



# Turkey's New Political Landscape: Implications of the 2011 Elections

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**O**n June 12, 2011, Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKP) won the country's parliamentary elections for the third consecutive time since 2002, receiving 49.9% of the overall vote.<sup>1</sup> This tally was nearly twice that of the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), and nearly four times that of the third-place Nationalist Action Party (MHP). Several wide-ranging factors played a role in the outcome. Turkey's remarkable economic stability and growth over the past decade contributed to the AKP's success, and the 2010 election of social-democrat reformist Kemal Kilicdaroglu as the CHP's new leader rejuvenated that party and helped it make modest gains. Meanwhile, sex-tape scandals rocked the MHP's conservative base in the weeks leading up to the elections and contributed to its losses.

To fully understand the election results, however, one must study them on a more detailed level. In particular, analyzing the vote from a provincial perspective offers a more complete picture of the new demographic and social factors shaping the Turkish electoral landscape. Toward that end, this study dissects and maps the support bases of the country's leading parties—the AKP, CHP, MHP, and Kurdish nationalist Peace and Democracy Party (BDP)—in order to illuminate past trends and forecast potential near-term political developments. After breaking down each party's national results from June and

defining six regions that make up Turkey's electoral geography, the paper analyzes the parties' popular backing in various parts of the country, determining where their local support was higher or lower than their national tally. The paper also describes how voting results in certain regions indicate the emergence of distinct two-party systems, with the AKP and a given opposition faction receiving more than 75% of the vote in each area. In particular, continued migration to Turkey's largest metropolitan areas and coastal provinces, where a two-party system along the AKP vs. CHP axis seems to be emerging, means that this dualism will likely assume a greater role in the country's political system and shape the outcome of future elections.

## June Results

Compared to the AKP's 49.9% national tally, the CHP won 25.9% of the vote and the MHP 13.0%. The BDP managed to win 6.5%, in part by running independent candidates. These percentages translated into 327 seats in parliament for the AKP, 135 for the CHP, 52 for the MHP, 29 for the BDP, and 7 for independent deputies who ran under the BDP list.

Compared to the 2007 elections, the AKP increased its share of the vote (up from 46.5%), yet lost 14 seats because the CHP increased its vote share more significantly (up from 20.8%) and gained 23 additional seats. The MHP fell on both fronts, however, losing 19 seats and some of its vote share (down from 14% in 2007). In contrast, the BDP increased its vote share (up from 5.2%) and seat total (up by 10).

1. All electoral data obtained from the website of the Turkish government's Supreme Electoral Council (<http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/index.html>).

Put another way, the AKP's June vote tally was 7.3% greater than its 2007 total, while the CHP's tally was 24.5% greater. In contrast, the MHP's new tally represented a 7.1% decrease, while the BDP managed a 26% increase.

### Turkey's Electoral Geography

Although Turkey is divided into provinces, it does not have official electoral regions, and analysis of voting results generally focuses on countrywide data or provincial breakdowns. Based on various economic and political indicators across the provinces, however, the authors found it useful to define six electoral regions for the purposes of this paper: the Anatolian Heartland, Coastal Turkey, Metropolitan Turkey, Middle Turkey, the Southeast, and the Euphrates River Valley (see map). Studying the June results through the prism of these regions reveals broader trends taking place across the Turkish political landscape.

#### *Anatolian Heartland*

- 22 provinces
- 7,902,640 voters
- 93 parliamentary seats

This region is in the country's mostly rural interior, and has an emerging industrial base. The Heartland extends from the provinces of Bayburt and Sivas in the east to Kutahya and Isparta provinces in the west. It also includes two panhandles jutting north to the Black Sea, the first in Samsun province and the second along the Sakarya River Valley (including Sakarya, Duzce, and Bolu provinces). Although the latter panhandle is more developed and wealthier than the rest of the Anatolian Heartland, its conservative Circassian and Abkhaz populations render it more strongly pro-AKP than similarly industrialized provinces.

In recent years, the Anatolian Heartland has been losing much of its population to other regions, including Coastal Turkey and, especially, Metropolitan Turkey. The national electoral board periodically adjusts every province's parliamentary share based on census data. Accordingly, the region as a whole lost 14 seats in the most recent apportionment, sending 93 deputies to the legislature this year compared to 107 in 2007.

REGIONAL SEAT TOTALS		
	2007	2011
Anatolian Heartland	107	93
Middle Turkey	114	105
Metropolitan Turkey	140	161
Coastal Turkey	79	80
Southeast	52	53
Euphrates River Valley	58	58

The heartland is essentially a conservative-nationalist bastion—a trend that dominates even in the area's large, wealthy, industrial cities such as Samsun, Konya, and Kayseri. In 2002, the region was enticed by the AKP's conservatism and voted for the party in large numbers. The nationalist MHP came second overall, with the CHP doing well only in certain urban centers and among Alevi voters, who tend to be less conservative and pro-AKP in their voting habits. In the 2007 elections, the AKP succeeded in the region once again, even peeling away some MHP votes, indicating further consolidation of its heartland base. This year, the party again received the highest amount of votes in each of the 22 heartland provinces.

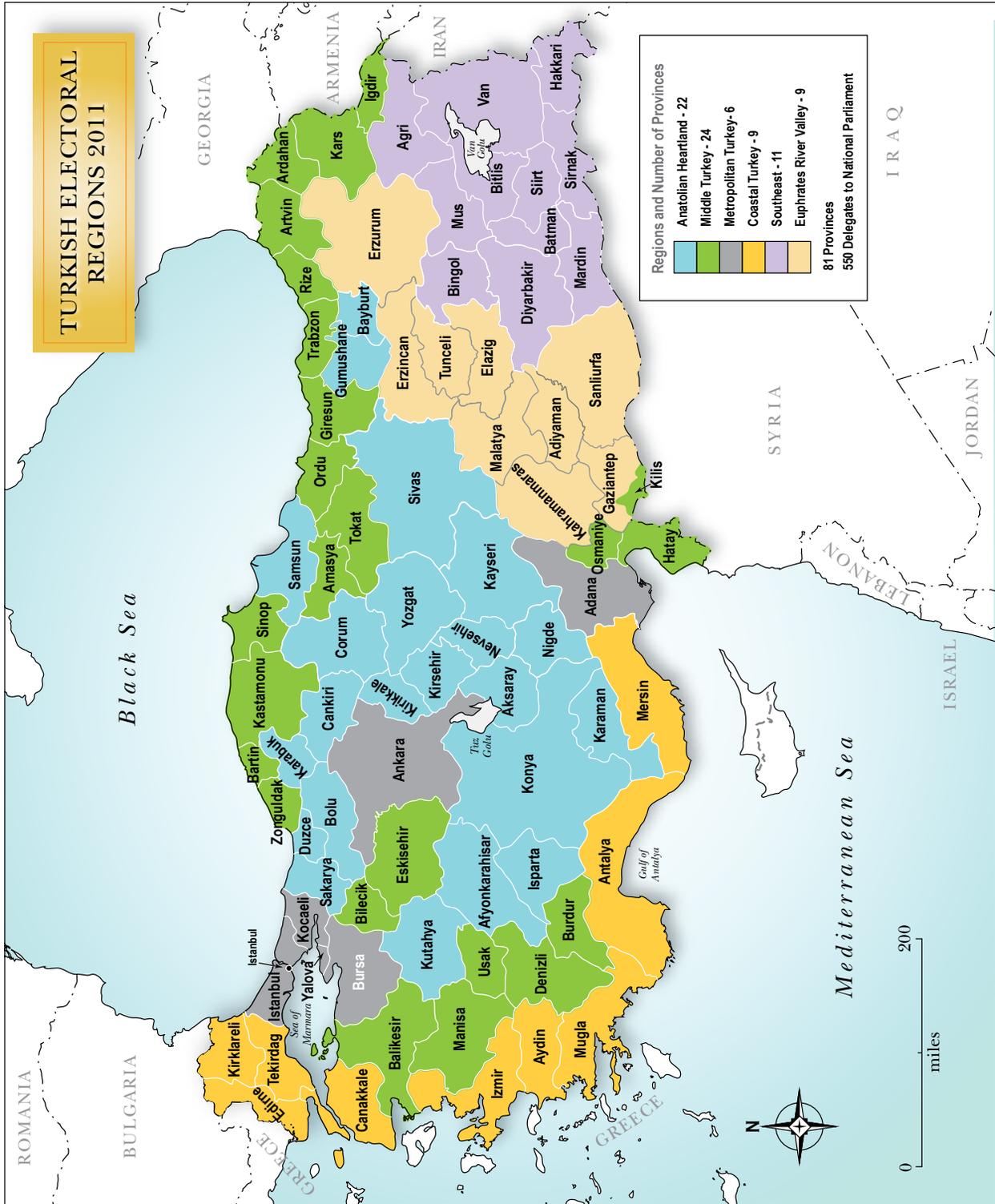
#### *Coastal Turkey*

- 9 provinces
- 8,267,085 voters
- 80 parliamentary seats

This largely urban area includes most of the country's littoral provinces along the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas (from Mersin in the south to Canakkale in the northwest), the provinces in Thrace, and Izmir, Turkey's third-largest city. The region has a mixed economic base of tourism, international trade, services, export-oriented farming, and industry.

Coastal Turkey is the country's secularist stronghold, sending 80 deputies to parliament. Over the years, millions of Turks and other immigrants from the Balkans and the Aegean islands who often practice a more liberal form of Islam have settled in this region, helping mold its political identity accordingly. The region has shown increased support for the CHP over the past three elections: the party received 27.4%

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of the coastal vote in 2002, 32% in 2007, and 42.5% this year. That translates to a 14.4% gain from 2002 to 2007, and a 24.7% gain from 2007 to 2011.

The AKP has also made gains in Coastal Turkey, increasing its overall support from 28.4% in 2007 to 35% this year. To be sure, the region remains the party's weakest base in all of Turkey. Yet hardline rhetoric on the Kurdish issue—including against jailed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Ocalan—has helped the AKP improve its standing along the more nationalist-leaning, ethnic Turkmen provinces of the Mediterranean coast since 2007, with gains of 15.5% and 15.2% in Mersin and Antalya, respectively. For example, shortly before this year's elections, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan was asked what the AKP would have done if it had been in power when PKK leader Ocalan was arrested in 1999. "Either he would have been executed or we would have resigned," he replied.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Metropolitan Turkey*

- 6 provinces
- 17,175,327 voters
- 161 parliamentary seats

Turkey's largest metropolitan areas—Istanbul, Ankara, Bursa, Adana, and Kocaeli, each with a diverse economic base and a population of at least 1.5 million—form a separate electoral cluster that favors the AKP (with the notable exception of Izmir, a Coastal region city that favors the CHP). The lower-middle-class districts of these industrial- and service-economy cities, known as *varos*, have served as "fortress AKP" in various elections, whereas the CHP has traditionally done well in the middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhoods.

Since the 1980s, Turkish cities have experienced a population boom, with migrants from the Anatolian Heartland and the east and southeast flooding urban areas in search of work. The cities in the Metropolitan electoral region have been the key

beneficiaries of this movement. In the 2007 elections, for instance, the region sent 140 deputies to parliament, but that figure jumped to 161 (29.2% of total seats) this year due to reapportionment of legislative seats based on 2010 census data.

Today, the former migrants constitute a plurality in these cities. Yet although five of Turkey's six largest cities favor the AKP, the CHP also scored above its national average in three of these cities (Istanbul, Ankara, and Adana, along with Yalova, a small province that serves as a suburb of Istanbul). The notable exceptions to this were Bursa (the country's fourth-largest city and the center of Turkey's automotive industry) and Kocaeli (an industrial hub), with the CHP performing below its average in both areas.

#### *Middle Turkey*

- 24 provinces
- 8,208,232 voters
- 105 parliamentary seats

Middle Turkey is Turkey's economic median, not as wealthy as Coastal or Metropolitan Turkey, but more prosperous than the Anatolian Heartland. This region comprises the country's mixed-economy (i.e., agricultural and industrial) provinces, including the Black Sea coast, inner western Anatolia (from Balikesir in the north to Burdur in the south and Eskisehir in the east), and the Amanos mountain provinces (Kilis, Hatay, and Osmaniye), which have similar economic conditions. It also contains the Caucasus provinces of Artvin, Ardahan, Kars, and Igdır. Although these provinces are largely poor and rural like the Anatolian Heartland, their secular-leaning Georgian, Alevi, and nationalist Azeri populations shy away from the AKP, lowering the region's total average support for the party.

Overall, Middle Turkey voters split their support in close descending order between the AKP, CHP, and MHP. The AKP does perform well above its national average in one area: Rize, Erdogan's home province on the Black Sea coast. In contrast, the liberal-leaning Crimean Tatar population of Eskisehir drives support for the CHP well above that party's national aver-

2. "Ocalan Would Have Been Hanged Had I Been in Power in 1999, Says Erdogan," *Today's Zaman*, June 9, 2011, <http://www.today-szaman.com/news-246772-ocalan-would-have-been-hanged-had-i-been-in-power-in-1999-says-erdogan.html>.

age, while the relatively nationalist Turkmen populations in provinces such as Bilecik and Osmaniye—the home province of MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli—help boost the MHP's standing.

#### *Southeast*

- 11 provinces
- 3,339,909 voters
- 53 parliamentary seats

This rural region spans predominantly Kurdish southeastern Turkey. It is dominated by Sunni Kurds and, in some southern areas, Arabs. In general, voters have spread their political oats between Kurdish nationalist parties—running in the June elections as the BDP—and conservative Islamist factions, mainly the Welfare Party (RP) until the late 1990s and its reformed successor, the AKP.

#### *Euphrates River Valley*

- 9 provinces
- 4,290,725 voters
- 58 parliamentary seats

A mostly rural area with some industrial base and a mixed Sunni-Alevi and Turkish-Kurdish population, this region includes provinces along the Euphrates River belt, from Erzurum in the north to Malatya, Gaziantep, and Sanliurfa in the south. Traditionally, the majority Sunnis have voted in overwhelming numbers for nationalist, Islamist, and conservative parties—an apparent response to the Alevis, who identify with secularism and the CHP. This fact makes the region the AKP's second-most important bastion after the Anatolian Heartland.

#### **Analysis of AKP Support**

Erdogan founded the reformed AKP in 2001 on the ashes of the disbanded RP. Promising reform and accession to the European Union, the party first gained power in 2002 by moving toward the political center and economic liberalism, winning 34% of the vote. It claimed another solid victory in 2007, winning 46% of the vote.

The AKP's consolidation of power has raised concerns among some liberal Turks and the West. Yet Turkey's economy has experienced a decade of growth under AKP rule, and the party was able to ride this economic success (among other factors) to a third electoral victory in June.

#### *Regional support*

The AKP performed best in the Anatolian Heartland, with an average of 61.6% of the vote in the region's twenty-two provinces. In comparison, it received an average of 60.3% in the Euphrates River Valley region, 49.7% in Middle Turkey, 48.2% in Metropolitan Turkey, and 39.6% in the Southeast. It performed the worst in Coastal Turkey, with 34.8% (see charts).

Overall, the AKP exceeded its national average of 49.9% in two of the six regions: the Heartland and Euphrates. Indeed, it performed at least 20% better than average—meaning 59.9% or higher (i.e., 120% of its national tally)—in most of the individual provinces within these regions, as well as in parts of Middle Turkey (see charts). The party's performance in Metropolitan and Middle Turkey as a whole roughly equaled its national support. Yet it polled under its national average in the Southeast. The stark exception was Bingöl province, where the AKP received 67.1% of the vote thanks to overwhelming support by Islamic brotherhoods and the Alevi-Sunni divide mobilizing Sunni Kurdish voters to the AKP in this province. It also attracted the majority of Sunni votes in the Euphrates region. None of the provinces in Coastal Turkey supported the party above its national average, however.

Looking at the regions more closely, the AKP performed at least 20% better than its average in sixteen of the twenty-two Heartland provinces, as well as in seven out of nine Euphrates provinces (see table 3). Yet it managed this feat in only two Middle provinces (Rize and Ordu) and one Southeast province (Bingöl).

In addition to these major victories, the AKP performed at least 10% better than its average—meaning 54.9% or higher—in six Middle provinces (Kilis, Giresun, Trabzon, Tokat, Kastamonu, and Sinop), three Heartland provinces (Bolu, Karabuk, and Karaman), and one Euphrates province (Erzincan).

### *Lessons for the AKP*

The June results show that the AKP's appeal remains very powerful in the Anatolian Heartland and along the Euphrates River Valley, where its support can be more than five times that of the second-place party, such as in Konya. Indeed, the party won more than 50% of the vote in every province in these two regions except Tunceli, Turkey's only majority Alevi province.

Yet with continued migration to other regions, especially Metropolitan Turkey, both the Heartland and Euphrates provinces will lose legislative seats in the next elections. And now that its population boom has ended, the Southeast, too, will start losing deputies to migration in the next decade. Accordingly, the AKP will need to strengthen its base in Metropolitan Turkey if it hopes to win new and stronger victories. The party would also benefit from building a stronger base in Izmir, the country's third-largest metropolitan area with around 4 million people. If the AKP were to convert that province—where it received 36.9% of the vote, well below its national average—from the Coastal to the Metropolitan category, it would be a major feat. In this regard, the party would need to target not only the city's secular majority, but also the growing number of potentially pro-AKP, mostly Kurdish working- and lower-middle-class citizens.

### **Analysis of CHP Support**

The CHP was founded by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and is thus modern Turkey's oldest political party. In past years, it was unable to increase its popularity because of an inability to provide a forward-looking vision for Turkey. As mentioned previously, however, the party's new leader, Kemal Kilicdaroglu, has swept in a series of bold reforms since his 2010 election, giving the CHP a new liberal identity. The party now boasts a record number of women in its leadership and at the grassroots level. It is also taking a new approach to the Kurdish problem and attempting to build bridges with both the business community and labor unions. Accordingly, the new CHP may become modern Turkey's first mass liberal party if Kilicdaroglu succeeds.

### *Regional support*

The CHP performed best in Coastal Turkey, winning an average of 42.4% of the vote in the region's provinces, well above its national tally of 25.9%. In comparison, the party won 29.2% in Metropolitan Turkey, 25.1% in Middle Turkey, 21.6% in the Euphrates River Valley, and 15.3% in the Anatolian Heartland. In Southeastern Turkey, the CHP performed very poorly, winning only 3.1% of the vote (see charts).

Unlike the AKP, the CHP did dramatically better or dramatically worse than its national average in several provinces (see charts). For example, the party performed at least 50% better than its average (meaning 38.9% or higher, i.e., 150% of its national tally) in six Coastal provinces: Kirklareli, Edirne, Mugla, Tekirdag, Izmir, and Canakkale. And in the Euphrates region, it won 56.3% of the vote in Kilicdaroglu's home province of Tunceli.

Less dramatic but still significant, the CHP performed at least 20% better than its national average (i.e., 31.1% or higher) in three Coastal provinces (Aydin, Antalya, and Mersin), six Middle Turkey provinces (Hatay, Zonguldak, Eskisehir, Artvin, Balikesir, and Denizli), and the country's two largest cities, Ankara and Istanbul. In addition, it performed at least 10% better than its average (i.e., 28.5% or higher) in five other Middle Turkey provinces (Sinop, Ardahan, Usak, Bartin, and Manisa), one Euphrates province (Erzincan), and one other Metropolitan province (Adana).

Yet the CHP scored dramatically lower than its national tally in many provinces as well. It failed in the Southeast, performing at least 50% worse than its average (i.e., 13.0% or below) in all of the region's provinces. It also failed to crack that threshold in three Euphrates provinces (Sanliurfa, Erzurum, and Kahramanmaraş) and several Heartland and Middle provinces.

### *Lessons for the CHP*

The election results show that the CHP has significant and in some cases majority appeal in Thrace and along the Aegean coast. It also does well in Middle and Metropolitan Turkey, though not well enough in the latter to offset the AKP's major advantage in the conservative Anatolian Heartland. And as described

above, the party has no significant political appeal in the Southeast, a region that votes either Kurdish nationalist or conservative.

Hence, a failure to appeal to conservative voters and most Kurds seems to be the CHP's Achilles heel as it strives to become a national party. It also needs to build bases in the provinces of Bursa and Kocaeli, the country's fourth- and sixth-largest metropolitan areas, with large unionized middle-class populations, respectively. The CHP received 25.0% of the vote in Bursa and 24.6% in Kocaeli, less than in other Metropolitan provinces. To increase those figures, the party would need to build its standing among the working- and middle-class union members in these provinces, who form a significant voting bloc.

### Analysis of MHP Support

Founded in 1969, the MHP is characterized by a distinct combination of staunch nationalism and conservative values. In the 2002 elections, it fell below the high 10% national threshold that parties must pass in order to gain seats in parliament. Since then, it has gradually climbed above that mark. The party's current leader is Devlet Bahçeli.

#### Regional support

The MHP performed best in the Anatolian Heartland, winning an average of 17.3% of the region's votes compared to its national average of 13.0%. In addition, it averaged 16.9% in Middle Turkey, 16.4% in Coastal Turkey, 13.6% in Metropolitan Turkey, and 8.6% in the Euphrates River Valley. The party performed worst in the Southeast, receiving only 1.7% (see charts).

In Middle Turkey, Coastal Turkey, and the Anatolian Heartland, the MHP's overall regional support exceeded its national average by at least 20%, highlighting the party's appeal in these areas. More specifically, the party performed dramatically better (i.e., at least 50% better than its national average, meaning 19.5% or higher) in five Middle provinces (Osmaniye, Iğdir, Bilecik, Kastamonu, and Kilis), two Coastal provinces (Mersin and Antalya), four Heartland provinces (Bayburt, Cankiri, Kirsehir, and Gumushane), and even one city in the Metropolitan region (Adana) (see charts). In addition, it performed at least 20%

better than its average (i.e., 15.5% or higher) in seven Middle provinces (Burdur, Kars, Denizli, Manisa, Usak, Tokat, and Bartin), four Coastal provinces (Aydin, Kirklareli, Mugla, and Canakkale), and twelve Heartland provinces (Nigde, Isparta, Kirikkale, Afyonkarahisar, Yozgat, Karaman, Kayseri, Nevsehir, Aksaray, Duzce, Kutahya, and Karabuk). And it did at least 10% better than its average in two Metropolitan provinces (Ankara and Bursa), three Middle provinces (Trabzon, Amasya, and Eskisehir), one Heartland province (Sakarya), and one Euphrates province (Elazig).

Based on these results, the MHP appears to be making inroads into the Mediterranean portion of traditionally pro-CHP Coastal Turkey. In a further sign of that trend, the party scored well above its national average (20.4%) in the only Mediterranean province in the Metropolitan electoral region: Adana, Turkey's fifth-largest metro area with 1.5 million inhabitants. Like Mersin and Antalya, Adana has a somewhat more nationalist Turkmen population than other provinces. The party's strong showing there pushed its overall performance in Metropolitan Turkey up to 13.5%, even though its support in other Metropolitan provinces was well below its national average (most significantly in Istanbul, where it received only 9.4%).

Elsewhere, the MHP performed dramatically worse (i.e., at least 50% less than its national average, meaning 6.5% of the vote or less) throughout the entire Southeast region. It experienced similar failures in three Euphrates provinces (Tunceli, Adiyaman, and Arab- and Kurdish-majority Sanliurfa) and one Middle Turkey province (Zonguldak, a traditional bastion of the left).

#### Lessons for the MHP

These figures show that the MHP has strong support in Middle Turkey and is building a base along the Mediterranean section of Coastal Turkey, yet has little backing in the Euphrates and almost no support in the Southeast. As a conservative yet staunchly nationalist party, the MHP will need to invent creative policies if it hopes to make further electoral progress, appealing to a Kurdish demographic that votes along conservative, pro-AKP lines.

Moreover, the MHP no longer seems to benefit from the Alevi-Sunni dichotomy in the Euphrates and Heartland regions. Unlike in the past, many Sunnis in the mixed provinces that make up these regions are now voting overwhelmingly for the AKP instead of the MHP. This suggests the end of strong and often sectarian support for the MHP in these areas, a trend that had endured since the 1970s. Another problem for the party is its weakness in Metropolitan Turkey, with Adana the only exception. If the party is to grow, it must build support in this region, whose share in the legislature will likely only increase due to continued migration. In particular, it would need to focus on building a base in Istanbul if it is to become a truly national party. The MHP's weakness in the growing Metropolitan region should be of extra concern given that its traditional bastions such as Middle Turkey and the Heartland will continue to lose parliamentary seats due to migration.

### Analysis of BDP Support

Most of the independents who ran in the June elections hailed from the BDP, a relatively small Kurdish nationalist party that fields such candidates in order to bypass the 10% threshold necessary for parliamentary representation. In ideological terms, the BDP has yet to disown the violence carried out by the PKK, another organization with Kurdish nationalist goals. At the same time, it tends to lean left, boasting better representation for women than any other faction. Of the 29 deputies currently representing the BDP in parliament, 9 are women.

### Regional support

The BDP ran significant numbers of candidates in only three regions: Metropolitan Turkey, the Euphrates River Valley, and the Southeast. It performed best (by a vastly wide margin) in the Southeast, winning 51.9% of the vote in these provinces compared to its national average of 6.5%. In sharp contrast, it won 7.9% in the Euphrates and 3.8% in the Metropolitan region (see charts).

Interestingly, the party received 7.9% of the vote in one Metropolitan province: Adana, indicating that the Kurds in Adana may be integrating less well

into the mainstream Turkish society than in other Metropolitan provinces. This relatively strong support for the BDP in Adana may have contributed to the MHP's growth in the same province, attracting Turkish nationalist but traditionally pro-CHP voters to the MHP due to concerns about growing Kurdish nationalism.

### Lessons for the BDP

The results show that the BDP is still technically a niche party for nationalist Kurds in the Southeast, with weak appeal among Kurds in Metropolitan Turkey (aside from Adana). More than one-third of Turkey's Kurdish population lives in the Metropolitan region, a ratio that will only grow as more Kurds migrate from the Southeast and Euphrates regions into the large cities. If the BDP is to maintain its strength, it must appeal to the growing Kurdish population in Turkey's largest metropolitan areas.

The leftist BDP must also contend with the ruling party's conservative appeal in the Southeast and, more important, the Euphrates, where Sunni Kurds tend to vote for AKP in line with the region's legacy of sectarian politics. Without new policies for building a base in Metropolitan Turkey and elsewhere, the BDP may end up stagnating as a political movement, with solid but limited support in far Southeast provinces such as Hakkari and Sirnak.

### Long-Term Implications

One of the most interesting results of the June elections is that only the AKP enjoyed strong support in all six electoral regions, despite performing well below its national average in Coastal Turkey. In contrast, the other parties had mixed results across the country. The CHP performed above its national average in Metropolitan and Coastal Turkey (well above in the latter case), yet below average in the Euphrates and rather poorly in the Anatolian Heartland and Southeast. The MHP performed above its national average in Middle Turkey, yet below average in the Metropolitan region and much worse in the Euphrates and Southeast. And the BDP performed above its national average only in the Southeast.

These results point to the emergence of a new national trend: regional political polarization in the form of distinct two-party systems, with the AKP and a second party receiving a combined 75% or more of the vote in all six electoral regions. Specifically, the following three pairs have become dominant:

- **AKP and CHP.** In five out of the six regions, these two parties received a total of 75% or more of the vote in the majority of provinces: specifically, fifteen provinces in Middle Turkey, twelve in the Heartland, seven in the Euphrates, six in Coastal Turkey, and five in Metropolitan Turkey. Only in the Southeast did an AKP/CHP two-party trend fail to emerge.
- **AKP and MHP.** These two parties received 75% or more of the vote in a near majority of the Heartland (eleven provinces).
- **AKP and BDP.** These two parties dominated the Southeast, receiving a combined 75% of the vote in all eleven of the region's provinces.

### Conclusion

A detailed analysis of the June election results reveals three key trends:

- **Growing electoral weight of Metropolitan and Coastal Turkey.** The beneficiaries of migration from other electoral regions, Turkey's large cities and western coastal provinces are becoming major battlegrounds for the AKP and CHP. The two parties collectively dominated these regions, with the AKP defeating the CHP by 19.0 percentage points in Metropolitan Turkey and the CHP defeating the AKP by 7.6 points in Coastal Turkey. Although Middle Turkey will continue to play a significant role, the winner of the next elections

will largely be decided in these two regions, which produce 241 of the parliament's 550 deputies and whose share in the legislature will only increase due to ongoing migration.

- **Emerging two-party systems.** As described above, Turkey now has a trio of de facto two-party systems, with the AKP and CHP competing for dominance in Metropolitan and Coastal Turkey, the Euphrates Valley, and parts of Middle Turkey; the AKP and MHP vying for control in the Heartland and other parts of Middle Turkey; and the AKP and BDP maintaining a two-way race in the Southeast. The most likely developments to challenge this emerging trend would be the MHP building a base in Coastal Turkey, the Euphrates Valley, or Metropolitan Turkey; the CHP entering the race in the Southeast; or the BDP making gains in Metropolitan Turkey.
- **Increasing polarization.** Political polarization between the AKP and CHP has become even more pronounced in certain regions, with Heartland and Euphrates voters supporting the AKP far above its national average (61.6% and 60.3% respectively, compared to 49.9% nationally), and Coastal voters supporting the CHP far above its average (42.4%, compared to 25.9% nationally). As it aspires to draft a new constitution, the AKP will likely thrive on strong support in regions such as the Heartland, yet face obstacles due to opposition from Coastal Turkey. Moreover, given the pressing need to resolve the country's Kurdish problem, polarization between the AKP and BDP in the Southeast—where the two parties received 39.6% and 51.9% of the vote, respectively—will remain an issue, especially as Ankara seeks consensus on whether to define Kurdish rights in the new constitution, and, if so, how to do this in a way acceptable to all.

**AKP Vote Share by  
Region, June 2011**

**AKP**

Anatolian Heartland (AH)		Middle Turkey (MT)		Metropolitan Turkey (MET)		Euphrates River Valley (EPV)		Coastal Turkey (CT)		Southeast (SE)	
Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %
Corum	69.7%	Hatay	69.1%	Yalova	52.9%	Tunceli	69.7%	Kirklareli	41.5%	Batman	67.1%
Kirsehir	66.7%	Zonguldak	60.2%	Istanbul	52.7%	Erzincan	69.3%	Edirne	39.4%	Mus	50.7%
Isparta	66.1%	Eskisehir	59.5%	Ankara	49.6%	Malatya	68.5%	Mugla	36.9%	Mardin	48.2%
Samsun	65.9%	Artvin	59.4%	Adana	49.4%	Gaziantep	67.4%	Tekirdag	36.0%	Van	47.6%
Nigde	65.7%	Balikesir	59.1%	Bursa	46.8%	Adiyaman	67.4%	Izmir	35.5%	Bingol	42.9%
Bolu	65.0%	Sinop	56.1%	Kocaeli	37.5%	Elazig	64.9%	Canakkale	33.0%	Siirt	40.3%
Karabuk	65.0%	Ardahan	55.7%			Kahramanmaras	61.9%	Aydin	32.3%	Sirnak	37.0%
Karaman	64.6%	Usak	55.0%	AVERAGE	48.2%	Erzurum	57.4%	Antalya	30.4%	Agri	33.0%
Nevsehir	63.6%	Bartın	52.3%			Sanliurfa	16.3%	Mersin	27.8%	Diyarbakir	32.1%
Afyonkarahisar	63.4%	Manisa	50.0%			AVERAGE	60.3%	AVERAGE	34.8%	Bitlis	20.7%
Sakarya	62.1%	Amasya	49.0%							Hakkari	16.5%
Sivas	61.9%	Bilecik	48.6%							AVERAGE	39.6%
Kirikkale	61.6%	Burdur	47.2%								
Kutahya	61.2%	Giresun	47.0%								
Duzce	60.5%	Tokat	46.9%								
Kayseri	60.4%	Ordu	46.6%								
Aksaray	58.5%	Trabzon	46.6%								
Yozgat	57.9%	Rize	44.7%								
Konya	57.4%	Kilis	44.1%								
Gumushane	54.3%	Kastamonu	43.1%								
Cankiri	53.0%	Osmaniye	42.6%								
Bayburt	50.8%	Igdir	42.6%								
AVERAGE	61.6%	Denizli	40.3%								
		Kars	28.3%								
		AVERAGE	49.7%								

**CHP Vote Share by  
Region, June 2011**

**CHP**

Anatolian Heartland (AH)		Middle Turkey (MT)		Metropolitan Turkey (MET)		Euphrates River Valley (EPV)		Coastal Turkey (CT)		Southeast (SE)	
Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %
Corum	24.1%	Hatay	38.4%	Yalova	32.4%	Tunceli	56.3%	Kirklareli	52.7%	Batman	6.6%
Kirsehir	22.5%	Zonguldak	37.5%	Istanbul	31.2%	Erzincan	30.2%	Edirne	51.7%	Mus	4.1%
Isparta	21.8%	Eskisehir	35.5%	Ankara	31.2%	Malatya	19.7%	Mugla	45.9%	Mardin	3.7%
Samsun	21.7%	Artvin	35.1%	Adana	30.8%	Gaziantep	19.4%	Tekirdag	44.6%	Van	3.7%
Nigde	21.5%	Balikesir	33.8%	Bursa	25.0%	Adiyaman	16.6%	Izmir	43.8%	Bingol	3.1%
Bolu	20.1%	Sinop	31.1%	Kocaeli	24.6%	Elazig	13.2%	Canakkale	39.5%	Siirt	2.8%
Karabuk	19.0%	Ardahan	29.9%			Kahramanmaras	11.5%	Aydin	38.2%	Sirnak	2.6%
Karaman	18.9%	Usak	29.8%	AVERAGE	29.2%	Erzurum	4.8%	Antalya	33.3%	Agri	2.2%
Nevsehir	16.6%	Bartın	28.8%			Sanliurfa	3.0%	Mersin	31.6%	Diyarbakir	2.2%
Afyonkarahisar	16.5%	Manisa	28.8%			AVERAGE	21.6%	AVERAGE	42.4%	Bitlis	1.7%
Sakarya	16.2%	Amasya	27.8%							Hakkari	0.9%
Sivas	15.3%	Bilecik	25.4%							AVERAGE	3.1%
Kirikkale	15.2%	Burdur	25.4%								
Kutahya	12.5%	Giresun	23.7%								
Duzce	12.4%	Tokat	23.4%								
Kayseri	12.1%	Ordu	22.6%								
Aksaray	11.8%	Trabzon	18.2%								
Yozgat	10.9%	Rize	17.1%								
Konya	10.3%	Kilis	15.2%								
Gumushane	7.8%	Kastamonu	14.8%								
Cankiri	6.0%	Osmaniye	11.5%								
Bayburt	3.8%	Igdir	1.7%								
AVERAGE	15.3%	Denizli	31.2%								
		Kars	16.6%								
		AVERAGE	25.1%								

	Anatolian Heartland (AH)
	Middle Turkey (MT)
	Metropolitan Turkey (MET)
	Coastal Turkey (CT)
	Southeast (SE)
	Euphrates River Valley (EPV)

**AKP Vote Share  
by Province,  
June 2011**

AKP		
PROVINCE	% of VOTE	REGION
<b>50% ↑</b>		
Konya	69.7	AH
Kahramanmaraş	69.7	EPV
Erzurum	69.3	EPV
Rize	69.1	MT
Malatya	68.5	EPV
Adiyaman	67.4	EPV
Elazig	67.4	EPV
Bingol	67.1	SE
Yozgat	66.7	AH
Aksaray	66.1	AH
Duzce	65.9	AH
Cankiri	65.7	AH
Gumushane	65.0	AH
Kayseri	65.0	AH
Sanliurfa	64.9	EPV
Kutahya	64.6	AH
Bayburt	63.6	AH
Sivas	63.4	AH
Kirikkale	62.1	AH
Gaziantep	61.9	EPV
Samsun	61.9	AH
Sakarya	61.6	AH
Corum	61.2	AH
Nevsehir	60.5	AH
Afyonkarahisar	60.4	AH
Ordu	60.2	MT
<b>20% ↑</b>		
Kilis	59.5	MT
Giresun	59.4	MT
Trabzon	59.1	MT
Bolu	58.5	AH
Karabuk	57.9	AH
Erzincan	57.4	EPV
Karaman	57.4	AH
Tokat	56.1	MT
Kastamonu	55.7	MT
Sinop	55.0	MT
<b>10% ↑</b>		
Nigde	54.3	AH
Isparta	53.0	AH
Bursa	52.9	MET
Kocaeli	52.7	MET
Amasya	52.3	MT
Kirsehir	50.8	AH
Bitlis	50.7	SE
<b>AKP NATIONAL AVERAGE 49.9%</b>		
Usak	50.0	MT
Istanbul	49.6	MET
Ankara	49.4	MET
Burdur	49.0	MT
Bartın	48.6	MT
Siirt	48.2	SE
Agri	47.6	SE
Zonguldak	47.2	MT
Manisa	47.0	MT
Artvin	46.9	MT
Yalova	46.8	MET
Balikesir	46.6	MT
Denizli	46.6	MT
<b>10% ↓</b>		
Hatay	44.7	MT
Eskisehir	44.1	MT
Osmaniye	43.1	MT
Mus	42.9	SE
Bilecik	42.6	MT
Kars	42.6	MT
Canakkale	41.5	CT
Ardahan	40.3	MT
Van	40.3	SE
<b>20% ↓</b>		
Antalya	39.4	CT
Adana	37.5	MET
Batman	37.0	SE
Izmir	36.9	CT
Tekirdag	36.0	CT
Aydin	35.5	CT
Diyarbakir	33.0	SE
Mugla	33.0	CT
Mersin	32.3	CT
Mardin	32.1	SE
Edirne	30.4	CT
Igdir	28.3	MT
Kirklareli	27.8	CT
<b>50% ↓</b>		
Sirnak	20.7	SE
Hakkari	16.5	SE
Tunceli	16.3	EPV

**CHP Vote Share  
by Province,  
June 2011**

CHP		
PROVINCE	% of VOTE	REGION
Tunceli	56.3	EPV
Kirklareli	52.7	CT
Edirne	51.7	CT
Mugla	45.9	CT
Tekirdag	44.6	CT
Izmir	43.8	CT
Canakkale	39.5	CT
<b>50% ↑</b>		
Hatay	38.4	MT
Aydin	38.2	CT
Zonguldak	37.5	MT
Eskisehir	35.5	MT
Artvin	35.1	MT
Balikesir	33.8	MT
Antalya	33.3	CT
Yalova	32.4	MET
Mersin	31.6	CT
Istanbul	31.2	MET
Ankara	31.2	MET
Denizli	31.2	MT
<b>20% ↑</b>		
Sinop	31.1	MT
Adana	30.8	MET
Erzincan	30.2	EPV
Ardahan	29.9	MT
Usak	29.8	MT
Bartın	28.8	MT
Manisa	28.8	MT
Amasya	27.8	MT
<b>10% ↑</b>		
Bilecik	25.4	MT
Burdur	25.4	MT
<b>CHP NATIONAL AVERAGE 25.9%</b>		
Bursa	25.0	MET
Kocaeli	24.6	MET
Corum	24.1	AH
Giresun	23.7	MT
<b>10% ↓</b>		
Tokat	23.4	MT
Ordu	22.6	MT
Kirsehir	22.5	AH
Isparta	21.8	AH
Samsun	21.7	AH
<b>20% ↓</b>		
Nigde	21.5	AH
Bolu	20.1	AH
Malatya	19.7	EPV
Gaziantep	19.4	EPV
Karabuk	19.0	AH
Karaman	18.9	AH
Trabzon	18.2	MT
Rize	17.1	MT
Adiyaman	16.6	EPV
Kars	16.6	MT
Nevsehir	16.6	AH
Afyonkarahisar	16.5	AH
Sakarya	16.2	AH
Sivas	15.3	AH
Kilis	15.2	MT
Kirikkale	15.2	AH
Kastamonu	14.8	MT
Elazig	13.2	EPV
<b>50% ↓</b>		
Kutahya	12.5	AH
Duzce	12.4	AH
Kayseri	12.1	AH
Aksaray	11.8	AH
Osmaniye	11.5	MT
Kahramanmaraş	11.5	EPV
Yozgat	10.9	AH
Konya	10.3	AH
Gumushane	7.8	AH
Batman	6.6	SE
Cankiri	6.0	AH
Erzurum	4.8	EPV
Mus	4.1	SE
Bayburt	3.8	AH
Mardin	3.7	SE
Van	3.7	SE
Bingol	3.1	SE
Sanliurfa	3.0	EPV
Siirt	2.8	SE
Sirnak	2.6	SE
Agri	2.2	SE
Diyarbakir	2.2	SE
Bitlis	1.7	SE
Igdir	1.7	MT
Hakkari	0.9	SE

**MHP Vote Share by  
Region, June 2011**

**MHP**

Anatolian Heartland (AH)		Middle Turkey (MT)		Metropolitan Turkey (MET)		Euphrates River Valley (EPV)		Coastal Turkey (CT)		Southeast (SE)	
Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %
Bayburt	24.2%	Osmaniye	41.2%	Adana	20.4%	Elazig	14.5%	Mersin	23.0%	Mus	4.1%
Cankiri	23.0%	Igdir	34.1%	Ankara	14.6%	Erzurum	13.3%	Antalya	20.9%	Bitlis	3.2%
Kirsehir	21.9%	Bilecik	27.2%	Bursa	14.4%	Kahramanmaraş	13.0%	Aydin	18.2%	Van	3.0%
Gumushane	21.6%	Kastamonu	23.1%	Kocaeli	11.9%	Gaziantep	9.5%	Kirklareli	16.7%	Agri	2.2%
Nigde	19.1%	Kilis	20.9%	Yalova	10.6%	Erzincan	9.4%	Mugla	16.3%	Bingol	1.3%
Isparta	19.0%	Burdur	18.6%	Istanbul	9.4%	Malatya	8.1%	Canakkale	14.6%	Sirnak	1.2%
Kirikkale	18.8%	Kars	17.3%	<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>13.6%</b>	Adiyaman	4.6%	Tekirdag	13.4%	Siirt	1.1%
Afyonkarahisar	18.6%	Denizli	16.9%			Sanliurfa	3.0%	Edirne	13.3%	Hakkari	1.0%
Yozgat	18.3%	Manisa	16.9%			Tunceli	2.2%	Izmir	11.2%	Diyarbakir	0.8%
Karaman	18.2%	Usak	16.4%			<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>16.4%</b>	Batman	0.6%
Aksaray	18.0%	Bartın	15.9%							Mardin	0.6%
Kayseri	18.0%	Tokat	15.8%							<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>1.7%</b>
Nevsehir	18.0%	Trabzon	15.3%								
Duzce	16.2%	Amasya	15.0%								
Bolu	16.1%	Eskisehir	14.5%								
Kutahya	15.8%	Balikesir	13.9%								
Karabuk	15.6%	Artvin	13.7%								
Sakarya	15.0%	Hatay	12.6%								
Konya	13.2%	Giresun	11.9%								
Samsun	11.3%	Ordu	11.7%								
Corum	10.8%	Ardahan	10.0%								
Sivas	9.9%	Sinop	8.3%								
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>17.3%</b>	Rize	7.6%								
		Zonguldak	6.3%								
		<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>16.9%</b>								

**AKP Vote Share by  
Region, June 2011**

**BDP**

Anatolian Heartland (AH)		Middle Turkey (MT)		Metropolitan Turkey (MET)		Euphrates River Valley (EPV)		Coastal Turkey (CT)		Southeast (SE)	
Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %	Provinces	Vote %
Sivas	4.6%	Igdir	31.5%	Adana	7.9%	Sanliurfa	26.3%	Mersin	9.9%	Hakkari	79.8%
Kirsehir	1.3%	Kars	19.2%	Istanbul	5.4%	Tunceli	22.9%	Izmir	4.7%	Sirnak	72.6%
Konya	1.3%	Ardahan	12.5%	Yalova	4.7%	Erzurum	8.1%	Aydin	3.8%	Diyarbakir	61.6%
Sakarya	0.6%	Manisa	2.8%	Kocaeli	2.3%	Adiyaman	6.5%	Antalya	2.3%	Mardin	61.0%
Isparta	0.4%	Hatay	1.4%	Bursa	1.7%	Gaziantep	5.3%	Tekirdag	1.5%	Batman	51.8%
Afyonkarahisar	0.1%	Denizli	1.0%	Ankara	1.0%	Malatya	1.2%	Mugla	1.0%	Van	49.6%
Corum	0.1%	Balikesir	0.9%	<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>3.8%</b>	Kahramanmaraş	0.5%	Canakkale	0.1%	Mus	44.4%
Nigde	0.1%	Ordu	0.8%			Elazig	0.0%	Edirne	0.1%	Agri	43.2%
Samsun	0.1%	Osmaniye	0.8%			Erzincan	0.0%	Kirklareli	0.1%	Siirt	42.7%
Aksaray	0.0%	Eskisehir	0.6%			<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>2.6%</b>	Bitlis	40.3%
Gumushane	0.0%	Rize	0.4%							Bingol	23.9%
Kayseri	0.0%	Sinop	0.3%							<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>51.9%</b>
Nevsehir	0.0%	Artvin	0.1%								
Bayburt	0.0%	Kilis	0.1%								
Bolu	0.0%	Tokat	0.1%								
Cankiri	0.0%	Trabzon	0.1%								
Duzce	0.0%	Zonguldak	0.1%								
Karaman	0.0%	Burdur	0.1%								
Karabuk	0.0%	Amasya	0.0%								
Kirikkale	0.0%	Bartın	0.0%								
Kutahya	0.0%	Giresun	0.0%								
Yozgat	0.0%	Kastamonu	0.0%								
<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>0.4%</b>	Usak	0.0%								
		Bilecik	0.0%								
		<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>3.0%</b>								

	Anatolian Heartland (AH)
	Middle Turkey (MT)
	Metropolitan Turkey (MET)
	Coastal Turkey (CT)
	Southeast (SE)
	Euphrates River Valley (EPV)

**MHP Vote Share  
by Province,  
June 2011**

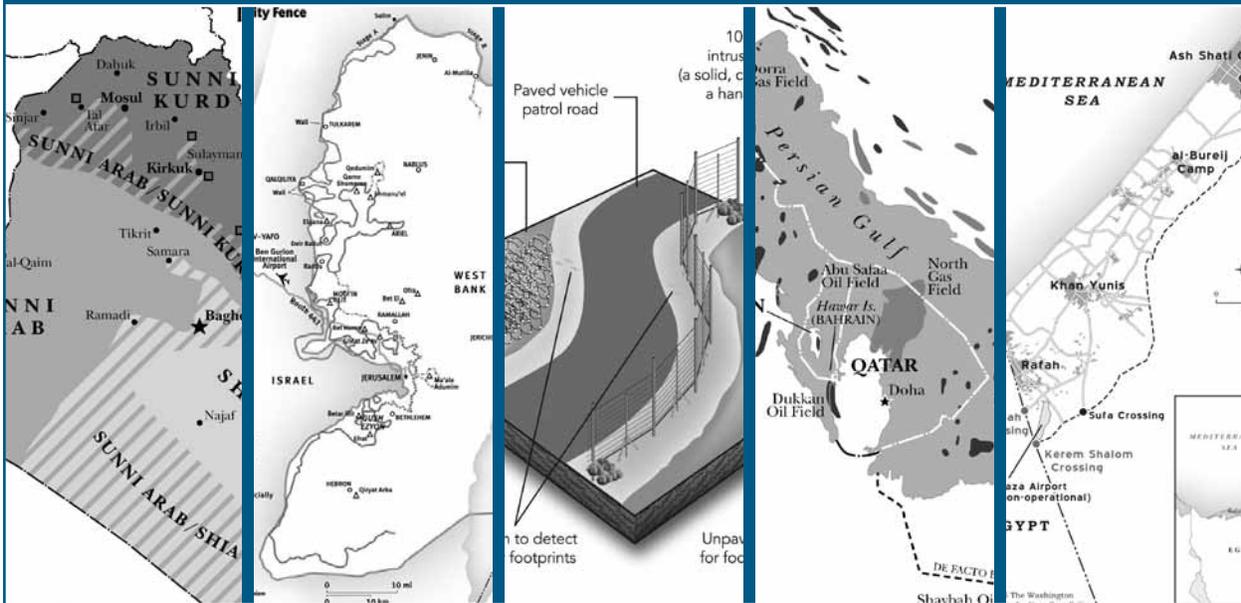
MHP		
PROVINCE	% of VOTE	REGION
Osmaniye	41.2	MT
Igdir	34.1	MT
Bilecik	27.2	MT
Bayburt	24.2	AH
Kastamonu	23.1	MT
Cankiri	23.0	AH
Mersin	23.0	CT
Kirsehir	21.9	AH
Gumushane	21.6	AH
Antalya	20.9	CT
Kilis	20.9	MT
Adana	20.4	MET
<b>50% ↑</b>		
Nigde	19.1	AH
Isparta	19.0	AH
Kirikkale	18.8	AH
Afyonkarahisar	18.6	AH
Burdur	18.6	MT
Yozgat	18.3	AH
Aydin	18.2	CT
Karaman	18.2	AH
Aksaray	18	AH
Kayseri	18.0	AH
Nevsehir	18.0	AH
Kars	17.3	MT
Denizli	16.9	MT
Manisa	16.9	MT
Kirklareli	16.7	CT
Uzak	16.4	MT
Mugla	16.3	CT
Duzce	16.2	AH
Bolu	16.1	AH
Bartın	15.9	MT
Kutahya	15.8	AH
Tokat	15.8	MT
Karabuk	15.6	AH
Trabzon	15.3	MT
<b>20% ↑</b>		
Amasya	15.0	MT
Sakarya	15.0	AH
Ankara	14.6	MET
Canakkale	14.6	CT
Elazig	14.5	EPV
Eskisehir	14.5	MT
Bursa	14.4	MET
<b>10% ↑</b>		
Balikesir	13.9	MT
Artvin	13.7	MT
Tekirdag	13.4	CT
Edirne	13.3	CT
Erzurum	13.3	EPV
Konya	13.2	AH
<b>MHP NATIONAL AVERAGE 13%</b>		
Kahramanmaraş	13.0	EPV
Hatay	12.6	MT
Giresun	11.9	MT
Kocaeli	11.9	LC
<b>10% ↓</b>		
Ordu	11.7	MT
Samsun	11.3	AH
Izmir	11.2	CT
Corum	10.8	AH
Yalova	10.6	MET
<b>20% ↓</b>		
Ardahan	10.0	MT
Sivas	9.9	AH
Gaziantep	9.5	EPV
Erzincan	9.4	EPV
Istanbul	9.4	MET
Sinop	8.3	MT
Malatya	8.1	EPV
Rize	7.6	MT
<b>50% ↓</b>		
Zonguldak	6.3	MT
Adiyaman	4.6	EPV
Mus	4.1	SE
Bitlis	3.2	SE
Sanliurfa	3.0	EPV
Van	3.0	SE
Agri	2.2	SE
Tunceli	2.2	EPV
Bingol	1.3	SE
Sirnak	1.2	SE
Siirt	1.1	SE
Hakkari	1.0	SE
Diyarbakir	0.8	SE
Batman	0.6	SE
Mardin	0.6	SE

**BDP Vote Share  
by Province,  
June 2011**

BDP		
PROVINCE	% of VOTE	REGION
Hakkari	79.8	SE
Sirnak	72.6	SE
Diyarbakir	61.6	SE
Mardin	61.0	SE
Batman	51.8	SE
Van	49.6	SE
Mus	44.4	SE
Agri	43.2	SE
Siirt	42.7	SE
Bitlis	40.3	SE
Igdir	31.5	MT
Sanliurfa	26.3	EPV
Bingol	23.9	SE
Tunceli	22.9	EPV
Kars	19.2	MT
Ardahan	12.5	MT
Mersin	9.9	CT
<b>50% ↑</b>		
Erzurum	8.1	EPV
Adana	7.9	MET
<b>20% ↑</b>		
<b>10% ↑</b>		
Adiyaman	6.5	EPV
<b>BDP NATIONAL AVERAGE 6.3%</b>		
<b>10% ↓</b>		
Istanbul	5.4	MET
Gaziantep	5.3	EPV
<b>20% ↓</b>		
Izmir	4.7	CT
Yalova	4.7	MET
Sivas	4.6	AH
Aydin	3.8	CT
<b>50% ↓</b>		
Manisa	2.8	MT
Antalya	2.3	CT
Kocaeli	2.3	MET
Bursa	1.7	MET
Tekirdag	1.5	CT
Hatay	1.4	MT
Kirsehir	1.3	AH
Konya	1.3	AH
Malatya	1.2	EPV
Denizli	1.0	MT
Mugla	1.0	CT
Ankara	1.0	MET
Balikesir	0.9	MT
Ordu	0.8	MT
Osmaniye	0.8	MT
Eskisehir	0.6	MT
Sakarya	0.6	AH
Kahramanmaraş	0.5	EPV
Isparta	0.4	AH
Rize	0.4	MT
Sinop	0.3	MT
Artvin	0.1	MT
Afyonkarahisar	0.1	AH
Canakkale	0.1	CT
Corum	0.1	AH
Edirne	0.1	CT
Kilis	0.1	MT
Kirklareli	0.1	CT
Nigde	0.1	AH
Samsun	0.1	AH
Tokat	0.1	MT
Trabzon	0.1	MT
Zonguldak	0.1	MT
Burdur	0.1	MT
Aksaray	0.0	AH
Gumushane	0.0	AH
Kayseri	0.0	AH
Nevsehir	0.0	AH
Amasya	0.0	MT
Bartın	0.0	MT
Bayburt	0.0	AH
Bilecik	0.0	MT
Bolu	0.0	AH
Cankiri	0.0	AH
Duzce	0.0	AH
Elazig	0.0	EPV
Erzincan	0.0	EPV
Giresun	0.0	MT
Karaman	0.0	AH
Karabuk	0.0	AH
Kastamonu	0.0	MT
Kirikkale	0.0	AH
Kutahya	0.0	AH
Uzak	0.0	MT
Yozgat	0.0	AH

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