INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY: THEORY, PROSPECT AND PROBLEMS

by

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INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY:

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to analyse the theory of internal party democracy (IPD) and mainly tries to show hypothetical connection between broad political problems of Turkey and party-level ones. The main question of this thesis is whether there is connection between wider problems of Turkish Politics and party-level ones or not. To answer this, the thesis firstly explains the importance of political parties for democracies by showing that the political parties are requisites for consolidated democracies. Secondly, the study explains why 'internal party democracy' is a need for consolidated democracy and what 'internal party democracy' means by focusing on different components which are participation, representation, competition, autonomy and transparency as core values. Thirdly, the analytical framework of this study has been developed by using Rahat and Shapira's Internal Party Democracy Index (2017) to create Turkey-specific methodology. Justice and Development Party (AKP), Republican People's Party (CHP), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), People's Democratic Party (HDP) and Good Party (İP) are analyzed by applying this framework with 5 different components. The study has introduced that each political party has different strengths and weaknesses related to the components of internal party democracy and resulted in having different levels of IPD for each political party. Nevertheless, this study has also found out that wider political problems of Turkey are also same at the political party-level.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DE PARTİ İÇİ DEMOKRASİ: TEORİ, GÖRÜNÜM VE SORUNLAR

ALİ MURAT GÜÇLÜ

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Anahtar Sözcükler: Türkiye, Demokrasi, Siyasi Partiler, Parti İçi Demokrasi

Bu tez, parti içi demokrasi teorisini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır ve temel olarak Türkiye'nin karşılaştığı geniş siyasi problemler ile parti düzeyindeki problemler arasındaki varsayımsal bağlantıyı kanıtlamaya çalışmaktadır. Bu tezin ana sorusu, Türk Siyasetinin daha geniş sorunları ile parti düzeyindeki sorunlar arasında bağlantı olup olmadığıdır. Buna cevap olarak, tez öncelikle siyasi partilerin konsolide demokrasiler için zorunlu olduğunu göstererek, demokrasiler için siyasi partilerin önemini açıklar. İkinci olarak çalışma, konsolide demokrasilerin neden "parti içi demokrasiye" ihtiyaç duyduğunu ve "parti için demokrasinin" ne anlama geldiğini; katılım, temsil, rekabet, özerklik ve şeffaflık gibi farklı temel değerlere odaklanarak açıklar. Üçüncüsü, bu çalışmanın analitik çerçevesi, Türkiye'ye özgü bir metodoloji oluşturmak için Rahat ve Shapira'nın Parti İçi Demokrasi İndeksi'ni (2017) kullananılarak geliştirilmiştir. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP), Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP), Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP), Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP) ve İyi Parti (İP) bu metodoloji çerçevsinde ve 5 farklı bileşen ile analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, her siyasi partinin; parti içi demokrasinin bileşenleriyle ilgili farklı güçlü ve zayıf yönlerinin olduğunu ve her partinin farklı düzeylerde parti içi demokrasi seviyesine sahip olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bununla birlikte, bu çalışma aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin daha geniş siyasi sorunlarının siyasi parti düzeyinde de aynı olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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YSK: Headquarters of the Supreme Board of Elections

MYK: Party's Center Executive Board

MKYK: Party's Central Committee

AKP: Justice and Development Party

CHP: Republican People's Party

MHP: Nationalist Movement Party

HDP: People's Democratic Party

İP: Good Party

IPD: Intra-Party Democracy

IPDI: Internal Party Democracy Index

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Democracy is a well-known concept, and there are different definitions that focus on different aspects of democracy. Furthermore, we face different theories that focus on democracy as a system of governance where the citizens practice political power directly or by elected representatives. Even if there are differences between all definitions and theories, there is a one significant feature of democracy that can be found in every definition and theory; this is the significance and participation of "people". Regarding this, what makes democracy significant and unique is that this ideology puts people into the center of a political life. In other words, democracy is a system of governance that takes "participation of people" as a significant feature and it might be true to claim that it is a system which applies "rule of people" as a methodology. Therefore, political parties are the social organizations in which these people can actively participate in and be part of a political system.

In the literature, it is commonly agreed that there is a hypothetical linkage between the idea of democracy and political parties and this relationship makes political parties as core actors for democracies. Therefore, scholars also claim that there is also a relationship between democracy as a comprehensive value and internal party democracy as complementary value. Based on the claims arise from literature, this thesis further argues that broad political problems of Turkey are ingrained in the political parties that this thesis focuses on. In other words, problems of internal party democracy in Turkey are the main problems of broad political atmosphere of Turkish politics. Mainly, these problems are participation, representation, competition, autonomy and transparency. To analyze this argument, Turkish politics and Turkish political parties are investigated by applying 2-layer analysis in which it focuses on internal organizations of political parties to better understand wider political atmosphere and its problems.

Democracy, democratization and political parties have been always main topics of political discussions in Turkey. The June 2015 general election of Turkey can be accepted as a turning point in which political parties became more significant in terms of forming the government, challenging the political system by creating a deadlock within the parliament and going for early election after 5 months from the June election. Therefore, possible effects of political parties cannot be underestimated within Turkish politics. However, it would be wrong to accept each political party as analogous organizations. Their political power depends on their size within the parliament, however relatively small political parties can create intensive effects in Turkish politics by taking actions that I have abovementioned. Since Turkish political parties have been very effective in the decision-making process, this thesis focuses on 5 main Turkish political parties which are Justice and Development Party (AKP), Republican People's Party (CHP), Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), People's Democratic Party (HDP) and Good Party (İP) in order to evaluate internal party democracy.

1.1 Purpose of this research

In order to understand and analyze Turkish political parties' importance within Turkish politics; their internal organizations, leaders' power, decision making processes, internal competitions and inclusion of party members into decision making process are extremely significant notions to observe. When we analyze each political parties' complex characteristic features, which also creates characteristic problems, it is more possible to observe that the wider democracy related problems of Turkey have been integrated into the political parties too. Therefore, the general aim of thesis is to focus on party level democracy related problems to better understand wider problems that Turkey has been facing about democratization of the political system. This thesis argues that each political party has both strengths and weaknesses in terms of their internal organizations and procedures in relation to the idea of internal party democracy that is a requisite for consolidated democracy.

It is necessary to analyze political parties' internal organizations in relation to their understanding of democracy and its applications to evaluate their internal democracy level. In thesis, the notion of **internal party democracy** will be examined by focusing on different components. By doing this, this thesis aims to analyze the reciprocal relationship between democracy and political parties as the organizations which are accepted as

irreplaceable. In other words, this thesis seeks to analyze comprehensive democracy related problems of Turkey by focusing on party level democracy related problems. According to Turkmen:

> The absence of internal party democracy (IPD) is not a characteristic of one party or period but has been a fundamental aspect of Turkish Politics since the foundation of Turkish Republic.[1]

This shows us that the IPD has always been problematic for Turkish Politics. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the internal party democracy is an application of democratic values within political parties. Additionally, democracy requires political parties as core actors, and it is argued that the internal party democracy is a core value to have a consolidated democracy. This thesis is neither an attempt to track internal party democracy history in Turkish politics nor a comparison of current Turkish political parties. Instead, it aims to show how wider political problems has roots and indicators within Turkish political parties which are currently in the parliament. In other words, this thesis seeks to answer the question: Are the wider political problems of Turkey same for political party level democracy? Basically, the main argument of this thesis is that there is great similarity between state-level democracy and party level problems.

It is possible to argue that each political party that this thesis investigates in following chapters has both strengths and weaknesses in terms of internal democratic applications. The focus of thesis is not about concentrating on theories of democracy, instead it directly applies different components to evaluate political parties' internal party democracy level and related problems by just focusing on post 2015 period where inter-political party relations become more significant and the leaders' decision came to the fore.

1.2 Methodology

Existing research has been focusing on democracy related problems in Turkey by analyzing each component separately. Since Turkish political parties are complex bodies in terms of their inner organization and procedures, focusing on one broad problem would make the research hard to compare each political party deeply because it is commonly believed that each Turkish political party has both strength and weaknesses in different

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[1] Türkmen, A (2016). *The institutional design of intra-party democracy through legal instrument: Turkish case,* Marylebone, UK: University of Westminister, p. 10.

areas in which it can be used to analyze internal party democracy level. Therefore, to evaluate internal party democracy level within Turkish political parties: there is a need to apply more comprehensive, internationally applicable benchmark and methodology. Rahat and Shapira's Internal Part Democracy Index (IPDI) (2017) is a comprehensive method which takes different components as core requirements of having consolidated internal party democracy within political parties.

Their research focuses on Israeli political parties and applies multi-layer analysis as an approach to evaluate their internal party democracy levels. IPDI's components are participation, representation, competition, responsiveness and transparency. According to this index, each benchmark creates possibility to deeply investigate political parties' internal strengths and weaknesses about democracy. I have modified their rating scale and components' sub-questions to create more Turkish Politics applicable benchmark. Plus, I have applied a new component which is autonomy of party members instead of responsiveness.

Basically, this thesis originated its structural building from Rahat and Shapira's Internal Party Democracy Index with a new benchmark and different sub-questions which are more applicable to Turkish Politics. This is a new method which can be applied by every researcher, and this increases its universal and national applicability. Furthermore, questions of each components are objective that every researcher can find same or similar answers that increase this method's objectivity. According to Rahat and Shapira, this methodology of internal party democracy evaluation is based on "cross national comparative knowledge" that can crease both nation-based analysis and relevancy for all parties from different democratic countries in which political parties are the main socio-political actors in their systems.[2] With micro-level analysis of Turkish political parties, this thesis aims to display the correlation between macro-level political problems and micro-level political parties' democracy related problems.

This thesis applied this methodology instead of having interviews with party officials, because it is commonly known that party officials would not be openly talking about their political parties' weaknesses and problems in relation to internal party democracy as an application of democratic standards. This methodology includes desk-research, observation and data collection as main methods of the research. Therefore, the

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[2] Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017). "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70, p. 89.

study and its methodology aim to create more consistency and universality especially for Turkish politics.

1.3 Organization of the study

The first chapter (Chapter 2) of this study aims to articulate the hypothetical, strong and reciprocal relationship between democracy, party politics and internal party democracy concepts. Main aim of this chapter to show why and in what ways internal party democracy is essential for democratic systems. Main roles of political parties, their contribution to broad system are the two of topics which are discussed in the first chapter. Furthermore, this chapter explains why political parties are seen as the schools of democracy, and why the participatory aspect of democracy can only be established by having political parties in a political system. This chapter also focuses on literature review in which concept of internal party democracy as a distribution of power and process are explained and different studies on IPD is analyzed.

Second chapter (Chapter 3) directly explains components of internal party democracy benchmark, which are participation, representation, competition, autonomy of party members and transparency within political parties. Therefore, this part of the study can be accepted as explanation of theoretical and analytical framework. This part of thesis tries to answer the question: why these components are chosen to analyze internal party democracy level? This chapter includes literature review for each component of the benchmark and tries to explain their importance in internal party democracy evaluation.

Third chapter (Chapter 4) is the main evaluation of each political parties which are AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP and İP by applying the internal party democracy benchmark and sub-research questions. In this party, each political party has its own sub-chapter where the evaluation of each component can be found. This part of thesis is significant because of two main reason. First, this is core section in which we can compare political parties' internal mechanisms in relation to internal party democracy level. Second, this part of the study gives us chance to relate each party-level democracy related problem that we face to broader problems of Turkish politics.

Final chapter (Chapter 5) is the conclusion in which it has 3 main topics which are the problems of internal party democracy in Turkey, limitations of this research and

research's finding about "to what extent wider political problems of Turkey has integrated in political party-level?".

CHAPTER 2: DEMOCRACY, PARTY POLITICS AND INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY

There is a reciprocal relationship between democracy and party politics. Democracy requires political parties as actors, and it is logical to claim that internal party democracy can only be established by having democratic values within broad political system. Similar to this, it is claimed that there is direct relationship between state level democracy and its party level applications.[3] Therefore, it is possible to claim that internal applications of democracy within political parties are affected by the broader understanding of democratic values.

This thesis does not focus on models of democracy, yet, it focuses on the relationship between democracy and party politics from the perspective of internal applications of democracy within political parties. In other words, since Turkish politics is accepted as "party politics"[4]; my thesis tries to understand and show the hypothetical relationship between broad level of democracy and its internal applications within political parties. The internal applications of democracy within political parties creates the concept of internal party democracy which is seen as a method of explaining the relationship between democracy and party politics. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the both the relationship between democracy and political parties and the definitions of internal party democracy by analyzing existing literature.

2.1 Democracy and Political Parties

Broadest definition of democracy proposes that it is a special system which regulates the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Since democracy synchronizes

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[3] Özbudun, E. (2000). *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation,* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher.

[4] Özbudun, E. (2013). *Party Politics and Social Cleavages in Turkey*. Boulder, CO and London: Lynne Rienner.

both practical and hypothetical relationship between the rulers and the ruled, it is possible to claim that democracy is "a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable".[5] Similarly, Alexis de Tocqueville describes democracy as a technique which is used by "society to govern itself for itself".[6] Schumpeter defines democracy as "the will of people" and "the common good".[7] Whereas Robert Dahl further adds up different features to separates democracy from non-democracies, and he proposes that large scale democracy requires "elected officials, free-fair-frequent elections, freedom of expression, alternative sources of information, associational autonomy, and inclusive citizenship".[8] Since democracy is widely accepted as the rule of people, ways and mechanism applied by democratic countries differ from each other.

Even if definitions of democracy look similar to each other in terms of main features, it is hard to claim that we have been observing one and simple democracy in today's world. Schmitter and Karl argue that "democracy does not consist of single unique set of institutions"[9], therefore one might claim that we have different versions of democracy. When different democratic countries are analyzed, it is obvious that each of them has different features, characteristics, conventions, regulations and practices. However, we have one similarity between those countries, which claim to be democratic, and this similarity is the place and importance of political parties. All widely accepted definitions of democracy suggest that there must be a relationship between the rulers and the ruled. Furthermore, the style and features of this relationship determines the main characteristics of democracy.

In democracies, political parties are accepted as social organizations and located between state and society and this bilateral relationship between rulers and ruled is established by political parties as actors. At this point, the necessity of political parties increases in the systems of governance which claim to be democratic. If the model of relationship between state, political parties and public is well established, accountable and open to participation, it is possible to have consolidated democracy and internalized

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[5] Schmitter, P. C. and Karl, T. L. (1991). 'What is Democracy … and is Not?', *Journal of Democracy*, 2, p. 4.

[6] Tocqueville, A. (1961). *Democracy in America*, New York: Schocken Books. p. 51.

[7] Schumpeter, J. A. (1942). *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, New York: Harper and Brothers.

[8] Dahl, Robert A. (1998). *On Democracy*, New Haven: Yale University Press, p. 85.

[9] İbid., p. 4.

universal democratic values. That is why, political parties have the role of being bridges between state and society as active social organizations.

Political parties are organized group of people who share similar political orientations, have a well-established and designed political agenda. What differs these organizations from other social organizations is that they have the aim of effecting political decisions and possessing political power.[10] Criticality of political parties in relation to modern democracy is indisputable. To demonstrate the importance of political parties; Schattschneider states that political parties have "determinative and creative" role in forming democracy as a universal value and form of government, and he openly claims that "the political parties created democracy and that modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of the parties".[11] It is obvious to claim that there is a strong, direct and substantial relationship between democracy and political parties, and this relationship has been significant in terms of being reciprocal.

Similarly, Dahl also mentions that large scale democracy deeply requires *associational autonomy* in which he claims that people should have the autonomy and freedom to form independent, social and political organizations which include both interest groups and political parties in democratic settings.[12] Therefore, to be able to talk about democracy as a form of government, It should be legally possible to have political parties in the field of politics. According to Sartori, the meaning of party comes from the word "part". Since entirety is made up of different parts, it is reasonable to claim that one party cannot be accepted as "political party" for Sartori.[13] Related to this explanation, Özbudun correspondingly suggests that different parties have to be established to be able to talk about the notion of political parties.[14] This understanding pinpoints the importance of pluralism in the theory of democracy, where different political parties should compete with each other, therefore, it is widely accepted that political parties are irreplaceable actors of democracy.

Scarrow identifies the duties of political parties, and she claims that "articulating group aims, nurturing political leadership, developing and promoting policy alternatives,

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[10] Kışlalı, A. T. (1987). *Siyaset Bilimi,* Ankara Üniversitesi Yayınları, Ankara, p. 287.

[11] Schattschneider, E. E. (1942). *Party Government*. New York: Rinehart.

[12] Dahl, Robert A. (1998). Ibid., p. 86.

[13] Sartori, Giovanni (1977). *Parties and Party Systems: A Framework for Analysis*., Cambridge University Press. p. 4.

[14] Özbudun, E. (1974). *Siyasal Partiler*, Ankara: Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınlar, G-4, p. 2-4.

presenting voters with coherent electoral alternatives" are the main obligations which political parties have to carry out.[15] From her explanation we could make two different and noteworthy conclusions. Firstly, it is believed that the political parties' role of being bridges between society and state is undeniably significant. According to Scarrow, political parties have the "potential to promote a virtuous circle" which aims to link normal citizens to government.[16] This potential is important to understand the possibility of legitimizing the system and government by political parties themselves. When ordinary citizens feel that they have direct access to government by the effects of political parties that they support, those citizens will be more likely to accept the legitimacy of the system, and this also consolidates political stability. Therefore, political parties are at the center of this fragile relationship of political legitimacy.

Secondly and more importantly, democracy requires "elections"[17], and it should be accepted that the notion of "free and fair" elections can only be established by providing and having coherent electoral alternatives in the political system. As Dahl explains that free and fair elections is one of the distinctive features of democracy, without political parties as alternatives to the governing one, it would not be possible to have free and fair elections.[18] Therefore, people must have adequate choices to make their decisions on political parties freely, and the only way of establishing this is to have multiple political parties in the political system. When it comes to fairness, there are countries which apply one-party system where it is not possible to have other political parties to form; however, it is not possible to call their elections and their system fair and democratic. If we take the role of political parties in fulfilling the free and fairness requirements of democracy into account, it is possible to claim that the relationship between democracy and political parties is both reciprocal and vital.

This *reciprocal relationship* between democracy and political parties is about being mutually complementary to each other. In other words, the notion of political party can be accepted as the pair of democracy. Katz and Cross believe and argue that "democracy involves competition between collectives of citizens who share common

[15]Scarrow, Susan E. (2005). "Political Parties and Democracy in Theoretical and Practical Perspectives: Implementing Intra-Party Democracy", *The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*, p 3.

[16] Scarrow, Susan E. (2005). İbid., p.3

[17] Schmitter, P. C. and Karl, T. L. (1991). 'What is Democracy … and is Not?', *Journal of Democracy*, 2, p 81.

[18] Dahl, Robert A. (1998). Ibid., p. 95.

interests and ideologies, and parties are the organized political expression of these collectivities, and party leaders are their agents".[19] Since political parties are seen as the actors and organizations which aim to represent opinions of masses, it is not possible to fulfil the condition of representation, which democracy significantly requires, without political parties. Therefore, the existence and the notion of democracy is not possible without having political parties as social organizations and actors. Having reciprocal relationship between democracy and political parties gives significant importance to the roles of political parties that they have in the political system. There are not only organizations which only aim to represent society politically, but also, they have been accepted as the social environments where people develop their political agendas and ideologies with interactions.

We have seen two main statements that both explain and support the necessity of political parties for democratic regimes. First, according to *'school of democracy'* argument: political parties should play the role of living schools where citizens can get wise to "political learning, socialization and competence".[20] Citizens should freely become members of political parties to get wise to political life and deepen their knowledge about the politics. Therefore, 'school of democracy' argument suggests that the political parties functioning as schools must be organized democratically, then those who actively participate can internalize core democratic values and practices.

The school function of political parties is supported by the scholars who believe that without internally democratic political parties as actors, it is not possible to have consolidated democracy in broad terms. Or in other words, actors must be democratic and believe in democratic values to create and support democratic system. Furthermore, this understanding of political parties also proposes that the rationale of having consolidated democracy is possible with the contribution of political parties to the whole system by transforming ordinary citizens to actively participating, well-informed interrogators who wisely question both the legitimacy of government and their political parties which can be in the position of government or opposition. From this point of view, it is possible to claim that this duty of political parties can be named as 'the parties as schools for

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[19] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). 'Problematizing Intra-Party Democracy'. In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 171.

[20] Amundsen, I. (2016). "Democratic Dynasties? Internal Party Democracy in Bangladesh", *Party Politics*, 22 (1), p. 50.

democracy' where people get educated about the benefits of democracy, and it is argued that this also helps people to internalized both the importance of democratic values and the political parties as social-political organizations.

Secondly, it is believed that *'participatory aspects of democracy'* has the most significant place and value in identifying the importance of political parties within democratic settings. Since democracy requires active participation from citizens in order to keep both the system and administration accountable, it is possible for citizens to be effective trough political parties on decision making process. Modern democracy does not accept 'voting' as the sign of active participation, there has to be active party membership, powerful NGOs, and participation from non-state actors into politics. In other words, strong and well internalized democracy can only be possible with citizens' willingness and activeness in the field of politics by using every possible way to be part of decision-making process as observers, stabilizers and decision makers. According to Barker, strong democracy can be achieved by having citizens, who do not play the role of "watchdogs", instead accepts participation as obligatory way of life. [21] By active participation within the organization of political parties, people are personally able to learn and practice how democracy functions and in what ways democracy values them. If those arguments are taken into consideration, it is true to accept that political parties are the places where citizens can internalize participatory democracy and participation as a way of life instead of a mandatory duty.

Rahat proposes that "political parties are the sub-unites within a democratic whole".[22] From this perspective, it is true to claim that political parties and their internal organizations must also be democratic and democratically organized. However, it is claimed that decisions of political parties on 'to be democratic or not' does not rely on their pure wishes, instead, there are different and interconnected factors which affect political parties' understanding of democracy and its applications.[23] Therefore, before analyzing each component which shapes political parties' decision and perception on

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[21] Barber, Benjamin R. (2003). *Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley: University of California Press. pp. 164-166.

[22] Rahat, G. (2013). 'What is Democratic Candidate Selection?'. In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds), *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 140.

[23] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). Ibid., p. 171.

democracy, it is necessary to understand the notion internal party democracy and what it suggests.

2.2 The Concept of Internal Party Democracy: Literature Review

Modern democracy, which has the notion of representativeness, accepts political parties as mediators which make connections possible between the society and executive - legislative divisions of government.[24] Therefore, with this essential role, political parties become the most active and significant players on the field of politics. As a result of this increasing significance, political parties have been the main focus of scholarly studies which analyze different aspects like party systems, party types, leadership styles, candidate selection methods etc. Internal party democracy as a concept can be accepted as one of the components which had been analyzed and accepted as part of the broad analysis of democracy for a long period of time. However, recent changes in political party systems and party styles, where we face multi-party systems and catch-all parties more[25], made political party studies more significant, frequent and separate field.

According to Sartori, political parties have two main duties, and these duties are mainly "interest representation and aggregation" of people.[26] To be able to talk about a political party, which successfully establishes these two main functions, we have to admit that this political party should be internally democratic in which the political party applies all universal democratic values within decision making process and its organizational structure. Otherwise, it is not possible to have well established interest representation and aggregation of people, if the political party is undemocratically organized and has authoritarian structure of organization. Possible members of political parties should feel that they have an effect in decision making process by being members of political parties, otherwise, it would be illogical to expect that they will become active members of political parties. Therefore, it is believed that internal party democracy is a "necessity or panacea" for establishing fully internalized and representative modern democracy by motivating possible members of political parties.[27] Because of this reason, it is true to

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[24] Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017). "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70, p. 86.

[25] Krouwel, A. (2003) 'Otto Kirchheimer and the catch-all party', West European Politics, 26: 2, p. 23.

[26] Sartori, G. (2005). "Party Types, Organization and Functions", *West European Politics*, 28, pp. 5-32.

[27] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 1.

claim that internal party democracy has undeniable effect on the formation of societal democratic culture and strengthening it. Scholars who believe that internal party democracy promotes and strengthens the state level democracy openly claim that: promoting internal party democracy helps to develop better political culture that is founded on democratic principles.[28] In other words, there is a hypothetical agreement on the connection between internal party democracy and state level democracy.

In order to indicate the connection between state level and party level democracy, Scarrow claims that internalized internal party democracy as a value can promote democratic legitimacy of the system, and it directly endorses citizens to be more active in participating politics through becoming party members.[29] It is claimed that a party, which is not internally democratic in the sense of values and their applications, cannot be externally democratic.[30] Accordingly, we might claim that internal agendas of the political parties can shape their external approach on democracy. Since there is a directly proportional relationship between state and party level democracies, it is true to claim that internal party democracy is the precondition of state level consolidated democracy.

It is necessary to focus on the definition of internal party democracy and understand what kind of variables are analyzed in order to make conclusions about the level of democracy within political parties. When the literature on internal party democracy is analyzed, this study shows that we have two different approaches to define what internal party democracy means. Each approach has different variables which are considered to evaluate internal party democracy, however, it is also necessary to note that these definitions are interrelated and interconnected. These two approaches have been categorized them in terms of their main focus in relation with the notion of internal party democracy to propose better understanding of what internal party democracy refers to.

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[28] Amundsen (2016); Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013); Scarrow (1999). Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017).

[29] Scarrow, S. E. (1999) 'Parties and the Expansion of Direct Democracy: Who Benefits?', *Party Politics*, 5, pp. 341-362.

[30] Mersel, Y. (2006). 'The Dissolution of Political Parties: The Problem of İnternal Democracy', *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 4 (1), p. 97.

2.3 Internal Party Democracy as a "distribution of power"

First approach takes internal party democracy as power relations between political parties' leaders, members and supporters. According to Cross and Katz, since political parties are the social-political organizations which include members and supporters; internal party democracy can be accepted as the characteristics of party life and its organizations where, how and in what ways party members are able to change, affect and control what their parties do.[31] From this explanation, it is true to argue that internal party democracy is more focused on how power is distributed between political parties' leader, administrative cadres, members and supporters. Cross suggests that internal party democracy is directly about the notion of "distribution of power" within political parties' leadership selection and internal organization processes by concerning participation as a significant component.[32] More broadly, it is possible to claim that internal party democracy is focused on "who has authority over what" within the organization of political parties.[33]

According to Yanık, the distribution of power within political parties should be established on the basis of democratic values.[34] What we can understand from the power-centric definition of internal party democracy is that power should be horizontally distributed. In other words, political parties' internal organizations and organs should have certain level of autonomy and right to affect decision making process. Kabasakal, similarly points out the importance of power within political party organizations and claims that internal organization of political parties should not be "deeply-centralized", otherwise establishing checks and balance system would not be possible.[35] Pedersen claims that "balance of power" in a political party is regarded as matter of democracy.[36] Power distribution within political parties creates the notion of centralized and decentralized political party organizations in regards to power, and claiming that

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[31] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). Ibid., p. 2.

[32] Cross, W. (2013). "Party Leadership Selection and Intra-Party Democracy". In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 100-101.

[33] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). "Problematizing Intra-Party Democracy". In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 173.

[34] Yanık, M. (2002). "Parti İçi Demokrasi", Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. p. 46.

[35] Kabasakal, M. (1991). *Türkiye'deki Siyasi Parti Örgütlenmesi (1908-1960),* Istanbul: Tekin Yayınları. pp. 18-19.

[36] Pedersen, Helene H. (2010). "How Intra-Party Power Relations Affect the Coalition Behavior of Political Parties." *Party Politics,* 16.6, pp. 737.

establishing internal party democracy when the party is organized de-centrally is much more likely than centralized political party organizations, where all decisions are under full control of leadership and central administration, would be logical. According to Strom, decentralization means the transformation of power from central party organs to lower party organizations.[37] What we have seen common in these definitions is that the distribution of power and its location are essential illustrators and determinants of internal party democracy level.

From this perspective, internal party democracy requires active and autonomous participation coming from lower strata of parties, and this is only possible under democratic distribution of power. Political parties' organizations naturally create hierarchical organizational scheme, however, to be able to talk about internal party democracy, this relationship should be formed on the basis of democracy. To be able to establish democratic organization of political parties, all rights and freedoms of party members, their vertical and horizontal relationships, terms of office and their legal duties must be well organized, protected and written in political parties' constitutions, known as party bylaws.[38] In other words, defining internal party democracy as a "balance of power" within political parties, can only be founded by applying democratic norms in the structural organization of political parties. When all of these definitions of internal party democracy are analyzed, it is possible to argue that they all propose power relations centered explanations, however, they also suggest that internal party democracy is possible with 'balance of power'.

Understanding and analyzing internal party democracy as "balance of power" is an approach which highly depends and focuses on the outcomes of internal applications of political parties. In other words, it is better to classify this analysis of internal party democracy as an outcome-oriented approach. In this approach, it is suggested that internal party democracy as a notion should provide necessary conditions and consequences for further establishing universal democratic values. In other words, the level of internal party democracy can be analyzed and measured by analyzing products which are the results of political parties' decisions on specific issues. Therefore, this analysis has been taking the

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[37] In Pedersen, Helene H. (2010). İbid., p. 741

[38] Kabasakal, M. (1991). Ibid., p. 21.

outcomes of internal organization of political parties to evaluate the level of internal party democracy. Representation of different social groups within political parties, youth representative quotas, women representation within party administration and parliament are the main outcomes which are analyzed to compare political parties on the basis of internal party democracy.

2.4 Internal Party Democracy as a "process"

Understanding and analyzing internal party democracy as a "process" is another method that scholars applied within their conceptualizations of internal party democracy. Mainly, scholars who accept internal party democracy as a "process" admits and proposes that the broader political atmosphere is the main determinant of features in which the "process" of internal party democracy is shaped.[39] Process of internal party democracy includes sub-variables in which one political party should comprise and apply them to be called as "democratic".

Tuncay proposes that internal party democracy has to be understood as "process" in which there are actions to be taken, and he openly talks about broad participation of people and internal party competition as perquisites of internal party democracy which has to be fulfilled to complete the process.[40] Accordingly, we might claim that active participation of people and internal competition within political parties are the two significant part of the broader process. Similarly, Wright also accepts internal party democracy as a process where there is no domination coming from top cadres on subordinate cadres of the political party, furthermore, he signifies the importance of internal freedom of bottom cadres of the political parties.[41] According to Cular; it is necessary to have inclusive decision-making process to be able to name a political party "democratic". Cular's understanding of "process" must be designed to have possibility of having effective "party on the ground" which can freely influence and affect decision making process from different levels.[42] For Katz, the "candidate selection process" is

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[39] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013); Gauja, A. (2013); Özbudun (1973).

[40] Tuncay, S. (1996). *Parti İçi Demokrasi ve Türkiye,* Ankara: Gündoğan Yayınları. pp. 52-53.

[41] Wright, William E. (1971). 'Comparative Party Models: Rational-Efficient and Party Democracy', in A *Comparative Study of Party Organization*. Princeton, NC: Merrill Publishing Co., p. 47.

[42] Cular, G. (2005). "Organizational Development of Parties and Internal Party Democracy in Croatia". *Politička Misao*, XLI (5), p. 35.

where political parties can be evaluated in terms of their internal party democracy performance regarding how much the selection process is inclusive or not.[43] For this perspective, more inclusive candidate and leadership selection process produce more internal democracy for political parties.

Respectively, we might claim that another component of the process is the level of autonomy and inclusiveness that political parties' internal organizations have. For Gauja, "policy development process" of political parties is directly related to internal party democracy mechanisms where both inclusiveness and autonomy of bottom cadres of political parties are essential to evaluate the process of internal party democracy.[44] Kus advocates that internal party democracy is a "bottom-up problem solving process and ability" of the political parties[45], therefore, it is recognizable that the understanding and analyzing internal party democracy as a process has to do with different features and characteristics of the political parties. According to Rahat and Shapira, internal party democracy is a complex and interconnected process of different components which are participation, representation, competition, responsiveness and transparency, and these components affect and change the understanding of internal party democracy of political parties.[46] If all these approaches which analyze internal party democracy as a process are taken into consideration, we might claim that analyzing internal party democracy needs much broader and comprehensive analysis which focuses on wider variables. Therefore, we might claim that this approach deals with political parties' general characteristics and broader features of the political system.

Since there is a great heterogeneity about the definition of democracy, it is normal to acknowledge that defining internal party democracy is not easy process to propose one commonly accepted and applied definition that is recognized by the majority of academics and political parties. Even if all political parties allege that their internal

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[43] Katz, R. S. (2001). "The Problem of Candidate Selection and Models of Party Democracy". *Party Politics*, *7*(3), pp. 278.

[44] Gauja, A. (2013). "Policy Development and Intra-Party Democracy". In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 116–149.

[45] Kuş, H. (2010). "Türkiye'de Siyasi Partilerin Gelişimi ve 1980 Sonrası Sağ Partilerde Parti İçi Demokrasi Sorunu". Unpublished Master Thesis. Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü.

[46] Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017) "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70.

political organization is democratically organized, we observe that their applications vary from each other due to the features of their political environments. While analyzing and working on internal party democracy, we have to address three basic and significant questions to understand the notion of internal party democracy and its distinctive features broadly. Katz states that these three questions are the actual reality, the practical possibility and the theoretical desirability of internal party democracy in a given country.[47] Therefore, one must focus on these three conditions related to different issues to evaluate the notion of internal party democracy. These three variances also demonstrate and prove us that defining internal party democracy and evaluating it can differ from country to country depending on their political culture, atmosphere and actors. Consequently, instead of analyzing internal party democracy as a separate notion, it would be better and logical to accept and analyze internal party democracy as one of the components of democratic life. In a similar manner, it is argued that analyzing "broader state-wide democratic apparatus" is essential to both evaluate internal party democracy, and it is also logical to claim that internal party democracy is shaped by external elements of the broader democratic system.

Due to all these reasons abovementioned, understanding internal party democracy as a "process" is an approach which mostly focuses on "procedures" of applications. Therefore, analyzing internal party democracy as procedures of internal party mechanisms is a way in which it is used to evaluate the level of internal party democracy by focusing on different procedures like leadership-candidate selection process, internal competition within political parties for the position of leadership and the participation methods of party members into decision making process. That is why, we might claim that this approach's main focus is more of analyzing internal instruments and methods of political parties to both evaluate the level of internal party democracy and wider political atmosphere.

Globalization resulted in having a system of democracy where civil society actors like non-governmental organizations have gained significant power in decision making process. However, political parties are still seen and accepted as permanent actors of the democracies. Therefore, this thesis will be analyzing the continuous relationship between democracy and political parties. Particular focus of my thesis is the internal or inner

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[47] Katz, R. S. (1997). *Democracy and Elections*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 37.

democratic life of political parties which is named as "internal party democracy". My thesis analyzes internal party democracy from the perspective of political parties' applications in their internal organizations. In other words, internal party democracy will be analyzed by considering significant components which shape internal features of political parties.

CHAPTER 3: COMPONENTS OF INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY AND ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Analysis of internal party democracy has two layers which are the relationship between democracy and party politics, and internal applications of democracy within political parties. From this perspective, it is claimed that democracy and political parties are interconnected notions. In addition to this, we might claim that democracy requires political parties as players on the field. First explanation of this relationship suggests that democracy is a system where political parties compete each other under established democratic values and rules. Furthermore, second layer of this connection advocates that in democratic regimes; internal organizations and structures of political parties must be democratically organized. Main focus of this chapter is to analyze the internal applications of democracy within political parties by analyzing significant components of internal party democracy.

There are different methods applied by scholars to understand both level and mechanisms of internal party democracy. Von dem Berge et al. focuses on party bylaws in regards to "members' rights, organizational structure and decision making".[48] Rahat and Hazan focus on "candidate selection" process,[49] whereas, Kenig takes "leadership selection" process as to analyze how internal party democracy works.[50] There are also studies which simultaneously focus on different variables which are decentralization, competition, representation to evaluate internal party democracy.[51]

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[48] Berge, B. Von dem, Poguntke, T., Obert, P., & Tipei, D. (2012). *Measuring Intra-Party Democracy. A Guide for the Content Analysis of Party Statutes with Examples from Hungary, Slovakia and Romania. Springer.* p. 6.

[49] Hazan, R. Y. (2002); Rahat, G. (2009).

[50] Kenig, O. (2009) 'Democratization of Party Leadership Selection: Do Wider Selectorates Produce More Competitive Contests?', Electoral Studies, 28, 240–247.

[51] Kittilson, M. C. and Scarrow, S. E. (2003). "Political Parties and the Rhetoric and Realities of Democratization". In Cain, B. E., Dalton, R. J. and Scarrow, S. E. (eds) *Democracy Trans- formed? Explaining Political Opportunities in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 59–80.

Rahat and Shapira accepts internal party democracy complex and broad notion, therefore, they created "Intra Party Democracy Index" which is a method of grading political parties internal democracy level by focusing on five different variables which are participation, representation, competition, responsiveness and transparency.[52] Due to internal party democracy's complexity, their method analyzes both actual party applications and written official rules of the political parties at the same time. Therefore, this thesis modifies and applies their method to analyze internal party democracy in Turkey by focusing on AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP and İP. Differently, the study has applied significant modifications in relation to the "internal party democracy index" which includes five different dimensions and different analytical questions.[53] Before grading political parties' internal party democracy applications, it is better to focus on each dimension to analyze why they are essential and necessary for establishing internal party democracy.

3.1 Participation

Broad definition of political participation suggests that it is a political ability of public to affect decision making process by using different types of actions and methods.[54] Since, political participation is about being part of decision making process, it would be true to claim that for political party definition: participation is an ability of political parties' organizational cadres, members and supporters to affect decision making process which is designed and applied by the leadership of political parties. Similarly, Scarrow contends that wideness of decision-making circle is the determiner of the internal party democracy.[55] Therefore, we might argue that the inclusiveness of decision-making process designates the level of internal party democracy. Since, modern democracy necessitates active and high level of participation from public, to be able to categorize a political party as internally democratic: there has to be wide participation of political parties' administrative, local cadres, members and supporters in decision making process

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[52] Rahat, G., and Shapira, A. (2017). "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration". *Parliamentary Affairs*, *70*(1), pp. 84–110.

[53] See "Internal Party Democracy Questionnaire" in Appendix.

[54] Conge, P. (1988). The Concept of Political Participation: Toward a Definition. *Comparative Politics, 20*(2), p. 242.

[55] Scarrow, Susan E. (2005). Ibid., p 6.

of political parties on specific issues like leadership-candidate selection and policy formulation processes.

Participation in political parties as a component of internal party democracy, is directly related to two different subjects; first one is *the level of participation coming from local levels of party organization* to affect decision making process and the second one is the question of *who selects the party leader or candidates for parliament*. These two different subjects are interrelated to each other. In other words, it is true to claim that the participation of local levels of party organization has to be visible and effective in decision making process of political parties. Local level participation of political parties into decision making process can be monitored at two different fields: they are the policy formulation of political parties and leadership-candidate selection processes. As a first variable, the level of participation coming from party members into the process of policy developments of political parties can be analyzed to evaluate internal party democracy.

According to Gauja, the participation of party members into the process of policy formulation is "desirable" for two reasons: first, this legitimizes political parties' policies in the eyes of supporters. Second, this connection provides living state-citizen linkage by successfully establishing interest representation and aggregation.[56] There are internal and external factors, which shape this relationship between party and its members in relation to the range of participation into policy making process. Gauja mentions "social expectations, party rhetoric, actual organization and type of political parties and broader design of representative democracy" as main factors which determines the formal level of members' participation to policy formulation process.[57] Therefore, analyzing how much political parties' policy formulation process is inclusive is one method to evaluate its impacts on internal party democracy level.

As a second variable of participation, analyzing leadership and candidate selection processes of political parties in order to evaluate the level of participation coming from actors of political parties will be another method of evaluating internal party democracy. When political parties are broadly analyzed, we have seen that there are mainly 5 different methods that have been using by different political parties in their leadership selection process. Those methods are open primaries, closed primaries, party conferences,

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[56] Gauja, A. (2013). Ibid., p. 116.

[57] Ibid., p. 116.

parliamentary party and party elites.[58] Each of methods has different outcomes in terms of promoting internal party democracy in relation with the notion of participation. Main assumption related to participation as a variable of internal party democracy is that more participatory political parties are more likely to produce better internal party democracy in relation with leadership and candidate selection processes.[59]

In open primaries, we have full freedom of participation regardless of any restriction. It suggests that any voter who are eligible to vote in general elections can participate to the process of leadership and candidate selection process regardless of their political orientation. In this case, we face high level of inclusiveness, however, there are concerns about its possible negative effects on political parties' stabilities and policy formulation process, to put it differently, it is argued that there is a possibility of manipulation by other party supporters.

In closed primaries as a method, we have direct participation of all legal due paying party members into the process of leadership selection by actively voting. This method is also very common European Democracies that has been used as a main method of participation. In party conferences, which has been using by Turkish political parties for long period of time, we have commonly selected delegates who are locally elected with the aim of representing party members can vote in leadership elections. Parliamentary party method has been using by political parties in which we observe that only members of national legislature have right and power to participate into leadership elections within political parties.

Last method, which is not commonly used in today's democracies, is the method of having small inner circle or elite group who has right to decide about possible future leader in political parties. All of these methods have both pros and cons in terms of their possible effects on internal party democracy. However, it is true to accept that more inclusive methods are more likely to produce better internal party democracy atmosphere and results.

Table 1: Leadership electorates by degree of inclusiveness

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[58] Cross, W. (2013). Ibid., pp. 102-103.

[59] Rahat, G., and Shapira, A. (2017). Ibid., p. 90.

Open primaries	Closed primaries	Party conferences	Parliamentary party	Party elite
Any interested voter	All party members	Delegates representing party members	Members of parliament	Small group of party elites

Source: Taken from Cross and Katz, 2013, p. 102

Participation as a component of internal party democracy is seen a method of increasing political parties' legitimacy[60], therefore, the importance of participation in the evaluation of internal party democracy is deeply essential. Political parties which are more inclusive and open for participation is seen as "better choices".[61] According to Rahat, inclusive leadership and candidate selection process is much more important in cases where we have close-list system used for general elections, because, he suggests that high level of inclusiveness counterbalances the lack of individual element in the general elections.[62] That is why, an analysis of participation can be accepted as effective source for also analyzing the notion of internal party democracy.

3.2 Representation

Representative democracy brings the idea of indirect representation of people by elected representatives, and this notion increases the importance of political parties where those representatives try to maximize their support. The main problem and concern of representation is related to how those representatives are able to equally represent the complexities of society which includes different ideologies, races, ages and gender as main topics. In this sense, we have two different approaches of representation to analyze the issue of political representation; they are known as the substantive and descriptive understandings of representation. According to substantive representation, it is possible to claim that political parties, by nature, should be representative of their members' and supporters' political orientations and ideologies in politics. Differently, the idea of descriptive representation focuses on the identity politics in which it is believed that political parties must be able to represent descriptive features of its supporters like gender,

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[60] Cross, W. and Katz, R. (2013). Ibid., p. 171.

[61] Scarrow, Susan E. (2005). İbid., p. 3.

[62] Rahat, G. (2013). İbid., p. 140.

race and age. According to Pitkin, the political representation as a concept is, mainly, a concern of equal representation of society's complexities, and this can be done by promoting and internalizing the notion of descriptive representation.[63] Most of the new and developing democracies have specific groups which have been dealing with the problem of lack of representation in decision making process.[64] Therefore, representative democracy requires that each political party should aim to reflect each sections and groups of society including gender, ethnic, age-based and profession-based representations. Since democracy cannot be possible without representation, we must accept that political parties cannot be internally democratic without maximizing their level of descriptive representations. However, due to limited numbers of candidacies and party officials that political parties can nominate, it is not possible to fully represent all sections of society. In this sense, representation can be analyzed by focusing on some sections of society in which we face deep problems of representation. Due to this reason, this method applies "descriptive analysis" of representation where the representation of women and age in political parties are taken as the main focuses of examination.

From this perspective, representation of women in different political settings is seen and accepted as globally problematic notion that today's political parties have not been able to solve. When we specifically focus on Turkish politics; the picture we observe is not that much different. Since women ratio is %49.8, with the number of 39.771.201 million women in Turkey, analyzing representation of women in Turkish political parties would give us better image about the notion of internal party democracy in relation with the idea of equal representation. The ratio of women MPs that we have in 1935 was %4.5; 81 years later this ratio has merely increased to %14.3. If we focus on the numbers of women ministers that we have with last election of 24 June 2018, we have only 2 women ministers in the cabinet of government. When it comes to local elections, we have also low level of women representation. In Turkey, with 2009 local elections; women mayor ratio was %0.9. After 2014 local elections, this ratio has increased to %2.9. If we analyze women existence at mukhtar level, we have only %2 percent of women mukhtar ratio".[65] According to 2017 Global Gender Gap Report provided by World Economic Forum,

[63] Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The Concept of Representation*. Berkeley: University of California Press. p. 61.

[64] Mimpen, J. (2007). "Intra-Party Democracy and Its Discontents: Democratization in a Volatile Political Landscape", pp. 1–12.

[65] TÜİK. (2017). İstatistiklerle Kadın, 2016. *TUİK Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu*, *24643*, pp. 8–11.

Turkey is ranked as 118th country from 144 countries in the section of women political empowerment where the level of political representation is analyzed.[66] Pervious score of Turkey in 2016 based on the women political empowerment section was 113th, and it proves us that the political representation of women has worsened.

If the general ratio of women is taken into consideration with the actual political representation level, it is obvious to claim that there is a problem of women representation in Turkish politics. When Turkish political parties that we have in parliament are analyzed in regard to representation, it is possible to observe the problem of equal representation. Since equal representation is accepted as one of the components of internal party democracy, represenation of women in Turkish politics has to be deeply analyzed to evaluate internal party democracy. That is why, it is commonly believed that internal party democracy can only be possible with equal representation of women.

Since internal party democracy requires well established and equal representation as a significant component, it is true to claim that gender based representation has to be understood and accepted as a serious measurement variable to evalute the level of representation within political parties. Therefore, it is believed that analyzing women representation within political parties can be a method of evaluating internal party democracy level. [67] According to Child, "women's parliamentary representation, women's positions in party structures and women's influence on party polciymaking" are the components of women-based analysis of political parties.[68] From this perspecive, it is true to claim that the political parties' level of women representation within their administrative and rank-and-file positions designates the level of internal party democracy.

Second variable is the age-based representation of political parties, and its possible effects on internal party democracy. Since it is a fact that Turkey has the youngest generation among European countries in terms of young generation ratio, it is true to claim that younger generations should have right and freedom to be represented more within both political parties and parliament. According to last general election

[66] 2017 Global Gender Gap Report. (World Economic Forum). Retrieved November 25, 2017, from http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2017/results-and-analysis/

[67] Childs, S. (2013). "Intra-Party Democracy: A Gendered Critique and a Feminist Agenda". In Cross,W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 81.

[68] Childs, S. (2013) İbid., p. 81.

results, Turkish Grand National Assembly's age avarage is more than 50 years old. When we analyze YSK (Supreme Election Council) reports on the current parliament of Turkey; 488 members of parliament's ages ranged between 40 and 79 years old, and only 62 members of parliament' ages ranged between 25 to 39 years old.[69] Those numbers show us that Turkish politics and parliament are run by elderly politicians, and this creates and points out the problem of youth representation in Turkish politics. Youth representation can be accepted as another component of equal representation. Therefore, political parties which have more youth representation can be classifed as more internally democratic, because they are the parties which applied equal discriptive representation as a democratic value. Turkish political parties propose different solution methods to rejuvanete politics and parliament: Some of them has applied "young quotas" for candidate nominations, whereas some political parties appointed young members to their governing bodies which are known as central executive boards (MYK). This thesis focuses on young representation as a component of political representation to evaluate internal party democracy, therefore, Turkish political parties will be anayzed to compare their level of youth representations by focusing on parliament, central exetuvite boards and party bylaws.

Instead of analyzing political parties' geographical or ethnic-based representations, analyzing and focusing on "women" and "age-based" representation would be both easy to analyze and to collect necessary data in order to evaluate. This makes the component of representation universally more applicable. Consequently, this analysis gives us better demonstration to understand how much equal representation is necessary for establishing internal party democracy. This descriptive analysis of political representation will be one of the sources to evaluate the level internal party democracy between different political parties by analyzing role of women and youth in ranked-and-file members, MPs and significant positions within internal organization of political parties.

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[69] Milletvekillerinin Siyasi Partilere Göre Yaş Dağılımı. YSK. Retrieved November 25, 2015 from http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/content/conn/YSKUCM/path/Contribution%20Folders/HaberDosya/2015MVES-PartiYasDagilimi-Grafik.pdf

3.3 Competition

Schumpeter, Dahl and Schattschneider claim that without having competition as a component, it is not possible to claim that there is a democracy as a system of governance.[70] Basically, broad definition of democracy suggests that there has to be free, fair and frequent competition between political parties in order to have consolidated democracy. Similarly, Rahat and Shapira also suggests that competition is "central and fundamental condition" for a democracy.[71] Since scholars of democratic theory give high level of importance to a notion of competition between political parties, it is true to argue that democratic competition should be one of the components of internal party democracy within political parties.[72] In other words, internal competition within political parties is the necessary condition for establishing consolidated internal party democracy.

According to Rahat, internal party competition is the only and best way to produce sufficient alternatives for party members to fulfill their right to elect their leader and significant positions within political parties.[73] Since democracy requires "free and fair" elections, it is true to claim that the internal party competition provides an atmosphere where these two necessities can be fulfilled within political parties. Furthermore, this shows us that there is parallelism between state level and party level understanding of democracy which requires competition as an obligation. Internal party competition contains leadership and candidate selection processes as main fields where the internal competition is required. Therefore, it is true to argue that there has to be competition, where different people can run for leadership and candidacy without any restriction, for political parties to be called as internally democratic.

The degree and level of competition is one of the key tenets that determines the level of internal party democracy. Since the notion of democracy requires competitiveness, it is true to claim that competitiveness of leadership selection process is highly significant. According to Cross, "the degree of competitiveness of these contests sheds light on whether members have a real choice or are rubber-stamping a decision

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[70] Schumpeter, J. A. (1942); Dahl, R. (1998); Schattschneider, E. E. (1998).

[71] Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017) "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration", *Parliamentary Affairs*, 70, p. 90.

[72] Rahat, G., Hazan, R. Y., & Katz, R. S. (2008). "Democracy and Political Parties: On the Uneasy Relationships between Participation, Competition and Representation". *Party Politics*, 14(6), p. 664.

[73] Rahat, G. (2009). "Which Candidate Selection Method is the Most Democratic?", *Government and Opposition,* 44, pp. 68–69.

made by party elites".[74] In other words, people, who are eligible to vote in leadership contests, should have freedom and right to freely select their leaders from possible different candidates. Cross suggests that "political culture and norms" are the determinative factors which shape the notion of competitiveness within leadership selection process of political parties.[75] Therefore, political atmosphere of different countries can affect internal mechanism of competition within political parties. According to Cross, "combination of party and state's political culture together with formal party rules influence the degree of competitiveness of leadership contests".[76] That is why, party norms and bylaws have to be taken seriously to analyze the possibility of competition within leadership selection process. In some cases, even if party bylaws allow having competitive elections for leadership, party norms and traditions can block the possibility of having more democratic elections with different candidates running for leadership.

Unquestionable respect to the previous leader can also make distinctive difference in the leadership selection process, because there are cases where the leaders point out his support to one candidate in leadership election. In this case, if the current leader of the political party is strong and influential, most probably there will be no other competitor for a leadership election. Election will be held with only one candidate who is directly supported by current leader, and this decreases the level of competition within political parties. This makes intra party elections one-sided, and it is true to claim that this tradition deemphasizes the importance of competition in evaluation of internal party democracy. Having a challenger as a competitor against current leader who is running for a new term, increases the level of competition rapidly within political party organizations, and this creates an atmosphere of democracy where different candidates try to get supports of voters. Therefore, we might claim competition is a promoter of internal party democracy.

One other determinant, which directly affects the intensity of competition, is the leadership terms of office in political parties. There are some political parties, which strictly define the length of the terms in their party bylaws. In this case, we all know that there will be frequent elections for the leadership as another component of internal

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[74] Cross, W. (2013). "Party Leadership Selection and Intra-Party Democracy". In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) *The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 110.

[75] Ibid., p. 110.

[76] Ibid., p. 111.

competition. However, there are also political parties, which do not set any rules or regulations, which standardizes the length of the term for the leaders of political parties. For those political parties like New Zealand's National Party or most of the Canadian political parties; leaders are chosen for unspecified periods.[77] However, it does not imply that those leaders will serve for lifetime. Their performances are checked by the elections results, votes of confident in party congress or 'leadership review' votes.[78]

In this sense, internal party competition within Turkish political parties is taken as a component of internal party democracy, therefore, each political party will be analyzed by focusing on competition level within leadership contests, leader's terms of office and competitive election for central committees of the parties.

3.4 Autonomy of Party Members

Party membership is accepted as a method of increasing support and creating bonds between political parties and their supporters by changing their supporter position into the legal members. Furthermore, it is believed that the party membership is a "legal mechanism of connection" among political parties and electorate.[79] Therefore, a large membership of political parties is acknowledged as "increasing a party's legitimacy" and a technique of "waging electoral campaigns".[80] Due their importance in the organization of political parties, in some cases; party members are given the authority to select party delegates, leaders, local organizations and candidates for parliament. Hence, we might claim that party membership has been essential in the administration of political parties, due to their possible effect in designing political parties' administrations and policies.

Members of political parties must follow several rules established by the political party constitutions and party program. This necessity is named as "party discipline" that aims to create hypothetical coherency within political parties. However, especially in Turkey; party discipline is used to create pressure on party members to control them in relation to the needs and interests of party leadership. This is accepted as one drawback which negatively affects the notion of internal party democracy. Therefore, we might

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[77] Cross, W. (2013). Ibid., p. 112.

[78] Ibid., p. 112-113.

[79] Young, L. (2013). 'Party Members and Intra-Party Democracy'. In Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (eds) The Challenges of Intra-Party Democracy, Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 136–149.

[80] Cross, W. and Katz, R. S. (2013). Ibid., p. 173.

claim that party members should have certain level of autonomy. In other words, party members must have the freedom of acting as individuals without any concern of disciplinary penalties which was used as a method of pressuring party members. It does not mean that party members should have full freedom to violate certain rules of party bylaws, instead, the party members should be able to support what they believe for the best of their political parties.

Especially in Turkey, political party members are frequently faced dismissal processes and other disciplinary penalties. Therefore, analyzing this would be a method of understanding how disciplinary process are used by party administrations. There is a hypothetical agreement in which it is argued that political parties have been using these disciplinary methods to create pressure on party members in order to shape and inhibit their possible negative opinions about party administrations. What we have seen is that the notion of party discipline evolved to a method of creating pressure on party members to control them in relation to the interests of party administration. However, according to democratic theory, each individual should have freedom of analyzing and expressing their opinions about political decisions and policies of the political parties that they support. From this point of view, this thesis argues that each political party member must have freedom to act individually in regard to expressing their negative opinions about the political party in which they are the members of. Secondly, it is believed that political party members should always follow the party line and vote in relation to the party plans. However, this study also claims that the party members including parliament members, must be able to vote against the party line, if they believe that it is not logical to support. In other words, rights of party members should be protected by party bylaws to create them an atmosphere where they can freely act and express their political opinions about their political parties.

Party members have significant roles and duties in the structure of political parties, therefore, their autonomy must be protected by the written constitutions of political parties. In this component, this study will be analyzing party member's possible freedom to criticize their parties by open criticism and voting against the party line. Party bylaws will be analyzed regarding their disciplinary organizations, and protection of members against disciplinary measures by focusing on actual cases from AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP and İP in order to evaluate the relationship between internal party democracy and autonomy of party members.

3.5 Transparency

Transparency is deeply related to the notion of accountability. If we focus on state-level explanation of democracy, it is true to claim that both government and state must be transparent to be able to be checked and balanced by society. This both increases accountability of the system and gives validity to it. Similarly, Robert Dahl points out that without having "alternative source of information", large scale democracy cannot be established, and he claims that the "access" to alternative sources of information must be protected and supported.[81] As a result; citizens will be able to make "informed decisions" that are seen as more logical and democratic.[82] From his understanding, we might conclude that there has to be alternative and reliable sources of information, without these two; it is not possible for public to make right decisions on which political party to support.[83] Diamond further increases the importance of transparency by claiming that "transparency is one of the components which differentiates democracy as the best form of governance".[84] Therefore, we may claim that the value of transparency is deeply related to the notion of valid and reliable source of information, and without transparency within political parties; it is not possible to have well established and internalized internal party democracy.

Stiglitz claims that governments have internalized reflexes to control and limit the flow of information within their countries, therefore, it is considered that democratization process is blocked by the governments.[85] As a result of this consensus, it is believed that non-transparent systems cannot be democratic. That is why, we also have to admit that non-transparent political parties cannot become internally democratic. Supporters of the political parties should be able to freely learn internal mechanisms, actors and information about their political parties that they support.[86] This liberty is accepted as one of the requirements of broad definition of democracy. If they do not have this freedom, political parties cannot fulfill the notion of explicitness without having legitimate endorsement of

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[81] Dahl, Robert A. (1998). Ibid., p. 86.

[82] Hollyer, J. R., Rosendorff, B. P., & Vreeland, J. R. (2011). Democracy and Transparency. *The Journal of Politics*, *73*(4), p. 1192.

[83] Dahl, Robert A. (1998). Ibid., p. 85.

[84] Diamond, L. (1999). *Developing Democracy: Toward Consolidation*, Baltimore, The John Hopkins University Press. p. 6.

[85] Stiglitz, J. E. (2002). Transparency in Government, *In the Right to Tell*, ed. Washington DC: The World Bank.

[86] Rahat, G. and Shapira, A. (2017). Ibid., p. 93.

its supporters. Therefore, it is believed that political parties should inform their supporters publicly about their internal mechanisms, cadres, decisions and ideologies in order to have legitimate support to be more transparent and democratic. Consequently, this thesis aims to show that there is a direct proportion between the level of transparency and internal party democracy.

Since transparency has been known as the main problem in developing countries, analyzing political parties in relation to their level of transparency would allow us to compare them based on their internal party democracy level. In other words, more transparent parties are the ones where internal party democracy can be better developed and applied. Democracy requires transparency to produce an environment where people can check and balance the power of administration. This understanding can also be applied to political parties' internal organization. Since we are living in the world of internet, political parties have been using internet as a method of reaching their members and supporters.

Political parties' official websites are analyzed in terms of accessibility to information which can help voters to take "informed decisions". The party's current bylaw, the party's current party program, available to download current bylaw, information about party's historical background, party leader's biography, members of central party committee's biographies, a list of party officials' contact information, details about future party events, documentation of party events/plans, languages other than Turkish, news and updates, information about local party branches/officials, speeches or articles of party leader, links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube), information about party membership/online party membership, information about party's income and expenses are the information types that political parties share through their online networks. However, it is noticeable to point out that all types of information are reliable expect "information about party's income and expenses". From this perspective, one might claim that the reliability of finance-based information is open to discussion. Therefore, it is necessary to point that this thesis and benchmark only apply practicality of sharing this information rather than its reliability.

Each political party has different traditions and organizational applications, however, analyzing their online official websites, which can be easily reached by members and supporters, like internal organizations, written constitutions (bylaws), party programs, principles, documentations of party events, biographies of administrative

cadres, is the method to compare political parties between each other on the basis of information transparency level. Accessibility of these documents make political party supporters to be more aware of the political parties' actions and organizations. As a consequence of this, they may change their decisions of supporting or not on the basis of the knowledge that they can get from their official websites. Accessibility of information would increase the level of transparency, and this affects the level of internal party democracy positively. That is why, in this thesis; transparency will be analyzed by focusing on each political parties' official websites to compare them on the basis of availability and accessibility of these informative documents as the components of transparency.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY IN TURKEY: AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP and İP

4.1 Understanding Party Politics in Turkey: Main Characteristics

Political party culture has deep roots in Turkish history starting with Ottoman Empire and continuing with Turkish Republic. Committee of Union and Progress was the most effective political party of the Ottoman Empire, and they shaped last century of the Ottoman Empire for both internal and external politics. Then, Republican People's Party (CHP) became the founder of Turkish Republic as the first formed political party of the Republican history. Turkish Republic was ruled with one-party system between 1923 and 1946. With the first multi-party elections which held in 1946; Democratic Party (AP) won the majority of the votes. As a result of this election, Turkish political party system became multi-party politics. Especially after establishing multi-party system, political parties have been dominant actors of both internal and external politics. Therefore, we might claim that the political parties are always at the center of Turkish politics since the foundation of Turkish Republic.

Turkey can be accepted as a laboratory for studying and analyzing political parties and their significance. According to Özbudun, Turkey is an exemption between new democracies with highly "institutionalization of its political parties".[87] Similarly Frey claims that organization of the Turkish politics is depended on party politics.[88] In terms of creating hypothetical linkages between citizens and government; Turkish political parties are accepted as more effective. That is why, we might claim that the political parties are the organizations which shape Turkish politics deeply. Party politics and its features have been changed since the beginning of multi-party system; however, even if there are significant changes in the characteristics of the party politics, it would be true to claim that the importance and roles of political parties never changed. Before analyzing political parties', internal party democracy applications depending on five different dimensions; it is necessary to understand general characteristics party politics in Turkey.

Between 1946 and 1960, Turkish party system was shaped as a classical two-party system where Republican People's Party (CHP) and Democratic Party (AP) were the main actors in politics. Özbudun claims that the main changes of the party system can be easily seen during the 1970s; he claims that the main features of the party system were

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[87] Özbudun, E. (2000). *Contemporary Turkish Politics: Challenges to Democratic Consolidation,* Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publisher. p. 73.

[88] Frey, F. (1965). *The Turkish Political Elite*, Cambridge: MIT Press. p. 301.

high level of "fragmentation, ideological polarization and volatility"[89]. Sunar and Sayarı illustrates that the characteristic features of the party politics have been changed from "state dominant" to "party centered polity" within the last two decades.[90] According to them, as a result of this significant changes; the party politics of Turkey has become deeply "fragmented, polarized, inefficacious and debilitated". Especially after 1980s; it is possible to claim that the party politics became more significant variable of the Turkish politics.

According to Özbudun, ethnic and religious issues became more significant in ideological polarization, and during 1990s; it was observable that the party identification ties weakened.[91] During the 2000s, political party system has been the main determiner of the internal and external politics. Still, it observable that there is a strong political polarization between political parties and ideologies. This increases the importance and role of political parties within Turkish political system. Party politics is not only important in terms of reciprocal relationships that political parties have between them, but also has undeniable effects in shaping internal organizations of political parties. Since each political party has different sets of both written and unwritten rules and procedures, it would logical to analyze their internal organizations in regard to internal party democracy. Party politics has been the main concentration of the political system of Turkey, that is why, it would be necessary to understand internal or inner features of political parties in the evaluation process of internal party democracy.

Since the argument of thesis is based on broad political problems of Turkey, it is necessary to point out main problems that Turkish Politics has been dealing with. Turkey's international democracy related scores have been declining in last 5 years. For instance, according to Freedom House; "Turkey's status declined from Partly Free to Not Free, its political rights rating declined from 4 to 5, and its civil liberties rating declined from 5 to 6".[92] Key summary of the recent report mentioned 3 areas which have been main problematic ones for Turkey's democracy and kept Turkish democracy unconsolidated. According to this report, Freedom of speech which can be interconnected

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[89] Özbudun, E. (2000). Ibid., p. 79

[90] Sunar, İ. and Sayarı, S. (1986). "Democracy in Turkey: Problems and Prospects". In Sunar, İ. (eds) S*tate, Society and Democracy in Turkey*, Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Publication, p. 87.

[91] Özbudun, E. (2000). Ibid., p. 79.

[92] Turkey. (2018, February 12). Retrieved from https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/turkey

with "autonomy of party members" components of IPD benchmark is the most problematic feature that Turkey's democracy has been struggling with. Declining representation level of disadvantaged groups in politics has also negative effects on Turkey's internal political problems and this is also directly related with "representation" component that this thesis tries to analyze. Final main problem mentioned by Freedom House is reducing level of checks and balances in Turkey. This problem is covered by "competition, transparency and participation" components of this thesis to evaluate the relationship between broad political problems of Turkey and party level ones.

This chapter applies five-dimensional analysis of internal party democracy between six political parties including AKP, CHP, MHP, HDP and İP that we have in today's Turkish parliament. 24 June 2018 general election is main point that the political parties are analyzed accordingly. Some variables of the examination can be changed for each election like level of representation, participation and internal party competition as variables of the internal party democracy. That is why, the study analyzes each political party by taking June 2018 general election as a fundamental point of the analysis.

This thesis has also made comparison between November 2015 and June 2018 general elections to observe political parties' level of internal party democracy. It is necessary to accept that the level of internal party democracy is hard to measure numerically, however, there are core values, which are participation, representation, competition, transparency and autonomy of party members, that determines the level of internal party democracy differently for each political party. This evaluation has a multi-dimensional approach to analyze each political party depending on 5 different components, and each component has different questions to evaluate party's performances and applications.[93] Therefore, this multi-dimensional analysis provides an opportunity to have multi-layer benchmark of internal party democracy. In this chapter, I modified and changed Internal Party Democracy Index's[94] questionnaires and applied them to Turkish political parties to analyze their internal level of democracy and compare them in accordance to their applications and internal party democracy scores.

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[93] See Internal Party Democracy Questionnaire in Appendix.

[94] Rahat, G., and Shapira, A. (2017). "An Intra-Party Democracy Index: Theory, Design and A Demonstration". *Parliamentary Affairs*, *70*(1), pp. 84–110.

All 5 political parties that this thesis focuses on are different in terms of their party types, therefore it is necessary to point out that different party types show different performance in regard to internal party democracy level. However, this thesis only focuses on the relationship between broad political problems and party-level ones. This thesis does not aim to focus on the relationship between party types and internal party democracy levels.

In order to extensively categorize political parties; political parties, which scores ranging from 61-100, are classified as "democratic". Parties, which scores between 31-60, called "partly democratic", and parties that receive less than 30 are identified as "not democratic".

4.2 AKP (Justice and Development Party)

4.2.1 Participation in AKP

Who selects the party leader? (5pts)	**A group of representatives (5pts)**
What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)**
What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)	**Candidate Enquiry (Temayül) (2pts), Party Center's Enquiry (1pt)**
Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)	**Selected representatives (4pts)**

Table 2: Participation Questionnaire for AKP

Internal organization of political parties are the main variable which can change their internal democracy applications, therefore, participation, which is accepted as the method of internal decision-making process of the parties, must be analyzed in relation to the level of internal party democracy. In terms of internal participation, AKP and its internal organization, which is direct result of Turkish Political Parties Act's design and rules, creates an organization where the main decisions are made by congress' delegates.

AKP's party bylaw demonstrates that the leader of the political party is elected by the members of general congress with secret vote, and those members are selected by local

branches of the party.[95] Therefore, it is possible to claim that the party applies "party conference" as a main decision making body for leadership selection process in which "party delegates" are used to represent all party members.[96] This method cannot be classified as highly participatory process, instead, this can be accepted as moderately inclusive method. When the candidate selection process is analyzed, AKP's decision making system can be accepted as complex, because the party is able to apply multiple methods in the process of candidate selection for the Parliament. However, the party bylaw does not put obligatory rules in regard to the application of different candidate selection methods. In other words, application of candidate selection methods is decided by the central committee of AKP (MKYK). When we focus on last general elections of June 2018 and November 2015; AKP applies "tendency survey" which can also be accepted as "candidate enquiry" in terms of its definition and scope.[97] The AKP collects necessary data because of this survey in which local branches of the party, including youth and women branches, show their support to the candidates. In terms of last decision on possible candidates; the party uses high committee which is ruled by the leader of the party. Therefore, we observe that the party also used "center's enquiry" as another method of candidate selection process in which the party officials in the center are more effective in decision making process about candidateship for the Parliament. Lastly, when we analyze policy formulation process which includes any possible change in party bylaw and party program; it is possible to claim that AKP's general congress is the only responsible authority and body to make any changes related to party bylaw and party program.[98]

In terms of participation, AKP's internal organization can be classified as moderately inclusive. In both June 2018 and November 2015 general elections, the AKP has applied same methods, therefore, the level of participation in party's decision-making process has not been changed regarding the level of participation as a variable of internal party democracy.

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[95] AKP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 75, p. 52

[96] Cross, W. (2013). Ibid., p. 102

[97] Adaylar ve Seçmenimiz Müsterih Olsun. (n.d.). Retrieved January 28, 2018, from https://www.akparti.org.tr/site/haberler/adaylar-ve-secmenimiz-musterih-olsun/71754#1

[98] AKP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 159, p. 89

4.2.2   Representation in AKP

What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the party (MKYK)? (5pts)	**6 Women/25 MYK Members: 24% (2pts)**
What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)	**53 Women 18.28%, 237 Men 81.72% (2pts)**
Does the political party apply "youth or women quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**
To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)	**"First Political Party" with 5 deputies aged under 30 years old. (5pts)**

Table 3: Representation Questionnaire for AKP

Representation is accepted as the key variable of AKP's internal organization, and it is argued that the representative democracy is the main foundation of AKP's understanding of democracy.[99] That is why, most of the time AKP's administrative elites refer to the notion of equal representation and the importance of representative democracy in their speeches. For instance, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who is the President and also the leader of AKP, claims in one of his speeches that "it is not possible to think about democracy which does not include women and youth as actors".[100] Similarly, AKP's party program suggests that "women are encouraged to participate in AKP to be more active in politics".[101] Therefore, we may expect that AKP should be able to provide equal representation opportunities for both women and youth.

When AKP's central committee (MYK) is analyzed to intestate the realistic position of women in party's administrative cadre; we have only 5 women represented among 23 people, and this gives us 21.73% as a women representation ratio in the central committee of AKP before the 6th General Congress of the party which took place on 18

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[99] AKP Party Bylaw, Article 4.13, p. 23.

[100] "Kadınlar ve Gençlerin İçinde Olmadığı Bir Demokrasi Sürdürülemez". Retrieved January 11, 2018, from https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/72216/kadinlar-ve-genclerin-icinde-olmadigi-bir-demokrasi-surdurulemez.html

[101] AKP Party Bylaw, "Kalkınma ve Demokratikleşme Programı", p. 136.

August 2018.[102]After this general congress, AKP has 6 women MYK member among the total of 25 that gives us 24% percentage of women representation in the main decision making body of the party.[103] It is possible to claim that there is an increase in women representation within the party's inner circle. Furthermore, it is also necessary to analyze women representation in the parliament. AKP had 34 women and 282 men represented in Turkish Grand National Assembly as a result of November 2015 general election, and this gives us 10.76% women representation among AKP's members of parliament.[104] With June 2018 general election, AKP has 53 women with the percentage of 18.28, and 237 men with 81.72%.[105] It is obvious to be claimed that AKP's women representation in the parliament has increased with the last general election. When we focus on youth representation in AKP, there is no specific "youth or women quota" for candidate selection process mentioned in AKP's party bylaw. However, AKP's party program suggests that "the youth should be included in the process of democratization and representation".[106] When we analyze AKP' current deputies which were selected by November 2015 general election; the youth representation level can be accepted as high, if it is compared with other political parties. AKP has 4 parliament members who were aged below 30 years old at the election time, and this makes AKP as one of the most successful party about youth representation among other political parties with HDP. When the last general election results have been analyzed, youth representation is still high with 5 parliament members whose ages are under 30 years old. When we focus on age average of AKP; it is possible to claim that AKP is the second youngest political party with the age average of 47.8.

Since representation has been taken seriously by AKP administration both in their party bylaws and program; it is possible to claim that there are problems with the actual practice of representation within their political party organization. Specifically, women representation cannot be accepted as sufficient and successful. However, it is also notable

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[102] MYK Üyeleri, AKP – Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from http://m.akparti.org.tr/site/yonetim/myk

[103] Ibid. Retrieved September 12, 2018, from http://m.akparti.org.tr/site/yonetim/myk

[104] Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Cinsiyete Göre Dağılım. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

[105] Idid. Retrieved September 12, 2018, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

[106] AKP Party Bylaw, "Kalkınma ve Demokratikleşme Programı", p. 107.

that the party has ranked as most successful one in regard to youth representation within their ranks.

4.2.3 Competition in AKP

Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)	**No (0pt)**
Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Yes (5pts) – 4 non-stop term serving limit**
Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political parties (MYK, MKYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**

Table 4: Competition Questionnaire for AKP

Competition is seen as a main variable of the democratic settings; therefore, internal party competition has to be accepted as a main contributor of internal party democracy. Analyzing AKP's internal party competition environment would be appropriate to understand their inner mechanisms of democracy depending on internal competition. AKP and its internal applications are really different than other political parties in relation to having lack of internal competition for leadership selection process.

When the last 3 general congress of AKP is analyzed focusing on leadership selection process; we do not face any counter candidate for the leadership contest. In other words, there was always one-candidate running for leadership in AKP's ordinary and extraordinary congresses. Therefore, it is true to claim that in terms of leadership competition; AKP and its internal mechanism does not produce counter candidates for the leadership contest. AKP's party bylaw suggests that any member of the party, who would not be a member general congress, can run for leadership, If they have 20% written support of the general congress members.[107] Since AKP's party bylaw does not inhibit the possibility of having two or more candidates running for party leadership, we do not observe any congresses where we have two or more candidates running for the party leadership contest. Also, it is possible to claim that political parties should have term

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[107] AKP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 69.2, p. 48.

limits to unsure that the party leadership would be available for other candidates. According to AKP's party bylaw, same person can only be selected as a party leader for 4 ordinary party congress limit, therefore, it is possible to claim that this limit helps other candidates to be sure that the leader of the party can be changed as a result of this rule.[108] Also parties' central committees should be open for competition, because these committees are the places where the political party is ruled and controlled. AKP's central decision board (MKYK) has been selected by the general congress, however AKP applies list-based selection of central decision board where each member of the list is decided by the party leadership or possible candidates of the party leadership can run with different lists for the MKYK. Since there were no other candidates in the last 3 general congress of the AKP, it is possible to claim that there was no competition for the MKYK selection process due to having only one list for the election process.

AKP has been known as the party where the leadership is accepted as a strong position, and because of this tradition; it is possible to claim that there is a lack of internal competition within AKP's organization. Nonexistence of counter candidates for leadership contests and limited competition for the selection process of central decision boards are the main reasons why AKP's score of competition within the evaluation of internal party democracy is significantly low that affects party's internal party democracy score negatively.

4.2.4   Autonomy of Party Members in AKP

Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10 pts)	**No legal and practical possibility (0pts)**
Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)	**No legal and practical possibility (0pts)**

Table 5: Autonomy of Party Members Questionnaire for AKP

It is necessary to accept that the notion of party membership, which includes legal due-paying members and its deputies, is the central body of the political parties' organization. The fact remains that political parties are the organizations which are

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[108] AKP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 75, p. 52.

famous with its strict party discipline that is used to control party members. Therefore, it might be true to claim that party members' autonomy should be protected to be able to talk about internal party democracy. The AKP's internal organization and application of party discipline can be accepted as rigid in terms of providing limited freedom to its members.

The AKP's party leader's power and his control over the party organization is stronger than other political party leaders in terms of providing limited autonomy to the party members. In other words, it is possible to claim that party members are not allowed to criticize the party's policies publicly. When we analyze party's bylaw, it is obvious to claim that there is no legal and practical possibility to criticize party's line or policies. According to AKP's bylaw, "participation in activities contrary to the statute and program of the Party, or participation in activities contrary to universal fundamental rules and norms of democracy, human rights and law result in final export penalties".[109] This article can be accepted as the source of limited autonomy that the members of AKP has, because there is no clear explanation of activities which can be classified as contrary to party statute or program. Therefore, any possible criticism, which could be made by party members, can be accepted as contrary to the party statue or program and be punished. When party's deputies are analyzed in terms of their freedom to vote against party line in the polls of parliament, it is possible to claim that voting against the party line is legally possible, but not tolerated by the party leadership. Especially, in the constitutional amendment package ballot in the parliament; AKP's deputies was trying to show their "YES" votes to public, even if the voting has to be done by secret voting. This event shows us that the deputies are under full control of the party leadership, and afraid of being accused to vote for "NO". Therefore, it is possible to claim that voting against party line is not tolerated by AKP's internal discipline and organization, even if there are no legal-written limitations within the party bylaw.

AKP's party members' autonomy as a sub-component of internal party democracy cannot be classified as successful as a result of power centralization within the internal organization of the party. That is why, the AKP's party discipline creates very limited room for individual action for the members. To conclude, it is possible to claim that

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[109] AKP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 117, p. 71.

autonomy of party members within the AKP is quite limited, and this has negative effects on the evaluation of internal party democracy.

4.2.5 Transparency in AKP

1	The party's current bylaw (3pts) - **YES**
2	The party's current party program (3pts) - **YES**
3	Available to download current bylaw (1pt) - **YES**
4	Information about party's historical background (1pt) - **NO**
5	Party leader's biography (1pt) - **YES**
6	Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt) - **YES**
7	A list of party officials' contact information (1pt) - **NO**
8	Details about future party events (1pt) - **YES**
9	Documentation of party events/plans (1pt) - **YES**
10	Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt) – **YES, ONLY ENGLISH**
11	News and updates (1p) - **YES**
12	Information about local party branches/officials (1p) - **YES**
13	Speeches or articles of party leader (1p) - **YES**
14	Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p) - **YES**
15	Information about party membership/online party membership (1p) - **NO**
16	Information about party's income and expenses (1p) - **YES**

Table 6: Transparency Questionnaire for AKP

It is possible to claim that all political parties should provide necessary information about their internal organizations to their supporters and members, therefore, transparency can be analyzed by focusing on accessibility of information that political parties provide. Therefore, AKP's official website is accepted as the main information provider to its members and supporters, and it must be analyzed on the basis of multi-dimensional criteria that this thesis has applied with internal party democracy benchmark.

AKP's official website can be accepted as the most practical one in terms of design and accessibility between four political parties. When we analyze necessary information, which can be accepted as significant to create transparent linkages between the party and its supporters, it is observable that the AKP's official website covers most of the criteria that the evaluation applies to analyze the level of transparency in relation to internal party democracy. It provides necessary and updated information related to current party bylaw and party program, and it also covers party leader's biography and members of central party committee's biographies. It is believed that the party officials, which also includes party's deputies, must be accessible to the members and supporters of the political party,

however, AKP's official website does not provide all party officials' contact information including e-mails and office phone numbers. Party members and supporters must be able to follow future plans and aims of their political party, therefore, it is possible to claim that details about future party events and documentation of party events/plans must be available on the official website. AKP's website can be accepted as successful in terms of providing all future plans and necessary documentations related to past party events. In terms of providing other languages, which are English and Arabic, AKP's website is well designed and prepared. All news-updates, information about local branches, which are provincial and district organizations, and speeches of party leader are available and easy to reach on the AKP's website. One other negative feature is related to the lack of information related to party membership or possibility of having online party membership procedure. However, it also is noticeable that AKP's official website is the only one that provides all necessary information related to party's income and expenses between four political parties.

AKP's level of transparency in relation to providing information is considerably high, or it is possible to claim that AKP is the second political party with CHP within 5 political parties in the analysis of transparency as a component of internal party democracy. Therefore, this component has positive effects in the evaluation of AKP's internal party democracy level.

4.3 CHP (Republican People's Party)

4.3.1   Participation in CHP

Who selects the party leader? (5pts)	**A group of representatives (5pts)**
What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)**
What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)	**Candidate Enquiry (2pts), Party Center's Enquiry (1pt)**
Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)	**Selected representatives (4pts)**

Table 7: Participation Questionnaire for CHP

CHP's party bylaw points out the importance of "pluralist democracy" as primary feature of CHP's ideology and understanding of democracy.[110] Therefore, it is necessary

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[110] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3, p. 8.

to analyze the party's internal decision-making process in order to evaluate their level of internal party democracy which is only possible to establish with more participatory and pluralist decision-making process. Leadership and candidate selection process and party bylaw-program changes has to be analyzed to evaluate CHP's internal participation in decision making process.

Similarly, CHP's party bylaw directly reveals that the leader of the party can only be elected by the general congress, which includes delegates as electorates, with secret vote and absolute majority vote is needed to be elected.[111] Therefore, it is possible to claim that CHP also does not apply any other election method for the leadership selection process as a result of Turkish Political Parties Act. When we focus on candidate selection process for the Parliament, CHP is the only party which legally makes "primary election and candidate enquiry" obligatory methods to be used before general elections. However, even if CHP applies these methods as compulsory ways of candidate selection process for deputy candidateship, the center of the party has its quota do decide on possible candidates. According to party bylaw, this quota cannot be more than fifteen percent of the deputy candidates that the party presented to the Headquarters of the Supreme Board of Elections (YSK). Therefore, it is possible to claim that CHP's party bylaw limits the effects of party center and leader in decision making process on candidate selection. In the general election of November 2015, CHP applied both primary elections, center's enquiry, candidate enquiry and leader's decision as methods of candidate determination. When we analyze the last general election of June 2018, it is possible to claim that the party slightly changed their candidate selection process. CHP did not apply "primary elections" for the candidate selection process, and this is a significant change prior to old general elections. The party did not also use "candidate enquiry", however, they applied "interview" method to give final decision on candidateship with "center enquiry". Finally, changing the party bylaw and party program can only be achieved by the approval of general congress, and the amendment proposals must be given in writing by 20% of the General Assembly, the Party Assembly or the Assembly members.[112]

CHP can be accepted as successful in terms of having participatory decision-making process as a component of internal party democracy with its high score.

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[111] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 36, p. 45.

[112] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 84, p. 125.

Therefore, this component has positive effects in the evaluation of the party's internal party democracy level.

4.3.2 Representation in CHP

What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the party (MYK)? (5pts)	**4 Women/18 MYK Members: 22.22% (2pts)**
What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)	**18 Women 12.5%, 144 Men 87.5% (1pt)**
Does the political party apply "youth or women quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)	**Yes (5 pts)**
To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)	**"Second Political Party" with 2 deputies aged under 30 years old. (4 pts)**

Table 8: Representation Questionnaire for CHP

CHP's party bylaw starts with the main values and principles which are seen and accepted as unchangeable features of the party. According to party bylaw, "the main aim of the CHP is to create an organization that is founded and depended on superiority of law, secularism and participatory democracy".[113] Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, who is the current leader of CHP, claims that "we want all women to enter politics and to leave their marks on politics with their existence", in order to show his desire about increasing women representation in politics.[114] Since, representation as a notion is directly related to "participatory and pluralist" understanding of democracy, it necessary to analyze how CHP formalize the notion of women and youth representation in their internal organization of the political party to evaluate its effects on internal party democracy.

In terms of women positions in the central committee (MYK); CHP can be accepted the second successful party which has 22.22% women representation among 18 MYK

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[113] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3, p. 8.

[114] Kadınların Siyasete Damga Vurmasını İstiyoruz. (n.d.). Retrieved January 12, 2018, from http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/kadinlarin-siyasete-damga-vurmasini-istiyoruz-338435.html

members, and this ratio was 17.2% before the last general congress of the party.[115] When the ratio of women parliament members is analyzed according to general election of November 2015; we have seen that CHP has only 19 women deputies among 131 parliament members, and this demonstrates that the women representation ratio of CHP within parliament was 14.5%.[116] With the last general election of June 2018, it is observable that the women representation within the ranks of CHP has decreased to 12.5% women representation with the actual number of 18 women parliament member with 144 men. Because of this, CHP is ranked as the third political party in relation to women existence in parliamentary group. When youth representation is taken into consideration; CHP is the only party which legally applies "youth and gender quota" for internal candidate selection processes. Even if CHP applies 33% gender quota[117] and 10% youth quota [118] for candidate selection process, in terms of youth representation in parliament; actuality does not verify theoretical rules. In other words, actual practice of the youth representation in CHP in relation to the parliamentary group cannot be accepted as successful and sufficient. CHP has only 2 parliament members who is aged under 30 years old, and the age average of the CHP's deputies is 50.8 that makes CHP as the second oldest political party in the parliament after İP.

Since it is necessary to have equal representation for women and youth in order to establish internal party democracy within political party organization, what we have seen is that CHP has practical problems in relation to the actual representation of the women and youth. Even if CHP's party bylaw democratically applies youth and gender quotas for the candidate selection process, it is necessary to point out that CHP's representation variable score is not high. However, CHP is still the best party with HDP in representation variable of the internal party democracy.

4.3.3 Competition in CHP

Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership	**Yes (10pts)**

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[115] MYK Üyeleri, CHP - Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi Resmi İnternet Sitesi. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.chp.org.tr/PartiYonetimi/35/MykUyeleri.aspx

[116] Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Cinsiyete Göre Dağılım. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

[117] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 61a, p. 95.

[118] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 61b, p. 95.

selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)	
Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**
Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political parties (MKYK, MYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)	**Yes (5pt)**

Table 9: Competition Questionnaire for CHP

CHP's internal competition for the position of leadership is quite active, therefore, it is possible to claim that internal organization of CHP is more productive in terms of having internal party competition. General congress of the CHP is responsible for selection process of the party leader and central committee of the party. Therefore, analyzing CHP's internal competition as a notion would be suitable method of examining its effects on party's internal party democracy applications.

If we analyze last 3 general congress of CHP; we observe that there were different candidates for the leadership selection process. In the general congress at 2016; CHP had two candidates which were Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Mustafa Balbay for the leadership contest. Only Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu received necessary support from CHP's congress delegates and won the election as the only candidate for leadership. 2014 extraordinary general congress had also two main candidates for the party leadership, both Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Muharrem İnce was able to get necessary support from delegates to enter election process. Kılıçdaroğlu received 64.04% of the votes against 35.93% and won the party leadership.[119] In the last general congress of CHP, we have seen both Muharrem İnce and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu as candidates who run for the party leadership, Kılıçdaroğlu received 790 against 447 votes of İnce.[120] All these congresses that CHP has experienced shows us that CHP's internal competition level is high in terms of leadership contest. However, CHP's party bylaw does not apply any term limit for party leadership selection, and this can be accepted as a negative feature that can diminish the level of competition for other possible candidates. CHP has a "Party Assembly" as a decision-

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[119] CHP kurultayından iki önemli sonuç: Kılıçdaroğlu kazandı, İnce 415 oy aldı. (n.d.). Retrieved January 19, 2018, from http://t24.com.tr/haber/kemal-kilicdaroglu-yeniden-chp-genel-baskani-secildi,269907

[120] Kılıçdaroğlu yeniden başkanlığa seçildi. (n.d.). Retrieved September 16, 2018 from https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/politika/kilicdaroglu-yeniden-chp-genel-baskani-secildi/1053656

making body, and this organization and its members are selected by delegates of general congress.[121] When we analyze last 3 general congress, we observe that CHP applies competitive elections for the membership of Party Assembly between delegates of the party. CHP has "open list" and "closed list" as methods of candidate selection for the Party Assembly. When we analyze last 3 general congress; each method used by the general congress in order to select candidates for the Party Assembly. Therefore, it is possible to claim that CHP had competitive elections for Party Assembly which is accepted as the center authority of the party.

If all of this information is considered, it is possible to claim that CHP's internal competition level is considerably high. Therefore, we might conclude that the internal party competition within the CHP has positive effects on the internal party democracy.

4.3.4   Autonomy of Party Members in CHP

Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10 pts)	**Not possible, but tolerated (5pts)**
Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)	**Not possible, but tolerated (5pts)**

Table 10: Autonomy of Party Members Questionnaire for CHP

Republican People's Party has different internal features than other political parties in relation to having more autonomous party members, and this is direct result of having more competitive internal party organization and high level of internal participation. Therefore, it is true to claim that the CHP has more autonomy of party members as a result of having practical possibility to criticize the party's policies and to vote against party line in the parliament.

According to their party bylaw, "every citizen who has the capacity to exercise civil and political rights can be a member of the Republican People's Party, provided that they

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[121] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 37, p. 46.

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adopt the principles, purposes and values of the Party".[122] When we analyze CHP's internal organization by focusing on party bylaw, it is possible to claim that their understanding of party membership in relation to party discipline is less strict than other political parties. In addition to this, disciplinary organization of the party has been using similar disciplinary methods to control its party members. However, the CHP is different in practical terms that we have been facing open criticisms made by party members and possible votes against the party line in the parliament. We may claim that we have cases where the party members deeply criticized their party publicly. For instance, Muharrem İnce, who is accepted as the internal opposition leader in the CHP, has been criticizing party leadership as being a source of internal pressure over party's delegates. He publicly claims that "the people, who argues that they will eliminate the order of fear in this country, created their own order of fear in this party".[123] Even if the CHP was in favor of removing parliamentary immunities; he voted "NO" and publicly announced it, in the parliamentary voting related to removal of parliamentary immunities. He does not face any disciplinary investigation as a result of his autonomous decisions, even if he has been known as an internal opposition within the CHP more than 5 years. Thus, it is possible to claim that the CHP does not strictly apply and use party discipline as a weapon to eliminate critical voices in the party.

It is possible to claim that more autonomy of party members does not mean that party has no discipline in terms of organization and ideology. Instead, we might claim that more autonomy and tolerance provided by the party can positively affect the notion of internal party democracy. In the CHP, there is no legal possibility that is provided by the party bylaw for party members to criticize their party and vote against the party line, however these actions are only more tolerated than other political parties. Therefore, we cannot talk about full autonomy in relation to party members' freedom to criticize and act against the party line in the parliament, but it is possible to claim that there is an environment where the CHP's party members are more autonomous than other parties' members.

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[122] CHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 6, p. 15.

[123] Muharrem İnce: Korku düzenini yok edeceğiz diyenler, CHP'de korku düzeni kurdular. (n.d.). Retrieved February 25, 2018, from http://www.star.com.tr/politika/muharrem-ince-korku-duzenini-yok-edecegiz-diyenler-chpde-korku-duzeni-kurdular-haber-1305624/

4.3.5 Transparency in CHP

1	The party's current bylaw (3pts) - **YES**	
2	The party's current party program (3pts) - **YES**	
3	Available to download current bylaw (1pt) - **YES**	
4	Information about party's historical background (1pt) - **YES**	
5	Party leader's biography (1pt) - **YES**	
6	Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt) - **YES**	
7	A list of party officials' contact information (1pt) - **YES**	
8	Details about future party events (1pt) - **YES**	
9	Documentation of party events/plans (1pt) - **YES**	
10	Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt) – **NO**	
11	News and updates (1p) - **YES**	
12	Information about local party branches/officials (1p) - **YES**	
13	Speeches or articles of party leader (1p) - **YES**	
14	Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p) - **YES**	
15	Information about party membership/online party membership (1p) - **YES**	
16	Information about party's income and expenses (1p) - **NO**	

Table 11: Transparency Questionnaire for CHP

CHP's official website can also be accepted as updated and well-designed for the visitors; however, it is necessary to evaluate each component of transparency. Since, CHP has a "vice precedency of information and communication technology"[124] to deal with information sharing and creating necessary communication with society, it is expected that CHP's official website should be transparent in terms of information that they provide for its members and supporters.

When each component of transparency in internal party democracy benchmark is analyzed in accordance with CHP's official website, it is true to claim that CHP's official website provides most of the information that the criteria requires. It is easy to find and obtain current party bylaw and program, and there is a well-designed and written information about party's historical background. It is also available to find party leader's biography, members of central party committee's biographies, a list of party officials' contact information, details about future party events and documentation of party events/plans. Party members and supporters can easily follow news and updates, necessary information about local party branches/officials, speeches or articles of party

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[124] CHP - CHP Bilgi ve İletişim Teknolojileri Genel Başkan Yardımcılığı. (n.d.). Retrieved January 22, 2018, from http://bitem.chp.org.tr/

the leader, and reach to links of other web pages of the party. CHP's website can also be accepted as successful in terms of having information about party membership, and possibility of online party membership with due paying trough official website. According to grading scale of transparency; CHP's failures are related to two different fields. The first one is the lack of other language services for the official website. In other words, CHP's official website provides only Turkish as a working language. While other three political parties provide at least one other language than Turkish. Therefore, this situation can be accepted as negative for providing transparency to people who do not know Turkish. Second failure of CHP is related to being transparent about information on party's current income and expenses. Since economic transparency is a must for political parties to be accepted as fully transparent, CHP fails to publicly provide necessary economic information on their official website.

As a result, CHP is the second most transparent political party in relation to providing necessary information publicly on their official website. However, language and economic transparency failures of CHP should be considered significantly in the evaluation of internal party democracy.

4.4 MHP (Nationalist Movement Party)

4.4.1 Participation in MHP

Who selects the party leader? (5pts)	**A group of representatives (5pts)**
What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)**
What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)	**Party Center's Enquiry (1pt)**
Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)	**Selected representatives (4pts)**

Table 12: Participation Questionnaire for MHP

MHP's party bylaw states that democracy has to be seen as a "shared value" of the Turkish society,[125] therefore, it is true to that participation as a component in the internal

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[125] MHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3, p. 18.

structure and organization of the MHP has to be analyzed to evaluate the level of internal party democracy.

As it is similar with other 4 political parties, the leader of the party is elected by the Grand Congress, which is also accepted as general congress, for a maximum of three years with the absolute majority of the total number of delegates.[126] Differently, MHP' s party bylaw applies a serving time limit for the leadership, but there is no re-election limit applied by the party bylaw. Party delegates are the group of people who is responsible to select the party leadership and administration. When we analyze candidate selection process that the MHP applies for the general elections; we observe that party's central committee (MYK) is the only responsible unit which decides on selection methods of the candidates between center's candidateship, primary elections, candidates' enquiry and party center's enquiry as methods.[127] In the last June 2018 and pervious December 2015 general elections, the party's leadership decided to apply only "party center's enquiry" as a method of candidate selection process.[128] Therefore, we might claim that the party center was deeply effective in the process of candidate selection, and this resulted in having limited participation within candidate determination process for the Parliament. As a policy formulation, we focus on the method that the party applies to change party bylaw, which is accepted as the constitution of the party, and party program that is seen as the future plans of the political party. MHP has a similar method that other 4 political parties apply in the process of writing and changing party bylaw and program. In other words, general congress of the MHP is the only responsible body which can change and re-write both party bylaw and program as a policy formulation process.

MHP's biggest difference about participation is related to candidate selection process for the general elections where they only applied "party center's enquiry" as a method. This decreases the level of participation within decision making process of the party, therefore, it is also possible to claim that this negatively affects MHP's internal party democracy level.

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[126] MHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 46, p. 73.

[127] Ibid., Article 89, p. 125.

[128] MHP'nin Aday Listesinin Şifreleri. (n.d.). Retrieved January 28, 2018, from http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/gorus/mhpnin-aday-listesinin-sifreleri

4.4.2 Representation in MHP

What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the party (MYK)? (5pts)	**10 Women/75 MYK Members: 13.33% (1 pts)**
What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)	**4 Women 8%, 46 Men 92% (1pt)**
Does the political party apply "youth or women quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)	**No (0 pt)**
To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)	**"Last Political Party" with 0 deputy aged under 30 years old. (0 pt)**

Table 13:Representation Questionnaire for MHP

MHP's position and understanding of representation is quite similar with other political parties that we have in the parliament. Party bylaw of MHP illustrates that the MHP's ideology is built on the notion of "equality of opportunities".[129] According to Devlet Bahçeli, who is the leader of the party since 1997, claims that "It is a mind-blowing mistake that women should be deprived of democratic means while struggling actively and altogether".[130] Since it is observable that the MHP is in favor of equal representation as a notion, we have to analyze internal features of the political party to decide on how much "representation" is well established related to women and youth representation as sub-components.

In terms of women representation in party's central committee; MHP is the most unsuccessful political party with İP. According to central committee members, only 10 women represented within 75 total members of central committee of the MHP.[131] This shows us that the level of women representation in central committee, which is accepted

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[129] MHP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 2, p. 16.

[130] Devlet Bahçeli Grup Toplantısı Konuşması, 5 Aralık 2017. Retrieved January 12, 2018 from https://www.mhp.org.tr/htmldocs/mhp/4337/mhp/Milliyetci_Hareket_Partisi_Genel_Baskani_Sayin_Devlet_BAHCELI__nin_TBMM_Grup_Toplantisinda_yapmis_olduklari_konusma_5_Aralik.html,

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[131] MYK Üyeleri. MHP – Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.mhp.org.tr/htmldocs/kadrolar/myk/mhp/Merkez_Yonetim_Kurulu.html

as the head decision making body, is 13.33%, and this is the lowest women representation ratio between all six political parties in their central committees. Before the last general congress of the party, this representation ratio was 8.33% and it means that there is an improvement of women representation within the party's central decision-making body. When we analyze parliament members and the representation ratio of women within MHP's parliamentary group; the party had only 3 women represented, and this resulted in having 8.33% women representation ratio within parliament members' of MHP accordingly November 2015 election results.[132] With the last June 2018 general elections, MHP has 4 women represented within the party ranks together with 46 men, and this gives us 8% of women representation with the parliament. This makes MHP as the second lowest level of women represented political party with the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Secondly, MHP does not have any specific regulation or written rules to support the youth quotas and youth representation. Therefore, when youth representation within parliamentary group of MHP is analyzed; it is possible to say that they do not have any deputy who is aged under 30 years old and the average age of the MHP's parliament members is 50.4.

Theoretically, MHP and their party bylaw illustrates that they are in favor equal representation to facilitate internal party democracy as a universal value. However, when it comes to practice, MHP does not provide successful results in terms of women and youth representation within their ranks including central committee and parliamentary group. Therefore, it is true to argue that MHP is the most unsuccessful Turkish political party which does not provide good results in terms of "representation" as a component of internal party democracy.

4.4.3 Competition in MHP

Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)	**Yes (10pts)**
Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**
Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political	**Yes (5pt)**

[132] Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Cinsiyete Göre Dağılım. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

parties (MKYK, MYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)	

<p align="center">Table 14: Competition Questionnaire for MHP</p>

MHP and its traditional features are quite different than other political parties, especially party leadership is accepted as the head of party's ideology. Therefore, each general congress that MHP had in the past was accepted as eventful including fights and long debates. However, it is possible to claim that internal competition within MHP is also noticeably high that we have observed multiple candidates running for the party leadership in last congresses.

Last 2018 general congress of MHP does not have multiple candidates running for party leadership, Devlet Bahçeli was the only candidate, who has been serving as a party leader since 1997 and won leadership contest. This situation was similar for the 2015 general congress too. However, the 2012 general congress of MHP had two candidates who were Devlet Bahçeli and Koray Aydın; Bahçeli won the party leadership with 725 votes, while Aydın got 441 votes.[133] 2009 general congress of MHP was the most eventful one in terms of debates and changes that they made related to party bylaw. According to changes made at 2009 congress; 5 terms limit of serving as a party leader was removed from party bylaw, and they decided that in extraordinary general congress it is not allowed to have election for party leadership.[134] As a result, MHP does not apply any term limit for the party leadership selection, instead MHP's party bylaw only applies 3 years long serving limit for the party leader. When we analyze election process of MHP's central committee, we observe that only 2012 general congress had competitive elections with two different list running for central committee membership.

Even if MHP is accepted as a party where the position and power of the party leader has significant effects in designing internal organization of the political party, we might claim that MHP cannot be called as a party which does not include internal party competition. Therefore, it is possible to claim that MHP's internal party competition in relation to internal party democracy cannot be classified as unsuccessful. However, it is

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[133] Olaylı kurultaylar partisi MHP. (n.d.). Retrieved January 20, 2018, from http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/al-jazeera-ozel/olayli-kurultaylar-partisi-mhp

[134] Ibid.

also logical to point out that MHP's internal competition has been declining as a result of regulations and rules which applied by 2009 general congress.

4.4.4 Autonomy of Party Members in MHP

Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10 pts)	**No legal and practical possibility (0pt)**
Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)	**Not possible, but tolerated (5pts)**

Table 15: Autonomy of Party Member Questionnaire for MHP

Nationalist Movement Party is famous with its strict traditional rules and applications which strengthen power and control of the party leader. Therefore, analyzing possible autonomy level of the party members will help us to understand how and why autonomy of party members is significant component to evaluate the level of internal party democracy within the MHP.

It is possible to claim that the MHP has been applying similar methods to control party members in regard to their party program and discipline. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out that the party should be examined in order to evaluate their actual practices. Even if the party's bylaw is the only one that states "all party members have right to express their opinions and wishes"[135], the MHP's administration do not tolerate any criticisms made by party members against party policies. In other words, we might claim that while party bylaw talks about freedom of opinion expression, actual practices of the MHP do not provide an example of a party where there is a high level of autonomy of party members. According to their party bylaw, "members of the party expressly declare and refrain from expressions, attitudes and behaviors that would harm people, unity and solidarity with acts contrary to the purpose, principles and policies of the party, both inside and outside the party".[136] As a result of this article, administrative body of the party can easily punish party members who publicly criticize their party's actions. When we focus on possibility of having party deputies who can vote against the party

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[135] MHP (2017), Party Bylaw, Article 10a, p. 26.

[136] Ibid., Article 11e, p. 27.

line in the parliament, the MHP has also similar application of having legal possibility with no toleration. For instance, Yusuf Halaçoğlu has publicly announced that "My party says 'Yes'. 6 of our friends say 'no'. When we say this, we know that we fall back on our party. The Constitution tells us to decide with free will, we are following this..." in relation to constitutional amendment package. As a result of this action, they faced disciplinary proceeding by the party's administrative body and most of them resigned from the MHP. Therefore, we might claim that voting against party bylaw is legally possible, but not tolerated by the MHP's internal organization.

When we take all these into consideration, it is possible to claim that the MHP has also limited autonomy of party members, and this decreases the level of internal party democracy. That is why, the MHP cannot be classified as a party that ensures an environment of autonomy to its party members.

4.4.5 Transparency in MHP

1	The party's current bylaw (3pts) - **YES**
2	The party's current party program (3pts) - **YES**
3	Available to download current bylaw (1pt) - **YES**
4	Information about party's historical background (1pt) - **YES**
5	Party leader's biography (1pt) - **YES**
6	Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt) - **YES**
7	A list of party officials' contact information (1pt) - **YES**
8	Details about future party events (1pt) - **NO**
9	Documentation of party events/plans (1pt) - **YES**
10	Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt) – **YES – ONLY ENGLISH**
11	News and updates (1p) - **YES**
12	Information about local party branches/officials (1p) - **YES**
13	Speeches or articles of party leader (1p) - **YES**
14	Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p) - **YES**
15	Information about party membership/online party membership (1p) - **YES**
16	Information about party's income and expenses (1p) - **NO**

Table 16: Transparency Questionnaire for MHP

MHP's party bylaw points out the importance of "sincerity" as an internalized feature of their democracy understanding. [137] Therefore, it is expected that the

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[137] Ibid., Article 3h, p. 20.

transparency should be provided by MHP in order to create strong linkages between the party and its supporters. Publicly sharing necessary information can be accepted as the prerequisite of creating transparency, therefore, analyzing MHP's official website is the method that this thesis applies to analyze their transparency level in relation to their applications of internal party democracy.

MHP's official website ensures most of the criteria by providing updated information about the party's current bylaw and program, and it is also easy to find information about party's historical background with party leader's biography. Since transparency can be achieved by creating strong communication between the party and its supporters, MHP's website provides all contact information and party's central committee member's biographies. People can easily reach related documents of party events/plans, news and updates, internal organization of the party, speeches and articles of the leader, links of other official web pages. Furthermore, MHP's official website clearly points out the membership prerequisites, and have online party membership system which provides SMS or E-Mail membership. In terms of providing other languages available, MHP's official website has only English as a second language of the website. MHP fails to provide two significant information component which are related to details of future party events, and information on the party's income and expenses.

As a result, MHP cannot be called as unsuccessful in terms of being transparent to both its supporters and society. MHP holds the position of being most successful political party in terms of providing information transparency. Therefore, it is possible to claim that this has positive effects on their internal party democracy evaluation and level.

4.5 HDP (People's Democratic Party)

4.5.1 Participation in HDP

Who selects the party leader? (5pts)	**A group of representatives (5pts)**
What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)**
What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)	**Party Center's Enquiry (1pt)**
Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)	**Selected representatives (4pts)**

Table 17: Participation Questionnaire for HDP

HDP's party bylaw illustrates that the party gives importance to "participatory democracy" as a main principle of its internal organization.[138] Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the level of participation within the party in regard to its effects on internal party democracy. Analyzing internal level of participation in decision making process of the party is the method of evaluating internal party democracy level.

Leadership selection process can be accepted as a delegate-based system, in which party delegates of general congress are responsible and authorized to select leaders of the party. It is necessary to point out that HDP has a co-party leadership system in which there are two party leaders at the same time. Therefore, "party conference with selected representatives" is the main method which is applied by the HDP to select leaders of the party. When the candidate selection process for the Parliament is analyzed, it is possible to claim that HDP's party bylaw provides two different methods, which are "primary election and party center's enquiry" in order to determine party's candidates for the Parliament.[139] However, in the last general election; HDP's central committee, which is named as Party Assembly, decided to apply only "party center's enquiry" for candidateship selection process.[140] In terms of policy formulation, only party's general congress is responsible to change and write party bylaw and program.[141] Therefore, it is possible to claim that HDP also applies same method in terms of policy formulation with other political parties.

Even if there are similarities between each political party in terms of leadership selection process as a result of Turkish Political Parties Act, the only difference is the internal decision of the HDP regarding application of "party center's enquiry" as the only method for the candidate selection process. This decreases the participation level of other party officials and members in decision making process, therefore, it is possible to claim that this has negative effects on the internal party democracy level and evaluation.

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[138] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3c.

[139] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 48.

[140] 27 Ağustos 2015 Tarihli Parti Meclisi Sonuç Bildirgesi. Retrieved January 29, 2018, from http://www.hdp.org.tr/tr/parti/temel-metinler/pm-sonuc-bildirgeleri/27-agustos-2015-tarihli-parti-meclisi-sonuc-bildirgesi/8806

[141] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 15.

4.5.2 Representation in HDP

What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the parties (MYK)? (5 pts)	**13 Women/29 MYK Members: 44.82% (5pts)**
What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)	**26 Women %40, 39 Men %60 (4pts)**
Does the political party apply "youth quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)	**No (0 pts)**
To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)	**"Third political party" with 1 deputy aged under 30 years old. (3pts)**

Table 18: Representation Questionnaire for HDP

People's Democratic Party can be accepted as the most successful political party in today's parliament in terms of women and youth representation. According to their party bylaw, HDP is named and accepted as "the party of women and youth".[142] In terms of representative democracy, HDP's party bylaw is the only one which directly talks and mentions about the equality of representation between women and men. Therefore, HDP's understanding of representation in relation to internal party democracy has to be analyzed with actual practice.

HDP's central committee illustrates that there is a gender balance between women and men representation. According to last general assembly, HDP's central committee consists of 29 people; 13 of them are women representatives. This gives us the 44.82% of women representation within the central committee of HPD, this was 51.72% for the previous party scheme. Even if the representation of women has decreased in HDP's central decision-making body, the party has still highest ratio of women representation between five main political parties of Turkish Grand National Assembly.[143] When we analyze current deputies of HDP; we have seen that the women representation is also high comparable to other political parties. 26 women represented within the parliament by HDP with 40% representation rate with 24 June 2018 election results. Before this, 19

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[142] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 1.

[143] MYK Üyeleri, HDP – Halkların Demokratik Partisi. Retrieved January 17, 2018, from http://www.hdp.org.tr/tr/parti/parti-yonetimi/myk/14

women parliament members were represented within 54 total deputies of HDP and this was .19% women representation ratio within the ranks of HDP parliament members.[144] Surprisingly, HDP has no specific quota allocation for youth representation, even if their party bylaw talks about "youth" as a main variable of the political party organization. However, HDP applies "women representation quota" in order to increase political participation of women within the party decision making process. According their party bylaw, "all decision-making mechanisms are based on at least equal representation for women and are applied in favor of women".[145] With 1 October 2015 general election; HDP was sharing the first place with AKP in terms of being most successful political parties in relation to having youth representation within the parliament by having 4 deputies who were under 30 years old. However, After 24 June 2018 general election; they have only 1 deputy who is aged under 30 years old. Even if this is the case for HDP, the party still is accepted as the youngest political party within the parliament with 47.3 average age.

If all these numbers are compared with each other, HDP is the most successful political party with CHP in terms of representation within the evaluation of internal party democracy between political parties in the parliament. Therefore, it might be true to claim that HDP's score of representation is the highest one in the five-dimensional analysis of internal party democracy.

4.5.3 Competition in HDP

Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)	**No (0pt)**
Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Yes (5pt) – 2 term serving limit**
Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political parties (MKYK, MYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**

Table 19: Competition Questionnaire for HDP

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[144] Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Cinsiyete Göre Dağılım. Retrieved January 12, 2018, from https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/milletvekillerimiz_sd.dagilim

[145] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3e.

People's Democratic Party has different political organization in terms of party leadership, they apply co-chairmanship or co-party leadership as a method of party leadership organization. In this case, they have two party leaders who share similar duties, responsibilities and political power within the organization of political party.[146] Since co-party leadership looks like the most democratic method of ruling political party in terms of power sharing and balance of power, analyzing internal competition within HPD gives us better understanding of internal party democracy applications.

When we analyze HDP's last 3 general congresses that the party has, it is observable that there were no other counter candidates for the leadership contest. Always two candidates run for the co-party leadership in each general congress. They were Selahattin Demirtaş-Figen Yüksekdağ and Pervin Buldan-Sezai Temelli who run for party leadership as co-party leaders. This indicates us that internal competition for the party leadership cannot be called as high. This is also similar for the parties which can be accepted as successors of the HDP. Similarly, HDP's party bylaw illustrates that there is a 2-term limit for leadership selection process, which limits the possible number of terms in which co-party leaders can serve.[147] This helps to have possible internal competition for upcoming elections related to leadership selection process. When we also analyze the selection process of "Party Assembly", which is accepted as the main decision-making body of HDP, it is possible to claim that there is a competitive election process between candidates to enter Party Assembly of HDP.

In terms of internal competition, HDP cannot be classified as internally competitive political party depending on my benchmark. Especially, lack of competition related to the leadership selection process is the source of HPD's low grade in competition sub-category of internal party democracy evaluation. Therefore, we might claim that this has negative effects in shaping internal party democracy depending on competition as a significant feature of internal party democracy evaluation.

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[146] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 16.

[147] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3j.

4.5.4   Autonomy of Party Members in HDP

Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10pts)	**No legal and practical possibility (0pt)**
Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)	**No legal and practical possibility (0pt)**

Table 20: Autonomy of Party Members Questionnaire for HDP

People's Democratic Party has been claiming that their party membership organization is the most democratic one, and this argument is made by their party program.[148] However, their actual practice of controlling party members is not totally different than other political parties that this thesis examines. In other words, it might be true to claim that the HDP has also the problem of having limited autonomy of the party members.

It is necessary to analyze the possibility of open criticism that can be made by party members to evaluate the level of autonomy in which party members exercise. However, when the general organization of HDP's party membership and their internal relationship is analyzed; it is not possible to find one case in which there is a public criticism made by party members about their party's policies. This shows us that there is no internal toleration to the possible public criticism. Secondly, to evaluate the level of party members' autonomy as a positive contributor of internal party democracy, it is necessary to examine possibility of having cases where the party's deputies are able to vote against the party line in parliamentary voting. However, what my research finds out is that there is no case in which the party's deputies do not fallow to the party line and voted for opposite direction. Therefore, the HDP can be classified as a party where there is no autonomy for the party members in relation to freedom of expression and decision making in parliamentary ballots.

To conclude, the HDP fails to meet requirements of this component, and this decreases the level of internal party democracy from the perspective of having limited autonomous party members. Since active and autonomous party members are accepted

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[148] HDP (2017) Party Program, p. 1.

as required to establish internally democratic political parties, it is possible to claim that the HDP does not provide successful result in this component.

4.5.5 Transparency in HDP

1	The party's current bylaw (3pts) - **YES**
2	The party's current party program (3pts) - **YES**
3	Available to download current bylaw (1pt) - **NO**
4	Information about party's historical background (1pt) - **NO**
5	Party leader's biography (1pt) - **YES**
6	Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt) - **NO**
7	A list of party officials' contact information (1pt) - **NO**
8	Details about future party events (1pt) - **YES**
9	Documentation of party events/plans (1pt) - **YES**
10	Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt) – **YES – ENGLISH, KURDISH**
11	News and updates (1p) - **YES**
12	Information about local party branches/officials (1p) - **NO**
13	Speeches or articles of party leader (1p) - **YES**
14	Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p) - **YES**
15	Information about party membership/online party membership (1p) - **NO**
16	Information about party's income and expenses (1p) - **NO**

Table 21: Transparency Questionnaire for HDP

HDP's party bylaw states that the party's organizational principles are founded on "transparent process" as a notion.[149] This thesis accepts transparency as a notion that is related to sharing all information publicly and reliably. Therefore, if it is believed that "transparent process" is the key feature of the party's internal organization, HDP should openly provide all necessary information to its supporters and society. Analysis of HDP's official website is the method which is applied to analyze their level of transparency in relation to internal party democracy.

HDP's official website has problems related to practicality, it can be claimed that finding necessary information takes time, and harder than other political parties' official websites. It is easy to find the party's current party bylaw and program, and visitors can easily find biographies of each leader. The website provides information about party's upcoming events and plans. People can reach documentations of party's past events and congresses. Furthermore, HDP is another party which provides 2 languages other than

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[149] HDP (2017). Party Bylaw, Article 3c, p. 1

Turkish available for the website, they are English and Kurdish. The website is regularly updated with the leaders' speeches and articles, and people can find other official websites' links through official website. However, HDP's website has lots of missing information, which is included in our grading criteria. It is not possible to download party's current bylaw, and there is no information about party's historical background. Party's central committee members' biographies and their contact information cannot be reached on the official website. There is missing information about local organization of the party, and their membership system. Also, HDP's website does not provide necessary information about party's income and expenses.

When we analyze all of these features, it is possible to claim that HDP is one the most unsuccessful political party between five political parties that this thesis analyzes in terms of providing transparency as one component of internal party democracy. That missing information, which is needed to be named as transparent, has to be established to create strong communication linkages between the party and society. However, what this evaluation finds out is that the HDP fails to achieve this transparency. Therefore, their score of transparency is noticeably low, and this negatively affects the party's general score of internal party democracy.

4.6 İP (Good Party)

4.6.1 Participation in İP

Who selects the party leader? (5pts)	**A group of representatives (5pts)**
What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)**
What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)	**Party Center's Enquiry (1pt), Center's Nomination (0pt)**
Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)	**Selected representatives (4pts)**

Table 22: Participation Questionnaire for İP

Good Party (İP) is the newest member of Turkish Grand National Assembly, the party was formed 6 months before the 24 June 2018 general election and won 40 seats. The party's internal mechanisms regarding the notion of participation is hard to examine due to time constraints or it is possible to claim that there is a lack of historical background regarding having un-written procedures.

The İP's party bylaw openly declares that the party leader can only be selected by general congress's members of the party.[150] Therefore, a group of representatives is responsible for selecting the party leader. When we focus on the method, it is possible to claim that the İP also applies "party conferences/general congresses" as a selection method of party leadership. This shows us that all political parties have been applying same methods for party leadership selection process because of Turkish Political Parties Act. The İP's party bylaw states that all methods of candidate selection for the parliament can be applied and which one to apply is decided by the decision-making body which is known as "general administrative board". For the 24 June general election, the İP applied 3 methods to decide on candidateship for the parliament. They have used "center's nomination, party's center enquiry". As a policy formulation which includes formulation of party bylaw and party program; the party's general congress is the only responsible body which can change, re-write or decide on party bylaw and program. Therefore, it is possible to claim that İP also applies party congress's members as a group which can shape party's program, not all-party members.

The İP can be accepted as a party which is center oriented in terms of decision-making process. They do not have immense differences from other parties regarding selection of party leadership and policy formulation. Their score of participation cannot be classified low, the party is more of moderate in terms of providing participation as a value of intra party democracy.

4.6.2 Representation in İP

What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the parties (MYK)? (5 pts)	**4 Women/15 MYK Members: 26.66% (3pts)**
What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)	**3 Women %7,5 - 37 Men %92,5 (1 pt)**
Does the political party apply "youth quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)	**No (0 pt)**

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[150] İP (2018), Party Bylaw, Article 36, p.31

To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)	**"Last political party" with 0 deputy aged under 30 years old. (0pt)**

<div align="center">Table 23: Representation Questionnaire for İP</div>

Since the İP was newly formed political organization, it is accepted and claimed by the party itself that the party and its internal mechanisms of representation related to youth and women representation as problematic issues of Turkish politics are going to be different than other political parties. Meral Akşener who is the founder and first chairman of the party claims that "Solutions to the woman issue and all the areas women represent can never be solved by a managerial understanding that does not empathize with women and cannot and does not intend to solve women's representation problem" and she also says that "Good party's movements is a movement of Turkish women"[151] .

All claims that the leader of party has made and the party bylaw of the İP increase our expectation from the party on both women and youth representation. However, it is possible to claim that the reality is different for the Good Party. The central committee of Good Party includes 4 women with 11 men representation, and this gives us 26.6% women representation ratio which is above the average for current political parties in the parliament. However, the İP has only 3 women represented in the parliament with the 7.5% representation ratio. This makes the Good Party most unsuccessful one among other 4 political parties regarding women representation in the parliament. The İP does not apply "youth quota" for candidate selection process, or it is possible to say that party bylaw does not control party leadership to consider age as a notion of candidate selection process. The party does not have any deputy who is under 30 years old. Therefore, the İP is ranked as the last political party within the parliament in terms of having deputies who are aged under 30 years old. Average age of the party is 57.1 and this makes Good Party as the oldest political party in the Turkish parliament in terms of average age of deputies.

Both lack of youth quota in the party bylaw and party's application on choosing deputies without considering age and gender equality as values made Good Party as the most unsuccessful political party within current parliament about representation. When we analyze lists of candidates that the party leadership decided on for the 24 June general

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[151] Milliyet.com.tr. Akşener: İYİ Parti Bir Kadın Hareketidir. 5 Dec. 2017, www.milliyet.com.tr/aksener-iyi-parti-bir-kadin-siyaset-2567431

election; it is obvious that the realistic positions are mostly male and aged politicians. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the Good Party failed to provide good results for the participation benchmark of the internal party evaluation.

4.6.3 Competition in İP

Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)	**No (0pt)**
Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)	**Yes (5pt) – minimum two maximum three years serving time limit, three periods serving limit (with or without breaks)**
Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political parties (MKYK, MYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)	**No (0pt)**

Table 24: Competition Questionnaire for İP

Competition as a value of internal party democracy is hard to examine for newly formed political parties. In other words, it would be difficult to observe internal party competition for the party leadership. However, the İP has experienced leadership crises in which some members of the party started to question Meral Akşener's leadership after 24 June 2018 general election. Therefore, analyzing the Good Party will help us to compare this party with other political parties from the perspective of internal competition.

The party had only two general congresses. First one was the foundation congress that Meral Akşener was the only candidate who run for the leadership. As a single candidate, she won the election without facing any counter candidates. After 24 June 2018 general election; the party have faced internal problems which included internal criticisms that some members of the party made on Meral Akşener's leadership. Therefore, the party leadership decided to go for extraordinary congress to select party leader, and this was the decision of Meral Akşener as a leader. She was the only candidate for this congress too. Therefore, internal competition for party leadership was not observed. When we analyze their party bylaw; it is stated that the party leader can serve minimum 2 maximum

3 years without having elections for the party leadership as a time limit. Plus, the party sets leadership serving limit as 3 terms with or without breaks.[152] Since there was always single candidate who run for the leadership, the party also had only one list for each general congress for the central running committees, therefore there was no competition for the positions of decision-making body of the party.

From competition perspective of intra party democracy; if we take all these into consideration, it is possible to claim that the İP has one of the lowest scores because they did not face any real competition for party leadership and central committees including general administrative committee (refers to MYK for the Good Party). However, it is also necessary to point out that they had only one general party congress since their foundation. That's why, the Good Party can be classified as a party in which there is no internal competition but having serving time limits would create an atmosphere for having possible different candidates for the leadership.

4.6.4 Autonomy of Party Members in İP

Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10pts)	**Not possible, but tolerated (5pts)**
Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)	**No practical possibility (0pt)**

Table 25: Autonomy of Party Members Questionnaire for İP

The Good Party's party bylaw states that the members of the party have rights to exercise. According to this bylaw, "They have the right to express their opinions about the implementation of the Party Program and its Regulation, in writing and orally, on the condition of considering the Party levels".[153] Even if the party has been actively working in the parliament just more than a year, it is necessary to analyze past actions of party members to analyze the level of autonomy of party members.

It is expected to observe actions like open critics and voting against the party line within the Good Party due to party bylaw's statement on freedom of expression.

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[152] İP (2018), Party Bylaw, Article 46, p.41-42

[153] İP (2018), Party Bylaw, Article 10, p. 7.

However, the İP also has been applying strong control mechanism within the party ranks. Therefore, it is observed that even if there is a possibility for open criticism made by party members, they are not tolerated by the party leadership. For instance, especially after 24 June 2018 general elections; the party leadership has faced criticism made by party members internally. Then, there were significant changes after the first extraordinary general congress regarding positions and people. Even if there was no public criticism made by actual party members, the party have faced those criticisms internally. That is why, it might be claimed that there is a possibility of having criticism with no toleration within the İP. When the second component of autonomy is analyzed within the İP; it is observed that there is no case in which party members voted against the party line decided by the party leadership within the parliament. Therefore, the Good Party have strong party discipline in voting processes within the parliament.

The Good party have been sharing similar features with other political parties that this thesis examines in terms of having limited possibility of facing public criticisms made by party members and facing cases in which party deputies vote against the party line. The party cannot be classified as a party in which there is no autonomy of party members. Instead, it might be more appropriate to claim that the party has been applying limited autonomy for the members.

4.6.5 Transparency in İP

1. The party's current bylaw (3pts) - **YES**
2. The party's current party program (3pts) - **YES**
3. Available to download current bylaw (1pt) - **YES**
4. Information about party's historical background (1pt) - **NO**
5. Party leader's biography (1pt) - **YES**
6. Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt) - **NO**
7. A list of party officials' contact information (1pt) - **NO**
8. Details about future party events (1pt) – **NO (not updated)**
9. Documentation of party events/plans (1pt) - **YES**
10. Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt) – **NO**
11. News and updates (1p) - **YES**
12. Information about local party branches/officials (1p) - **YES**
13. Speeches or articles of party leader (1p) - **YES**
14. Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p) - **YES**
15. Information about party membership/online party membership (1p) - **YES**
16. Information about party's income and expenses (1p) - **NO**

Table 26: Transparency Questionnaire for İP

Digitalization and technology have been mentioned in the party program of the İP as a requirement of today's world and politics. Therefore, the party openly claims that they will be working on possible improvements on the area of knowledge management and technological development as a policy.[154]

Knowledge management can be accepted as a competency of being transparent as a political party. Since political parties are the representors of people in politics, there should be clear and strong knowledge transfer between the party and its supporters. Due to this reason, when we analyze the Good Party's official website which can be accepted as an official knowledge sharing point; it is observable that there is missing information in which other political parties are more successful to share. Current party bylaw, party program, leader's biography, documents of party events, news, information about local party branches, speeches of the party leader, link of other social media accounts and online party membership are available at the official website of the Good Party. It is not possible to find or reach information on historical background of the party, biographies of central committee members, contact information of party officials, details of party's future events, other language options of the website and financial statements of the party.

If the İP is compared with other political parties, it is possible to claim that they have the lowest score of transparency. Therefore, the İP can be classified as unsuccessful in terms of providing knowledge and information transparency to its supporters. Since knowledge transparency is seen as significant components of the internal party democracy, the Good Party's internal party democracy score has been negatively affected.

4.7 Results of Internal Party Democracy Index

COMPONENTS	AKP	CHP	MHP	HDP	İP
Participation	15/20	15/20	13/20	13/20	13/20
Representation	8/20	12/20	2/20	12/20	4/20
Competition	5/20	15/20	15/20	5/20	5/20

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[154] İP (2018). Party Program. p. 52.

Autonomy of Party Members	0/20	10/20	5/20	0/20	5/20
Transparency	18/20	18/20	19/20	15/20	14/20
Internal Party Democracy Score	46/100	70/100	54/100	45/100	41/100

Table 27: Results of IPDI for Turkish Political Parties

This multi-dimensional analysis has significant results in regard to explaining current trends of internal party democracy for each political party that this thesis focuses on. Turkish political parties are criticized as political organization which does not internalize democracy as an internal value. However, this evaluation provides necessary explanation that each political party has both weaknesses and strengths in relation to different components. Therefore, this multi-layer analysis of internal party democracy demonstrates that there are distinctive variables which can differ from one political party to another one depending on their internal organization and applications.

Specifically, AKP can be accepted as democratic in terms of providing considerably high level of participation and transparency. However, AKP has significant problems in relation to establishing equal women-youth representation and having internal competition for both leadership and candidate selection process. CHP is the only party which has balanced distribution of scores, and this can be accepted as positive for providing internal party democracy. Internal participation to decision making process' score is the highest one among other political parties, and transparency score can also be accepted as second highest after AKP and MHP. MHP's transparency score is the highest one with AKP, and it is observable that the party is one of the most competitive one in terms of providing competitive elections for both leadership and candidate selection process. However, MHP does not apply more participatory candidate selection process that decreases the party's participation score. MHP's lowest score is the component of representation in which the party failed to provide women and youth representation within their ranks and deputies. When we analyze HPD, it is possible to claim that the party is the most successful one in terms of establishing equal representation for both women and youth within their party organization. However, it is noticeable that the party has the lowest scores in comparable to other 3 political parties at participation,

competition and transparency as other significant components of internal party democracy.

RESULTS OF INTERNAL PARTY DEMOCRACY INDEX

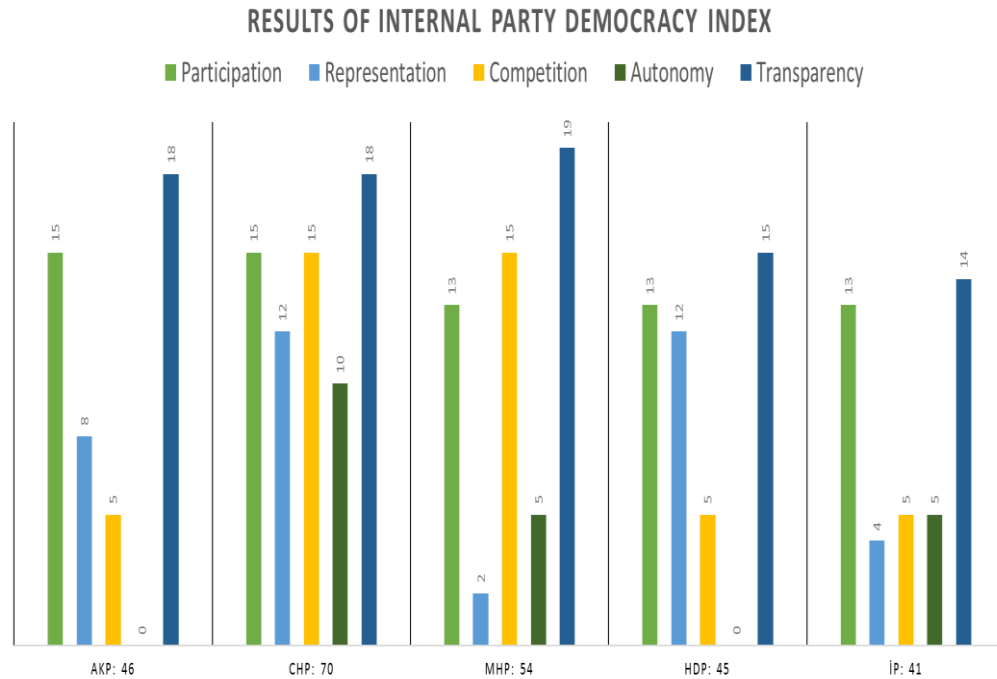■ Participation ■ Representation ■ Competition ■ Autonomy ■ Transparency

Table 28: IPDI Scores

This analysis of four Turkish political parties provides interesting results in accordance with multi-dimensional examination of their internal party democracy applications. What makes this analysis interesting is that the political parties are analyzed by focusing on different components, and this resulted in having a deep and multi-level evaluation of internal party democracy. Most successful component that four political parties are scored high is the notion of transparency, which can be accepted as a transparency of information that political parties share and provide with their supporters online. The most unsuccessful component is the notion of representation in which political parties are failed to provide equal representation to women and youth within their internal organizations. Participation has the most balanced distribution of scores between four political parties as a result of "Turkish Political Parties Act" which strictly designates the rules and procedures of internal participation within political parties. In this component, scores of the political parties is close to each other, only differences are made by the application of candidate selection methods that political parties differently apply. In terms of internal party competition, it is possible to claim that only two political parties which are CHP and MHP are able to get high scores due their internal competition for the leadership.

Since this thesis aims to analyze the relationship between political parties' political orientations, which can be classified as right wing and left wing, and their internal party democracy level; this analysis shows us that each political party has different strengths and weaknesses in relation to components of internal party democracy. This examination proves us that each political party has different orientations and applications that deeply change and shape their internal party democracy applications. As a result, it is possible to claim that left-wing oriented political parties' general scores of internal party democracy are higher than right-wing political parties. However, it is noticeable that left-wing oriented political parties do not have highest scores in each component, that is why, instead of claiming left-wing political parties are always more democratic than right-wing political parties; we might claim that left-wing political parties are abler to produce better internal party democracy than right-wing oriented political parties for Turkish case. According to our grading scale; AKP, MHP and HDP are classified as "partly democratic", and CHP is identified as "democratic" political parties.

CHAPTER 5: EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Internal party democracy is always at the center of discussions in countries which has been dealing with democratization problems. Or it is possible to claim that countries which are classified as partly-democratic has always been criticized as having lack of internal party democracy within their political parties. Turkey's Democracy Index score has been classified as hybrid regime with 4.88 point that is just below the limit of authoritarian regimes, and Turkey has ranked as the 100th country between 167 examined countries in this report at 2017.[155] Turkey's democracy score is quite low in comparison with European countries and party politics has been very significant on shaping political atmosphere in Turkey. Therefore, internal party democracy is the focus of this thesis to analyze both differences between Turkish political parties on internal party democracy applications and analyze main problems that Turkey has been dealing with about internal party democracy as a value.

Implementation of democracy on the political field can only be possible with having strong, active and different political parties. According to Whiteley and Seyd, "political parties are the most important non-state institutions in democratic politics…".[156] Since political parties are mirrors of both strengths and weaknesses of the democratic system, analyzing political parties' internal applications of democracy can be accepted as a method to understand problems for wider political environment. This part of this thesis analyses both main problems of political parties' internal applications that this researched has revealed out and the argument of the thesis regarding internal party democracy in Turkey.

5.1 Problems of Internal Party Democracy in Turkey

The benchmark that this thesis applies has five different components and each component have sub-questions to analyze political parties' internal applications and procedures. Therefore, it is possible to claim that by Rahat's and Shapira's internal party democracy index method is quite suitable for Turkey's case to be able to find different problems for each benchmark by analyzing each component deeply. Thanks to this,

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[155] The Economist Democracy Index. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://infographics.economist.com/2018/DemocracyIndex/

[156] Seyd, P. And Whiteley P. F. (2002). *High-Intensity Participation: The Dynamics of Party Activism in Britain.* Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. p. 2

problems of the internal party democracy can be classified under two main headings; operational problems and political parties' preferences.

Operational problems are the direct results of Turkish political atmosphere and written law which is the Turkish Political Parties Act. Application based problems has 5 sub-headings which are same with the benchmarks that this thesis applies. Participation, representation, competition, autonomy of party members and knowledge transparency. Each benchmark has showed that political parties have been applying different procedures, written and un-written rules. This has resulted in having different problems for each political party. However, bigger picture of this research proves that almost all political parties that this thesis analyses have problems in each benchmark.

Participation aspect of internal party democracy is the most balanced one among the political parties that this thesis focuses on. In other words, political parties scores are close to each other ranging from 13 to 15 out of 20. What this research shows us is that the only difference between 5 different political parties is the application of candidate selection methods. Even if political parties are free to choose their candidate selection methods which are mentioned in Political Parties Act, some of them prefer to apply a more participatory method which is known as primary-elections. For example, AKP and CHP has been more frequently using primary-elections to identify their possible candidates for the parliamentary elections whereas other political parties like MHP, HDP and İP did not use it for the last two elections. What we have seen is that countries which are known as Scandinavian democracies, have been applying more participatory methods like open-primary elections in which all party members can vote for the leadership elections and candidate selection process. Whereas in Turkey, leadership election is limited to the party congress in which congress members are chosen from their districts. Therefore, both leadership and candidateship selection process are highly centralist that the main or final decision is mostly made by parties' administrative decision-making elites which can be accepted as a leader and leader's core body. Therefore, it is possible to claim that participation as a value of internal party democracy is not fully limited but moderately problematic in Turkey.

Representation is the most problematic benchmark of the internal party democracy evaluation for Turkish political parties. There are obvious problems regarding women and youth representation in each political party that this thesis analyses. The questionnaires that this benchmark applies clearly proves that there is a discrepancy

between what Turkish political parties claim and do actually as practices on political representation. This thesis takes women and youth representation as a main focus to analyze 5 political parties. Scores of political parties are ranging from 2 to 12 which are very low. Administrative bodies of the parties consist of elderly people and there is a lack of women representation both within their ranks in the parliament and parties' decision-making bodies. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the representation is a national problem for Turkish politics. Especially, women representation has been significant problem even for political parties which openly declare that they support gender equality. Youth representation has been a main topic after the government changed the law on age of candidacy which allows to be elected at 18 years old that this was previously 25 years old. However, even if this can be accepted as an improvement, reality has not changed after the last general election. Each political party does not provide better results in youth representation within their ranks. For example, MHP and İP are the most unsuccessful political parties in relation to providing better environment for women and youth representation. Therefore, this research openly reveals that the political parties which we have in Turkish parliament are not successful on representation as a value of internal party democracy.

Competition within elections is a requirement for democracies, therefore internal party competition can be accepted as a must to be able talk about democratic political parties. This thesis and competition benchmark focus on internal competition within 5 political parties by analyzing their intra party leadership and administrative elections on the basis of competitiveness and analyzing serving term limit for party leaders. What this research shows is quite significant to understand why competition has been indispensable for establishing internal party democracy within political parties. According to findings, we have parties which do not have internal party competition for the last three intra party elections and these parties has lower internal party democracy scores. AKP, HDP and İP does not experience competitive elections for the party leadership and administrative cadres' elections, and these parties' general internal party democracy scores are comparatively lower than CHP and MHP. However, even if both CHP and MHP have experienced internal elections in which there were opposition candidates for the leadership election process, both parties' current leadership was not supportive of having competitive elections. For instance, opposition leaders from MHP have resigned just after the last general congress, and this shows that the general tendency does not allow to have

powerful internal oppositions within the political parties. The problem that this research shows is that there is a tendency in all political parties that the leaderships always want to block possible counter candidates who would like to run for the leadership. This tendency has been quite problematic and pressure building on internal party oppositions within political parties. Therefore, it is necessary to point out that competition is a requirement for having more democratic political parties.

Autonomy of party members is directly related with having internal oppositions within political parties. To define what this research means by "autonomy" is to have freedom and ability to criticize party's policies publicly and voting against the party line in the parliament. Even if political parties can be accepted as political groups whose official members share same political views, there must be different voices within the ranks of political parties, which cannot be fully homogeneous, according to internal party democracy literature. Therefore, this thesis and benchmark focuses on possibility of having different voices within political parties. Since it is well-known that party discipline is used to suppress possible different voices within Turkish political parties, autonomy of party members is a significant benchmark which has to be observed to examine to evaluate internal party democracy. General trend in Turkish political parties is to have very limited autonomy of party members. Average score of the 5 political parties is only 5 out of 20, and this proves us that the autonomy of party members as a benchmark is the most problematic one for Turkish political parties, and this negatively effects each political party's IPD scores. CHP has 10, whereas İP and MHP have 5, AKP and HDP has 0 as benchmark scores. These scores show us that every political party has been quite unusual providing autonomy to its official members. This limitation and pressure that the Turkish political parties have been applying seems to be the main unsolved problem. To have political parties which might show differences internally and possess more freedom to its members can only be established with writing more libertarian party-bylaws and having party-discipline not as a pressure building tool on the members.

Today's politics has been becoming more digitalized, political parties have established teams for its official websites and social media accounts. Therefore, this benchmark has taken "transparency" as a digital knowledge transparency that the political parties provide to its followers online. This thesis accepted political parties' official websites as sources of information that the parties create between linkages with their supporters by informing them recent news, contacts of party officials, events, changes in

party bylaw, being reachable to other languages, etc. To analyze this, this thesis applies multi-layer analysis of each political parties' official websites related to information that they provide. This benchmark is the most successful one among 5 political parties that this thesis focuses on. The average score of the political party's transparency benchmark is 17 out of 20 that can be accepted as the highest score between other components of the IPD benchmark. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the Turkish political parties have been giving significance to their online information transparency by sharing related information on their official websites. MHP (19), AKP (18) and CHP (18) are the ones which get highest scores and HDP (15) and İP (14) can also be accepted as successful on knowledge transparency. Digitalization of politics is highly followed by Turkish political parties, and this thesis shows us that the Turkish political parties in the parliament got high scores in this component of the IPD analysis.

5.2 Conclusion

Political parties can be accepted as foundation of politics, therefore party-level problems are important to analyze wider problems of a given political atmosphere. Internal party democracy has always been always problematic in Turkish politics since the foundation of Turkish Republic, and Türkmen also claims that this problem has its roots in the Ottoman Empire.[157] This thesis has introduced that each political party has different strengths and weaknesses related to the components of internal party democracy and resulted in having different levels of IPD. Nevertheless, this study has also found out that wider political problems of Turkey are also same at the political party-level.

We have different studies about internal party democracy and most of researches take one component to analyze the problem of internal party democracy within Turkey. However, this study aimed to develop better framework in order to evaluate 5 main Turkish political parties by focusing on 5 different components. From this perspective, this thesis applied more inclusive components to examine internal party democracy problem with an in-depth analysis. Therefore, this research made two contribution to the existing literature on internal party democracy: 1) this study showed that there is a direct relationship between wider political problems and party-level problems in Turkish politics 2) this thesis created an opportunity of comparison for future periods in order to

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[157] Türkmen, A (2016). *The institutional design of intra-party democracy through legal instrument: Turkish case,* Marylebone, UK: University of Westminister. p. 10.

compare parties' future performances and current internal party democracy levels. According to findings, political parties are comparatively better on participation and transparency whereas they have significant problems related to internal competition, women and youth representation and autonomy of party members.

Turkish political parties show great diversity in terms of their ideologies and internal mechanisms. Turkish Constitution and Turkish Political Parties Law/Act shape political parties' internal organizations and decisions. However, political parties have also their internal mechanisms to take decisions on democracy related issues like women and youth representation. It is also noticeable that related laws cannot provide better environment for democratic applications within political parties. Thirdly and traditionally, political parties have been using party discipline to create pressure on its party officials. Therefore, this research showed that the internal party democracy is a common problem for all 5 political parties that this thesis examined. What this research found out is that each political party has positive features and drawbacks in relation to internal party democracy applications.

Internal Party Democracy Index only focuses on formal structures and applications of political parties, whereas it is also necessary to point out that internal mechanisms of political parties have been also very effective on their internal party democracy levels and applications. Therefore, it is essential to state that this thesis only takes formal structures of the political parties in order to evaluate each political party to observe broad political problems that they internally have. In other words, this study is limited to Internal Party Democracy and its analysis from formal perspective. This does not mean that formal structures show great similarity with their informal applications, however this type of research which also takes informal mechanisms of political parties in regard to internal party democracy as a complementary value needs more time and deep research.

To sum up, consolidation of democracy has been unsolved problem for Turkish politics from the foundation of Turkish Republic. Internal party democracy is one of the main problems which prevented Turkish democracy to be consolidated. Finally, and more significantly, this research showed that each political party that this thesis examined has both pros and cons in regard to internal democracy level and there is direct similarity between wider problems and party-level problems of democracy. Therefore, this study also revealed out that there is a room for improvement for each political party. Wider political problems of Turkey like participation, representation, competition, autonomy

and transparency can only be solved, if these problems are internally solved within political parties which are the nuclear-families of the wider Turkish politics.

Appendix: Internal Party Democracy Index Questionnaire

1. **Participation (20 pts)**
   a. Who selects the party leader? (5pts)
      i. Group of representatives, all party members, all citizens of voting age (5pts)
      ii. A single leader, a small circle of party elites (0pt)
   b. What is the method of party leadership selection? (5 pts)
      i. Open Primaries/All citizens of voting age (5pts)
      ii. Closed Primaries/All party members (4pts)
      iii. Party Conferences/Selected Representatives (3pts)
      iv. Parliamentary Party/Small inner circle of MPs (1pt)
      v. Party Elites/Single Party Leader (0pt)
   c. What are the methods that the political party applies in candidate selection process for the Parliament? (5 pts)
      i. Primary Elections (2pts)
      ii. Candidate Enquiry (teşkilat yoklaması) (2pt)
      iii. Party Center's Enquiry (1pt)
      iv. Party Leader's/Center's Decision (0pt)
   d. Who has the authority to write or change the party bylaw and program as a policy formulation? (5pts)
      i. All party members (5pts)
      ii. Selected representatives (4pts)
      iii. A small inner circle (2pts)
      iv. A single leader (0pt)
1. **Representation (20 pts)**
   a. What is the percentage of women's position in the central committee of the parties (MYK, MKYK)? (5 pts)
      i. >45% (5pts)
      ii. 35-44% (4pts)
      iii. 25-34% (3pts)
      iv. 15-24% (2pts)
      v. 5-15% (1pt)
      vi. <5% (0pt)
   b. What is the percentage of women among the parties' current deputies? (5 pts)
      i. >45% (5pts)
      ii. 35-44% (4pts)
      iii. 25-34% (3pts)
      iv. 15-24% (2pts)
      v. 5-14% (1pt)
      vi. <5% (0pt)
   c. Does the political party apply "youth or women quota" for candidate selection process? (5 pts)
      i. Yes (5pts)
      ii. No (0pt)
   d. To measure the level of youth representation; What is the ranking of the political party which has deputies aged under 30 years old in the last general election? (5pts)

   i. First Political Party (5pts)
   ii. Second Political Party (4pts)
   iii. Third Political Party (3pts)
   iv. Fourth Political Party (2pts)
   v. Does not have any deputy aged under 30 years old. (0 pts)

2. **Competition (20 pts)**
  a. Have there been competitive elections (2 or more candidates) for the leadership selection process in one of the last 3 party congress? (10 pts)
   i. Yes (10pts)
   ii. No (0pt)
  b. Is there any term limit for the party leadership selection? (5 pts)
   i. Yes (5pts)
   ii. No (0pt)
  c. Have there been competitive elections for the central committee of the political parties (MKYK, MYK or Party Assembly) in one of the last 3 party congress? (5 pts)
   i. Yes (5pts)
   ii. No (0pt)

3. **Autonomy of Party Members (20 pts)**
  a. Is it possible for party members (including deputies) to publicly criticize the party's policies? (10 pts)
   i. Legal possibility and practical existence (10pts)
   ii. Not possible but tolerated (5pts)
   iii. No legal and practical possibility (0 pt)
  b. Can the party's deputies vote against the party line in the parliament? (10pts)
   i. Legal possibility and practical existence (10pts)
   ii. Not possible but tolerated (5pts)
   iii. No legal and practical possibility (0 pt)

4. **Transparency (20 pts)**[158]
  a. Are the following items easy to reach on the political party's official website?
   i. The party's current bylaw (3pts)
   ii. The party's current party program (3pts)
   iii. Available to download current bylaw (1pt)
   iv. Information about party's historical background (1pt)
   v. Party leader's biography (1pt)
   vi. Members of central party committee's biographies (1pt)
   vii. A list of party officials' contact information (1pt)
   viii. Details about future party events (1pt)
   ix. Documentation of party events/plans (1pt)
   x. Languages other than Turkish (2pts) (one other language than Turkish: 2pts, each other languages: 1pt)
   xi. News and updates (1p)
   xii. Information about local party branches/officials (1p)

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[158] This score is calculated by multiplying the raw score with 20/21.

xiii. Speeches or articles of party leader (1p)

xiv. Links of other web pages (Facebook, Instagram, YouTube) (1p)

xv. Information about party membership/online party membership (1p)

xvi. Information about party's income and expenses (1p)

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