Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey

February 6th, 2018, Ankara
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Subcategory</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>48.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>51.1%</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>30-45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Settlement</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Employment status</td>
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<td>Retired</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
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Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2017

- **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
Which Political Party do you Feel Close?

- AK Party: 43.4%
- CHP: 21.5%
- HDP: 9.3%
- MHP: 11.5%
- IYI Party: 4.4%
- Other: 1.5%
- Do not know/No answer: 8.5%
## Demography of Political Party Supporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AK Party</th>
<th>CHP</th>
<th>HDP</th>
<th>MHP</th>
<th>IYI Party</th>
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<td><strong>Settlement</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>83.9%</td>
<td>92.1%</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
<td>88.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
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<td>49.7%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
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<td>67.7%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>23.0%</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>21.6%</td>
<td>26.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
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<td>11.9%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for a job</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘The Most Distant’ Political Party Supporters:

- HDP: 52.7%
- AK Party: 23.9%
- CHP: 12.9%
- MHP: 8.3%
- IYI Party: 2.1%
‘The Most Distant’ Political Party Supporters 2017-2015 Comparison

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>2017</th>
<th>2015</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IYI Party</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Political Parties – ‘The Most Distant’ Political Party Supporters

- AKP
  - CHP: 23%
  - HDP: 64%
  - AKP: 13%

- CHP
  - HDP: 29%
  - CHP: 29%
  - AKP: 36%

- HDP
  - AKP: 36%
  - MHP: 47%
  - HDP: 17%

- MHP
  - AKP: 27%
  - CHP: 6%
  - HDP: 2%
  - MHP: 57%

- İyi Parti
  - MHP: 38%
  - HDP: 14%
  - AKP: 27%
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

- Doing business with one of that political party’s supporters: 73.7% would not like, 25.3% would like.
- Your daughter getting married with one of that political party’s supporters: 78.7% would not like, 19.8% would like.
- Your children being friends with that political party’s supporters’ children: 68.4% would not like, 30.6% would like.
- As neighbors: 69.6% would not like, 29.4% would like.
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

- Working for the benefit of the country: 91.5% close, 2.7% distant, 2.0% both
- Patriotic: 90.7% close, 1.7% distant, 3.4% both
- Honourable: 90.4% close, 2.0% distant, 2.9% both
- Smart: 83.7% close, 4.2% distant, 6.9% both
- Generous: 82.5% close, 4.2% distant, 4.8% both
- Open-minded: 82.4% close, 4.1% distant, 6.8% both
- Posing threat to the country: 1.4% close, 85.7% distant, 0.7% both
- Cruel: 1.7% close, 83.2% distant, 0.8% both
- Two-faced: 2.4% close, 84.1% distant, 1.2% both
- Bigoted: 3.0% close, 72.8% distant, 1.1% both
- Arrogant: 4.0% close, 79.9% distant, 3.4% both
- Selfish: 4.1% close, 83.8% distant, 1.7% both
Political Tolerance
‘The Most Distant’ Political Party Supporters

- [This group] should be able to make a press release in the place/city I live.
  - 42.7% agree
  - 23.1% neither agree nor disagree
  - 31.6% do not agree

- [This group] should be able to hold a meeting in the place/city I live.
  - 44.0% agree
  - 19.0% neither agree nor disagree
  - 34.3% do not agree

- [This group] should be able to make demonstrations in the place/city I live.
  - 46.4% agree
  - 20.2% neither agree nor disagree
  - 30.6% do not agree

- [This group] should be able to receive education which respond to their needs in the place/city I live.
  - 40.8% agree
  - 23.2% neither agree nor disagree
  - 33.1% do not agree

- Members of this group should be able to be nominated in the elections for political duties such as deputyship or mayorship.
  - 37.6% agree
  - 21.8% neither agree nor disagree
  - 37.7% do not agree

- Phones of the members of this group may be listened and recorded for security reasons if necessary.
  - 30.6% agree
  - 15.5% neither agree nor disagree
  - 50.0% do not agree
Identities and Political Parties
Using ‘us/we’ when Mentioning about the People in the Groups Indicated Below:

- My family: 90.9%
- Turkish people: 75.9%
- People living in the city I live: 61.9%
- Religious people: 55.9%
- Educated people: 55.7%
- Atatürkists: 50.2%
- Nationalists: 43.5%
- Modern people: 42.7%
- Secular people: 41.4%
- Conservative people: 38.3%
- Kurdish people: 37.7%
- Ülkücüler: 28.9%
- Alawites: 24.8%
- Gezi Protest supporters: 19.5%
- Minority groups: 14.4%
The Identity Felt Most Close (One answer)

- Turkish people: 29.6%
- Ataturkists: 16.5%
- Religious people: 12.8%
- Kurdish people: 9.5%
- Nationalists: 6.2%
- Conservative people: 5.6%
- Educated people: 5.5%
- Modern people: 3.2%
- Secular people: 1.7%
- Ülkücüler: 1.7%
- Alawites: 1.5%
- Gezi Protest supporters: 0.5%
- Minority groups: 0.1%
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2017

Political Party Supporters and Identities (Correspondence Map)

- CHP
- Alawites
- Atatürkists
- Secular people

- IYI Party
- Modern people
- Educated people

- AK Party
- Ülkücüler
- Turkish people
- Conservative people
- Nationalists

- MHP
- Religious people

- HDP
- Minority groups
- Gezi Protest supporters
- Kurdish people
- Nationalists
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- Modern people
- Educated people

- CHP
- Ataturkists
- Secular people

- IYI Party
- Modern people
- Educated people

- AK Party
- Ülkücüler
- Turkish people
- Conservative people
- Nationalists

- MHP
- Religious people

- HDP
- Minority groups
- Gezi Protest supporters
- Kurdish people
- Nationalists
- Conservative people
- Modern people
- Educated people
Perception of Identities: Group Superiority (Rate of the Participants)

- The government respects people in my group as much as it respects other people: 51.3%
- Other people in Turkey emulates the people in my group: 49.6%
- My group is financially better off: 44.5%
- People in my group have better job opportunities: 44.0%
- In the last five years people in my group has become more influential: 43.9%
- In the last five years financial situation of people in my group has become better compared to other people: 42.0%
- People in my group do not have power in Turkey: 41.1%
## Political Parties and Group Superiority

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>69.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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### Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2017

- **The government respects people in my group as much as it respects other people.**
- **Other people in Turkey emulate the people in my group.**
- **My group is financially better off.**
- **People in my group have better job opportunities.**
- **In the last five years people in my group has become more influential.**
- **In the last five years financial situation of people in my group has become better compared to other people.**
- **People in my group do not have power in Turkey.**
Group Exclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service Type</th>
<th>Treated more privileged</th>
<th>Treated equally</th>
<th>Treated worse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government offices</td>
<td>12.5%</td>
<td>71.1%</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitals</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>77.5%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police stations</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>16.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job applications</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxury stores</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
<td>8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>75.9%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Streets</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>81.0%</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The chart illustrates the levels of group exclusion in various settings, showing the percentage of individuals treated more privileged, treated equally, and treated worse.
Group Exclusion and Political Party Supporters (Rate of «Treated Worse» answers)

- **AKP**:
  - Police stations: 6.0%
  - Job applications: 8.1%
  - Hospitals: 6.6%
  - Universities: 6.1%
  - Luxury stores: 5.9%
  - Streets: 5.4%

- **CHP**:
  - Police stations: 27.3%
  - Job applications: 25.0%
  - Hospitals: 27.9%
  - Universities: 17.9%
  - Luxury stores: 14.8%
  - Streets: 12.2%

- **HDP**:
  - Police stations: 42.5%
  - Job applications: 31.2%
  - Hospitals: 35.1%
  - Universities: 17.5%
  - Luxury stores: 14.2%
  - Streets: 17.2%

- **İYİ Party**:
  - Police stations: 21.4%
  - Job applications: 12.7%
  - Hospitals: 13.2%
  - Universities: 8.3%
  - Luxury stores: 5.5%
  - Streets: 6.9%

- **MHP**:
  - Police stations: 10.4%
  - Job applications: 12.7%
  - Hospitals: 8.7%
  - Universities: 6.2%
  - Luxury stores: 5.5%
  - Streets: 4.4%
“Echo Chambers”
“Spiral of Silence”
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 lose 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...

Agreement within the Close Circle

Disagreement within the Close Circle
"Would you discuss ‘state of emergency’?"

- During dinner with family at home:
  - I would participate: 63.9%
  - I would not participate: 34.6%
  - Do not know/No answer: 1.5%

- When dining out with friends:
  - I would participate: 57.1%
  - I would not participate: 40.7%
  - Do not know/No answer: 2.2%

- In a neighborhood meeting:
  - I would participate: 45.1%
  - I would not participate: 52.6%
  - Do not know/No answer: 2.3%

- In your workplace/School:
  - I would participate: 36.3%
  - I would not participate: 54.2%
  - Do not know/No answer: 9.5%

- On Facebook:
  - I would participate: 26.7%
  - I would not participate: 60.0%
  - Do not know/No answer: 13.4%

- On Twitter:
  - I would participate: 23.8%
  - I would not participate: 54.8%
  - Do not know/No answer: 21.3%
"Are the below listed people agree with your ideas on state of emergency?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Your spouse [If single] Girl friend/ Boy friend</td>
<td>87.0%</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your close friends</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Your family</td>
<td>84.6%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends in your work place/school</td>
<td>62.9%</td>
<td>37.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbors in your neighborhood</td>
<td>58.9%</td>
<td>41.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends on Facebook</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>43.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People you follow on Twitter</td>
<td>52.8%</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Information Sources for Political Issues (Sum of «Always» and «Often» answers)

- Television: 79.9%
- Conversation with friends: 56.3%
- Smart phone: 52.5%
- News sites on the Internet: 39.8%
- Facebook and Twitter: 31.1%
- Newspaper: 21.2%
- Radio: 11.8%
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.”
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2017

News Report (Correspondence Map)

TV Preferences and Political Party Supporters

- ATV prime news
- Kanal D prime news
- Star TV prime news
- NTV prime news
- Haber Türk TV prime news
- TRT prime news
- A Haber prime news
- CNN Türk prime news
- Fox TV prime news
- KANAL 24 prime news
- Halk TV

Parties:
- AK Party
- CHP
- IYI Party
- HDP
- MHP
- HDP
- HDP
- MHP
- HDP
- MHP
- HDP
- MHP
- HDP
- MHP

TV Stations:
- ATV
- Star TV
- NTV
- Haber Türk TV
- TRT
- A Haber
- CNN Türk
- Fox TV
- KANAL 24
- Halk TV
Newspaper Preferences and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)
Impartiality of Information Sources and Political Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)
Social Media Channels and Political Discussions

- **Ratio of Twitter account ownership**
  - I frequently use Twitter to share my political opinions: 15.5%
  - I sometimes use Twitter to share my political opinion: 31.8%
  - I do not use Twitter to share my political opinions: 49.6%
  - Political opinions of the people I follow on Twitter are similar to my opinions: 58.6%

- **Yes I have**
  - I frequently use Facebook to share my political opinions: 86.4%
  - I sometimes use Facebook to share my political opinion: 33.8%
  - I do not use Facebook to share my political opinions: 56.3%
  - Political opinions of the people I follow on Facebook are similar to my opinions: 63.3%
Political Culture
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2017

Attendance to demonstrations after July 15 and Gezi Protests and Political Party Supporters (Rate of “I did” answers)

- AK Party: 43.1% attending protests after July 15, 1.7% attending Gezi Protests
- CHP: 7.1% attending protests after July 15, 11.5% attending Gezi Protests
- HDP: 8.1% attending protests after July 15, 12.4% attending Gezi Protests
- MHP: 2.9% attending protests after July 15, 30.5% attending Gezi Protests
- IYI Party: 9.4% attending protests after July 15, 3.1% attending Gezi Protests
Having Confidence in Institutions
(Rate of «definitely trust» + «trust» answers)

- Military: 74.2%
- Presidency: 57.2%
- Universities: 56.6%
- Government: 56.0%
- Courts: 52.2%
- Directorate of Religious Affairs: 52.1%
- Parliament: 50.5%
- Municipalities: 49.7%
- Political parties: 34.7%
- Media institutions: 18.3%
- European Union: 15.0%
- United Nations: 14.4%
- NATO: 13.4%
## Having Confidence in Institutions and Political Party Supporters (% of Participants who have confidence in ...)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Confidence in Army</th>
<th>Confidence in Presidency</th>
<th>Confidence in Universities</th>
<th>Confidence in Government</th>
<th>Confidence in Courts</th>
<th>Confidence in Directorate of Religious Affairs</th>
<th>Confidence in Parliament</th>
<th>Confidence in Municipalities</th>
<th>Confidence in Political Parties</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>68,9%</td>
<td>68,6%</td>
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<td>55,9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>86,8%</td>
<td>61,6%</td>
<td>53,9%</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>12,7%</td>
<td>12,6%</td>
<td>21,1%</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Confidence in Directors</th>
<th>Confidence in Municipalities</th>
<th>Confidence in Political Parties</th>
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<td>77,8%</td>
<td>76,2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>72,1%</td>
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<td>76,2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>IYI Party</td>
<td>53,9%</td>
<td>77,8%</td>
<td>76,2%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Political Leader’s Rating (Average over 10)

- Recep Tayyip Erdoğan: 5.6
- Binali Yıldırım: 4.4
- Devlet Bahçeli: 3.6
- Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu: 3.0
- Meral Akşener: 2.2
- Selahattin Demirtaş: 1.4
Political Leaders' Ratings and Political Party Supporters (over 10)

- AKP: 9.1
- MHP: 5.3
  - HDP: 1.6
  - IYI Party: 1.5
  - CHP: 0.9
- IYI Party: 1.5
  - AKP: 0.9
- MHP: 3.9
- AKP: 7.3
- CHP: 7.7
- MHP: 7.7
- HDP: 8.2
  - IYI Party: 7.9
- AKP: 4.5
- CHP: 1.2
  - IYI Party: 0.6
  - HDP: 0.6
  - AK Parti: 0.5
  - MHP: 0.5
- MHP: 2.7
- CHP: 2.8
- HDP: 1.8
- AKP: 1.2
- Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
- Binali Yıldırım
- Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu
- Devlet Bahçeli
- Selahattin Demirtaş
- Meral Akşener
Political Memory: Events that Cause Ruptures in the Society (Two Answers, %)

- 15 July coup attempt: 42.4%
- Kurdish Issue: 34.9%
- Gezi protests: 27.1%
- 17-25 December corruption allegations: 25.1%
- 1980 coup: 12.8%
- Balyoz/Ergenekon Trials: 10.0%
- 1960 coup: 5.3%
- 28 February coup: 5.3%
- Establishment of the Republic: 3.5%
Events that Cause Rupture in the Society and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)

- 15 July coup attempt
- 28 February coup
- 17-25 December Corruption Investigation
- 1960 coup
- 1980 coup
- Establishment of the Republic
- Balyoz/Ergenekon Trials
- Kurdısh Issue
- CHP
- AKP
- MHP
- IYİ Party
- Gezi protests
- HDP
Future Anxieties
(% “concerns me very much” and “somewhat concerns me” answers)

- Terror attacks: 89.0%
- Economic crisis: 88.2%
- Going to a war against neighboring countries: 84.5%
- Turkey being divided: 82.0%
- Unemployment: 81.0%
- Restrictions on freedom of expression: 75.2%
- Another coup attempt similar to 15 July: 72.4%
- Restrictions on religious freedoms: 62.0%
- Being ruled by Sheriah: 59.3%
Future Anxieties and Party Supporters (Correspondence Map)

- Terror attacks
- Economic crisis
- Going to a war against our neighboring countries
- Unemployment
- Restrictions on freedom of expression
- Turkey being divided
- Another coup attempt similar to 15 July

Parties:
- AKP
- CHP
- IYI Party
- MHP
- HDP

Restrictions on religious freedoms

Being ruled by Sharia
Assessment of Life and Economics

- Our country is in good direction: 48.4%
- Situation of our country is now better: 35.3%
- Situation of our country will become better: 34.5%
- Situation of our family is now better: 33.1%
- Situation of our family will become better: 29.6%
Assessment of Life and Political Party Supporters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Our country is in good direction</th>
<th>Situation of our country is now better</th>
<th>Situation of our country will become better</th>
<th>Situation of our family is now better</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>79.5%</td>
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<td>CHP</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
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<td>16.8%</td>
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<td>HDP</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
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<td>5.7%</td>
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<tr>
<td>İYİ Parti</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5.2%</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most Important Problems of Turkey (Two answers)

- Economy-Unemployment: 51.0%
- Security-Terror: 36.8%
- Economy-Inflation/Increase in Prices: 24.9%
- Economy-Poverty: 11.6%
- Education: 10.0%
- Syrian refugees: 9.1%
- Political instability: 7.7%
- Fethullah Gulen and his supporters: 7.1%
- Corruption: 6.6%
- South Eastern problem ("Kurdish Problem"): 4.8%
- Judicial system: 2.9%
Party Supporters and Most Important Problems of the Country (Correspondence Map)

- Fethullah Gulen and his supporters
- Syrian Refugees
- Security-Terror
- Economy-Unemployment
- Economy-Inflation-Increase in prices
- Education
- Judicial System
- Economy-Poverty
- Corruption
- Political instability
- South Eastern problem («Kurdish Problem»)
- AK Party
- MHP
- CHP
- HDP
- IYI Party
Opinion Cleavages
Perceptions on how Turkey is governed and Party Supporters

- **AKP**: 75.2% (75.2%) - 18.2% (18.2%)
- **CHP**: 6.3% (6.3%) - 90.5% (90.5%)
- **HDP**: 29.8% (29.8%) - 67.5% (67.5%)
- **MHP**: 46.2% (46.2%) - 45.9% (45.9%)
- **İYİ Party**: 11.9% (11.9%) - 82.4% (82.4%)

*Note: Percentages indicate the proportion of respondents同意 each statement.*

- If the government and the ruling party had not been interfered by the opposition, our country would have been in a better situation.
- If the government and the ruling party had listened to the opposition more often, our country would have been in a better situation.
Perceptions on Gezi Protests and Party Supporters

- **Gezi protests are peaceful expressions that bring many citizens together who react to certain policies of the government**
- **Gezi protests are initiated by foreign powers who aim to subvert and destroy AKP government for their own interests**
Perceptions on Presidential System and Party Supporters

- AKP: 84.2% (Presidential system will provide a better future for our country) 10.2% (Presidential system will worsen the conditions in our country)
- CHP: 5.2% (Presidential system will provide a better future for our country) 88.3% (Presidential system will worsen the conditions in our country)
- HDP: 21.6% (Presidential system will provide a better future for our country) 71.3% (Presidential system will worsen the conditions in our country)
- MHP: 46.5% (Presidential system will provide a better future for our country) 34.8% (Presidential system will worsen the conditions in our country)
- İyi Party: 15.7% (Presidential system will provide a better future for our country) 78.9% (Presidential system will worsen the conditions in our country)
Perceptions on How Elections are Conducted in Turkey and Party Supporters (Percentage of Those Agree)

- **Elections are fairly conducted in Turkey.**
- **My views are reflected in the country’s regime.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>49.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Values...

- Religious lessons should be mandatory in primary and middle school: 45.2% disagree, 49.2% agree.
- If people cannot find jobs, men should be given priority over women in employment: 49.5% disagree, 49.7% agree.
- Children are harmed when their mother works: 44.3% disagree, 55.0% agree.
- Religion is right even when it contradicts science: 41.5% disagree, 55.2% agree.
- If a person is religious, he/she is moral: 51.9% disagree, 46.0% agree.
Values and Party Supporters (Rate of Those Who Agree)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Religious lessons should be mandatory in primary and middle school</th>
<th>If people cannot find jobs, men should be given priority over women in employment</th>
<th>Children are harmed when their mother work</th>
<th>Religion is right even when it contradicts science</th>
<th>If a person is religious, he/she is moral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>74,3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>52,9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
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<td>İYİ Party</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Commonalities
The Most Important Ally and Biggest Threat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Important Ally</th>
<th>Threat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No one</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>54.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most Important Ally and Biggest Threat

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Azerbaijan</th>
<th>Russia</th>
<th>No one</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>Israel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey’s most important ally</td>
<td>AKP</td>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.8%</td>
<td>29.3%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>56.8%</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- USSR
- No one
- USA
- Israel

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<th>MHP</th>
<th>İYİ Party</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Turkey’s biggest threat</td>
<td>36.7%</td>
<td>14.6%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>24.9%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The Sèvres Syndrome:

- Similar to how the Ottoman Empire was divided in the past, European states now want to divide and conquer Turkey. 87.6%
- Europe has helped separatist terrorist organizations, such as PKK, in Turkey. 87.5%
- The reforms to become a member of the European Union are similar to the capitulations. 77.3%
- Reforms that the European Union demands from Turkey are similar to those required in the Treaty of Sevres in the past. 73.2%
- The Crusade spirit underlies European's attitudes toward Turkey. 77.6%
- Westernization efforts in Turkey failed to go beyond imitating the West. 74.0%
The Sèvres Syndrome and Party Supporters (Out of 4)

- AKP: 3.5
- CHP: 3.4
- HDP: 3.1
- MHP: 3.6
- İYİ Party: 3.7
Perceptions on Turkey-EU Relations

- AKP: 30.3%
- CHP: 39.0%
- HDP: 48.9%
- MHP: 19.8%
- İYİ Party: 29.8%
- Total: 32.9%

I would vote “yes” in a EU Membership Referendum
Who is responsible for the tension between Turkey-EU before the Referendum?

- AKP: 6.1% Turkey, 11.3% Both, 72.0% European countries
- CHP: 31.6% Turkey, 38.4% Both, 20.0% European countries
- HDP: 28.0% Turkey, 34.2% Both, 31.2% European countries
- MHP: 9.6% Turkey, 27.1% Both, 50.9% European countries
- İYİ Party: 26.3% Turkey, 49.8% Both, 18.2% European countries
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2017

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

- **AKP**: 83.2%
- **CHP**: 92.8%
- **HDP**: 75.9%
- **MHP**: 88.9%
- **İYİ Party**: 94.9%
- **General**: 86.2%

*All the Syrians should be sent back to their country when the war is over.*
Thank you and Questions…

emre.erdogan@bilgi.edu.tr