Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey

February 6th, 2018, Ankara

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

Method and the Field

- November 17- December 20, 2017
- F2F interviews with 2004 people (18+ population of Turkey from 16 cities in rural and urban regions)
- Under the assumption of SRS, margin of error is +/-3%
- Survey conducted by Infakto RW
- 4 Focus groups in Istanbul- supporters of political parties (AKP, CHP, HDP and MHP- each separately)
- Funded by the *Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation - a project of the German Marshall Fund*

Demography

Gender	Male	48.9%
	Female	51.1%
Age	18- 29	29.3%
	30- 45	37.0%
	46- 87	33.7%
Settlement	Urban	87.0%
	Rural	13.0%
Education	Primary school and lower	33.3%
	Secondary education	51.4%
	Higher education	15.2%
Employment status	Employed	54.9%
	Housewife	27.0%
	Retired	6.3%
	Student	7.5%
	Unemployed	4.3%

Ideological Consistency:

Variation of values in a consistent way

Perceived Ideological Polarization:

Perceiving other groups 'more distant' than they really are

Ideological Diversity:

Intersection of values

Emotional Polarization:

Negative feelings and negative attributes to other groups

Political Distance among Political Parties through the Eyes of Political Party Supporters

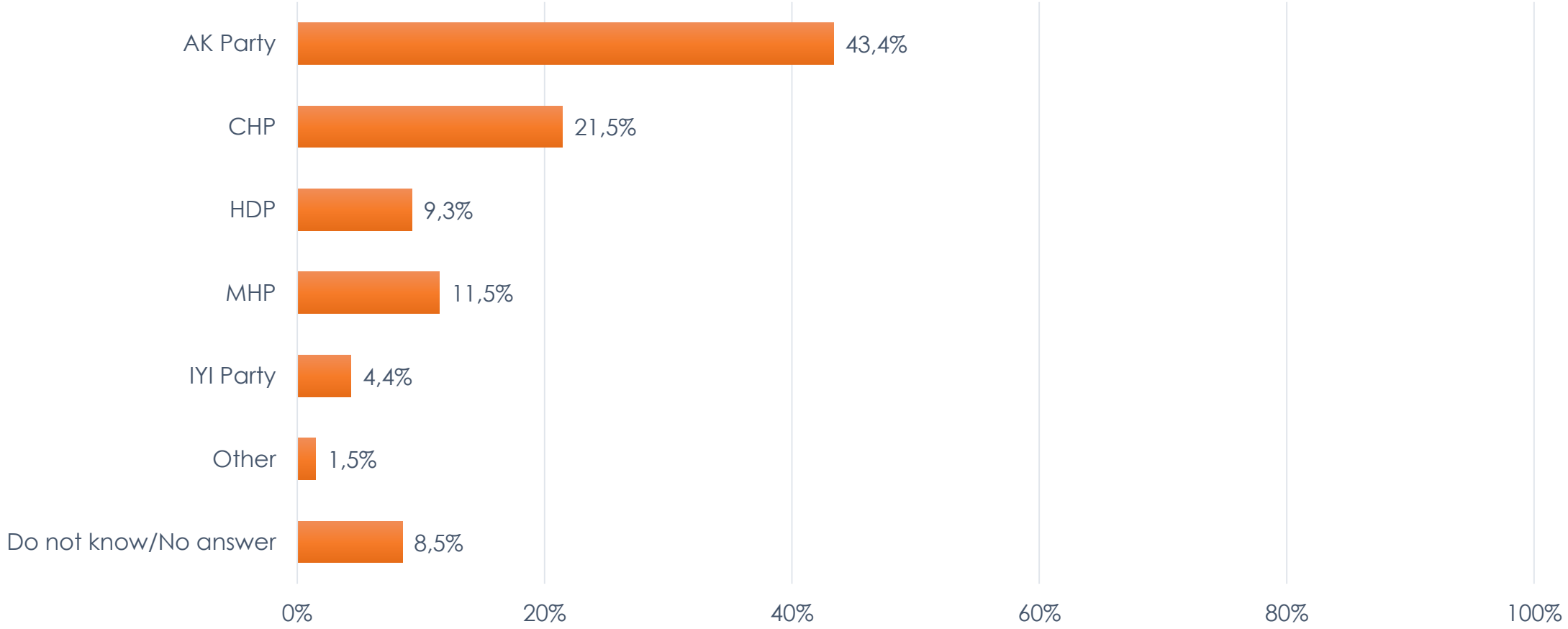
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

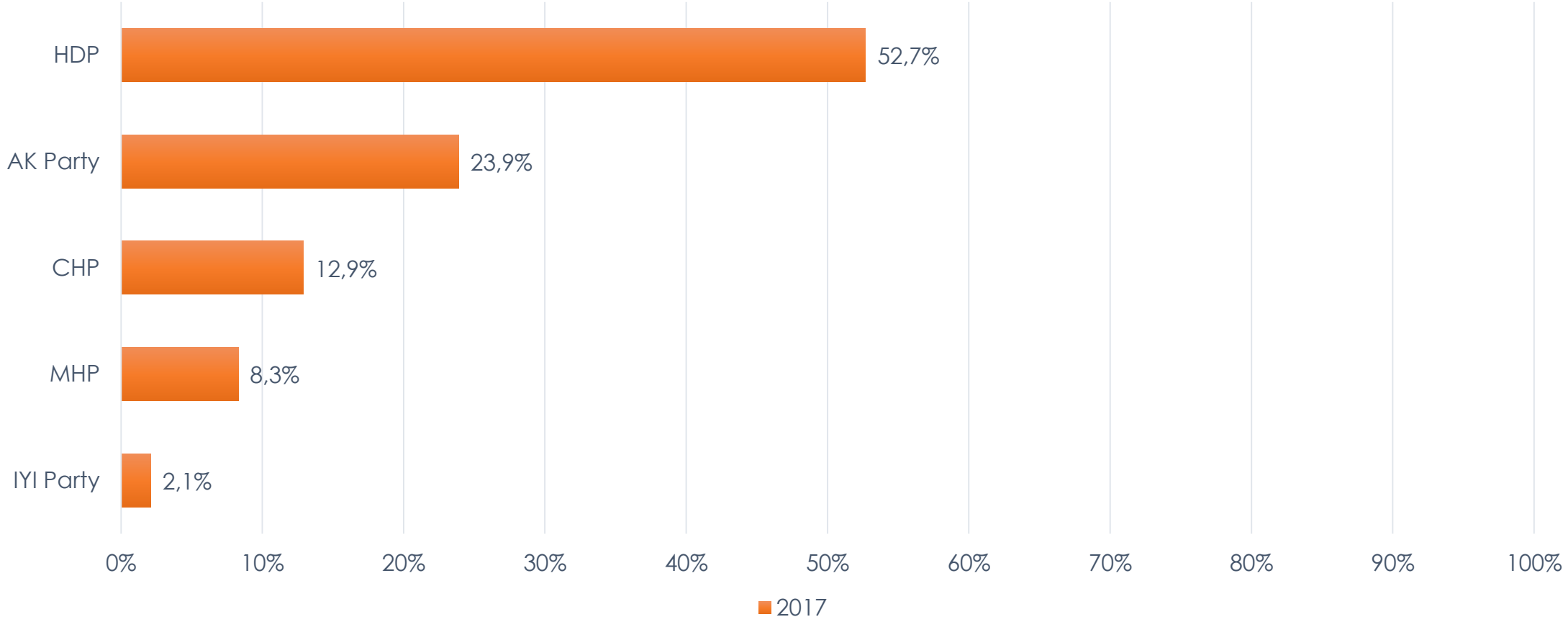
Which Political Party do you Feel Close?



Demography of Political Party Supporters

		AK Party	CHP	HDP	MHP	IYI Party
Gender	Male	48.3%	44.0%	55.7%	56.1%	56.2%
	Female	51.7%	56.0%	44.3%	43.9%	43.8%
Age	18- 29	26.7%	27.5%	27.0%	36.1%	41.8%
	30- 45	37.0%	36.2%	40.6%	39.4%	34.0%
	46- 87	36.3%	36.3%	32.4%	24.5%	24.2%
Settlement	Urban	83.9%	92.1%	83.3%	89.3%	88.2%
	Rural	16.1%	7.9%	16.7%	10.7%	11.8%
Education	Primary school and lower	41.3%	23.7%	49.7%	21.2%	20.0%
	Secondary education	49.0%	53.5%	38.5%	60.7%	55.1%
	Higher education	9.7%	22.7%	11.8%	18.1%	24.8%
Employment status	Employed	49.2%	57.3%	67.7%	59.8%	53.2%
	Housewife	32.7%	23.0%	22.8%	21.6%	26.2%
	Retired	7.9%	6.9%	0.0%	2.8%	7.9%
	Student	6.6%	7.8%	3.9%	11.9%	7.4%
	Looking for a job	3.6%	5.0%	5.6%	3.9%	5.4%

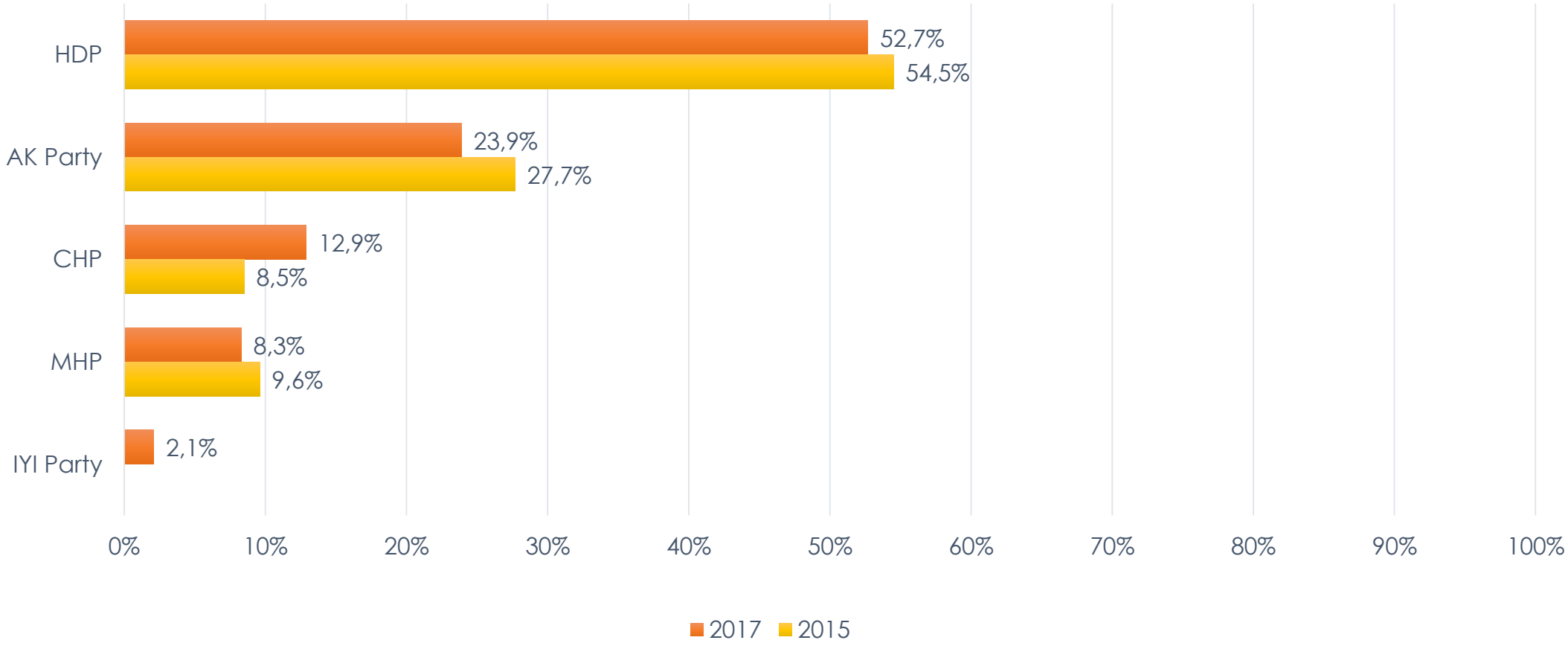
'The Most Distant' Political Party Supporters :



İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

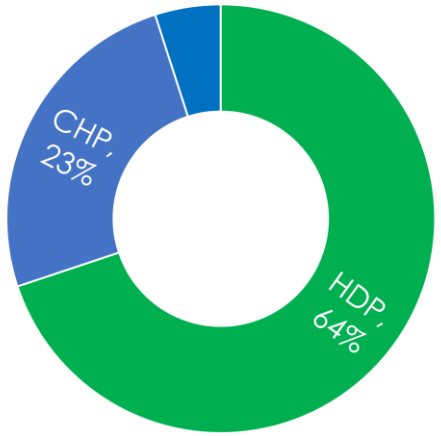
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

'The Most Distant' Political Party Supporters 2017-2015 Comparison

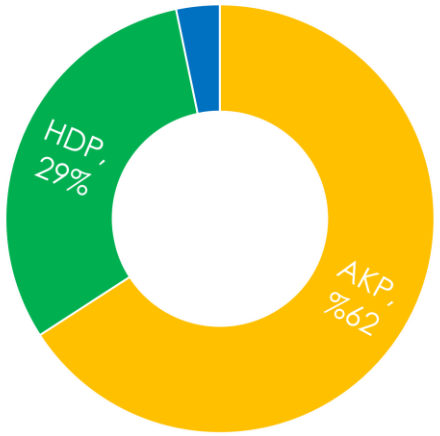


Political Parties – 'The Most Distant' Political Party Supporters

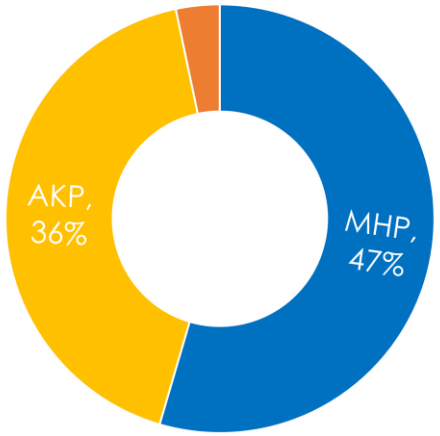
AKP



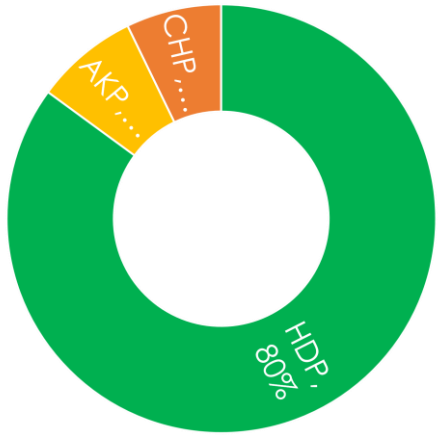
CHP



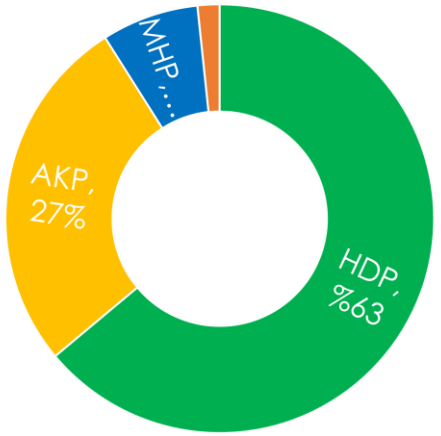
HDP



MHP



İYİ Parti



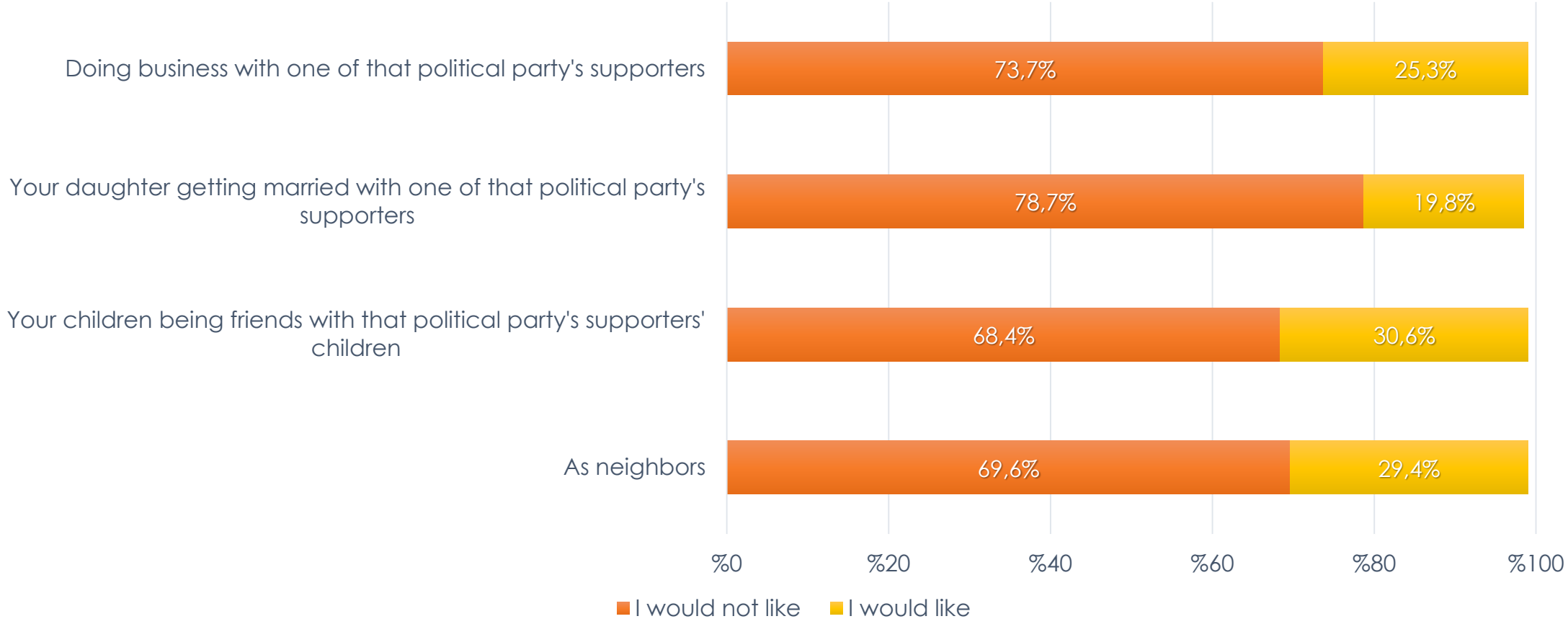
Concepts

Social Distance: to measure people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups (Bogardus, 1925)

Moral Superiority: with the belief or attitude that one's positions/actions are justified by having higher moral values than 'others' and therefore negative attributions frequently used to reveal intergroup affinity, prejudice and stereotypes towards 'other'groups (Fiske and North, 2015)

Political Tolerance: assessments concerning political rights of participants of the group seen as the 'other' (Gibson, 2006)

Social Distance with 'the Most Distant' Political Party Supporters



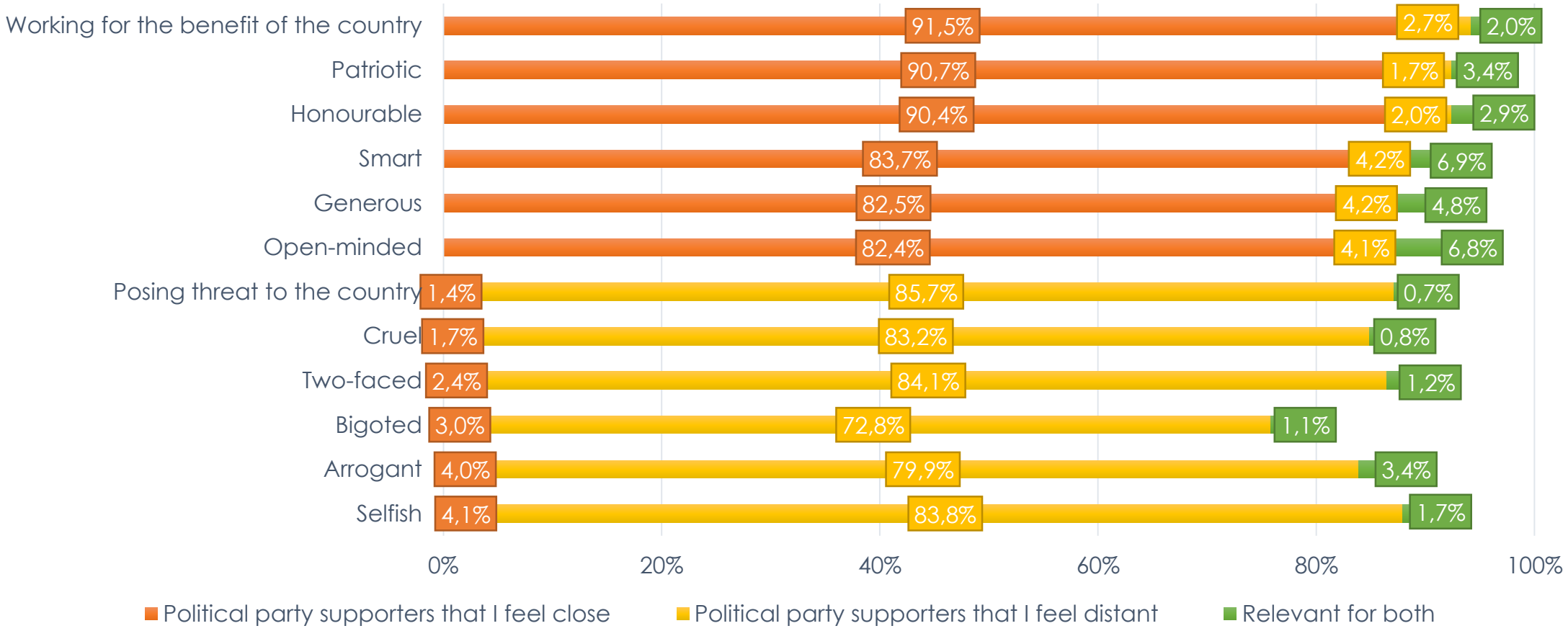
About Supporters of the Other Political Party

"Ignorant people, they have blinders on their eyes, they do not see what is happening around them. They blindly worship him, only him…"

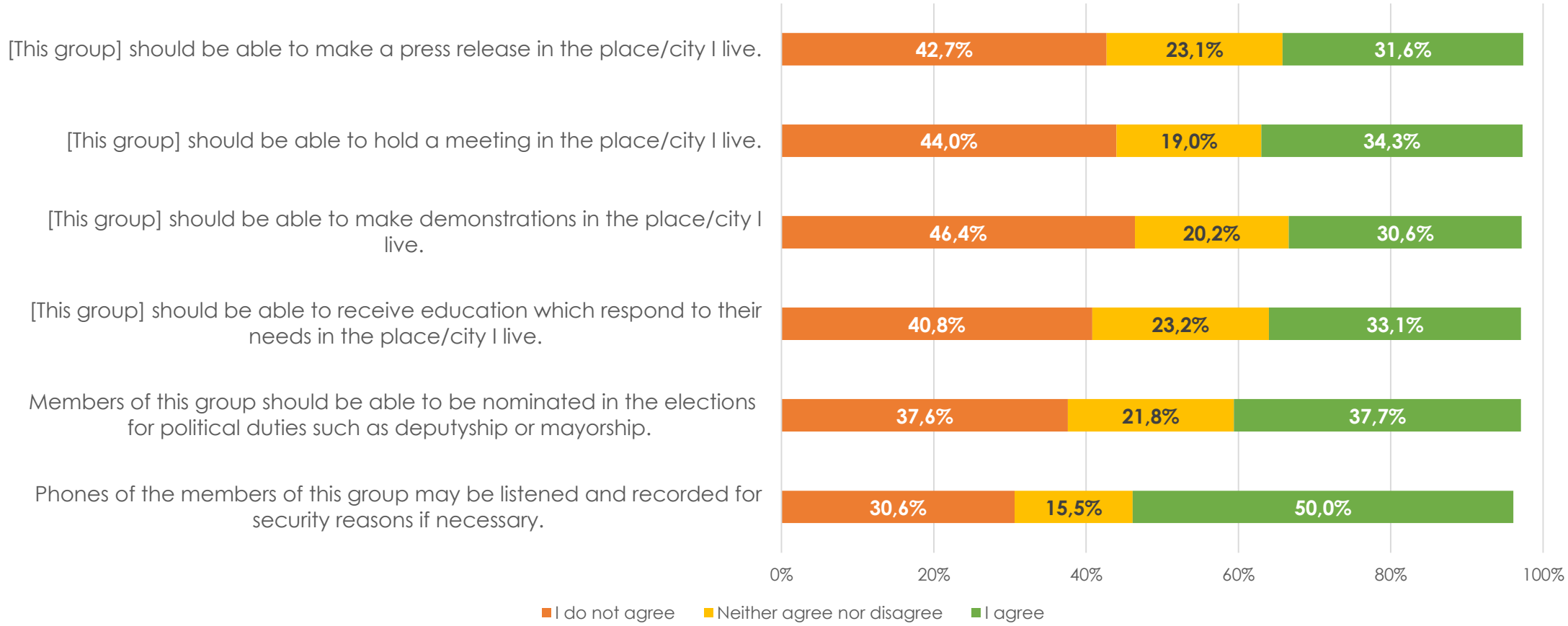
"Our people are not reading and, do not misunderstand me, but I think that most of AKP supporters are ignorant, it is very obvious and clear."

"You are a modern person, you're financially better off, because they want a gap between them and 'others'. They consider themselves as privileged. We all live in Turkey, true. Do they know what being leftist means? Doesn't it mean all citizens living in equal conditions? But they think being leftist is being privileged."

Moral Superiority
'The Most Distant' Political Party Supporters



Political Tolerance
'The Most Distant' Political Party Supporters



Identities and Political Parties

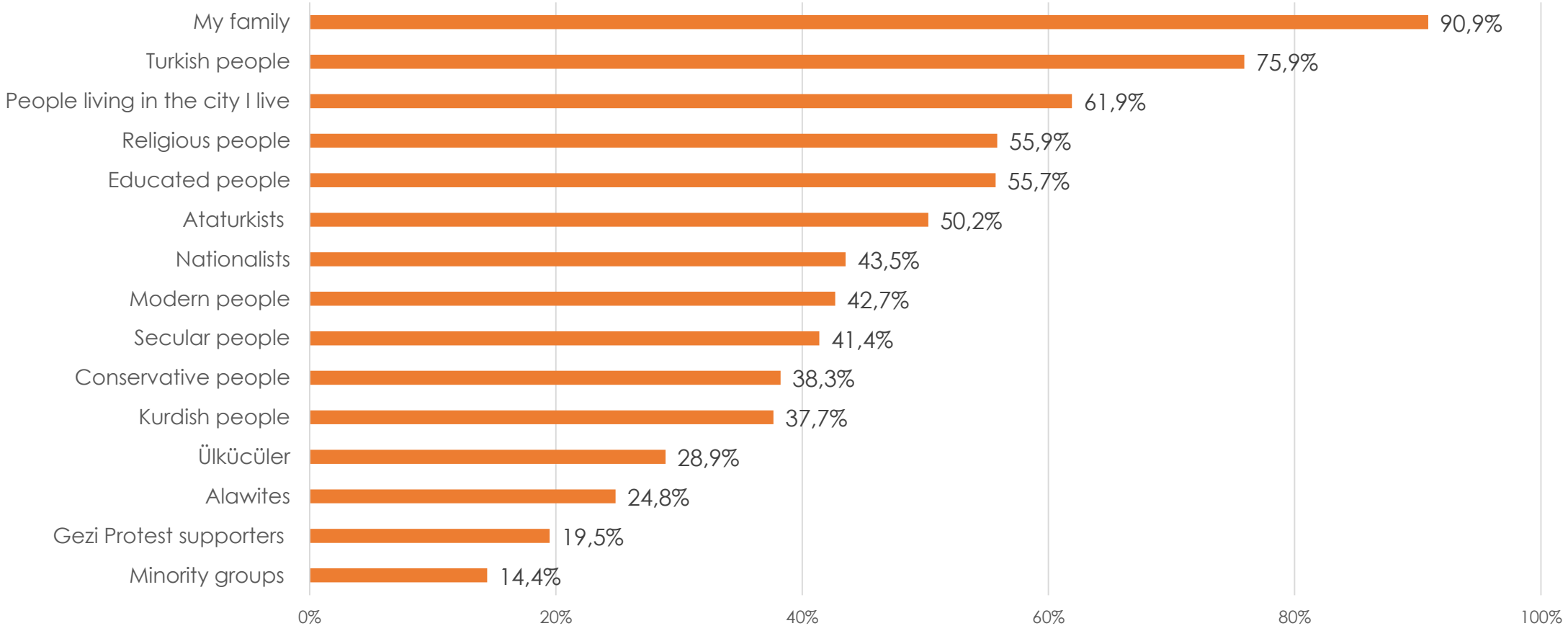
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

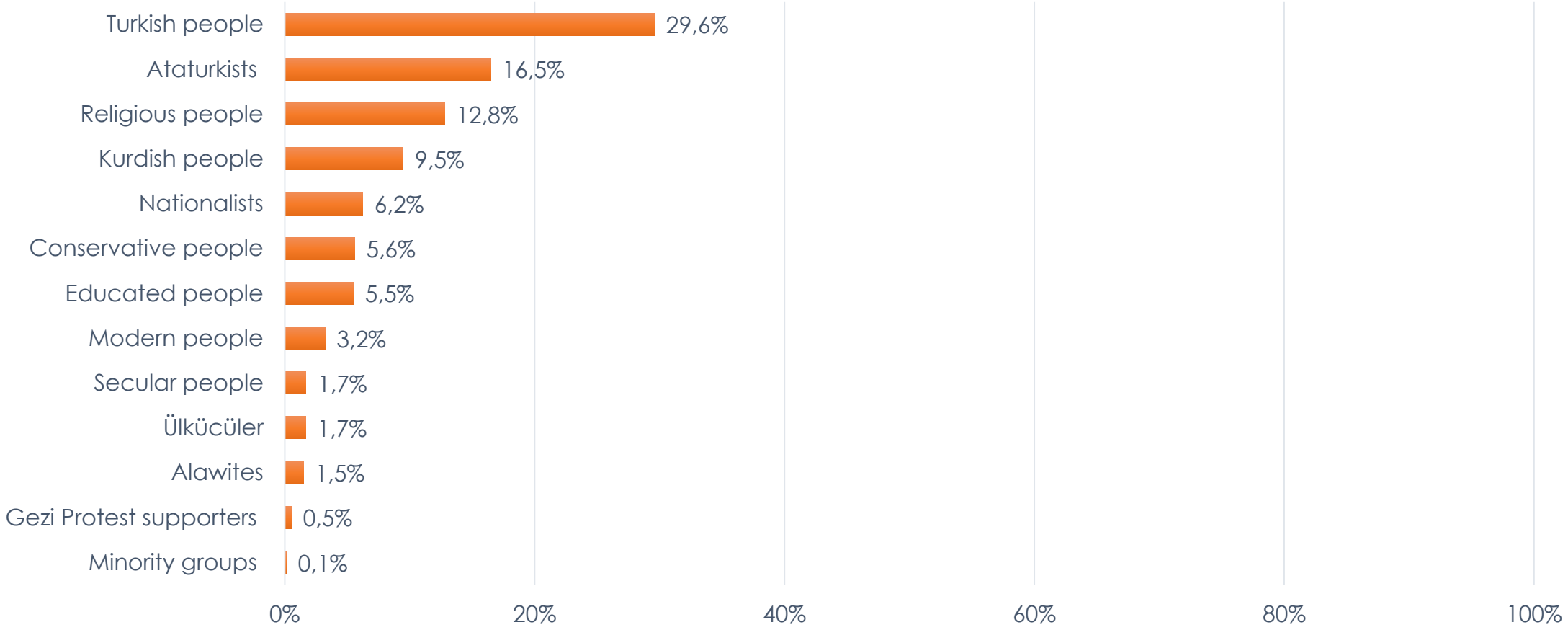
444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

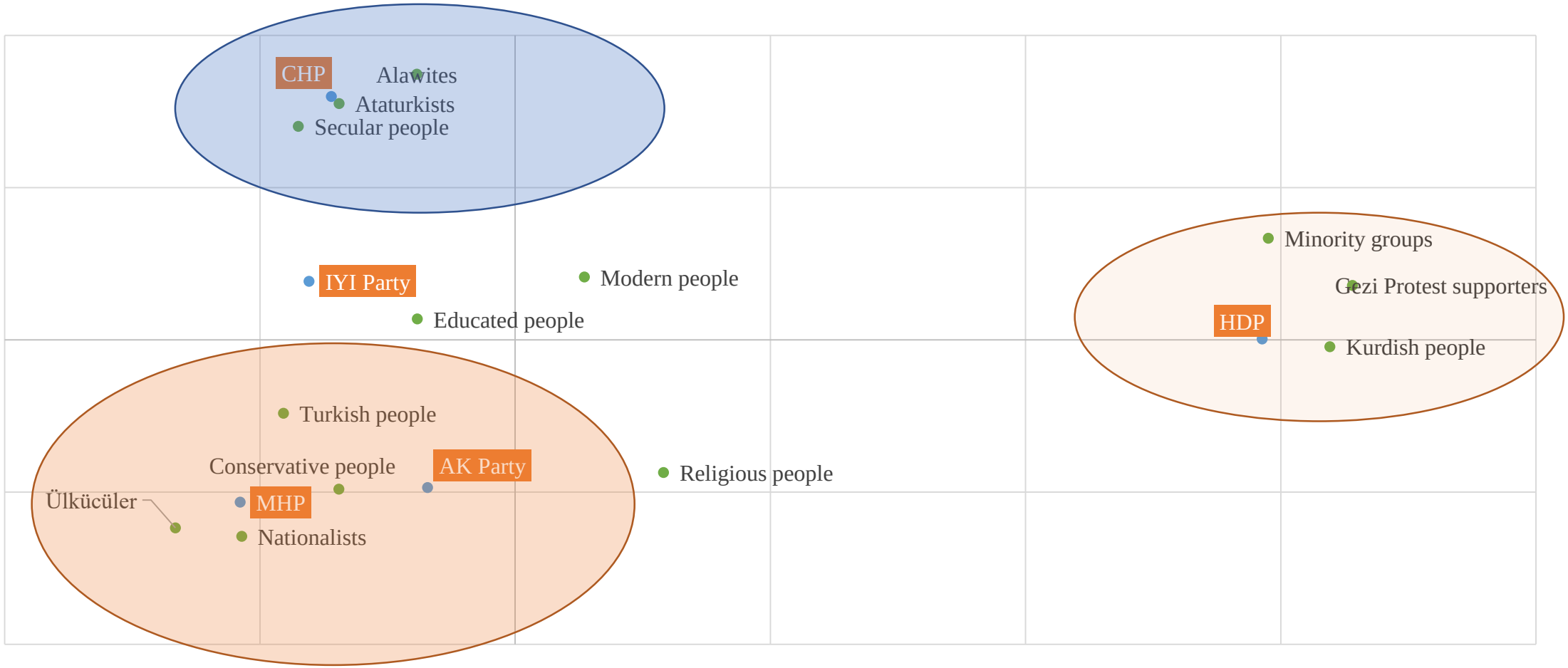
Using 'us/we' when Mentioning about the People in the Groups Indicated Below:



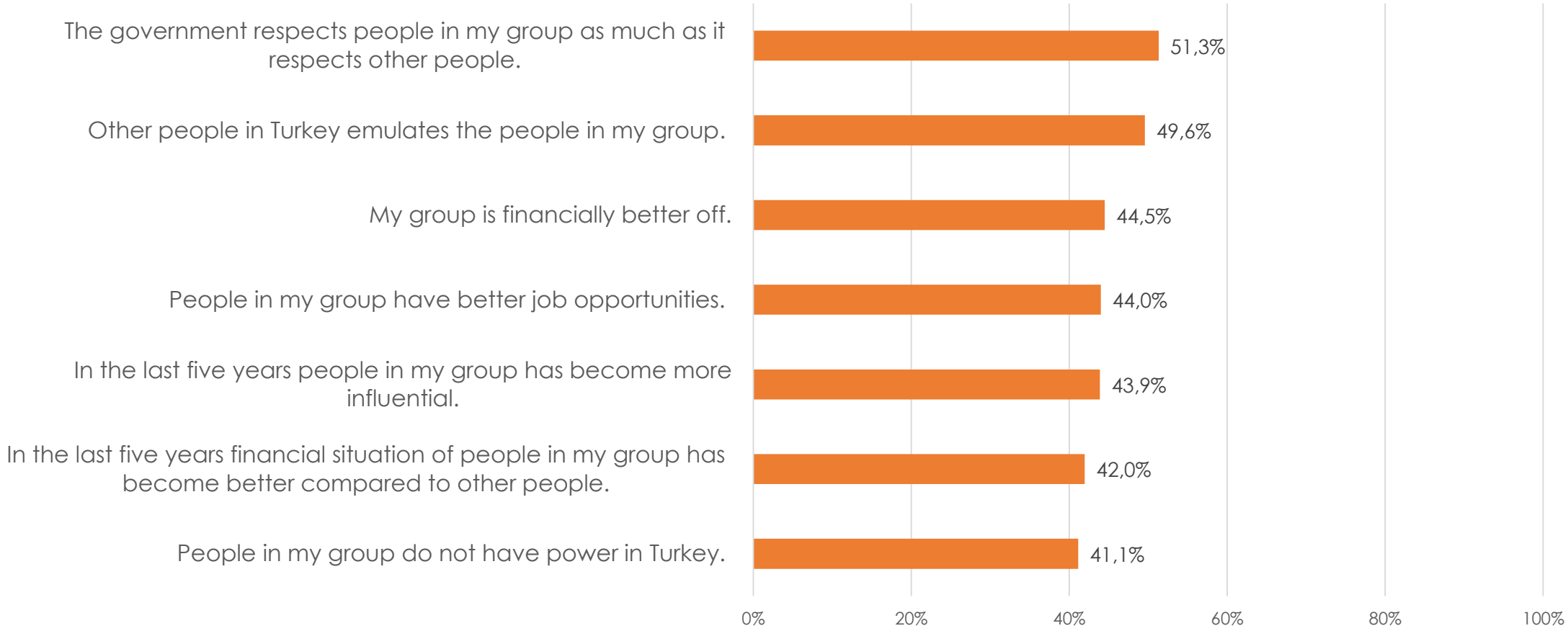
The Identity Felt Most Close (One answer)



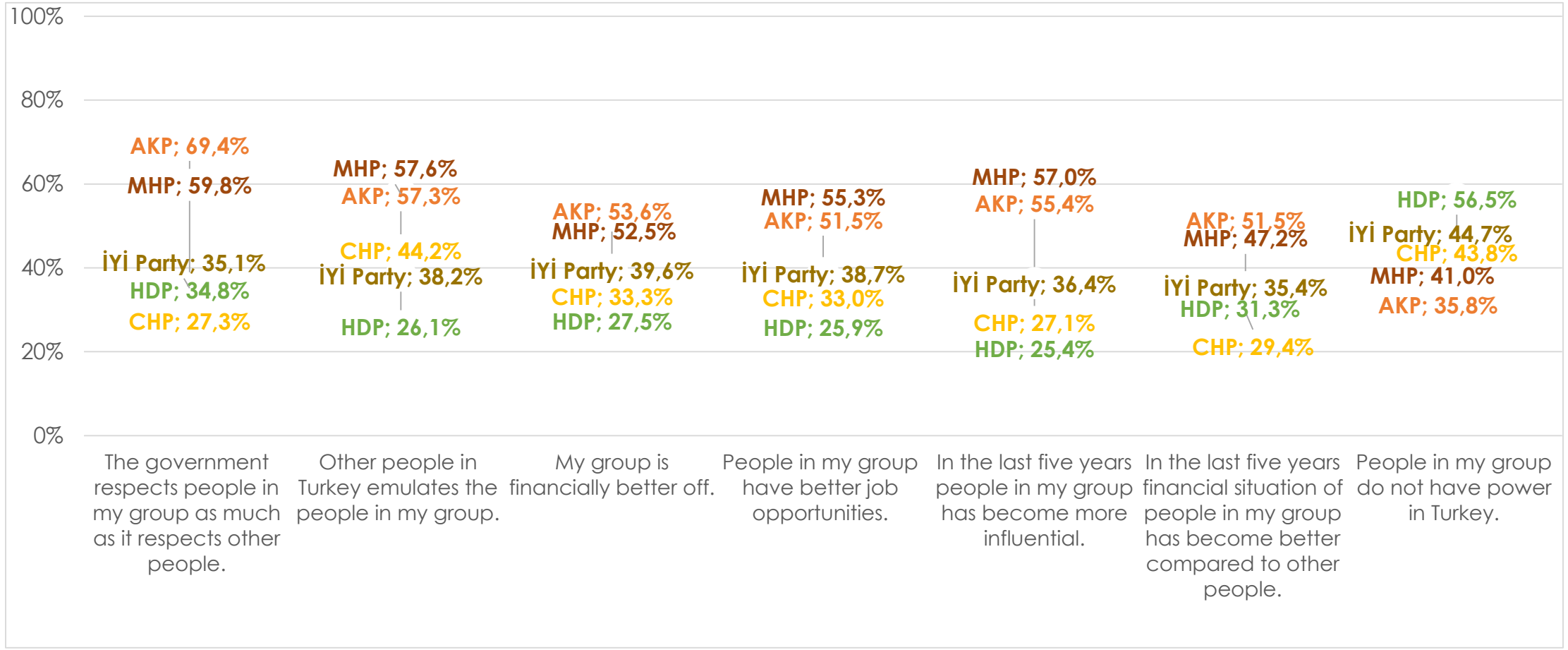
Political Party Supporters and Identities (Correspondence Map)



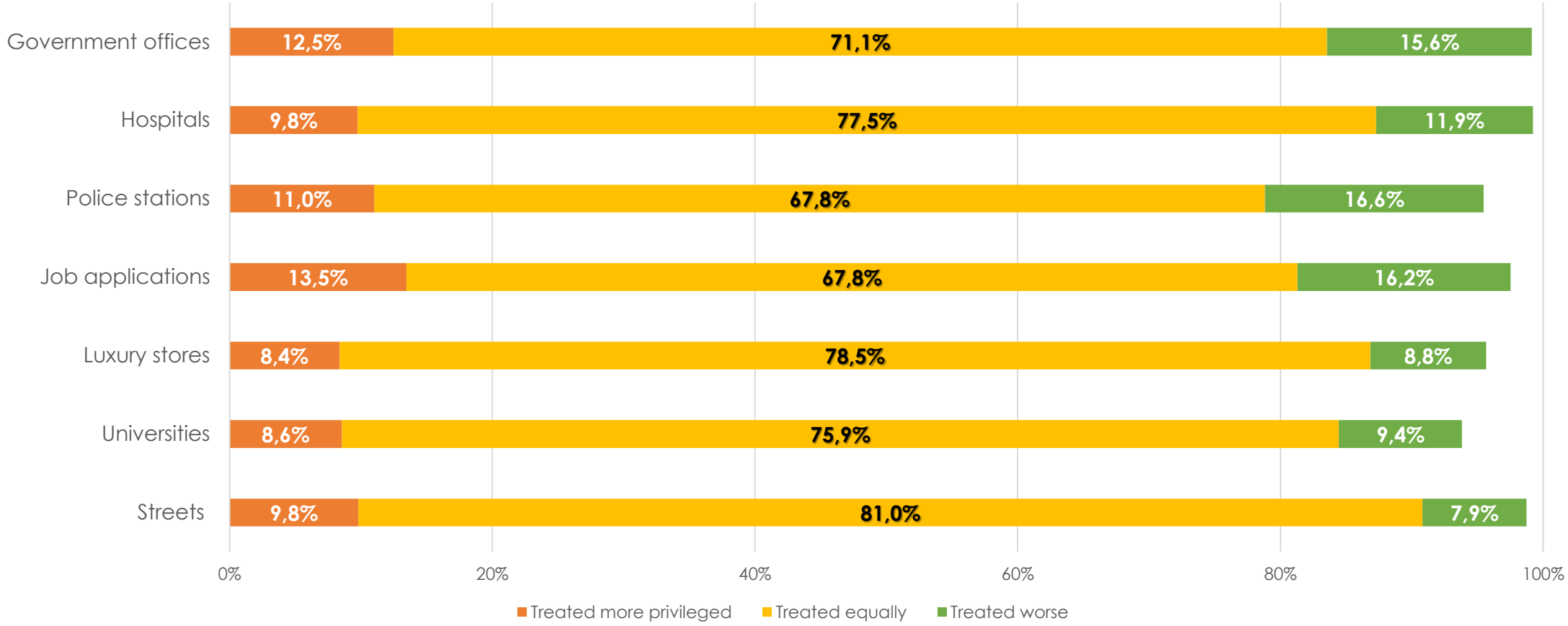
Perception of Identities: Group Superiority (Rate of the Participants)



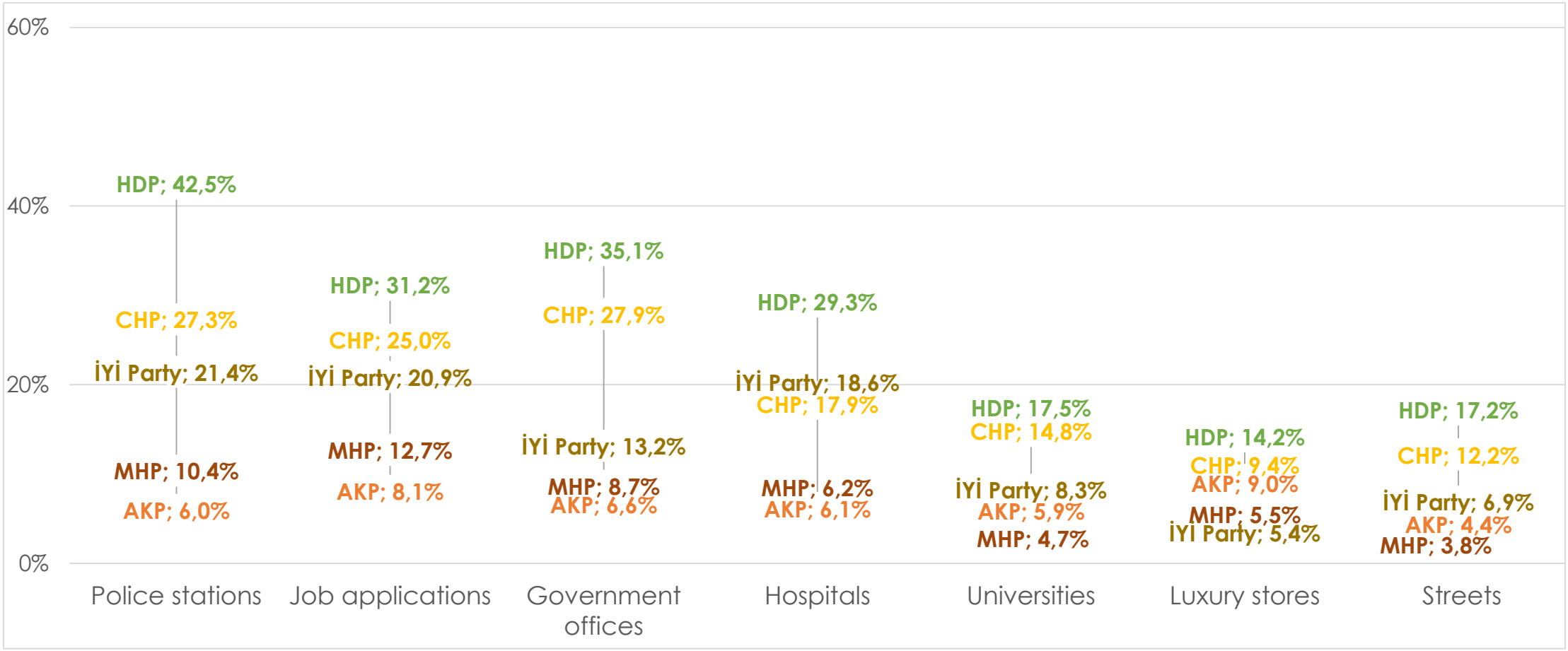
Political Parties and Group Superiority



Group Exclusion



Group Exclusion and Political Party Supporters (Rate of «Treated Worse» answers)



“Echo Chambers”
“Spiral of Silence”

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

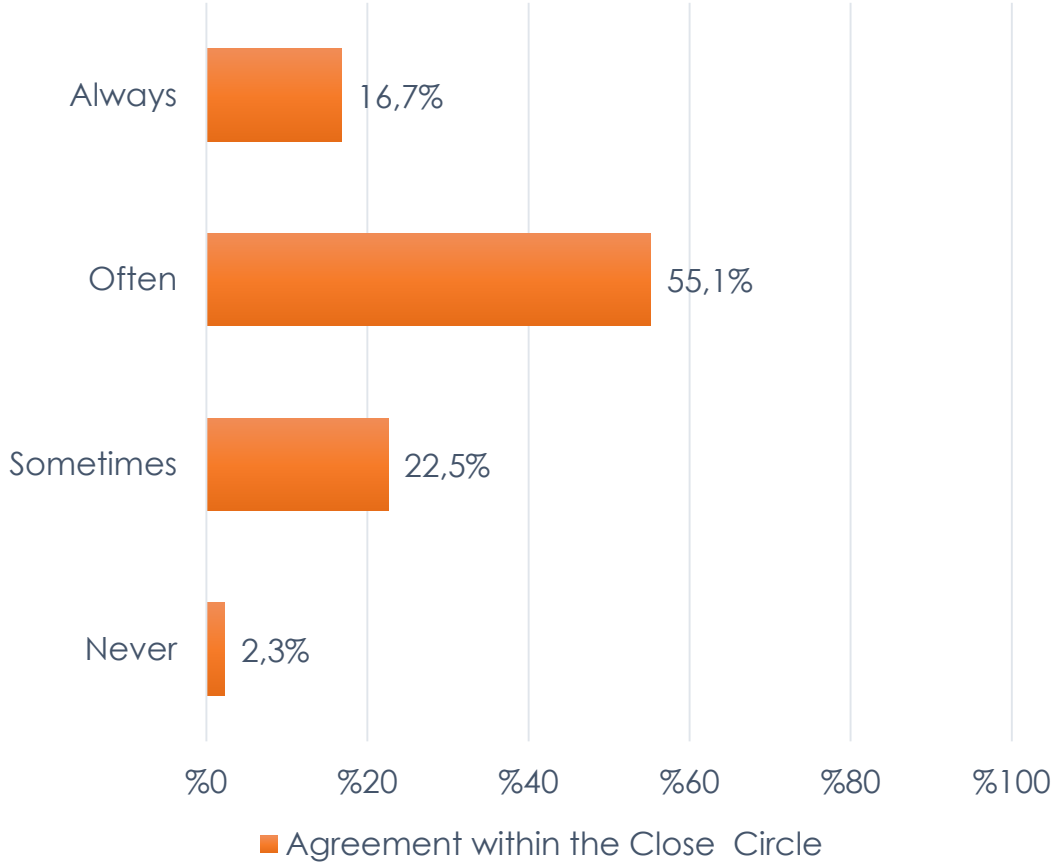
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

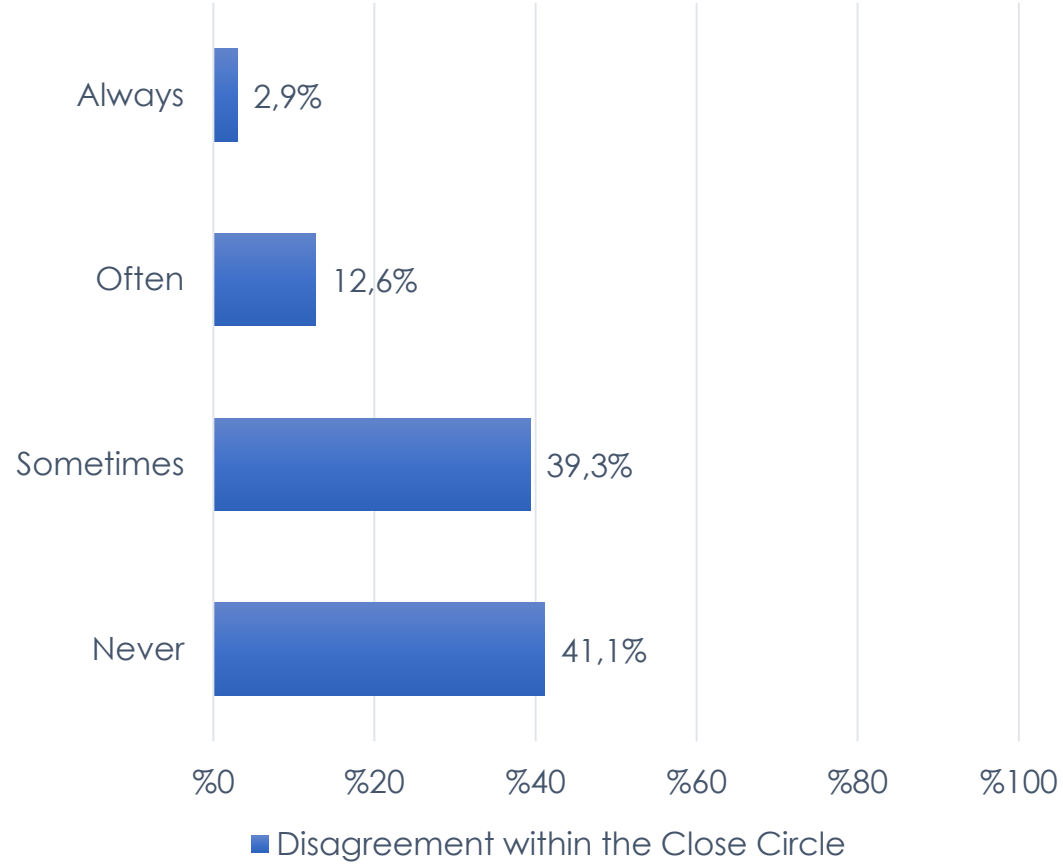
Discussing Politics with Family and Close Circle

"We quarrel with my brother, he is supporting MHP. We quarrel a lot, sometimes we do not talk to each other for a while. But then we agreed not to talk politics, otherwise we will loose our brotherhood. "

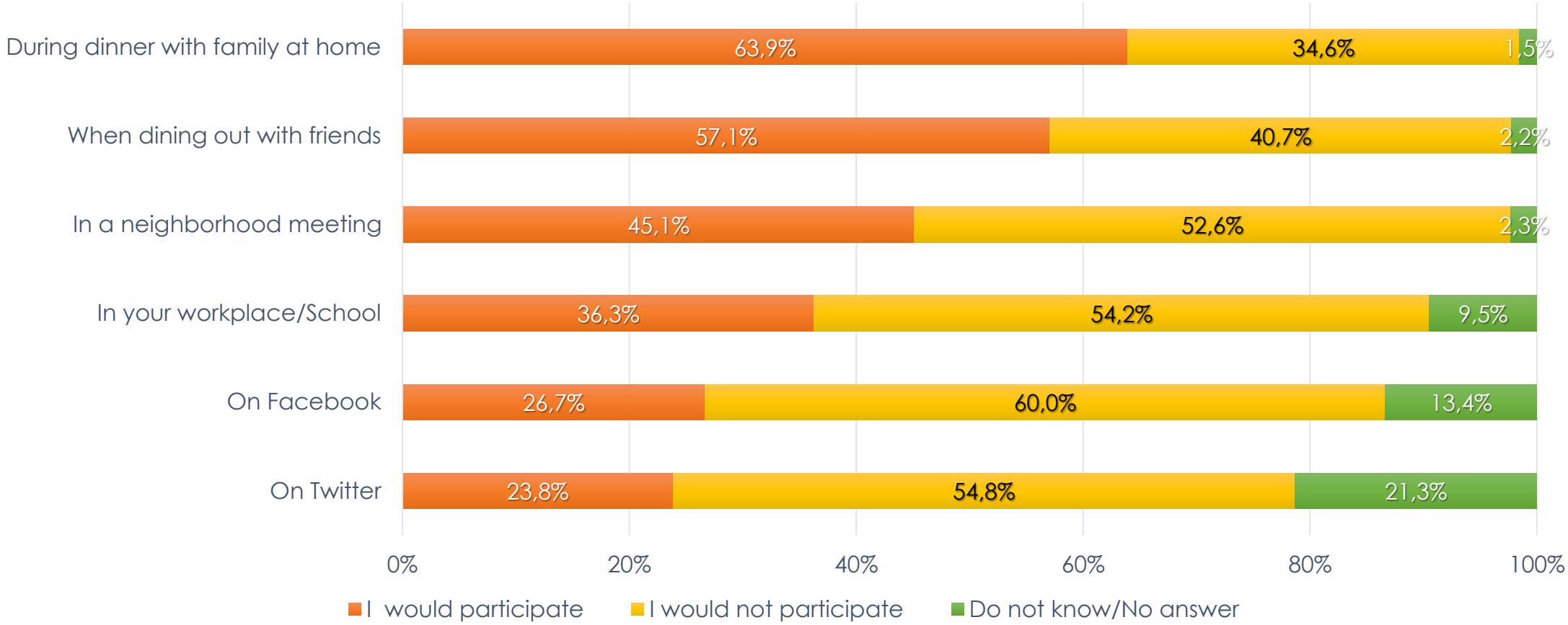
"I cannot talk with AKP supporters. I have lost a lot of friends after the last election. They are ex-friends, we are not seeing each other anymore."

Political Discussions- Close circle…

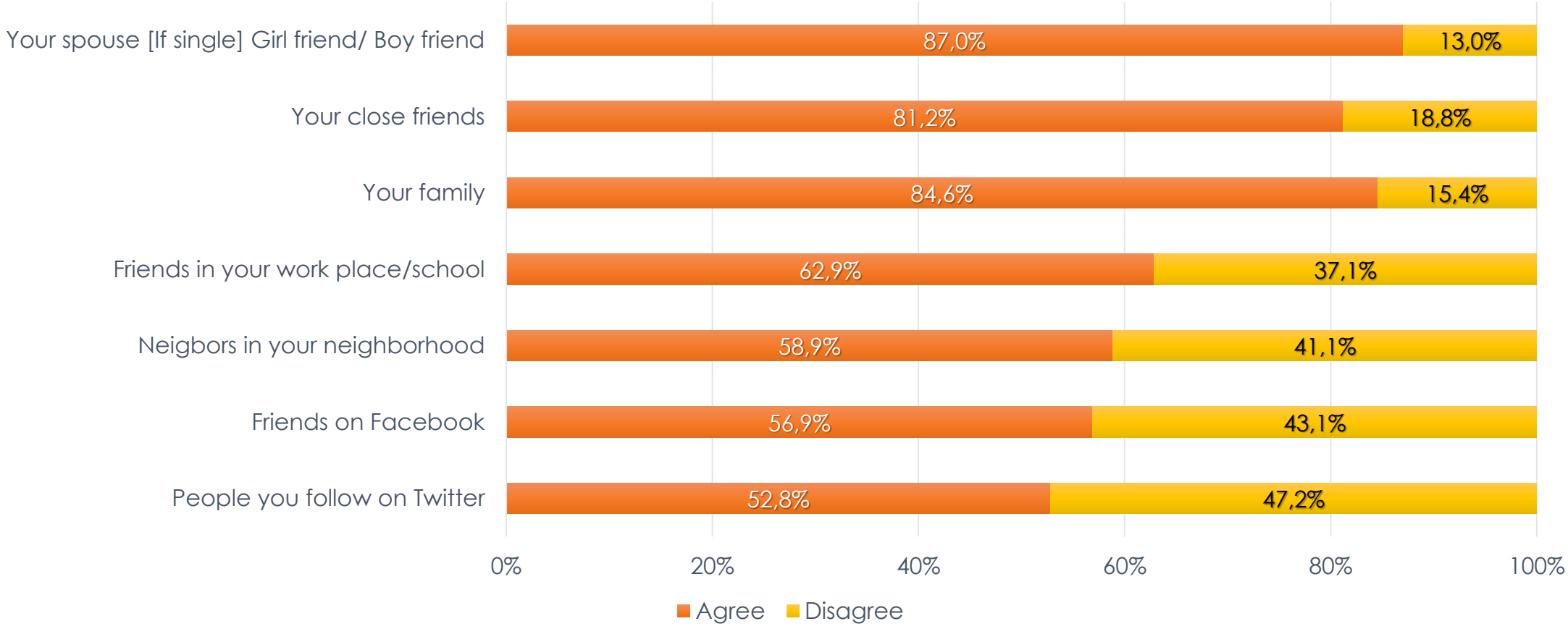




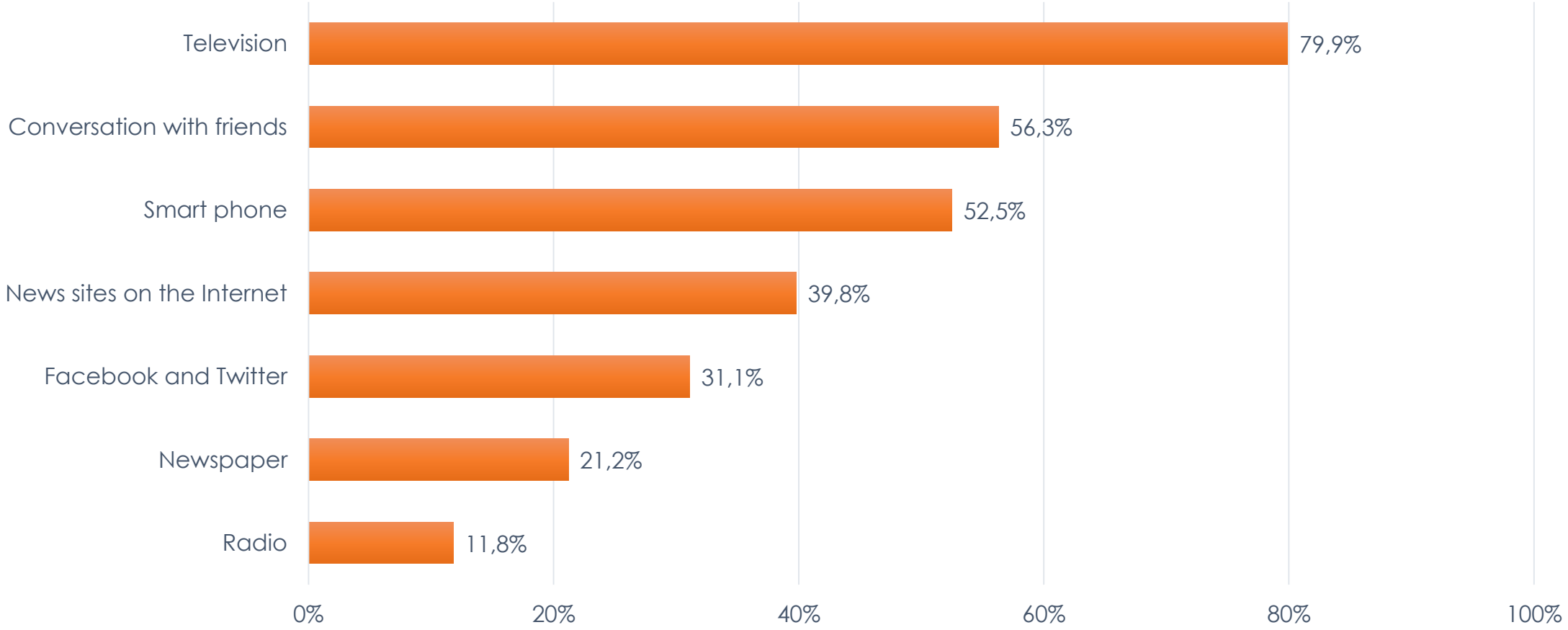
«Would you discuss 'state of emergency'?»



"Are the below listed people agree with your ideas on state of emergency?»



Information Sources for Political Issues (Sum of «Always» and «Often» answers)

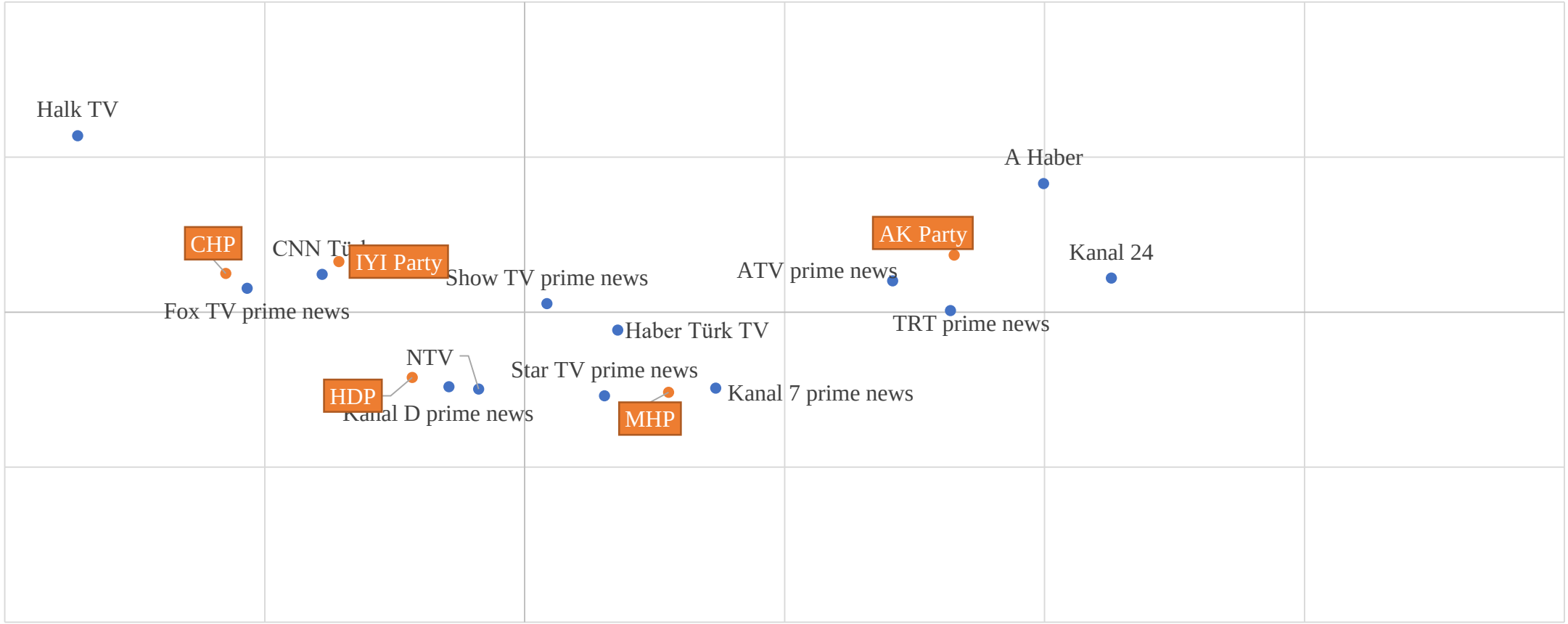


Partial Impartial Media

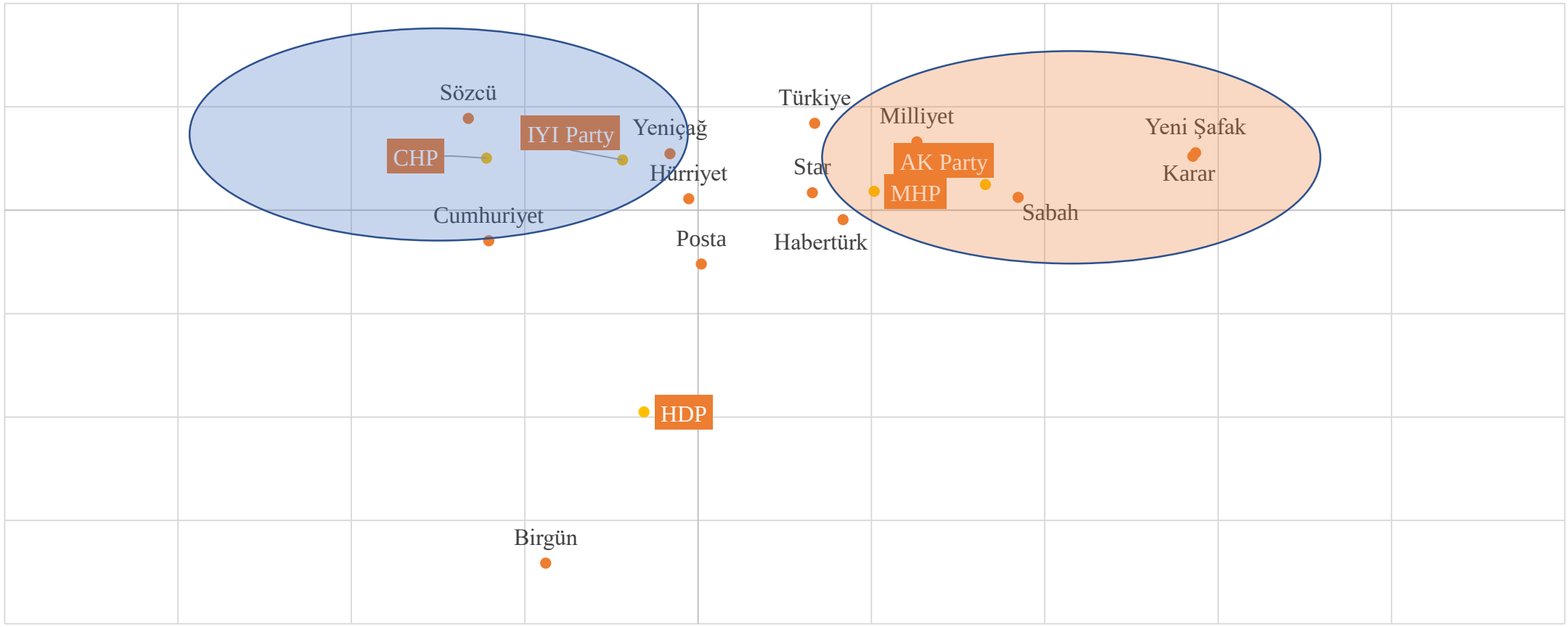
"Yes, all of us are following social media. Comparatively channels such as CNN Türk, Haber Türk are better but main channels such as ATV, never. Sometimes I watch and it is so obvious that these channels are not impartial. A Haber, Beyaz TV, especially after 15th July I observed it. There were extremely nonsense things on these channels. Yes, Fox is impartial, they frankly tell what happens. It is not this or that, there is no sign for supporting a particular political party. Well there is at least a discussion on pros and cons, there is a real discussion."

"They are always discrediting. For example after coup attempt, let us listen them. If a stranger had come to our country and listened, he/she would be surprised by what they are saying. When you watch A Haber, quite the contrary, they tell what really happened. I was out there in the coup attempt night. I have seen all those. So what I have seen on A Haber was true because I have witnessed those incidents."

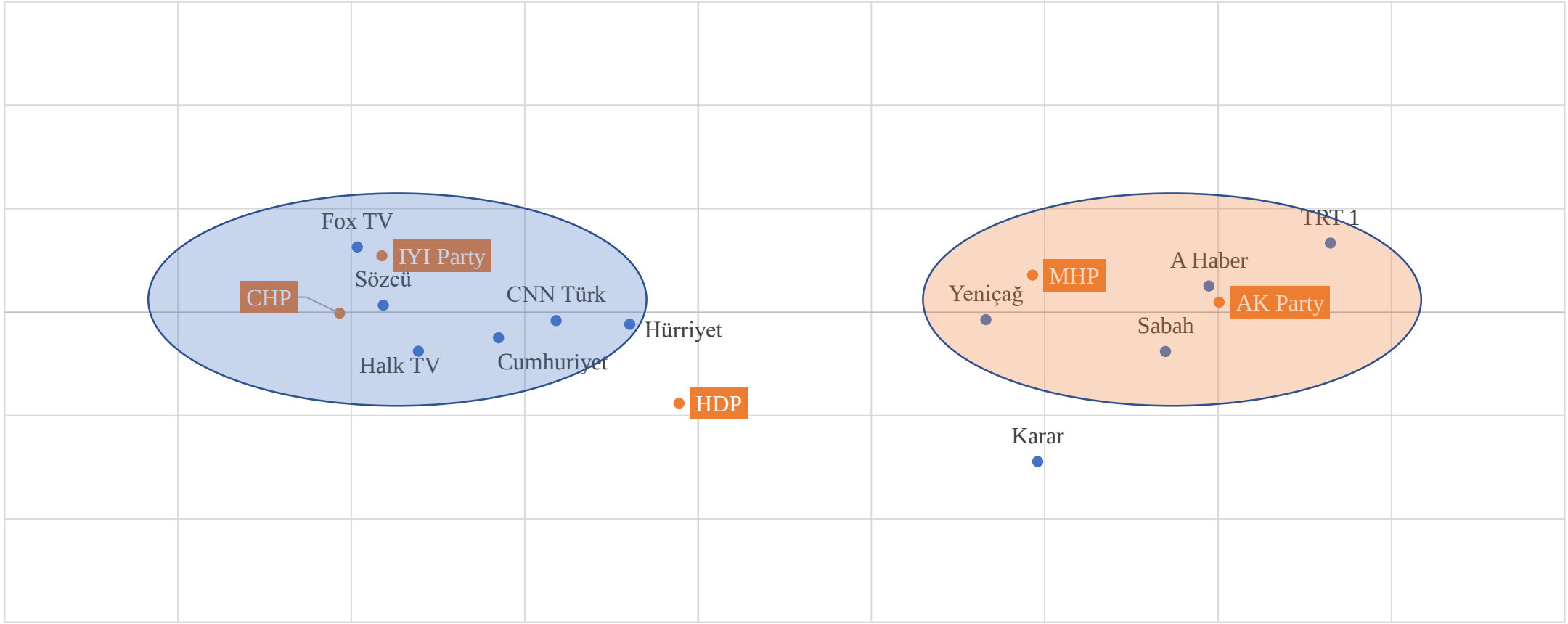
News Report (Correspondence Map)
TV Preferences and Political Party Supporters



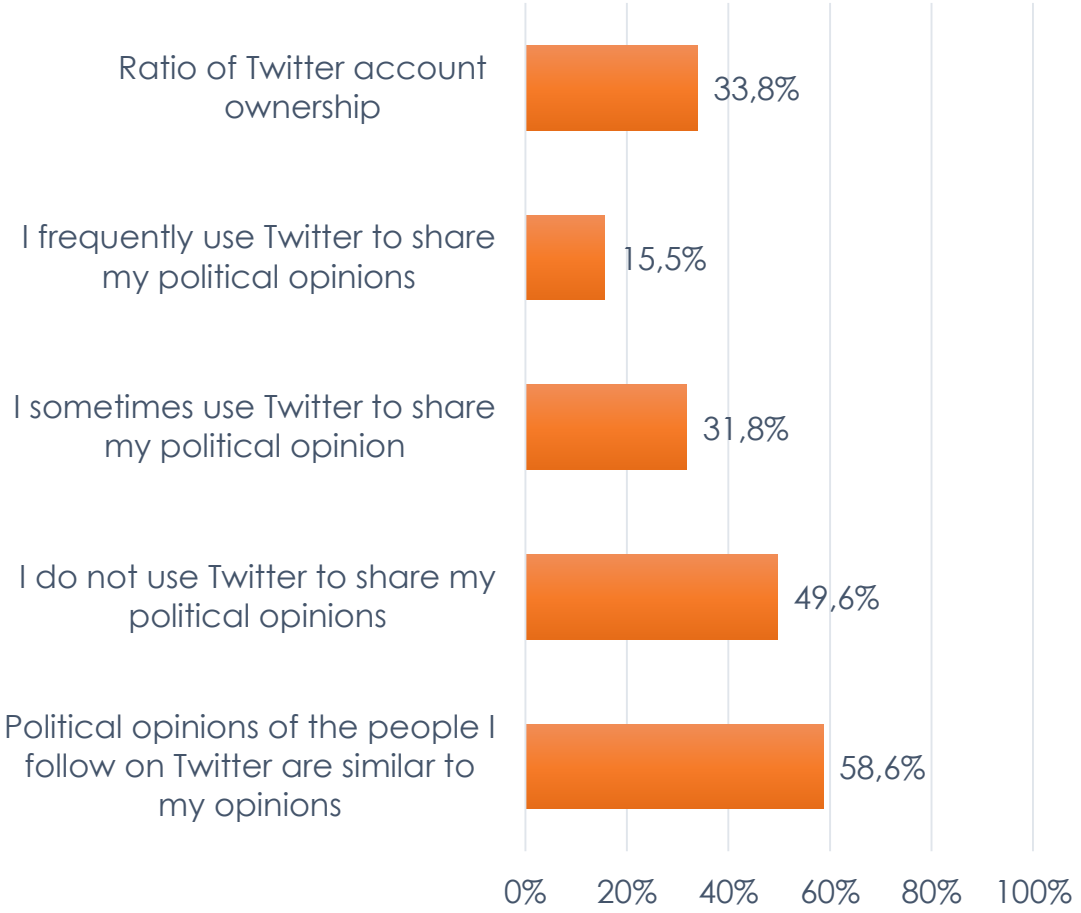
Newspaper Preferences and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)

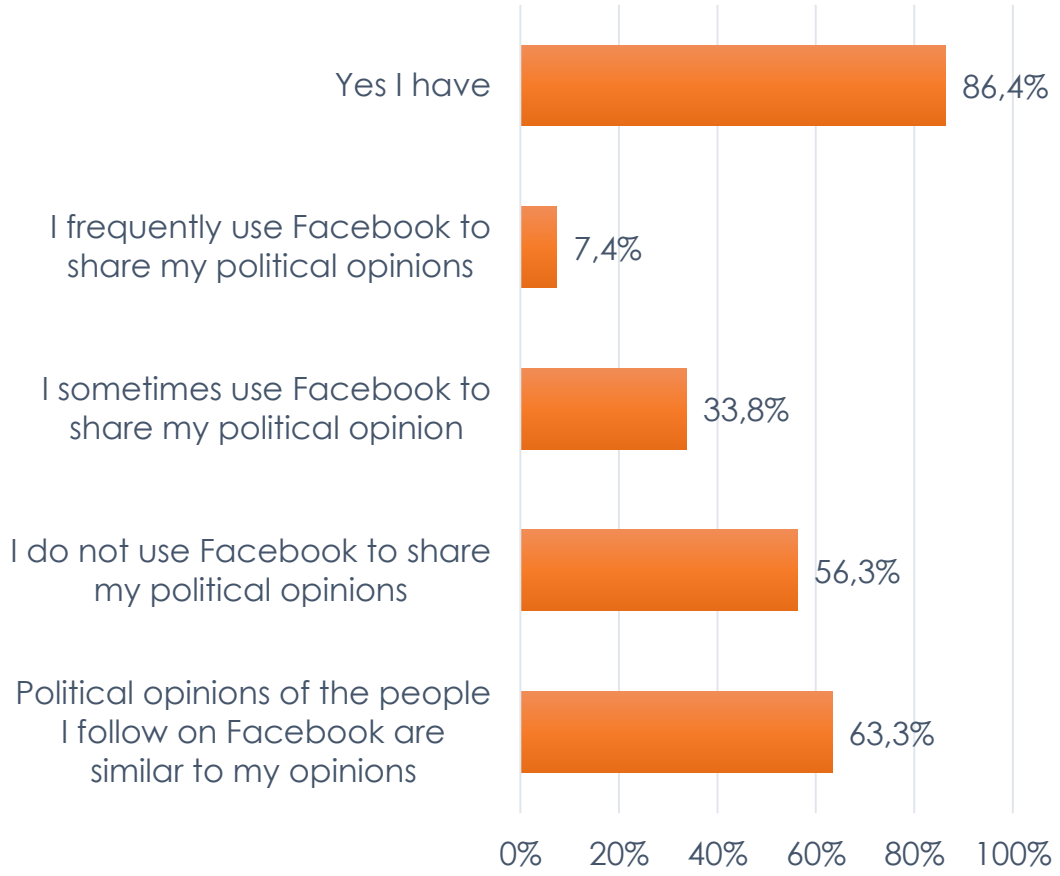


Impartiality of Information Sources and Political Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)



Social Media Channels and Political Discussions





Political Culture

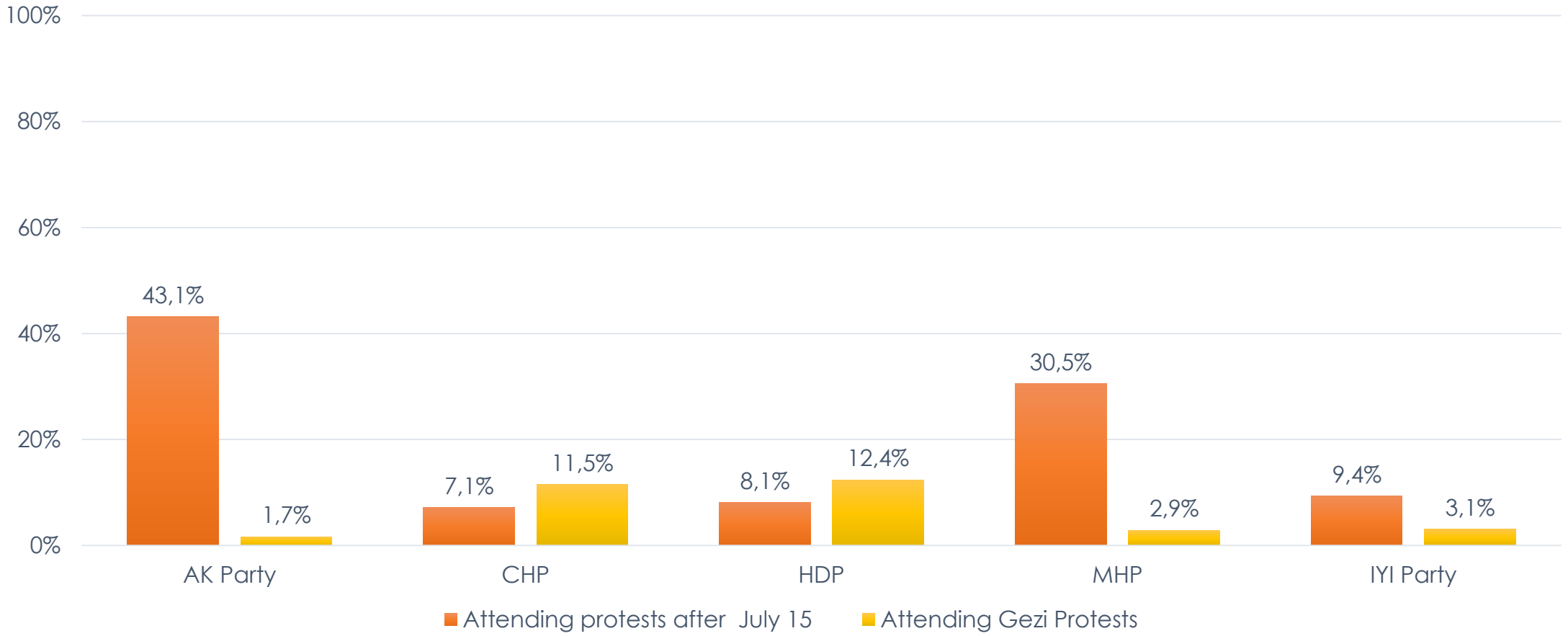
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

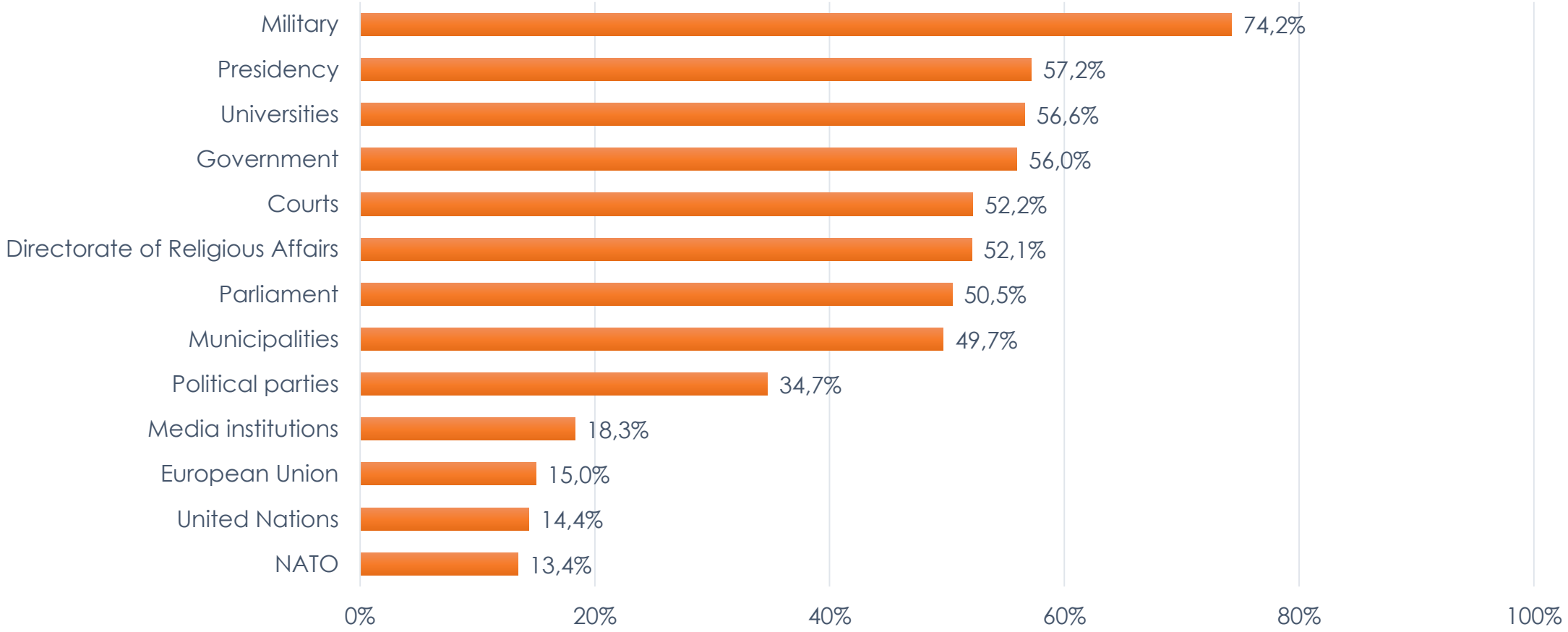
Attendance to demonstrations after July15 and Gezi Protests and Political Party Supporters (Rate of "I did" answers)



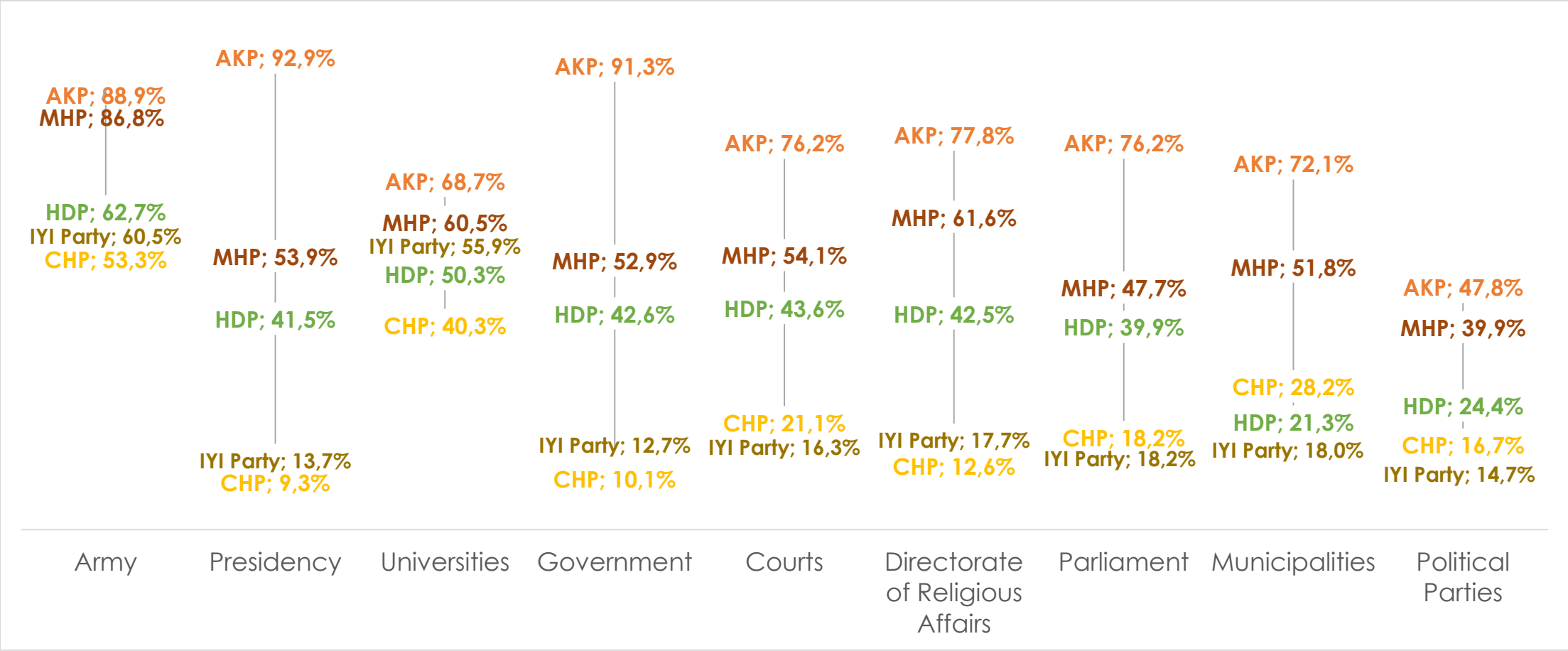
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

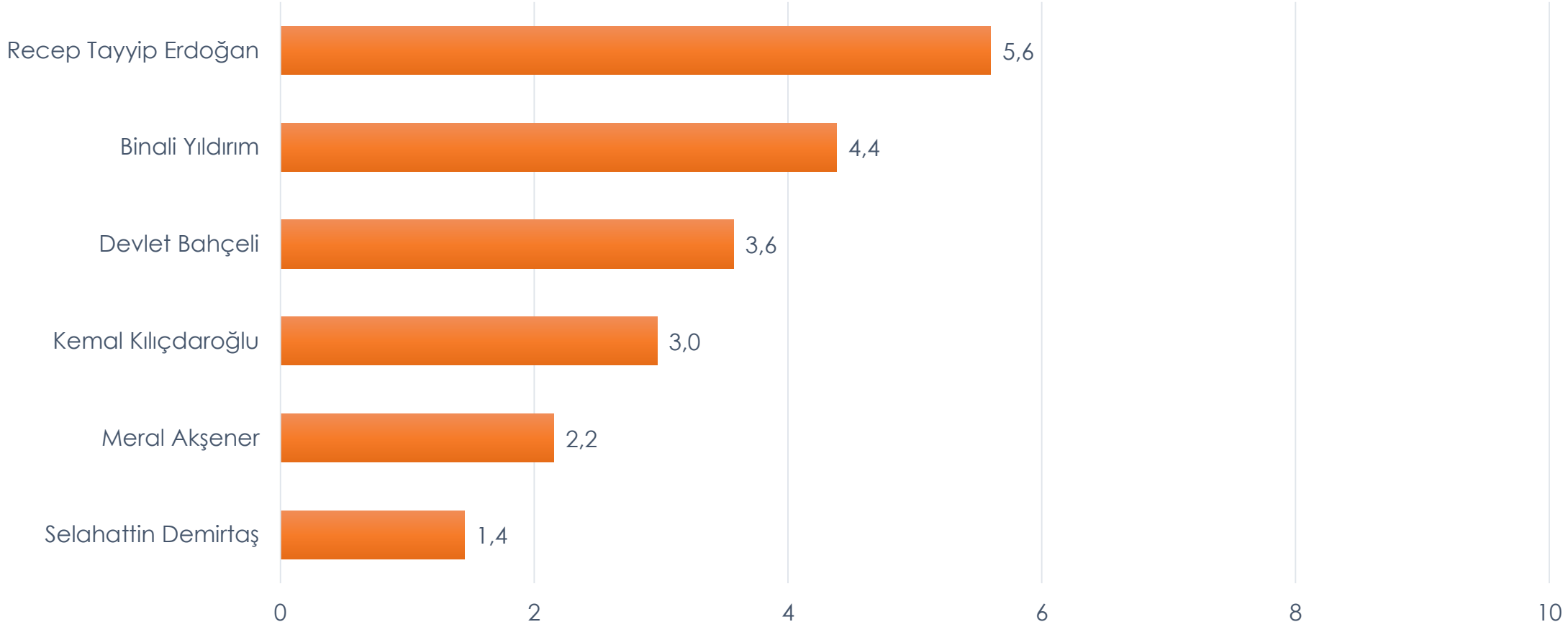
Having Confidence in Institutions (Rate of «definitely trust» + «trust» answers)



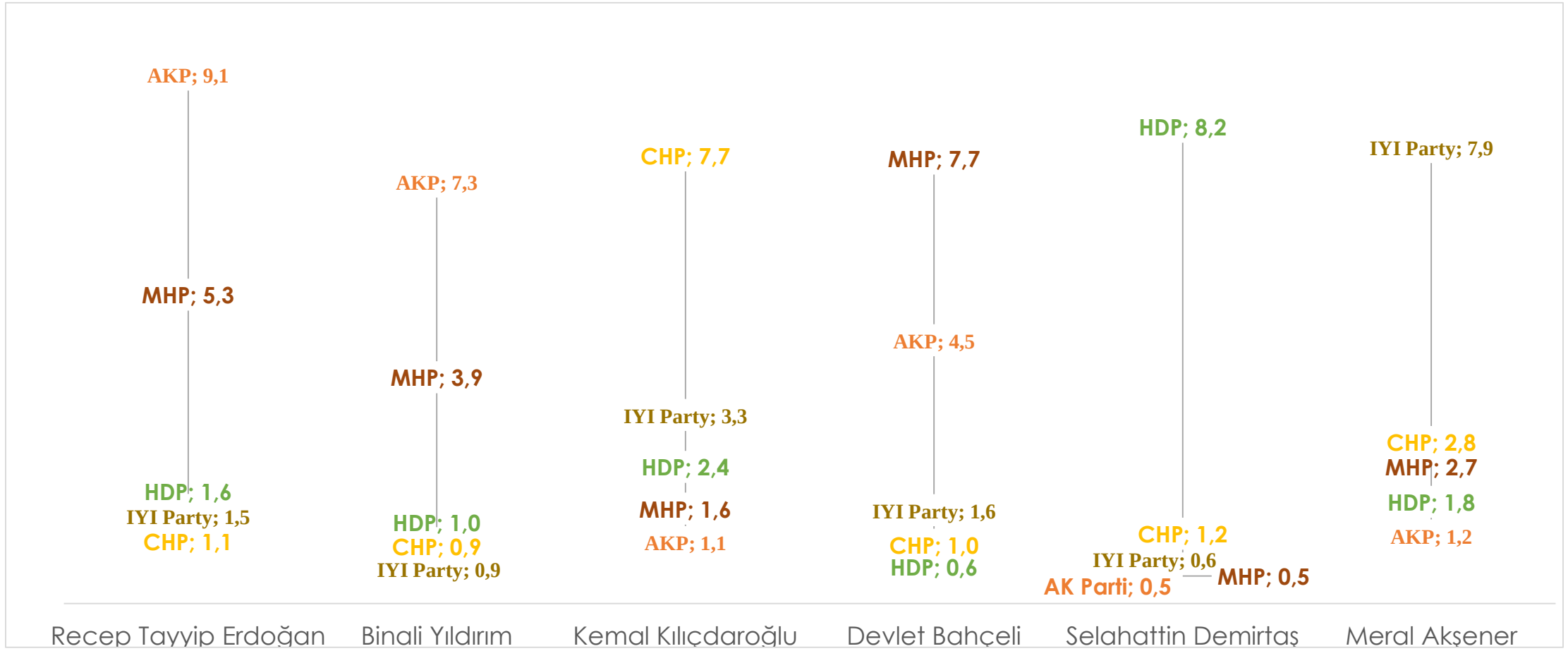
Having Confidence in Institutions and Political Party Supporters (% of Participants who have confidence in …)



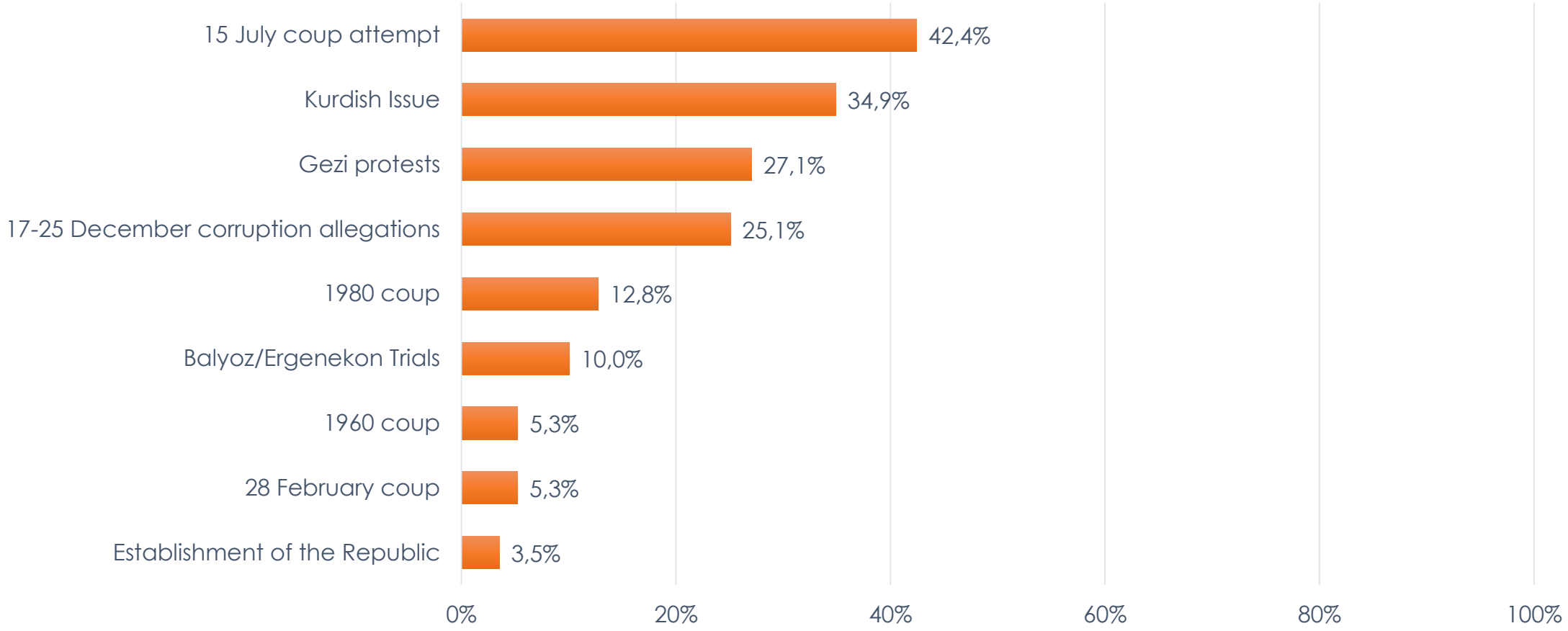
Political Leader's Rating (Average over 10)



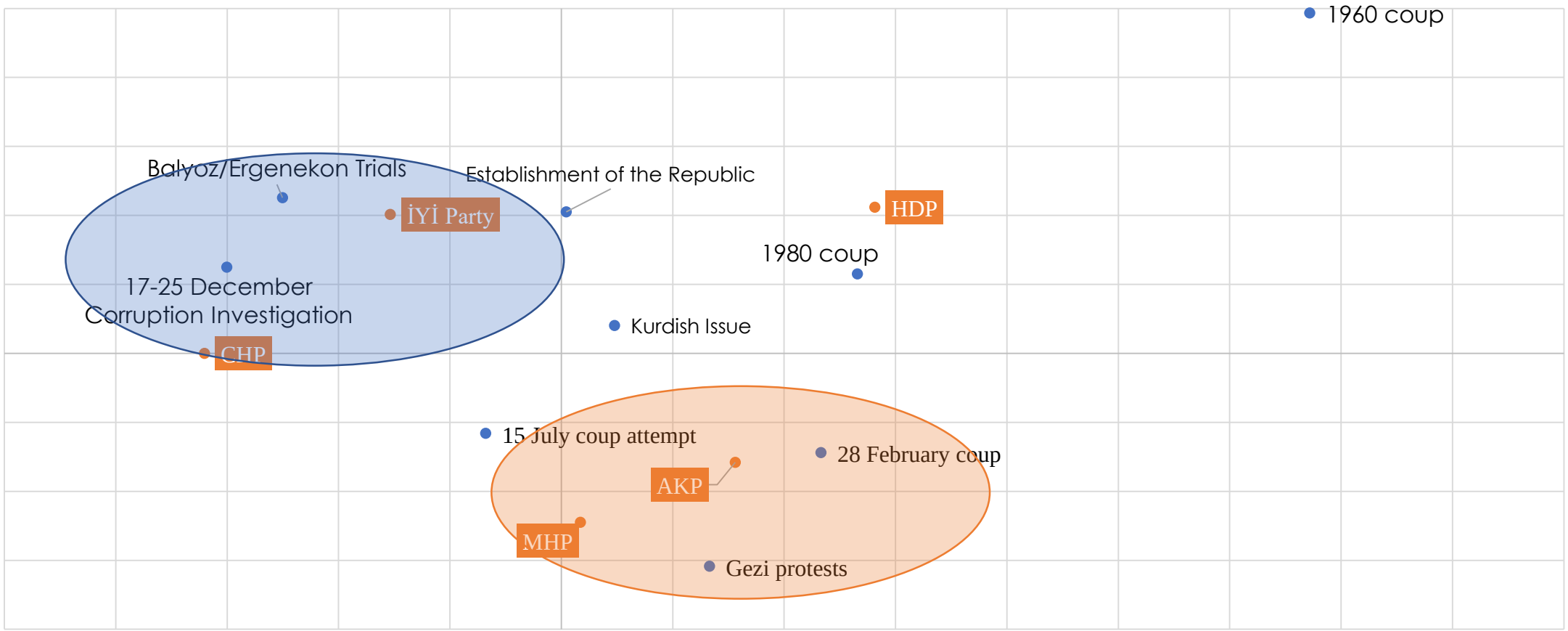
Political Leaders' Ratings and Political Party Supporters (over 10)



Political Memory: Events that Cause Ruptures in the Society (Two Answers, %)

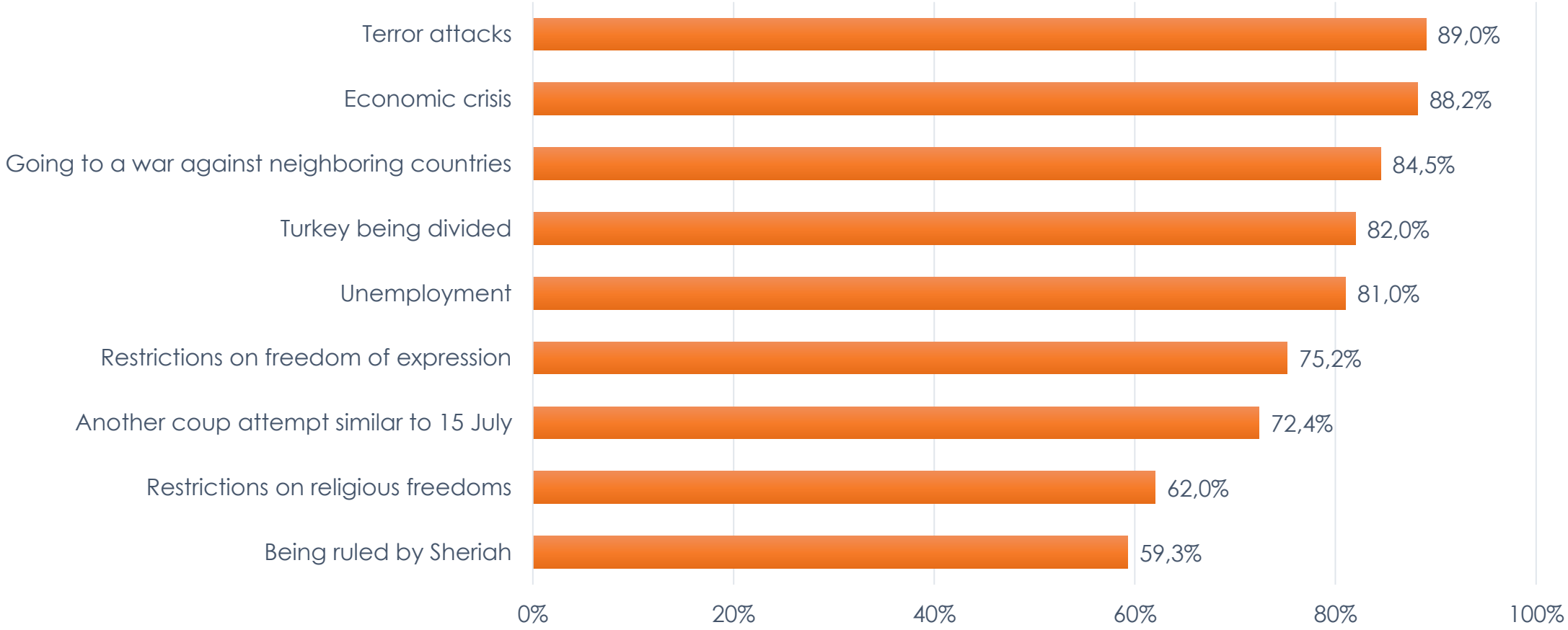


Events that Cause Rupture in the Society and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)

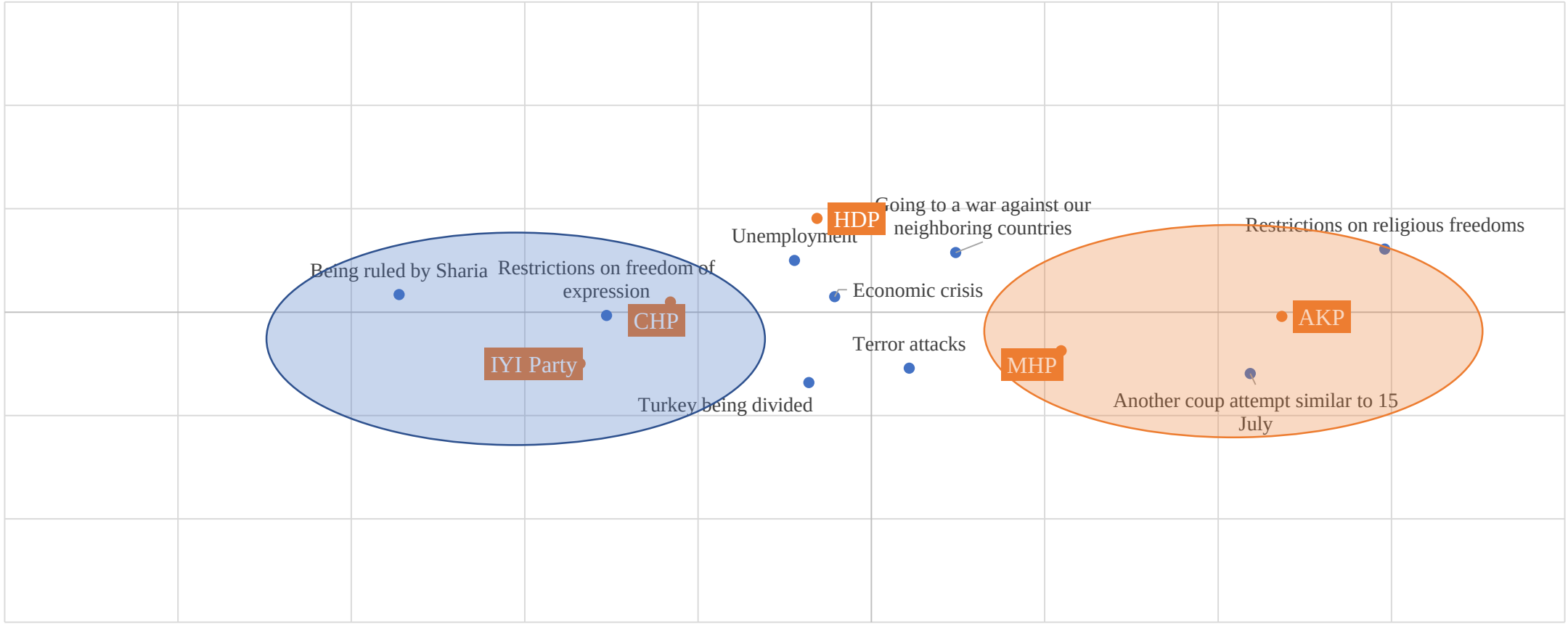


Future Anxieties

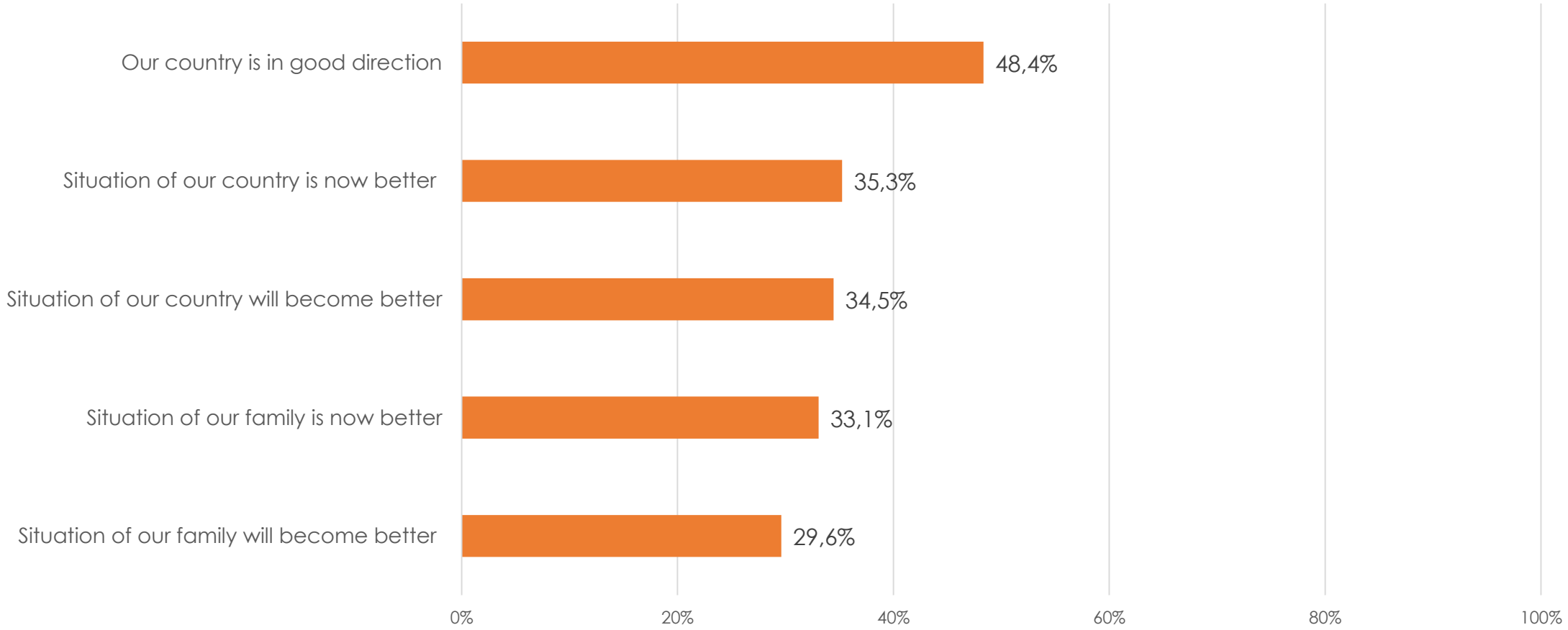
(% "concerns me very much" and "somewhat concerns me" answers)



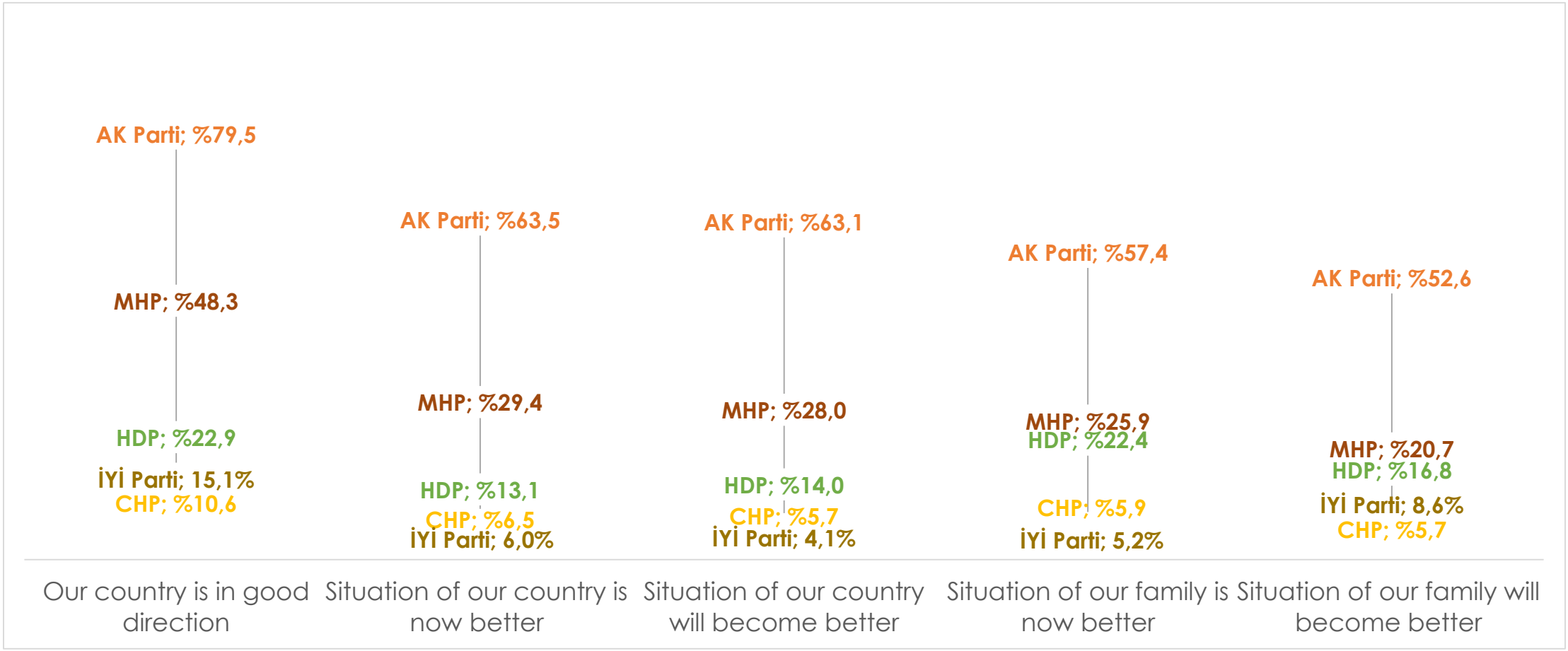
Future Anxieties and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)



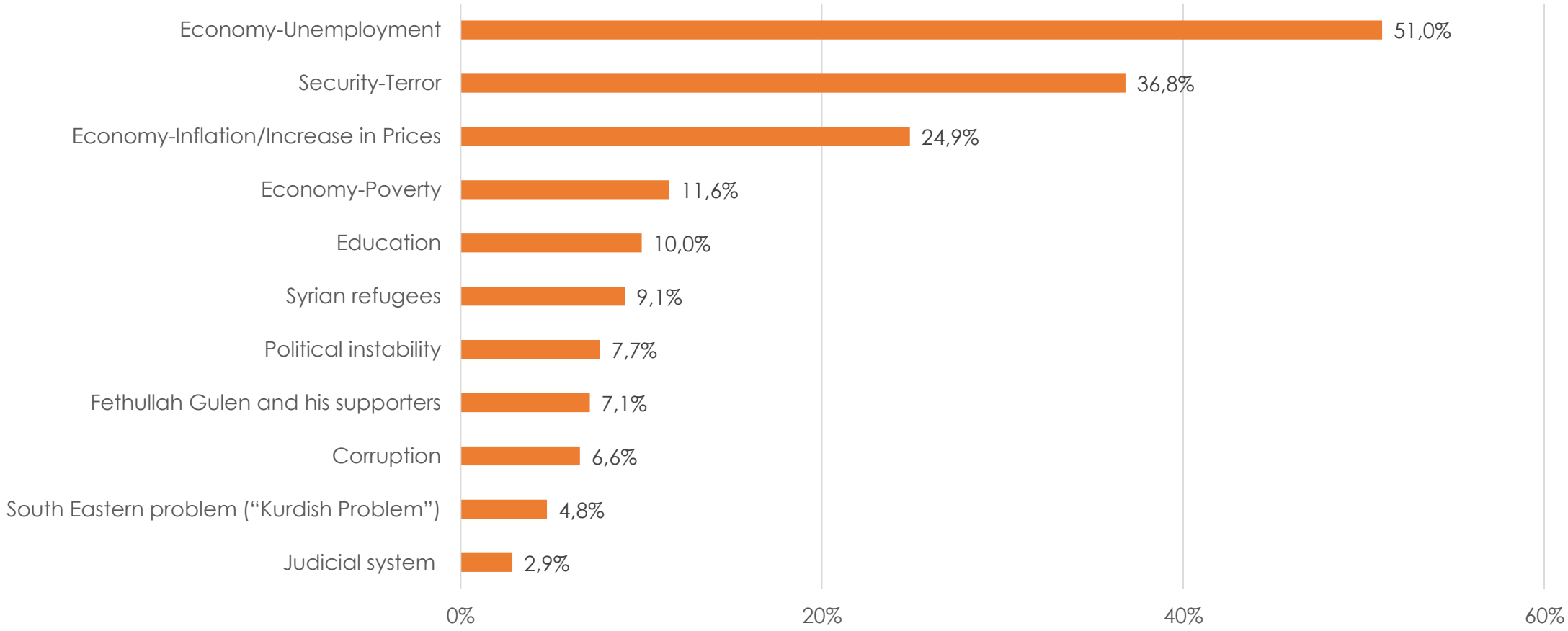
Assessment of Life and Economics



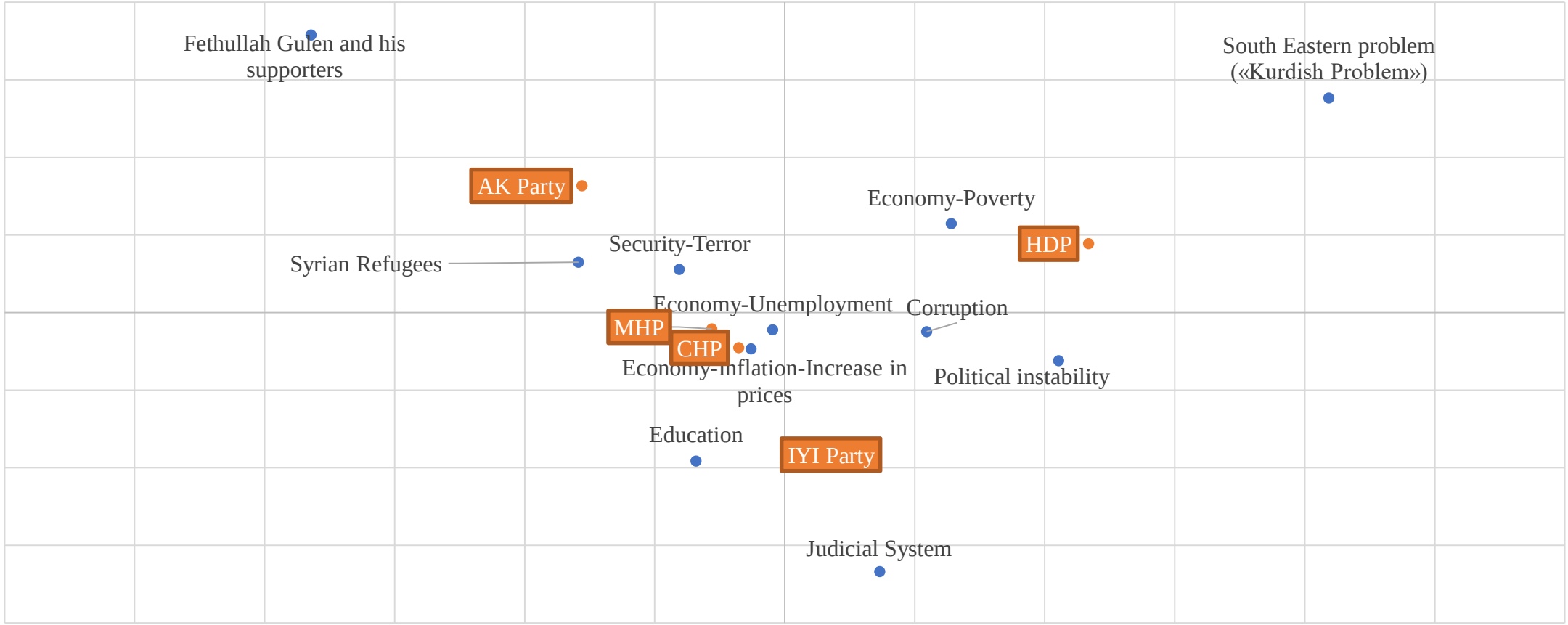
Assessment of Life and Political Party Supporters



Most Important Problems of Turkey (Two answers)



Party Supporters and Most Important Problems of the Country (Correspondence Map)



Opinion Cleavages

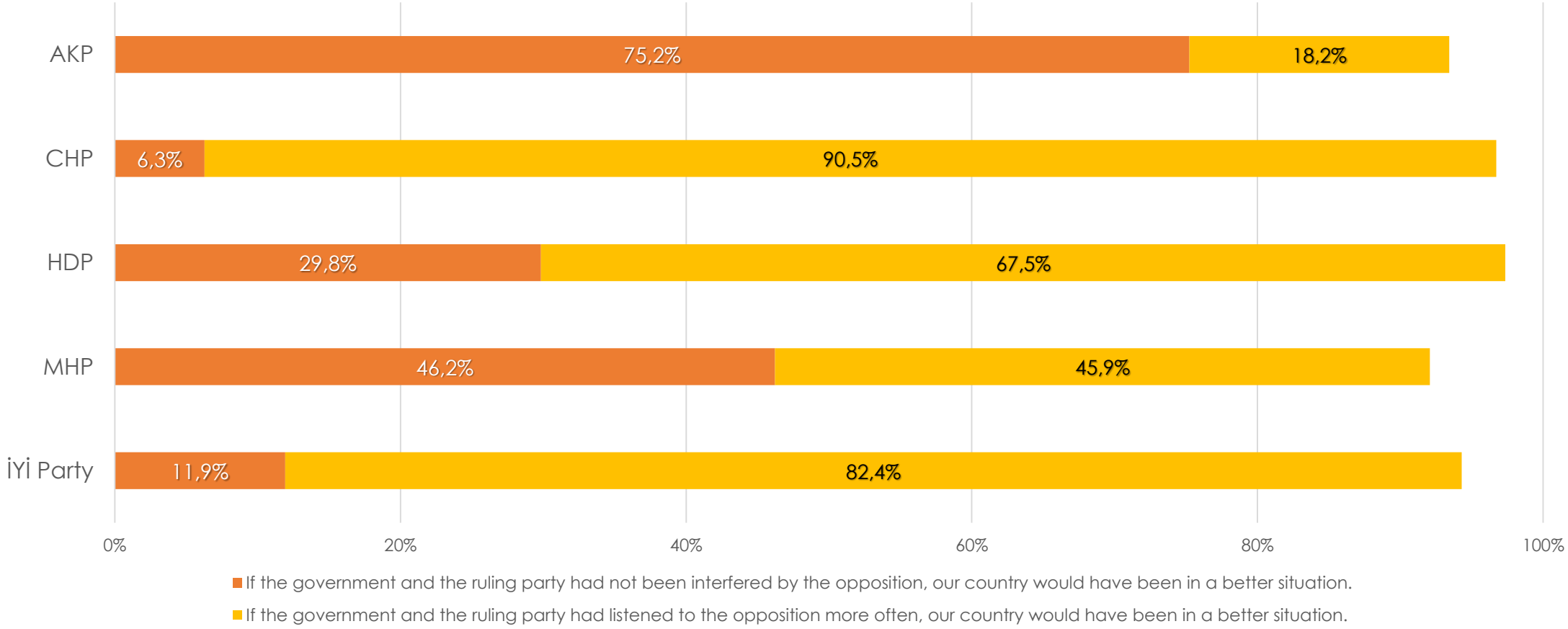
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

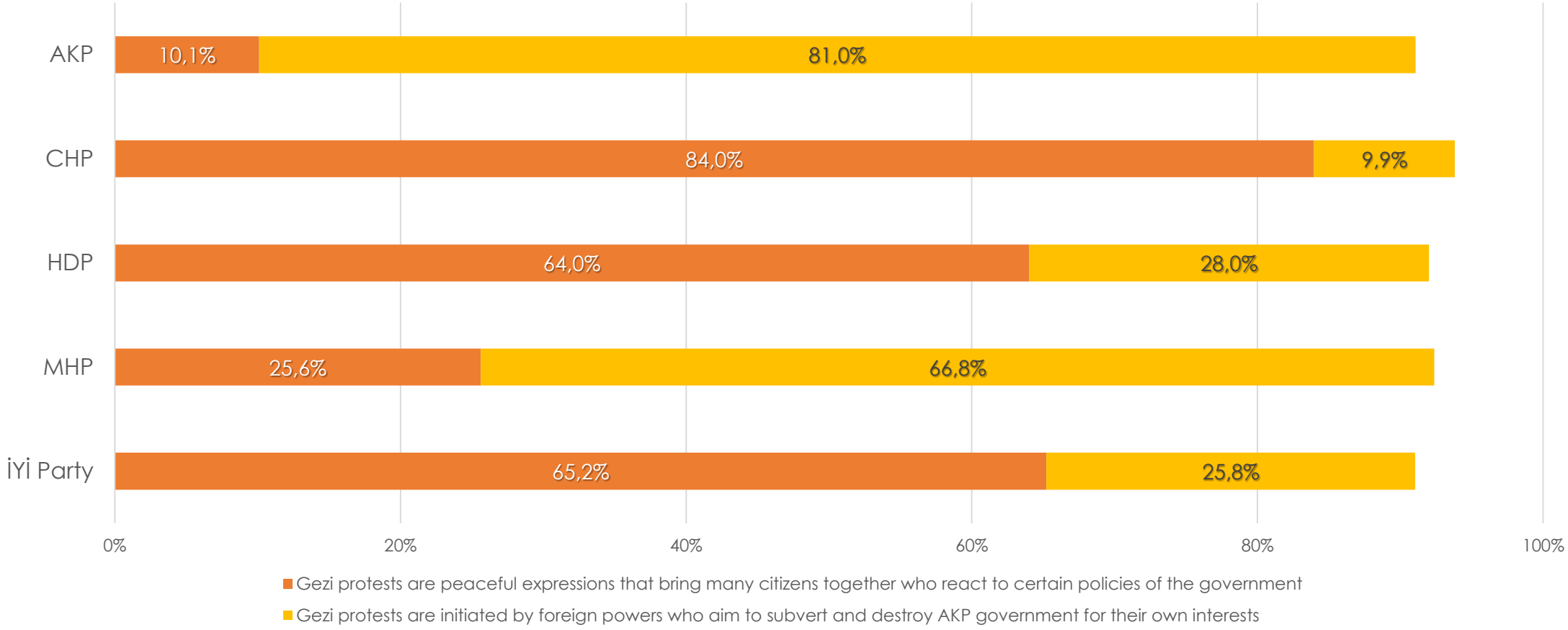
444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

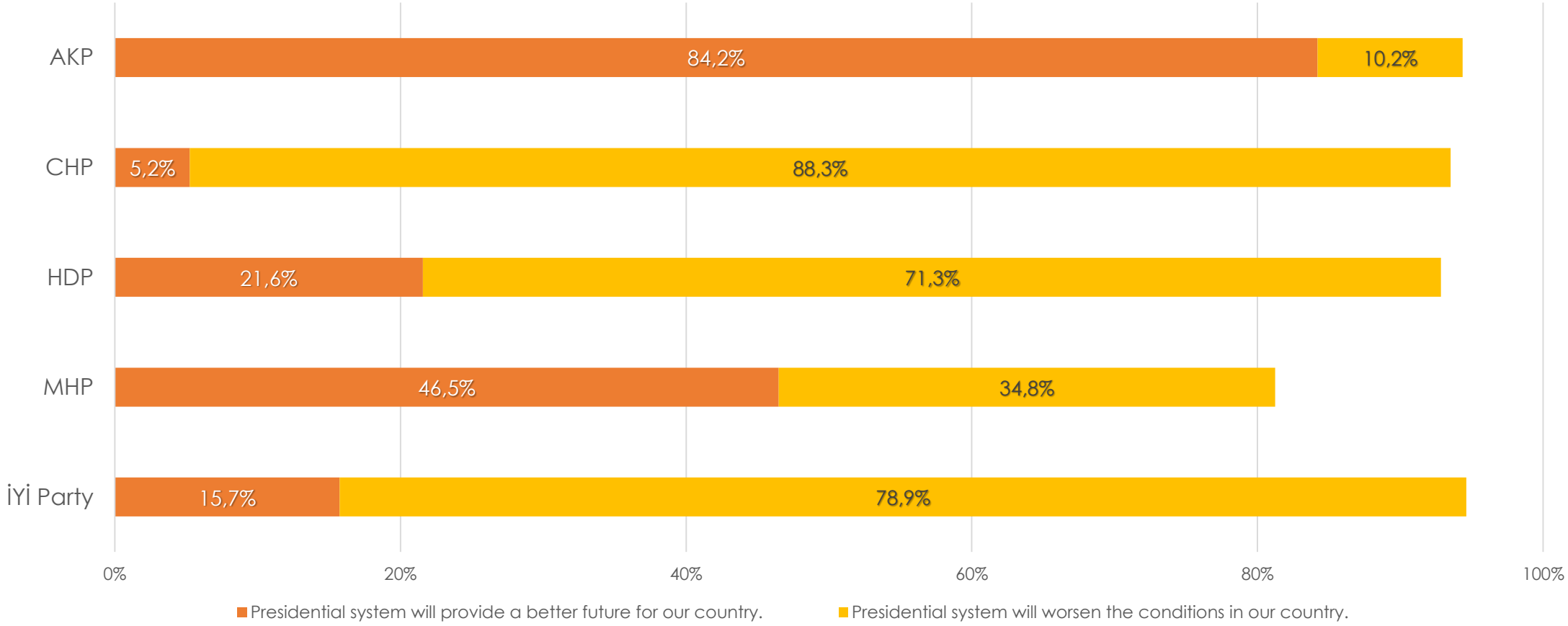
Perceptions on how Turkey is governed and Party Supporters



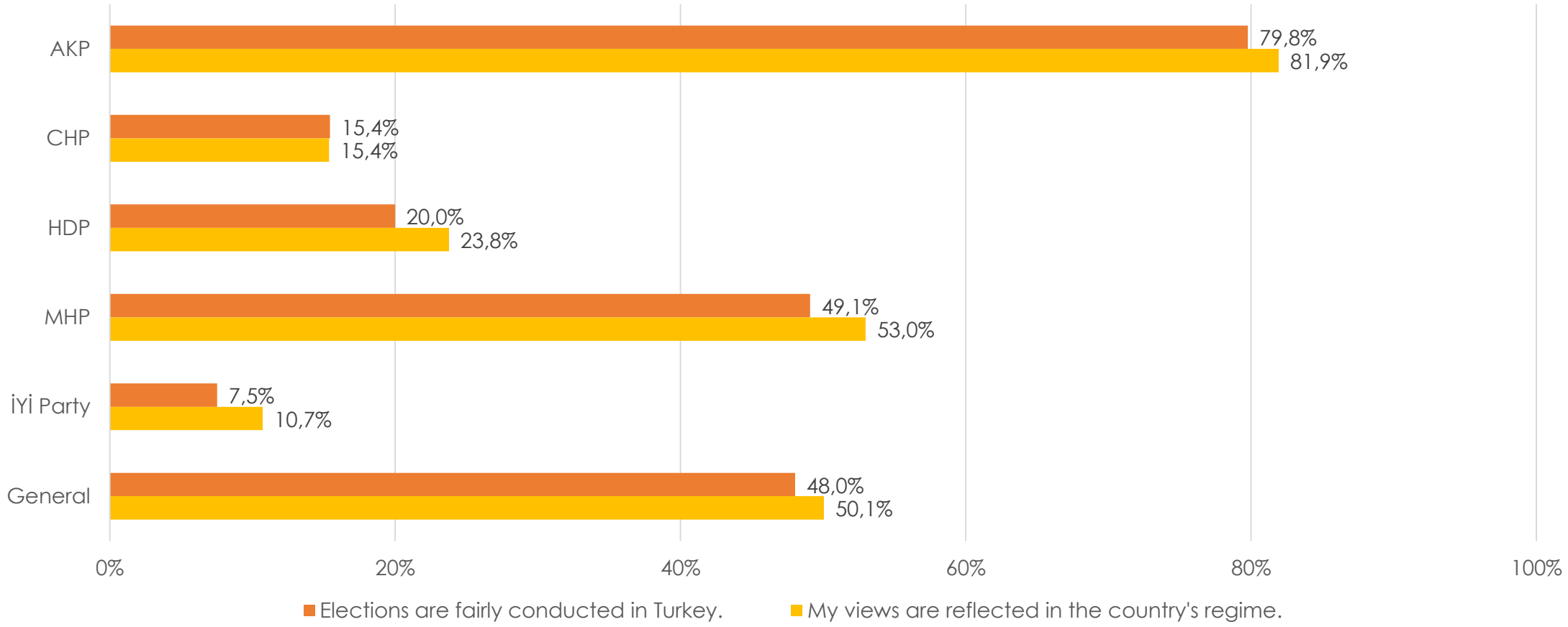
Perceptions on Gezi Protests and Party Supporters



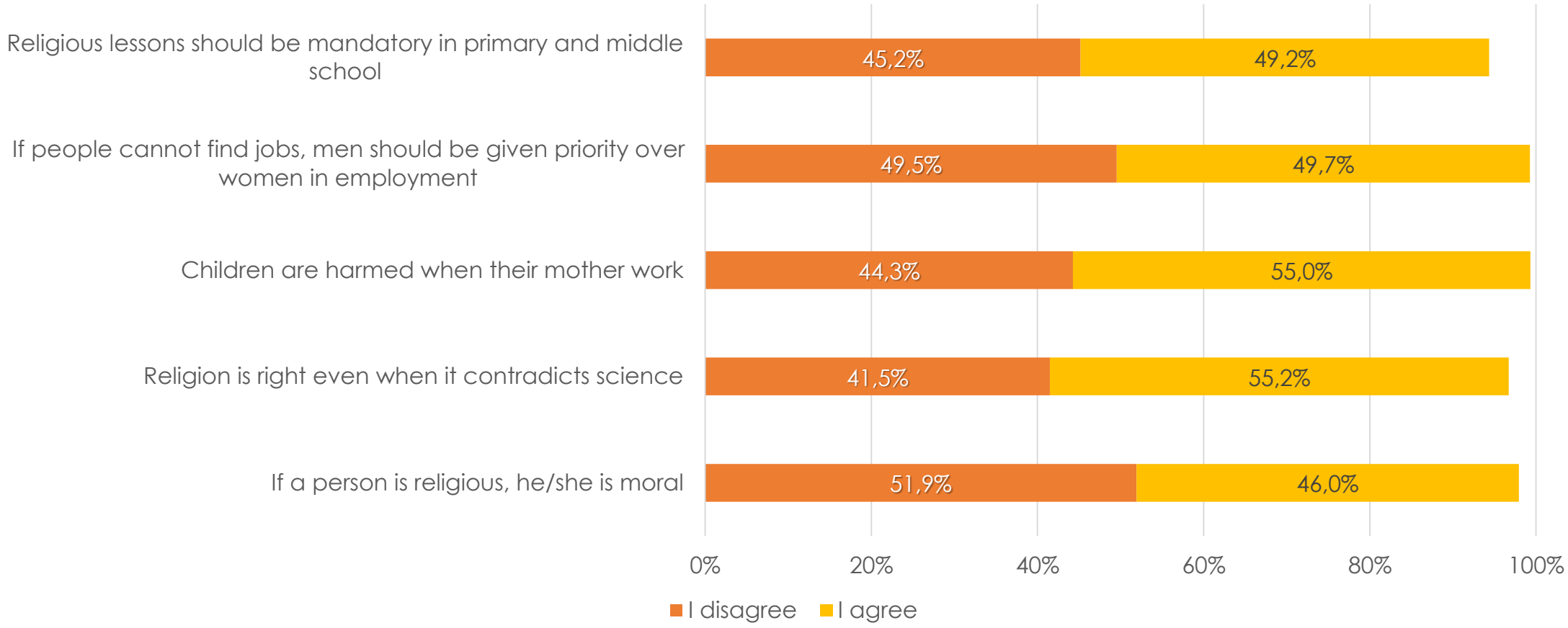
Perceptions on Presidential System and Party Supporters



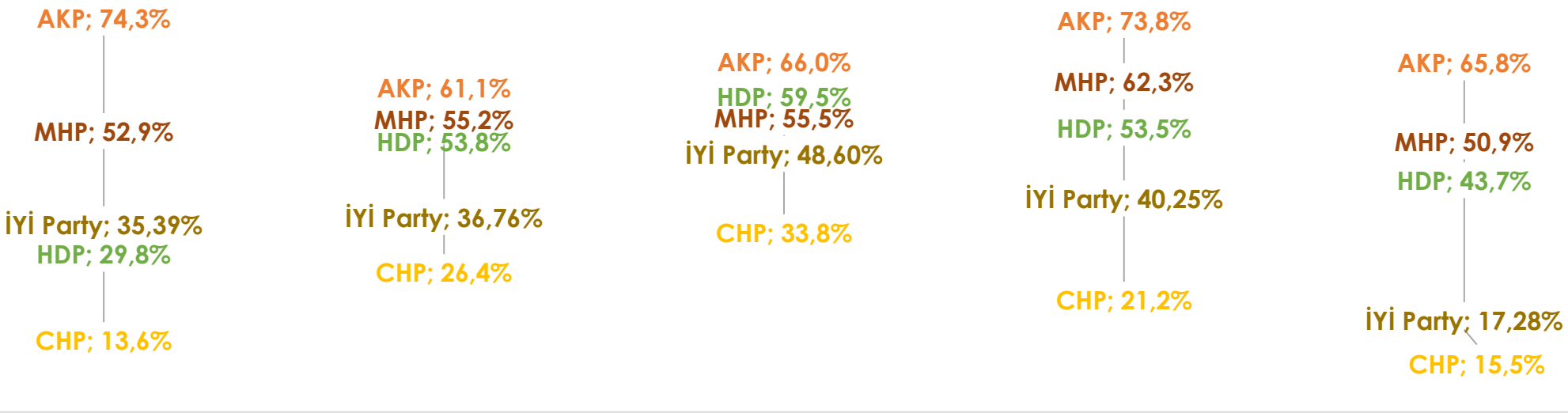
Perceptions on How Elections are Conducted in Turkey and Party Supporters (Percentage of Those Agree)



Values...


Religious lessons should be mandatory in primary and middle school
45,2%
49,2%
If people cannot find jobs, men should be given priority over women in employment
49,5%
49,7%
Children are harmed when their mother work
44,3%
55,0%
Religion is right even when it contradicts science
41,5%
55,2%
If a person is religious, he/she is moral
51,9%
46,0%
0%
20%
40%
60%
80%
100%
I disagree
I agree

Values and Party Supporters (Rate of Those Who Agree)



Religious lessons should be mandatory in primary and middle school	If people cannot find jobs, men should be given priority over women in employment	Children are harmed when their mother work	Religion is right even when it contradicts science	If a person is religious, he/she is moral

Commonalities

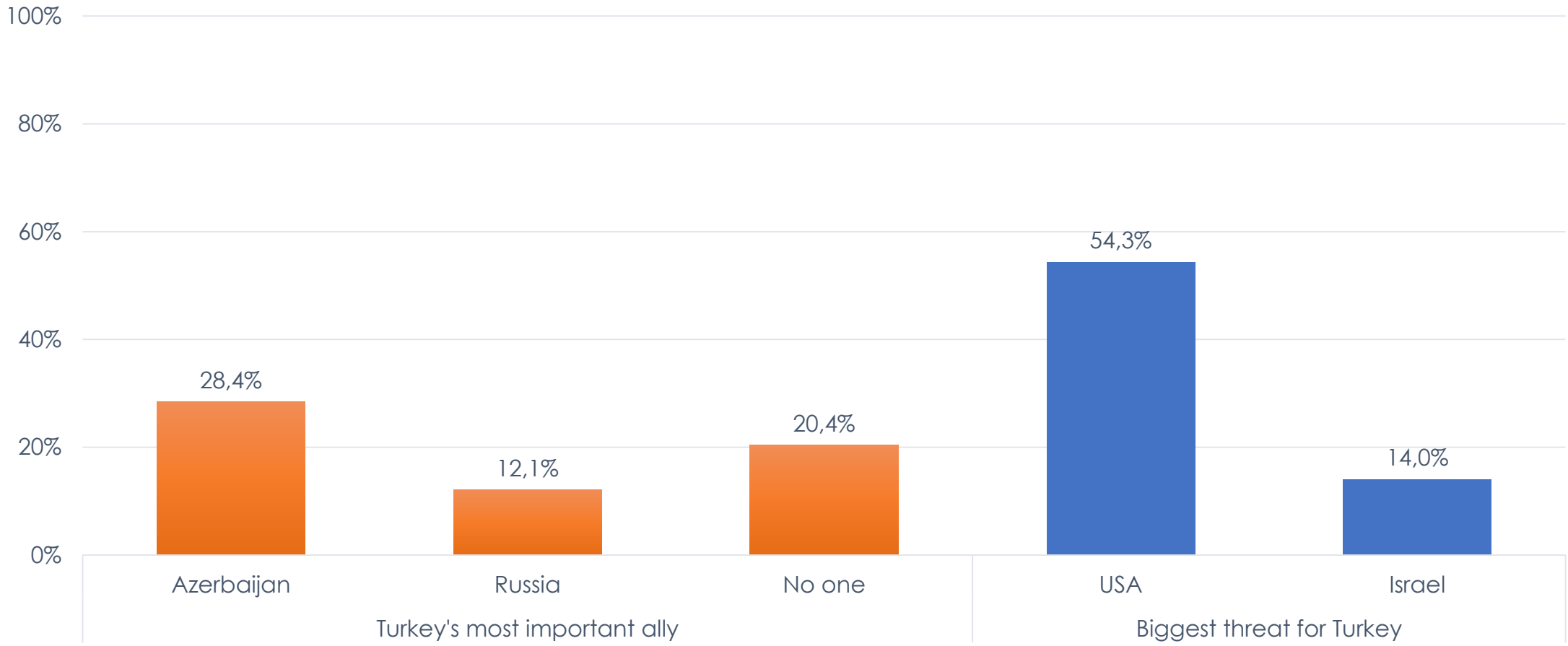
İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

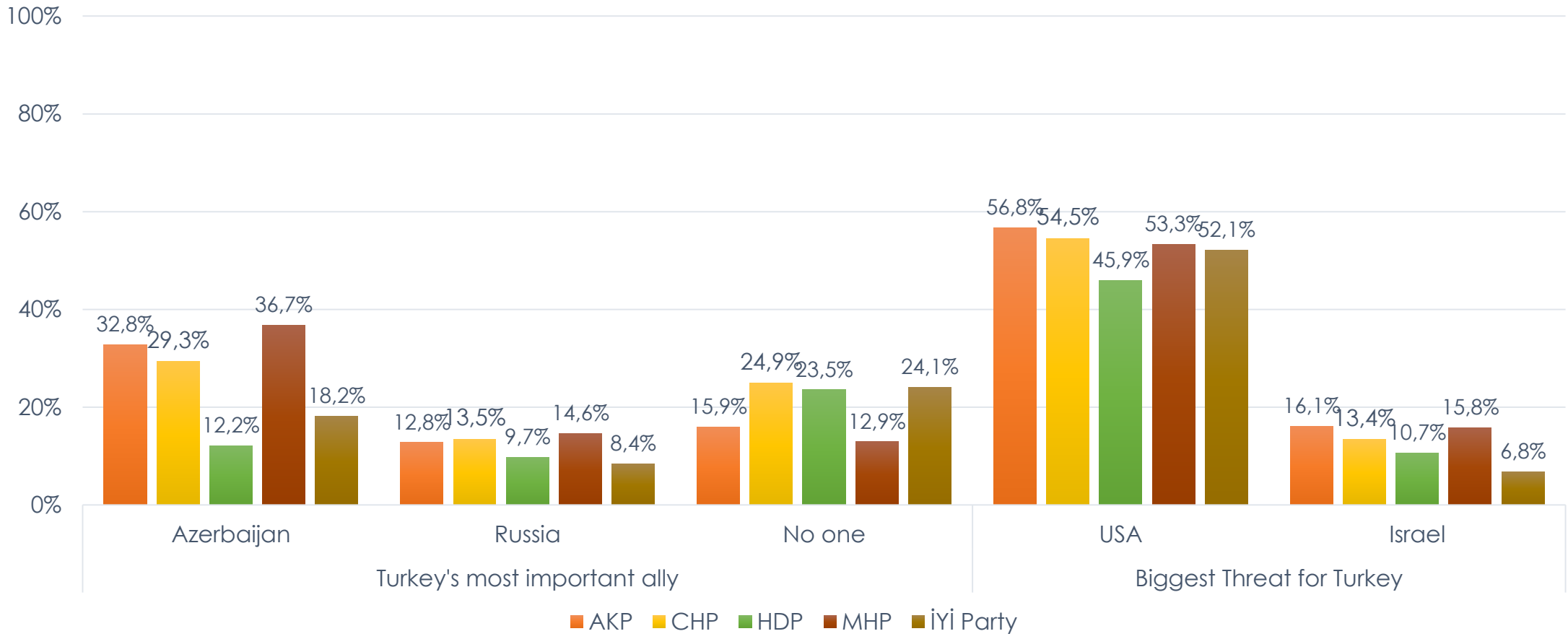
444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

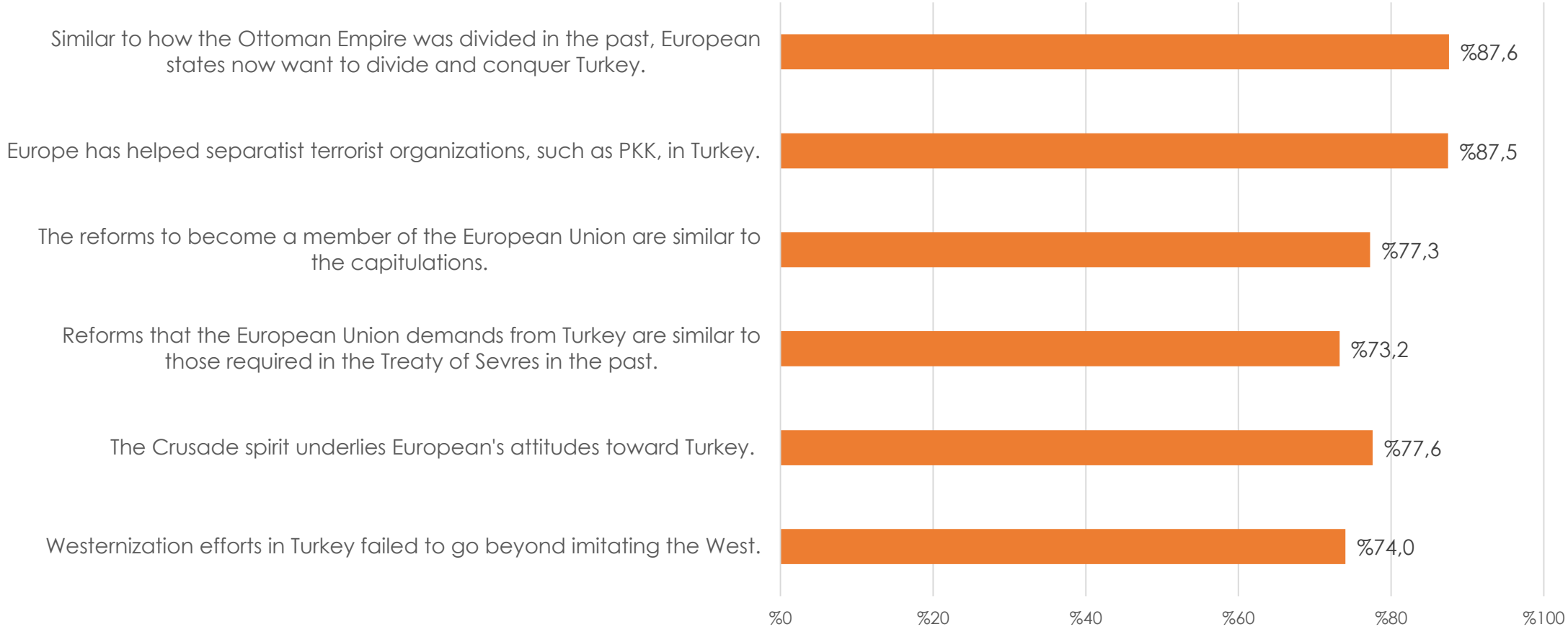
The Most Important Ally and Biggest Threat



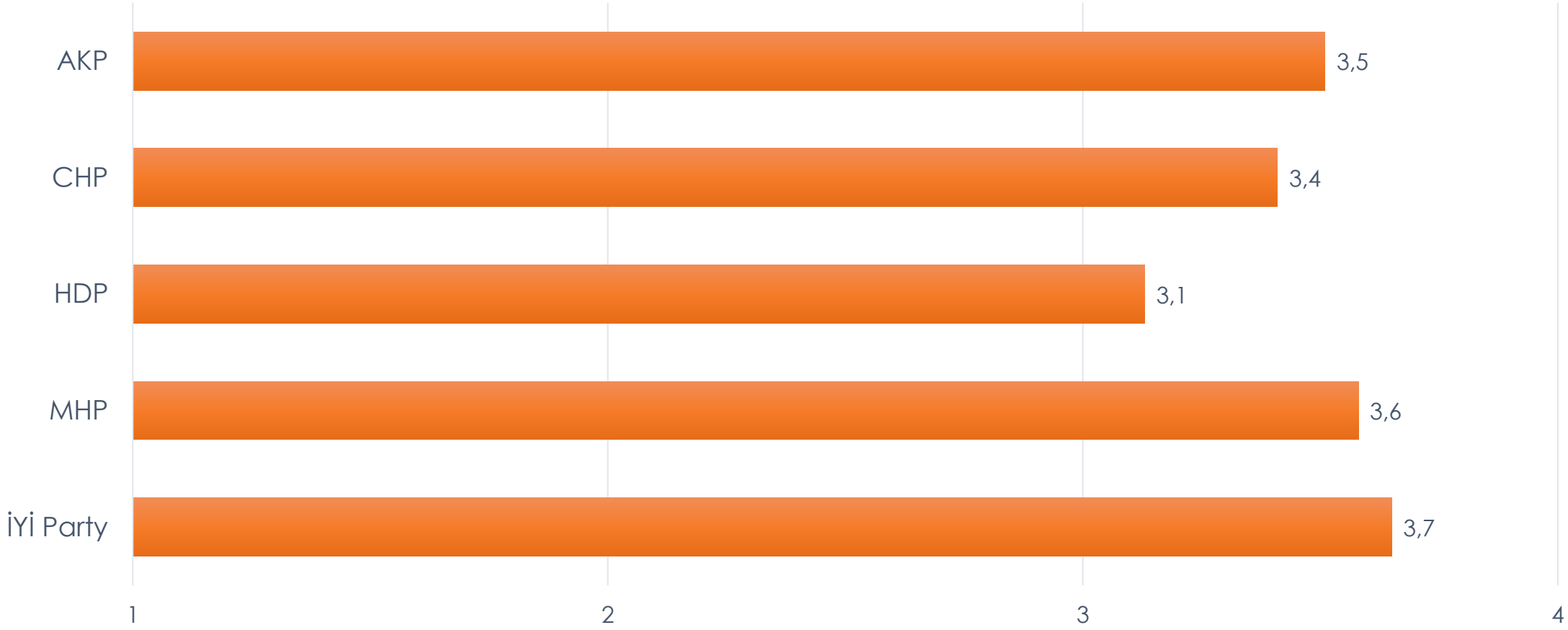
Most Important Ally and Biggest Threat



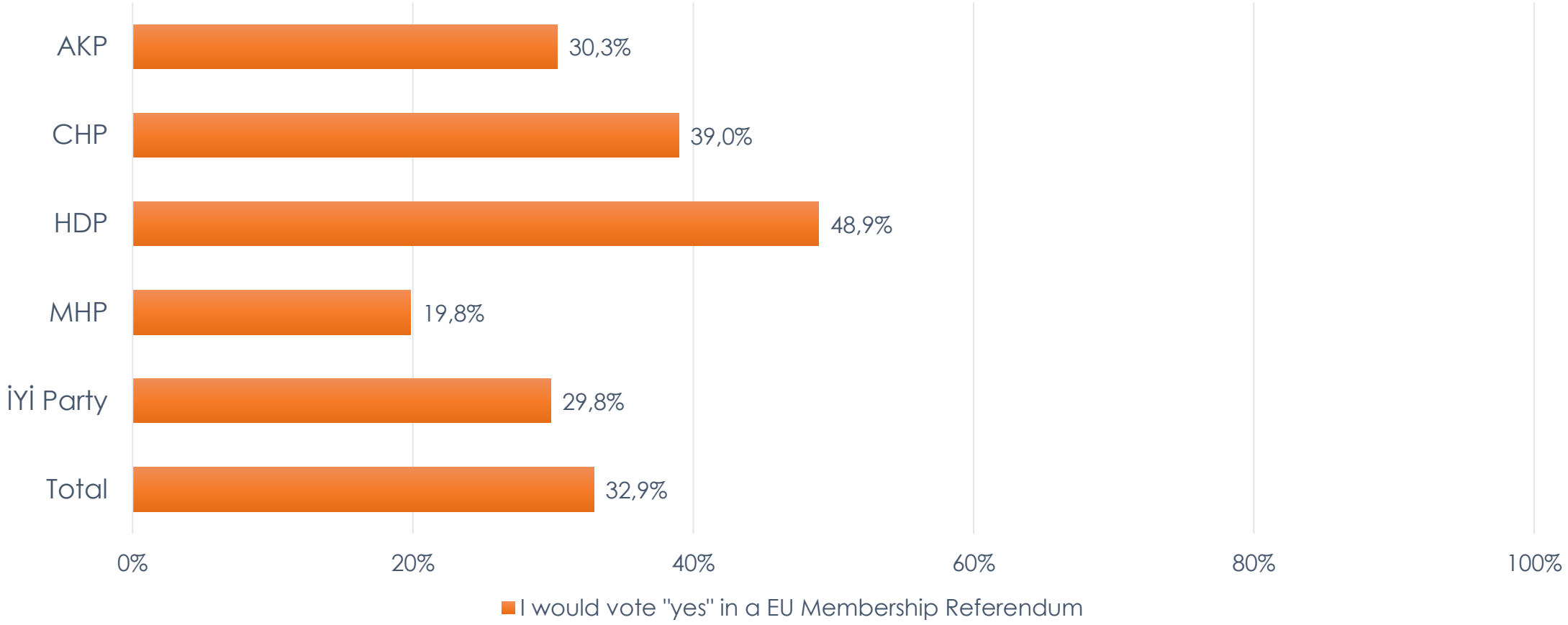
The Sèvres Syndrome:



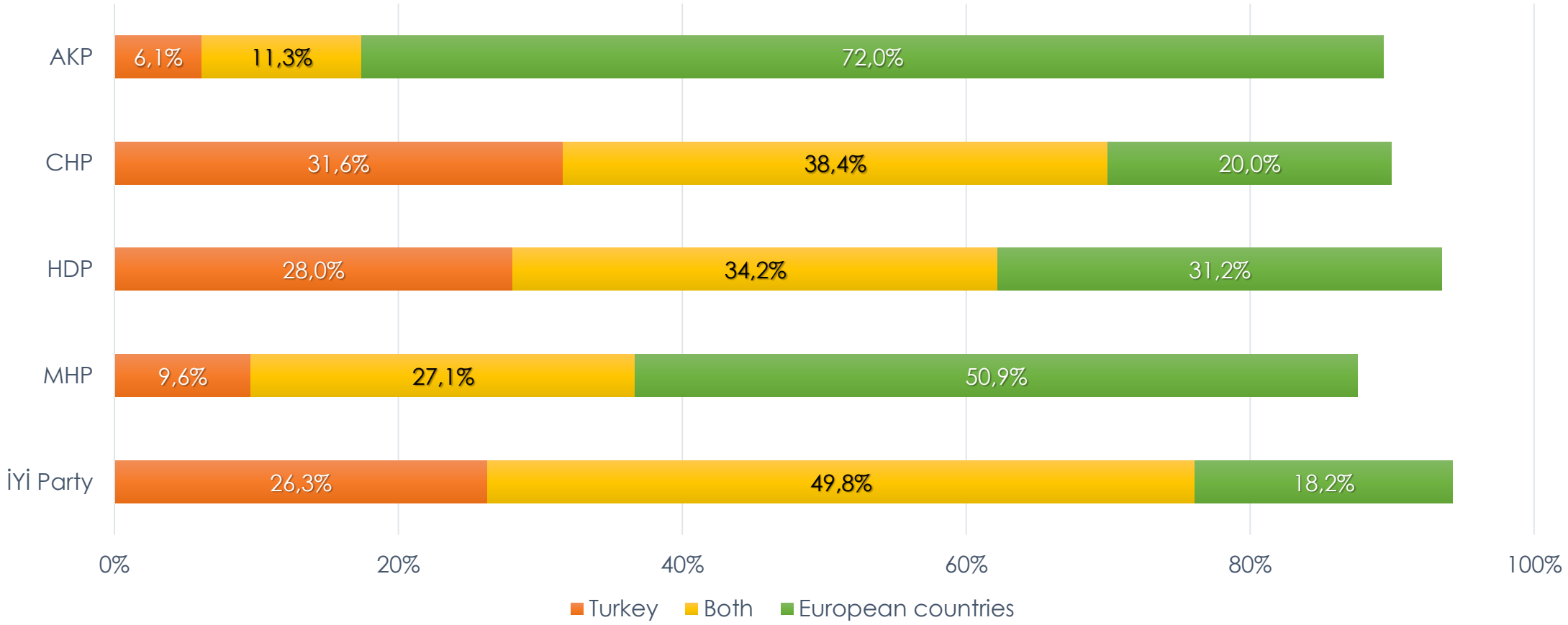
The Sèvres Syndrome and Party Supporters (Out of 4)



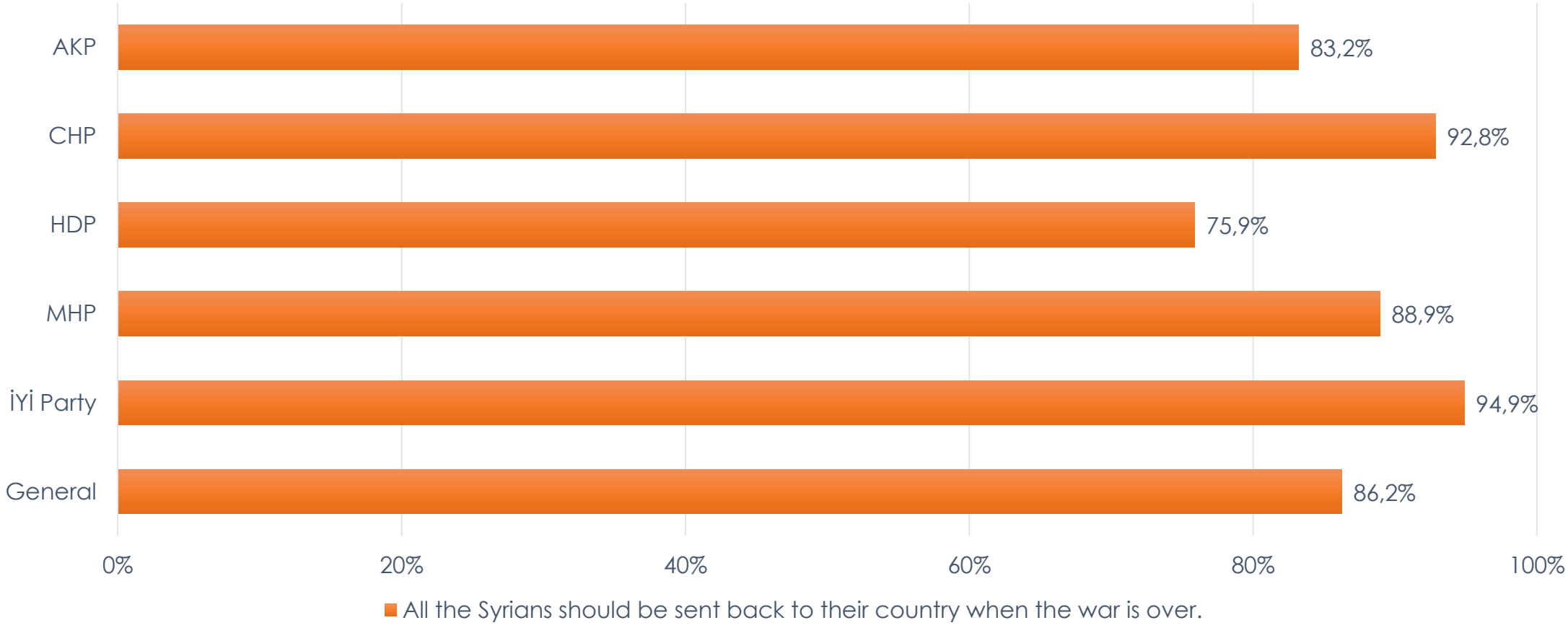
Perceptions on Turkey-EU Relations



Who is responsible for the tension between Turkey-EU before the Referendum?



Should the Syrians be sent back to their country? (Rate of «Yes» answer)



Thank you and Questions…

emre.erdogan@bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
GÖÇ ÇALIŞMALARI UYGULAMA VE ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

B | S | T The Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
A PROJECT OF THE GERMAN MARSHALL FUND

444 0 428 | www.bilgi.edu.tr

İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi
LAUREATE INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES