

KONDA

Barometer

THEMES

**Influence of Corruption and
Perception of Economic Conditions
on Voter Preferences**
October 2014





CONTENTS

1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
2. INFLUENCE OF CORRUPTION AND ON VOTER PREFERENCES.....	7
2.1. Conceptual Framework	7
2.2. Perception of Corruption.....	8
2.3. Perception of Economic Conditions	14
2.3.1. Taxes and Social Services	21
2.3.2. Economic Inequality	23
2.3.3. Political Sophistication.....	26
2.4. An Evaluation of Perception of Corruption and Economic Outlook.....	29
3. RESEARCH ID.....	35
3.1. Overall Description of the Survey	35
3.2. The Sample	35
4. FREQUENCY TABLES.....	37
4.1. Profile of the Respondents	37
4.2. Corruption and the Impact of the Economy on Political Preferences.....	43
5. GLOSSARY of TERMS.....	49





1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey which forms the basis for this report was conducted on October 11-12, 2014 by face-to-face interviews with 2589 individuals in 148 neighborhoods and villages of 99 districts including the central districts of 32 provinces.

THEME OF THE MONTH: Influence of Corruption and Perception of Economic Conditions on Voter Preferences

Research in the economic field shows that economic conditions affect possible voting rates of the government in a following election and that perception with regard to corruption may also have an impact depending on the economic situation. Our theme this month is the effect of the perception on corruption and the evaluation of economic situation on the electorate.

62 percent of the public believe that majority of the politicians in Turkey have been party to corruption. In the case of civil servants, this rate drops to 39 percent. The corruption of the civil servants seems to be considered as partisanship/privileging and partly unfairness rather than a personal experience such as bribery. Even though in general, opposing views prevail between the electorate of the governing party and the opposition party, views on corruption are rather similar. Although the fact that 40 percent of the AkParti supporters think that the politicians have been a part of the corruption may at first glance be surprising, it is useful to remember that after the December 17 events, 48 percent expressed belief that the ministers received bribes.

The economic condition was handled in two axes, namely an evaluation of the past and expectations from the future on the one hand and the national economic condition and the economic condition of the household on the other. It was revealed that the national economic condition of the past 5 years is the most positively regarded area. The AkParti supporters are more pessimistic about the national economic condition and more optimistic about their own households. If we consider, in compliance with the theory in the economic field that the pessimistic AkParti supporters shall punish the government for the negative course of the economy by not voting for them, then such effect will cause a decrease of 1 to 10.5 points. However, Yasushi Hazama, in his analysis at the end of this section stated that party-belonging is more dominant than the perception of corruption in the economic situation evaluation, too.

In our survey, we handled two factors that may affect perception on corruption and economic situation. The first was income inequality in the country. We observed that those who think that there was inequality in this regard tended to be pessimistic on both the national economy and the corruption of the politicians.

The second factor was the level of political sophistication. The findings of the questions that measure the level of political sophistication are themselves very striking: Only half of the interviewees know which institution conducts the elections, and again about half of them know who the president of the parliament is whereas one third had no knowledge on the people or institutions that we inquired about. Political sophistication increases mostly through education. The level of political sophistication does not affect evaluations on economic condition but it does affect perception on corruption.





2. THEME OF THE MONTH: Influence of Corruption and Perception of Economic Conditions on Voter Preferences

2.1. Conceptual Framework

Research studies which aim to understand the political preferences of voters and the factors that influence these preferences generally consider factors such as the economic outlook in the country and the allegations of corruption about politicians and candidates for political office. The majority of these studies reveal that the economic conditions shape voters preferences, and voters reward or punish the ruling party based on the economic outlook in the country at the time of an election. Such studies may predict the share of the vote the ruling party may receive in the next elections based on the economic outlook (and several other factors such as how long the party has been in power, type of the election, etc.). For example, research on the elections in Turkey by Professor Ali Akarca from the University of Illinois in Chicago provides quite accurate predictions.

Due to the fact that Ak Parti has been in power for the third term, which is quite exceptional for the democracies around the world, Turkey is in a distinct position, in terms of the influence of the economic outlook on voter preferences. There are several studies which prove that the longer a party is in power, voters' perceptions on their own economic conditions gain more importance than their expectations for the future and the past and current economic outlook in the country, and has a bigger influence on voter preferences.

In order to understand the influence of economy on voter preferences, it is also necessary to examine the issue of corruption. Studies on the impact of corruption in elections reveal that the allegations of corruption influence the candidate's/party's share of the vote unfavorably, and sometimes cause the voters to refrain from going to the polls. One of the studies on the topic provides a comparison between Sweden and Moldova, and investigates the relation between the influence of corruption on elections and the economic outlook in a country. In Sweden where the level of corruption is very low, voters react against any corruption in the elections regardless of the economic outlook. On the other hand, in Moldova, where the level of corruption is very high, voters tend to tolerate corruption if the economic outlook in the country is favorable, and punish corruption only when the economic outlook is not promising. In order to comprehend the impact of the economic outlook on elections, it is necessary to study the voters' perception of corruption. The theme of this month investigates the influence of the economic outlook and the perception of corruption on voter preferences.

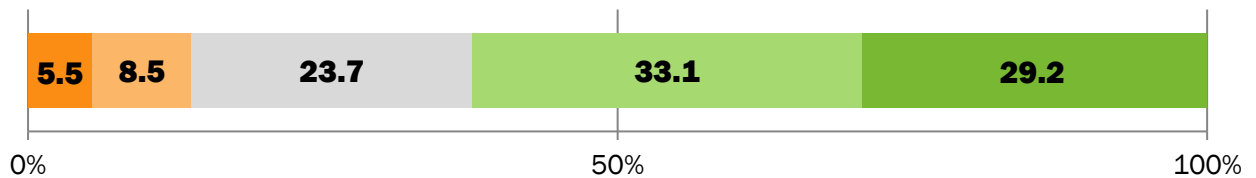


2.2. Perception of Corruption

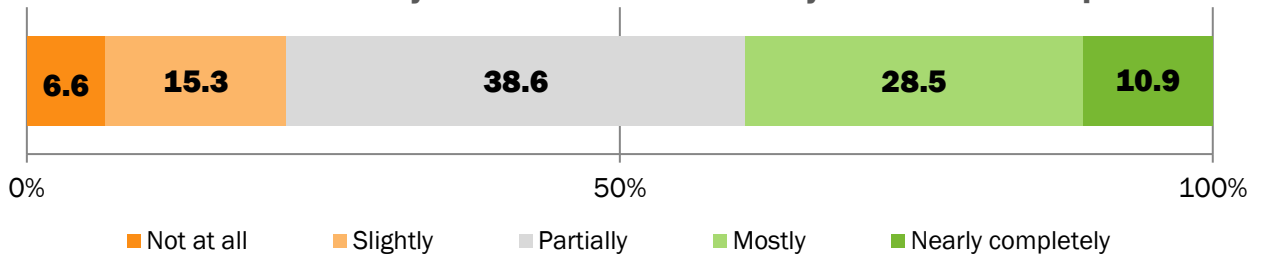
62 percent of the general public, in other words, almost two out of every three people, thinks that the majority or all the politicians in Turkey are involved in corruption. On the other hand, 39 percent of the general public believes that the majority or all of the civil servants are involved in corrupt practices.

In order to understand whether the overall picture or personal experiences affect the respondents' perception of the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices, we have asked the respondents about how often they come across a request by a civil servant for bribe. In response to this question, one fourth of the respondents expressed that they had never come across such a request, and only 3 percent of the respondents stated that they were always or frequently asked to pay bribes.

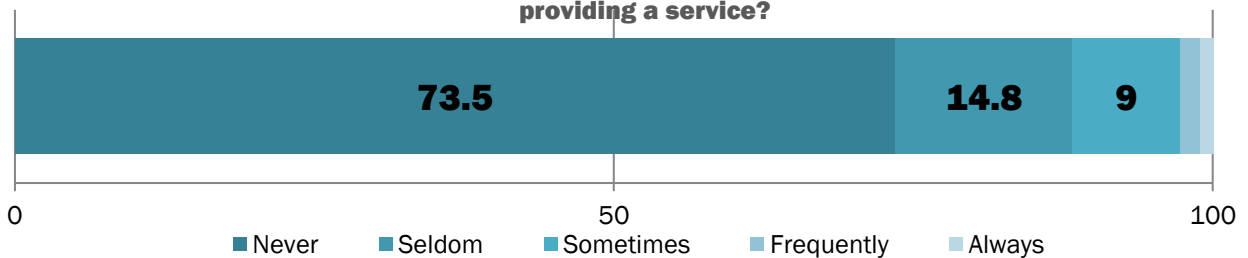
To what extent do you think politicians in Turkey are involved in corruption?



To what extent do you think civil servants in Turkey are involved in corruption?



In the last five years, how often did a civil servant ask for a bribe or favor from you or a member of your family or made such an implication, in return for providing a service?



On the other hand, it is a common perception among society that civil servants do not treat people equally and that they discriminate people based on who they are or whom they know. Only 25 percent of society believes that civil servants treat everyone equally, while 86 percent thinks that the behavior of a civil servant “definitely” or “often” changes when there is an acquaintance involved. Thus, it is possible to claim that rather than bribery, such behavior of civil servants is more influential on the respondents' perception that civil servants are involved in corrupt practices. It can

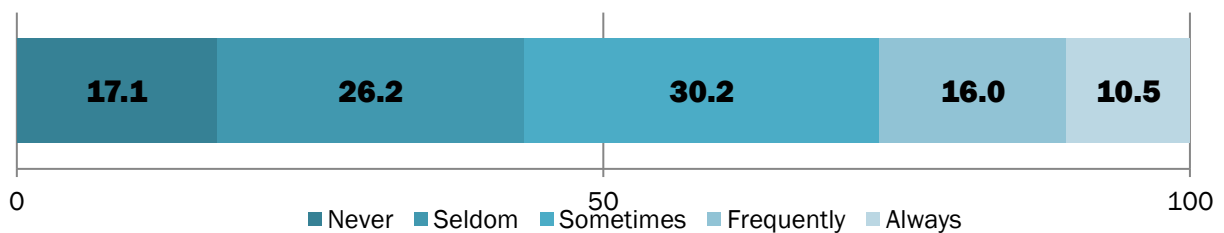


indeed be observed that the perception of corruption is more closely related to the perception of unequal treatment than bribery itself.

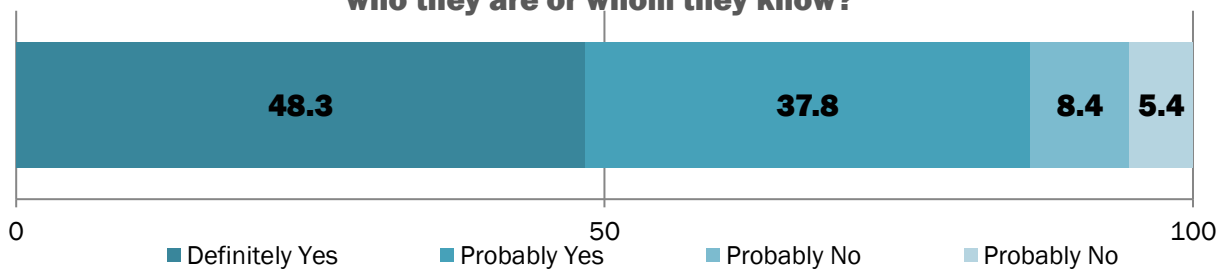
Ak Parti supporters and opponents may be anticipated to have contrasting opinions on the questions about corruption due to the fact that Ak Parti has been in power over the past 12 years and the political arena is extremely polarized at the moment. However, when civil servants are in question, polarization is not as extreme as it is in other issues.

Corruption does not touch upon personal lives of individuals. It is a common practice in the country; however, it does not directly touch the lives of individuals, or in other words it is something which individuals do not experience in their personal lives. The second noteworthy point is that “partisanship” is more common and more influential than corruption in shaping the public opinion.

How often do you think civil servants treat people equally?

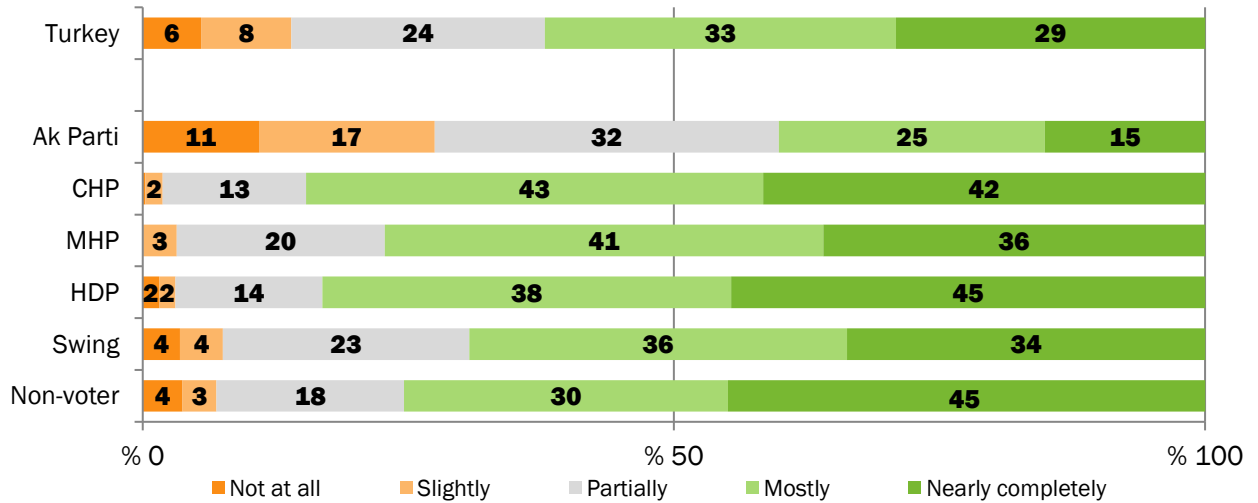


Do you think civil servants treat people differently on the basis of who they are or whom they know?





To what extent do you think politicians in Turkey are involved in corruption?



85 percent of CHP voters, 77 percent of MHP voters, and 83 percent of HDP voters believe that politicians are involved in corruption. The corresponding rate among Ak Parti voters is 40 percent. Although the rate among Ak Parti voters is quite low in comparison to other voter groups, at first sight it may be surprising that two out of every five Ak Parti voters think that the majority of politicians are involved in corrupt practices. It could very well be the case that Ak Parti voters do not evaluate the debates on corruption on the basis of “right/wrong”, and instead consider the issue in light of the recent debates of the past year and act with a protective motive. According to our previous research, approximately 10 percent of Ak Parti voters have conflicting opinions with the rest of the Ak Parti voters on current political events. It may be surprising that the rate of Ak Parti voters who oppose the party's discourse is 40 percent when corruption is in question. In addition, the rate of Ak Parti voters who think that politicians are involved in corruption is higher than that of Ak Parti voters who think that very few or none of the politicians are involved in corrupt practices (28 percent).

There could be two reasons for this. The first reason is the fact that the question inquires about all of the politicians. In order to explain the other reason, it would be helpful to remember the findings provided in the January'14 Barometer, which was published soon after the December 17th operations, on the respondents' opinions on bribery. 48 percent of Ak Parti voters believed that the allegations of bribery were true. Therefore, it is not a new development that a significant part of Ak Parti voters oppose the remainder of Ak Parti voters when corruption is in question.

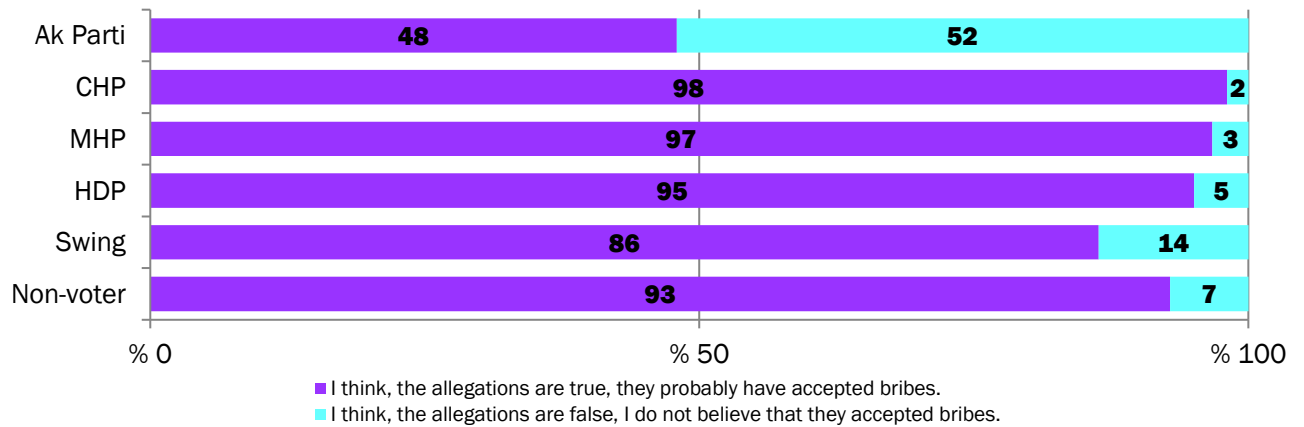
The divergence of opinion between Ak Parti voters and opposition voters decreases when they are inquired about their opinions on the civil servants' involvement in corruption. Almost half of the opposition voters and one third of Ak Parti voters believe that the majority of civil servants are involved in corrupt practices. The rate of respondents who witnessed such corrupt practices at first hand is lower among Ak Parti voters in comparison to other voter groups.



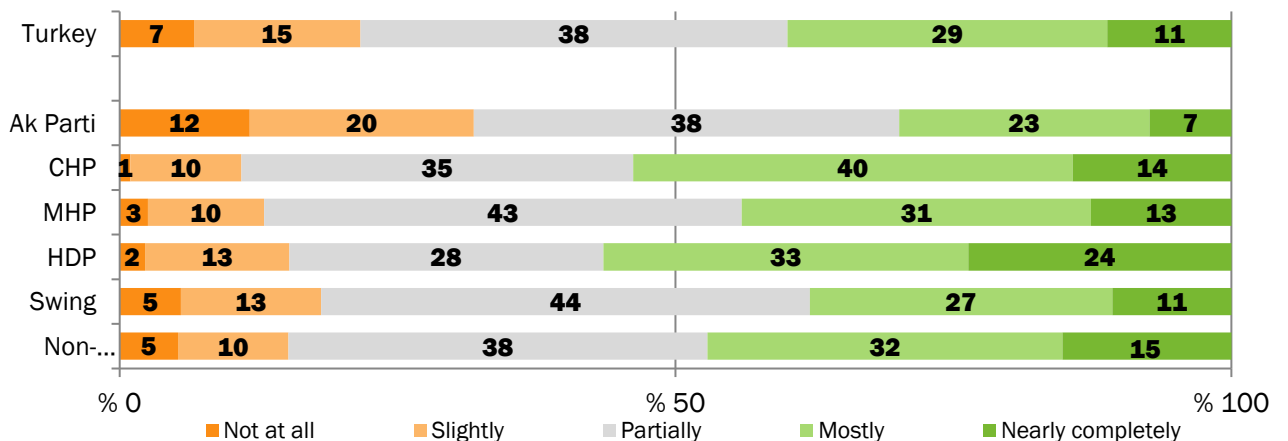
However, the lower rate of complaints on the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices in comparison to the involvement of politicians does not necessarily mean that the respondents are content with the behavior of civil servants. On the contrary, voters of each party are equally dissatisfied with the behavior of civil servants. 41 percent of Ak Parti voters, 46 percent of CHP voters, 36 percent of MHP voters, and 53 percent of HDP voters think that civil servants never or rarely treat citizens equally. Similarly, 80 percent of Ak Parti voters and 91-92 percent of opposition voters believe that civil servants manner of treatment changes when acquaintances are involved.

Consequently, one third of the general public believes that civil servants are involved in corruption; however, their opinions are not based on a first-hand experience of bribery, but rather on partisanship/favoritism regardless of their political preferences.

What do you think about the allegations that the sons of three ministers and a minister accepted bribes? (January 2014)

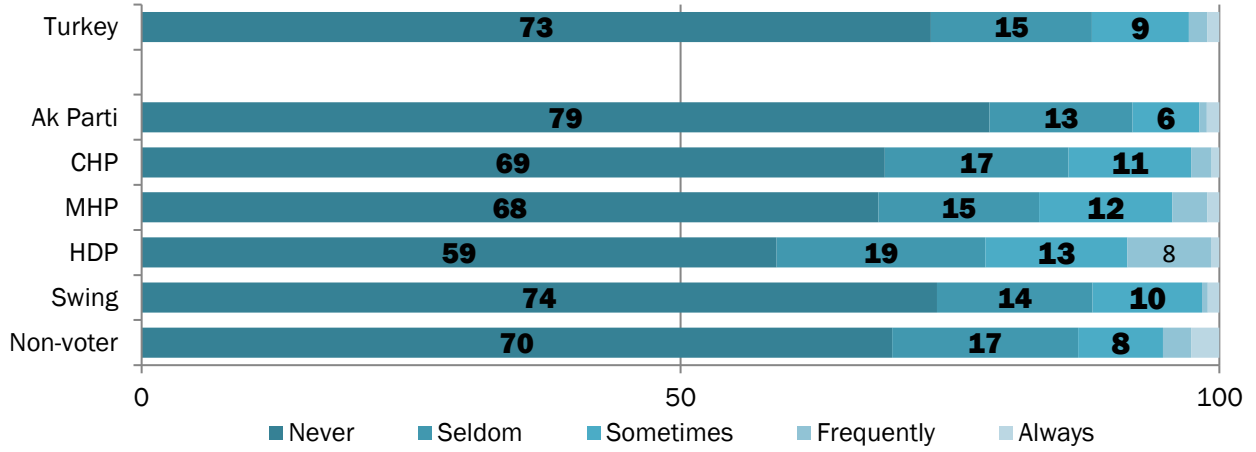


To what extent do you think civil servants in Turkey are involved in corruption?

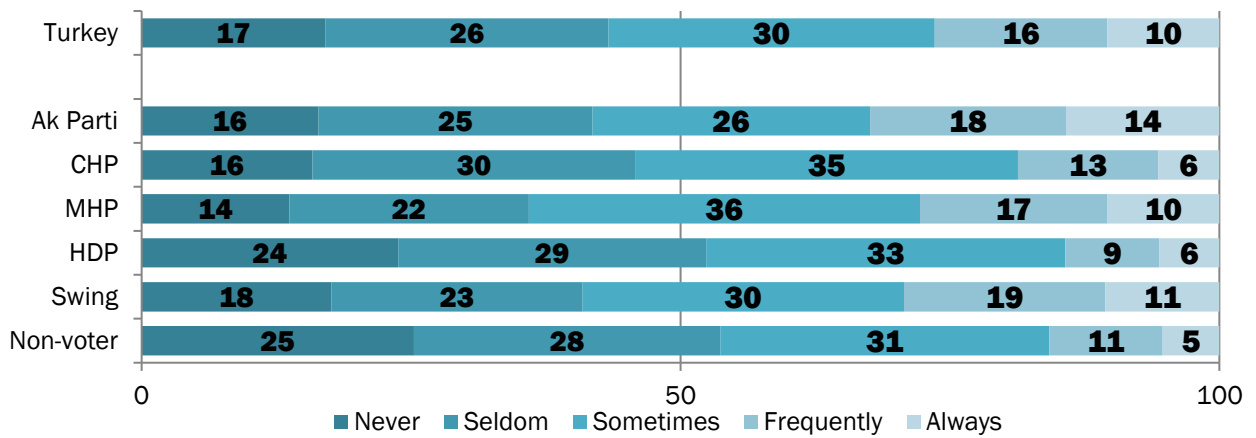




In the last five years, how often did a civil servant ask for a bribe or favor from you or a member of your family or made such an implication, in return for providing a service?

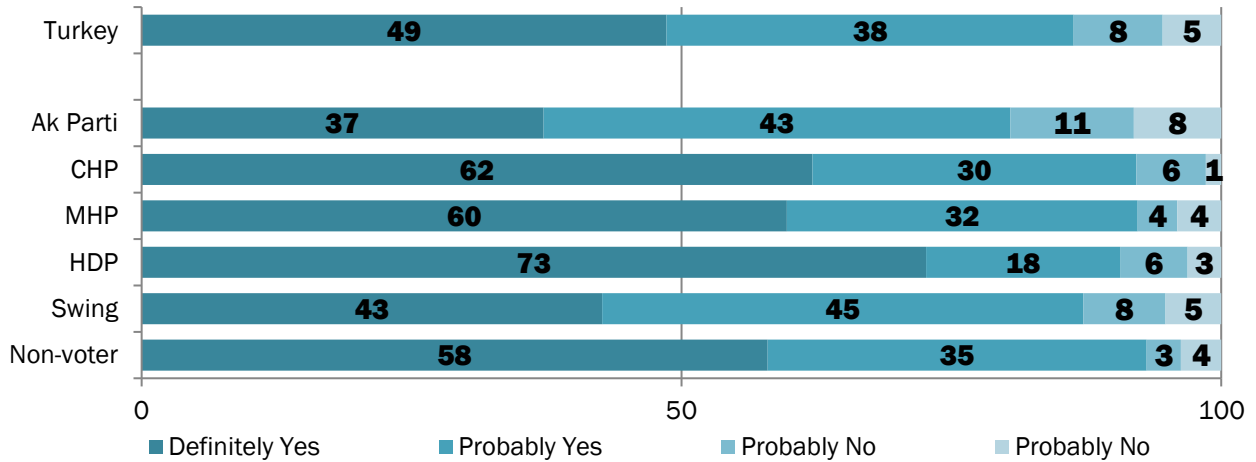


How often do you think civil servants treat people equally?





Do you think civil servants treat people differently on the basis of who they are or whom they know?



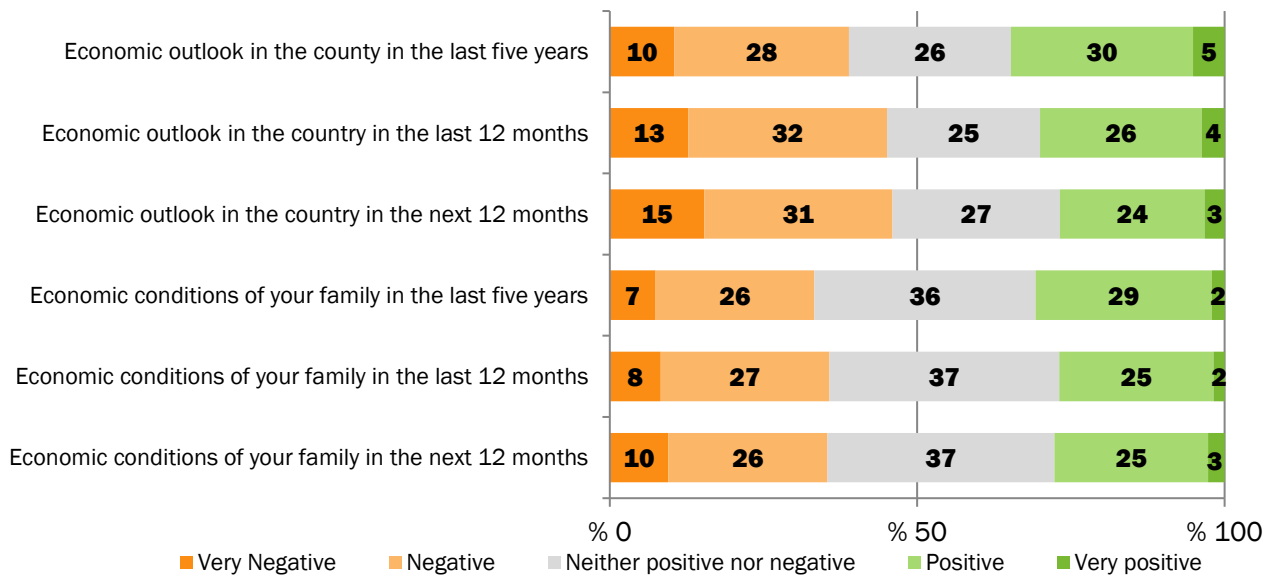
It appears that perceptions on this issue, on which voters of Ak Parti and other parties resemble each other to a greater extent and are less polarized than usual, do not vary considerably by demographic characteristics. The opinion that there is corruption and favoritism is more common among the moderns in comparison to the other lifestyle clusters. The degree of piety also has a similar influence. As the degree of piety increases, the rate of the respondents who think that corruption and favoritism exist decreases. In addition, the rate of the respondents who think that civil servants treat equally increases with higher economic class. This confirms the fact that civil servants treat individuals who have upper income more favorably than those with low income. Similarly, the respondents who state that they have difficulty in sustaining a livelihood express that both politicians and civil servants are involved in corrupt practices and do not treat individuals equally.



2.3. Perception of Economic Conditions

Studies which analyze the influence of economic conditions on politics reveal that voters reward the ruling party if the economic outlook is favorable, and punish and do not vote for the ruling party when the economic outlook is not favorable. However, studies which delve into further detail identify two axes which are most critical for voters in terms of the economic outlook. The first axis includes determining the scope, in other words determining whether respondents evaluate the overall economic condition in the country or the economic condition in their household, as a priority. The second axis includes understanding the term, in other words determining whether the respondents consider the performance of the ruling party over one or five years, or take future expectations into account. In this month's research, we have focused on these criteria in order to clarify how the respondents' perception of economic condition reflects on the shares of the vote.

How do you see the economic outlook?



As presented in the graph above, in all of the six areas we inquired about the economic outlook, almost one third (27-35 percent) of the respondents find the economic outlook favorable, while one third to half (33-46 percent) of the respondents think otherwise.

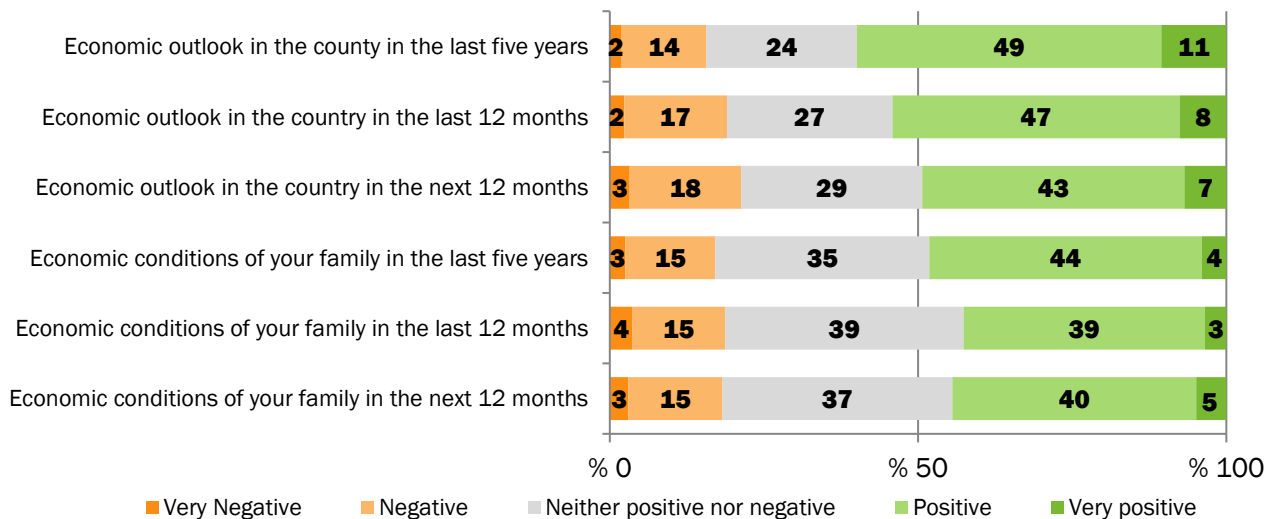
The perception of economic outlook over the last five years reveals the most favorable results. It is noteworthy that the respondents evaluate the economic outlook over the last five years as the most favorable, over the last twelve months as a little less favorable, and over the next twelve months as the least favorable when inquired about the economic outlook in the country. Indeed, it will be presented in the Morale Index section that the expectation for a crisis has increased. When inquired about the economic conditions of their households, the respondents are not as pessimistic as they are about the economic outlook in the country. The rate of the respondents who



state that the economic condition in their household is “unfavorable” and “extremely unfavorable” is lower.

We will first take a closer look at how Ak Parti voters evaluate the economic conditions. As anticipated, Ak Parti voters are more optimistic than the average, and they think that the economic outlook in the country is more favorable than the economic conditions in their households. The usual difference between the economic outlook in the country and in the household is not observed in the case of Ak Parti voters. Although they expect that the economic outlook in Turkey in the next year will be worse than the last year, they expect that the economic conditions in their household will be better over the next year than the last year. In other words, Ak Parti voters are more optimistic about economic conditions in their household, but more pessimistic about the economic outlook in the country.

Ak Parti voters - How do you see the economic outlook?



When we implement the theory, which foresees that the evaluation on economic conditions influence the share of the vote received by the ruling party, on our data, we can calculate how Ak Parti's share of the vote will change when the economic outlook is unfavorable (or when there is a stronger perception that the economic outlook is unfavorable).

As presented in the graph below, if all of the Ak Parti voters who evaluate the economic outlook over the last 5 years as extremely unfavorable do not vote for Ak Parti, Ak Parti's share of the vote would decrease by 1 percent, and if all of the Ak Parti voters who evaluate the economic outlook as extremely unfavorable or unfavorable do not vote for Ak Parti, Ak Parti's share of the vote would decrease by 7.7 points.

Depending on the voters' evaluations on the economic outlook in different areas and terms, Ak Parti's share of the vote could decrease between 1 and 10.5 percent. However, such a decrease is only possible if voters only take the economic outlook into consideration when making their voting decision. But, other factors such as political ideologies, polarization and corruption are also influential, and it might be unfounded



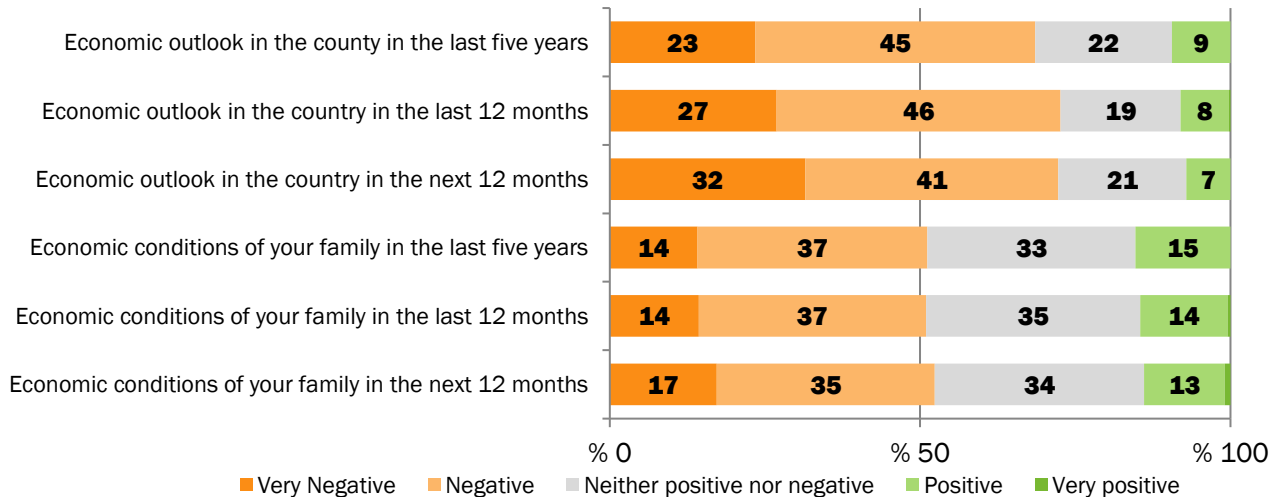
to arrive at a conclusion solely based on the evaluations on the economic outlook. Indeed, when polarization is taken into account, it seems quite impossible that Ak Parti will lose 10.5 percent of its votes due to an unfavorable economic outlook.



	Ak Parti voters who think that it is extremely unfavorable (percent)	Ak Parti voters who think that it is extremely unfavorable or unfavorable (percent)
Economic outlook in the country over the last 5 years	1.0	7.7
Economic outlook in the country over the last 12 months	1.1	9.3
Economic outlook in the country in the next 12 months	1.6	10.5
Economic outlook in the household over the last 5 years	1.2	8.4
Economic outlook in the household over the last 12 months	1.8	9.2
Economic outlook in the household in the next 12 months	1.5	9.0

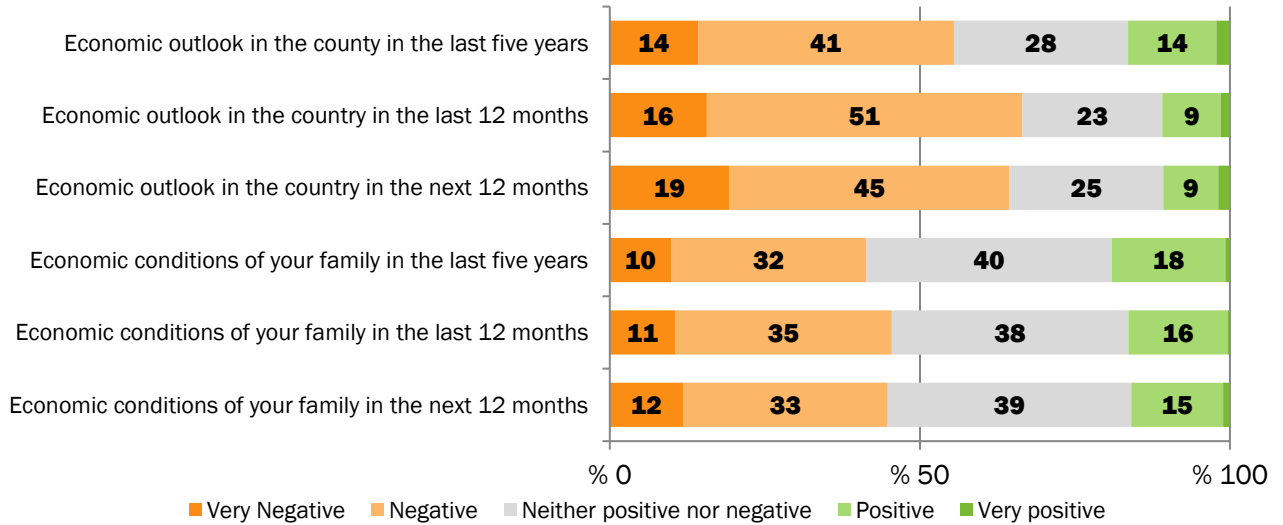
In the previous reports, we have mentioned that political preferences are consolidated and polarized to a great extent, and the permeability between parties is quite low in recent periods. Therefore, if we assume that a certain amount of Ak Parti voters who evaluate the economic outlook unfavorable and will decide to punish Ak Parti, we may consider that they will not go to the polls rather than voting for another party.

CHP voters - How do you see the economic outlook?

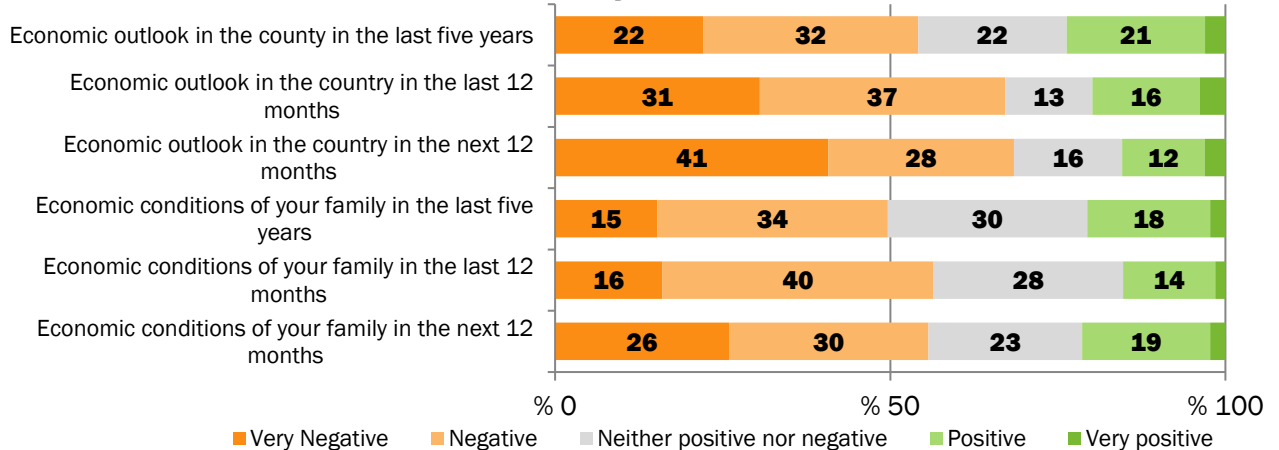




MHP voters - How do you see the economic outlook?



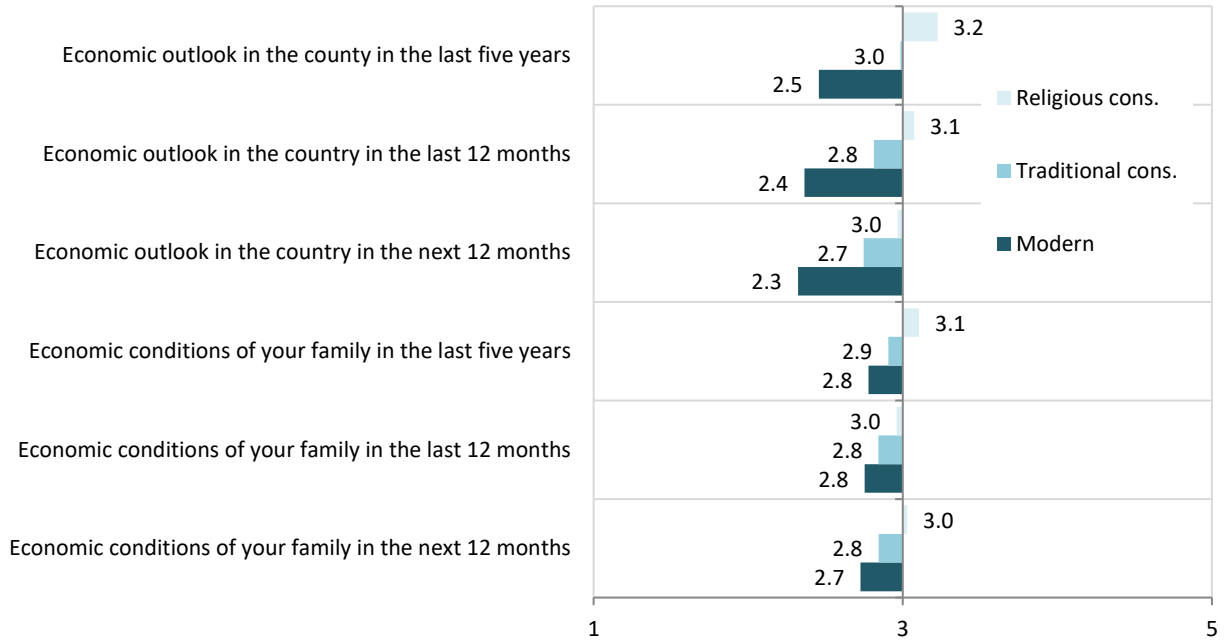
HDP voters - How do you see the economic outlook?



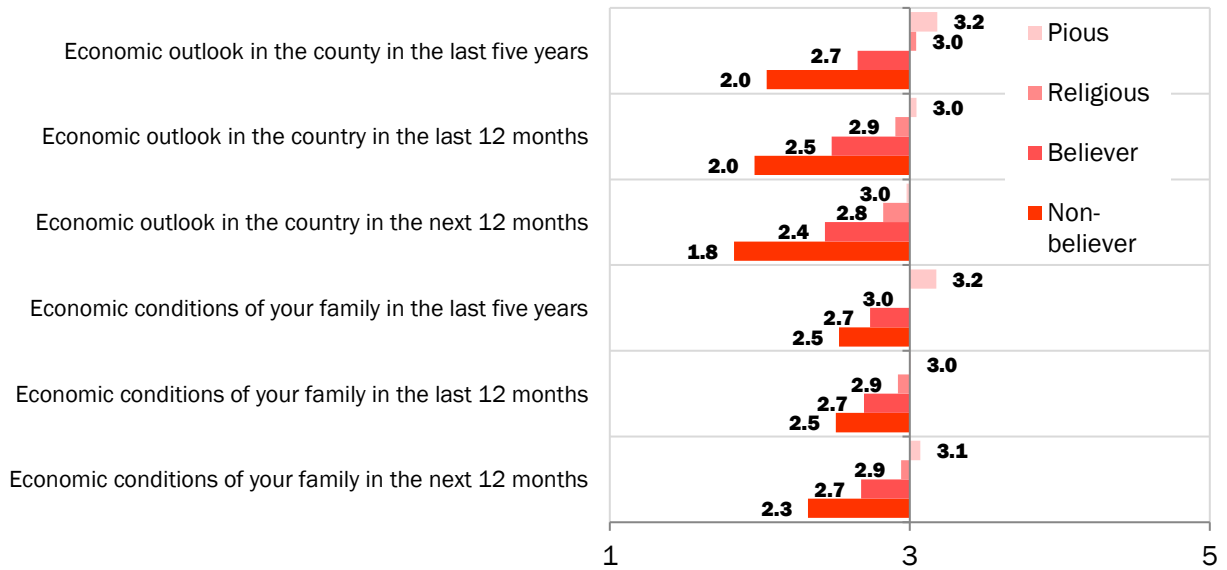
When we take a look at the factors other than political preferences which influence perception of economic conditions, it is possible to observe that two factors are influential: lifestyle and degree of piety, and making a living. Evaluations on the economic conditions in the country differ greatly based on lifestyle clusters and degree of piety, perception of the economic conditions in the household does not differ greatly. Evaluations on the economic outlook in the country and the economic conditions of the household also do not differ greatly based on making a living.



Perception of the economic conditions by lifestyle clusters

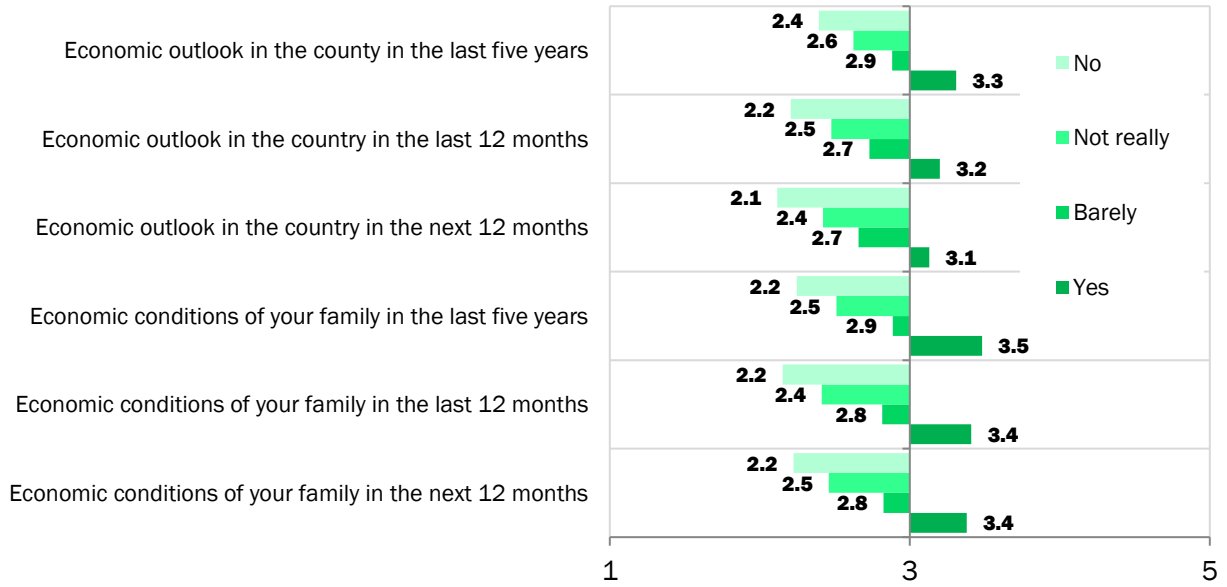


Perception of the economic conditions by degree of piety





Perception of the economic conditions by making a living

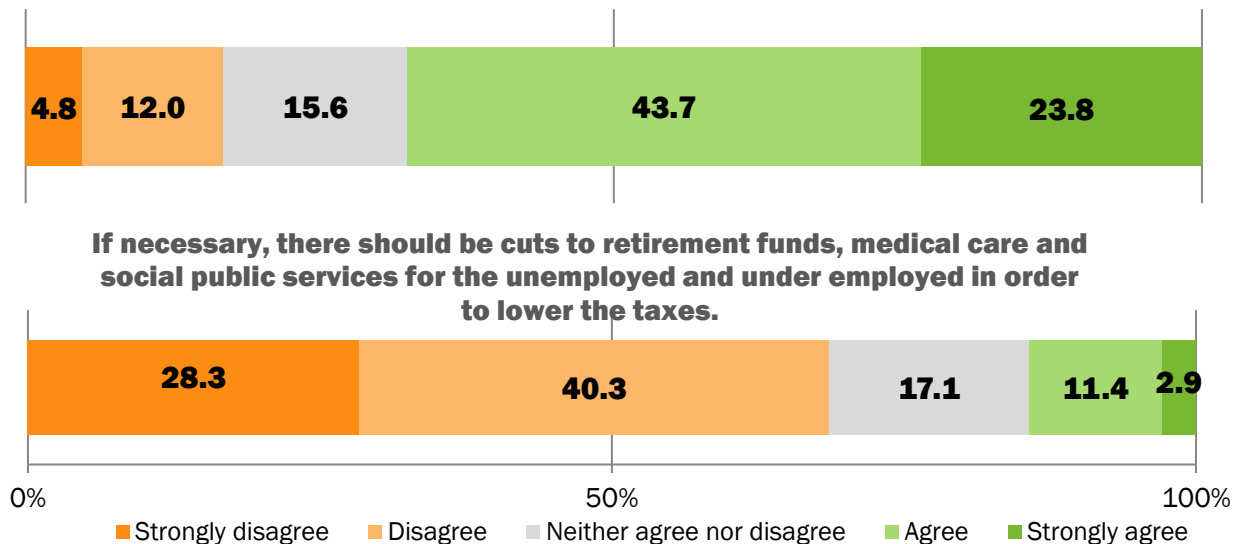




2.3.1. Taxes and Social Services

The relation between taxes and social services is the last issue that we dealt with about society's perception of the economic outlook. 68 percent of the general public thinks that public social services should be improved even if it leads to an increase in the amount of taxes, and 67 percent of society thinks that such services should not be restricted in order to decrease the amount of taxes. When we take a look at both of the issues, we can observe that half of the general public expresses that such public services should be improved and should not be restricted in order to decrease the amount of taxes.

Retirement funds, medical care and social public services for the unemployed and under employed should be improved even if this means that everyone will be paying more taxes.



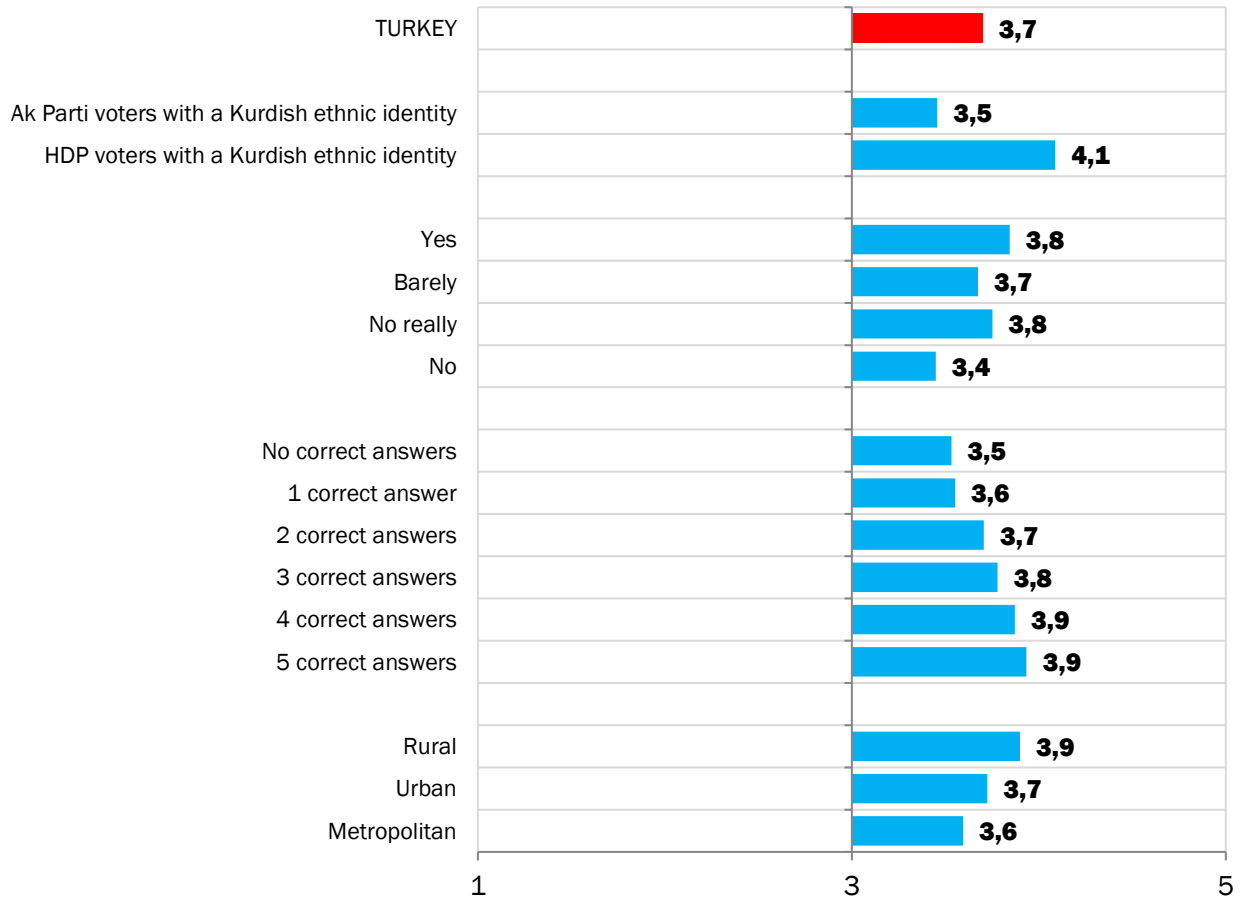
In contrary to the usual, the relation between taxes and public social services is not influenced by political preferences and polarization or by educational attainment level and lifestyle. In other words, individuals in Turkey think alike about this issue regardless of their political preferences and demographic characteristics. Several factors stand out in terms of the improvement of the services, and opinions on the restriction of the services do not differ. As shown in the below graph, the differences in opinion can be listed as below:

- The rate of the respondents who think that the taxes should be increased and public social services should be further improved is higher among HDP voters and particularly among the Kurdish who vote for HDP. The corresponding rate among the Kurdish who vote for Ak Parti is below the average.
- The respondents who have difficulty in sustaining a living probably react against increased taxes and provide more cautious responses in terms of the improvement of social services.
- The demand for the improvement of services increases with higher political sophistication.



- The opinion that public social services should be improved is more prevalent among the respondents who live in rural areas, while it is supported to a lesser extent by the respondents who live in metropolitan areas.
- It is also noteworthy that the respondents who could benefit from these services the most such as the retired, unemployed and the poor do not make such a demand at high rates.

Public social services should be improved although it may lead to increase in the amount of taxes.

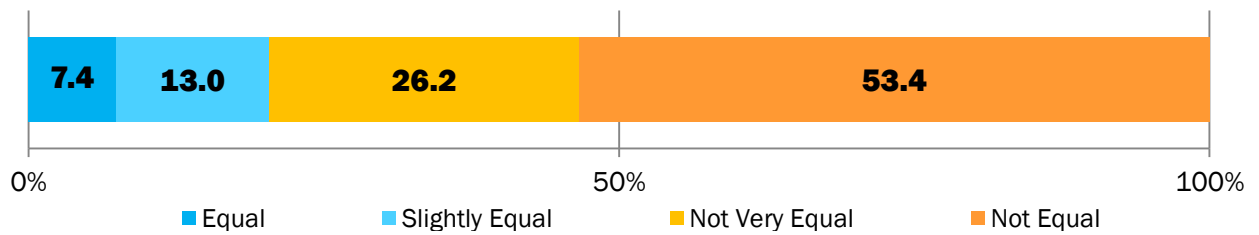




2.3.2. Economic Inequality

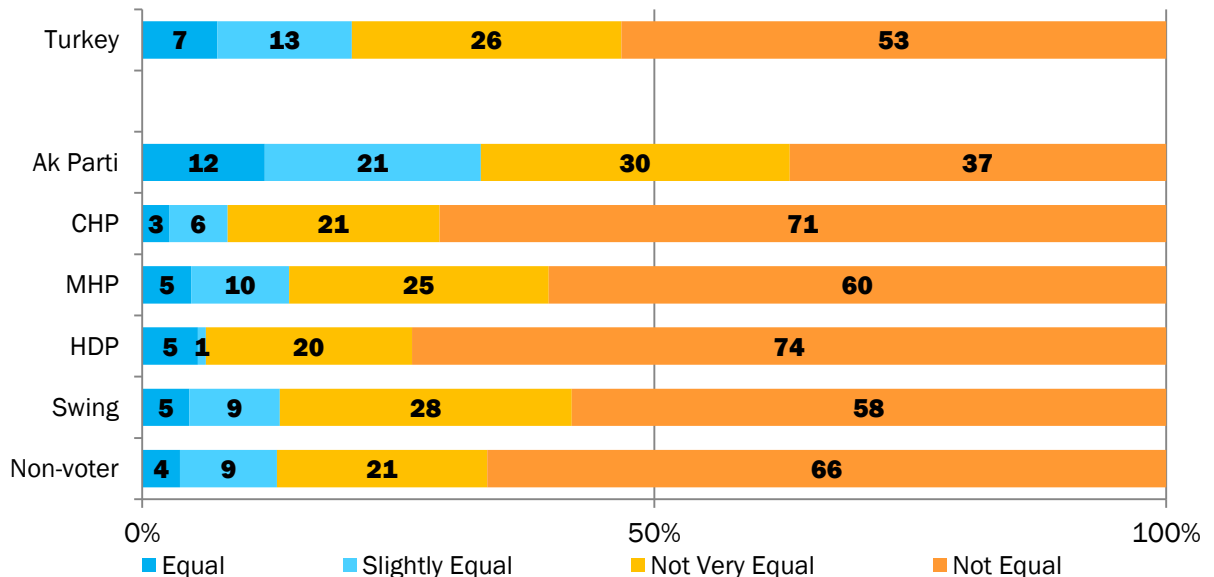
Four out of every five individuals in Turkey think that there is economic inequality in the country. Although the fact that two thirds of Ak Parti voters agree on the existence of economic inequality implies that the issue may be influenced by polarization, the majority of society thinks that there is economic inequality in the country.

How equal do you think income distribution in Turkey is?



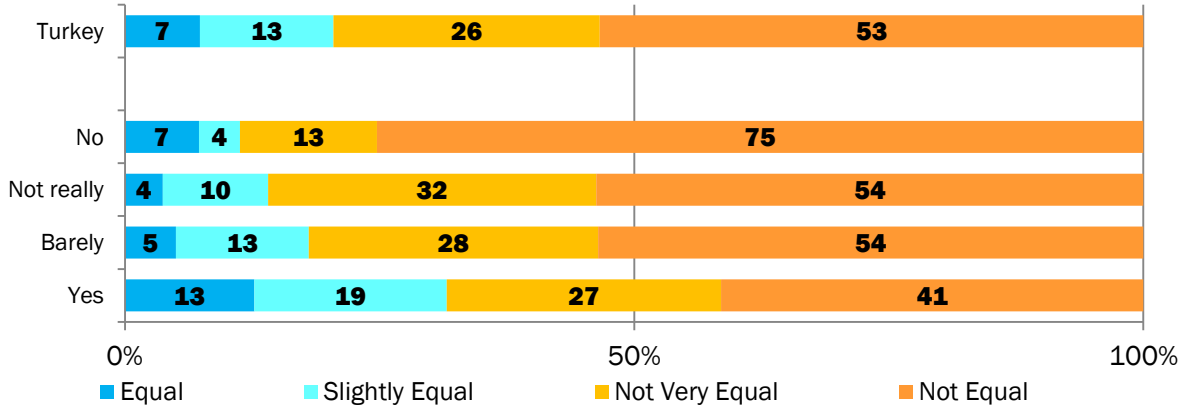
The rate of the respondents who think that there is economic inequality in the country increases as the respondents have more difficulty in sustaining a livelihood. Lifestyle clusters and degree of piety are also influential on respondents' opinions, but not to the extent that being able to afford a living is.

How equal do you think income distribution in Turkey is?





How equal do you think income distribution in Turkey is? / Were you able to afford a living?



When we analyze the influence of the perception of inequality on the perception of corruption and economic condition, we can see that its influence on both is quite significant. As seen in the correlation table below, the opinion that economic inequality exists affects the perceptions of the economic outlook in the country more than it affects the perceptions of the economic outlook in the household.

	Relation between the opinions on income equality
Involvement of politicians in corruption	0.37*
Involvement of civil servants in corruption	0.27
Civil servants' demand for bribe	0.01
Equal treatment by civil servants	-0.04
Civil servants behavior change when responding to acquaintances	-0.27
Economic outlook in the country over the last 12 months	-0.33
Economic outlook in the household over the last 12 months	-0.26
Economic outlook in the country over the last 5 years	-0.30
Economic outlook in the household over the last 5 years	-0.26
Economic outlook in the country in the next 12 months	-0.34
Economic outlook in the household in the next 12 months	-0.28

*The closer the figures are to 1 or -1, a stronger relation exists between two issues.

When we look into the relation between economic inequality and corruption, it is possible to observe that the relation is the strongest between economic inequality and the politicians' involvement in corrupt practices. In other words, if the respondents think that there is economic inequality in Turkey, it is more likely that they will think that



the politicians in Turkey are involved in corrupt practices. A similar relation exists between economic inequality and the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices. These relations exist even if political preference is eliminated from the equation; in other words, respondents' opinions are not influenced by political preferences.



2.3.3. Political Sophistication

Studies focusing on the influence of economic outlook on politics also take political sophistication into consideration. If voters make rational political preferences, it may be anticipated that voters, who are presumably more informed, will make rather rational decisions and will take the economic outlook further into consideration as they make their decisions. In order to measure political sophistication, we directed an open-ended question which inquired about five institutions or positions, and we grouped the responses.

Who is the Speaker of the Parliament? Who is the current Speaker of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey?	Percent
Correct answer (Cemil Çiçek)	46.9
Wrong answer	2.9
Does not know/No answer	50.2
Total	100.0

Who is the Minister of Education? Who is the current Minister of Education?	Percent
Correct answer (Nabi Avcı)	34.8
Wrong answer	2.4
Does not know/No answer	62.7
Total	100.0

Which institution in Turkey is responsible for overseeing the elections?	Percent
Correct answer (Supreme Election council)	53.7
Wrong answer	3.1
Does not know/No answer	43.2
Total	100.0

Which ministry is responsible for overseeing telecommunication services (telephone, Internet)?	Percent
Correct answer (Ministry of Transport, Maritime Affairs and Communications)	35.1
Wrong answer	11.7
Does not know/No answer	53.1
Total	100.0



Which ministry is responsible for overseeing the police organization?	Percent
Correct answer (Ministry of Interior)	38.3
Wrong answer	7.7
Does not know/No answer	54.0
Total	100.0

The highest rates of respondents gave the correct answer when inquired about the institution which oversees the electoral procedures (53.7 percent) and the speaker of the parliament (46.9 percent); while the lowest rate of respondents gave the correct answer when asked about the ministry which is responsible for overseeing the telecommunications services (35.1 percent). Predictably, the rate of providing a correct answer increases with higher educational attainment level. When we observe the response rates by political parties, we can draw the conclusion that MHP voters have the most extensive knowledge about politics, while Ak Parti voters have the least knowledge about politics.

Rate of correct answers	Educational attainment level			
	Below high school	High school	University	Turkey
Speaker of the Parliament	37	54	67	47
Minister of Education	24	42	59	35
Institution overseeing electoral procedures	40	66	81	54
Ministry overseeing telecommunications services	29	40	49	35
Ministry overseeing of the police organization	27	47	64	38

Rate of correct answers	Party preference						
	Ak Parti	CHP	MHP	HDP	Swing voter	Non-voter	Turkey
Speaker of the Parliament	43	54	56	54	40	45	47
Minister of Education	32	38	42	42	32	33	35
Institution overseeing electoral procedures	47	61	68	52	52	55	54
Ministry overseeing telecommunications services	33	40	41	24	32	33	35
Ministry overseeing of the police organization	32	44	48	42	39	41	38



In order to understand the relation between the respondents' political sophistication and their perception of corruption and economic outlook, we first identified how many correct answers each respondent gave, and prepared the table below. Three out of every ten adults in Turkey failed to give a correct answer to any of the questions we directed.

Political sophistication	Percent
No correct answer	27.9
1 correct answer	16.2
2 correct answers	15.1
3 correct answers	14.2
4 correct answers	13.1
5 correct answers	13.6
Total	100.0

There is no significant relation between the respondents' political sophistication and their perception of the economic outlook; respondents who have a high level of political sophistication do not have different perceptions or opinions than the respondents who have a lower level of political sophistication. However, it is possible to state that political sophistication has a certain influence on the perception of corruption. Increased political sophistication leads to an increased belief in the involvement of politicians in corrupt practices, and the existence of favoritism and unequal treatment by civil servants. It is not possible to observe such a relation between political sophistication and the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices and bribery. In general, political sophistication is not as influential as the perception of inequality.

	Political sophistication
Involvement of politicians in corruption	0.10*
Involvement of civil servants in corruption	0.02
Civil servants' demand for bribe	0.03
Equal treatment by civil servants	0.08
Civil servants behavior change when responding to acquaintances	-0.09

*The closer the figures are to 1 or -1, a stronger relation exists between two issues.



2.4. An Evaluation of Perception of Corruption and Economic Outlook

Yasushi Hazama - Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO), Director of the Middle Eastern Studies Group¹

Although there are no exact measures on the scope of corruption in Turkey, comparing the perception of corruption in Turkey with the perception of corruption in other countries may be helpful in revealing the nature of corruption in Turkey. With the assumption that the rate of the perception of corruption does not change significantly from country to country in terms of reflecting the real picture, we can provide a prediction based on the rankings of corruption perception in each country.

The table provided on the following page presents the ranking of 35 democratic countries/regions by the scale of corruption according to a study which was conducted by the International Social Survey Program (ISSP) in 2006. Turkey was not included in the study in 2006; therefore, the position of Turkey in the table was identified based on the findings of KONDA October'14 Barometer. It is inevitable that the perception of corruption in other countries has changed between 2006 and 2014. Therefore, our evaluation will provide a broad approach. Three findings on the table are noteworthy.

First of all, it is possible to observe the position of Turkey among other democratic countries in terms of corruption. In the table, five parameters were taken into consideration for corruption (politicians' involvement in corrupt practices, civil servants' involvement in corrupt practices, bribery, equal treatment by civil servants and favoring acquaintances), and the countries are ranked from those where corruption is rare to those where corruption is common. Consequently, older democracies are in the top ranks, whereas newer democracies are listed towards the bottom. It is notable that Turkey is in the top ranks among the newer democracies. It ranks as 21st when the average of its ranking in all five parameters is taken.

Second, although civil servants are evaluated as more decent and less corrupt in comparison to politicians in general, this trend is more prevalent in Turkey than other countries. In the table, although the scale of politicians' involvement in corruption is almost the same as that of the civil servants' involvement, politicians' involvement (in other words the rate of the respondents who state that the majority or all of the politicians are involved in corrupt practices) is in higher ranks than the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices. This difference implies that the extent of corruption is greater. On the other hand, the involvement of politicians in corrupt practices in Turkey is in the 29th place, while the involvement of civil servants in corrupt practices is in the 23rd place.

¹Mr. Hazama completed his higher education in Turkey, and his academic research is focused on Turkey and the electoral systems in Turkey. He has published many articles, including articles he wrote by using KONDA data, and he is the author of the book titled “*Electoral Volatility in Turkey: Cleavages vs. the Economy*” which was published by JETRO in 2007. KONDA has been collaborating with Mr. Hazama since 2009. Mr. Hazama contributed to the April'12 Barometer under the scope of the Barometer project.



The third noteworthy point is that Turkey does not lag behind the older democracies in terms of the demand for bribes and lack of equal treatment by civil servants. When we observe the perception of bribery in Turkey, it is possible to state that the extent of bribery in New Zealand or the Netherlands in 2006 is equal to that in Turkey in 2014. On the other hand, it is a common impression that the behavior of civil servants is highly influenced by acquaintances. This factor probably reinforces the impression that civil servants are involved in corrupt practices. But when we consider the perception that civil servants treat citizens equally, it is possible to comment that this situation leads to the impression that “it is fine if there are acquaintances involved; otherwise it will not do any major harm”.

In short, the black sheep in terms of corruption in Turkey are politicians, and not the civil servants. The reforms introduced by the government seem to have enabled the public services provided on a daily basis to become much more transparent. In other words, the opportunities for corruption are not available for the small fish anymore; it is only available for the big fish.



Table

Rank	Politician (s12)		Civil Servant (s13)		Bribery (s14)		Equity (s15)		Connections (s16)	
1	Denmark	0.03	Denmark	0.02	Denmark	0.01	Denmark	0.77	Denmark	0.38
2	Switzerland	0.09	Switzerland	0.08	Finland	0.01	Switzerland	0.69	Finland	0.51
3	Norway	0.09	New Zealand	0.13	Switzerland	0.02	Finland	0.67	Japan	0.56
4	Holland	0.12	Finland	0.14	Ireland	0.02	Germany-West	0.61	Holland	0.58
5	New Zealand	0.12	Ireland	0.16	Norway	0.02	Norway	0.61	Germany-West	0.59
6	Finland	0.13	Australia	0.16	Japan	0.03	Hungary	0.54	Norway	0.63
7	Australia	0.15	Germany-West	0.16	Sweden	0.03	Holland	0.53	Germany-East	0.65
8	Sweden	0.17	Norway	0.17	New Zealand	0.03	Sweden	0.52	New Zealand	0.68
9	Italy	0.26	Sweden	0.19	Turkey	0.03	Germany-East	0.48	Israel-Arab	0.68
10	Germany-West	0.28	Italy	0.21	Holland	0.03	Uruguay	0.47	Switzerland	0.70
11	Canada	0.29	Canada	0.22	Italy	0.03	Ireland	0.45	Italy	0.71
12	Ireland	0.29	Germany-East	0.22	Germany-East	0.03	New Zealand	0.43	Philippines	0.72
13	Germany-East	0.30	Taiwan	0.22	Australia	0.04	Spain	0.42	Canada	0.72
14	Uruguay	0.36	Holland	0.23	Spain	0.04	Turkey	0.42	Venezuela	0.73
15	Japan	0.39	Japan	0.24	Germany-West	0.05	France	0.42	Australia	0.74
16	USA	0.41	France	0.27	Portugal	0.05	Israel-Jewish	0.41	Czech Republic	0.75
17	Chile	0.41	USA	0.31	USA	0.05	Australia	0.41	Russia	0.76
18	France	0.43	Uruguay	0.32	Slovenia	0.06	Canada	0.40	Latvia	0.76
19	Czech Republic	0.49	Slovenia	0.34	France	0.06	Chile	0.40	Croatia	0.77
20	Slovenia	0.50	Spain	0.34	Canada	0.06	Latvia	0.38	Israel-Jewish	0.77
21	Spain	0.52	Portugal	0.34	Poland	0.07	Croatia	0.38	South Africa	0.77
22	Portugal	0.53	Czech Republic	0.37	Dominican Rep.	0.07	Venezuela	0.37	Uruguay	0.78
23	Poland	0.56	Turkey	0.38	South Korea	0.08	Portugal	0.37	Slovenia	0.79
24	Taiwan	0.56	South Korea	0.41	Israel-Jewish	0.10	Slovenia	0.37	Hungary	0.79
25	South Africa	0.57	Chile	0.42	Philippines	0.10	Italy	0.36	France	0.80
26	Russia	0.60	Hungary	0.43	Uruguay	0.10	Taiwan	0.35	Poland	0.80
27	Dominican Rep.	0.60	Poland	0.46	Taiwan	0.10	Czech Republic	0.35	South Korea	0.81
28	Venezuela	0.61	Latvia	0.49	Hungary	0.11	USA	0.33	Spain	0.82
29	Turkey	0.62	Croatia	0.53	Israel-Arab	0.12	South Korea	0.28	Portugal	0.83
30	Hungary	0.62	South Africa	0.54	Chile	0.14	Poland	0.28	Turkey	0.84
31	Latvia	0.64	Dominican Rep.	0.55	Czech Republic	0.17	South Africa	0.24	Taiwan	0.84
32	Philippines	0.67	Venezuela	0.55	South Africa	0.18	Japan	0.20	Ireland	0.85
33	South Korea	0.70	Russia	0.61	Latvia	0.18	Israel-Arab	0.13	Sweden	0.85
34	Croatia	0.71	Israel-Jewish	0.62	Croatia	0.19	Philippines	0.11	Chile	0.86
35	Israel-Jewish	0.80	Philippines	0.68	Russia	0.24	Russia	0.09	Dominican Rep.	0.86
36	Israel-Arab	0.80	Israel-Arab	0.72	Venezuela	0.88	Dominican Rep.	0.06	USA	0.88

Source: International Social Survey Program 2006 Database (excl. Turkey). <http://www.issp.org/index.php>

Note: Countries were listed in the order of lowest to the highest in terms of the total rate for the two response options that reflect the highest levels of corruption (e.g. "Nearly completely" and "Mostly" for the question on whether politicians are involved in corruption or not).

Do these perceptions of corruption affect support for the government? As noted in earlier sections, perceptions on corruption greatly vary among ruling party voters and opposition party voters. We formulated a prediction model (the logit model) which includes a great variety of variables, with the aim to understand whether voter sympathy for a certain political party affected perception on corruption, and to control these effects, at least partially. While building the model, we included a variable based on whether a respondent voted for AKP or not in the 2014 Local Elections. We also included the perception on economic situation because this perception is a significant factor, both in Turkey and around the world.



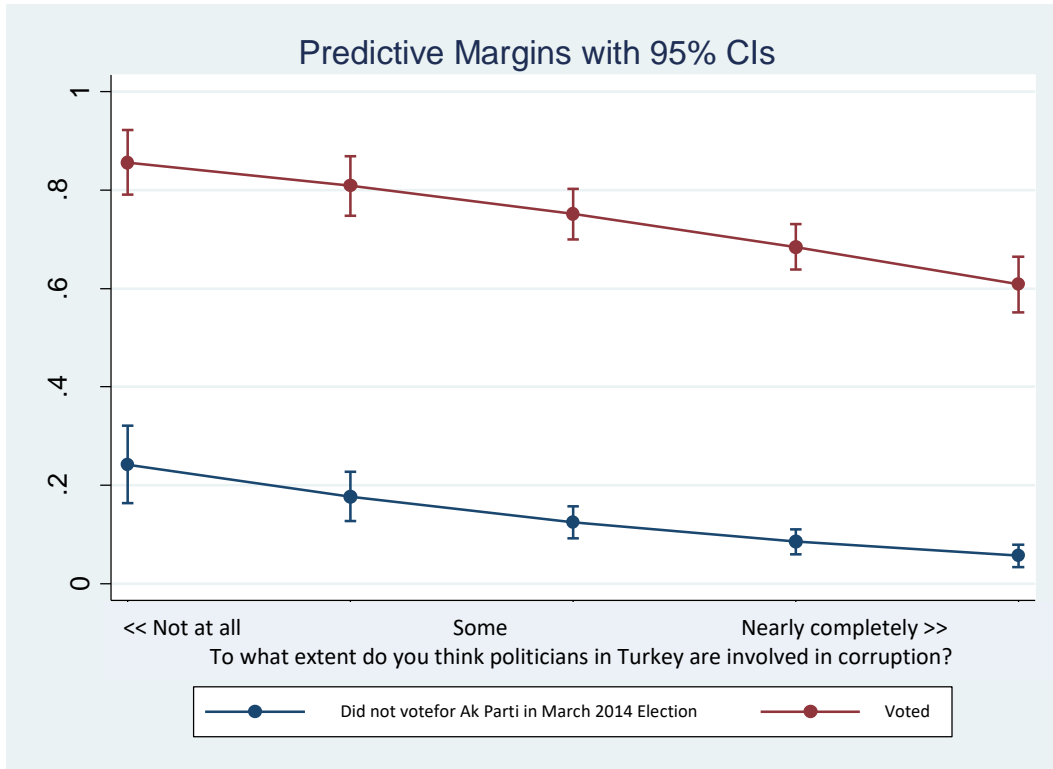
Economic success is often expressed in evaluating the twelve year long AKP rule. However, it is also a matter of question whether the perception on short term economic situation affects voters, as the ruling party can always make up for temporary electoral misgivings with past credibility and trust it has earned from the voters. We will examine this likelihood in this model. We formed the following model by taking into account all the criteria listed below:

The likelihood of voting for AKP= gender+ age + educational attainment level + political identity on the right-left axis+ ethnic background + degree of piety + monthly household income + location + Voted or not for AKP in March 2014 + political corruption + economic outlook in the country in the last 12 months + economic outlook in the country in the last 5 years

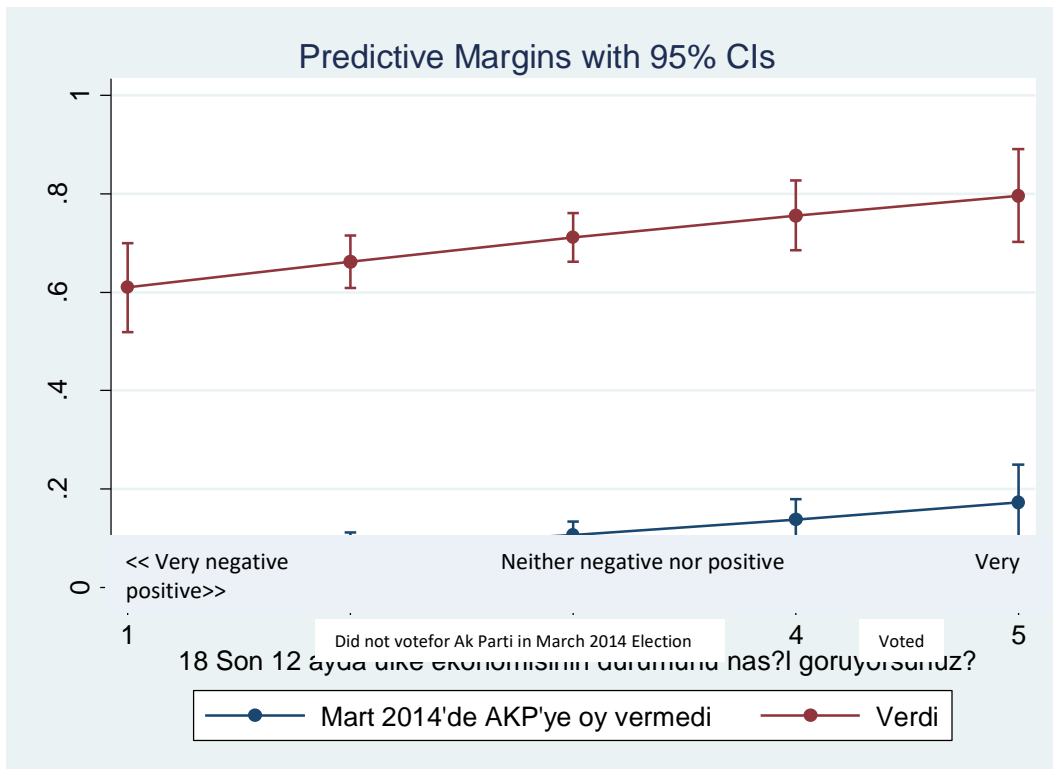
On the basis of the results attained through this model, I have differentiated voters into two groups, those who have voted for AKP in March 2014 and those who did not, and I have demonstrated the tangible impact of the three variables in the three graphs shown below: perception of political corruption; perception of the economic outlook in the country in the last five years and perception of the economic outlook in the country in the last 12 months.



Graph 1 The impact of the perception of political corruption on voting for AKP

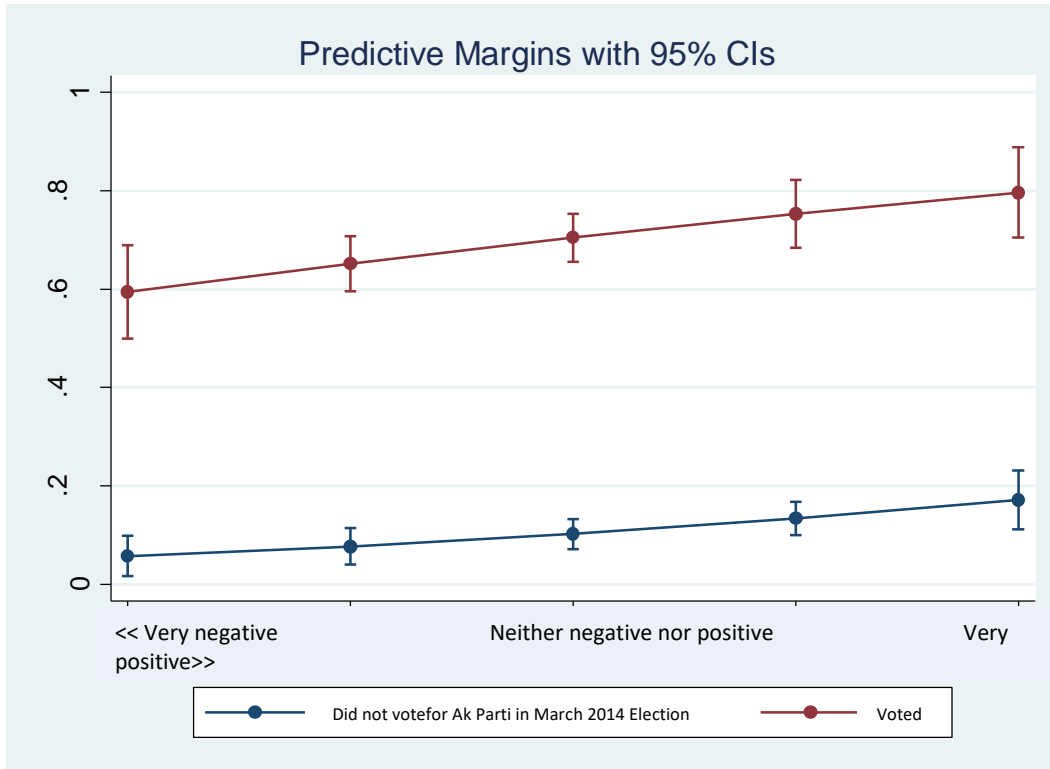


Graph 2: The impact of the perception of economic outlook in the country in the last 12 months on voting for AKP





Graph 3 The impact of the perception of the economic outlook in the country in the last five years on voting for AKP



According to the findings, we can make three comments:

1. All three variables **independently influence the decision on voting for AKP or not**. It has been statistically demonstrated that each of the three variables influence AKP's vote positively.
2. However, **Ak Parti voters' sense of belonging to their party is so strong** that neither of these variables are sufficient enough to convince those who voted for Ak Parti in the local elections on March 2014 to not to vote for Ak Parti in a hypothetical election (in other words, to enable the possibility to drop below 0.5). Similarly, neither of the three variables can convince the voters who did not vote for Ak Parti in the March 2014 elections to vote for Ak Parti in a hypothetical election (in other words, to raise the possibility above 0.5). None of these three variables intersect with the probability level of 0.5; in other words, **none of them carry the potential to lead to a significant change in political preferences**.
3. **Perception of the short-term economic outlook** is as influential as the perception of long-term economic outlook on the voter support to the ruling party. Voters not only consider the economic performance over the last 5 years, but also take the economic performance over the last year into account. In other words, voters are not willing to **make up for a current economic hardship with the previous satisfaction they felt about the conditions in the past**.



3. RESEARCH ID

3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

The survey that this report is based on was conducted by KONDA Research and Consultancy Limited (KONDA Araştırma ve Danışmanlık Ltd. Şti.).

The field survey was conducted on 11-12 October 2014. This report presents the political trends, preferences and profiles of the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey, within the dates of the field survey.

The survey is designed and conducted with the purpose to determine and to monitor trends and changes in the preferences of respondents who represent the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey.

The error margin of the survey is +/- 2 at 95 percent confidence level and +/- 2.6 at 99 percent confidence level.

3.2. The Sample

The sample was selected through stratification of the data on population and educational attainment level of neighborhoods and villages based on the Address Based Population Registration System (ADNKS), and the results of the 2011 General Elections in neighborhoods and villages.

First, the administrative units were grouped as rural/urban/metropolitan, and then the sample was created based on the 12 regions.

Within the scope of the survey, 2589 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 148 neighborhoods and villages of 99 districts - including central districts - of 32 provinces.

Provinces visited	32
Districts visited	99
Neighborhoods/villages visited	148
Number of respondents	2589

Among the 18 surveys conducted in each neighborhood, quotas on age and gender were enforced.

Age group	Female	Male
Between 18-28	3 respondents	3 respondents
Between 29-44	3 respondents	3 respondents
44 and above	3 respondents	3 respondents



	Level 1 (12 regions)	Provinces visited
1	İstanbul	İstanbul
2	Western Marmara	Balıkesir, Edirne, Tekirdağ
3	Aegean	İzmir, Denizli, Kütahya, Uşak
4	Eastern Marmara	Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli
5	Western Anatolia	Ankara, Konya
6	Mediterranean	Adana, Antalya, Hatay, Mersin
7	Central Anatolia	Kayseri, Sivas
8	Western Black Sea	Samsun, Tokat, Zonguldak
9	Eastern Black Sea	Giresun, Trabzon
10	Northeastern Anatolia	Erzincan
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	Elazığ, Malatya, Van
12	Southeastern Anatolia	Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa

The distribution of respondents by region and place of residence is shown in the table below.

	Survey location	Rural	Urban	Metropolita n	Total
1	İstanbul			18.3	18.3
2	Western Marmara	2.1	3.4		5.5
3	Aegean	3.8	6.1	5.4	15.3
4	Eastern Marmara	1.4	2.8	5.2	9.4
5	Western Anatolia	7		10.4	11.1
6	Mediterranean	3.5	2.7	6.0	12.2
7	Central Anatolia	1.4	2.0	1.4	4.8
8	Western Black Sea	2.8	3.1		5.9
9	Eastern Black Sea	1.4	1.9		3.3
10	Northeastern Anatolia	1.4			1.4
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	1.4	2.1		3.5
12	Southeastern Anatolia	2.1	3.0	4.1	9.2
	Total	22.0	27.1	50.9	100.0



4. FREQUENCY TABLES

4.1. Profile of the Respondents

Gender	Percent
Female	47.5
Male	52.5
Total	100.0

Age	Percent
Between 18 - 28	27.8
Between 29 - 43	34.5
44 and above	37.7
Total	100.0

Educational attainment level	Percent
Illiterate	5.2
Literate without degree	2.7
Primary school degree	31.3
Secondary school degree	15.6
High school degree	30.7
Undergraduate degree	13.5
Masters / PhD	9
Total	100.0

Monthly household income	Percent
TRY 300 or less	1.0
TRY 301 - 700	4.1
TRY 701 - 1200	29.5
TRY 1201 - 2000	37.9
TRY 2001 - 3000	16.0
TRY 3001 or more	11.4
Total	100.0



Employment status	Percent
Public officer	5.3
Private sector	6.7
Worker	8.8
Small retailer	8.7
Merchant / businessman	8
Self-employed	1.3
Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder	4.7
Employed, other	4.6
Retired	12.9
Housewife	30.2
Student	10.2
Unemployed	4.9
Disabled	1.0
Total	100.0

Lifestyle cluster	Percent
Modern	25.9
Traditional conservative	48.7
Religious conservative	25.4
Total	100.0

Head cover	Percent
No head cover	30.7
Head cover	48.8
Turban	7.9
Chador	6
Bachelor male	12.0
Total	100.0



Ethnicity	Percent
Turkish	81.1
Kurdish	10.9
Zaza	1.2
Arab	3.1
Other	3.7
Total	100.0

Religion / Sect	Percent
Sunni Muslim	90.8
Alevi Muslim	6.0
Other	3.2
Total	100.0

Piety	Percent
Non-believer	3.4
Believer	29.3
Religious	56.6
Pious	10.7
Total	100.0



TV channel preference for watching the news	Percent
ATV	11.5
CNNTürk	2.5
Fox TV	9.5
Habertürk	3.3
Halk TV	3.2
Kanal 7	2.7
Kanal D	11.8
Kanaltürk	9
NTV	3.7
Roj TV	8
Samanyolu	3.5
Show TV	4.4
Star	5.3
TRT	10.9
Ulusal	1.5
Local channels	2.0
Other channels	8.5
No answer	14.0
Total	100.0

Newspaper preference	Percent
Cumhuriyet	1.3
Haber Türk	2.1
Hürriyet	5.9
Milliyet	2.8
Posta	9.2
Sabah	6.9
Sözcü	6.9
Zaman	2.7
Other	13.3
Does not read newspaper	27.1
No answer	21.9
Total	100.0



Household size	Percent
1-2 person(s)	18.3
3-5 people	66.0
6-8 people	13.4
9 people or more	2.3
Total	100.0

Car ownership	Percent
Yes	40.7
Do you have a car?	59.3
Total	100.0

Type of housing	Percent
Traditional house	41.9
Squatter	5.2
Apartment flat	47.2
Luxury residence	5.7
Total	100.0

Place of residence	Percent
Rural	22.0
Urban	27.1
Metropolitan	50.9
Total	100.0



Survey location	Percent
İstanbul	18.3
Western Marmara	5.5
Aegean	15.3
Eastern Marmara	9.4
Western Anatolia	11.1
Mediterranean	12.2
Central Anatolia	4.8
Western Black Sea	5.9
Eastern Black Sea	3.3
Northeastern Anatolia	1.4
Middle Eastern Anatolia	3.5
Southeastern Anatolia	9.2
Total	100.0

Place of birth	Percent
İstanbul	6.8
Western Marmara	5.3
Aegean	13.5
Eastern Marmara	6.5
Western Anatolia	9.1
Mediterranean	11.5
Central Anatolia	8.4
Western Black Sea	9.2
Eastern Black Sea	6.7
Northeastern Anatolia	5.3
Middle Eastern Anatolia	6.5
Southeastern Anatolia	10.8
Abroad	5
Total	100.0



Father's birthplace	Percent
Istanbul	2.3
Western Marmara	5.5
Aegean	12.2
Eastern Marmara	5.4
Western Anatolia	7.7
Mediterranean	11.1
Central Anatolia	9.5
Western Black Sea	10.1
Eastern Black Sea	8.6
Northeastern Anatolia	6.7
Middle Eastern Anatolia	7.5
Southeastern Anatolia	11.5
Abroad	1.9
Total	100.0

4.2. Theme of the Month: Corruption and the Impact of the Economy on Political Preferences

To what extent do you think politicians in Turkey are involved in corruption?	Percent
Not at all	5.5
Slightly	8.5
Partially	23.7
Mostly	33.1
Nearly completely	29.2
Total	100.0

To what extent do you think civil servants in Turkey are involved in corruption?	Percent
Not at all	6.6
Slightly	15.3
Partially	38.6
Mostly	28.5
Nearly completely	10.9
Total	100.0



In the last five years, how often did a civil servant ask for a bribe or favor from you or a member of your family or made such an implication, in return for providing a service?	Percent
Never	73.5
Seldom	14.8
Sometimes	9.0
Frequently	1.7
Always	1.1
Total	100.0

How often do you think civil servants treat people equally?	Percent
Never	17.1
Seldom	26.2
Sometimes	30.2
Frequently	16.0
Always	10.5
Total	100.0

Do you think civil servants treat people differently on the basis of who they are or whom they know?	Percent
Definitely Yes	48.3
Probably Yes	37.8
Probably No	8.4
Definitely No	5.4
Total	100.0

How equal do you think distribution of wealth in Turkey is?	Percent
Equal	7.4
Slightly Equal	13.0
Not Very Equal	26.2
Not Equal	53.4
Total	100.0

How do you see the economic outlook in the country in the last 12 months?	Percent
Very Negative	12.8
Negative	32.4



Neither positive nor negative	24.9
Positive	26.3
Very positive	3.7
Total	100.0

How do you see the economic conditions of your family in the last 12 months?	Percent
Very Negative	8.3
Negative	27.4
Neither positive nor negative	37.4
Positive	25.1
Very positive	1.8
Total	100.0

How do you see the economic outlook in the county in the last five years?	Percent
Very Negative	10.4
Negative	28.5
Neither positive nor negative	26.3
Positive	29.6
Very positive	5.1
Total	100.0

How do you see the economic conditions of your family in the last five years?	Percent
Very Negative	7.4
Negative	25.9
Neither positive nor negative	35.9
Positive	28.7
Very positive	2.0
Total	100.0



How do you see the economic outlook in the country in the next 12 months?	Percent
Very Negative	15.4
Negative	30.6
Neither positive nor negative	27.3
Positive	23.5
Very positive	3.3
Total	100.0

How do you see the economic conditions of your family in the next 12 months?	Percent
Very Negative	9.5
Negative	25.9
Neither positive nor negative	36.9
Positive	25.0
Very positive	2.7
Total	100.0

Retirement funds, medical care and social public services for the unemployed and under employed should be improved even if this means that everyone will be paying more taxes.	Percent
Strongly disagree	4.8
Disagree	12.0
Neither agree nor disagree	15.6
Agree	43.7
Strongly agree	23.8
Total	100.0

If necessary, there should be cuts to retirement funds, medical care and social public services for the unemployed and under employed in order to lower the taxes.	Percent
Strongly disagree	28.3
Disagree	40.3
Neither agree nor disagree	17.1
Agree	11.4
Strongly agree	2.9
Total	100.0



In Turkey, there is a traditional distinction between the right, the left and the center. Where would you position your political view?	Percent
Left	14.2
Center-left	4.3
Center	16.8
Center-right	5.4
Right	26.6
None	32.7
Total	100.0

Who is the Speaker of the Parliament? Who is serving as the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly?
Correct answer
Wrong answer
Does not know
Total

Who is the Minister of Education? Who is serving as the Minister of Education at the moment?	Percent
Correct answer	38.7
Wrong answer	2.7
Does not know	58.6
Total	100.0

Which institution in Turkey is responsible for overseeing the elections?	Percent
Correct answer	57.5
Wrong answer	3.3
Does not know	39.2
Total	100.0

Which ministry is responsible for overseeing telecommunication services (telephone, Internet)?	Percent
Correct answer	35.1
Wrong answer	11.7
Does not know	53.1
Total	100.0



Which ministry is responsible for overseeing the police organization?	Percent
Correct answer	42.1
Wrong answer	8.5
Does not know	49.4
Total	100.0



5. GLOSSARY of TERMS

All findings in Barometer reports are based on answers to the questions directed to respondents who were interviewed face-to-face in field surveys. Some questions and response options are then used in the rest of the report in short or simplified form. For example, the respondents who respond to the question on how religious they see themselves as “a person who is a believer, but does not fulfill religious requirements” are shortly identified as “believers” in the report. This glossary is prepared for both the readers who receive the report for the first time and the readers who need further clarification on the terms. The first table provides a list of the terms and their explanations, and the following tables list the questions and response options which establish the basis for these terms.

Term	Definition
Alevi Muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Alevi Muslim
Lower middle class:	Households with an income per capita in the 60 percent segment but which do not own a car
Lower class:	Households whose income per capita is in the lowest 20 percent segment
Arab:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Arab
Head cover:	A woman who wears a heads cover or a man whose spouse wears a head cover
Chador:	A woman who wears chador or a man whose spouse wears a chador
Religious:	A person who strives to fulfill the requirements of the religion
Religious conservative:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as religious conservative
Traditional conservative:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as traditional conservative
Believer:	A person who is a believer, but does not fulfill religious requirements
Non-believer:	A person who does not believe in the requirements of the religion
Urban area:	Settlements with a population of more than 4000 (differs from the official definition)
Rural area:	Settlements with a population of less than 4000 (differs from the official definition)
Kurdish:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Kurdish
Metropolitan:	Settlements which are located within the integrated boundaries of the most crowded 15 cities (differs from the official definition)
Modern:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as modern
No cover:	A woman who does not cover her head or a man whose spouse does not cover her head



Pious:	A person who fulfills religious requirements completely
Sunni Muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Sunni Muslim
Turban:	A woman who wears a turban or a man whose spouse wears a turban
Turkish:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Turkish
Upper class:	Households whose income per capita is in the highest 20 percent segment
New middle class:	Households whose income per capita is in the 60 percent segment and which own a car
Zaza:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Zaza

Questions and response options which establish the basis for the terms:

Which of the three lifestyle clusters below do you feel you belong to?

Modern

Traditional conservative

Religious conservative

Do you cover your head or does your spouse cover her head when going out of your home? How do you cover your head?

No head cover

Head cover

Turban

Chador

Bachelor male

We are all citizens of the Turkish Republic, but we may have different ethnic origins; which identity do you know/feel that you belong to?

Turkish

Kurdish

Zaza

Arab

Other

Which religion or sect do you feel you belong to?

Sunni Muslim

Alevi Muslim

Other



Which of the below describes you in terms of how religious you are?

Non-believer

Believer

Religious

Pious

Settlement code (Data obtained from the sample)

Rural

Urban

Metropolitan

Economic classes (determined by using household size, household income and car ownership)

Lower class

Lower middle class

New middle class

Upper class