

Turkey a Hybrid Regime: Using the Election and Repression to Stay in Power

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Abstract

This research article will discuss the government system of the Turkey during Justice and Development Party. It will seek answers to whether Turkey is a hybrid regime, the claim is Turkey demonstrated some degree and type of the behavior which are neither democratic nor an autocratic. In order to connect the relevancy and find the answers some factors are explored such as Election, Economy, Tin-Pot, Repression, Loyalty and Disloyalty and JDP party as independent variable and as sub topics for this research. Further, this research article is based on qualitative data which is conducted by following and tracing the previous study of the eclectic and existent literature. The major part of this research study is based on the theory and conceptualization of Ronald Wintrobe's hybrid regime. In conclusion, the purpose of the study is to prove whether Turkey is a Hybrid Regime.

Keywords: Turkey, Tin Pot, Repression, Election, Ronald Wintrobe

Introduction

At the present, the hybrid regimes that have been described in a static meaning concerning the political entities that have been categorized by a combination of features that are institutional which are normal for a democracy with some other organizations normal of autocracy, they are some of the most common discussed topics when it comes to democratization. However, the emphasis of the research is on the hybrid regimes and to elaborate it in the detail research that has used the example of Turkey. The term “Hybrid Governments or regime” refers to regimes that are superficially democratic but are fundamentally autocratic using election for the democratic nature, and repression for autocratic realm. It is a dichotomy and duality or sort of Janus-face. Looking forward to democratic horizon and looking backward to repression. Considering the past times, even their source of occurrence was more than just debatable. Near the ending of 90s, the numerous numbers of regime transitions’ allure affected the debate starting from almost the mid of 70s in such a way that it signed the passing decrease of 20th century. *Third wave of democratization* in 1991 was the label under which Huntington gathered the almost the same events (Shaheen & Lyons, 2018). Since the ending of the Cold War, most emerging nations have hybrid regimes. Hybrid governments combine democratic and authoritarian features, such as frequent and direct elections (e.g., political repression).

A strong proliferation was provoked as soon as such hybrid regimes received the attention of scholars. There are three main parts that have been followed by the research; the theorizing concerning the functions, the analysis of power to survive and stabilize. Such a trio of lines concerning the inquiry is efficiently complementary. Moreover, they produce a comprehensive and consistent agenda of research.

Democracy

If the democracy was based on the self-enforcement i.e., it could withhold itself strongly with the trek of people towards their own interests even if they were selfish after being established, frequent authoritarianism’s resurgence would not have taken a place. The only possibility of making equilibrium in self-enforcing is that some powerful democratic norms are harbored by some specific societies. The interconnected goals of Turkey considered to be on the hybrid system (Korybko, 2015).

Dictatorship

In the technological and modern globe, the hybrid competitive organization is more or less like a coin of two sides. Considering only one side, there are some specifications that are liberate like the unavailability of tutelary authorities, universal suffrage, protection of liberties that are civil, a fair standard of competition regarding the politics, and a free election. Considering the other side, the specification of authorities concerns the damage of civil liberties, unfair political competition, and an unfair election.

Civil regimes are competitive in authoritarian regime within which the organizations concerning the democratic are quite open towards power according to Way and Levitsky (2010). Those who have the liberty of managing the public services and state institutions have the benefit of vis-à-vis with their opposing members. Towards the competition, the government is indeed competitive that rely on the democratic organizations that already exist for the competition of power. The government is favored by the terms of competition that is why the political competition is not fair.

Using the simple words, it is true that the competition is original but is not fair. Talking about the exceptions, Turkey is definitely not one of them. The political scene of modern Turkey is authoritarian characteristics and liberal rules' amalgam. Like many other regimes that are hybrid, Turkey is also a coin that has two sides where values that are liberal coexist the methodologies that have nothing similar with the political systems that concern the modern liberal (Caliskan, 2017).

Election

Within 2002 to 2007, the number of voters who registered increased to almost 1.02% according to YSK's (Higher Election Commission) official numbers. It is again a surprise that within 2007 to 2014, the voters increased to almost twenty nine percent. In a latter period, Turkey's population was raised by ten percent which quite surprising. Just like the figure illustrates, the population increased. However, the number of voters who registered experienced fluctuations (Esen, 2016). Elections, according to scholars from all three components, play a critical role in the establishment and longevity of hybrid regimes. Elections provide a severe conundrum for hybrid regime leaders.

Within the 2004 to 2007, the decrease in the voters reached almost two million which was justified by the YSK. Even with the increase in population, a decline was experienced. Meanwhile, almost a rise of 4.5 million voters held during the 2007 to 2010. According to YSK, it was about the increase of 10 million within only the four years. It was pointed to the new registration system was introduced on the base of voluntary to the system in 2008. Based on this system which was introduced in the beginning of 2009, every citizen of Turkey was registered. (Ekman, 2009).

Tin pot dictator in Turkey

It describes the freedom fighter who have changed with tin pot ruler who is running his country to pursue finding solution to roaring oppression and inflation. The tin pot dictator is also called autocratic leader or governor. In 2011 when the Arab spring was initially developing for undermining the local dictators than the Erdogan was first leader had desire to lead Islamic community which have hold its importance to praising its revolutionaries. Erdogan have believed on the recent flags of the Ottoman and present Turkish is the one its types. This way of the governing is also flown with pride over the homes of Arab in Egypt and Gaza (Fisk, 2014)

Loyalty and disloyalty

According to the Ronald Wintrobe (2002), there are two main instrument of the dictatorship which is the loyalty and repression. To staying in power classification of regimes is suggested here and these four types are based on 4ts which are Tyrants, Timocrats, Totalitarians and Tinpots. At the point of tinpot regime the loyalty and repression are counted low. Totalitarians regime shows the high level of both repression and loyalty. In the Timocrats regime loyalty is high whenever the repression is low. Tyrant's regimes show the low loyalty and high repression. These four types are tended to persisting the literature on the dictatorship (Wintrobe R. , 2002) .

Typology of hybrid regime of Turkey 2002-2017

Through focus on the Typology of hybrid regime of Turkey; it is analyzed that the Turkey's contemporary political regime explained about the competitive authoritarianism. Since the year 2002 to 2017; the political parties of the country focus on the evolution of Turkey's political system. In 2017 referendum; Turkey there is the tutelary democracy in the current state; and there is focus on the army's prerogatives in politics. In Turkey; there is the rise in the new form of authoritarianism so that substantive change can be there in the global emergence; competitive authoritarian regime of Turkey is focused as the competitive authoritarianism as there are also oppositions for political power (Çalışkan,2018).

Background

Subsequently, in 2002 Justice and Development party (AKP) came in to power which shows Turkey has experienced dual regime transition. From which one is the democracy and the other one is dictatorship (Gumuscu, 2016). AKP has figured out how to win the 2002 parliamentary election. By doing as such it came out how to end the run of old political gatherings, while in the meantime anchoring a noteworthy greater part in the parliament. This was a gigantic political seismic tremor that changed drastically Turkish legislative issues: "The most vital ongoing advancement in Turkish residential governmental issues is the ascent of the AKP" (Caliskan, 2017).

In Turkey, political gatherings must accomplish 10% of the vote as threshold to pick up portrayal in parliament. With a 10% election threshold, the Grand National Assembly's current electoral system is the most stringent in the world. The AKP first came to control in 2002 under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, winning 34% of the vote gaining 363 of 550 parliamentary seats. The Republican People's Party (CHP) won 19% of the vote with 178 seats. Every one of the gatherings that held seats at preceding the 2002 in the parliament. This victory was resonated in Erdogan speech "Our flag will flutter more freely, the peace of every citizen will be advanced" (Shaheen & Lyons, 2018). This sensational move was expected to a limited extent to the budgetary emergency of 2001 and the fall of the focus right alliance parties. AKP party pioneer Erdoğan was designated Prime Minister of Turkey in 2003, and has held his situation to this day". (Adeney, 2017) and continued with more solidified presidential system after 2016 and continue to embolden the stand for the general election in 2023.

Literature Review

Hybrid Regimes

In accordance to the research conducted by the Mazepusa, Veenendaal, McCarthy-Jones, and Vásquez (2016) elaborate that there is no authority or the political region over the globe that wants to be presented as the illegitimate or tyrannical ruler. Centered on the study of their origins, reasoning about their functioning, or analyzing their capacity to survive' (Cassani, 2012) "Grey zones"

were coined by Karl and the phrase “hybrid regime” may be linked back to this concept (1995). The “intermediate hybrid terrain” in which he was referring was between well-established democracies and overtly authoritarian governments. In the early 1990s, as it became clear that regimes not only exist in the middle—the “grey zone”—but also have a variety of systems of governance, this broad paradigm came to the fore. The numerous descriptions were a result of this. kinds of democracy that are laden. According to (Riaz, A 2019) the hybrid regime increased by numbers since 2016. He brought the data from Intelligence unit of Economist in various years as it shown blow.

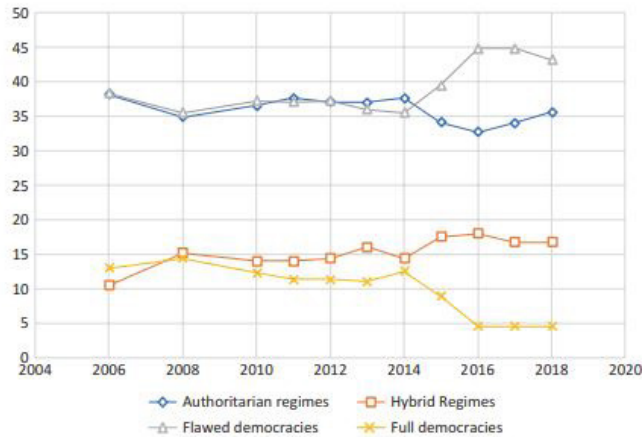


Fig. 2.3 Percentages of population under hybrid regimes (2006–2018). Source: Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Democracy Index, Various Years

The hybrid is the broad term in the politics the concerns with the diverse political regimes. In the hybrid regime, there are some elements from the democratic and some elements from the autocratic (Mazepusa, Veenendaal, mccarthy-Jones, & Vásquez, 2016). In other words, it can be identified as a combination of both types of politics. Discrepancies appear in the politics and particularly in the hybrid regime when the system adopts the dynamic strategy. According to the study of Ronald Wintrobe (2018) there is significant competitive future of authoritarian that Turkey seems to have. In between the opposition and the government, the country seems to take joy in the reasonable fair level of competition that concerned the politics. Some of the good examples of this debate were the 2014 elections for president and the parliament elections of 2011. (Wintrobe R. , 2018). Park (2015) stated as AKP had won with almost 49.8 share regarding the votes in the parliament elections of 2011(2007: 46,5%). CHP Republican People’s Party with 25,9 percent (2007: 20,8%). Meanwhile, the third MHP or the National Action Party got 13 percent (2007: 14,3%). BDP was supported by the 36 MPs that were independent in the 550-seat parliament that was new (Park, 2015).

Election of 2007 – 2018

The studies of the Andrea Cassani, (2015) considering the turnout, it was almost eighty seven percent and was higher than the rate which observed in the election of 2007. 78 are females out of all the MPs almost fourteen point two compared with the nine point two of election held in 2007. Since the year 2002 to 2017; the political parties of the country manage the evolution of Turkey’s

political system. Seventy-eight females belong to MPs, forty-five belong to AKP members, nineteen females are the members of Republic Party (CHP) eleven females are the member of HDP, and three are the members of (People Movement Party) MHP. After three years, Recep Tayyip Erdogan who was also the leader of AKP and Prime Minister became President who was elected in 2014. (Cassani, 2012).

Since Erdogan received only fifty-one, seventy-nine of the whole number of voters, a run-off was not required. He won 51,79% of the votes, so no run-off was needed for Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu who was the Organization of Islamic Cooperation's former General Secretary, he ran being the joint individual of almost 13 opposing parties involving the MHP and CHP got only thirty eight, forty four percent of the whole amount of votes (Diamond, 2015).

Hybrid Equilibrium in Turkey

Ruling leaders in hybrid regimes endure by finding equilibrium between the strategies of centralization, legitimation and repression. In 2007 the state structure of Turkey was controlled by the government of AKP by founding the equilibrium in hybrid competitive dictatorial regime. That politician who has background with Islamism and liberal they have joined the forces for finding the development and justice party AKP in 2002. For ruling best in the hybrid regimes to maintain the equilibrium between the democracy and dictatorship is necessary. (HDP) Peoples' Democratic Party's co-leader, Selahattin Demirtaş was pushed by almost 80 left-wing parties, he settled on the third position with 9, 76 percent of the all number of votes. In between the two last elections tell that the elections were quite reasonable and fair between the opposing parties and government in the modern Turkey (Demerits, 2016).

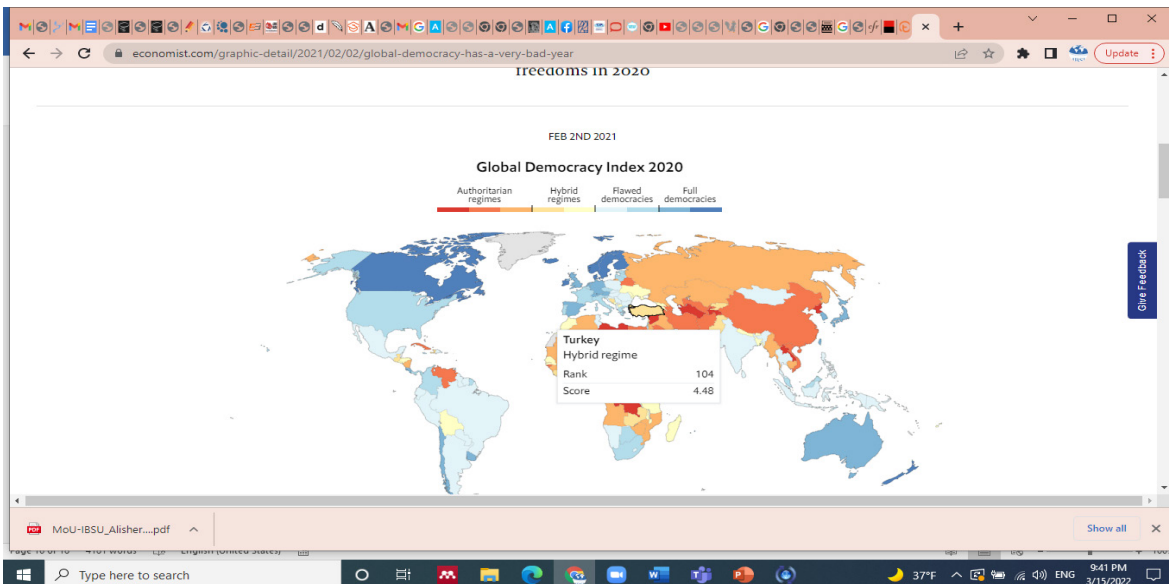


Figure C. Source: Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU), Democracy Index

Till now, authoritarianism's emergence has been discussed which can be dictatorial and hybrid regime, however, the

question concerning the equilibrium has yet to be discussed by us. How it is that hybrid equilibrium can be produced from the democratic behavior? Well, this information can be gained from the Figure B that is reproducing the Figure A. Now, a more precise and general term can be substituted for authoritarianism and repression (Korybko, 2015). In power since 2002, the AKP, headed by Recep Tayyip Erdogan, is Turkey's ruling party. Turkey's AKP administration has shown an increasing intolerance for political rights and civil freedoms after a failed coup in 2016, and it has launched a stunning and broad undemocratic campaign on perceived critics. In 2017, a series of constitutional amendments made a significant change that vested more power in the hands of president. Despite Erdogan's enormous influence in Turkish politics, opposition victory in municipal elections in 2019 accomplished.

They study of the Çalışkan, K (2017) describes the repression of the government for the peaceful demonstration, it draws criticism toward, last couple of years, government of Turkey cracked down on dissidents, civil society group and repression of adversaries has steadily grown and worse since the abortive military coup. Spiked charges of association for the plotter more than 50000 people who have been jailed (Caliskan, 2017)

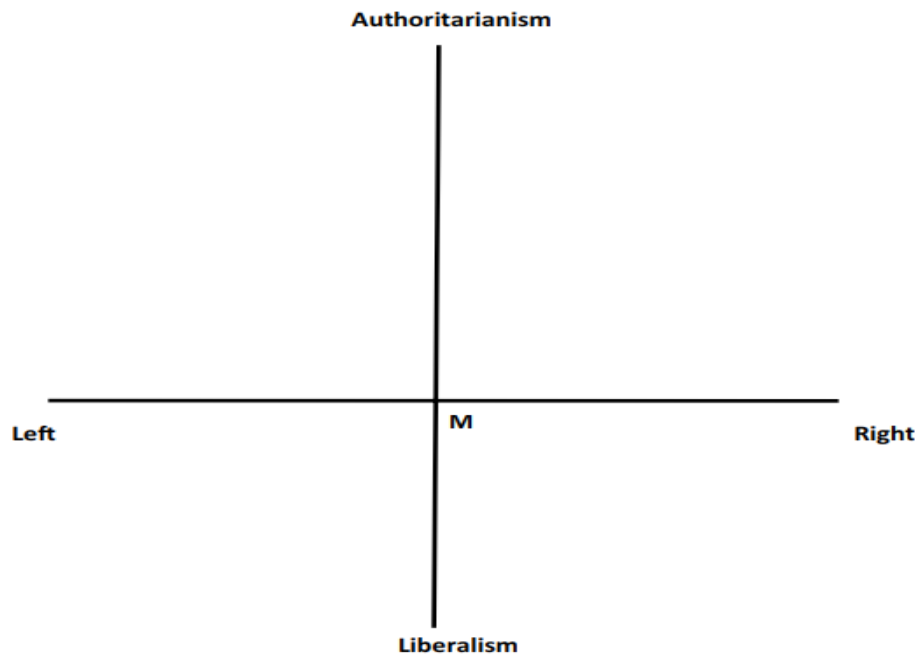


Figure A: Source by the study of Ronald Wintrobe

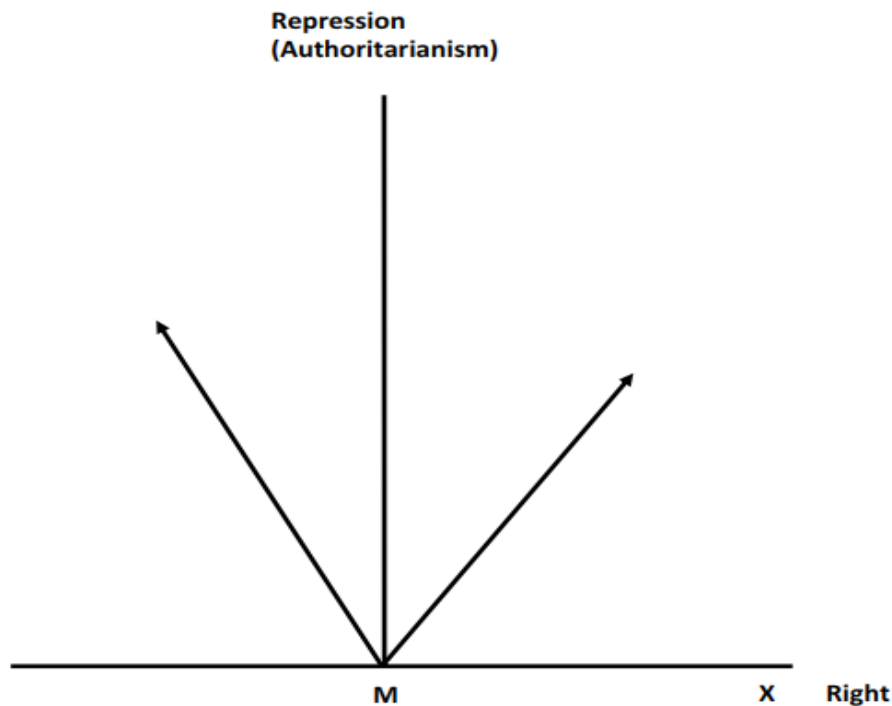


Figure B: Source by the article of Ronald Wintrobe

Method and Analysis

This article discusses the methods of the elections and the all procedures of the elections for proving the hybrid regime of the Turkey. It additionally tries to prove the hybrid regime of the Turkey. For this purpose, this research study has used the qualitative method using data collection which based on the secondary data such consecutive elections. And behavior that led the state to be hybrid base on proving by the previous theories of the different authors. The results of this article have analyzed for guiding to policy.

The choices of hybrid regimes are available for the different countries which are seeking to promote the freedom for dealing the hybrid regimes which is most similar to those countries which are practicing dictatorship. The instruments available for this is the previous study of the differ researchers. The goal of proving the hybrid regime is to reducing repression. In the previous years to indicating the breakdown of the democratic authoritarian of Turkey turned for explaining the popular support. It is use to foreseeing the repressive and durable hybrid regimes. This can be reducing by implementing the Timocrats behavior.

For analyzing the results, the theory of Ronald Wintrobe, 2018 just assume authorizations will be used to reducing the economic regimes and its performance. For analyzing this type policy figure is adopted from the study of the Ronald Wintrobe which shows the hybrid regime can be reduced by minimizing the authoritarianism and repression under laws of regime. In this article it shows that approval for favoring the strategy is just like as case of the dictatorial government. The most important challenge for using this type of policy is just like to promoting the nationalism.

Discussion

By comparing the all studies of the different authors such as Ronald Wintrobe, (2018) Ergun Özbudun, (2017) and Murat Somor, (2015) according to their complete effects and policies for the dictatorship which is opposite to the hybrid regimes in which one major factor is appreciated. Dissimilar to the authoritarian the mixture of the both is just capable for the initial level of the repression and it also obtains the power of low levels. The approval of the policy is just more likely to undermining the regime. At the same time as there are more elections than ever, the world is getting less democratic (Cheeseman and Klaas 2018)

If this policy will be followed to the results of the democracy then it will deny the powers of dictatorship. These all theories have predicted the outcome of the conclusive pragmatic answers which are available at moment. But few studies are pointing to encouraging the result for damaged hybrids which are tending towards the democracy not only dictatorship. Since the ending of the Cold War, most emerging nations have hybrid regimes. Hybrid governments combine democratic and authoritarian features, such as frequent and direct elections (e.g., political repression). Turkey is not one these nations but Turkey has directed to, established bilateral, strategical that accord with most of these nations that share same co-cultural, religious, and ethnic affinity with Turkey. It is possible for the president to seek for a third term in office if parliament calls for early elections within his or her first two five-year mandates. In the event that no candidate receives a majority of the vote, a runoff election will be held between the top two runners. Erdogan has maintained a veto-wielding position in government since becoming president in 2014. A constitutional referendum in 2017 established a new presidential form of government, increasing presidential powers and abolishing the office of prime minister. As a result of Erdogan's insistence that an early election was essential to put in place the new presidential system, the initially planned November 2019 election was pushed ahead to June 2018. Before and after the 2016 attempted coup, the country had its first general election since then.

The Grand National Assembly's legislature membership was extended from 550 to 600 lawmakers in the 2017 constitutional referendum, and the mandates of its members were prolonged from four to five years in the June 2018 elections. Political parties must earn at least 10% of the vote in order to be represented in parliament. There were a multitude of irregularities in the 2018 parliamentary elections, according to the OSCE. These included a ruling party abuse of public resources for political and electoral advantage and a trolling campaign against the HDP and other opposition parties. In the south and southeast, reports of anomalies such as proxy voting were more common.

There were 344 seats in the Turkish parliament gained by the People's Alliance, a coalition created in February 2018 that includes the AKP and the far-right Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). The HDP won 11% of the vote and 67 seats, while the İYİ (Good Party) Party got 10% and 43 MPs for the first time. A CHP legislator, two HDP lawmakers, and a CHP treason and terrorist suspect were all dismissed from parliament in June of 2020. In the Turkish election on Sunday, post-truth politics were on display to the fullest extent. Partisans on both sides of the political divide believe in two opposing narratives, each of which has its supporters. Even if there are excellent grounds to dispute their unique truth, they resist furiously to any attempt to do so. As a consequence, more rage, more polarization, more instability, and more authoritarianism are all inevitable. While this is the country's current, it is also its future. (Steven A. Cook, 2018)

It was reported by OSCE poll monitors that electoral authorities frequently deferred to the governing AKP and state-run media preferred the party in their coverage of 2018 elections. While campaigning, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan often accused his opponents of backing terrorism. It was also criticized by Ince, the CHP's candidate, who called the voting fundamentally unfair. Demirtaş campaigned from behind bars after being indicted in 2016 on charges of terrorism.

In the first round of voting, Erdogan, the leader of the AKP, received 52.6 percent of the vote. The opposition Republican People's Party (CHP) candidate Muharrem ince got 30.6 percent of the vote. Selahattin Demirtaş of the HDP and Meral Aksenser of IYI Party (Good) Party each garnered 8.4 percent of the vote, while the remaining 1.1 percent went to other candidates. In the event that Erdogan is elected for a third term, he will be in office until 2028 if he wins. (Freedom House, 2021)

Conclusion

It can be concluded that the Turkey have demonstrated hybrid regime because it's not totally based on the democracy, election as well it not based dictatorship. It is in middle of each a sort of rebalancing through politicized institutions. Political structure and implementation of Turkey follow the both regimes. It is also concluded that if the democracy was based on the self-enforcement i.e., it could withhold itself strongly with the track of people towards their own interests even if they were selfish after being established, in many frequent authoritarianism's resurgence would not have taken a place. The only possibility of making equilibrium self-enforcing is that some powerful democratic norms are harbored by some specific societies.

It has been concluded for this study till now, authoritarianism's emergence has been discussed which can be dictatorial and hybrid regime, however, the question concerning the equilibrium has yet to be discussed by researchers. All the analysis and theories have proved Turkey has hybrid regime. It has shown by conducting the discussing the several studies about the democracy and dictatorship it is neither democracy nor a dictatorship but it is the composition of both elements.

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