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Understanding and Mitigating Electoral Violence in Turkey

E. Toros & S. Birch / Hacettepe University - King’s College
El-T Data

DIEV-T Data

Conclusion

Introduction

Electoral Violence & Integrity

Perceptions on Electoral Violence

Perceptions on Electoral Fraud

Domestic Electoral Pressure
Introduction
Overview

- UMEVT is a British Academy funded Newton Advanced Fellowship Research.
- The Survey on Electoral Integrity in Turkey (EI-T) and Database of Incidents of Electoral Violence in Turkey (DIEV-T).
- The Survey on Electoral Integrity in Turkey (EI-T) collected micro level data from Turkish citizens regarding electoral violence and integrity.
- First data set on Turkey, took place right after the June 2018 parliamentary and presidential elections.
- More than 1200 respondents, country representative sample.
- Different tools, including list, vignette experiments and cross sectional data.
Example Questions

- How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?
- Votes are counted fairly
- Opposition candidates are prevented from running
- TV news favors the governing party
- Voters are bribed
- Journalists provide fair coverage of elections
- Election officials are fair
- Voters are threatened with violence at the polls
Electoral Violence & Integrity
Free and Fair Elections

How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?

- Free and fair: 60.5%
- In the middle: 23.8%
- Not free and fair: 15.7%

(items n=1076)
Threat

Electorates are threatened with violence to change their votes – Do you agree?

- Don’t know/No answer: 9.4%
- Completely agree: 15.8%
- Somewhat agree: 14.4%
- Somewhat disagree: 21.8%
- Completely disagree: 38.7%
Electoral Management

Election officers worked fairly and equally – Do you agree?

- Don’t know/No answer: 5.8%
- Completely agree: 42.8%
- Somewhat agree: 26.0%
- Somewhat disagree: 14.9%
- Completely disagree: 10.5%

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Vote Counting

Votes are counted fairly—Do you agree?

- Completely agree: 46.5%
- Somewhat agree: 19.6%
- Somewhat disagree: 14.2%
- Completely disagree: 14.7%
- Don’t know/No answer: 5.0%
Turkey in Comparison - Threat

Electorates are threatened with violence to change their votes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very Often</th>
<th>Fairly Often</th>
<th>Not Often</th>
<th>Not at all Often</th>
<th>No Answer/Don't Know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
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</table>
Turkey in Comparison - Electoral Management

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very often</th>
<th>Fairly often</th>
<th>Not often</th>
<th>Not at all often</th>
<th>No answer/Don't know</th>
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<td>18.8</td>
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<td>11.5</td>
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<td>Argentina</td>
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<td>11.5</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Turkey in Comparison - Vote Counting

#### Votes are counted fairly

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Very often</th>
<th>Fairly often</th>
<th>Not often</th>
<th>Not at all often</th>
<th>No answer/Don’t know</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>19.6%</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>29.2%</td>
<td>29.6%</td>
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<td>16.8%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
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<td>23.5%</td>
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<td>3.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
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<td>19.6%</td>
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<td>Kazakhstan</td>
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<td>16.3%</td>
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<td>25.5%</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>23.6%</td>
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<td>12.8%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
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<td>16%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
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<td>36.7%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: The percentages are based on survey responses indicating how often vote counting is perceived to be fair.*
How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Free and fair</th>
<th>In the middle</th>
<th>Not free and fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>17.3%</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
<td>47.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>33.9%</td>
<td>45.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IYI</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
<td>67.7%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>68.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>42.3%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Crosstabs - Regions vs Integrity

How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUTS1 Region</th>
<th>Free and fair</th>
<th>In the middle</th>
<th>Not free and fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TR1 - Istanbul B.</td>
<td>86.4%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR2 - Bati Marmara B.</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR3 - Ege B.</td>
<td>66.1%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
<td>13.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR4 - Dogu Marmara B.</td>
<td>55.9%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR5 - Bati Anadolu B.</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>42.4%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR6 - Akdeniz B.</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR7 - Orta Anadolu B.</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR8 - Bati Karadeniz B.</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>38.7%</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR9 - Dogu Karadeniz B.</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRA - Kuzyeydogu Anadolu B.</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>31.0%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRB - Ortadoğu Anadolu B.</td>
<td>80.4%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRC - Günüeydogu Anadolu B.</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
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</table>
Crosstabs - News Source vs Integrity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>News Outlet</th>
<th>Free</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Not Free</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internet</td>
<td>58.90</td>
<td>21.70</td>
<td>19.40</td>
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<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>65.70</td>
<td>19.20</td>
<td>15.00</td>
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<td>Newspaper</td>
<td>67.70</td>
<td>21.90</td>
<td>10.40</td>
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</table>
Crosstabs - Twitter Activity vs Integrity

Twitter World – How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Free and fair</th>
<th>In the middle</th>
<th>Not free and fair</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Items (n=139)</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Crosstabs - Facebook Activity vs Integrity

Facebook World – How much fair and free was the 24 June 2018 elections?

- Free and fair: 57.9%
- In the middle: 18.6%
- Not free and fair: 23.5%

(Items: n=311)
### Crosstabs - Parties vs Threat

**Electorates are threatened with violence to change their votes – Do you agree?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Completely Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Completely Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>60.2%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>19.8%</td>
<td>20.9%</td>
<td>36.0%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IYI</td>
<td>34.2%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>26.3%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>28.7%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- f0207: Completely Disagree
- f0207: Somewhat Disagree
- f0207: Somewhat Agree
- f0207: Completely Agree

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Crosstabs - Regions vs Threat

Electorates are threatened with violence to change their votes – Do you agree?

NUTS1 Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Completely Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Completely Disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TR1 – Istanbul B.</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>63.6%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR2 – Bati Marmara B.</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR3 – Ege B.</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>59.0%</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR4 – Dogu Marmara B.</td>
<td>45.8%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR5 – Bati Anadolu B.</td>
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<td>23.4%</td>
<td>30.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR6 – Akdeniz B.</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
<td>40.3%</td>
<td>29.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR7 – Orta Anadolu B.</td>
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<td>10.5%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10.0%</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
<td>45.0%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TR9 – Dogu Karadeniz B.</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>51.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRA – Kuzeydogu Anadolu B.</td>
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<td>34.5%</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>TRB – Ortadoğu Anadolu B.</td>
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<td>10.7%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRC – Güneydogu Anadolu B.</td>
<td>17.4%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
<td>28.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Perceptions on Electoral Violence
The Question

- How likely is a particular party voter would take part in violent incidents during the electoral period?
  - 1 It is highly unlikely <—> 5 It is highly likely
Parties - AKP Voters

How likely is a particular party voter would take part in violent incidents during the electoral period?

- **AKP**
  - Very Unlikely: 7.0%
  - Likely: 81.2%
  - Very Likely: 6.3%
  - Extremely Likely: 1.3%

- **CHP**
  - Very Unlikely: 16.1%
  - Likely: 5.5%
  - Very Likely: 12.2%
  - Extremely Likely: 14.9%

- **HDP**
  - Very Unlikely: 15.7%
  - Likely: 4.5%
  - Very Likely: 6.7%
  - Extremely Likely: 15.7%

- **IYI**
  - Very Unlikely: 10.8%
  - Likely: 2.7%
  - Very Likely: 27.0%
  - Extremely Likely: 18.9%

- **MHP**
  - Very Unlikely: 62.3%
  - Likely: 23.4%
  - Very Likely: 9.1%
  - Extremely Likely: 0.0%

- **OTHERS**
  - Very Unlikely: 46.8%
  - Likely: 9.5%
  - Very Likely: 18.2%
  - Extremely Likely: 9.5%

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Parties - HDP Voters

How likely is a particular party voter would take part in violent incidents during the electoral period?

- AKP:
  - Very Unlikely: 13.8%
  - Not at all likely: 3.4%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 15.0%
  - Somewhat likely: 22.9%
  - Very likely: 44.8%

- CHP:
  - Very Unlikely: 18.6%
  - Not at all likely: 15.8%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 30.8%
  - Somewhat likely: 17.8%
  - Very likely: 17.0%

- HDP:
  - Very Unlikely: 72.2%
  - Not at all likely: 11.1%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 8.9%
  - Somewhat likely: 16.7%

- IYI:
  - Very Unlikely: 16.2%
  - Not at all likely: 5.4%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 18.9%
  - Somewhat likely: 27.0%
  - Very likely: 32.4%

- MHP:
  - Very Unlikely: 20.8%
  - Not at all likely: 6.5%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 13.0%
  - Somewhat likely: 28.6%
  - Very likely: 31.2%

- OTHERS:
  - Very Unlikely: 20.2%
  - Not at all likely: 8.1%
  - Somewhat unlikely: 25.0%
  - Somewhat likely: 19.4%
  - Very likely: 27.4%
Parties - MHP Voters

How likely is a particular party voter would take part in violent incidents during the electoral period?

- **AKP**
  - Very Unlikely: 51.5%
  - Unlikely: 23.0%
  - Likely: 14.4%
  - Very Likely: 7.0%
  - Other: 4.1%

- **CHP**
  - Very Unlikely: 20.2%
  - Unlikely: 24.1%
  - Likely: 26.5%
  - Very Likely: 19.4%

- **HDP**
  - Very Unlikely: 25.6%
  - Unlikely: 11.1%
  - Likely: 18.9%
  - Very Likely: 41.1%

- **IYI**
  - Very Unlikely: 16.2%
  - Unlikely: 37.8%
  - Likely: 21.6%
  - Very Likely: 16.2%

- **MHP**
  - Very Unlikely: 72.7%
  - Unlikely: 15.6%
  - Likely: 7.8%
  - Very Likely: 2.6%

- **OTHERS**
  - Very Unlikely: 40.8%
  - Unlikely: 11.2%
  - Likely: 23.2%
  - Very Likely: 14.4%
  - Other: 10.4%

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Perceptions on Electoral Fraud
The Question

How likely is a particular party politician would take part in fraudulent incidents during the electoral period?

- It is highly unlikely <> It is highly likely
How likely is a particular party politician would take part in fraudulent incidents during the electoral period?

- **AKP**
  - 81.4%
  - 7.0%
  - 6.3%
  - 2.8%

- **CHP**
  - 15.3%
  - 1.2%
  - 13.3%
  - 14.1%
  - 56.1%

- **HDP**
  - 11.2%
  - 2.2%
  - 6.7%
  - 18.0%
  - 61.8%

- **IYI**
  - 13.5%
  - 2.7%
  - 27.0%
  - 18.9%
  - 37.8%

- **MHP**
  - 64.5%
  - 14.5%
  - 11.8%
  - 5.3%
  - 4.0%

- **OTHERS**
  - 46.3%
  - 6.5%
  - 17.1%
  - 8.9%
  - 21.1%
How likely is a particular party politician would take part in fraudulent incidents during the electoral period?

- AKP: 15.6% (1), 5.0% (2), 14.5% (3), 19.1% (4), 45.8% (5)
- CHP: 21.3% (1), 13.4% (2), 32.8% (3), 18.6% (4), 13.8% (5)
- HDP: 75.6% (1), 12.2% (2), 3.3% (3), 4.4% (4), 4.4% (5)
- IYI: 10.8% (1), 8.1% (2), 21.6% (3), 27.0% (4), 32.4% (5)
- MHP: 23.4% (1), 5.2% (2), 14.3% (3), 20.8% (4), 36.4% (5)
- OTHERS: 23.8% (1), 12.3% (2), 24.6% (3), 13.9% (4), 25.4% (5)
Parties - MHP Voters

How likely is a particular party politician would take part in fraudulent incidents during the electoral period?

- AKP: 51.5% (likely), 23.1% (very likely), 13.6% (extremely likely)
- CHP: 21.6% (likely), 22.8% (very likely), 26.4% (extremely likely)
- HDP: 20.0% (likely), 15.6% (very likely), 40.0% (extremely likely)
- IYI: 13.5% (likely), 21.6% (very likely), 16.2% (extremely likely)
- MHP: 74.0% (likely), 13.0% (very likely), 10.4% (extremely likely)
- OTHERS: 38.7% (likely), 13.7% (very likely), 21.8% (extremely likely)
Domestic Electoral Pressure
List Experiment

- **Direct question:**
  - Did someone close, like somebody from work or family, force you to vote for a specific party or candidate?

- **List experiment question:**
  - The choices of voters for voting a particular party or candidate are shaped by a number of factors. Now I will read some of these factors. We are curious about which factors actually shaped your decision. Please do not tell me which ones, just tell me only how many.

1. It is time to change the administration
2. I liked the pledges of party and/or candidate
3. I want stability in administration
4. Someone close pressured me to vote for a specific party or candidate (Only for control group)
List Experiment
## List Experiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Asked.Directly</th>
<th>List.Experiment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estimated (%)</td>
<td>7.22</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is a 12.78 percent increase when asked the sensitive question by a list experiment and the 20 percent difference between means of control and treatment which is significant at 0.01 level.
DIEV-T Data
Introduction
Database of Incidents of Electoral Violence in Turkey (DIEV-T) is designed to measure electoral violence in Turkey in parliamentary, local and presidential elections that have taken place since 1950. The DIEV-T includes content analysis of newspaper reports for each election, from one month before to one month after the each election day. All documented incidents of electoral violence during each one or two-month period are identified, before and after elections. Diverse aspects of each incident of election violence is coded: time, place, type of incident, characteristics of the perpetrators and victims of violence, including number, partisan affiliation, state affiliation etc.
General Integrity Problems
News Reported on Electoral Problems According to Years

Electoral Problems According to Years

- 2010: 8.5%
- 2013: 7.4%
- 2016: 28.6%
- 2019: 28.9%
- 2021: 16.2%

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News Reported on Electoral Problems According to Problem Types

Electoral Problems According to Types

- 9.2-Planning and Execution of Electoral Activities: 19.9%
- 9.6-Voting operations: 18.7%
- 9.5-Electoral campaigning: 18.0%
- 9.7-Verification of election results: 4.1%
- 9.4-Registration: 2.6%
- 9.1-Legal Framework: 1.2%
- 9.3-Training and information: 0.2%
- 9.8-Violence: 35.3%
News Reported on Electoral Problems According to Regions

- Southeast Anatolia: 24.6%
- Marmara: 16.1%
- Central Anatolia: 15.5%
- East Anatolia: 13.4%
- Mediterranean: 12.4%
- Agean: 7.7%
- Blacksea: 6.2%

Electoral Problems According to Regions

Location of the incident...region
Accusers of Electoral Problems

Who is Accusing?

- Politician: 33.3%
- Other: 7.8%
- Bureaucrat: 1.3%
- 57.6%
Accused of Electoral Problems

Who is accused?

- Politician/Political Party: 49.1%
- State offices/Bureaucrats: 22.8%
- Other: 2.9%

Accused

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Electoral Misconduct Accusations Between Parties
Violence Specific Reports
Electoral Violence News

- Attacks on electoral propaganda material: 29.4%
- Vote buying: 18.5%
- Violence among party supporters: 15.2%
- Provocative and violent actions by political parties: 9.3%
- Attacks on candidates: 8.7%
- Post election protests: 6.4%
- Attacks on party buildings and/or campaign offices: 6.1%
- Violence during party meetings: 3.7%
- Voter intimidation: 0.1%

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The diagram shows the crosstabs - Regions vs News on Violence. It compares different regions with respect to the occurrence of violence. The regions include Southeast Anatolia, Mediterranean, Blacksea, Anatolia, East Anatolia, Central Anatolia, Blacksea, and Aegean. The table displays the percentage of incidents in each region and the corresponding news reports on violence.

For example, in the Southeast Anatolia region, 9.8% of incidents were reported, and 14.0% of news reported violence. The diagram also indicates the type of problems encountered, such as legal framework, planning and execution of electoral activities, training and information, registration, electoral campaigning, voting operations, and verification of election results.
Conclusion
Remarks

- Electoral integrity and violence as a new problem area for Turkish democracy.
- Electoral violence as the biggest form of electoral functioning
- Perceptual divide among different party supporters
- Significant domestic level pressure on voting
- Regional differences on electoral integrity