Competitive Authoritarianism: Examining Satisfaction with Democracy and Perception of Voting Efficacy in Turkey

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Since the turn of the century, scholars have noticed a worrying trend of democratic backsliding. Countries around the world are becoming more authoritarian with public support, which is manifesting itself in the proliferation of hybrid regimes. This study focuses on one type of hybrid regime – competitive authoritarianism – which maintains semi-democratic elections that are unfair and unfree. To better understand who votes for authoritarian leaders and why, I examine Turkey, which has been a competitive authoritarian regime since 2014. Using survey data, this paper looks at how people's perception of democracy and voting efficacy changed between 2011 and 2015. I find that satisfaction with democracy decreased, perceptions of voting efficacy increased, and more religious individuals were more dissatisfied with democracy than their less religious counterparts. To explain these findings, I examine the effects of patronage politics, security concerns, religious cleavages, and a struggling economy in fostering popular support for Erdoğan's regime. I conclude by briefly comparing Turkey with Russia, which also transitioned from a relatively democratic country to an authoritarian one. These results and comparison have important consequences for the future of democracy. High voting efficacy in undemocratic countries could prevent individuals from demanding a more transparent, responsive democracy and allow authoritarianism to thrive.

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1.0 Introduction

Democracy in the world is retreating, and authoritarianism is rising. According to Freedom House, since 2006 there has been a deterioration of democracy on a global level not seen for over 40 years. This is a reversal of the democratic trend seen in the twentieth century post-Cold War. In 1975, only 25% of countries in the world were considered "Free" by the Freedom House Index, and this number increased to 45% by 2000. Many political scientists during the third wave of democracy expected this trend to continue as more countries joined the free market. There was also the generally accepted belief that incorporation into the global capitalist economy leads to democratization. Furthermore, by the end of the twentieth century, wide use of the Internet was seen as an indicator that democratization would continue, as access to information made censorship difficult and grassroots movements easier. And yet, these factors have not resulted in increased democracy, but have, instead, resulted in a trend of decreasing democracy. Why do we see this phenomenon? It is evident this is a global phenomenon because it is not limited to a geographical region. The Eastern European country of Ukraine, the Asian country of Afghanistan, the South American country of Venezuela, and the African country of Ethiopia indicate how degraded democracy has become a global trend (Puddington 2017).

The deterioration of democracy is creating "hybrid" regimes, which exist in the grey area between democracy and authoritarian. These hybrid regimes are permitting elections, but elections are manipulated to allow regimes to consolidate power while maintaining legitimacy. Regimes have also been using electoral manipulation and nontraditional coup d'états to facilitate democratic backsliding (Bermeo 2016). Many countries that are engaging in authoritarian behavior were young democracies that transitioned to democracy during the third wave after 1989 (Erdmann

2011). Furthermore, there is popular support for these regimes as authoritarian-leaning parties are being elected (Waldner and Lust 2018). While most academics agree that democratic backsliding is happening, Levitsky and Way (2015) disagree with the assessment that democracy is declining and instead argue democracy is still flourishing. Schmitter (2015) agrees with Levitsky and Way (2015) and argues that democracy is not in decline but rather is transforming to a new type of democracy, illiberal democracy.

One type of hybrid regime is competitive authoritarianism, which, according to Levitsky and Way (2002, p. 52) is defined as a regime that uses democratic institutions to exercise authority but fails to meet minimum requirements to qualify as a democracy. Freedom House examines Russia and Hungary as two examples of competitive authoritarian regimes because of their attacks on the media and other institutions that provide transparency and accountability. Russia has injected its media with inaccurate information to support the regime's agenda; for example, common in the Russian news are stories asserting that U.S. policies encourage the spread of homosexuality. Media in Russia is no longer a place for diverse opinions, but rather a mouthpiece for the regime to spread its viewpoint. Competitive authoritarian regimes are also more likely when institutions like the judiciary, the media, and others are not inherently strong, and an authoritarian-leaning party can continue weakening these institutions. One example of this practice occurred when Hungary's government, which is controlled by the political party Fidesz, reformed the judiciary to narrow its scope of power and allow the party to appoint most of the judges. Hungary's government took a relatively weak institution and further undermined its independence and ability to check the legislature in order to consolidate its power (Puddington 2017).

Turkey is yet another major example of a country that has experienced democratic backsliding. Indicators of liberalization, such as freedom of expression, rule of law, and freedom

of assembly have all declined since 2006. Turkey transitioned into a competitive authoritarian state in 2014 as the result of changes in the judiciary, military, legislature, media, and electoral process. Two viewpoints prevail in the Turkish case. Some argue that with the Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/AKP), which has controlled Turkey's government since 2002, winning the presidential election in 2014, dominating local elections in 2014, and the overall degradation of democratic norms and institutions, this year can be considered the beginning of competitive authoritarianism in Turkey. Others believe it began much earlier when the AKP began undermining the media (Diamond 2015, 146). In either case, it is clear that by 2014, Turkey had transitioned into a definitively illiberal democracy.

Despite the fact that competitive authoritarian regimes manipulate elections, they still rely on and enjoy a significant amount of public support. When incumbents work to bolster their power through illiberal means, why do they retain popular support? Why and what kinds of voters support incumbent illiberal party? Competitive authoritarian regimes in Hungary and Brazil, for instance, have garnered the majority of public and voter support despite rampant electoral manipulation. Considering that the majority of these competitive authoritarian regimes are given power during relatively free, albeit unfair elections, it is important to ask who is supporting these illiberal parties and why. Furthermore, in contexts where regimes are becoming more authoritarian, how have everyday people's perceptions of democracy and voting efficacy changed? Perceptions of democracy and voting efficacy are particularly important to examine because these are two major indicators of the health of a democracy. Consolidated democracies encourage their citizens to support democratic principles and to support the regime's implementation of these principles (Linde and Ekman 2003, 395). But in the context of illiberal democracies, it can be particularly challenging to distinguish between support for democracy in principle and support for democracy

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in terms of governance that is equated with a ruling regime (Ibid., 396). Both of these contexts are important to consider, and I attempt to examine satisfaction with democracy from both perspectives. Logically, we can also say efficacy, or the belief that a government is responsive to citizens' wants, is another important indicator of a consolidated democracy. Not only is the ability to vote essential to a functioning democracy, but so too is the sentiment that one's vote matters. Therefore, efficacy and satisfaction with democracy are significant indicators to examine in hybrid regimes as democracy is maintained in name, but not in practice. These indicators can help begin to answer some of the questions about voter behavior and preferences in undemocratic countries.

This study takes up the case of Turkey to address these issues and questions, using secondary sources on Turkey's politics and history and primary data on perceptions of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy. I have chosen Turkey as it is an ideal example of a competitive authoritarian regime. Turkey is more authoritarian than Hungary which is just beginning to become more authoritarian, but it is more democratic than Russia, which became a hybrid regime around 2000. Therefore, Turkey can help us understand how countries transform from a more democratic regime, like Hungary, to a non-democratic regime, like Russia. Turkey is also a critical country to examine in the context of increasing authoritarianism because it exists at the crossroads of continents and cultures. For years Turkey was characterized as the ideal Islamic government that the rest of the Middle East should emulate, but it has since transformed from a liberal government controlled by a conservative religious political party to an undemocratic government (Kirişci 2013). Thanks to increasing authoritarianism and repression, Turkey is no longer the example post-Arab Spring states should emulate. To examine how Turks have changed in their perception of democracy in an increasingly authoritarian country, I use survey data collected by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems from the June 2011 and June 2015

elections to test satisfaction with democracy and perception of voting efficacy, and further, how these two variables are affected by respondents' religiosity and occupational group.

The analysis demonstrates that overall, satisfaction with democracy decreased among survey respondents between 2011 and 2015. Yet, perception of voting efficacy increased among survey respondents between 2011 and 2015. Those who identified as more religious and as less religious have decreased levels of satisfaction with democracy. Yet, at the same time, more religious individuals believed their vote mattered more in 2015 than in 2011 while those who were less religious did not change much in their perceptions of voting efficacy between 2011 and 2015. Manual laborers and white-collar individuals experienced the largest decrease in satisfaction with democracy among the occupational groups between 2015 and 2011, but all occupational groups saw a decrease in satisfaction with democracy. According to statistical significance tests, the above results are significant, but the change in perception of voting efficacy was not significant within the context of occupational group.

Drawing from the analysis, one of my key arguments is that the increase in terrorism by ISIS (the extremist movement that brands itself the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) and the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) between 2011 and 2015 explains why satisfaction with democracy decreased. I then explain that perception of voting efficacy increased likely because the AKP lost a considerable number of seats in the legislature, thus allowing other parties to play a larger role in parliament. Furthermore, I argue that while religious individuals did benefit from religious legislation, this was not enough to counterbalance authoritarian policies in 2015 which is why satisfaction with democracy decreased among religious individuals. By looking at survey data of manual laborers, I also find that patronage policies put in place by the AKP have historically bolstered support of the AKP by manual laborers, but their decreasing satisfaction with democracy

also indicates that patronage politics was not enough to mitigate increasing authoritarianism in the June 2015 election. It appears in between 2011 and 2015 security concerns were more important than patronage politics, but patronage politics could explain the larger trend of support for the AKP. To explain the decrease in satisfaction among white collar workers, I look to how they were affected by the deteriorating economic conditions between 2011 and 2015.

I begin the paper by examining reasons why democracy is decreasing in the world. I then examine how democratic backsliding is manifesting itself in the proliferation of competitive authoritarian regimes (Diamond 2002) and why there is popular support for these regimes. I then turn to the Turkish case, demonstrating how Turkey has shifted to a competitive authoritarian regime over time and how the AKP's relations with different social and economic groups have evolved. After elaborating my data and methods, I then illustrate how these trends are manifesting in changes in popular opinions about democracy and voting efficacy. Examining my findings, I turn to the Russian case to demonstrate how democratic changes in Turkey can help us to understand popular support for authoritarianism in other comparable countries.

2.0 Hybrid Regimes

After the Cold War and the fall of the Soviet Union, the concept of hybrid regimes came to the forefront of discussion as many countries began instituting democratic governments that were unconsolidated (Diamond 2002, 25). These countries exist in the grey area between democracy and autocracy because they violate Dahl's (1971) definition of democracy, which requires fair, free, and competitive elections; protection of civil liberties; and institutions that check the government's power. Diamond (2002) explains that hybrid regimes adopt many of the voting characteristics of democracies but lack other characteristics. He categorizes hybrid regimes as ambiguous, competitive authoritarian, or hegemonic electoral authoritarian. Ambiguous regimes fall between electoral democracies and competitive authoritarianism. They are differentiated from electoral democracies based on the fairness and freedom in elections. Along with systematically undermining the freedom and fairness of its elections, regimes also harass and, at times, even murder their opponents. These practices are not as pervasive as those found in competitive authoritarian regimes, however (Ibid., 28-29).

Competitive authoritarian regimes have more systematic and institutionalized ways of undermining elections and intimidating opponents. Competitive authoritarian regimes also attack institutions that are not directly related to electoral processes but are essential to a functioning democracy, such as by making the judiciary ineffective and limiting the media to the state narrative. They are also defined by their competitive nature, and a significant number of seats in the legislature are held by the opposition (Ibid., 29, 32). Diamond (2002) distinguishes this type of regime from hegemonic electoral authoritarianism exemplified by regimes in Egypt and Tunisia in the 1990s, in which the leaders won over 90 percent of the vote. These regimes do not have

competitive elections, and they have systematic and institutionalized breeches of democratic norms (Diamond 2002, 32).

Levitsky and Way's (2010) landmark work extends scholarly conceptualizations of hybrid and semi-authoritarian regimes by explaining how regimes transition to competitive authoritarianism. They explain that competitive authoritarian regimes have both democratic and autocratic characteristics by making elections less free, less fair, and undermining civil liberties. They still hold competitive elections with opposition parties that function via offices, recruitment, and campaigning (Ibid., 7). However, these regimes create unfree elections through fraud, intimidation of voters, and harassment and repression of opponents. Elections remain competitive though, which means opposition candidates are still able to run for election, and fraud has not reached such levels that voter preference is completely disregarded (Ibid., 7). The playing field is unfair because governments manipulate elections through ballot-box stuffing, for example, or by falsifying the results (Ibid., 8). Governments also create an uneven playing field when they use state institutions to dominate media coverage and to mobilize voters. The incumbent might also use state funds for campaign purposes like Boris Yeltsin did in Russia during his reelection campaign in 1996, and the incumbent might manipulate the media to provide most of the population with the incumbent's propaganda instead of allowing citizens to access information about all candidates (Ibid., 10-11). Competitive authoritarian regimes violate civil liberties more subtly than autocratic regimes by undermining independent media, harassing and imprisoning people who protest, or persecuting their critics through libel and defamation laws (Ibid., 9). In these cases, there still may be uncertainty as to who will be elected, but the playing field is often manipulated sufficiently to ensure the outcome in favor of incumbents.

2.1 Democratic Backsliding

Scholars in recent decades have brought increasing attention to a worrying global trend known as "democratic backsliding" (Waldner and Lust 2018). They argue that countries have slowly undermined democracy by making elections less competitive, restricting participation, and undermining accountability. Regimes are doing this in such a way that elections are maintained, but these elections are manipulated to give the incumbent a large advantage (Waldner and Lust 2018). Diamond (2015), Bermeo (2016), Burnell (2011), and Erdmann (2011) examine the nuances of democratic backsliding while Levitsky and Way (2015) and Schmitter (2015) disagree with the conclusion that the world is experiencing a decrease in democracy. Levitsky and Way (2015) believe the world was never as democratic as organizations like Freedom House argue, so there is not a large decrease in democracy. Schmitter (2015) argues that the world is still democratic, but the type of democracy seen in the world is transforming. While some do not believe there is democratic backsliding, most scholars agree democracy is being eroded to a significant degree across the world.

Democracies have been failing at an increasing rate since the mid-1980s. Between 1984 and 1993, eight percent of democracies reverted to authoritarianism; between 1994 and 2003, 11 percent of democracies failed; and 14 percent of democracies failed between 2004 and 2013. In all of these cases of failure, the regimes were not consolidated democracies, but they did have relatively free and fair elections that were manipulated to the point that they were undemocratic (Diamond 2015, 144). Beyond democratic failures, there has also been a general trend of decreasing freedoms in liberal democracies, competitive authoritarian regimes, and autocracies. Diamond (2015) points to the decreasing freedoms in the relatively liberal democracy of South Korea, the competitive authoritarian regime of Ukraine, and the authoritarian regime of Ethiopia

to explain how this is a global trend (150). South Korea's Freedom House scores have become marginally worse, moving from a 1.5 to a 2 in the 2014 report (with 1 being most free and 7 being most unfree). Ukraine moved from a 2.5 to a 3 in the 2011 report, and Ethiopia moved from a 6 to 6.5 in 2016 (Freedom in the World 2011, 2014, 2016). This small sample of countries reflects a broader trend of decreasing freedoms in the world.

It is evident this is a global trend because there has been decreasing freedom in all geographical regions since 2008 except the Asia-Pacific, which did not see a change in overall freedom scores (Puddington 2014, 122). One of the defining characteristics of the global trend in decreasing democracy is that regionally influential and economically strong states are often the ones becoming more authoritarian. This includes states like Russia, Egypt, and Venezuela, which have experienced decreasing levels of democracy. This has been compounded by an open rejection of democratic principles by the leaders of these authoritarian regimes. Russia, for example, invaded Ukraine in 2014 and annexed Crimea in an obvious violation of the international norm of territorial sovereignty (Ibid., 123). President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi has also flouted democratic norms by enabling the Egyptian courts to sentence over one thousand political prisoners to death (Ibid., 123). Puddington (2014) is concerned with politically- and economically-influential states that are experiencing a decline in democracy, but also argues that countries that democratized after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 are also experiencing increasing authoritarianism. Most of the states that Erdmann (2011) analyzed that became less democratic were young democracies. Thirteen of the states in his study had been democracies for only two to five years before experiencing decline between 1989 and 2008 (Erdmann 2011, 26). This indicates that while influential states are experiencing democratic backsliding, it is also a phenomenon found in new democracies.

Democratic backsliding is characterized today by strategic, long-term manipulation of democratic processes, whereas in the past, democratic backsliding happened through obvious and sudden methods like coup d'états and blatant electoral fraud. These methods are being replaced today through promissory coups and subtle electoral manipulation. Bermeo (2016, 7) points to how coup d'états reached an all-time low after 1995, and executive coups, in which the elected leader abolishes the constitution to become a dictator, have also decreased dramatically since the mid-1990s. Open electoral fraud has also declined significantly since the 1990s with vote-fraud allegations at around 12 percent in the early 1990s and dropping to a little over four percent by 2012 (Bermeo 2016, 9) These methods of gaining power have been replaced by promissory coups, which involve the dismissal of a government on the grounds of restoring and improving democracy. The number of successful coups that can be categorized as promissory coups have risen since 1990 from 35 percent to 85 percent of all total successful coups. One example of this type of coup is Haiti's coup in 1991, during which the military took over the country until the elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was reinstated in 1994. Similar coups happened in Gambia, Pakistan, and Fiji in the 1990s and 2000s. In over half of the countries that experienced promissory coups and reinstated elections, the coup members or supporters of the promissory coup won the election (Ibid., 9). Electoral manipulation has also transformed from blatant manipulation to strategic manipulation consisting of preventing voter registration, using government money to fund incumbent campaigns, and harassing opponents among many other strategies (Ibid., 13).

Schmitter (2015) and Levitsky and Way (2015) argue that Freedom House data is misleading, and the world is not experiencing a decline of democracy. Schmitter (2015) points to the fact that regimes categorized as "Free" cannot become more free, therefore trends of decreasing democracy are more obvious than trends of increasing democracy for very democratic countries.

Democracies are transforming by using relatively new democratic tools such as referendums and participatory budgeting. While the results of referendums are not always implemented, they offer citizens a direct way to express their preferences to the government. Participatory budgeting is another tool recently used by many governments, including first by Brazil, which involves the selection of citizens to debate certain parts of how the government's budget should be allocated. This is another tool that countries are using to get direct input from citizens on economic matters. Moreover, referendums and participatory budgeting are just two examples of how democracies are improving vertical accountability, which refers to how citizens hold the government accountable. Some countries are also improving horizontal accountability, which refers to the government's internal mechanisms of maintaining accountability, through institutions like independent regulatory agencies to regulate banking, transportation, and public health (Schmitter 2015, 41). These changes show that while the indicators Freedom House is looking at to judge democracy may be decreasing, there are potentially other ways in which countries are maintaining democratic norms. Levitsky and Way (2015) also believe Freedom House Index scores are misleading, and the democratic optimism that followed the end of the Cold War created expectations of increased democratization that were unfounded. They interpret Freedom House scores and Polity scores, which also measure democracy levels, as remaining the same between 2000 and 2013 (Levitsky and Way 2015, 45). However, despite these arguments, most scholars continue to agree there has been a decline in democracy.

2.2 Why Are Hybrid Regimes Increasing?

It is evident democracy is degrading in the world, but why is this? Waldner and Lust (2018) consider multiple major theories to explain this trend. The first theory they consider is the agency-based theory. This theory argues that democratic backsliding is the result of the political elite's ability to create legislation without being constrained by the executive. Elites use their power to undermine the checks and balances in the government so that they are less constrained by the judiciary, media, or other institutions in the future (Waldner and Lust 2018, 97-98). The next theory they consider is the theory of political culture. This theory suggests that widely shared norms and attitudes can account for the rise of hybrid regimes. This would mean that citizens respect democratic norms, and then there occurred a recent and sudden shift to respect authoritarian norms (Ibid. 98-99). Third, Waldner and Lust (2018) argue that political institutions can affect the responsiveness of the government to its citizens, the ability to check the power of one branch of government, and the efficiency of government. When institutions degrade, democratic backsliding is more likely because responsiveness, transparency, and efficiency are degraded (Ibid. 99-101). The next theory they consider is the role of political economy in democratic backsliding, as caused by high income inequality and little development in a weak democracy (Ibid. 101-103).

Another theory Waldner and Lust (2018) consider is how the heterogeneity of citizens leads to cleavages such as ethnic cleavages, which can degrade democracy. Ethnic cleavages result in politicians trying to serve their own ethnic group at the expense of multiethnic coalitions and democratic institutions (Ibid. 103-105). The last theory Waldner and Lust (2018) consider is the international factor for the global trend of democratic backsliding and how international actors pressure or do not pressure states to introduce democratic reforms. They conclude that different states are more vulnerable to democratic influence at different times, and domestic factors are most

easily influenced. For example, when a state wants to join the European Union it generally is required to institute democratic reform. However, as is evident with Hungary, currently the state is less susceptible to democratic ideas than it was when it was applying for membership to the European Union because after accession there were no longer any conditional democratic minimum requirements to adhere to. This indicates susceptibility to democratic influence depends on the regime in control, and if there are incentives to democratize (Ibid. 105-106).

One popular explanation for the increase in hybrid regimes is the leverage and linkage between democracies and autocracies on competitive authoritarian regimes. Burnell and Schlumberger (2010) argue the international diffusion of authoritarian norms by countries like Russia and China may be contributing to competitive authoritarian regimes (2). Levitsky and Way (2010) similarly argue that the rise of competitive authoritarianism is in part due to the end of the Cold War subsidies and external assistance tied to democratization efforts. Out of need for external support, authoritarian rulers became incentivized to institute elections, but not to consolidate democracy (Levitsky and Way 2010, 17-18).

Diamond (2015) also discusses the decline of western democracy. He points to how the U.S. Congress has passed less legislation in the past few years and the inability to pass a budget resulting in a shutdown of the government in 2013. These issues illuminate how U.S. democracy is struggling and becoming more polarized. Authoritarian states have seized upon the dysfunction of the American Congress and lack of transparency of money in elections to further their own authoritarian agendas (Diamond 2015, 152). Democracy promotion has become less important to American foreign policy, which has been evident in President Donald Trump's policy of putting America first (Carothers 2017). Authoritarian states like Egypt and Saudi Arabia are receiving aid without incentives to implement democratic reforms. Therefore, there appear to be few negative

consequences of making the state less democratic, which makes the creation of hybrid regimes easier.

Diamond (2015) also looks at the rise of hybrid regimes on the state level by arguing that one of the most obvious answers for the rise of hybrid regimes is poor governance by undermining the rule of law and transparency. Political elites are engaging in corruption and abusing their power, which has degraded democracy (Ibid. 148). Diamond (2015) examines 25 breakdowns of democracy since 2000 and finds that the majority occurred because of the abuse of power by the democratically elected regime. These abuses of power included electoral fraud and the executives skewing the elections in favor of the incumbent. Only eight of the 25 occurred due to military intervention indicating democratic failure is more often due to poor governance stemming from electoral and executive abuses (Ibid. 145).

In all, scholars explain the increase in hybrid regimes by accounting for how elites use their power to create authoritarian regimes: the norms that support authoritarian governments; the downgrading of institutions; ethnic cleavages which create a polarizing environment conducive to more authoritarian regimes; and international actors not pressuring states to enact democratic reforms (Waldner and Lust 2018). Others have examined how the linkage and leverage between democracies and non-democracies are degrading which creates an environment conducive to authoritarianism (Burnell and Schlumberger 2010; Levitsky and Way 2010; Diamond 2015). Finally, poor governance is argued by Diamond (2015) as helping to explain the rise of hybrid regimes. Now I turn to consider the reasons for popular support of these hybrid regimes.

2.3 Why Is There Support for Hybrid Regimes?

Despite an increase in scholarly attention to hybrid regimes and competitive authoritarianism, few studies examine the voting preferences of those who participate in free but largely unfair voting practices. One study done by Geddes and Zaller (1989) in Brazil found that those who are highly exposed to, but moderately educated about, politics are the most susceptible to supporting authoritarianism. The reason, they posit, is that unlike people who are highly educated about politics, this group is unable to look behind the popular messages advanced by the government to see that they are authoritarian in nature (Geddes and Zaller, 320). The researchers examined Brazil's military government in 1972 and 1973 to find who was most susceptible to authoritarian messages. Religiosity was linked to susceptibility to the authoritarian message, and Geddes and Zaller (1989) explained this by suggesting religiosity could indicate support of the conservative values advocated by the military (331).

One of the most popular explanations for support of hybrid regimes is rooted in patronage politics. Lust (2009) examines electoral support for authoritarian regimes as the product of competitive clientelism. By this, she means that voters choose parties and leaders based on the likelihood of that party or leader to provide them with resources the state should be providing. Patronage politics therefore undermines the democratic functioning of state institutions by tying state resources to a particular party or leader. This method builds an interdependent relationship between the voters and ruling party (Ibid. 130-131). Lust (2009) references Fatah, a political party in the Palestinian Legislative Council, as an example of a party that focuses more on providing its voters with resources instead of focusing on running on a particular party platform to maintain support (Ibid. 127).

Blaydes (2006) reaches similar conclusions about voter behavior in authoritarian regimes. By looking to Egypt as a case study, Blaydes (2006) concludes that the goods and services parties supply to their constituents encourages people to vote regardless of the ideology of the party. Patronage politics is most likely to be targeted at low-income individuals as well because access to state resources is more important to them than it would be to higher-income voters (Ibid. 2). Based on these case studies of voters in unfree elections, voting behavior is influenced by a voters' susceptibility to the authoritarian regime's propaganda and the ability of the regime to provide voters with economic benefits. There are obvious gaps in the literature on competitive authoritarian regimes because there is little discussion on voter behavior in hybrid regimes. There is also little discussion on why voters support authoritarian parties and regimes. Therefore, I turn to Turkey as an example of a competitive authoritarian regime to fill the gaps in the literature on how voters perceive a semi-democratic government. I also explanations of why voters supported the AKP in Turkey during the November 2015 elections. Turkey is an important country to look at in regard to these issues because, as I explain above, it exhibits all the characteristics of a competitive authoritarian regime and has major influence over the Middle Eastern region.

3.0 The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism in Turkey

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established the Turkish Republic in 1923 and crafted key principles that would guide Turkey's secular politics for decades. These principles included promoting a strong, central, secularizing state and a strong military presence in politics (Haynes 2010, 314). The secularization of the state in many ways suppressed religion in Turkish society through the closure of religious schools in 1924 and the outlawing of Sufism and Sufi tombs used for religious purposes in 1925 (Azak 2010, 10). The Kemalist government also reduced the influence of the Islamic culture in everyday life by forcing citizens to wear European-style hats instead of the fez in 1925, instituting the Latin alphabet in 1928, and adopting the European metric system in 1931 (Ibid., 11). The military has had a presence in Turkey's politics since the Ottoman era and Atatürk continued the use of the military to modernize and secularize society. After his death, the secular establishment, which includes institutions like the military and Constitutional court, promoted an anti-Islamist and anti-traditionalist agenda to ensure the country continued to modernize along Western values by closing parties that were deemed too Islamist and changing electoral laws to prevent parties with extreme ideologies from entering parliament (Haynes 2010, 315-316).

Turkey held its first free, multiparty election in 1950, which did not result in a democratic government, but rather a majoritarian government run by the Democrat Party, which reversed some of Atatürk's secular policies by reopening mosques that had been closed and reopened religious schools. Soon after, in 1960, the military staged a coup to reinstate the secular governance established by Atatürk. This action established a precedent for the military to intervene in Turkish politics whenever the military believed republican principles to be in jeopardy (Somer 2016, 484).

The military intervened in 1971 during an economic crisis to realign the government with Atatürk's secular principles. The 1971 coup was unsuccessful because during the ensuing decade Turkey had eleven prime ministers and experienced wide-spread protests accompanied by violence. Another military coup occurred in 1980 and was followed by three years of military rule during which the economy stabilized, and a new constitution was written and approved ("Timeline: A history of Turkish coups"). While free and fair elections were once again established in 1987, the power of the military as well as the marginalization of many groups, including the Kurds and the Alevis, prevented Turkey from being a consolidated democracy (Somer 2016, 485).

The AKP was established in 2001 by the leaders of the Virtue Party, an Islamist party that was shut down in 2001 (Dagi 2008, 26). After its demise, it split into two parties: the AKP and the Felicity Party. The AKP was comprised of more moderate members while the Felicity Party was comprised of more conservative members. The AKP was able to differentiate itself from previous Islamist parties and the Felicity Party by emphasizing its democratic conservative party platform and downplaying its Islamist undertones. The experience of the Welfare Party in 1997 was one reason AKP leaders downplayed the party's Islamist roots. Many leaders of the AKP were involved in the Islamist Welfare Party that led the government coalition at the time, but the military forced the leader of the Welfare Party, Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan to resign, effectively ending the coalition. A new coalition government formed shortly after, but the Welfare Party was closed by the Turkish courts in 1998 (Ibid., 27). This influenced local leaders' agendas, including now-President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who was mayor of Istanbul (1994-1998). He was known for focusing on bread-and-butter issues, such as repairing infrastructure and streamlining trash collection rather than on religion, to maintain electoral support. The leaders of the AKP formed

the party around protecting human rights and democracy, which in turn helped to advance religion in public spaces, such as allowing women to wear headscarves to university (Ibid., 28).

The AKP was elected in 2002 and won the majority of seats in parliament. They were elected on a platform that focused on improving the economy with IMF (International Monetary Fund) reforms, as well as improving human rights to gain European Union membership (Öniş 2015, 23). As Öniş (2015) explains, the AKP's rule can be split into three distinct phases. The first phase consisted of when it was elected in 2002 and lasted until 2007. During this period, leaders focused on economic growth as well as democratic reform, including reordering the military and promoting minority rights for the Kurds in an effort to comply with EU accession standards. Kurdish rights became less important in later years to the AKP as hopes for EU membership dwindled.

The second phase beginning in 2007, was defined by a more assertive foreign policy in the Middle East (Öniş 2015, 23). Domestically, the AKP tried to tackle the long-standing armed conflict (1984-present) between the PKK, a Kurdish political and militant group, and the government over the issue of Kurdish rights. In 2007, the government initiated secret negotiations with the PKK's imprisoned leader, Abdullah Öcalan. The negotiations became openly official in 2009, with a new ceasefire agreement under an initiative called the Kurdish Opening (Ünal 2016, 104-105). The ceasefire ultimately failed due to the government sending contradictory signals to the PKK. They arrested and imprisoned more than 400 Kurds with ties to Öcalan, and, after the army renounced the negotiations, the Kurdish Opening failed (Ibid. 105). Intermittent fighting continued until 2013 when an unofficial ceasefire was implemented, but the fighting re-escalated in July 2015. Furthermore, democratic reforms slowed regarding minority rights during this time. The party was also able to survive the global economic crisis relatively well during this time

because Turkey did not need to accept IMF help in 2008. The government instituted some short-term fiscal policies to address the recession, but the economy and government did not collapse like it did during the 2001 financial crisis (Öniş 2015, 23). Additionally, the AKP found itself facing a court case in which the chief prosecutor requested the closure of the party claiming it was anti-secular. The prosecution's case ultimately fell apart. However, the case illustrated that official opposition to the AKP's policies was alive and well at this time (Dagi 2008, 25).

During the last phase, beginning in 2011, the economy began to stagnant again, and slow democratic reforms were replaced with semi-authoritarian reforms, including increased presidential powers and decreased judicial powers (Öniş 2015, 23). The party began instituting more authoritarian policies in 2011, and in 2014, between the two parliamentary elections, Turkey was officially categorized as a competitive authoritarian regime by Diamond (2015). Other scholars, including Tansel (2018), agree with this assessment and point to how approximately this time was a turning point in Turkish politics towards authoritarianism. The graph below shows the progression of decreasing Freedom Rating scores.
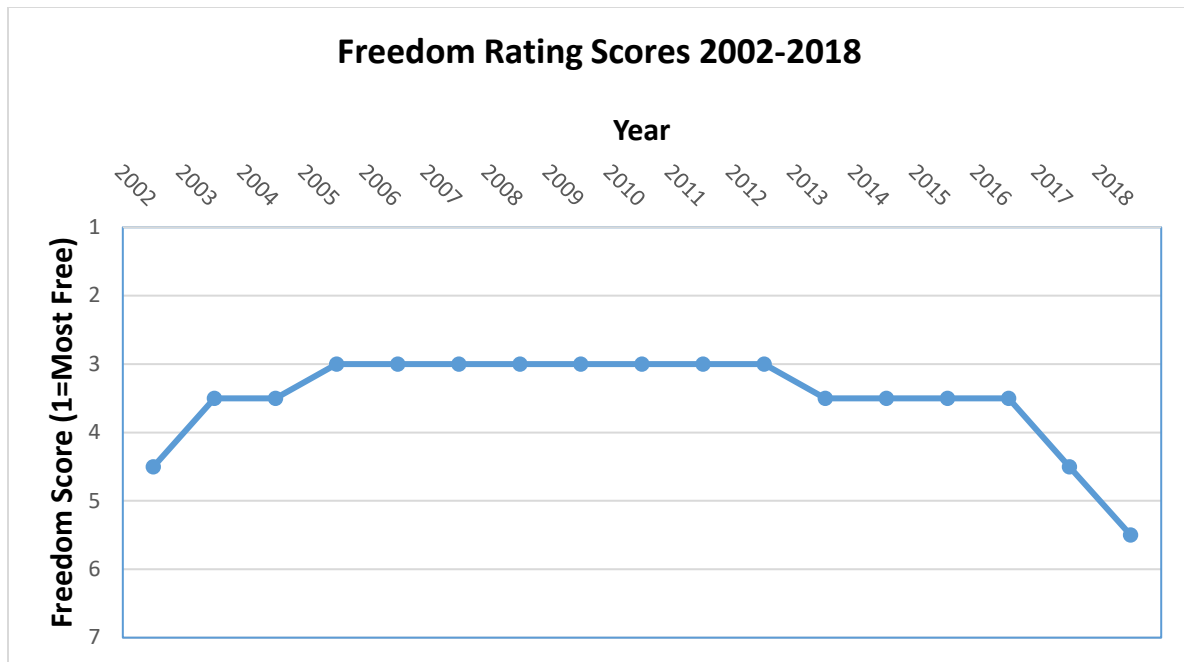
Figure 1: Turkey's Freedom Rating

("Freedom in the World: Turkey 2002-2018")

One of the most influential AKP members and forces behind Turkey's authoritarian policies is President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. Over the course of his tenure in public office, he has often been described as a populist leader and portrays himself as a nationalist and protector of marginalized groups (Selçuk 2016, 576). Elected mayor of Istanbul in 1994, Erdoğan prioritized both economic prosperity for the city and his religious constituents by promising to build a mosque in Taksim Square, ban alcohol, and close brothels. During this time, he was affiliated with the Welfare Party which won 21 percent of the vote in the 1995 parliamentary elections. The party entered into a coalition with the True Path Party, and the leader of the Welfare Party, Necmettin Erbakan, became prime minister. Shortly after the military intervened and pressured Erbakan to resign, which Erdoğan was vocal against (Phillips 2017, 9). Erdoğan delivered a speech in Siirt, Istanbul, which included a poem calling for individuals to mobilize against the closure using

religious imagery. He was convicted and sent to jail for using religion to provoke hatred and was therefore barred from becoming prime minister when the AKP won the parliamentary election in 2002. Erdoğan circumvented this by running in a special election in 2003 in the Siirt district which had voting irregularities during the 2002 election. He won 85 percent of the vote, entered parliament, and subsequently took over as prime minister (Phillips 2017, 10).

Under Erdoğan's leadership, the party became inseparable from his influence and power (Öztürk 2016, 619). Therefore, when Turkey held its first directly-elected presidential elections in 2014, Erdoğan's success was unsurprising to most. He won over 50 percent of the vote, and unlike previous presidents, he continued to lead the AKP in violation of the constitution, which calls for presidents to be non-partisan (Ibid., 627). Furthermore, by ascending to the presidency, Erdoğan gained new powers, including more control over domestic and foreign policy, but due to the parliamentary system in Turkey at the time the presidency did not give Erdoğan far-reaching powers (Öztürk 2014, 110). These presidential powers were widely expanded during the 2017 referendum and has facilitated the increasing authoritarian policies of the Turkish government which will be discussed further in the next section.

Erdoğan has not only gained political power through elections. He has also cultivated a large amount of popular support, as evidenced by the corruption scandal in 2013 and attempted coup in 2016. The scandal began in December 2013 with the arrest of more than 50 Turks, including elected officials and the manager of Halkbank, one of Turkey's largest banks. Erdoğan and his son were also implicated in the corruption scandal after a video of them discussing how to launder money leaked on YouTube (Taspinar 2014, 52). Erdoğan blamed an international conspiracy orchestrated by the U.S. and Israel for the corruption scandal, and his supporters clearly believed him. A few months later in 2014, they elected Erdoğan president (Ibid., 55). Resistance

to an attempted coup on July 15th, 2016 also highlighted the popular support Erdoğan and the AKP enjoy. That night, Erdoğan told his supporters to go to the streets to defy the military-imposed curfew. Of the supporters who opposed the military, almost 300 died and over 2,000 were injured when soldiers fired at them (Taş 2018, 5). The amount of popular mobilization against the military coup was unprecedented in Turkish history, and this popular mobilization against the coup was one of the key reasons for its failure (Esen and Gumuscu 2017, 63).

3.1 Turkey as a Competitive Authoritarian State

Esen and Gumuscu (2016) argue Turkey is a competitive authoritarian regime by looking at the main characteristics: an uneven playing field, unfair elections, uneven access to media, unequal access to resources, and civil liberties violations. The uneven playing field in elections is most evident in Turkey through its uneven access to resources and media. The AKP has created unequal access to resources in the electoral process by using personal information on voters to identify those who have not voted before, or who reside outside of the country by targeting them with letters. The government has also used state employees to undermine the opposition by removing opposition posters and confiscating opposition election materials under the guise of them being anti-government (Ibid., 1588). Additionally, AKP leaders have used public funds to pay for state events that are actually fronts for the AKP to campaign (Ibid., 1589). The AKP has also created uneven access to the media because the private media is also largely controlled by the AKP, and state media runs more pro-AKP advertisements than opposition advertisements. This is compounded by the fact that media outlets that give opposition parties more airtime are harassed by pro-AKP supporters (Ibid., 1590-1591).

Civil liberty violations have also been rampant under the AKP with hundreds of journalists and opposition figures being jailed, including one of the presidential candidates in the 2018 elections. Human Rights Watch published a report in 2016 documenting the increased attacks on the media following the attempted-coup in July of 2016. In 2016 alone, over 140 media outlets were closed by the government and around 150 journalists were imprisoned ("Silencing Turkey's Media…"). Freedom of expression has been attacked by blocking access to YouTube, Twitter, and hundreds of thousands of other websites for months beginning in 2013 until mid-2014 during a corruption scandal involving the AKP. The restrictions on the Internet lasted until the local elections in March 2014, but many websites are still blocked today (Esen and Gumuscu 2016, 1592). The government also consistently attacks freedom of assembly. One of the most public examples of this was the police brutality during the Gezi Park protests in 2013, which consisted of a sit-in to protest plans to construct a mall in the park. Police used tear gas to break up the peaceful protest and, in the process, killed five people and injured thousands (Ibid. 1594).

The AKP has coopted the judiciary and undermined the military. The military previously acted as a check on the executive and legislative branches as a veto player, pressuring political parties and leaders to resign who did not follow the organization's version of secularism. While the military has had a significant influence on politics, ultimately, the Constitutional Court has banned political parties for encouraging religious or ethnic cleavages. The AKP first curtailed the military's power by including more civilians on the National Security Council (MGK). Additionally, the decisions made by the MGK were reduced from governmental mandates to recommendations (Esen and Gumuscu 2016, 1584). The judiciary's independence and power were also eroded significantly between 2011 and 2014 due to the AKP's restructuring of the High Council of Judges and Prosecutors (Hakimler ve Savcılar Yüksek Kurulu HSYK). The HSYK is a

governmental agency that appoints and promotes judges who rule on the constitutionality of executive and legislative actions. The judicial branch is also in charge of the Yuksek Seçim Kurulu (YSK), which monitors elections. The electoral commission became less impartial due to restructuring resulting in the appointment of many pro-AKP judges. Judicial independence was further undermined when politicians were given the ability to appoint ten out of the twenty-two HSYK members (Çalışkan 2018, 20).

Two recent developments in consolidating Erdoğan's and the AKP's authoritarian grip on the country were the attempted coup in 2016 and the presidential referendum in 2017. The attempted coup highlighted Erdoğan's popular support, but it also led to increased authoritarianism in Turkey. Erdoğan instituted a state of emergency to address the coup and reinstate stability which allowed him to purge his opponents and anyone who criticized the government. Over 100,000 public servants were fired including thousands of judges, teachers, doctors, academics, and government officials. Judges and government workers were replaced with pro-AKP individuals. The purge included the jailing of hundreds of journalists as well (Yilmaz and Bashirov 2018, 7).

The referendum continued the trend of increasing authoritarianism that began in 2011. The 2017 referendum to the 1982 constitution gave sweeping powers to the executive via a new presidential system. The president has little accountability under this new system, and the legislature lost some of its ability to check the president's power. With the new presidential system, the legislature can only question the president by submitting written questions to vice-presidents, who in turn submit the questions to the president. These vice-presidents are also appointed by the president and they can be members of the legislature. This allows the president to influence the legislature by making AKP members vice-presidents. Furthermore, the president can rule by presidential decree on executive matters, but executive matters are not defined giving the president

carte blanche over legislation he wants enacted (Çalışkan 2018, 27). The referendum also stated the president could only "rule" for 10 years with elections occurring every five years, but the president can rerun if the election occurs before the five-year mark essentially allowing the president to stay in power forever if the elections occur before this time (Ibid., 28).

3.2 The AKP's Voter Base

While democracy has weakened considerably in Turkey, elections remain meaningful because there is robust competition for elected positions. Even so, the AKP is blatantly disregarding many democratic principles, but has maintained its control over the government since 2002, which begs the question who is voting for this party? One of the main groups that forms the base of the AKP's support are middle class, conservative individuals. Since the end of the Cold War, conservatism in Turkey has been on the rise. It has been fueled by the suppression of left-leaning groups after the military coup in 1980 as well as the overall economic downturn in which peaked in 2001. Conservative individuals in general prefer the economic changes the AKP has instituted with neoliberal, IMF policies (Kaya 2015, 52-53). While the AKP has instituted neoliberal reforms, it has also used these reforms to its benefit by filling the public social services gap.

Öniş (2013) suggests that the AKP has been the most successful party in Turkey's history in redistributing the benefits of economic growth by providing services like education, free health care, and housing to its voters (112). Erdoğan restructured the health care system in Turkey by implementing a phone and online appointment system to ameliorate often day-long wait times to see a doctor (Cagaptay 2017, 92). Öniş (2015) also suggests the AKP has created a "bounded

community" among its voters. Bounded communities establish in- and out-group mentalities based on a political identity. In the case of the AKP, the in-group is bounded by economic growth and the material benefits the AKP provides its constituents. This concept helps explain why the AKP has been able to maintain its parliamentary majority even when it faced allegations of corruption in 2013. The party did not suffer serious repercussions from these allegations because, according to Öniş, the members of a bounded community are unlikely to punish its leader if material benefits continue to increase (2015, 36-37).

Somer (2016) also suggests that the AKP's economic policies have helped to sustain its power. Welfare and access to state resources under previous governments were inadequate and many people did not receive social services. This problem was especially evident in the significant expansion of urban ghettos called the gecekondu (Somer 2016, 489). The AKP instituted neoliberal economic reforms, which usually undermine traditional welfare programs run by the state, and they replaced the traditional welfare system with a system of patronage that relies on the AKP. Social services are used to reward supporters and are being distributed in such a way to blur the line between the state and the party. Instead of looking to the state to provide social services, people look to the AKP elites and supporters (Ibid., 490). One example of these social services includes the large expansion of the Housing and Development Administration to replace the gecekondu with new public housing (Ibid. 493). Similar arguments explain the phenomenon of support for authoritarianism as stemming from effective clientelism (Blaydes, 2006 and Lust, 2009) Poorer voters are susceptible to this practice in Egypt because they are most in need of services and support, and therefore are more susceptible to intimidation techniques (Blaydes 2006, 1). The AKP is mirroring this process through the restructuring of the welfare system.

In a recent study, Esen and Gumuscu (2018) also examine how the AKP cultivated support since 2002 by using its neoliberal economic policies as a source of clientelism with the business class. The AKP has used government institutions such as tax structures and debt collection which, when combined with their weakening of the judicial system (as discussed above), has awarded supporters and punished opponents within the business class (Ibid. 351). Therefore, the AKP is using formal institutions by selectively applying laws to favor its supporters and bring the business class into line.

Furthermore, the AKP has been able to politicize institutions by making independent regulatory agencies part of the Turkish government, including agencies that regulated the banking and energy sectors and ignoring court decisions stipulating that such agencies should be kept independent (Esen and Gumuscu 2018, 353). Public procurement laws and the Public Procurement Agency were targeted by the AKP, so that contracts could be awarded with less transparency. This allowed companies and businessmen with political connections to be awarded the majority of these contracts. The privatization of public lands in urban areas by pro-government businesses has also been made possible through expansions to Public Housing and Development Administration's (Toplu Konut Idaresi Başkanlığı TOKI) authority. By expanding TOKI, the AKP has been able to award public lands to party elites in the construction sector, which functioned as a form of clientelism and provided the working classes with jobs (Ibid., 354-355). In this way the AKP has garnered favor from both socioeconomic classes.

Businessmen have shown their support for the AKP through donations to the party, funding charitable causes that support the AKP's agenda, including funding schools as well as a hospital and embassy in Somalia, and investments in pro-AKP media. One prominent Turkish businessman, Ethem Sancak, publicly stated he bought Akşam, a daily newspaper, to support the

AKP regime (Esen and Gumuscu 2018, 361). Overall, certain businessmen are receiving economic rent, money earned for supporting the AKP in this new patronage system.

The AKP also included two religious reforms on its agenda when it ran in 2002 to appeal to a conservative religious base. They campaigned to end the headscarf ban in places like universities and to have religious degrees from clergy schools have the same weight as degrees from secular schools. In 2007, the AKP was able to lift the ban on headscarves by arguing it was preventing devout women from receiving an education, and it lifted the headscarf ban on civil servants in 2013 except for a few positions, including judges and security personnel (Kaya 2015, 56). In 2009, the AKP changed the law to make religious schools more desirable to students by reversing a previous law that penalized students in their university exams for having gone to a religious school. In public schools, the AKP added Islamist elements by changing textbooks to include religious education and offering optional religious courses (Kaya 2015, 56). Erdoğan has also advanced an Islamist agenda by promising to prevent mixed-gender dormitories and private student housing to appeal to his conservative, religious base, but this has not been instituted (Kaya 2015, 58).

3.3 The 2011 and 2015 Elections

In 2011, the AKP won a majority in parliament by winning 49.9% of the vote which was the highest percentage of the popular vote any party had won in the history of Turkey's elections. This was an increase from 2007 when they won 46% of the vote (Cengiz and Hoffmann 2011, 255). The success of the AKP in 2011 was attributed to its economic success since taking power in 2002 (Ibid., 264). From 2002 through 2011, the AKP was able to generate large percentages of

growth and in 2010 the annual growth was near nine percent (Ibid., 264). Erdoğan's reputation as a strong leader both regionally and internationally is another reason for the AKP's success in 2011. Cengiz and Hoffmann (2011) consider both the historical precedent of a strong man in the form of a sultan leading in the Ottoman-era, as well as during Atatürk's reign as possible precedent for Erdoğan's popularity. They also examine the possibility of rising nationalism and the effect of a strong personality in charge of domestic and international policies as being attractive to voters (264).

Çarkoğlu's (2012) analysis of Turkey's elections in 2002, 2007, and 2011 as well as Başlevent et al.'s of the 2002 election provide insight into voting behavior for the 2011 elections. Çarkoğlu found in 2002 more educated voters tended to vote for the AKP, but this changed in 2007 and 2011 with less educated voters tending to vote for the AKP. In 2011 compared to 2007 ideology appeared to matter more so than economic concerns. Başlevent et al. (2005) similarly found that economics played a large role in the 2002 elections. The AKP's voter base consisted of younger men who were most affected by the economic crisis and wanted to punish the incumbents for the crisis.

Then in 2015, the AKP lost a significant percentage of the vote. According to the Comparative Study on Electoral Systems (CSES 2015), turnout rate for the 2015 election was 83.9%, and the AKP won 40.9% of the vote but lost its majority in the parliament. The AKP lost votes among all occupations and religiosity levels. It lost the largest percentage of votes among farmers, white collar workers, and very religious individuals as compared to workers, self-employed, and less religious individuals (CSES 2015). According to Kemahlıoğlu (2015), the AKP lost votes because of the worsening economic conditions in 2015 (458). The AKP lost votes to the Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi (MHP), a conservative nationalist party, and the Halkların Demokratik

Partisi (HDP), a Kurdish party. Table 1, below, describes the vote break-down for the parliamentary elections from 2002 until 2015 (Kemahlıoğlu 2015, 454). According to Sayarı (2016) voters switched from the AKP to the MHP to punish the AKP for holding peace talks with the PKK and its leader Abdullah Öcalan, and the HPD gained more votes in Kurdish regions (2016, 275). The AKP did not secure enough seats to govern the country exclusively and was forced to make a coalition with other parties in parliament. This failed, and another vote was held in November 2015 (Kalaycıoğlu 2018, 21). Tables 2 and 3 reflect how survey respondents voted in 2011 and 2015.

Table 1: Parliamentary Election Results 2002-2015

(Kemahlıoğlu 2015, 454)

	June 2015		2011		2007		2002	
	Vote %	Seats	Vote %	Seats	Vote %	Seats	Vote %	Seats
AKP	40.9	258	49.8	327	46.6	341	34.3	363
CHP	25	132	26	135	20.9	112	19.4	178
MHP	16.3	80	13	53	14.3	71	8.4	–
HDP*	13.1	80	–	–	–	–	6.2	–
Independents†	1.1	–	6.6	35	5.2	26	1	9
Others	3.6	–	4.6	–	13	–	30.7	–
Total	100	550	100	550	100	550	100	550

Notes: *HDP in 2015, DEHAP (Demokratik Halk Partisi - Democratic People's Party) in 2002; †The figure for independents in 2011 and 2007 includes the vote and seat shares for HDP's predecessors (BDP and DTP). In 2011 only BDP-supported independent candidates won seats in parliament. In 2007, of 26 independent candidates who won seats 23 were supported by DTP.

Table 2: Religiosity and Vote for the AKP 2011-2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[1]

Religiosity	Vote	2011	2015	2015-2011
Less Religious	AKP	3.2%	2.5%	-0.7%
	Other	8.3%	9.6%	1.3%
More Religious	AKP	60.0%	43.0%	-17.0%
	Other	28.5%	44.9%	16.4%

Table 3: Occupational Group and Vote for the AKP 2011-2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[2]

Occupation	Vote	2011	2015	2015-2011
Manual Laborer	AKP	34.2%	26.9%	-7.3%
	Other	18.7%	34.6%	15.9%
Self-employed	AKP	10.6%	8.6%	-2.0%
	Other	12.1%	9.2%	-2.9%
White Collar	AKP	13.0%	5.5%	-7.5%
	Other	11.4%	15.3%	-3.9%

Security concerns may explain, at least in part, how voting behavior changed between the 2011 and 2015 elections. Figure 2 below, from the Global Terrorism Database run by the University of Maryland (2018), shows how terrorist attacks increased in 2015, peaking in July 2015. This was a particularly violent year with 244 total deaths as a result of terrorist attacks by ISIS and the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK). As was previously discussed, the PKK has been in conflict with the Turkish government since the 1984 over their rights and nationalistic ambitions as Kurds. The conflict deescalated the early 2000s, but resumed in 2004 (Kibris 2011, 222). Erdoğan and the AKP focused on peace talks with the PKK, and 2013 and 2014 saw fewer deaths

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[1] "Less Religious" includes those who responded as "Not Religious" and "Not Very Religious"; "More Religious includes those who responded as "Somewhat Religious" and "Very Religious"; See Appendix for full results

[2] "Manual Laborer" includes those who responded as "Farmer" and "Worker"' See Appendix for full results

thanks in part to a ceasefire with the PKK. The PKK broke the ceasefire in 2014, which explains the sharp increase in attacks in summer 2015 (Global Terrorism Database). Two days before the June 2015 elections, there was an attack on a HDP rally in Diyarbakır and there were many other attacks on HDP activists as well resulting in almost 100 HDP party activists being wounded (Çarkoğlu and Yıldırım 2015, 62). After the June elections, violence escalated, and the PKK and ISIS killed over 40 Turks that summer. In October 2015, before the November 2015 elections, ISIS killed 103 anti-AKP demonstrators in Ankara (Cagaptay 2017, 181). Therefore, while terrorism may have been on the mind of voters in June 2015, it became one of the primary concerns in November 2015 with the sharp increase in violence and deaths.
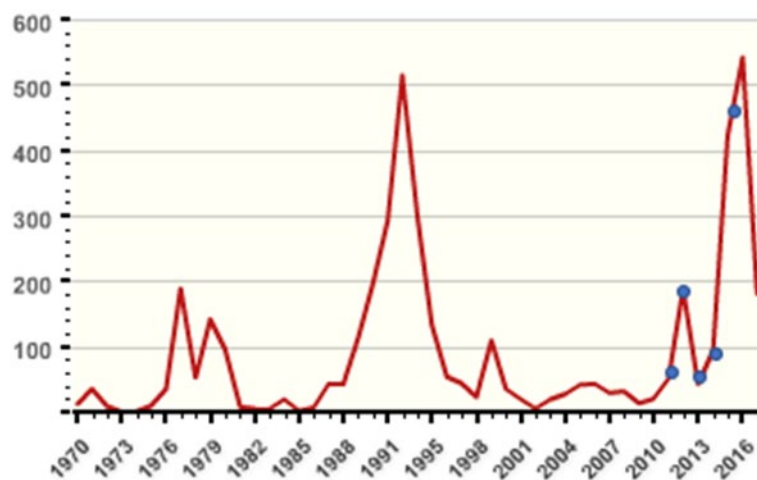
Figure 2: Terrorist Attacks in Turkey 1970-2016

(Global Terrorism Database)

A study in the U.S. found that terrorism affects voters by creating a "rally-around-the-flag" effect which means there is increased public approval of the president during times of crisis like terrorist attacks (Hetherington and Nelson 2003). Studies in Israel have shown there is generally more support for right-wing parties during times of terrorism because they are seen as less

concessionary than left-wing parties (Berrebi and Klor 2006), and voters who are in areas that are more prone to terrorist attacks are even more likely to vote for right-wing parties (Getmansky and Zeitoff 2014). A study conducted by Kibris (2011) found that Turks were more likely to vote for hard-liners during the most violent era of PKK violence in the early 1990s, so it can be expected there was similar voting behavior in 2015 with the end of the ceasefire.

Another factor that most likely impacted the June 2015 election was the large influx of Syrian refugees into Turkey beginning in 2011. Syrian refugees began fleeing to Turkey in 2011 after the Syrian government responded to anti-government protests with violence, but the number of refugees increased dramatically beginning in 2012 when talks between the opposition and Syrian government broke down. As the civil war became more violent and non-state actors increased the instability in the country, the number of refugees in Turkey reached almost 3 million (Altindag and Kaushal 2017, 4). The AKP has maintained a policy of offering refuge to the migrants, while other political parties like the MHP has criticized the AKP's failure to address security concerns stemming from the influx of refugees. The HDP has advocated for Syrian refugees to be granted permanent residency status and integration into Turkey (Ibid., 5-6). This increase in population puts pressure on public resources and housing which often fuels feelings of resentment against refugees, therefore, this could have had a large effect on the June 2015 election. However, the AKP recovered its losses and gained more seats than ever in the November 2015 elections. So, while the initial influx of refugees may have affected the June 2015 election, it appears that this crisis did not affect the November 2015 election. Other factors like terrorism seem to have become more important during the November election.

The AKP was unable to create a coalition as a result of their losses, and they called for reelections in November. This resulted in an AKP majority in Parliament. They won 49.5% of the

vote giving it the majority in the parliament once again. The AKP received the majority for several possible reasons. With increased PKK violence in the southeast, the stronghold of the Kurdish HDP, turnout rate was lower. This could have been due to security concerns or voters showing their disapproval with PKK violence and voting for the AKP instead of the HDP (Sayarı 2016, 274). Voters may have switched from the MHP to the AKP because of Erdoğan's decisions to stop the peace process with the PKK and adopt a more aggressive attitude, thus making nationalist voters happy (Ibid., 276). In general, security concerns would have been even more important in the context of increased PKK violence during the summer of 2015.

These voting statistics connect back to my research questions of how perception of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy changed between 2011 and 2015. As is evident through the examination of the AKP's economic, judicial, and military reforms, authoritarianism is increasing in the country, but elections remain highly competitive because the AKP lost a large percentage of votes in the June 2015 parliamentary elections. By looking at perception of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy, we can better understand how democracy is being perceived by the general public and how democracy relies on more than just voting practices.

4.0 Data and Methods

In order to answer questions about perceptions of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy and to understand the democratic institutions within hybrid regimes, I use survey data conducted by the Comparative Study on Electoral Systems. Surveys were conducted after the June 2011 and June 2015 parliamentary elections. In 2011, the surveys were conducted between July 21st and August 26th and surveyed a total of 1,109 individuals. In 2015, the surveys were conducted between July 18th and September 10th and surveyed a total of 1,086 individuals. These surveys chose participants by using the sub regions determined by the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) and by pulling 20 addresses from blocks of 400 residents. The survey response rate was almost 53% in 2011 and 57% for 2015.

The dependent variables examined in this study are satisfaction with democracy and responses to the statement "who you vote for matters." Satisfaction with democracy was rated on a scale from "not at all satisfied", "not very satisfied", "fairly satisfied", to "very satisfied". The response to "who you vote for matters" was rated on a scale from "who people vote for won't make a difference", "2", "3", "4", and "who people vote for can make a big difference". Since "2", "3", and "4" were not specified in the survey, I interpreted them as follows: I describe "2" as who people vote for makes little difference, "3" as who people vote for makes some difference, and "4" as who people vote for makes a difference.

The independent variables I am considering are religiosity and occupational group. Religiosity is rated from "no religious beliefs", "not very religious", "somewhat religious", to "very religious". There are four categories of occupations "worker", "self-employed", "white collar", and "farmer". Survey respondents identified as "worker" if they were any type of manual

laborer besides farmer. They responded as "self-employed" for jobs including doctor, lawyer, and shopkeeper among others. Survey respondents chose "white collar" if they did not perform manual labor and included jobs such as office workers and managers.

In 2011, of the 1,109 survey respondents, 82.4% responded as somewhat religious or very religious while 11.2% responded as having no religious beliefs or not being very religious. 24.2% of individuals who provided their occupational group responded as white collar, 42.9% as worker, 11.2% as farmer, and 21.8% as self-employed. In 2015, of the 1,086 survey respondents, 81.0% responded as somewhat religious or very religious while 10.7% responded as having no religious beliefs or not being very religious. 22.9% responded as white collar, 51.9% as worker, 8.2% as farmer, and 17% as self-employed.

Table 4: Religiosity and Occupational Group in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Religiosity	2011	2015
Have no religious beliefs	12	23
Not very religious	112	93
Somewhat religious	473	575
Very religious	441	305
Refused	54	46
Don't know	0	22
Missing	17	22

Occupational Group	2011	2015
White Collar	71	89
Worker	126	202
Farmer	33	32
Self-employed	64	66
Refused	4	1
Don't Know	0	0
Missing	811	696

I predict that satisfaction with democracy and the perception of voting efficacy decrease between 2011 and 2015 among survey respondents. Diamond (2015) argues Turkey transitioned to a competitive authoritarian regime between these two elections in 2014; therefore, voters will be less satisfied with Turkey's democracy in 2015 as democracy diminished between the two elections. Freedom House rated Turkey as "Partly Free" for 2011 giving it scores of "3" out of 7 for freedom, civil liberties, and political rights with 7 being the most unfree. By 2015, Freedom House rated Turkey still as "Partly Free" but with a downward trend arrow. Turkey received a "3.5" for freedom, a "3" for political rights, and a "4" for civil rights. Based on the degradation of democracy in the country with many scholars arguing Turkey transitioned to a competitive authoritarian regime around 2014 (Diamond 2015; Tansel 2018), I expect the survey respondents to be less satisfied with democracy. I also predict that they will feel that "who you vote for matters" in fact matters less in 2015 because one of the key tools used in Turkey to consolidate its competitive authoritarian regime was electoral manipulation. I expect survey respondents to feel their vote means less because of the uneven and unfair electoral playing field that was perpetuated in 2015 as compared to 2011.

I predict that those who identify as more religious to have increased levels of voting efficacy in 2015 because the AKP instituted reforms and laws such as expanding the end of the headscarf ban to civil servants in 2013 to appeal to those who identify as religious. Therefore, more religious individuals will feel their vote matters because the government in charge is being responsive. I also expect those who are less religious to feel their vote matters less because these reforms do not directly benefit them. This compounded with electoral manipulation would make less religious individuals have decreased perceptions of voting efficacy.

While organized labor has faced antagonism from the AKP (Duran and Yildirim 2005, 242), I predict that the survey respondents who chose the occupational groups of "worker" to feel their vote matters more because of how the AKP has structured the economic system in Turkey. Businessmen have also benefited from patronage in Turkey, but we cannot assume they are represented in this survey because it is challenging to reach elites. Therefore, I expect workers to feel their vote matters because they are voting to keep in an incumbent that is providing them with economic rent. I expect the other occupational groups which do not benefit from patronage politics to have decreased perceptions of voting efficacy because of electoral manipulation and because they benefit less from patronage.

5.0 Findings

5.1 Satisfaction with Democracy and Perception of Voting Efficacy

Overall the findings show that survey respondents identified lower on the scale of satisfaction with democracy in 2015 as compared to 2011, and they responded higher on the scale of "who you vote for matters" in 2015 as compared to 2011. Satisfaction with democracy among survey respondents decreased between 2011 to 2015. Those who responded as "not at all satisfied" increased from 16.0% in 2011 to 39.8% in 2015. Those who were "fairly satisfied" decreased from 43.8% to 26.5%. Those who were "very satisfied" decreased from 12.8% to 6.4%. These results show satisfaction decreased, and they are statistically significant because the p-value is zero.

Table 5: Satisfaction with Democracy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Satisfaction	2011	2015	2015-2011
Not at all satisfied	16.0%	39.8%	+23.9%
Not very satisfied	27.5%	27.4%	-0.13%
Fairly satisfied	43.8%	26.5%	-17.4%
Very satisfied	12.8%	6.4%	-6.4%

There is a trend of decreasing satisfaction between 2015 and 2011. As is shown in the table above, the percentage of people who were "not at all satisfied" with democracy increased by 23.9%. The percentage of people who responded as "fairly satisfied" and very satisfied combined decreased by 23.8%. In 2011, most survey respondents were "fairly satisfied", then in 2015 most survey respondents were "not at all satisfied" with democracy.

What can account for this trend? The survey does not specify whether people are responding to satisfaction with democracy as a general form of government, or as the flawed democracy that Turkey is practicing. If we understand the survey to be indicating their satisfaction with democracy as a form of government in general, there could be multiple reasons for why survey respondents are less satisfied. I would point to the security concerns plaguing Turkey in 2015. ISIS conducted multiple attacks on Turkish soil, and the PKK broke its ceasefire with the Turkish government and engaged in attacks. These security concerns would not have been as important in the June 2015 election as it was in the November 2015 election because violence increased significantly in July 2015. Even so, the survey was conducted between July and September 2015, so responses would have been affected by the increased terrorist threat. Furthermore, beginning in 2011, millions of refugees came to Turkey which is often seen as a security issue and resulted in violence against refugees. With increasing security concerns, citizens would have been less apt to be satisfied with democracy as a principle and instead perceived a more authoritarian government and leader who can make quick decisions to deal with terrorist attacks as preferable. Democracies are setup with checks and balances making legislation and responses to issues such as terrorist attacks slower than a system with fewer checks and balances. On the other hand, if we interpret the results as indicating less satisfaction with the democracy Turkey was practicing, survey respondents were less satisfied with democracy in 2015 as compared to 2011 because of electoral manipulation and the degradation of checks and balances in the judiciary and military during this four-year period. Because Turkey is functioning as a competitive authoritarian regime, the electoral and institutional changes were enacted in the public eye. Therefore, Turkish citizens were likely less satisfied with democracy as the government made the country less democratic.

Surprisingly, however, perception of voting efficacy increased overall between 2011 and 2015. The number of people who chose "5" on a scale from one to five with five meaning "who people vote for can make a big difference" increased from 57.8% in 2011 to 68.3% in 2015 while those who chose "4" or as I have defined it "who people vote for makes some difference", decreased from 26.5% in 2011 to 16.9% in 2015. These results are statistically significant because the p-value is zero.

Table 6: Perception of Voting Efficacy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Voting Beliefs	2011	2015	2015-2011
Who people vote for won't make much difference	6.7%	3.4%	-3.3%
Who people vote for can make a significant difference	83.9%	87.1%	3.2%

The table above collapses the lowest two categories and the highest two categories of perception of voting efficacy to more clearly show changes between 2015 and 2011. These results indicate there is a trend towards increased perception of voting efficacy. While those who answer with "who people vote for can make a big difference" increased by 13% between 2011 and 2015, if we combine "who people vote for makes a difference" with "who people vote for can make a big difference", the change between 2011 and 2015 is not as large (at only 3.2%). This shows that the majority of people in 2011 and 2015 felt that their vote mattered, but, in 2015, more people felt their vote mattered even more than in 2011.

These results are paradoxical when compared with the results on satisfaction with democracy. If satisfaction with democracy decreased, why would perception of voting efficacy

increase? I interpret this change as derived from, rather ironically, Turkey's increasingly competitive authoritarian regime structure. Those individuals who are benefitting from the current regime would feel that their vote matters even more because they are receiving benefits from the incumbent. As was previously stated, manual laborers and businessmen are benefitting from the new welfare system and business contracts, and religious individuals are benefitting from religious legislation. As the AKP solidifies its control over the state and can offer its voting base more benefits, these individuals will feel that their vote matters even more because they are benefitting from and have a major incentive to keep the party that aligns with their interests in power. But, the AKP lost votes in June 2015, therefore patronage politics and religious legislation was not enough to mitigate the negative perception authoritarian policies have on satisfaction with democracy.

5.2 Religiosity: Satisfaction with Democracy and Perception of Voting Efficacy

Now I turn to how the dependent variables, satisfaction with democracy and perception of voting efficacy, affect the independent variable of religiosity. The most extreme religiosity identification "very religious" decreased but "somewhat religious" increased among survey respondents between 2011 and 2015. Those who were "very religious" decreased from 39.8% of survey respondents in 2011 to 28.1% of survey respondents in 2015. Those who were "somewhat religious" though increased from 42.7% of survey respondents in 2011 to 52.9% of survey respondents in 2015.

Satisfaction with democracy decreased among religious individuals between 2011 and 2015. Those who responded as "very religious" and "not at all satisfied with democracy" increased from 4.1% in 2011 to 10.5% in 2015. Similarly, those who responded as "somewhat religious" and

"not at all satisfied" with democracy increased from 6.9% in 2011 to 21.8% in 2015. Those who were "somewhat religious" and "not very satisfied" also increased from 15.1% in 2011 to 16.5% in 2015. Those who were "somewhat religious" and "fairly satisfied" decreased from 19.5% in 2011 to 16.5% in 2015 and likewise those who were "very religious" and "fairly satisfied" decreased from 22.3% in 2011 to 9.3% in 2015. This indicates that very religious and somewhat religious individuals experienced a decrease in satisfaction with democracy, while those who were not very religious and had no religious beliefs exhibited a negligible change. The p-value is .074, which is above the p < .05 threshold commonly used to assess significance. However, since some studies use p < .10 as indicating somewhat or potentially significant, this warrants a brief discussion on why those who are more religious have decreasing satisfaction at higher levels than those who are less religious.

Table 7: Religiosity and Satisfaction with Democracy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[3]

Satisfaction	Religiosity	2011	2015	(2015-2011)
Not satisfied	Less Religious	8.4%	9.5%	+1.1%
	More Religious	33.6%	57.4%	+23.8%
Satisfied	Less Religious	3.8%	2.5%	-1.3%
	More Religious	53.9%	31.3%	-22.6%

The table above combines the two lowest and highest levels of satisfaction and religiosity to better show the change between the two groups between 2015 and 2011. Those who are more religious showed decreased levels of satisfaction at a higher rate between the two years than those

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[3] See Appendix for full results

who were less religious. This means those who are less religious, while they are losing satisfaction with democracy, are not losing satisfaction as much as the more religious individuals. To explain this trend, I look at voting patterns, security concerns, and the changing political reality of many religious groups.

These results can be interpreted by looking in tandem at the voting patterns of less religious and more religious individuals in 2011 and 2015. More religious individuals generally voted for the AKP in 2011, with 60% of the total survey respondents voting for the AKP. This decreased to 43% in 2015. Combined with the fact that more religious people are more dissatisfied with democracy, the June 2015 election could be viewed as an opportunity for more religious people to express their dissatisfaction with the democracy Turkey is practicing and punish the incumbents. Furthermore, individuals who identify as religious, but are also worried about security, may have had a loss of satisfaction in democracy and switched their vote to the nationalist MHP. As was previously discussed, terrorist attacks peaked in July 2015, but terrorist threats did exist during the June 2015 elections. The MHP as a nationalist party helped the AKP repeal the headscarf ban in parliament, opposed the AKP's peace talks with the PKK, and is the least welcoming to Syrian refugees. Therefore, the MHP would appeal to religious individuals as well as to those concerned with security as it takes a hardline on terrorism and refugees. Increasing security concerns, combined with an increase in the vote share for the MHP in June, indicates security issues could have contributed to the decrease in satisfaction with democracy. Ultimately, because the AKP regained its majority in the November 2015 election, it seems that religious individuals perceived that the AKP could better address security concerns in the long-run.

There are cleavages within the "more religious" identity that must be examined as well. Kurds, Gülenists, and Alevis are all groups within the "more religious" identity with distinct

preferences. Kurds in general vote for the Kurdish HDP party, but conservative Kurds often vote for the AKP (Öniş 2016, 144). The HDP ran on a platform of preventing the Turkish political system from changing to a presidential system and passed the 10% electoral threshold required to enter parliament for the first time by running on this platform (Kalaycıoğlu 2017, 25). This indicates that Kurds were dissatisfied with democracy in the country because they increased their support for the HDP and its platform to stop the AKP from establishing a presidential system with increased powers. Therefore, Kurds became less satisfied with democracy which is most evident in their protest vote of the newly proposed political system.

Gülenists identify with the Said Nursi religious movement which focuses on using religion to help create a more ethical and just society (Yavuz 2018, 19). When the AKP first took power, the Gülenists worked closely with the AKP, and many Gülenists were appointed to government and military positions. The two groups diverged over many issues including negotiations with the Kurds, and the AKP and Gülenists began fighting in 2013 to maintain power. Erdoğan closed Gülenist-run schools in Turkey, and Gülenists responded by exposing massive corruption among AKP leaders (Ibid., 25). Since 2013, Erdoğan has purged Gülenists from government and military positions. Therefore, between 2011 and 2015 for Gülenists, satisfaction with democracy as it was being practiced in the country would have decreased significantly as the AKP attacked Gülenist institutions, and they lost power in the government.

Alevis are a politically active ethno-religious community within Turkey who generally vote for the CHP (Republican People's Party) and other leftist parties. In June 2015, some Alevi switched to the HDP including young and Kurdish Alevi (Köse 2015, 112). The HDP appealed to Alevi voters because they promised to address some Alevi concerns including ending the mandatory religion classes in school and ending the government institution of Directorate of

Religious Affairs (Ibid. 112, 114). Alevis in general do not support the AKP, which can explain why "more religious" respondents were less satisfied with democracy because Alevis would have disliked the autocratic turn of the country under the AKP.

Less religious individuals, on the other hand, did not change in their support for the AKP much between 2011 and 2015. In 2011, around 3% of individuals who identified as less religious voted for the AKP and this decreased by around a half percent to around 2.5% in 2015. This combined with the fact that less religious individuals had little change in their satisfaction levels between 2015 and 2011 indicates that these individuals have not experienced a change in their lack of support for the AKP. Out of the 100 less religious individuals in 2011 and of the 96 less religious individuals in 2015, 72% voted for parties other than the AKP in 2011 and 79.2% voted for parties other than the AKP in 2015. In 2011 and 2015, most survey respondents who were less religious voted for the CHP, which did not increase its number of seats in the 2015 election. But, there was an increase in less religious individuals voting for the MHP and HDP. In 2011, 6% of less religious individuals voted for the MHP and 12% voted for the HDP. This increased to 13.5% for the MHP and 14.6% for the HDP in 2015 indicates that less religious individuals played a part in the increase in vote share for these two parties. Many individuals who were not pro-AKP saw their chosen party gain seats in the 2015 election. Less religious individuals reacted differently to the elections than more religious individuals. Instead of losing satisfaction with democracy, they maintained their levels of satisfaction by voting in parties other than the AKP in 2015.

Alternative explanations for decreased satisfaction with democracy could be that the survey respondents were dissatisfied with democracy and wanted the country to be more democratic. I interpreted the decreased satisfaction with democracy leading towards support of authoritarianism because of the widespread popular support for the AKP which instituted undemocratic reforms. It

is possible that the survey respondents were unhappy with the increasing authoritarianism and preferred a more democratic regime to take over, but this is not reflected in the November 2015 election in which the AKP received almost 50 percent of the vote.

Perception of voting efficacy increased slightly only among "more religious" individuals, which aggregates "somewhat religious" and "very religious", between 2011 and 2015. Those who were "somewhat religious" and chose "who people vote for makes a big difference" increased from 26.3% in 2011 to 42.4% in 2015. While those who were "somewhat religious" and "very religious" and chose "who people vote for makes a difference" decreased from 11.8% in 2011 to 9.3% in 2015 and 12.1% in 2011 and 1.5% in 2015 respectively, and those who were "very religious" and chose "who people vote for makes a big difference" also decreased from 23.3% in 2011 to 19.8% in 2015, These results are statistically significant, but the p-value is .094 which is larger than is ideal. Even so, there is a less than 10% chance that these results are due to chance, therefore the relationship between perception of voting efficacy and religiosity warrants a discussion.

Table 8: Religiosity and Perception of Voting Efficacy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[4]

Voting Beliefs	Religiosity	2011	2015	(2015-2011)
Who people vote for won't make a difference	Less Religious	0.7%	0.3%	-0.4%
	More Religious	5.9%	3.3%	-2.6%
Who people vote for makes a difference	Less Religious	10.4%	10.1%	-0.3%
	More Religious	73.4%	77.2%	+3.8%

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[4] Response "3" or "Who you vote for matters" is omitted. See Appendix for full results.

I argue the slight uptick in the relationship between religiosity and perceptions of voting efficacy stems from the ability to vote in the MHP and HDP. As was previously discussed, more religious individuals voted for the AKP less in 2015 than in 2011 as did other groups allowing more political parties into the parliament. Among the "more religious" survey respondents, 8.7% voted for the MHP in 2011 and 5.4% voted for the HDP in 2011. This increased to 15.6% for the MHP and 11.6% for the HDP in 2015. Therefore, more religious individuals would feel their vote matters more because their vote brought in a party that catered to religious individuals via religious reforms, and they successfully voted for other parties like the HDP and MHP when they became less satisfied with democracy. This would indicate to religious individuals they have a high amount of voting efficacy because they are able to enact change in the vote. Furthermore, as was previously discussed, Kurds, Gülenists, and Alevis all saw shifting political loyalties between 2011 and 2015. This is an example of religious individuals feeling their vote matters because they were able to bring in a party they wanted like the HDP or MHP. It is also important to point out that the survey respondents who responded as "very religious" decreased in their perception of voting efficacy between 2011 and 2015, but this is because there were fewer people who identified as "very religious" in 2015 as compared to 2011. This shows that survey respondents became less religious between the two years, but religiosity played an important part in mobilizing voters and served as an identity around which voters could articulate their preferences.

I would argue that less religious individuals did not see an increase in perception of voting efficacy because little has changed for them since the 2011 parliamentary elections. They also generally did not vote for the AKP with only around 3% of less religious people voting for the AKP in 2011 and around 2.5% in 2015. With the AKP having the majority in parliament, less religious individuals would feel their vote matters less because who they want in the parliament

does not have power. Less religious individuals would have seen the change in the parliamentary make-up in 2015, however, so why did they not experience an increase in perception of voting efficacy as in the case of more religious people? Less religious individuals may not have increased efficacy because when the survey was conducted, the AKP was attempting to create a coalition government and failed. This resulted in new elections in November. The political parties they preferred would not have been able to make any impact on the parliament with the AKP unable to form a coalition government, which could explain why efficacy did not change because the political reality did not change. And in the end, as I have discussed above, the AKP ended up maintaining its control over the parliament by not forming a coalition government.

Alternative explanations for this finding could include that the survey respondents feel their vote matters even more in the context of increasing polarization of politics and a shrinking political center. A smaller political center means there are fewer moderate politicians and opinions. According to a survey conducted in Turkey in December 2015, the majority of Turks surveyed did not want to do business with people with differing political opinions and did not want their children to marry someone of a differing political party (Erdogan 2016, 2). This shows how polarized Turkish society has become and how each election seems to have very high stakes because partisanship is so important. Therefore, while electoral manipulation is making voting less democratic, people feel their vote matters a lot because they want to keep certain political parties and views out of government and keep their viewpoint in.

5.3 Occupational Group: Satisfaction with Democracy and Perception of Voting Efficacy

Satisfaction with democracy decreased among survey respondents who identified as "white collar" and "worker" between 2011 and 2015. Those who were "white collar" and "not at all satisfied" increased from 2.8% in 2011 to 13.1% in 2015, and similarly those who were "worker" and "not at all satisfied" increased from 9.2% in 2011 to 20.6% in 2015. Those who were "white collar" and "not very satisfied" decreased from 9.2% in 2011 to 5.7% in 2015, while those who were "worker and "not very satisfied" increased from 10.6% in 2011 to 13.1% in 2015. Those who were "worker" and "fairly satisfied" decreased from 20.1% in 2011 to 13.1% in 2015. These results are statistically significant because the p-value is .0038.

Table 9: Occupational Group and Satisfaction with Democracy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[5]

Satisfaction	Occupational Group	2011	2015	2015-2011
Not satisfied	Manual Laborers	22.6%	38.9%	+16.3
	Self-employed	10.9%	12.0%	+1.1
	White Collar	12.0%	18.8%	+6.8
Satisfied	Manual Laborers	31.7%	21.0%	-10.7
	Self-employed	10.2%	5%	-5.2%
	White Collar	12.4%	4.5%	-7.9%

To explain this trend, I examine patronage politics, the state of the economy, and security concerns. Manual laborers and white-collar individuals had a larger drop in satisfaction than did self-employed individuals. I argue this is because manual laborers have more invested in the

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[5] See Appendix for full results.

government than self-employed individuals because they benefit more from patronage politics. Patronage politics, manifest in the welfare system, and the manipulation of public resources create a strong voter base, but these policies of making individuals rely on the AKP for social services and giving pro-AKP businessmen construction contracts degrades democracy. There is less transparency and accountability in this new system, and these groups know they benefit from the less democratic regime the AKP has instituted. We can assume the survey was unable to reach the elite businessmen benefitting from the AKP's patronage system, so other explanations for the decrease in satisfaction among white collar workers is required. While white-collar workers have not been part of the patronage system directly, as middle-class individuals they have benefitted from the economic prosperity the AKP was able to generate beginning in 2002. I look to the struggling economic conditions in Turkey in 2015 to explain white collar worker's decreasing satisfaction with democracy as the AKP was practicing it. The economy was slowing down prior to the June 2015 elections, but it worsened over the summer with the lira depreciating 20% by the November elections (Yavuz and Özcan 2015, 74). This survey was conducted between July and September 2015, so survey responses would have been affected by the economic downturn. Therefore, worsening economic conditions combined with authoritarian policies makes the democracy as the AKP was instituting it less desirable. Not only were citizens surrendering some of their freedoms under the competitive authoritarian system, but they were also no longer benefitting from the economic prosperity the AKP brought.

Security concerns could also have affected satisfaction with democracy as a principle like it did with religious individuals. Manual laborers may have felt more threatened by refugees competing for jobs, depressing wages, and contributing to the rise in rent prices. Furthermore, the 2015 survey was conducted between July and September 2015 during the most violent months of

terrorist attacks. All individuals would have worried about increased terrorism, but white-collar individuals would also worry about security issues in the country hurting business and international investment. Therefore, for both groups, security via an authoritarian government would be more desirable than democracy not addressing these security and economic issues with as much urgency. This was reflected in voting patterns in 2015 as well. In the June elections, terrorism was much less of a concern as it was in the November elections. The AKP regained its parliamentary majority in the November 2015 elections because of the terrorist threats in the country (Kalaycıoğlu 2018, 31).

Perception of voting efficacy increased among those survey respondents who identified as "worker", but overall there does not appear to be a connection between occupation and voting efficacy according to the significance tests. Those who identified as "worker" and rated efficacy at a "5" increased from 22.3% in 2011 to 35.6% in 2015. Voting efficacy increased overall which is statistically significant, but the p-value is .68 for the interaction of occupational group and perception of voting efficacy. This means there is a 68% chance that these results are based on chance. Therefore, I cannot draw any conclusions about how perception of voting efficacy depends on occupation.

Table 10: Occupational Group and Perception of Voting Efficacy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)[6]

Voting Beliefs	Occupational Group	2011	2015	2015-2011
Who people vote for won't make much difference	Manual Laborer	3.4%	3.7%	0.3%
	Self-employed	1.3	0.8%	-0.5%
	White Collar	0.6%	1.1%	0.5%
Who people vote for can make a significant difference	Manual Laborer	44.2%	51.1%	6.9%
	Self-employed	19.1%	14.3%	-4.8%
	White Collar	20.9%	19.7%	-1.2%

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[6] Response "3" or "Who you vote for matters" is omitted. See Appendix for full results.

5.4 Summary

Between the 2011 and 2015 parliamentary elections, satisfaction with democracy decreased and perception of voting efficacy increased among survey respondents. Religious individuals saw a larger decrease in satisfaction with democracy and a larger increase in perception of voting efficacy than less religious individuals. Manual laborers and white-collar workers also saw a larger decrease in satisfaction with democracy than self-employed individuals. One reason for these changes is security concerns. Terrorist attacks increased significantly in July 2015 when the survey was conducted. Additionally, between 2011 and 2015 around three million Syrian refugees entered the country. In general, voters prefer right-wing parties with uncompromising stances against terrorists during crises, which can account for the decrease in satisfaction with democracy as democracy is seen as not as an effective form of governance against terrorism when compared to a more authoritarian regime. Other explanations for this trend include the changing political preferences of many religious groups including the Kurds, Gülenists, and Alevis all of whom became disenchanted with the AKP and its increasing authoritarian policies. Furthermore, the economic downturn can explain white-collar dissatisfaction with democracy.

Increased perceptions of voting efficacy can be attributable to the increase in vote-share of the MHP and HDP at the expense of the AKP, which indicates that elections are still competitive. These results show that while people recognize democracy has degraded in the country, perceptions of voting efficacy remain high. This indicates that the competitive authoritarian regime the AKP and Erdoğan have established is functioning well because they have consolidated power while maintaining the guise of free and fair elections. This trend is particularly harmful to democracy worldwide because if people feel efficacious they will most likely not demand change even though we know democracy is degrading. These trends indicate that occupational group is

very important in Turkish politics in regard to satisfaction with democracy because it was highly statistically significant. It was more significant than religiosity, which indicates that occupational group and socio-economic status is perhaps a better way for us to examine how people think and feel about democracy in Turkey. This was the opposite when it came to perception of voting efficacy. Religiosity was significant in understanding how perceptions of voting efficacy changed, but occupational group was not. Within the context of Turkish politics, this indicates that religious cleavages are more important than occupational cleavages when it comes to voting and feeling that your vote matters. These paradoxical findings also indicate that in Turkey, cleavages are cross-cutting. Thus, belonging to a certain occupational group or religiosity category has different effects on perceptions of democracy and voting efficacy. Furthermore, these trends can help us understand other competitive authoritarian regimes that enjoy popular support.

6.0 Conclusion

This paper investigates the global phenomenon of increasing authoritarianism by examining the Turkish case. It is evident democracy is in retreat, which is resulting in an increase in hybrid regimes like competitive authoritarian regimes, as exemplified by the Turkish case. As this type of regime increases globally, democratic institutions and elections are being maintained, but voting remains largely free. This raises the question of how citizens of these countries feel about democracy and voting. By analyzing satisfaction with democracy and perception of voting efficacy in Turkey, this study illuminates how and why people's opinions about these systems are changing. With further research, these findings can be compared to other hybrid regimes to see if the results are similar.

In Turkey, satisfaction with democracy declined among survey respondents between 2011 and 2015. This is significant because Turkey transitioned from a relatively free democracy to a competitive authoritarian regime between these two elections. Therefore, satisfaction with democracy decreased as the leaders in Turkey undermined democracy through a combination of electoral manipulation, media suppression, and checks and balances. While I expected patronage politics and religious legislation to increase perceptions of voting efficacy among manual laborers and more religious individuals, this was not the case. It appears these methods of generating support for the AKP failed in June 2015 as more political parties reached parliament and the AKP lost power. There were many factors that contributed to the decrease in satisfaction with democracy, the increase in perception of voting efficacy, and the shift in vote share between 2011 and 2015. This included an increase in security threats from ISIS and the PKK in the summer of 2015. Some religious groups experienced a shift in their political preferences, and others were

adversely affected by economy which, combined with increasing authoritarianism, resulted in less satisfaction with Turkish democracy. The quantitative data used in this paper would have been complimented well by qualitative data and would provide a more nuanced understanding of voter behavior. Understanding what the survey respondents think of democracy as a principle and as it functions in their country will also give future studies more robust results. Furthermore, qualitative data will help us to better understand if survey respondents feel that their vote matters because of increasing authoritarianism, or due to increasing polarization of politics, which I suggest above as an alternative explanation.

By looking back to the arguments put forth that authoritarian leaders gain support through clientelism as Lust (2009) saw with Fatah in the Palestinian Authority and Blaydes (2006) saw in Egypt, it appears patronage politics functioned differently in Turkey between 2011 and 2015. Manual laborers who benefit from patronage politics experienced a decrease in satisfaction with democracy, and the AKP lost votes in June 2015. Therefore, while patronage politics may generate support, it appears there is a limit to this support. Patronage politics may explain how the AKP has maintained its support in the long-term though because it regained its majority in the November 2015 elections. More research on how satisfaction with democracy and perceptions of voting efficacy in the 2018 election could help us understand if patronage politics is offsetting the effects of increasing authoritarianism.

These results also suggest that voters are influenced by economic and social factors, as suggested by Waldner and Lust (2018). They examined many theories for why hybrid regimes have increased, but two of them, the political economy theory and cleavages theory, apply to these findings. The AKP as the dominant party within a competitive authoritarian regime is being sustained through a relationship with businessmen and the working class via construction projects

and a new welfare system. Yet, this patronage system was not enough to make citizens happy with democracy or vote overwhelmingly for the AKP in June 2015. But when confronted with security and economic issues, voters flocked to the AKP in November, indicating that the economy theory is important but not enough to explain the rise of authoritarianism. The cleavages theory can apply to religious voters because they have capitalized on religious reforms to maintain a religious, conservative base, but like patronage politics, this was not enough to prevent decreasing levels of satisfaction with democracy and a loss in vote share in June 2015. This is because cleavages are cross-cutting. Even within the religious identification there are different types of religious groups with distinct preferences. Again, this shows that while the economic and cleavages theories can provide some insight into why there is support for authoritarian-leaning regimes, other factors like security can help explain support for the authoritarian regime in Turkey. Furthermore, this can help us understand other competitive authoritarian regimes that enjoy popular support. To suggest how, I turn to the case of Russia under the competitive authoritarian regime of Vladimir Putin (1999-present).

Russia similarly has degraded its democracy to the point of being an authoritarian government, but like Turkey, perceptions of satisfaction with democracy and voting efficacy are mixed and seemingly contradictory. According to Diamond (2015), Russia transitioned to a hybrid regime in 2000, and it has since consolidated its authoritarian structures until it was categorized as an unfree, authoritarian regime by Freedom House in 2005. Even so, elections continue in Russia, therefore it is useful to examine it in tandem with the Turkish case because if authoritarian policies continue to be implemented, Turkey could be on a similar trajectory.

President Vladimir Putin came to power in 1999 and began degrading democratic institutions by manipulating media coverage of elections, undermining regional autonomy by

appointing governors instead of allowing them to be elected, and manipulating vote counting to keep opponents out of parliament. These changes were enacted in the context of Chechen wars, and the violence and terrorism that stemmed from this conflict was used by Putin and the party he belongs to, Kremlin's Unity Party, to degrade democracy. Female suicide bombers from Chechnya targeted metro stations, airplanes, and schools throughout the 2000s; Putin used these attacks to consolidate his power and ensure he could maintain this power in the future (Puddington 2017). Human rights abuses were also rampant in the context of the Chechen wars during the early 2000s with multiple accounts of Russian soldiers raping Muslim, Chechen women and ad hoc detention and torture of Chechen individuals. Media sources that criticized the government were raided and subject to sanctions, and the judicial system lacked transparency and accountability which resulted in prosecutors extracting forced confessions (Human Rights Watch World Report 2001: The Russian Federation).

Levitsky and Way (2002) characterized Russia as a competitive authoritarian regime because like Turkey, it has also made elections unfree and unfair and has undermined civil liberties. They point to how elections in the 1990s in Russia were highly competitive including the 1996 presidential election of Boris Yeltsin, during which he faced strong opposition from former communist parties (Ibid., 55). While elections were competitive, authoritarian elements remained. In 1993, Yeltsin shut down the legislature and called for new elections because the parliament opposed him. Another way in which competitive authoritarian regimes consolidate their power is through undermining the judiciary which Yeltsin did in 1993 when the courts ruled his closure of the parliament unconstitutional. He cut off phone access to the courts and removed its guards to prevent the judiciary from stopping his plans. Furthermore, undermining the media is another tactic used by competitive authoritarian regimes. And while independent media in Russia survived the

1990s, they were forced to not criticize the government after Putin took over. All of these measures were similar to the ones Turkey has taken to undermine the system of checks and balances and elections. And like Turkey, Russia instituted many of these authoritarian reforms within the context of fighting terrorism.

Erdoğan as a charismatic, nationalistic leader has been indispensable to the increasing authoritarian turn of the AKP and Turkey, and likewise Putin has been to Russia. Putin, like Erdoğan, has capitalized on nationalism and popular support to maintain his authoritarian regime. Putin enjoyed popularity levels at 80% in November 1999, and since then popularity levels have not dipped below 40% (Foxall 2013, 136). By publishing semi-naked pictures of himself on vacation, he projects a hyper-masculine image of himself and reinforces his ability to run the country by showing off his physical abilities (Ibid., 151). As was previously discussed, Erdoğan portrays himself as a nationalist and champion of marginalized groups in Turkey. Similar to Putin, Erdoğan and the AKP also advance a masculine, patriarchal persona through gendered language which is especially obvious in a publication titled "My Family Turkey" which advises women to stay at home and cook (Ayata and Tütüncü 2008, 378). Putin and Erdoğan are charismatic leaders who rely on popular support, nationalist identities, and gendered personas to help solidify their authoritarian regimes over their countries.

Russia reflects many of the same authoritarian characteristics as Turkey does, which begs the question if its citizens have similar perceptions of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy. McAllister and White (2011) examined perceptions of voting efficacy and satisfaction with democracy in Russia and how this interacted with perceptions of fairness in 2010. While Russia was categorized as an authoritarian regime by this time, McAllister and White's results combined with the results of this paper can illuminate how these two variables function in both

types of regimes. Their study examined the effect of electoral fairness on broader attitudes towards Russia's ostensibly democratic system. They found people were far more likely to be satisfied with democracy if they also perceived the election as fair, while the perception of political efficacy did not depend as much on electoral fairness. This is parallel to the Turkish case because elections have become much less fair and satisfaction with democracy has decreased, and as elections have become less fair perception of voting efficacy has increased. Therefore, in both cases it appears that even though Turkey is more democratic than Russia, perceptions of efficacy are less related to the actual fairness of elections. Therefore, democratic backsliding may be successful in countries that are able to generate political efficacy even if elections are unfair. More research is needed to investigate if other hybrid and authoritarian regimes reflect these findings.

Russia is just one of many hybrid regimes in the world. Therefore, a systematic analysis of popular support for hybrid regimes is required to understand if satisfaction with democracy and perceptions of voting efficacy can help illuminate parts of the global phenomenon. More research needs to be done to better understand the motivations behind people voting for authoritarian parties in all parts of the world including countries like Hungary, Venezuela, and the Philippines. I looked at religiosity and occupational group to try to determine how perceptions on the democratic system have changed, but other areas that need more attention include migration. Are increased security issues such as mass migration contributing to democratic backsliding? Many countries facing refugee influxes such as Hungary have rallied around nationalist, anti-migrant rhetoric to further their authoritarian agendas. Anti-immigrant attitudes are fueling populism worldwide, including in the United States with the election of President Donald Trump in 2016 who ran on an anti-migrant platform. The reality of migration as well as the idea of migration could be fueling the popular support of authoritarian parties.

Another area worthy of additional research is how terrorism is contributing to the rise of authoritarianism. Like mass migration, terrorism has been used in many countries to help elect populist leaders. In the United States, after the September 11th, 2001 terrorist attacks, democracy was undermined by the government in the name of protecting citizens from terrorist threats such as creating the PATRIOT Act, which allows the government to monitor and imprison suspected terrorists and persons of interest indefinitely. As was previously discussed, security concerns and specifically terrorism have been used by leaders in Turkey and Russia to justify authoritarian actions and generate electoral support. Therefore, the relationship between terrorism and hybrid regimes requires further investigation.

In conclusion, it is important to examine the rise of competitive authoritarianism from a comparative perspective because it can help us understand the future trajectory of democracy and autocracy in a country. If we understand Turkey to be on a similar trajectory to Russia, the country will continue to become more authoritarian. Similarly, if we expect Hungary to be follow in the footsteps of Turkey and Russia, then we may better understand how the Hungarian regime will both undermine democracy and retain popular support in the future. It is essential that more research is conducted on hybrid regimes and the deterioration of democracy because very little literature exists on how voters contribute and react to this phenomenon. Comparative studies of this global phenomenon can help us understand why and how democracy is in retreat and perhaps result in more effective strategies for parties or international organizations to bolster democracy globally.

Appendix A Statistical Significance Tests

Religiosity and Satisfaction with Democracy

Model 1: satisfaction + religiosity + year

Model 2: satisfaction + religiosity + year + satisfaction * year

Model 3: satisfaction + religiosity + year + satisfaction * year + religiosity * year

Model 4: satisfaction + religiosity + year + satisfaction * year + religiosity * year + satisfaction

*religiosity

Table 11: Religiosity and Satisfaction with Democracy Significance Tests

	Deviance	Df	Delta (Dev)	Delta (df)	P(> Delta (Dev)
Model 1	319.42204	24			
Model 2	148.92891	21	170.49313	3	0
Model 3	116.75868	18	32.17023	3	0
Model 4	15.66617	9	101.09251	9	0
Saturated	0	0	15.66617	9	0.07419

Religiosity and Perception of Voting Efficacy

Model 1: efficacy + religiosity + year

Model 2: efficacy + religiosity + year +efficacy * year

Model 3: efficacy + religiosity + year + efficacy * year + religiosity * year

Model 4: efficacy + religiosity + year + efficacy * year + religiosity * year + efficacy * religiosity

Table 12: Religiosity and Perception of Voting Efficacy Significance Tests

	Deviance	Df	Delta (Dev)	Delta (df)	P(> Delta (Dev)
Model 1	120.54175	31			
Model 2	71.87684	27	48.66491	4	0
Model 3	35.35502	24	36.52182	3	0
Model 4	18.76478	12	16.59024	12	0.16567
Saturated	0	0	18.76478	12	0.09437

Occupational Group and Satisfaction with Democracy

Model 1: satisfaction + socioeconomic + year

Model 2: satisfaction + socioeconomic + year + satisfaction * year

Model 3: satisfaction + socioeconomic + year + satisfaction * year + socioeconomic * year

Model 4: satisfaction + socioeconomic + year + satisfaction * year + socioeconomic * year + satisfaction *socioeconomic

Table 13: Occupational Group and Satisfaction with Democracy Significance Tests

	Deviance	Df	Delta (Dev)	Delta (df)	P(> Delta (Dev)
Model 1	105.67289	24			
Model 2	50.40584	21	55.267051	3	0
Model 3	43.84495	18	6.560886	3	0.08729
Model 4	24.31788	9	19.527069	9	0.02107
Saturated	0	0	24.317880	9	0.00383

Occupational Group and Perception of Voting Efficacy

Model 1: efficacy + socioeconomic + year

Model 2: efficacy + socioeconomic + year + efficacy * year

Model 3: efficacy + socioeconomic + year + efficacy * year + socioeconomic * year

Model 4: efficacy + socioeconomic + year + efficacy * year + socioeconomic * year + efficacy * socioeconomic

Table 14: Occupational Group and Perception of Voting Efficacy Signifcance Tests

	Deviance	Df	Delta (Dev)	Delta (df)	P(> Delta (Dev)
Model 1	35.778540	31			
Model 2	21.679910	27	14.098630	4	0.00699
Model 3	14.615960	24	7.063950	3	0.06989
Model 4	9.181195	12	5.434765	12	0.94186
Saturated	0.00000	0	9.181195	12	0.68738

Appendix B Complete Results – Tables

Table 15: Religiosity and Vote for the AKP 2011-2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Religiosity	Vote	2011 (n=878)	2015 (n=804)	2015-2011
No Religious	AKP	0.3%	0%	-0.3%
	Other	0.8%	2.1%	+1.3%
Not Very	AKP	2.8%	2.5%	-0.3%
	Other	7.5%	7.5%	0%
Somewhat	AKP	26.9%	25.8%	-1.1%
	Other	18.7%	32.0%	+13.3%
Very	AKP	33.1%	17.3%	-15.9%
	Other	9.8%	12.9%	+3.2%

Table 16: Occupational Group and Vote for the AKP 2011-2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Occupational Group	Vote	2011 (n=246)	2015 (n=327)	2015-2011
Farmer	AKP	9.4%	3.7%	-5.7%
	Other	3.7%	4.9%	+1.2%
Self-employed	AKP	10.6%	8.6%	-2.0%
	Other	12.1%	9.2%	-2.9%
White Collar	AKP	13.0%	5.5%	-7.5%
	Other	11.4%	15.3%	-3.9%
Worker	AKP	24.8%	23.2%	-1.6%
	Other	15.0%	29.7%	+14.7%

Table 17: Perception of Voting Efficacy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Voting Beliefs	2011	2015	2015-2011
Who people vote for won't make any difference	3.6%	2.8%	-0.8%
2 (who people vote for makes little difference)	3.1%	1.0%	-2.1%
3 (who people vote for makes a difference)	9.5%	9.1%	-0.4%
4 (who people vote for makes some difference)	28.1%	18.3%	-9.8%
Who people vote for can make a big difference	55.8%	68.8%	+13.0%

Table 18: Religiosity and Satisfaction with Democracy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Satisfaction	Religiosity	2011	2015	(2015-2011)
Not at all satisfied	Have no religious beliefs	0.6%	1.9%	+1.3%
	Not very religious	3.4%	5.1%	+1.7%
	Somewhat religious	6.9%	21.8%	+14.9%
	Very religious	4.1%	10.5%	+6.4%
Not very satisfied	Have no religious beliefs	0.3%	0.3%	0%
	Not very religious	4.1%	2.2%	-1.9%
	Somewhat religious	15.1%	16.5%	+1.4%
	Very religious	7.5%	8.0%	+0.5%
Fairly satisfied	Have no religious beliefs	0.1%	0.1%	0%
	Not very religious	2.9%	2.1%	-0.8%
	Somewhat religious	19.5%	15.8%	-3.7%
	Very religious	22.3%	9.3%	-13.0%
Very satisfied	Have no religious beliefs	0.2%	0%	-0.2%
	Not very religious	0.6%	0.3%	-0.3%
	Somewhat religious	4.9%	3.7%	-1.2%
	Very religious	7.2%	2.5%	-4.7%

Table 19: Religiosity and Perception of Voting Efficacy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Voting Beliefs	Religiosity	2011	2015	(2015-2011)
Who people vote for won't make any difference	Have no religious beliefs	0%	0.2%	+0.2%
	Not very religious	0.3%	0%	-0.3%
	Somewhat religious	2.0%	1.5%	-0.5%
	Very religious	1.1%	0.8%	-0.3%
2	Have no religious beliefs	0%	0.1%	+0.1%
	Not very religious	0.4%	0%	-0.4%
	Somewhat religious	1.7%	0.8%	-0.9%
	Very religious	1.1%	0.2%	-0.9%
3	Have no religious beliefs	0.3%	0.1%	-0.2%
	Not very religious	0.9%	1.1%	+0.2%
	Somewhat religious	4.5%	4.2%	-0.3%
	Very religious	3.8%	3.6%	-0.2%
4	Have no religious beliefs	0.1%	0.4%	+0.3%
	Not very religious	3.8%	2.3%	-1.5%
	Somewhat religious	11.8%	9.3%	-2.5%
	Very religious	12.1%	5.7%	-6.4%
Who people vote for can make a big difference	Have no religious beliefs	0.8%	1.5%	+0.7%
	Not very religious	5.7%	5.9%	+0.2%
	Somewhat religious	26.3%	42.4%	+16.1%
	Very religious	23.2%	19.8%	-3.4%

Table 20: Occupational Group and Satisfaction with Democracy in 2011 and 2015

(CSES 2011, 2015)

Satisfaction	Occupational Group	2011	2015	2015-2011
Not at all satisfied	Farmer	1.4%	2.3%	+0.9%
	Self-employed	4.9%	6.5%	+1.6%
	White Collar	2.8%	13.1%	+10.3%
	Worker	9.2%	20.6%	+11.4%
Not very satisfied	Farmer	1.4%	2.9%	+1.5%
	Self-employed	6.0%	5.5%	-0.5%
	White Collar	9.2%	5.7%	-3.5%
	Worker	10.6%	13.1%	+2.5%
Fairly satisfied	Farmer	5.3%	1.6%	-3.7%
	Self-employed	7.0%	3.4%	-3.6%
	White Collar	8.8%	4.2%	-4.6%
	Worker	20.1%	13.1%	-7.0%
Very satisfied	Farmer	3.5%	1.3%	-2.2%
	Self-employed	3.2%	1.6%	-1.6%
	White Collar	3.9%	0.3%	-3.3%
	Worker	2.8%	5.0%	+2.2%

Efficacy	Socioeconomic	2011	2015	2015-2011
Who people vote for won't make any difference	Farmer	0.3%	0.3%	0%
	Self-employed	1.0%	0.5%	-0.5%
	White Collar	0.3%	0.8%	+0.5%
	Worker	1.4%	3.1%	+1.7%
2	Farmer	0.7%	0%	-0.7%
	Self-employed	0.3%	0.3%	0%
	White Collar	0.3%	0.3%	0%
	Worker	1.0%	0.3%	-0.7%
3	Farmer	1.0%	0.8%	-0.2%
	Self-employed	1.7%	2.1%	+0.4%
	White Collar	2.8%	2.3%	-0.5%
	Worker	4.5%	4.2%	-0.3%
4	Farmer	2.1%	2.3%	+0.2%
	Self-employed	5.2%	2.6%	-2.6%
	White Collar	5.9%	3.1%	-2.8%
	Worker	13.2%	8.8%	-4.4%
Who people vote for can make a big difference	Farmer	6.6%	4.4%	-2.2%
	Self-employed	13.9%	11.7%	-2.2%
	White Collar	15.0%	16.6%	+1.4%
	Worker	22.3%	35.6%	13.3%

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