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STOCKHOLM SYNDROME WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF GOVERNMENT-VOTER BEHAVIOUR: COALITION YEARS 1991-2002 IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

In today's complicated world order, there are a lot of reasons which effect the voter behaviour. Voters behaviours are affected from not only social, psychological, economic, ideological and religious factors but also cyclical factors. In the parliament elections held in 1991, 1995 and 1999 in Turkey, the rate of voter changefulness increased and there was a big change in the choices of voters just like parties'. In the parliament elections held in those years, there wasn't a working majority to form a one-party government on the contrary the rate of vote which the first party received decreased. The most remarkable side of the work is that it claims that the emotional commitment occurred between a bank robber and the hostages known as "Stockholm Syndrome" in the literature was between the political power and the voter behaviours in the term 1991 and 2002. The most important factor evidence of this thesis that voter's behaviours support coalition government and economic and politic instability rather economic and politic stability due to economic crisis happened in the mentioned period and major trauma happened in politics and economy. A play was displayed in which economic and political instability was inured behaviourally and only the cast (government) changed but the stage (economical and political conditions) stayed same.

KEYWORDS

Stockholm Syndrome, Voter Behaviour, Economic Crisis.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The voter is effected by many factors while making a decision. Among these, the most important ones can be political outputs (leader of political parties, candidates, ideology etc.), psychological factors (belonging, feel closeness etc.), social economical factors (age, sex, occupation, income etc.) and the effect of reference groups (Colman and Pountney, 1975:305; Miller, 1977:780). But both limitedness of knowledge acquisition about policies which is applied by the current government and limitedness of knowledge acquisition about alternative parties in many countries leads them to act in firm ideological ways mostly. On the other hand, emprical evidences clearly shows that ideological preferences don't always come into prominence in the election terms. Many times, economical conditions on the market determine the voter behaviours, in other words, the voters who evaluate macro economical indicators vote by regarding the point which is important for them (Erdoğan, 2004:105).

One of the most important subjects of policy in Turkey is the voter behaviour. Because if the voter behaviour is analyzed well, it has a role that show the way to become the power to the political parties. Every party wants to know how voters see their policies, it is necessary sustaining the policies which are approved to convince the voter. Elections are not purposes, they are only means and they are accepted as a measurement of a real democracy. If they can put the staff which can meet society's needs and account for them with a sense of responsibility into power. It is a must that both elections are free and the environment of the formation of the voters' opinions.

It became a common belief that society trusted political system, parties and generally all corporations less in 1990s in Turkey. Voters on one hand withdrew their support from the parties which were in the center on the other hand they preferred voting the marginal parties which were out of the system or edge of the system. Result of this is that on one hand, a voter volatility out of the ordinary on the other hand, over split-off which is seen in the parties system and coalition parties being short term, inconsistent and having weak power to decision alternate with each other. So, while the political and economical reform process which Turkey start in 1980s stalls in 1990's, status quo defenders and saving the day policies start to be in demand. Certainly, political and economical crises going on insistently, scandals always appearing in the media and coalition governments having low governing capacity are among the main reasons of the radical change in the attitudes of voters towards political system and preinstitutions (Akgün, 2001:2).

Over distrust against institutions, common depression among society, increasing disappointment and political alienation are unhealthy and dangerous indicators for a democratic system. Because; this confident erosion will destroy the legality of the established system in the long term (Finifter, 1970:395). The constant trust problem between the voter and government will cause the government to have a weak ability of decision making against the developments which are problematic but extremely critical for public life and more importantly it will prevent the governments' governing abilities (Easton, 1975:445; Hibbing et. al., 1995).

In the developing countries' democracies like Turkey's political trust becomes more important. Because, in such countries regime doesn't have the support of public unconditionally as in the pre-democracies (Akgün, 2002:117). If the belief that governments coming to power in a democratic way have failed starts to pervade, this attitude may weaken also the democracy's faith against itself. This will prevent the developing democracies institutionalizing. The danger occurring in such cases is that the probability of weakening democratic regime which has already weak legality with the leadership debates, ethnical conflicts and the getting pressed for the usage of political and civil rights (Norris,1999:2).

The problems becoming chronic in Turkey especially increasing financial, social and economical problems and common political corruption caused a deep pessimism and disappointment among the voters in 1990s. Now, most voters vote by looking at the least harmful (the lesser of two evils) option in the election time (Özbudun, 1996:132).

It is often said that crises experienced and over fluctuations in the market are related with the political trust in Turkey, here the aim of this work is to analyze reasons of increasing dissatisfaction and over distrust of public against the government and political institution within the frame of "Stockholm Syndrome" and present the conclusions of this in Turkish political and economical life. In this sense, the importance of voter behaviours and the institutions trying to explain the voter behaviours were demonstrated in the work. Also, the possibility of Stockholm Syndrome was evaluated by establishing a bond between the voter behaviours and economical performance in the term 1991-2002 in Turkey from the point of voter and political party.

2. VOTER BEHAVIOUR

The decisions made by voters are preferences that emerge under different and complicated circumstances, have the feature of frequent changeability and direct the individuals' behaviours. Voters vote for the parties that they believe that they will be the best for them. In a country, there is a parallelism between the level of voters' general culture, education and income and the quality of politics done. The true analysis of voter behaviours present critical datas about both that

country's socio-economical and socio cultural indicators (Aktan and Dileyci, 2001:116). The voter going to polls to vote by considering one or a few of these four factors: trust will, respectability will, emotional commitment and religious/political beliefs (Kışlalı, 1994: 363).

Safety will push people to the search of stability people who has low but stable income vote for the current government to continue. These kind of voter groups don't trust the parties which will increase the income, provide better conditions. They act in a way to keep the one they have instead of taking risks. The ones who believe that they aren't respected or discriminated unlike the voters acting with safety will prefer to vote in favor of change. Because they have a dissatisfaction with the current government and maybe they think that they have a chance to get rid of being treated as a second-class citizen in an alternative political party's power.

The emotional commitment between a voter and a party or its leader can have an effect on the voting behaviour. Even if a party, which is connected emotionally, behave against people's views, deepness of this emotional commitment may motivate to people vote again the same party. As the same as emotional commitment, religious and political beliefs affect the people's voting behaviour. People beyond their substantial interests may feel close themselves to a party. People who want to be together with the people whom they have the same beliefs, thought act with this feeling while voting in the elections (Kışlalı, 1994: 365).

We can express the factors which make the voters determining the political power with their votes go to polls or deter from voting like this: (Lipset and Lazarsfeld, 1954:362). The more the government effect a public group is interests with the politics it does, the more the tendency of voting increases in that society. In this regard, public officials can be given as examples. Because the ingoing is the boss of public officials in some aspects. The more the public has knowledge about the conclusions of governments' decisions about itself the more tendency of voting increases. The more pressure on the society, the more tendency of voting will be there. But the effect of this pressure on the individual depends on the intensity of relationship between the individual and society in which individual lives. When the pressure on the group is in the same direction, political attendance and voting increase. When it is in the opposite direction, they decrease.

There are some variables which change the direction of voting beside the factors which determine the direction of voters' vote are ranked like this (Lipset and Lazarsfeld, 1954:364). The society which is semi-closed and depended on agriculture, while passing to an open, modern and industrial based society, the regional and local effects decrease in voting, the effect of social classes increase. The more the possibility of an individual's upwards tendency in this new public relationship is, the more conservative tendencies become powerful. In accordance with the lack of hope of improving the conditions in which the individual lives, there are demands to change the order. In the same way, while the inequality in society increases, the rate of political attendance also increases.

In the first stages of industrialism, masses can be effected by the improvement of life conditions and they can be conservative. But in time, it becomes important to compare its own conditions and other societies' conditions. While the shanty regions and less developed regions generally vote for the continuation of current system, the voter of industrialized and urbanized regions, if they are not pleased with the current system, they can be directed to alternative political parties more easily. Recent political developments are effective especially on the undetermined voters. For instance, the fear which is formed by increasing violence events direct the ones being in search to stability an the one who seems powerful.

The preferences of individuals' voting can also be effected by long and short term factors. While the long term factors maintain its effect throughout some elections, short term factors are related to one specific election. These factors can be different according to candidates of that time an the combination of subjects. However, it is observed that voters focus on daily subjects an short term factors in their voting preferences. With the weakening of loyalty to the parties an voting and decrease of voting based on class, voters focus on daily issues and short term factors more often (Sitebölükbaşı, 2005:208).

3. THE THEORITICAL APPROACHES ABOUT THE FACTORS EFFECTING VOTER'S PREFERENCE

The first studies about voter behaviour started in 1910s an it maintained its density in especially the USA. In the studies starting 1940s and reaching out today, it is seen that people approach the subject in accordance with three basic views. These basic views, consist of "The People Choice" of Lazarsfeld an his friends "The American Voter" of Campell and his friends "An Economic Theory Of Democracy" of Downs (Boiney and Paletz, 1991:3). In the light of these studies that can be described as respectively, sociological, phsycological and economical approaches, most studies were directed. Even if the ones who are interested in the subject use different concepts, they accept one of these basic approaches and try to explain the preference of voter.

3.1. SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH

The ones who approach the voter preference sociologically refuse the individualism which economic and physiological approach emphasize especially and they give some idea to group basic. In voting behaviour, the attitudes of individual and their value systems don't mean anything and in this approach factors such as religion, socio-economical status, the place in which people live come into prominence. So the basic subject of sociological approach is not voters but groups an parties, its basic problem is to find an answer to the question of "why do they vote?" (Harrop and Miller 1987:157).

One of the main features of groups is that there are norms an if the members don't comply with them, they can be punished in different ways. In this direction, the individual will want not to conflict with the norms and come up with the punishments which are indicated in the voting behaviour. And this one of the main assumptions of sociological approach and the question of "why" is answered by this generalisation to some extent (Kalender, 2005:120).

Lazarsfeld and his friends reach these generalisations from the first research which is the basic sociological approach. First, an individual becomes political sociologically and social features determine the party references. Second, voting is a basic group experience and people living and working together are likely to voter for the same candidate. Third, political tendencies' index; social-economic status, loyalty to religion and residence these three factors have an important role for individuals to decide. Fourth, family has a very important role in voting. Partners and children have similar vote preferences. Fifth the groups of which individuals are members determine the voting behaviour and direct it. Lastly the class position of individuals effect the preference of voting (Lazarsfeld et. al., 1968:137-142).

It is observed that voters' preferences are coherent with the sociological approach in the previous election terms in Turkey. For instance, first Justice Party and then its permanence True Path Party (DYP) generally took votes from the voters living in the countryside. Moreover, for the custom of DYP, there was a definition of peasant part. Also, the mentality of National View coming from the custom of National Safety, Welfare Party and then Virtue Party and Bliss Party takes the votes of right wing and religious voters and it is an example of sociological approach (Özkan, 2010:3).

3.2. PHSYCOLOGICAL APPROACH OR PARTY IDENTIFICATION

One of the theoretical approaches to the voter preference is physiological approach or with its common used name in the literature is identification model. The core of this model is the love, loyalty and being a supporter of voter. This partialism can be evaluated as being a fan of football team (Denver, 1989:24). To identificate with the party, there is not such an obligation that voter has any legal bond with any party. In the model of party identification, it is essential that individual has a physiological loyalty against any party.

Party identification, carry two basic innovations with it, first of these is that it presents rules which are about behaviour rather than moral sermans. Second, it refuses sociological comment (Pomper, 1992: 114).

The basic assumption of party identification depends on the voters' partisan preferences and the direction and power of the factors which involve the field of phsychological powers. The direction of attitudes and measuring the density can be used in assessing most voter behaviour. In the party identification model, factors like candidates, subjects, group effects are the focal point and they are basis of physiological powers model. With these phsychological powers, attitudes have a very important role. Especially, the density of attitudes helps to explain why some people and others don't. For the voter, harmony of attitudes determine why an individual vote for the party which is appropriate for him/her best. The partisan aspect and its volume determine the reason of preference which is made by every voter among rival candidates (Campell, 1960: 58).

The basic assumptions of party identification model can be summarized like this, first most voters feel loyal to a party existing in advance and this loyalty becomes with socialization in the family. The sub-assumptions of this assumptions are like this; first it is highly likely that voter being more loyal to a party vote for that party independently. Second, voters being more loyal to a party are more likely to take part in the elections. Third, it is highly likely that a voter perceive and evaluate other parties in accordance his/her own loyalty to a party (Budge and Farlie, 1997:40).

Among Turkish voters, the party identification model is a common thing. Especially, it is a good example that some highbrows and bureaucrats vote for CHP insistently. These are so identified with their parties that they don't vote for the parties which share similar ideals and describe themselves as democratic left

or social democrat. CHP tradition is a radical movement and anyhow its supporters support their party in the elections. The need of change and transformation, new approaches and problems which globalization imposes with the time is not sufficient enough to direct these people to other parties (Özkan, 2010:4).

3.3. RATIONAL PREFERENCE APPROACH

Basic assumption of the ones who approach the voter behaviour rationally is that voters know their interests well and evaluate a candidate or party which will serve them best and so, vote for the most appropriate candidate or party. Rational preference bias prioritise the goals and wishes of the individual (Downs, 1957). Accordingly, it is easily seen that rational preference approach differs from party identification model. Harrop and Miller analyze the differences between these two approaches within three main topic. According to the approach of rational preference, voters do not vote for any party or candidates' sake. In the model of the identifying with party, voting has importance in accordance with psychological loyalty. The second difference between two approaches is that rational preference models generally focus on voters' politic purposes and they ignore social environment. The last difference is that rational preference model approaches the voters' politic information about their votes as an instrument. To decide, individuals need to get more information and evaluate the information evenly and holistically. However, there is a commitment with a party in the identification with the party model; the knowledge is approached reversely and defensively and evaluated in the short period (Harrop and Miller, 1987:145).

In the approach of rational preference, voters vote by evaluating the past but not future with a common sense. Voters generally evaluate the past performances of the government parties and decide by taking the benefits of the performances into account. They don't give importance to promises and glossy words, they care about the results. During the election time, if voters evaluating the propaganda and the other election activities of the government parties are not pleased, they are not affected by persuasion efforts (Gomez and Wilson, 2001:900).

The changing global balance and individuals' progression on the way of individualism find out the loyalty of political party and give a clue about ending up the period of obsession with a particular opinion and ignoring the alternative opinions. Individuals do not behave towards the past expressions and they do not want to stay behind the technological and scientific developments in accordance with the change and transformation dynamics. They wish to make use of benefactions of the life and to live peacefully and safely (Hibbs, 1977:1475).

When individuals in this living area go to polls to vote, they prefer the person who will govern them better and make happier and more peacefully. As such an approach develops and spreads, the parties will compete with each other for good government, honesty, clarity, safety and happiness.

4. APPROCHES TO VOTERS' BEHAVIOURS AND ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE

In the search of studies on voters' behaviours and economic performance, three basic hypothesis occur (Carlsen, 2000: 141).

4.1. RESPONSIBILITY HYPOTHESIS

Responsibility hypothesis focuses on the relation of politic powers' popularity level and economic conditions. According to the hypothesis, the voters give a prize to politic powers who enable low inflation and the rate of unemployment while they punish politic powers who enable high inflation and the rate of unemployment. Voters have no partisan ideological preferences like right and left. They vote by considering macroeconomic performance as a result of politic powers have ideological preferences like right and left (Carlsen, 2000:142). However they consider the priorities are more important than ideology. The reason is a symmetrical study of responsibility hypothesis for political parties and their different ideology (Lewis and Paldam, 2000:115).

The reason why responsibility hypothesis is asymmetric with regards to political parties is that positive developments in the economy the increasing popularity effect of is bigger than the decreasing effect of negative economical condition, there is asymmetry between award and penalty. Award has a bigger effect on popularity than penalty's (Telatar, 2004:354).

According to supporters of this hypothesis, inflation rates that are in the steady levels and growing is the most important variable that voters think of first while deciding on their support for the current government. Not to decrease the support for current government, there should be an increase in the economy without causing an inflation. Revenue increase which triggers inflationist tendencies increases the effectiveness and chance of opposition parties. As a matter of course, it can be said that voters evaluate whether the party in power is successful or not according to their performance about the inflation.

In different political and economical systems, the prior indicators of voters about macro economical performances of political powers. But, as a result of empirical works, the basic conclusion to come is that in developed countries whereas voters mostly focus on the inflation variable, in developing countries and transition economies voters focus on the unemployment as a economical development prolongation. According to support of responsibility hypothesis, it is not important which macroeconomical variable has a high decisiveness it is important that the success in economical conditions is the most important variable in the process of voting. While voters are deciding on their preferences about political parties, they will decide on not only their macro economical performances but also personal interests.

4.2. CLIENTELE HYPOTHESIS

According to clientele hypothesis, political powers will want to apply policies according to voters' ideological preferences. The political powers who have left ideological view will be profitable in high unemployment terms and the ones who have right ideological view will be profitable in terms which there is a high inflation. The political party who has two different views like right and left will use different economical policies to direct the economy in accordance with their own ideology. In the countries where there is bipartisan voting system, voters adopt one of low unemployment or low inflation preferences while choosing one of two countries voters decide on their vote preferences before the elections in accordance with their ideology (Carlsen, 2000:142).

This point of view basically, according to Swank trying to build a model for American economy, voters look with favour on the positive developments in financial expansion performance, they don't look at ascent in inflationary tendencies with the same attitude American voters know very well that, presidents of Democrat Party give priority to financial expansion, republican presidents give priority to struggle with inflation. Real revenue and inflation variables determine which way that voters being aware of this fact will use their support. In other words, when inflationary tendencies increase, there is a demand for reducer policies which are adopted by republican presidents, when there is low real revenue rate and steady inflation there is a demand for expander policies (Swank, 1998: 367).

Verstyuk also made similar inquiries who test the USA's datas after WWI (Verstyuk, 2004: 170). According to the writer, the basic factor determining the voters' voting behaviour is their expectations related to inflation and unemployment problems. High inflation expectations cause right parties to be more supported, high unemployment expectations cause left parties to be more supported relatively. The findings achieved in this work, with writer's own expression, bring into question an important result. In the election of policy, makers not only general competence level but also political priorities have a distinctive role. In other words, in the determination of political support basic macro economical problems are effective but parties' priorities related to economic policies goals are also extremely important (Činko, 2002:111).

Determination of voting tendency on the basis of the expectations related to economical problems requires that government should behave very carefully while determining their priorities about economical problems. For instance, a left party which struggles with only unemployment problem and passes by the increase in the inflationist tendencies could have less chance in the next elections. Powers being aware of this result shouldn't pass by the other problem completely while giving priority to one of the inflation or unemployment problems (Ercins, 2007:34).

Before the elections, voters know only as much about policies which political party or parties coming into power will apply at the end of the election as they promise plans and programs before the elections. Actually, this situation causes a big uncertainty with regards to the voters. So, voters create their expectations averagely about macro economical variables according to the programs of political party or parties which they think that it will win at the end of the elections. Political parties will try to form macro economical quantities such as unemployment, inflation and enlarging according to their own ideology (Alesina and Rosental, 1995:170).

4.3. BASIC TARGET HYPOTHESIS

Basic target hypothesis was theorised by G. Bingham and Guy D. Whitten (1993). Basic target hypothesis is based on the same ground with the clientele hypothesis but their results show a contrary framework. According to Powell and Whitten, it is important that governments can account before their voters. Voters know that political powers having left ideological view are better at the issue of unemployment and the ones having right ideological view are better at the issue of inflation (Carlsen, 2000:142).

According to basic target hypothesis voters evaluate the political powers according to their experiences of being a government instead of awarding or punishing them in accordance with their economical performances. Basic target hypothesis was theorised after the rational expectations theory. As it is known, according to Phillips Curve analysis there is an exchange relationship between inflation and unemployment. Based on this, political powers make some certain macroeconomical variable target according to their own ideological views. Purpose of this is that political parties want to increase the number of their voters in accordance with their own ideology. Accordingly, left-wing parties having unemployment basic target have generally voters who have low and middle income. Right wing parties having inflation basic target have supporters who have upper-middle and high income (Nannestad and Paldam, 2000:127).

In an analysis made for more than 19 countries by Powell and Whitten between 1969 and 1988, voter behaviour was analyzed and it has been put forward that support of voters continue as long as it achieves the goals set before. It is seen that different political parties having different ideological views have different economical goals. While price stability has a primary importance for right wing parties, reducing unemployment policies has a primary importance for left and center wing parties. The failure of right, left and center wing parties about the policies they apply in accordance with their own ideology will put the votes which voters give them in jeopardy. So, voters don't make their preferences according to their ideological views under any circumstances. It is more important that political parties achieve their basic goals than their ideology (Erdoğan, 2004:113).

Basic target hypothesis was put forward as award-punishment approach and alternative of government approach. In multi party systems and coalition government popularity of the party determines with how economical motivation voters made preference. According to basic target hypothesis, voters have the basic knowledge about economy. However, political parties have subject priority partly. They have reasonable expectations about political outcome in coalition governments (Dorussen and Taylor, 2001:400).

5. STOCKHOLM SYNDROME: COALITION GOVERNMENTS AGAINST THE VOTER BEHAVIOUR

The source of Stockholm Syndrome concept emerged when a Sweden whose name was Olsson robbed a bank. The issue called as a sympathizing of hostages to their pledgee within 6 days. After the events, this sympathy continued and almost all of the hostages testified in favour of Olsson and helped him to retain a lawyer. Within a very short time, police blockaded the building Olsson stated many time that he didn't want to attempt somebody's life even while trying to escape in the interviews with the police. According to the testimony of a hostage talking to a mediator, the common anxiety is that police tried to solve the problem by using force. In case of such a possibility they even helped Olsson to barricade. In the course of tense waiting, attitude of the police caused public to give reaction. Public thinking that police was aggressive started to feel pity for robbers. It has been learned that there was a good dialogue between the hostages and robbers during the bargain and hostages was angry at police. The event took the attention of the world with its dimension, this state of mind was called as "Stockholm Syndrome" and within time this term was started to us efor smilar situations. This situation caused voter behaviour which started the work and coalition governments to make connection among each other.

In 1990's Turkish party system an voter behaviours were in an ongoing situation. From the ultimate powerful ANAP coming from assembly and elections got into weak coalition or minority government process. In this term, it has been seen that there is a weak support for two central right wing parties like ANAP and DYP. In the parliament elections held in 1991, 1995 and 1999 the rate of voter changebility increased and just like parties there was a big change in the preferences of voters. As a result of this voter tendency, parties passing the %10 election boundary entered the parliament and became potential coalition members. The urgent demand for the coalition government revealed the unexpected cooperation among the parties. In none of the parliament election held in those years, there wasn't enough majority to form a one-party government on the contrary, the rate of vote taken by the first party dropped down from %27,1 in 1991 to %22,2 in 1999. At the same time, in sipite of %10 of country boundary in these three elections, five parties managed to get an administrative post.

TABLE 1: VOTING RATES AND DEPUTY DISTRIBUTION OF THE PARTIES IN 1991, 1995 AND 1999 ELECTIONS

| Parties in the parliament | 1991 Elections | | 1995 Elections | | 1999 Elections | |
|---------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | Voting rate (%) | Number of deputies | Voting rate (%) | Number of deputies | Voting rate (%) | Number of deputies |
| ANAP | 24 | 115 | 19,7 | 132 | 13,22 | 86 |
| DYP | 27 | 178 | 19,2 | 135 | 12,01 | 85 |
| RP (FP) | 16,9 | 62 | 21,4 | 158 | 15,41 | 111 |
| DSP | 10,8 | 7 | 14,6 | 76 | 22,19 | 136 |
| SHP (CHP) | 20,8 | 88 | 10,7 | 49 | | |
| MHP | | | | | 17,98 | 129 |
| Independent | | | | | 0,87 | 3 |
| Total | | 450 | | 550 | | 550 |

Source: Database of TBMM

Among the basic reasons of corruption in the party system, separations in central right and left have priority (Tosun, 1999: 89). In the central right, existence of ANAP and DYP, on the left existence of, CHP and DSP resulted in the breaking of traditional two-parties structure. In spite of similarity between the basic ideology and programs of these parties, especially because of the attitudes of their leader, they came together and couldn't canalize voter bases and this was the basic reason of scatteredness of system. The other characteristics of this term, there was rough election fights among the parties having similar ideological oriantion instead of a political structure based on a right or left rivalry as in 1970s. This situation caused voters having similar ideas in both central right and left to be seperated and split in.

The other important reason of increasing of split in Turkish party system is that the voter support for the central parties decreased as time passed. The four parties in the central right and left have %82,7 vote rate totally in 1991. This vote rate decreased to % 56,1 in 1999 election. This dramatical decrease was because of the decrease of voters for CHP and DYP. Among the reasons of decrease of voter support for central parties, the economical an social oppresion and especially chonical inflation had an important role. On the other hand, fights among these parties and being called with impropriety and degeneration were the important factors for them to lose voter support.

This decrease in the vote rates of central parties was good for the parties in the extreme points. However these parties could control the only a little segment of total vote rate but these votes made them key party in some situations. This advance of RP is also indication of rising of Islam and religious processes in this term. On the other hand it shouldn't be overlooked that in the rising of RP, there are effects of central parties' effectiveness methods an defects and the effective party organization of this party.

In Turkey, coalition consisted of the parties in the same polarization depending upon the right and left political polarization in 1970s. But in 1990s, there were some examples out of this tradition; there were some coalition groups coming together such as central right and central left among themselves, even the parties being on the far corner of political spectrum create coalition units. The most long-lasting of these coalitions is the coalition of DYP and SHP/CHP from 1991 to 1995 (Sayarı, 2002: 21).

6. VICIOUS CYCLE OF VOTER BEHAVIOUR "COALITION GOVERNMENTS' MACRO ECONOMICAL PERFORMANCES

It is known that there is a direct and strong interaction between election results and macro financial policies in representative democracies. The questions such as according to the type of election system; how many parliamenterians and which parties will get in to the parliament, which parties will form the government, will the party or parties which will be in power behave in a populist way or ideological way and until the next elections what kind of financial policy will they apply? Are answered at the end of the elections. Every election is a combination of voter, politician, bureaucrat and pressure and interest groups affecting the decision making mechanism. The different behaviours of the election actors meet on a common clientele called as interest maximization. The basic goal of the politicians is to maintain the power and in order to achieve this goal, they carry out an election economy (Kalaycı, 1999:30). Especially in the terms of coalition governments,

it can be said that election economy applications are carried out more often. Coalition governments having different economical interests and bases can't produce policies in accordance with their own interests and goals and this causes governments not to be long-lasting.

After the election held in 1991 DYP-SHP coalition was formed. So the term of one party government in 1983-1991 ended and from 1991 till 2002 elections, the term of coalitions started. This term differs from the other coalition terms in terms of the quality of coalitions formed. In other words, two parties representing two different ideology and never came together before formed a coalition government in that term (Turan, 2004: 142).

TABLE 2: ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE BETWEEN 1990-2002 YEARS

| Yıl | Inflation Rate (%) | Unemployment rate (%) | GDP % (Prices in 1987) | Foreign Trade Deficit (Billion \$) | Total External Debt (Billion \$) |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1990 | 50 | 8 | 9,4 | -9,3 | 49 |
| 1991 | 52,6 | 8,2 | 0,3 | -7,5 | 50,5 |
| 1992 | 67,1 | 8,5 | 6,4 | -8,2 | 55,6 |
| 1993 | 55,2 | 8,9 | 8,1 | -14,1 | 67,4 |
| 1994 | 120,5 | 8,6 | -6,1 | -5,2 | 65,6 |
| 1995 | 88 | 7,6 | 8 | -14,1 | 73,2 |
| 1996 | 71,6 | 6,6 | 7,1 | -20,4 | 79,4 |
| 1997 | 78,4 | 6,8 | 8,3 | -22,3 | 84,2 |
| 1998 | 68,8 | 6,9 | 3,9 | -19,0 | 96,4 |
| 1999 | 43,7 | 7,7 | -6,1 | -14,0 | 103,0 |
| 2000 | 53,7 | 6,5 | 6,3 | -26,6 | 118,8 |
| 2001 | 57,7 | 8,4 | -9,5 | -20,6 | 113,9 |
| 2002 | 45 | 10,3 | 7,9 | -18,7 | 129,4 |

Source: TÜİK, DPT, TCMB.

It is said that there were important social and financial problems. It is claimed that on one hand there were some regressions related to identities on the other hand, identities weren't represented in the political area (Bayramoğlu, 2001: 16). However, in 1994 when there were high inflation, stability increasing national and external debts, growing foreign trade deficit, there was an economic crisis. Also, with the collapsing of Union Soviet Socialist Republics in December 25, 1991 the map of Europe and Asia changed, there was a lack of strength in that area. This event had an effect on an international platform. All these progressions, with Özbun's words, caused central parties to lose vote at the end of the term (Özbudun, 1995: 243).

Beginning from 1990's there had been two important developments and these developments directly affected Turkish economy. First one is Korfez crisis which arrived after the war of Iran-Iraq. The other one is narrow progress of exportation seen in World economy which causes negative effects for Turkish economy. Apart from these factors, the first one of two negative implementations which leads economy into bad situation is high interests and excessive valuable TL. So, being debt politics have been followed based short term foreign capitals, excessive valuable TL made difficult exportation while making simpler importation. Second point is stagnation in OECD countries. That situation facilitated importation from that countries while making difficult exportation to these countries (Tokgöz, 1999:218).

Çiller-Karayalçın government established in 1994 after death of Turgut Özal and becoming president of Demirel in 1993 set targets which changes restriction in 1994. For instance GSMH development target was determined as % 4,5 in 1994. The public set some targets like out-debt capital and paying interests for decreasing being in debt and aiming for that numerous precautions have been carried out. Among these precautions the most important ones can be assumed as increasing tax rates and agricultural support politics. However, just beginning in 1994 there has been tension in many markets and because of local elections some politics have been applied towards first quarter of elections. These politics precipitated for 194 economic crisis step by step.

After 1989 with liberalization of capital movements developments progress directly started to depend on directly capital entrances. However, in which years capital entrances had reached great growing speed ended with current deficit. With another explanation development dynamics started to highly depend on World financials and out-capital movement.

Paraleling with increasing public deficit in 1994 crisis increasing external interest rates accelareted entrance of quick-money entrance and made TL excessively valuable. As a consequence of this development there has been reel increase in labor cost and directly/indirectly encouragement in exportation caused losing of competition power of country economy. As a result, imbalance in external stability, importation increased quickly, exportation slowed down and external trade deficit reached important dimensions. Broken internal and external stabilities provoked serious crisis in money, capital and currency markets in 1994 April.

In DYP-SHP Coalition Government politic unemployment has taken place as least mentioned subject among macro-economic problems. Public purse began to being debt to afford financial requirement in DYP-SHP Coalition government time the highest inflation rates were legislated in country history. Budget stability started to increase after 1990. After the period in 1992 as well as budget expenses can not be decreased influential income policy couldn't be applied.

In this period, considering applied foreign currencies especially beginning from 1993 TL increased in value. Keeping the exchange rate low increased the short term capital movements so productive investors were pushed to background. This situation increased importation but complicated exportation. As a result in 1999 high rate devaluation occurred in markets (Kepenek and Yentürk, 1996:257).

Economic crisis occurred with higher inflationists politics in 1994 and rising indirect texts are main problems for affecting income distribution in negative manner. Unfavourable developments in income distributions continued to go on for benefit of high-income groups during the period of DYP-SHP Coalitions.

Considering DYP-SHP Coalition period with economic signs of DYP-SHP Coalition on the contrary aims price stability was broke down greater with 1994 crisis plenty of negative developments were recorded inside most areas of economy. Real interests rised, some banks went bankrupt, infinite assurance brought to deposit accounts. Difference between income-expende reached on the rise especially in 1993. Developments bound on public deficit caused deviation from Money and finance discipline. External trade deficit increased and correspondingly the rate of supplying exportation of importation declined.

After 1995 general election there had been too many coalition attempts. Sometimes coalition government established by two political parties lasted for short, sometimes established by governments couldn't continued and sometimes established by minority governments had to give up because of withdrawing foreign supports.

As from second part of 1995 the country dragged along dark. In the last three months of this year public expenses increased entirely and the country got into 1996 with uncertain political atmosphere caused by early general election in 6 March 1996 Second Yılmaz Government was published. However, because of conflict between two party leader it lasted just for 3 months. Therefore, the uncertainty continued to 28 June 1996 in which RP-DYP Coalition government was established. Beside political progresses the end of stand by deal with IMF in the beginning of 1996 and get in Custom Union were other facts rasing uncertain in financial markets. Refahyol Government established in 28 June 1999 remained in power only for one year and fell down in 30 June 1997. Following established parties were 3. Yılmaz Government and 4. ve 5. Ecevit Governments.

TABLE 3: PERIODS OF GOVERNMENTS BETWEEN 1991-2002 YEARS

| Name of Government | Periods of being in power |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| VII. Government of Demirel | 21.11.1991-25.06.1993 |
| I. Government of Çiller | 25.06.1993-05.10.1995 |
| II. Government of Çiller | 05.10.1995-30.10.1995 |
| III. Government of Çiller | 30.10.1995-06.03.1996 |
| II. Government of Yılmaz | 06.03.1996-28.06.1996 |
| Government of Erbakan | 28.06.1996-30.06.1997 |
| III. Government of Yılmaz | 30.06.1997-11.01.1999 |
| IV. Government of Ecevit | 11.01.1999-28.05.1999 |
| V. Government of Ecevit | 28.05.1999-18.11.2002 |

Source: TBMM Veri Tabanı.

Refahiyol Government had been a period lasted for one year and with political tubalances. There had been no remarkable positive developments in inflation rates in this period. Difference between income-expense of public increased compared with previous periods, reel expenses couldn't reduced. While rate of supplying importation of exportation were very low current deficit continued to increase (Erdem et. al., 2009:32).

After general election in 1999 no political party could bring senator to assure majority, there had to be at least 3 political parties. After 1999 elections because of fail of the coalition government including three different parties which had different World-view caused distrust in markets. The negative developemets of government in economical politics caused likidite problem in markets and made contributitons to occur crisis.

In Turkey; developments financed with hot money inflows in 1990s had unsustainable quality after crisis in the Far East and Russia in 1998. With this effect while country economy decreased exportation regressed and publical interest expenses increased. Furthermore, there had been a situation against county regarding external trade balances of Custom Union which came into operation in 1996 with EU. In addition publical debt stocks got into unsustainable situation there had been problems such as lack of budget deficit, high inflation, low efficiency and internal economy DSP-MHP-ANAP Coalition Government established after 18 April 1999 election had to apply stability programme to fix broken financial economical balances (Ongun, 2002:67).

Apart from some positive economical improvements parallelling high-rated increase, main problems like corruption in current processes, detension in customization and constitutional reforms, problems of public and private bank lost the trust of that programme sustainability which struggle with external and internal inflation. Ignoring devaluation as a result of current deficit foreign capital as quick money left the country in a short time. Money supply decreased as a result of focusing on exchange entrance and likidite problem ocured. As a result, one of the most important economical problems ocured in Turkish Republic history (Akbulak, 2002:16; Alp 2001 ;53).

Beginning from 1990's to prevent dispersion in political situation some steps got taken and it was mentioned that collapse could be prevented with coalition of similar parites. It was common idea that the most important block was party laders. Especially regarding diversion from government parties, polemics between leaders and bribery claims caused the damaged constitution.

Poor macroeconomical performances displayed by Turkish government started to change preferences of voters and decreased the support in future. Since 1970's regarding high inflation unstable development performance unsustainable debt stocks, imbalance in income distribution and politic corruption it could be understood that economical fears are main variables which determines behaviours of voters. Especially major financial problems in 1991 affected behaviours of voters as a way of important variable (Erdoğan, 2004:158).

7. CONCLUSION

There are voters and be voted in politic area. Voters exhibit their demand with voting during taking political decisions. Economical, political, sosyological and psychological factors have importance for voters to decide their decisions. Voters exhibit their demands for publical goods and servers by the way of voting. There are many factors that affect voters while voting. The importance of behaviours of voters in the way of economical science take place as a way of demanding publical goods and servers. It is interpreted differently by the economical theories in which how and what for voter react to economical situations.

There are three hypothesis about how voters react to economical situations. These are Responsibility Hypothesis, Client Hypothesis and Main Aim Hypothesis. According to Responsibility Hypothesis voters are assumed to punish or reward political powers in the way of their economical performances. According to Client Hypothesis voters vote in the way of figuring out how political parties reach their goals which have macroeconomical variables their political ideologies. In this manner while right view voters vote according to success of parties in which macroeconomical inflation variable, the left view voters vote in the way of success of parties in macroeconomical unemployment variable. According to Main Aim Hypothesis, stability of reaching economical aims of government has a crucial important for voters.

In democratic systems, as well as financial factors, social, cultural, ideological and physhological factors have crucial importance. It could be easily said that financial factors are more important than other variables in the country of financial problems.

Considering numbers of determining Turkish political power there are too many groups live under the poverty border. The demand of poor voters are only financial support for themselves. Therefore, they prefer similar or the same politicans. As a matter of fact, before elections agricultural price disconnected with world prices and rising prices not focusing on fertility increase are common politics.

Rising importance of financial factor in the tendency of behaviours in Turkey are reasons for economical and social problems. Indeed, considering chronical high inflation coming from 1970's, unstable performances, debt stocks reaching unsustainable dimensions, growing unjustness and political degeneration it is easy to understand economical factors are main variables determining behaviours of voters. It shouldn't be interpreted like that economical factors determining voted party is not the way of getting opportunity to solve problems of voters. Voters crushed under burdersome of economical problem, as emphasized by Özbudun, don't vote eagerly but behave a rule of "ehveni şer". This tendency is one of the most important variables in which leads to connection with parties. (Özbudun, 2003: 75)

There hasn't been strong political organization based on ideological basis in Turkey for a long time. Even political organizations which hinder by military forces directly or indirectly give impression like new and strong political organization they could't be instutionalised because of interfering artifically. This situation revealed outrageous broken constitution. As a result, this fact called Stockholm Syndrome reveals parallelling with parties and voters in the way of political economical working period.

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