I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

• The presidential election will be held in the Republic of Turkey on 10 August 2014. If no candidate wins an absolute majority in the first round, a second round between the top two candidates will be held two weeks later. The presidential election is the first direct election of the president following constitutional amendments in 2007.

• The Law on Presidential Elections was adopted in 2012; however, other relevant laws were not harmonized with it resulting in a lack of clarity in the legal framework. Recent amendments to the legal framework address a number of previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendations such as regulations for out-of-country voting, and permitting campaigning in languages other than Turkish. At the same time, key recommendations remain unaddressed, including those related to citizen and international observation.

• Three party-nominated candidates, including the Prime Minister, will contest the presidential election. Sixteen individuals who applied as independent candidates were not registered by the Supreme Board of Elections (SBE) due to not having the required support from twenty members of parliament.

• A four-tier election administration, headed by the SBE, has met most legal deadlines to date. Despite a previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendation, the meetings of the SBE and lower electoral boards are closed to the public, and not all regulations and decisions are publicly available. While nominating parties were able to have their representatives at all levels of the election administration, one party was precluded from doing so due to not meeting the legal criteria.

• According to the Law on Presidential Elections, the official campaign period began on 11 July. On 6 June, the SBE issued a decision postponing the application of key campaign prohibitions and guarantees aimed at ensuring equal campaigning opportunities for all contestants until 31 July. Campaign activities of the Prime Minister are large-scale events, often combined with official government events. While other candidates actively campaign, the public visibility of their campaigns is limited.

• This is the first election with some regulation of campaign financing. Candidates are permitted to receive limited donations from Turkish citizens and are required to report on their campaign accounts, contributions, and expenditures within 10 days following the announcement of the final results. An SBE regulation allows nominating parties to support their candidates by organizing rallies and paying for political advertising.

• The SBE closed voter lists on 20 July, following a public review period. Some 53 million in-country voters and 2.8 million voters abroad are registered to vote. Out-of-country ballots will be counted at a designated District Electoral Board in Ankara.

• The legal framework in effect restricts freedom of expression including on the Internet. OSCE/ODIHR LEOM interlocutors have expressed concerns that direct interference of media owners and political actors into editorial freedom results in a lack of independent and investigative journalism and leads to limited criticism towards the ruling party and the Prime Minister. The framework does not provide for clear monitoring and reporting on the legal requirement of ‘impartiality’ for broadcasters during the campaign.
Electoral board decisions can be appealed to higher boards. However, under the Constitution, SBE decisions are not subject to judicial review. A 2010 constitutional amendment allowed individual petitions on breaches of fundamental rights, and on 23 July, the Constitutional Court refused jurisdiction in the first-ever electoral case.

II. INTRODUCTION

Following an official invitation from the authorities of the Republic of Turkey and based on the recommendation of a Needs Assessment Mission conducted from 7 to 9 May, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) deployed a Limited Election Observation Mission (LEOM) on 9 July. The OSCE/ODIHR LEOM is headed by Ambassador Geert-Hinrich Ahrens and consists of 13 experts based in Ankara and 16 long-term observers deployed throughout the country. Mission members are drawn from 21 OSCE participating States. In line with ODIHR’s methodology, the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM will not carry out systematic or comprehensive observation of election day activities. Mission members will, however, visit a number of polling stations to follow election day procedures.

III. BACKGROUND AND POLITICAL CONTEXT

On 7 March, the Supreme Board of Elections (SBE) announced the presidential election for 10 August. The election takes place in a political environment dominated by the Justice and Development Party (AKP), headed by its party leader and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. The AKP has held a majority in the Turkish Grand National Assembly (parliament) since the 2002 parliamentary elections.

The 550-member parliament is currently composed of the AKP with 313 seats, the Republican People’s Party (CHP) with 130 seats, the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) with 52 seats, the Peoples’ Democratic Party (HDP) with 27 seats, the Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) with 1 seat and 14 independent candidates. The 30 March 2014 local elections yielded the following results: the AKP received 45.5 per cent of the vote, the CHP received 31.0 per cent, and the MHP and the BDP received 13.6 and 3.9 per cent, respectively.

Following the local elections, the two main opposition parliamentary parties, the CHP and MHP, jointly nominated a candidate for the upcoming presidential election. The HDP merged with the BDP to establish a broader base of support for its prospective presidential candidate.

IV. LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND ELECTORAL SYSTEM

The 1982 Constitution, adopted under military rule, concentrates on bans and prohibitions rather than broad guarantees of fundamental rights and freedoms. While it refers to fundamental rights and establishes the supremacy of applicable international law over national law, it permits undue limitations on the freedoms of association, assembly, and expression, and on electoral rights. A two-year process to draft a new civil constitution that would guarantee fundamental rights and freedoms stalled in October 2013.

A constitutional referendum in 2007 changed the indirect presidential election system to direct election of the president by popular vote with an absolute majority of valid votes. If no candidate wins the required majority in the first round, a second round between the top two candidates will be held two weeks later. Constitutional amendments also reduced the term of the president from seven to five years and increased the limit from one to two terms.
The Law on Presidential Elections (LPE), adopted in January 2012, regulates aspects of the new presidential election system. It was adopted in an expedited manner with limited debate and no public consultation nor support of opposition parties. The LPE lacks sufficient clarity, including on the role of political parties in the electoral and campaign process. In March 2012, some CHP members of parliament challenged certain provisions in the LPE, which led to the Constitutional Court annulling one provision prohibiting current and past presidents from running for a second term.

The 1961 Law on Basic Provisions on Elections and Voter Registers (Law on Basic Provisions) regulates all elections. However, it was not harmonized with the LPE, leaving inconsistencies and ambiguities relating to the implementation of presidential elections. The LPE provides for the applicability of all laws regulating other types of elections thus reducing the clarity and transparency of the legal framework for presidential elections.

Recent amendments to the legal framework address a number of previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendations. The LPE regulates campaign finance for the first time in any election. The Law on Basic Provisions was amended in May 2012 to incorporate regulations for out-of-country voting. As part of a broad legal reform package to loosen restrictions on the use of unofficial languages in the public sphere, an amendment to the Law on Basic Provisions in March permits campaigning in languages other than Turkish; however some ambiguity exist as the Law on Political Parties still includes a provision prohibiting unofficial languages in campaigning. Further, recent SBE regulations require Turkish to be used as the main language in campaign coverage and advertising.

Some key OSCE/ODIHR recommendations remain unaddressed, including restrictions on voting rights for conscripts, cadets and some categories of prisoners, undue restrictions on candidacy rights, a lack of possibility to appeal against SBE decisions, and an absence of legal provisions for international and citizen election observation.

SBE regulations and decisions supplement the legal framework. A number of regulations have been adopted on various matters, including campaigning, campaign finance and media coverage. In some instances, SBE regulations including on the campaign period and campaign financing do not effectively elaborate or fully consider the law (see relevant sections below).

V. ELECTION ADMINISTRATION

The election is administered by a four-tier election administration: the SBE, 81 Provincial Electoral Boards (PEBs), 675 District Electoral Boards (DEBs) and 165,472 Ballot Box Committees (BBCs). In addition, one designated DEB was established under the PEB in Ankara to co-ordinate the activities of 1,186 out-of-country BBCs.

The SBE is a permanent 11-member body tasked with overall authority and responsibility for the conduct of elections. SBE members are appointed by and from the courts for a six-year term. The four parliamentary parties and groups who received the highest number of votes in the last general election have the right to appoint non-voting representatives to the SBE. Though the HDP nominated a presidential candidate, it did not meet the above requirement and therefore could not nominate its representatives to the SBE or to lower election boards. Political parties have the right to nominate observers.

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3 In addition, Article 67 of the Constitution provides that amendments to election laws are not to be applied within one year of their adoption.

4 Multiple BBCs are located in the same building. In total, there are 55,312 polling locations.

5 Six members are elected by the Supreme Court and five by the Council of State. Of the 11 members, 10 are male and 1 female.

6 The HDP was formed in 2012. Its current MPs were all elected as independent candidates in the last general election.
The SBE has adopted the election calendar and main procedures for the upcoming election. It has prepared training materials for BBC members and televised spots on voter information for in-country and out-of-country voters. No training is planned for PEBs and DEBs. The SBE plans to introduce special arrangements for voters with disabilities and those over 75 years of age; these voters are to be included in voter lists of polling stations designed to be fully accessible. Despite a previous OSCE/ODIHR recommendation, meetings of electoral boards are closed to the public and not all regulations and decisions are posted on the SBE website or are otherwise publicly available. According to the SBE, non-voting party representatives have full access to its documents.

PEBs consist of three members appointed from among senior judges in the province. DEBs have seven members; four members nominated by political parties, and two local civil servants, and are chaired by the most senior judge in the district. DEBs missed the legal deadline, set by the legislation, for designating and allocating locations to hold rallies and post campaign material. BBCs are mandated to organize voting and were constituted by DEBs within the legal deadline. They are composed of seven members, five nominated by political parties and two by local councils.

The SBE selected the ballot order of presidential candidates by lot and has already started printing ballots. The SBE informed the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM that the total number of ballots to be printed is 73,849,080. The SBE’s decision on the number of ballots to be issued lacks a clear legal basis.

Out-of-country voting will be conducted from 31 July to 3 August in 54 countries. Out-of-country ballots will be returned and counted with in-country ballots in Ankara. A number of OSCE/ODIHR LEOM interlocutors expressed concerns regarding the integrity of this procedure.

VI. VOTER REGISTRATION

Voter registration is passive. The permanent central voter register is maintained by the SBE and linked to a civil and address registry, operated by the Ministry of Interior. Voter registration is based on a personal identification number, which is linked to a voter’s place of permanent residence.

Citizens over 18 years of age are included in the voter register. However, active conscripts, students in military schools, and prisoners who have committed intentional crimes are not eligible to vote and are removed from the voter register before an election. On 20 June, the SBE ruled that all convicts outside prison are entitled to vote. This ruling partially implemented a September 2013 decision of the European Court of Human Rights, which ruled that Turkey’s ban on convicted prisoners’ voting rights is too broad and contravenes the right to free elections. Special voter lists are compiled for eligible voters in prisons.

Voters are required to vote at the place of their registration. Voter lists are compiled for in-country and out-of-country voters. The Law on Basic Provisions allows voters and parties to verify the voter lists and request changes. A public review took place between 2 and 9 July when voters could verify their information in the voter lists at DEBs or online. Over 1.3 million enquiries from voters were registered on the SBE website. On 20 July, the SBE finalized and closed voter lists. The total number of in-country eligible voters is 52,894,120 and some 2,798,670 voters are registered out-of-country.

7 In-country: 69,279,000; out-of-country: 3,070,080; border crossings: 1,500,000.
8 Out-of-country voting is also possible at some 42 border crossings.
9 Paragraph 7.3 states that the participating States will “guarantee universal and equal suffrage to adult citizens”, while paragraph 24 provides that restrictions on rights and freedoms must be “strictly proportionate to the aim of the law”. See also paragraph 14 of the 1996 General Comment No. 25 to Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which states: “If conviction for an offence is a basis for suspending the right to vote, the period of such suspension should be proportionate to the offence of the sentence.”
10 See the judgment by the European Court of Human Rights: Söyler v. Turkey, application no. 29411/07, 20 January 2014.
VII. CANDIDATE REGISTRATION

Presidential candidates must be at least 40 years of age, have a higher education, and be eligible to be a member of parliament (MPs). This includes a ban on all persons convicted of a non-exhaustive list of a broad range of crimes or who have not completed their military service.\(^{11}\)

Presidential candidates require the support of at least 20 MPs (each MP can support only one nomination), limiting the possibility for independent candidates. Parliamentary parties and parties who jointly received at least 10 per cent of the votes in the last general election may each nominate one presidential candidate.

Candidate registration commenced on 29 June and ended on 3 July. Three candidates were nominated by parties: Mr. Erdoğan was nominated by the AKP, Mr. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu was jointly nominated by the CHP and MHP,\(^{12}\) and Mr. Selahattin Demirtaş was nominated by the HDP.\(^{13}\) Sixteen individuals applied as independent candidates but were not registered by the SBE due to the lack of support from the required 20 MPs. The final candidate list was published on 11 July.

VIII. CAMPAIGN ENVIRONMENT

Article 13 of the LPE provides that the official campaign period begins on the date the candidate list is finalized. Accordingly, the campaign started on 11 July and will end at 18:00 on 9 August. The SBE, however, issued a regulation that established that the official campaign period starts on 31 July for the application of key prohibitions and guarantees of equal campaign conditions.\(^{14}\) While the Law on Basic Provisions establishes a clear regulatory framework for campaign conduct aimed at ensuring a level playing field, including detailed prohibitions on the use of administrative resources and official positions, the SBE decision shortened its period of application by nearly three weeks.

The campaign is dominated by a debate on the future of Turkey’s system of government, with Mr. Erdoğan calling for a strong presidential system and Mr. İhsanoğlu promising to preserve the current parliamentary system. The ongoing situations in the Gaza Strip, Syria and Iraq, the issue of corruption, and the continuation of the Kurdish-Turkish peace process all feature prominently in the campaign. Mr. Demirtaş has underlined the need to stand with people who face discrimination due to ethnic, religious, gender, or class-based identity.

Mr. Erdoğan’s campaign is well-organized, well-resourced and benefits from a high degree of visibility through regular travel to the regions,\(^{15}\) which combines official visits to provincial governors with large-scale rallies that are often followed by iftar, at times organized by the municipality.\(^{16}\) In Istanbul, Mr. Erdoğan’s campaign banners and trucks prominently featured at the entrance of municipal tents used for iftar. On 19 July, in Ordu, the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM noted that following Mr. Erdogan’s speech, children’s

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\(^{11}\) Paragraph 15 of the 1996 UN Human Rights Committee General Comment No 25 states that “…Persons who are otherwise eligible to stand for election should not be excluded by unreasonable or discriminatory requirements such as education, residence or descent, or by reason of political affiliation.” See Paragraph 24 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document provides that restrictions on rights and freedoms must be “strictly proportionate to the aim of the law”.

\(^{12}\) Beyond the parliamentary parties, 11 other parties pledged support for Mr. İhsanoğlu: Democratic Left Party, Independent Turkey Party, Democratic Party, Great Union Party, Socialist Worker’s Party of Turkey, Revolutionary People’s Party, Social Reconciliation Reform and Development Party, Liberal Democrat Party, True Path Party, Woman’s Party and Right and Justice Party.

\(^{13}\) Beyond the HDP, Mr. Demirtaş is supported by the Labour Party.

\(^{14}\) The latter date was based on Article 49 of the Law on Basic Provisions, which provides that the official campaign period starts 10 days prior to election day; this period has applied to all elections up until the adoption of the LPE, which specifically regulates presidential elections.

\(^{15}\) Both the Prime Minister’s official website and that of his campaign provide a schedule of his daily campaign events and upcoming inaugurations.

\(^{16}\) Iftar refers to an evening meal when Muslims end their fast at the time of sunset during the Islamic month of Ramadan.
toys and women’s scarves were distributed to the crowd. An AKP representative informed the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM that the party has launched an extensive door-to-door campaign during which it distributes large boxes containing various food items, T-shirts, mouse-pads and cups. On 25 July, Mr. Erdoğan openly campaigned during the inauguration of the high-speed train between Istanbul and Ankara.

Representatives of parties who nominated Mr. İhsanoğlu and Mr. Demirtaş informed the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM that their candidates’ resources are significantly fewer than those of Mr. Erdoğan. Their campaigns have been active, but with limited visibility. Mr. İhsanoğlu has visited several provinces, met with voters and associations in smaller circles, while Mr. Demirtaş has visited several cities throughout the country. As of 21 July, campaign activities of Mr. Demirtaş have been disrupted in a few cities and the incidents have been reported to the police.

IX. CAMPAIGN FINANCE

This election is the first with a degree of campaign finance regulation. The LPE contains provisions regulating campaign finance, on both donations and reporting. However, the law does not clearly establish which sources of funding are permitted and to which extent. The SBE is tasked with regulating campaign finance but has not been able to provide the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM with clarification as to whether any limits on the use of personal funds would be applied. The law does not provide sanctions for breach of campaign finance provisions.

Candidates are not entitled to receive public funding. They are permitted to receive donations only from Turkish citizens, which must be accounted for by each candidate through a dedicated bank account opened for the election. Loans are not permitted. The law limits the amount an individual can donate for each round, which cannot exceed one month’s salary of the highest-ranking civil servant. Candidates are required to report on campaign accounts, contributions, and expenditures within 10 days following the announcement of the final results.

While one SBE regulation prohibits candidates from receiving in-kind donations, another SBE regulation allows nominating parties to provide support by organizing rallies and paying for political advertising of their candidates. OSCE/ODIHR LEOM interlocutors expressed concerns that the two regulations are contradictory and do not ensure transparent campaign financing.

X. MEDIA

The Constitution permits restrictions on freedom of expression, among others, by protecting “the basic characteristics of the Republic and the indivisible integrity of the state with its territory and nation”, thereby undermining effective protection of the right to freedom of expression and a genuinely pluralistic exchange on matters of public importance. Furthermore, provisions in the Criminal Code and Anti-Terrorism Act on defamation of the Turkish nation and propaganda in favour of a terrorist organization, among others, have been used to convict and imprison journalists. The OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media (RFoM) lists, after a number of recent releases, 20 imprisoned journalists.

The media landscape is dominated by large industrial groups owning media outlets with the broadest outreach. OSCE/ODIHR LEOM interlocutors have expressed concerns that direct interference of media owners and political actors into editorial freedom results in a lack of editorial independence and investigative journalism. Further concerns have been expressed over the allocation of public tenders and

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17 The SBE defines this amount at 9,082.51 Turkish Lira. (approx. EUR 3,150).
18 The table on imprisoned journalists as of 18 June 2014 is available at http://www.osce.org/fom/119921. Since its publication, one journalist, Abdullah Çetin, was released. However, charges against those released have not been dropped and their trials are ongoing.
advertising by state-owned companies to government-affiliated businesses and that media leave limited space for criticism of the ruling party and the Prime Minister, in particular on television. A large number of criminal and civil defamation cases, initiated by high officials, including the Prime Minister, contribute to self-censorship among journalists.

The Internet contributes to pluralism in the public sphere, in particular in social media, despite violations of Internet freedom. The 2007 'Internet' Law, last amended in February 2014, allows authorities to block websites, without sufficient court supervision.\(^\text{19}\)

The legal framework on the media during the campaign obliges the public service and commercial broadcasters to abide by the principles of “impartiality, truthfulness and accuracy”. The law does not establish a clear and public monitoring and reporting regime between the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTSC) as the monitoring body, and the SBE as the sanctioning body.\(^\text{20}\) According to information received from the RTSC and SBE, the RTSC only reports to the SBE when an RTSC-monitor notes a violation committed by a broadcaster.\(^\text{21}\)

Neither the law nor SBE decisions provide guidelines on the implementation of the impartiality requirement. The OSCE/ODIHR LEOM has received contradictory interpretations of the impartiality requirement by different members of the RTSC. A complaint filed on 3 July by four RTSC members, nominated by opposition parties, over the partial coverage of Mr. Erdoğan on the public service broadcaster, the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), was voted against by the five RTSC members nominated by the ruling party. A further three complaints on the partial coverage of TRT have been filed with the SBE and the Prosecutor's Office.

The legal framework grants each candidate a total of 30 minutes of free airtime on TRT (15 minutes on 3 and 9 August), and the right to purchase advertising time and space under equal conditions.

On 14 July, the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM started qualitative and quantitative media monitoring of five TV stations and four newspapers.\(^\text{22}\)

XI. COMPLAINTS AND APPEALS

Lower level electoral board decisions can be appealed to higher level boards by political parties, voters, partisan observers, and candidates, but not by civil society organizations. The law does not establish a process for filing campaign-related complaints. The SBE informed the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM that prior to 31 July, such complaints are to be lodged with governors, and after that with DEBs. Clear deadlines for adjudication of electoral disputes are not provided in the law. To date, the SBE has received some 30 complaints, mostly regarding the Prime Minister’s eligibility as a candidate, resignation from his public post and the use of administrative resources. According to the SBE, all complaints were dismissed.

The adjudication of complaints and appeals by election bodies are not open to observers or the media. Decisions are generally not posted on the SBE’s website or otherwise publically available, but the SBE has provided the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM with some of its decisions on complaints.

\(^\text{19}\) See Press Release of the OSCE RFoM, 5 August 2013: \url{http://www.osce.org/fom/104157}. In addition, according to the local NGO Engelliweb 10,138 websites were blocked in 2014 by the Telecommunications Authority. The most recent two-month long blocking of YouTube was lifted by the Constitutional Court on 29 May 2014 and the website was unblocked on 3 June.

\(^\text{20}\) The RTSC consists of nine members, nominated by political parties and elected by parliament.

\(^\text{21}\) In case complaints are filed with the SBE, monitoring results are requested from the RTSC.

\(^\text{22}\) The monitored TV stations include: ATV, CNN TÜRK, NTV, TRT1 and Samanyolu TV, and the monitored newspapers include: Hürriyet, Zaman, Sözcü and Sabah.
Under Article 79 of the Constitution, SBE decisions are not subject to judicial review, which denies the opportunity for effective judicial remedy in electoral disputes. A 2010 constitutional amendment established the right to file individual petitions to the Constitutional Court for violations of fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed both by the European Convention on Human Rights and the Turkish Constitution. However, on 23 July, the Constitutional Court refused jurisdiction in the first ever election-related petition. Three cases challenging the candidacy of the Prime Minister and/or his refusal to resign while running for president and three petitions requesting out-of-country ballots be counted in the countries they are cast were also rejected; the legal reasoning has yet to be released.

XII. CITIZEN AND INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS

The law does not provide for non-partisan citizen observation and international observers, which is provided for under paragraph 8 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document. However, political parties have the right to nominate observers. The vote count can be observed by the public, as stated in Article 95 of the Law on Basic Provisions. Partisan observers have the right to receive upon request a copy of the results protocol.

A number of civil society organizations informed the OSCE/ODIHR LEOM about their plans to conduct election observation. Some organizations are collaborating with parties in order to be granted accreditation to observe. Others rely on support from the local administration and good will of election bodies to access polling stations. Civil society observers intend to focus on counting of out-of-country ballots.

XIII. OSCE/ODIHR LEOM ACTIVITIES

The OSCE/ODIHR LEOM commenced its work on 9 July. The Head of the Mission has met with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, the Constitutional Court, the SBE, the RTSC as well as with presidential candidates and other high-level state officials, politicians and diplomatic representatives. The OSCE/ODIHR LEOM has also established contacts with political parties, and representatives of the media and civil society. The Head of the Mission met a pre-election delegation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE) on 21 July.

The OSCE/ODIHR will join efforts with the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE PA) and the PACE, which will deploy observer delegations for election-day observation. Ms. Vilija Aleknaite Abramikiene has been appointed by the OSCE Chairperson-in-Office as the Special Co-ordinator to lead the short-term OSCE observer mission for this election.

The English version of this report is the only official document. An unofficial translation is available in Turkish.

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23 Paragraph 5.10 of the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document states: “everyone will have an effective means of redress against administrative decisions, so as to guarantee respect for fundamental rights and ensure legal integrity”.

24 The case involved a challenge to the election results for the Mayor of Ankara in March 2014.

25 Paragraph 8 of the 1990 Copenhagen Document reads: “The participating States consider that the presence of observers, both foreign and domestic, can enhance the electoral process for States in which elections are taking place. They therefore invite observers from any other CSCE participating States and any appropriate private institutions and organizations who may wish to do so to observe the course of their national election proceedings, to the extent permitted by law.”