Council and Kenan Evren. ANAP benefited from the advantage of being a majority party. ANAP has used it and made some changes in the electoral system that would benefit the strongest party.

2.4. New regulations in 1987 parliamentary electoral law and 1987 elections

The ANAP (The Motherland Party) government benefited from the comfortable working and legislative environment created by the end of the 1961-1980 dual-legislative legislative order and being the majority of the single party. Hence, most of the amendments made to the Law on the Election of Deputies Numbered as 2839 preceded the general election for the deputies in 1987. Along with the law dated on 28.3.1986, numbered as 3270, the number of seats was increased and the number of deputies also increased from 400 to 450. By the same law, the obligation on bringing quota candidateship to the double electoral threshold based d'Hondt system was included. In the election of quota candidateship, applying the majority system was decided. The quota candidate of the political party which gained the highest voting rate in the specific election districts was considered being elected as deputy. After the election of quota candidate in the electoral district, the remaining legislative election was distributed according to d'Hondt system. The determination of electoral district can be seen as follows: in the electoral districts which will make six or more deputies, political parties' presenting one each quota candidate was law-abided.

Secondly the electoral districts were narrowed, and they were rearranged in order that at most 6 deputies would be made. The provinces which will make more than 6 deputies were divided into more than one electoral district (Tanör, 2004: 74). To give an example; in an electoral district in which three deputies would be made, a political party which had gained a voting rate more than 33%, and if the other political parties had gained a rate below this, would have been accepted as winning the all deputies (Çavdar, 2004:280). Another regulation was that in the regions where 6 deputies were made, the division transaction would be made via one unit less in order to determine the electoral threshold. According to this, for some electoral districts, a mixed system

in which the double threshold based d'Hondt method was integrated with majority system was applied (Tanör, 2004: 75).

Following the procedure in the constitutional law, the election which had had to be held in November 1988 was predated for another date as November 29th, 1987. The results of general election held in 1987 can be described as follows:

- The Motherland Party (ANAP) gained the voting rate as 36.3% and reached 292 deputies,
- The True Path Party (DYP in Turkish) gained the voting rate as 19.1 % and reached 59 deputies,
- Social Democrat Society Party (SDP or SHP in Turkish) gained the voting rate as 24.8 % and reached 99 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

The amendments made for electoral code realizing the advantage given to larger political parties and resulted in the situation that ANAP gained the voting rate as 36.3% sustaining a representative power around 65%, and an overwhelming majority over other parties. The secondary party SDP gained the rate as 2.75% and, the thirdly ranked party was True Path Party which was subjected to the reduced representation rate as 6%. The total amount of votes belonging to the political parties which couldn't reach national electoral threshold was around 20%, in other words, one of out every 5 individuals was disregarded, and wasn't represented in the parliament. In the same period, the democratic legitimacy discussions in the country were frequently came to the agenda (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1996:141-142). Briefly stating, the principle of justice in elections couldn't be realized in the phase on reflection the results of 1927 elections to the parliament. This situation proposed the items as electoral alliance across the political parties or merging of parties for the agenda till the next general elections.

2. 5. The Amendments made in 1991 for the law of parliamentary elections and the general elections held in 1991

In the period as 1988-1991, there hasn't been much change in terms of electoral law, or about the legislative amendment related with electoral system. Before the elections of 1991, new amendments were made in electoral system. By the amendment introduced on August 26th, 1991, via the law numbered as 3757, the threshold of the electoral districts which made 2, 3 and 4 deputies was determined as 25.5%, and then thresholds of the ones which made 6 deputies were prescribed as 20%. Hence, in the electoral district where two and three deputies to be made, the electoral threshold in electoral districts was lowered. In the elections to be held, the number of provinces having the electoral threshold as 25% was increased from 18 to 62. Owing to this regulation, for the first time, a new amendment on behalf of small parties was realized in the period of 1982 Constitution (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1996: 131). In order not to hang in electoral threshold, the alliance across the political parties and the union of political parties came to the agenda again. The parties such as Welfare Party, Nationalist Working Party and Reformist Democracy Party constituted an alliance among themselves. They were involved in the elections by one party list named under Welfare Party. The Labor of Society Party (HEP in Turkish) which couldn't be involved in election but had a great support in South Eastern Anatolia collaborated with SDP (SHP in Turkish).

According to the parliamentary elections held in 1991, the results were as follows (Çavdar, 1995: 311);

- The True Path Party (DYP in Turkish) gained the voting rate as 26.2 % and reached 178 deputies,

- ANAP gained the voting rate as 23.3% and reached 115 deputies,
- SHP gained the voting rate as 20.8 % and reached 88 deputies,
- Welfare Party (RP in Turkish) gained the voting rate 16.9 % and reached 62 deputies,
- Democratic Leftist Party gained the voting rate 10.8 % and reached 7 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 450 was reached.

In the elections of 1991, preferential voting was used in some electoral districts. The orders of 54 candidates, who were involved in election from 42 different electoral districts and 35 provinces, were changed in the list, though they were not the order to be elected, and then they could be elected to the parliament (Tuncer, 2003: 133). 6 different parties were involved in the elections, and among them the Socialist Party having the voting rate as 0.04% became out of electoral threshold, and couldn't win seat in the parliament. The highest number of votes was obtained by DYP, and then the ruling period of ANAP finally finished after 9 years. Moreover, DYP couldn't sustain the majority, though it became the winner party and reach the number to form government alone. The new government was formed as a collation created by DYP and SHP (Çavdar, 1995: 312). Following September 12th coup d'état, the politically banned former party leaders Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit, Necmettin Erbakan and Alparslan Türkeş could get into parliament for the first time after 11 years (Alkan, 1999: 60).

2. 6. Amendments introduced in 1995 for the election law and parliamentary elections in 1995-1999

Owing to the law introduced before 1995 elections, the electoral districts were widened in a considerable extent, and the provinces out of İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara were accepted as a single electoral district. By another amendment introduced later on, the regional electoral threshold was abolished forever. Hence, a more equitable election system was sustained via facilitating the small parties' passing the electoral threshold. Another amendment was introduced on July 27th, 1995 via the law numbered as 4121 for the 67th article of Constitution. In the added 6th paragraph it was stated that "the electoral laws are amended in a manner complying with equity in representation and stability on government". Two basic functions of elections and two principles of electoral system in the meantime are accepted as a constitutional law for the first time (Yüzbaşıoğlu, 1996: 126). This new law accepted the provinces as the new electoral districts. The provinces which could make deputies up to 18 were counted as an electoral district. It was also stated that the provinces of which number of deputies were going to be between 19 and 35 would be divided by 2, and the ones of which number of deputies were going to be 36 and more would be divided by 3 for different electoral districts. The duty on determining the electoral districts and the number to be made by each electoral district for deputies was given to High Election Council by the law on Election of Deputies (Özbudun, 2009: 280). The age on voting right was lowered to the number 18.

The number of deputies in Turkish Grand National Assembly was increased from 450 to 550. These added 100 deputyships are decided to be distributed by proportional distribution in national electoral area via the list declared by political parties, and the voting rate they obtained, in order to get the title "Turkey deputyship". In the meantime, the methods as quota deputyship and preferential voting were abolished (Yavaşgel, 2004:178-179). In this respect, the electoral system was changed. Instead of mixed electoral system in which some part of deputies are elected by the majority method, the proportional representation system with national threshold was accepted.

In the general elections which was held on December 24th, 1995, these results are obtained as follows;

- Welfare Party (RP in Turkish) gained the voting rate as 21.3% reached 158 deputies,
- ANAP (The Motherland Party) gained the voting rate as 19.6% reached the number of 132 deputies,
- DYP (True Path Party) gained the voting rate as 19.1% reached the number of 135 deputies,
- DSP (Democratic Leftist Party) gained the voting rate as 14.6 % reached the number of 76 deputies,
- RPP (CHP in Turkish) gained the voting rate as 10.7 % reached the number of 49 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

In the nullity suit filed in Constitutional Court, having been brought against the law numbered as 4125 in November 1995 in terms of being unconstitutional, the Constitutional Court abolished the national electoral area deputyship and electoral district threshold applications, and published it in Official Gazette (Aydoğdu, 2015:184). Although 7 out of 12 political parties couldn't pass the national threshold as 10% and get into parliament, the elections of 1995 became the one in which the principle of equitability in elections was used at the utmost level in the period of 1982 Constitution Act. As to the result of election, the party which gained the highest number of votes was RP. RP formed a coalition government with DYP. The most striking result of the elections held in 1995 was that the number of votes belonging to RP was near to CHP's votes, though CHP gained the least number of votes. In this period, coalition government became inevitable, though an electoral system being one of proportional representation methods, among which the methods to prioritize the stability and seek benefit for larger parties along with having high electoral threshold was accepted as an electoral system. The reasons of this situation were firstly the closeness of political parties in ideological terms resulting in the division of votes and secondly the distribution of votes at similar values being near to each other across the parties.

The voting rates which weren't represented in the parliament for the years as 1987 and 1991, derived from the electoral threshold as 10% became one of the most striking topics in discussions after the elections in 1995. The voting rate as 145 which was obtained by the political parties, having not get into the parliament was disregarded.

20 different parties participated in the parliamentary elections held on April 18th, 1999. Indeed, among them only 5 parties passed the electoral threshold and found an opportunity to be represented in the parliament. The electoral system was d'Hondt with electoral threshold.

- DSP (Democratic Leftist Party) gained the voting rate as 22.2 % reached the number of 136 deputies,
- MHP (Nationalist Movement Party) gained the voting rate as 18 % reached the number of 129 deputies,
- FP (Virtue Party) gained the voting rate as 15.4 % reached the number of 111 deputies,
- ANAP (The Motherland Party) gained the voting rate as 13.2 % reached the number of 86 deputies,
- DYP (True Path Party) gained the voting rate as 12 % reached the number of 85 deputies,
- Independents reached the number of 3 seats,

    – At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

Following the elections DSP (Democratic Leftist Party) became the winner party, CHP (Republican People's Party) hanged in the electoral threshold with the obtained voting rate as 9 %. For the first time in the history of Republic, RPP couldn't have a chance to be represented in the parliament. Nationalist Movement Party reached a voting rate which wasn't expected, and become the secondary ranked party in the parliament (Alkan, 1999:61). The new government, which would be lasted until the year 2002, was formed under the leadership of Bülent Ecevit in a coalition by DSP, MHP and ANAP.

In 1990s, the factors as high electoral threshold and the abundance of ideologically similar parties banded together, the available electoral system brought a property as destructive effect on political competition. The destructive competition across the parties produced coalitions with inconsistent programs, which was formed by strategic bargains after elections (Gürsel, 2013:5).

2. 7. The general elections held in 2002, 2007, 2011, 2015 and single party governments

In the period which was started via the military coup on September 12th, 1980 and lasted till the elections held in 2002, an important destabilization didn't occur between the rightist and leftist votes, as to the election results. Leftist voting rate was around 30%-40%, and the rightist ones was approximately 60-70% (Tuncer, 2003: 103). The economic crisis of 1994, 1999 and 2001, along with the governance problems because of coalitions showed themselves after 2002 election as a threshing of coalition parties (Gürsel, 2013: 2). The results of parliamentary elections held in 2002 can be seen as follows (Yavaşgel, 2004:183):
    – Justice and Development Party gained the voting rate as 34.2 % reached the number of 363 deputies,
    – Republican People's Party gained the voting rate as 19.3% reached the number of 178 deputies,
    – Independents gained the voting rate as 1% reached the number of 9 deputies,
    – At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

The parliamentary elections held on November 3th, 2002 was a milestone regarding the history Turkish democracy. For the first time in history, a political party after ANAP, founded in 1987, reached the majority in assembly and became the ruling party alone. Hence, the era of coalitions finished in Turkey. Indeed, 18 different partied participated in the elections, but only two parties passes the national threshold and gain the right on being represented. Moreover, the party which gained the highest number of votes, was also the one that was established only one year before the elections, and complying with the discourse as "new conservatism" and called Justice and Development Party (Üste, 2016: 161). Although the proportional representation system exists, a new system having two political parties in the parliament occurred as a result of the threshold as 10%. The coalition parties as DSP (1%), ANAP (5%) and MHP (8%) stayed under the electoral threshold. DYP which was among the important parties in central rightist view couldn't get into the parliament, by gaining the voting rate as 9.5%. The total rate of electors' representation via AKP and CHP was around 40.9%. The rate which wasn't represented in the assembly was 59.1%. After the results of elections, the discussions on the national threshold as 10% on creating potential legitimacy problem were started. The most important reason of electors' giving up their former choices in 2002 election can be explained by the economic crisis lived in 2001. The stock markets crashed 29.3 % point in three days, Turkish Liras decreases in value as 130%, and inflation increased as 90%, hence 1.5 million citizens

became unemployed (Akşin, 2002: 183). Coalition parties were seen responsible for all these crisis.

The results of general elections held on July 22nd, 2007 can be seen as follows (rapory.tuik.gov.tr);
  – Justice and Development Party gained the voting rate as 46.6 % reached the number of 341 deputies,
  – Republican People's Party gained the voting rate as 20.9 % reached the number of 112 deputies,
  – Nationalist Movement Party gained the voting rate as 14.3 % reached the number of 71 deputies,
  – Independents gained the voting rate as 5,2% reached the number of 26 deputies,
  – At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

Justice and Development Party increased its votes in the parliamentary elections held in 2007 to a large extent, and got into the parliament as the biggest party. After the elections, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan government was established. The secondary important result of the elections was that Democratic Society Party (DTP) got into the parliament along with 26 deputies, having previously been independent candidates. DTP couldn't pass the electoral threshold in Turkey general, lost its seats to the parties which passed the threshold in Southeastern and Eastern Anatolia, but following the previously mentioned formula it got into the parliament and reached the number on establishing a group. Hence, four parties emerged in the parliament to be represented. In the term of this parliament, Abdullah Gül became 11th President of Republic of Turkey.

According to the amendment brought on 6th article of Election Law of Deputies on October 22nd, 2009, it was regulated that the election of deputies would be held once every four years (Amendment first paragraph: October 22nd, 2009-5922/2 article.)

According to the results of general elections held on June 12nd, 2011, the results can be seen as follows (rapory.tuik.gov.tr);
  – Justice and Development Party gained the voting rate as 49.8% reached the number of 327 deputies,
  – Republican People's Party gained the voting rate as 26% reached the number of 135 deputies,
  – Nationalist Movement Party gained the voting rate as 13% reached the number of 53 deputies,
  – Independents gained the voting rate as 6.6% reached the number of 35 deputies,
  – At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

In the elections held in 2011, AKP reached every one of two electors' vote, and got into the parliament, and then under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the government of AKP was formed. In this election, in addition to AKP (JDP in English), RPP (CHP in Turkish) increased its votes, and finally the number of independents also increased to 35 deputies. The unrepresented voting rate was around 5%. In other words, according to November 2002 elections general, the total votes represented in the parliament increased to a large extent.

The elections for deputies held on June 7th was resulted as the following data (rapory.tuik.gov.tr);
  – Justice and Development Party gained the voting rate as 40.9% reached the number of 258 deputies,

- Republican People's Party gained the voting rate as 25% reached the number of 132 deputies,
- Nationalist Movement Party gained the voting rate as 16.3% reached the number of 80 deputies,
- The Democratic Party of Societies gained the voting rate as 13.1% reached the number of 80 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

In the elections held on June 7th, along with AKP, RPP and NMP a fourth party got a chance to be represented in the parliament, via passing the threshold as 10%. DPS previously found a chance via forming a group making independent deputies in the former elections, but in this elections it could find votes from other parts of Turkey apart from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, which were already ready to give votes to DPS to a large extent. In this respect, DPS was started to be thought as a party of Turkey by voters. As to the results, AKP reached 258 seats with a voting rate as 40.8% and couldn't find a chance to form a government alone, indeed 276 seats had been needed. The attempts on forming coalition governments failed, and according to 77th article of Constitutional Act, the next elections to be held in June 2019 was predated by the decision of President of Republic, as a government to gain vote of confidence couldn't have been formed. Following this, the election date was determined as November 1st, 2015 by Supreme Committee of Elections (yasalar.org/anayasa/madde-77).

The results of general elections held on November 1st, 2015 can be seen as follows (rapory.tuik.gov.tr);
- Justice and Development Party(AKP) gained the voting rate as 49.5% reached the number of 317 deputies,
- Republican People's Party(CHP) gained the voting rate as 25.3% reached the number of 134 deputies,
- Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) gained the voting rate as 11.9 % reached the number of 40 deputies,
- The Democratic Party of Societies (HDP) gained the voting rate as 10.8 % reached the number of 59 deputies,
- At total, the number of deputies as 550 was reached.

- As a result of the elections held on November 1st, AKP found the majority in the parliament and formed the government alone. Nationalist Movement Party lost its votes as 4%, and HDP lost its votes around 1%, but they could pass the electoral threshold and get into the parliament to be represented. The JDP could increase its votes as 9%, compared with the previous elections. This percentage was equal to 3.750.000 individuals. The votes going to AKP was one of the most important results of elections. According to research companies, the reason behind this increase was that the votes of MHP, HDP and SP (Happiness Party) and independents had gone to AKP. The terrorist attacks occurred between two elections, resulted in the strategic voting of electors, and a decision to reveal a stable government from the ballot boxes was given in one sense.

CONCLUSION

From 1950 up until today, many election systems such as majority system by list and antipodean national remainder system were undertaken and applied in Turkey. Among the choices on equity or the stability on government, generally the secondary choice was preferred, and then the election law of deputies was regulated in this respect. The results of elections frequently didn't give the results expected, and the

stable governments couldn't be forms as to the results coming from ballot boxes, and then the coalition governments were formed. Throughout Turkish election history, the most democratic election system seen was the national remainder system. In the law prepared in February 1965 (on the date February 13th, 1965 and numbered as 533), national remainder system was accepted as the election method, and then the national remainder composed a parliament in which all views of country were represented, in addition to this, the unstable coalition governments' period ceased for a while. This metjod could only have chance to be applied in 1965 elections, and changed again in the year 1969, and then d'Hondt method was started to be practiced. Afterwards, the electoral threshold as 10% as a rule was added to the d'Hondt system. This mixed system which was used in the general elections held in the years 2002-2015 gave a way on forming one-party government four times, whilst to former two elections.

D'Hondt system having 10% threshold is still valid and in force in our time and haves some features which are contradictive with the principles of justice. The most important prerequisite to prevent the inequity in representation is to make up the difference between the number of electors and the distribution of deputies. One of the most important scales to be applied for Turkey in order to reach a democratic election system can be accepted for the nonexistence of electoral districts or national electoral threshold. Threshold resulted in the inequity in representation, first of all. Except for the election systems applied for the period between 1965 and 1980, in general elections there was always used electoral thresholds. The millions of votes which was reached by any political party can be disregarded, and then the parties having stayed under the threshold couldn't get into the parliament. The votes of the parties having stayed under the threshold was shared by the larger parties. Another problematic aspect of the threshold as 10% was about effecting the behavior of elector. When the voters thought that the party they wanted to support would stay under the threshold, they could prefer the other political party of which political discourse was near to their party's own. Instead of this, they might give their vote on a rival political party in order to prevent a specific party's getting high rates of voting. This behavior of voters can be gradually seen necessarily one of factors to affect the number of strong political parties in Turkey.

Along with all these developments, in Turkey where different election systems were experienced, so there need to be a new system which can bring stability for government, easing the way on proportional vote and seat distribution as far as possible.

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