

Političke kampanje u autoritarnim režimima: slučaj turskih izbora 2014

Vježbe IV

Freedom in the World 2018



Turkey Profile

FREEDOM STATUS:

NOT FREE



Freedom in the World Scores

Freedom Rating



Political Rights



Civil Liberties



(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)

Aggregate Score: 32/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)

Freedom in the World 2018



Montenegro Profile

FREEDOM STATUS:

PARTLY FREE



Freedom in the World Scores

Freedom Rating



Political Rights



Civil Liberties



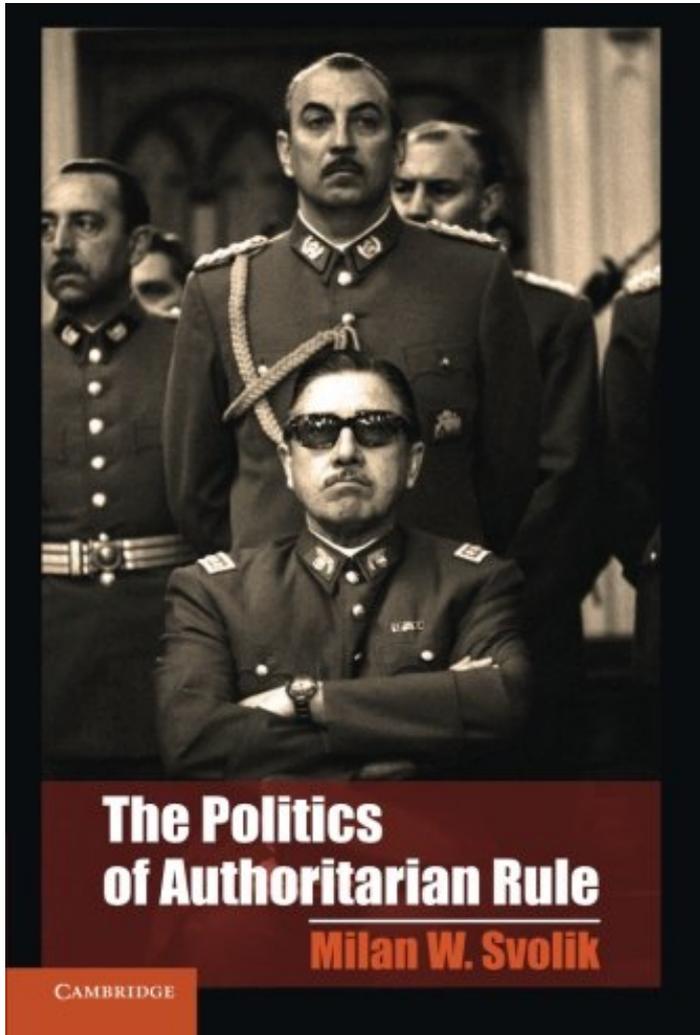
(1=Most Free, 7=Least Free)

Aggregate Score: 67/100 (0=Least Free, 100=Most Free)

Freedom House Index

- **Politička prava: 16/40**
 - *Izborni proces: 6/12*
 - *Politički pluralizam: 7/16*
 - *Funkcionisanje vlade: 3/12*
- **Građanske slobode: 16/60**
 - Sloboda izražavanja: 5/16
 - Prava na udruživanje i organizovanje: 3/12
 - Vladavina prava: 2/16
- **Individualna prava i slobode: 6/16**

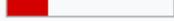
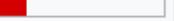
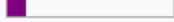
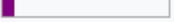
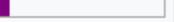
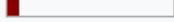
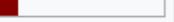
Javno mnjenje u autoritarnim režimima?



- **Tradicionalna nesigurnost**
 - Manjak informacija
 - Diskutabilna lojalnost najbližih saradnika
 - Manjak “pregovaračkih” institucija
- **Percepcija dominacije**
 - Nije dovoljno samo pobijediti na izborima
 - Domino efekat
 - Igra visokih uloga

Političke partije

Parties represented in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey

#	Party Name	Abbr.	Leader(s)	Ideology	Position	MPs	Metro.Mun.	Municipalities	National Aff.	European Aff.	International Aff.
1	Justice and Development Party <i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i>	AK PARTİ	Binali Yıldırım	Neo-Ottomanism ^{[1][2]} Formerly Conservative democracy ^{[3][4]}	Right-wing	317 / 550 	18 / 30 	800 / 1,351 	-	Alliance of European Conservatives and Reformists	-
2	Republican People's Party <i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i>	CHP	Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu	Social democracy, Kemalism	Centre-left	133 / 550 	6 / 30 	226 / 1,351 	-	Party of European Socialists	Socialist International
3	Peoples' Democratic Party <i>Halkların Demokratik Partisi</i>	HDP	Selahattin Demirtaş, Serpil Kemalbay	Democratic socialism, Radical democracy	Left-wing	59 / 550 	2 / 30 	97 / 1,351 	Peoples' Democratic Congress	-	-
4	Nationalist Movement Party <i>Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi</i>	MHP	Devlet Bahçeli	Turkish nationalism, Pan-Turkism	Far-right	39 / 550 	3 / 30 	166 / 1,351 	-	-	-

Politička situacija

- Presjednik Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
- Parlamentarni sistem → presjednički sistem
- 2017 Ustavni referendum (DA 51.41%, NE 48,59%)
- Nepravilnosti referenduma posmatrane od strane OSCE:
 - Medijska pristrasnost
 - Samocenzura
 - Zloupotreba državnih resursa za Erdoğanovu podršku
 - Nedostatak transparentnosti u finansijama političke kampanje
 - Slučajevi voter fraud

18 Amandmana uključujući:

- Ukidanje funkcije premijera
- Ukidanje neutralnosti predsjednika.
Presjednik će moći da bude vezan za svoju političku partiju
- Broj članova parlamenta povećan 550 → 600 i minimum godina starosti 18
- Ukidanje vojnog suda
- Presjednik će moći da imenuje 4 od 13 sudija najvišeg sudskog odbora u zemlji

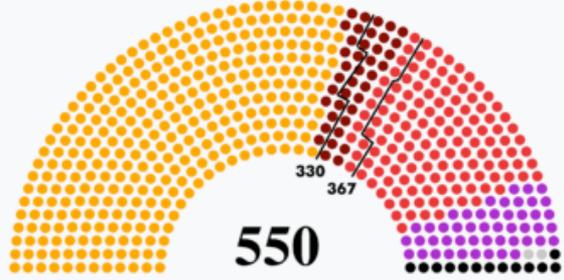


Districts with majority Yes vote



Turnout
85%

Theoretical distribution of votes according to party lines

Party		Leader	Party position	Total MPs	Eligible to vote	Voting yes	Voting no	Graphical representation
AKP	Justice and Development Party	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	✓ Yes	317	315	315	0	 <p>550</p> <p>MPs ordered by party line. Black denotes MPs ineligible to vote</p>
CHP	Republican People's Party	Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu	✗ No	133	133	0	133	
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party	Devlet Bahçeli	✓ Yes	39	39	33	6	
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party	Selahattin Demirtaş / Serpil Kemalbay	✗ No	59	48	Boycotting		
	Independents		✗ No (both)	2	2	0	2	
Total				550	537	348	141	✓ Referendum

The foreign vote

63.07%

of Turkish voters in
Germany voted Yes





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Glasovi u dijaspori:

Several other countries also voted Yes, including:

- The Netherlands (70.94%)
- Austria (73.23%)
- Belgium (74.98%)
- France (64.85%)



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Istanbul



51.4% No

Ankara



51.2% No

Izmir



68.8% No

GETTY / EPA

Fetullah Gülen

- Gülenov Hizmet pokret
- Blisko nekadašnje prijateljstvo između Erdogana i Gülena
- Erdoganova otpužba Gülena za Coup d'etat



Društvene mreže

- Turska je druga po broju Facebook korisnika (do 2013.) – 33 miliona aktivnih korisnika mjesečno
- U političke svrhe, internet se počinje koristiti nakon izbora 2002. godine
- Na izborima 2007. dijeljenje video preko YouTube-a značajno porastao kao rezultat zabrane političke propagande na TV
- Izbori 2011. označili su nagli porast korišćenja društvenih mreža
 - Pominjanje partija na društvenim mrežama: AKP (20.9%), CHP (20.3%), MHP (13.4%), BDP (7.5%), HEPAR (7.2%)...
 - Prve dvije partije se značajno oslanjale na internet

Figure 6 – March 30, 2014 Social Media Statistics of Top Four Political Parties in Turkey (alphabetical order)

	Ak Parti	BDP/HDP	CHP	MHP
Facebook	akparti 1,2 million	bdpgenelmerkezi 310 thousand	herkesicinchp 811 thousand	milliyetcihareketpartisi 1,4 million
Twitter	akparti 64.500 followers 3.647 tweets 0 following	bdpgenelmerkez 59.000 followers 27.400 tweets 117 following	herkesicinchp 178.000 followers 16.600 tweets 230 following	mhp_bilgi 127.000 followers 10.300 tweets 44 following
Youtube	akpartigenelmerkez 1,752 subscribers	bdpgenelmerkez 5,979 subscribers	chpyayin1 7,559 subscribers	milliyetcihareketmhp 3,348 subscribers
Instagram	X	X	kilicdaroglu 168 posts 5,904 followers	X
Google Plus	akparti 146,959 followers 10,122,791 views	bdp 285 followers 23,285 views	chpgenelmerkezi 114,046 followers 1,377,438 views	X
Linked-in	X	X	X	X
Pinterest	X	X	X	X

- **Jednosmjerna komunikacija - društvene mreže isključivo korišćene za potrebe reklamiranja**



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Društvene mreže

- Zabrana YouTube-a do 2012 godine
- Trenutna zabrana Wikipedije
- Zabrane Twitter-a i Facebook-a tokom protesta (poznati Gezi Park protesti)





A.Kadir Yildirim

@akyildirim

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A medical doctor's job is terminated by the state for sharing this picture
#BilginCiftci #AKP @RT_Erdogan



8:09 AM - 15 Oct 2015

786 Retweets 358 Likes



66

786

358



Elijah Wood 

@elijahwood

[Follow](#)



That Bilgin Ciftci faces jail time for comparing Erdogan to Gollum/Smeagol, regardless of wether he's good or bad, is horrifying.

7:59 AM - 3 Dec 2015

2,565 Retweets **2,728** Likes



 160

 2.6K

 2.7K