

# **KONDA**

# **Barometer**

***THEMES***

**The Perception of Law and the Justice System**  
***May 2016***

**KONDA**  
— ARAŞTIRMA VE DANIŞMANLIK





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## 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey which forms the basis of this report was conducted on 7-8 May 2016 by face-to-face interviews with 2685 individuals in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 104 districts including the central districts of 27 provinces.

### **THEME OF THE MONTH: Perception of Justice and Law**

The theme of this month repeats the monthly theme of the May'10 Barometer Report conducted 6 years ago showing the changes that occurred in the perception of the society on justice and law. We handled this theme under the headings of definition of justice, definition of jurisdiction, supremacy of law and auditability, neutrality of jurisdiction and illegality which revealed that people basically support the supremacy of law and that the government and laws should be auditable however the jurisdiction bestows a privilege on and remains unneutral for especially rich people and “the government’s men” and that the experience of going to court weakens the trust in law.

A first look at the changes that occurred from 2010 to 2016 reveals no significant changes in the society in the past 6 years. However, a detailed analysis shows that both the social transformations and the social strategy of the understanding of justice and law provide significant clues as to the “game plan.” For example, even though those who support illegality in matters such as perjury, bribery, illegal use of electricity/water and matters of honor are the minority, the rate of such people has visibly decreased in the past 6 years and the rate of those who state that they will not abide by the laws in matters of honor dropped from 45 percent to 28 percent. More importantly, the already strong demand for the laws being subject to constitutional audit and the operations of the government being subject to judicial control has increased in all social clusters. On the other hand, although there is no significant increase in the rate of those who indicate that they would resort to official bodies such as the courts or the police in cases of dismissal from job or disturbance by a neighbor, within the past 6 years almost 4.5 million more people had dealings in the courts during which more people have lost trust in the supremacy of law than those who built more trust in it.

Among the social clusters, the most noteworthy transformation in the past 6 years has occurred within the Kurds and the Sunnis. The demand for law by the Kurds had been much weaker in 2010 whereas now it is even more than that of the Turks and this may be considered as tactics against the strategy of the state for expelling the Kurds from the politics.

As for the demand for law by the Sunnis which had been a bit weaker than that of the Alevis, it has become stronger within these 6 years one of the most prominent factors of which seems to be the reflection of the changes in the basic demographic structure of the society such as education and income towards a demand for law.



## 2. THE PERCEPTION OF LAW AND THE JUSTICE SYSTEM

### 2.1. Introduction

Our Barometer reports in 2016 focused on various abstract and concrete areas of social contact and addressed the game plans of individuals in Turkey. Similarly, in the May'16 Barometer, we are focusing on law, which specifies the boundaries of the various areas individuals get into contact with the state, the boundaries of moral and ethical codes that are based on traditions, conventions and established practices, and the boundaries of relationships between people.

In our conception of law, we are not only taking laws and regulations or their implementation or enforcement into consideration. We are embracing a more holistic definition, in which the formulation and implementation of laws are not taken into consideration independently of the political process. Law is shaped in general by the world-views, priorities and opinions of legislators (i.e. politicians) who have the capacity to create new laws, and the members of the judiciary (i.e. officers from different grades and ranks at the Ministry of Justice) who enforce and practice law. Certainly, this is not only peculiar to Turkey, and law may have a self-conflicting nature for the citizens of many countries around the world. At this point, there may be an illusion that laws are strict, fixed and immutable. However, when we observe how law is practiced in our country and around the world, we can see that law may have a flexible nature for both legislators and citizens, and vary in time and by place. If that were not the case, law-makers would not have to write new laws all the time, and we could have talked about universal (in other words, valid everywhere and all the time in the same way) laws. Due to its variability, law does not always necessarily mean justice to individuals, as these two concepts do not always fully overlap with each other.

Instead of seeing it as a static system in which laws are issued and implemented in an immutable way, law may also be viewed as dynamic system which is shaped by legislators, enforcers and citizens together, and where the final verdict may be revoked by courts or challenged by individuals who do not abide by laws or directly reject them. In his influential book, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (L'invention du quotidien) (1984), the prominent 20th century thinker, Michel de Certeau argues that everyday life and public space are shaped by the relationship of power between law-makers and those who are expected to abide by the laws. In this perspective, as law-makers develop strategies to keep society in check, individuals in turn develop tactics of rebellion by instigating the transformation of laws or directly reject them.

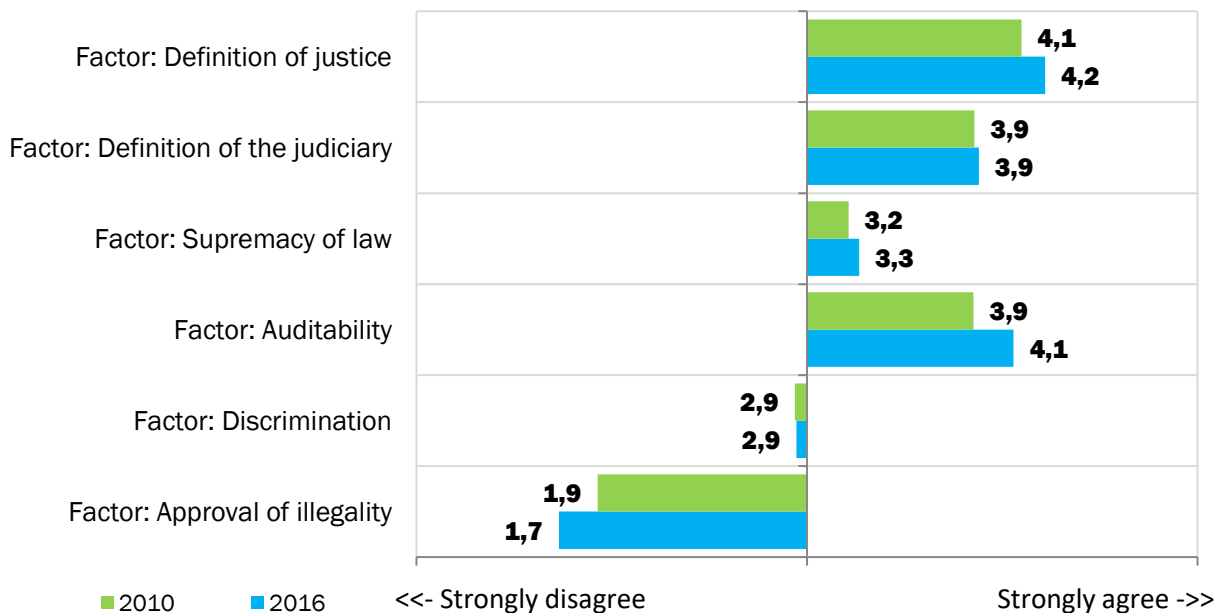
All laws may be viewed as a product of the tension between these strategies and tactics, and they are highly likely to change in the future, as a result of this tension. One of the most important arguments propounded by De Certeau is that law will never have the last word, as it will always be subject to the tactics of citizens. It will either be the case that a law will be disobeyed, a legal loophole will be found or the validity of an obsolete law will be brought into discussion by new law-makers.



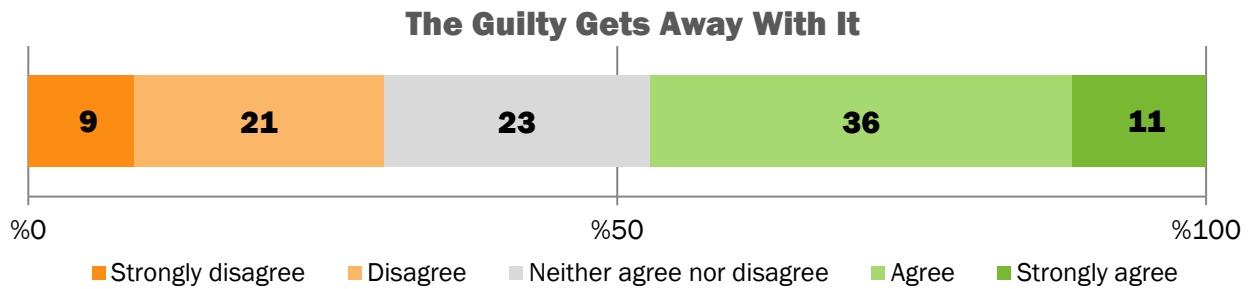
Starting out from this premise, we believe that the tension between society and law-makers is somehow natural and necessary. However, as researchers, we also believe that we are responsible with the task of measuring the dissatisfaction that this tension generates or may generate among society. As we have noted above, the existence and enforcement of laws may not always be perceived by individuals as justice being served. Different social groups also have different opinions on whether laws are able to ensure justice or not, depending on their past relationship and experience with the state mechanism.

The questions we have directed to the respondents as part of this month's theme are the same as those we have used six years ago in May 2010, for the May'10 Barometer, and a brief comparison of the findings do not reflect significant changes immediately. As we have done six years ago, we are addressing the issue of law based on six fundamental factors / criteria, due to the great diversity and variance in both definitions and practices of law.

### Public opinion on the issue of law by different factors (2010-2016)



Although we do not observe a social change in opinions about law at the first glance, this does not necessarily mean that society is not capable of perceiving chronic problems. For example, when we asked the respondents to what extent they agree or disagree with the statement, “the guilty gets away with it”, we found out that nearly every other person agrees with this statement to a different extent, or in other words, thinks that those who need to be punished generally get away with their crimes.



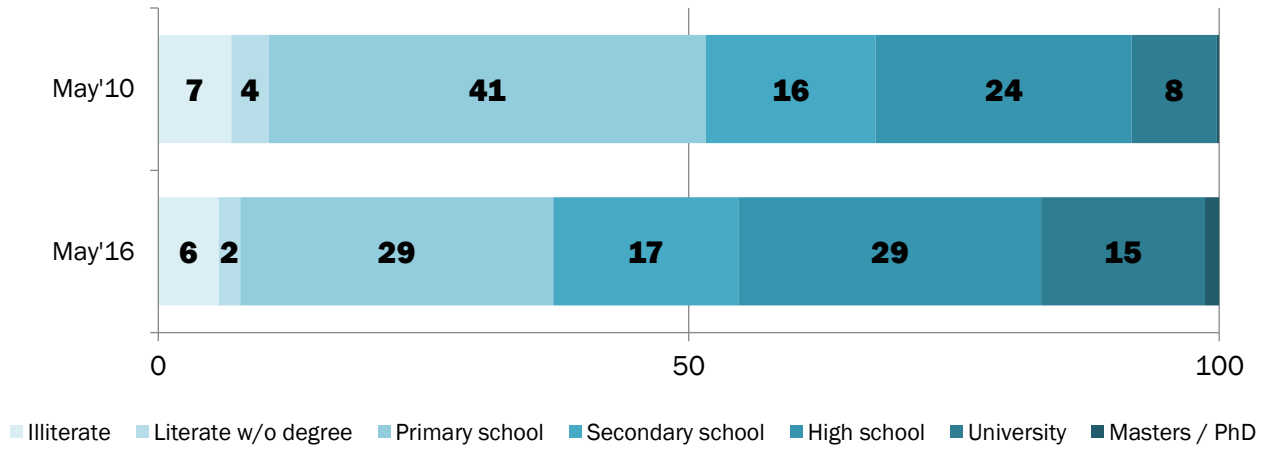
Similar to case with the statement on the guilty getting away with their crimes, the general public seems to be well aware of the deficiencies and improper practices in the legal system. However, we may also suggest that the general public has not yet lost its faith in law and the justice system. Indeed, as it will be seen in the following pages, the rate of those who embrace the legal system and emphasize the indispensability of law has increased considerably. Naturally, when we analyze the responses on the basis of fundamental criteria such as sect, level of religiosity, ethnic background and political preference, we observe that different social groups provide different answers, just as it was the case in our 2010 research. As demonstrated by the graph above, three out of every ten people state that the guilty does not get away with it. This outlook indicates that the opinion on law may soon fall victim to the pervasive social polarization. However, as noted earlier, there has also been a general transformation in society in the last six years.

At the first glance, the general outlook seems to have remained more or less the same. Having said that, we should also note the significant increase in both of the responses of “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree”. In other words, although the public opinion about law and the justice system does not appear to have changed significantly, we may conclude that there has been a sharp turn in the opinion of certain social groups. We think that the demographic transformation in Turkey during the last six years is the main reason for this shift in opinion.

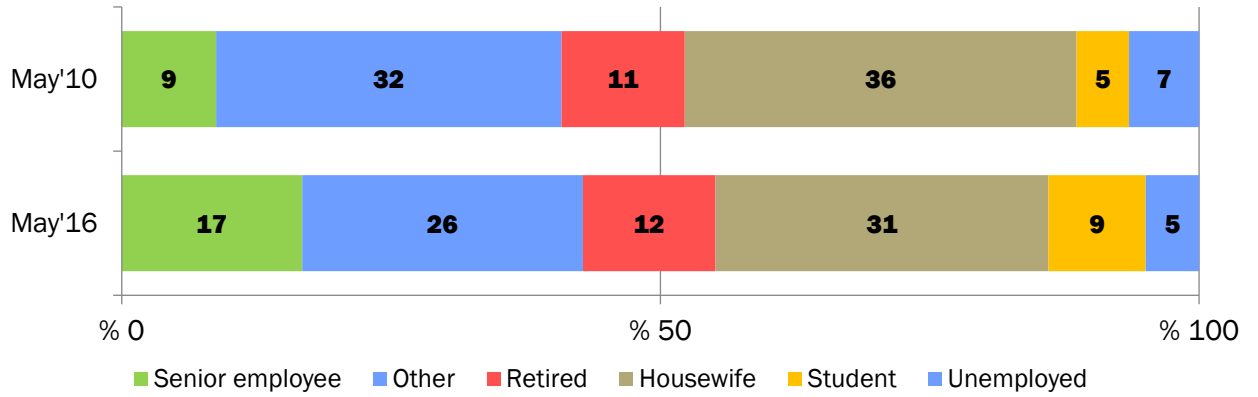




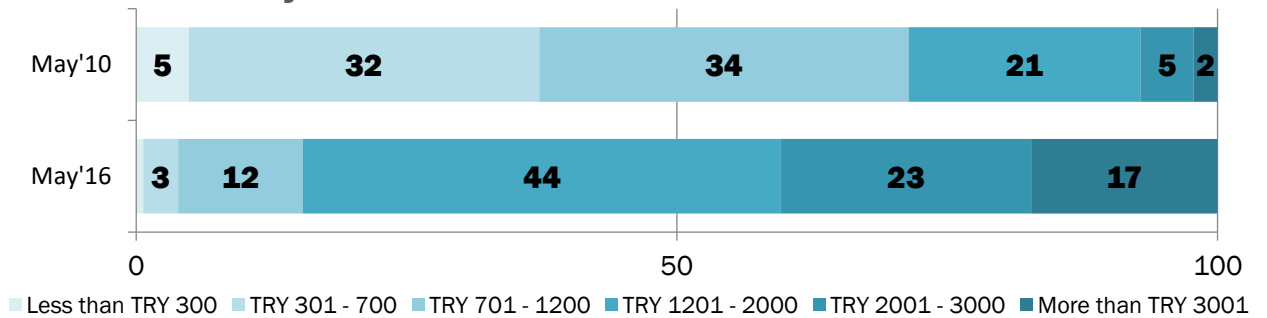
### Educational attainment level

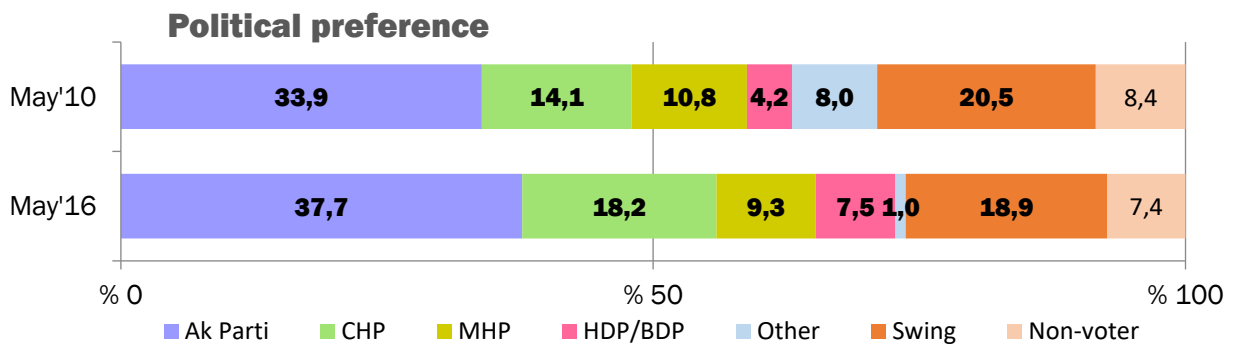
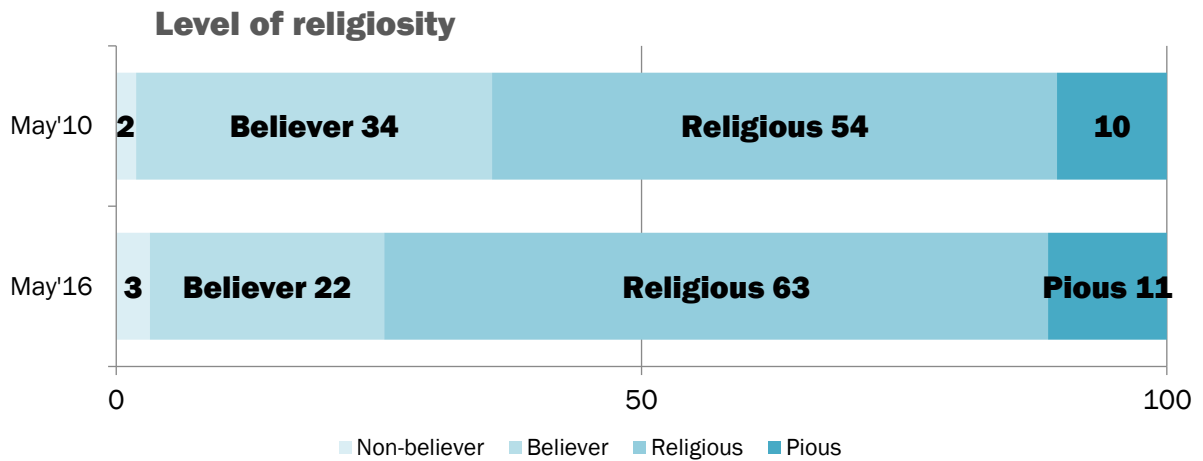


### Employment status



### Monthly household income





According to the graph on educational attainment, during the last six years, the rate of university graduates nearly doubled to reach 15 percent from 8 percent, while the rate of elementary school graduates declined by 15 points and the rate of high school graduates increased by 5 points. In the meantime, the rate of those who see themselves as religious shot up by 10 points. In short, educational attainment and level of religiosity, which generally function in contrast to each other, have both increased during the last six years.

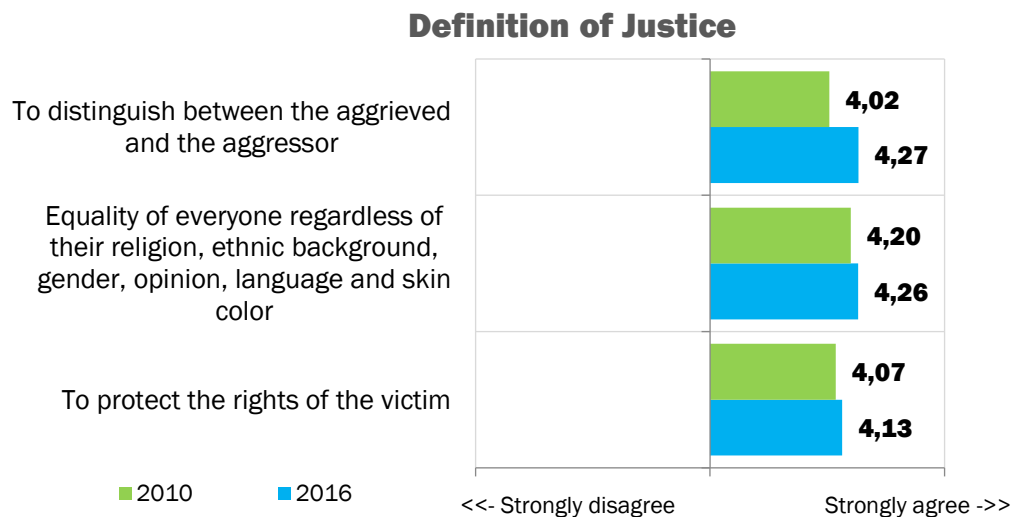
Another observation we have made in our previous surveys is that the middle classes are generally more conventional than the lower or the upper classes, and that the lower and the upper classes are more likely to hold extreme political opinions than the rest of society on average. When we examine the level of income for the last six years, we encounter a bell-shaped curve, rather than a directly/inversely proportional correlation. According to the graph on the previous page, not only the middle class, but also the upper-middle and the upper class have expanded in terms of nominal income. Senior level employees (civil servants, private sector employees, self-employed) and students have nearly doubled, while the rate of the housewives has decreased by 5 points.

Social polarization can be very influential in shaping how individuals view the legal system and what they expect from it. However, different social groups based on educational attainment, level of religiosity, level of income or employment status, which provide

the coordinates of social polarization are not fixed or closed sets, and the clusters that we would be expected to be heavily polarized are expanding among society. We think that this social and demographic transformation is affecting the opinion of individuals on law and the justice system. We recommend you to take this demographic transformation into consideration while reading our analyses based on level of religiosity, sect and political preferences.

## 2.2. Definition of Justice

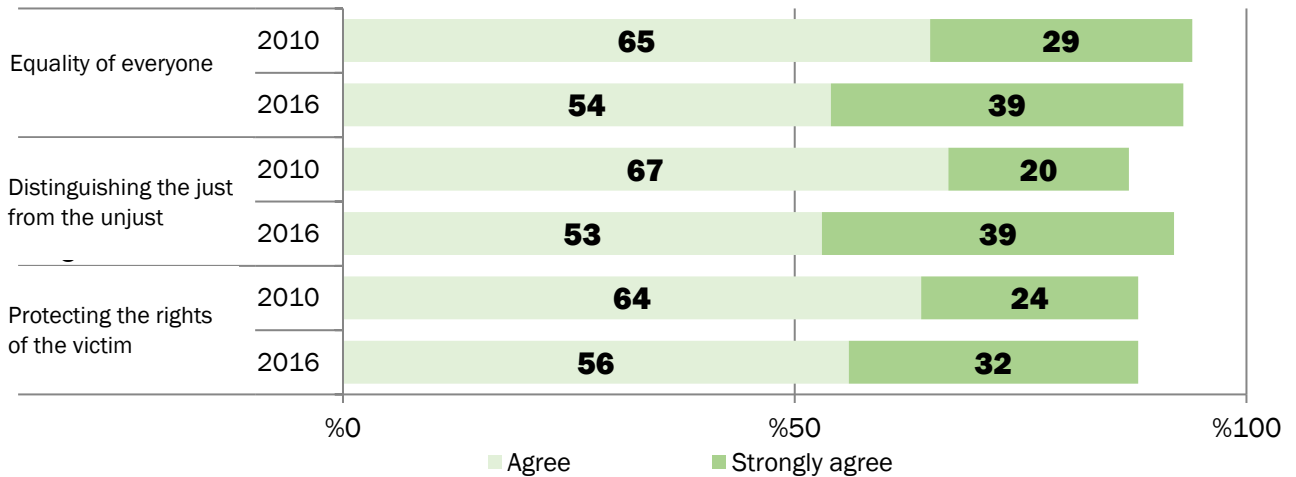
We inquired the respondents what justice means to the respondents and asked them to indicate their opinion on the three following statements: “protecting the rights of the victim”, “equality of everyone regardless of his or her religion, ethnic background, gender, opinion, language and skin color” and “distinguishing the just from the unjust”. As it can be seen from the graph below, which shows the responses from 2010 and 2016, the general public seems to be in consensus about the three meanings of justice in general.



The increasing polarization of the responses during the last six years should be taken into consideration. We have not included the responses of “strongly disagree”, “disagree”, “neither agree nor disagree” in the graph below, as they were negligible in proportion.

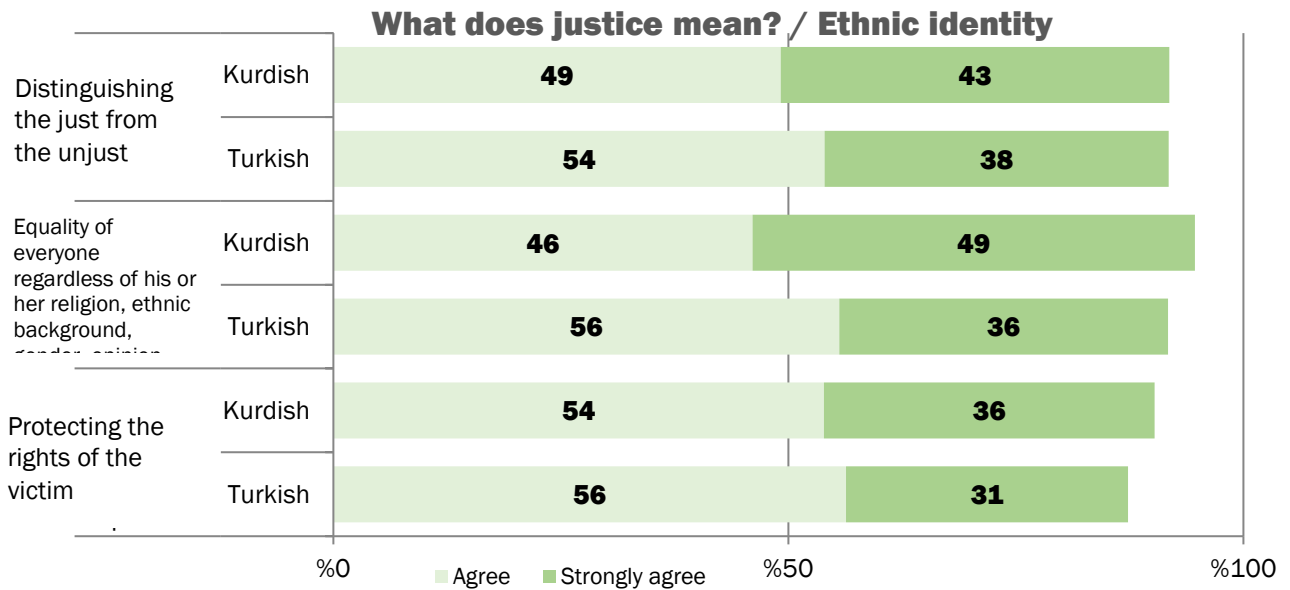


### The Meaning of Justice



There have not been great changes in agreement with these statements during the last six years, and only the rate of those who provided the response option of “strongly agree” has increased significantly. When we examine the reasons for this increase in the strength of opinion, we observe that ethnic background, sect and political preference are the most effective three factors. Accordingly, people are more likely to agree with or emphasize certain meanings of justice, based on their ethnic background, sect or party preference.

The graph below shows the distribution of all responses by ethnic background. According to the graph, the Kurdish emphasize the different meanings of justice 5 to 13 percent more than the Turkish. Overall, they emphasize the equality aspect of justice the most. In 2010, the differences varied by 1-4 points. In short, the difference between the Turkish and the Kurdish has become greater during the last six years.

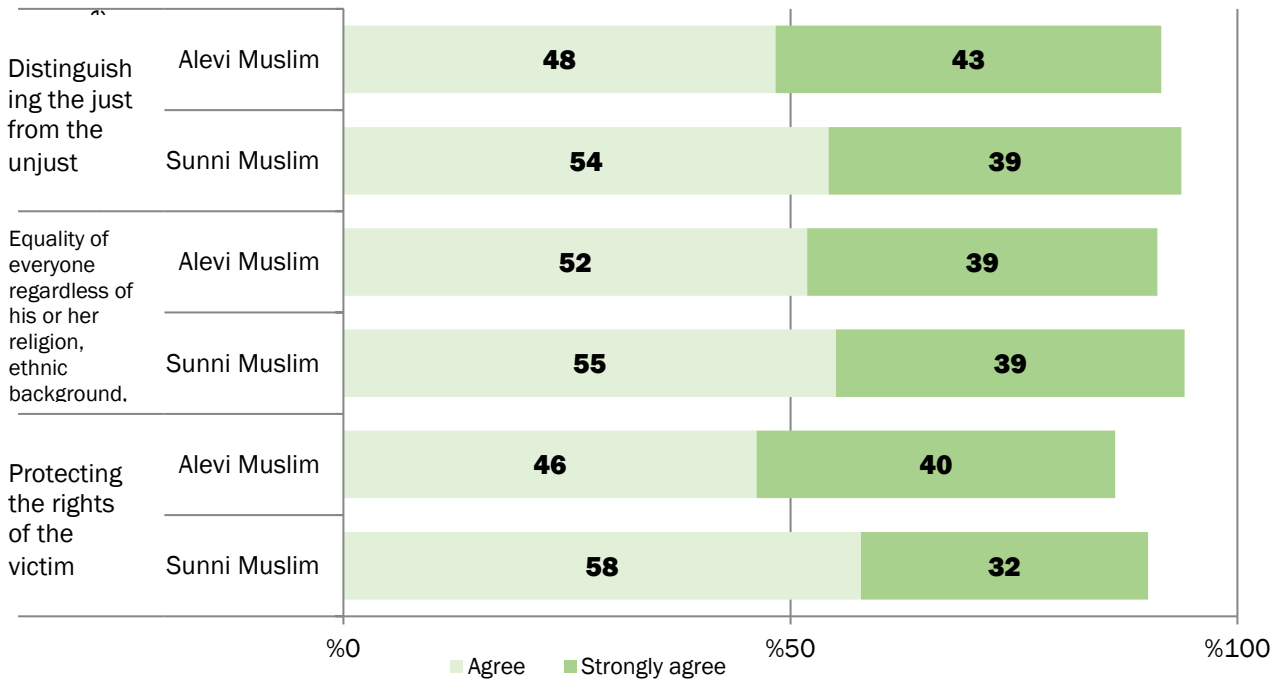


An examination of the responses by sect also reveals a differentiation. Even if fundamental opinions remain the same, there are divergences/differences between Alevis and Sunnis that reach 8 points in their responses of “strongly agree”. However, compared to results from 2010, we observe that both Alevis and Sunnis are more likely to agree with the response options of “protecting the rights of the victim” and “distinguishing the just from the unjust”.

The most interesting finding here is that the rate of Alevis who emphasized the definition of justice based on equality by stating that they “strongly agreed” remained more or less the same, while the corresponding rate among Sunnis has increased by 11 points since 2010. As a consequence, the rates of Alevis and Sunnis who “strongly agree” with this statement have become equal in 2016.



### What does justice mean? / Religion, sect

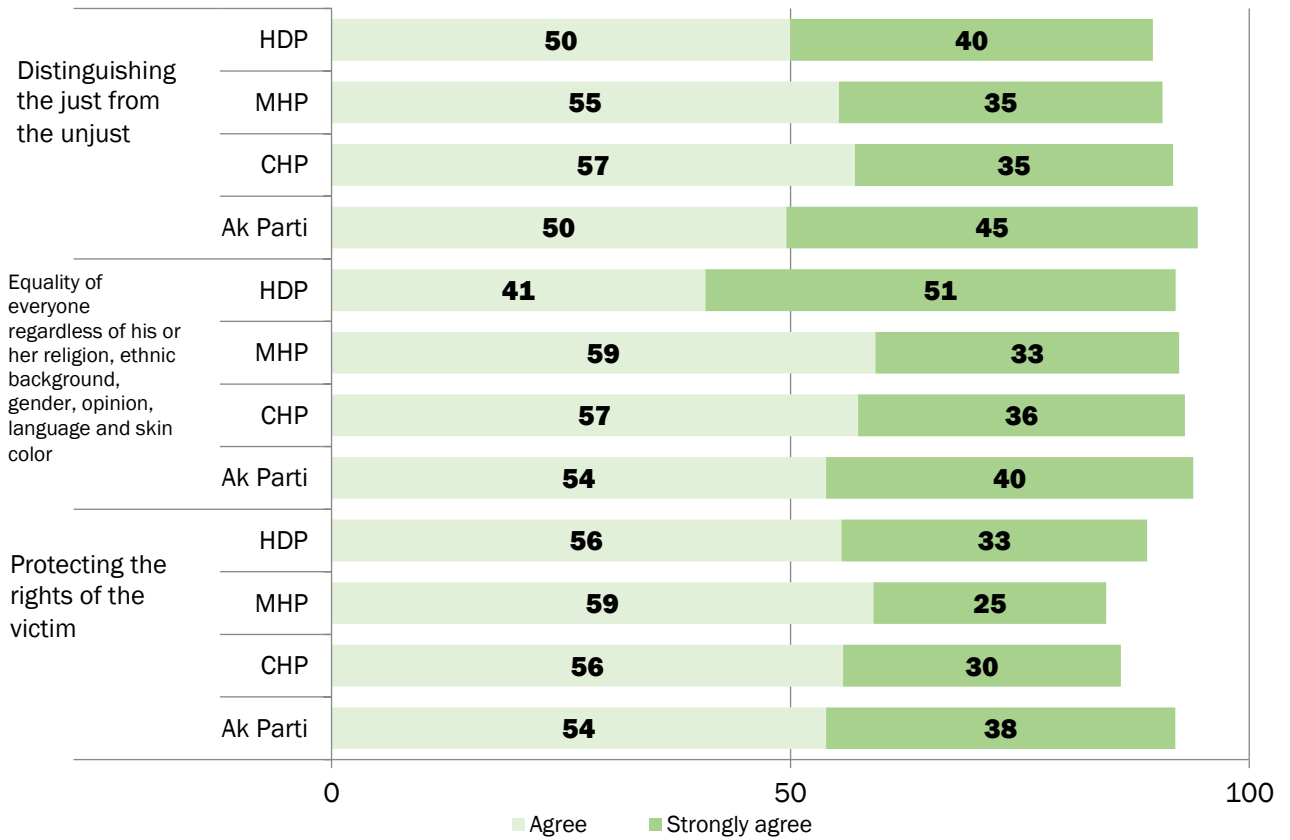


When we examine the responses to the definitions of justice by political preference, we once again observe significant changes in the last six years. It is striking that HDP voters make up the only voter group with more than 50 percent “strongly agreeing” with the statement about “equality”. On the other hand, “distinguishing the just from the unjust” is the most popular response option among Ak Parti voters. Similar to HDP voters, CHP voters have emphasized the concept of “equality” the most.

A comparison of the results with those from 2010 reveals an overall increase in the response rates for “strongly agree” for nearly all definitions. In this context, HDP voters stand apart the rest of the voters as usual, as they “strongly agree” with the option of “protecting the rights of the victim” at a rate that is 6 points lower than 2010. While the preferences of all party voters regarding the definitions of justice have become more pronounced in the last six years, the preferences of HDP voters have become less pronounced or descriptive.



### What does justice mean for you? / Political preference



In light of these three key findings, we observe that social consensus on the provided definitions of justice has become stronger, while agreement with the definitions of justice is higher among certain social groups than others. In this respect, the emphasis on “equality” has become comparatively stronger among the Kurdish than the Turkish, and among Sunnis than Alevis. The emphasis on “equality” has increased by 14 and 13 percent among Ak Parti voters and HDP voters respectively, but this emphasis is strongest among HDP voters.

### 2.3. Definition of the Judiciary

In addition to the definition of justice, we inquired about the meaning of the judiciary for the respondents and asked them to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement with the three following definitions of the judiciary: “the place where the guilty are punished”, “the place where justice is served” and “the place where the state reviews observance of the law by its citizens”. The responses provided to these statements in 2010 and 2016, as shown in the graph below, enable us to suggest that the general public agrees with all three definitions of the judiciary to a great extent.

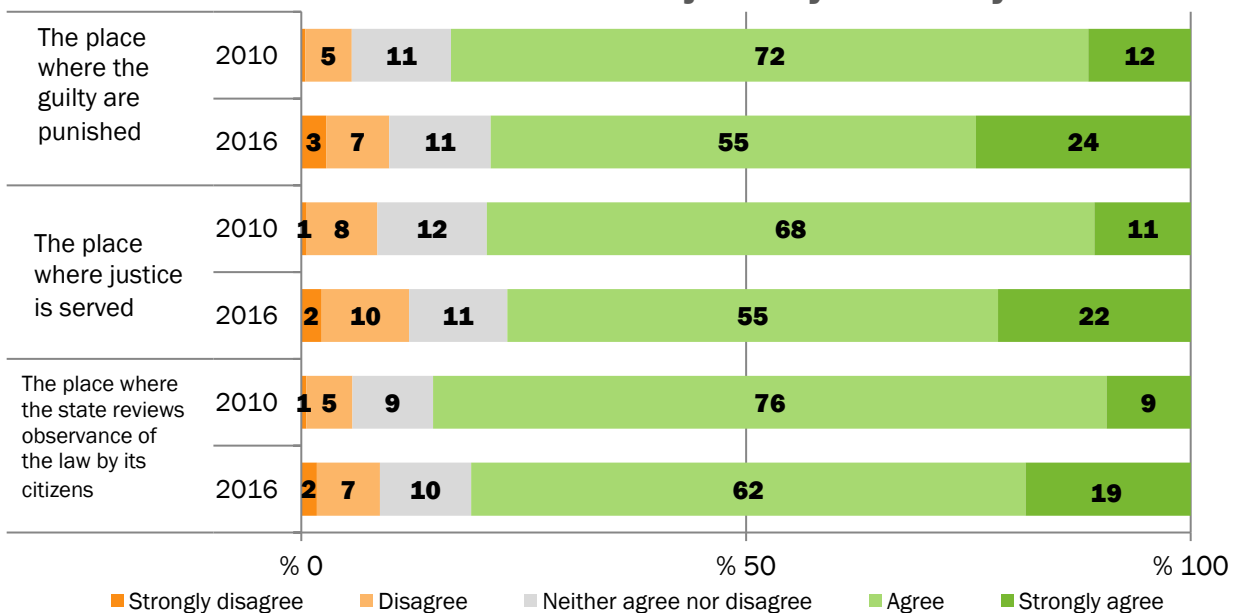


### Definition of the Judiciary



However, the increase in the intensity of the responses to the definitions of the judiciary over the last six years should not be overlooked, as it is the case for the definitions of justice.

### What does the judiciary mean for you?



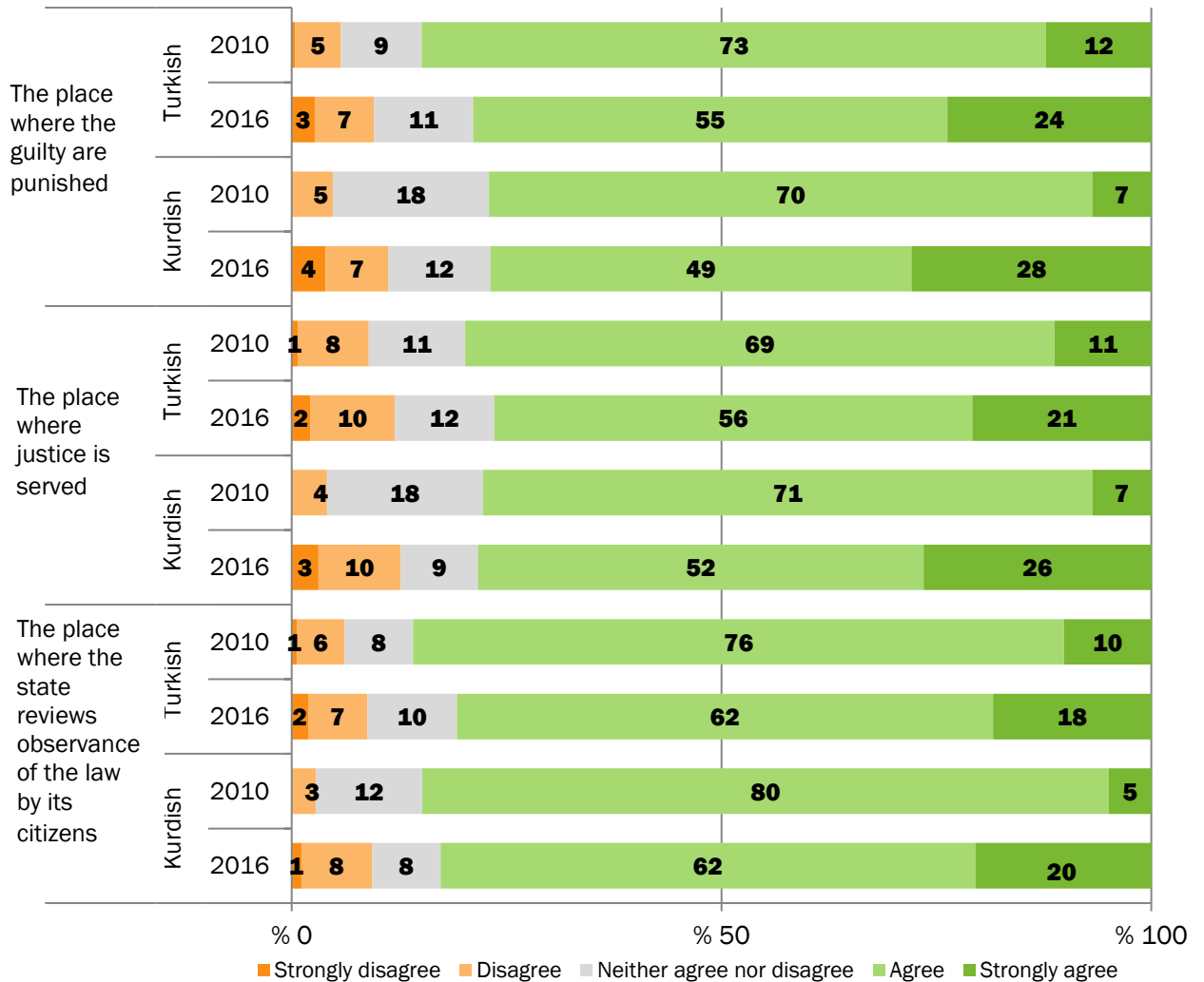
As shown in the graph above, there has not been a significant change in agreement with the definitions over the last six years, with the exception of the rate of those who provided the response of “strongly agree”, which has doubled during this period of time. An investigation of the reasons for this hike reveals ethnic background, sect and political preference as the three most important factors shaping the opinion about the meaning of the judiciary, similar to the case with the reactions to





definitions of justice. Thus, ethnic background, sect and political preference determine a person's agreement or disagreement with definitions of the judiciary.

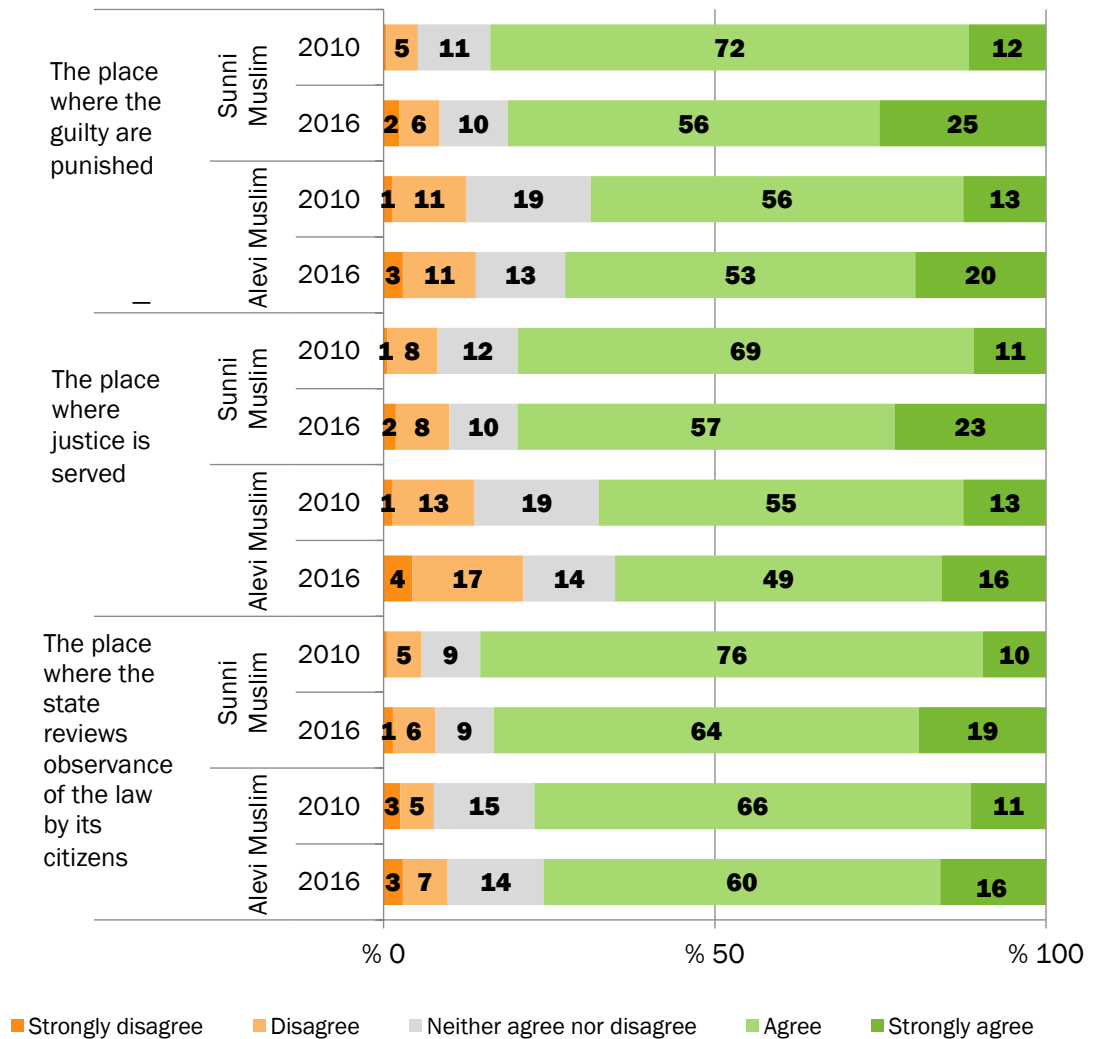
### What does the judiciary mean for you? / Ethnic identity



The most distinctive findings in the graph above are the significant increase in the rate of those who “strongly agree” with all of the definitions of justice over the last six years, and the quadruple increase in the same rate among the Kurdish, which allowed them to take over the Turkish in percentage.



### What does the judiciary mean for you? / Religion, sect



An overview of the results by sect confirms the existence of the same trends among Alevis and Sunnis as well. In comparison to 2010, the rate of those who “strongly agree” with each definition of the judiciary has increased notably in both groups. However, it should also be noted that the change in the attitude of Sunnis is much more discernible than that of Alevis.

The next graph based on political preferences enables us to observe the particular changes specific to each party voter group. The total rate of Ak Parti voters who “strongly agree” or “agree” with the statements has remained more or less the same, while the preference for the response option of “strongly agree” among Ak Parti voters and HDP voters has increased the most among all party voter groups. The total rate of HDP voters who “strongly agree” or “agree” has not increased greatly, but it should be noted that the increase in the preference rate for “strongly

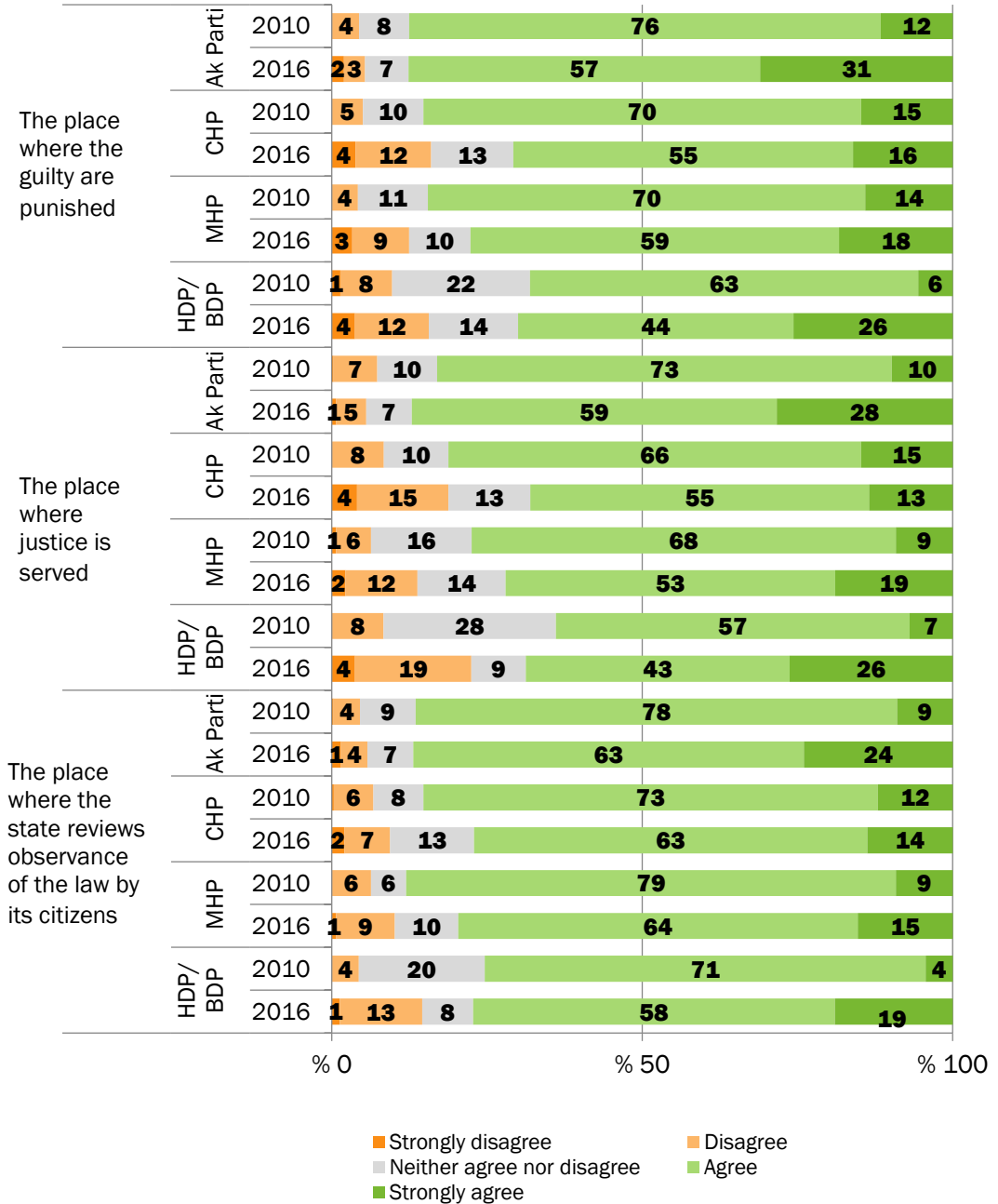


agree” among HDP voters is the highest among all party voters. We observe a different trend among CHP voters, as the total rate of those who “agree” or “strongly agree” has decreased, but the rate of those who “strongly agree” has remained more or less the same. In general, CHP voters have become more likely to “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the statements.

MHP voters appear to be the most polarized voter group in terms of their opinions on the definitions of the judiciary. The rate of MHP voters who agree with the definition that the judiciary is “the place where the guilty are punished” has declined, accompanied by an expected increase in the rate of those who disagree with this statement. Over the last six years, the tendency to “agree” with the statement, “the place where justice is served”, has grown weaker among MHP voters, while the likelihood to “strongly agree” has increased by 10 percent. On the other hand, the rate of MHP voters who “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the definitions of the judiciary have doubled during the same time period. Finally, MHP voters have become less likely to “agree” with the statement that the judiciary is “the place where the state reviews observance of the law by its citizens”, while they are now more like to “strongly agree” with the very same statement.



## What does the judiciary mean for you? / Political preferences



### 2.4. Supremacy of Law

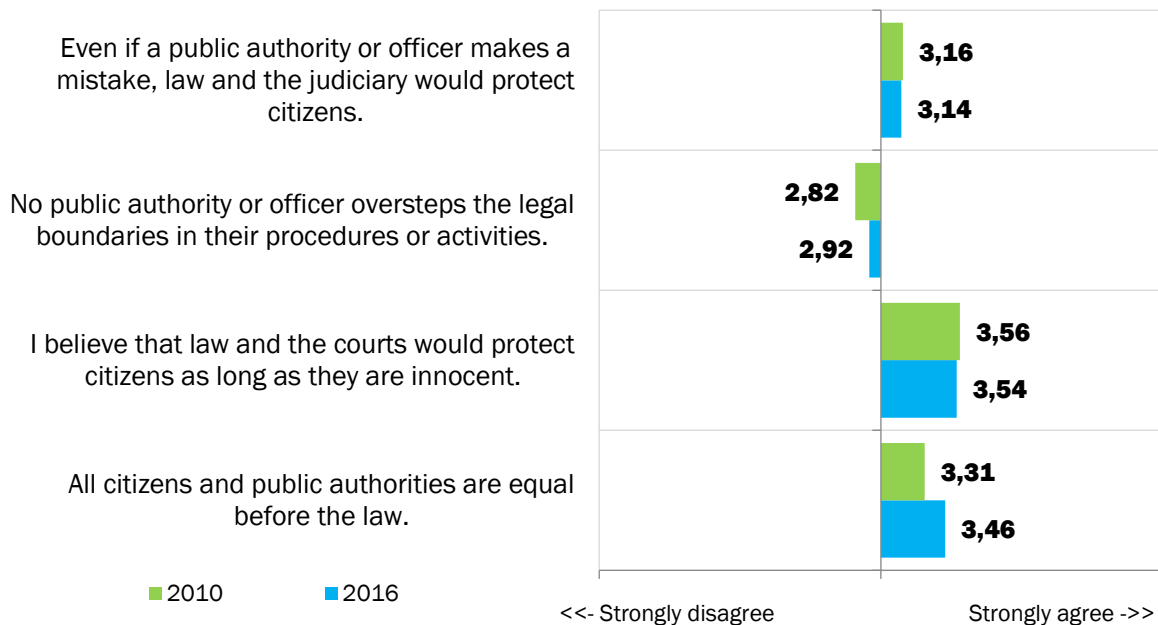
One of our main arguments in our 2010 research was that Turkish society did not necessarily think that the state always adhered to the law, but it had faith that laws would nevertheless protect the innocent. We carried out the same research in 2016, and we observed a similar social disposition. Indeed, the rate of those who agree with this belief has increased slightly, accompanied by an increase in the tendency to “strongly agree” with the statements provided below. However, the



increase in the rate of those who disagree with the statements about the rule of law may very well be indicate that a more significant change has taken place during the last six years.

In order to measure the definition and the perception of the rule of law, we have read the four following statements to the respondents and asked them to indicate the extent they agreed or disagreed with them: (1) “Even if a public authority or officer makes a mistake, law and the judiciary would protect citizens”, (2) “I believe that law and the courts would protect citizens as long as they are innocent”, (3) “No public authority or officer oversteps the legal boundaries in their procedures or activities” and (4) “All citizens and public authorities are equal before the law”.

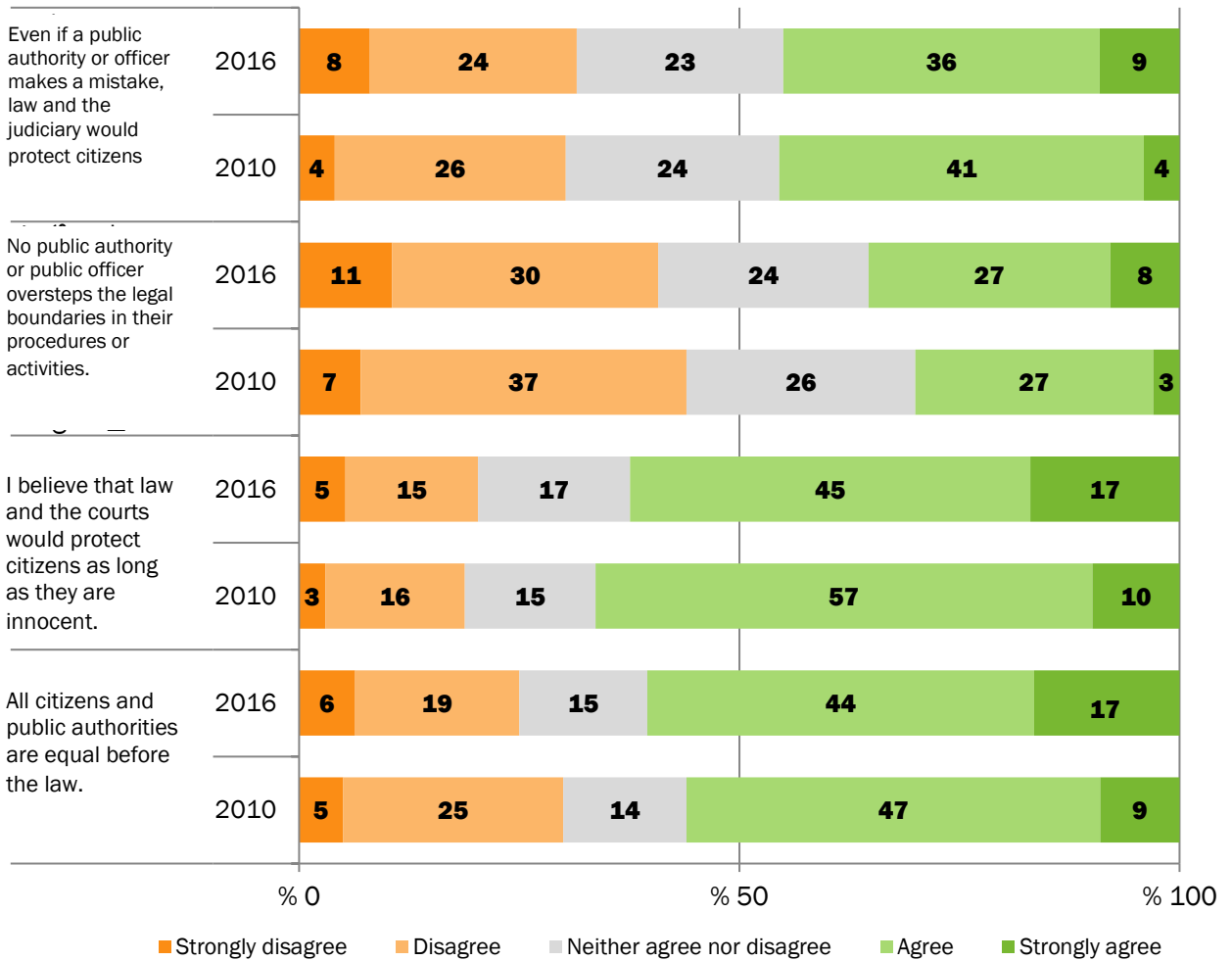
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law?



The previous graph demonstrates the averages for all responses, while the next graph presents a comparison of the response rates for 2010 and 2016. Accordingly, the rates of both “strongly agree” and “strongly agree” have increased over the last six years, with the responses becoming more polarized than before. However, the tendency to agree with the fourth statement that emphasizes the concept of “equality” has increased, accompanied by a lower likelihood to disagree with this statement. We can confidently state that similar trends are observed in other demographic clusters as well.



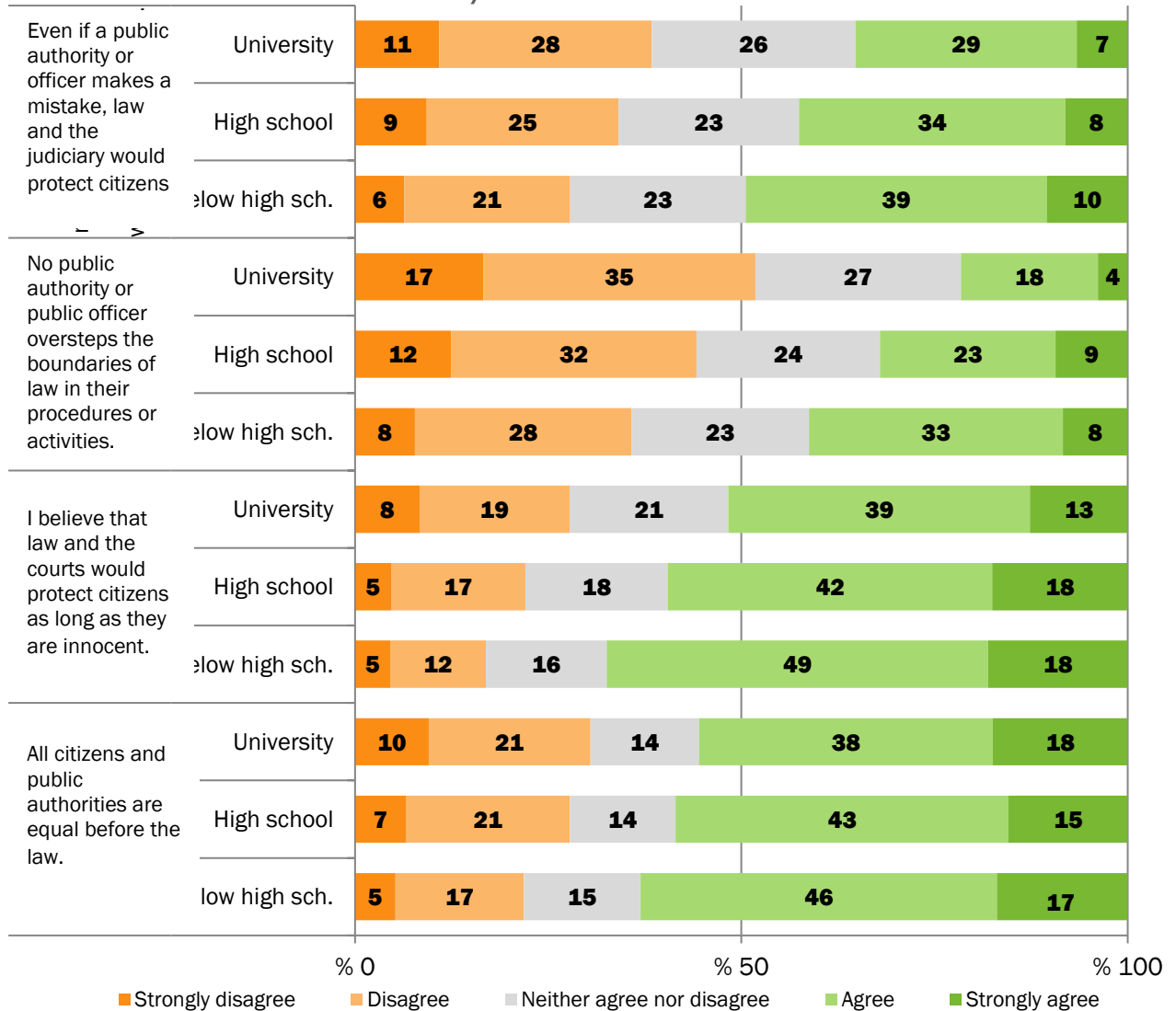
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law?



In the results for 2010, the belief that the state does not overstep the boundaries of law shows a direct proportionality to the level of religiosity, whereas it is inversely proportional to the educational attainment level. The same tendency is also observed in 2016. Higher levels of religiosity are accompanied by a stronger belief in the opinion that the state does not overstep legal boundaries. On the other hand, higher educational attainment level leads to a more suspicious outlook on the lawfulness of the state. The next graph demonstrates public opinion on law by educational attainment level.



### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? / Educational attainment level

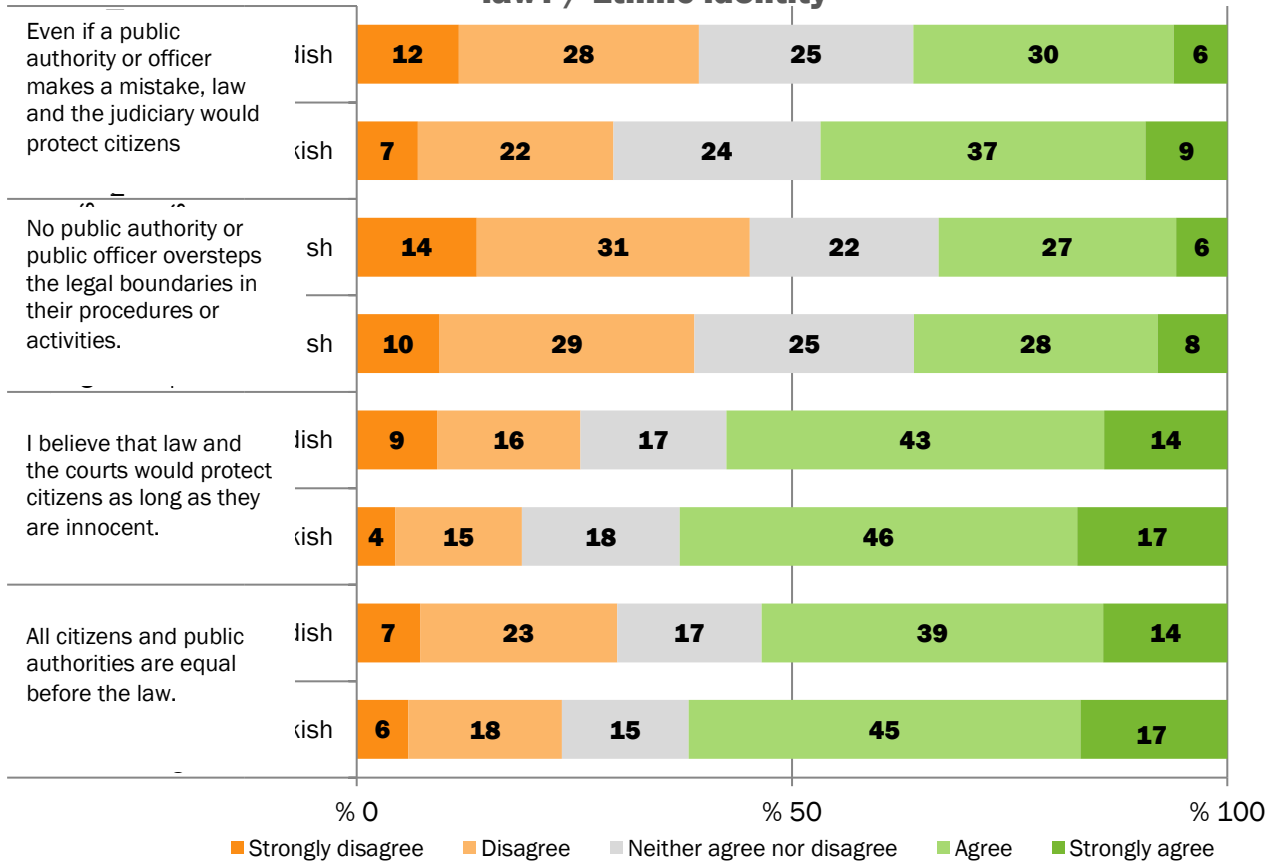


The most significant finding observed in the graph above is that the emphasis on “equality” is shared to a greater extent by all educational attainment groups than the other three statements. It appears that individuals with different educational attainment levels place the same importance in the “equality of citizens and the state before the law.”. However, we also observe a significant inverse proportionality between the responses to the statement, “no public authority or officer oversteps the legal boundaries in their procedures or activities”, and educational attainment level. Higher educational attainment level leads to a greater likelihood to disagree with this statement, as lower educational attainment level is accompanied by higher rates of agreement with the statement.

The two graphs below provide a comparative breakdown of the response rates for the Turkish and the Kurdish, and Sunnis and Alevites.



### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? / Ethnic identity

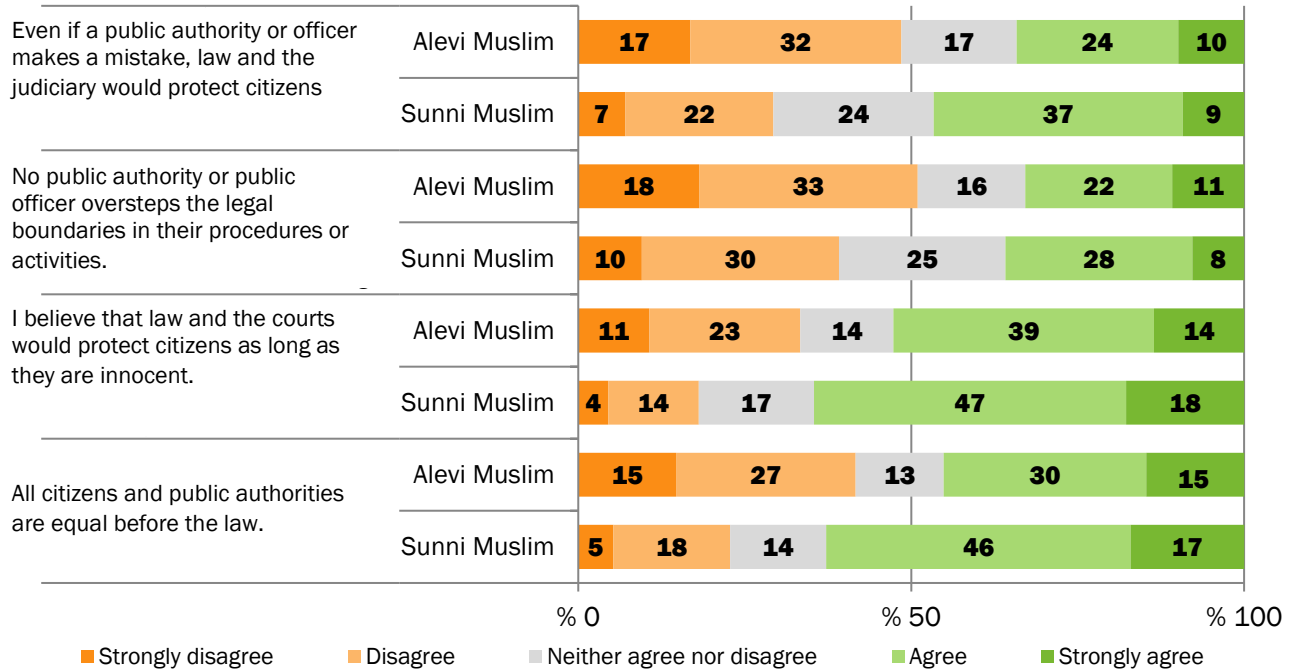


As reflected by the graphs, the Kurdish in comparison to the Turkish, and Alevis in comparison to Sunnis, are more likely to be doubtful about the statement that the state does not overstep legal boundaries, in 2016, as it was the case in 2010. However, we should also underline that, between 2010 and 2016, the response rates for “strongly disagree” and “strongly agree” have increased not only for the Kurdish and the Turkish, but also for Sunnis and Alevis, with increased polarization in the distribution of the replies in all groups.





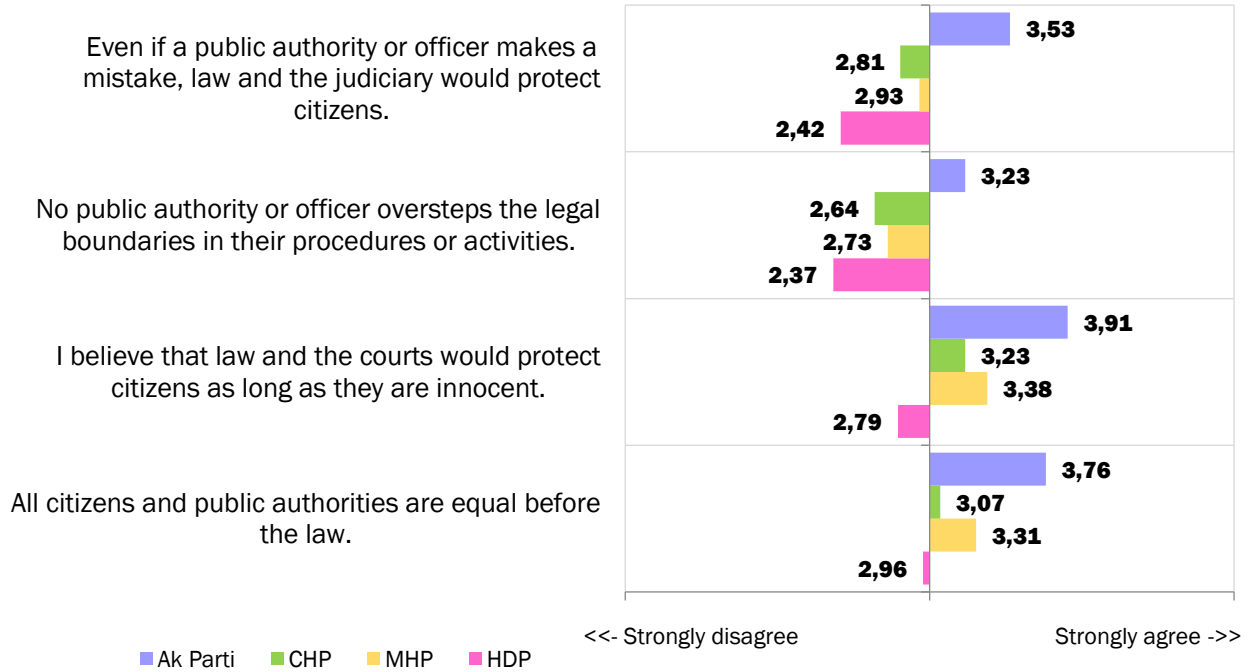
**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? / Religion, sect**



Ak Parti voters are more likely to agree with all of the statements than the voters of other parties. Every other Ak Parti voter “agrees” or “strongly agrees” with the statements, “Even if a public authority or officer makes a mistake, law and the judiciary would protect the citizens”, and “No public authority or officer oversteps the legal boundaries in their procedures or activities”. Similarly, three out of every four Ak Parti voters “agree” or “strongly agree” with the other two statements, “I believe that law and the courts would protect citizens as long as they are innocent” and “All citizens and public authorities are equal before the law”.



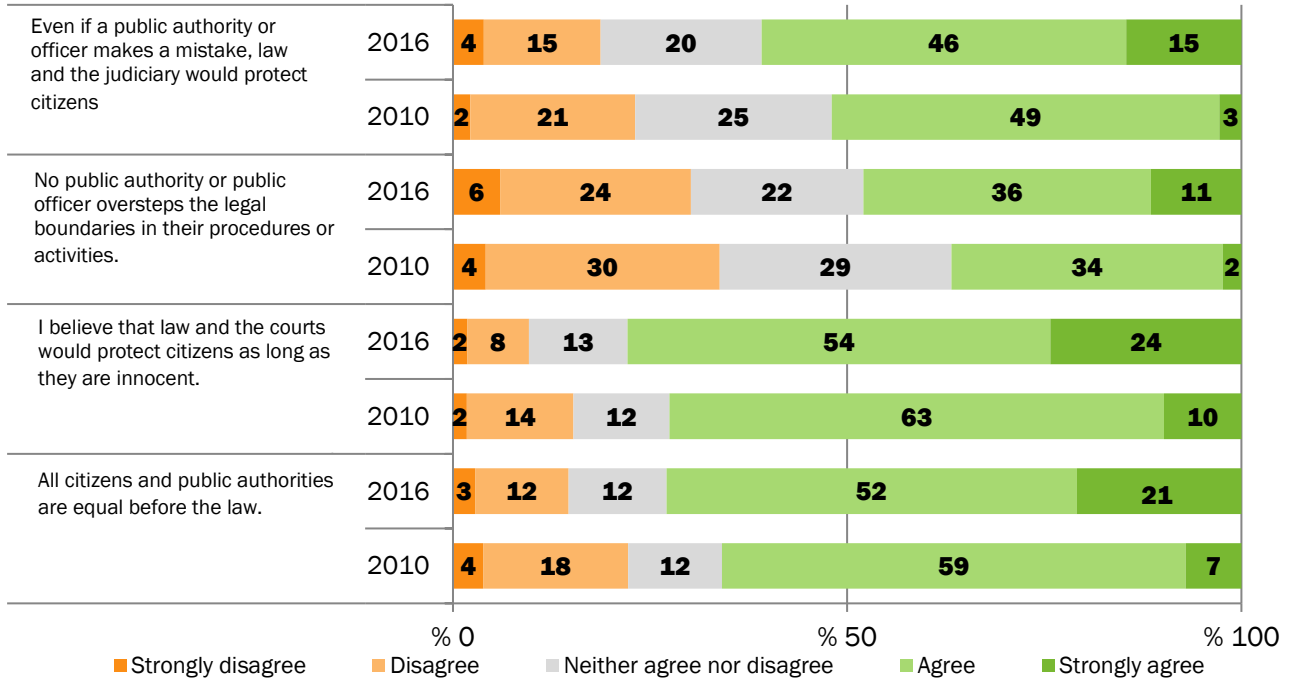
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law?



However, a party-by-party comparison of the results for 2010-2016 reveals quite surprising results. The first graph below reflects the changes in Ak Parti voters' responses to these four statements over the last six years. As demonstrated by the graph, the emphasis placed on equality by Ak Parti voters have become stronger, in contrast to the voters of other parties.

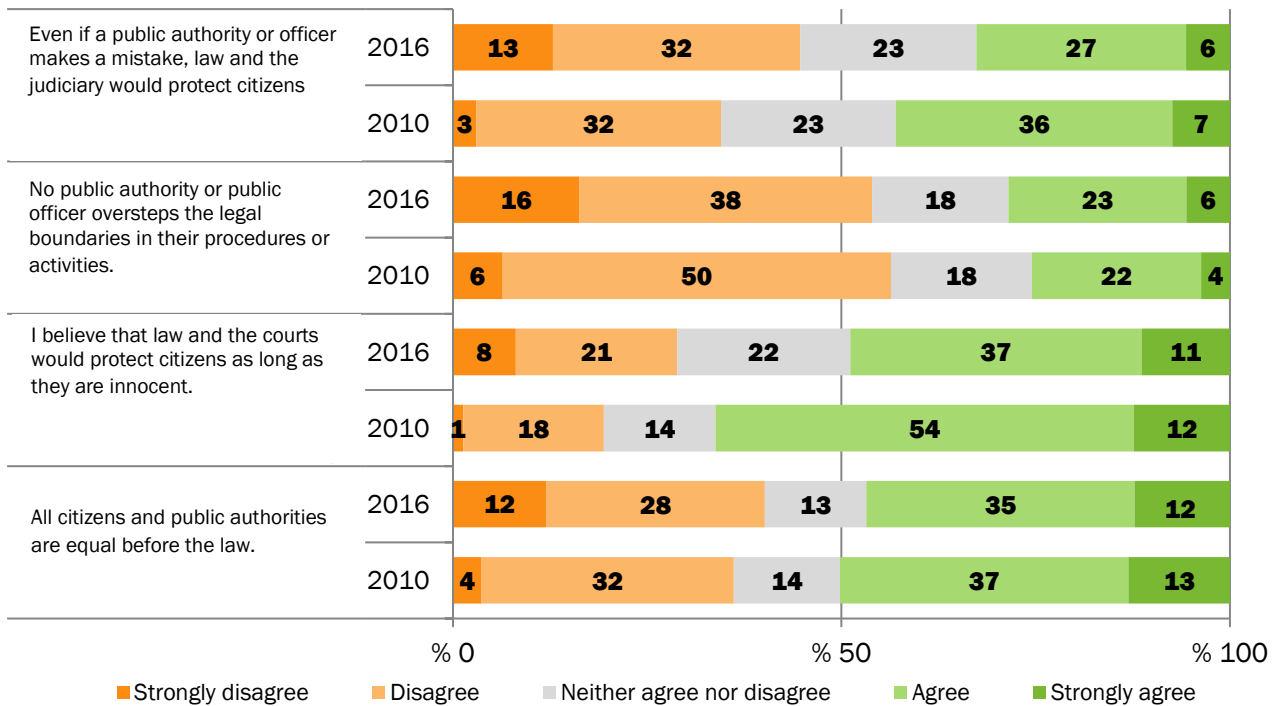


**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /  
Ak Parti voters**



An overview of CHP voters shows that they have lost their belief in the rule of law to a great extent. Suffice to say, the total rate of CHP voters who “strongly disagree” or “disagree” with three of the four statements has increased.

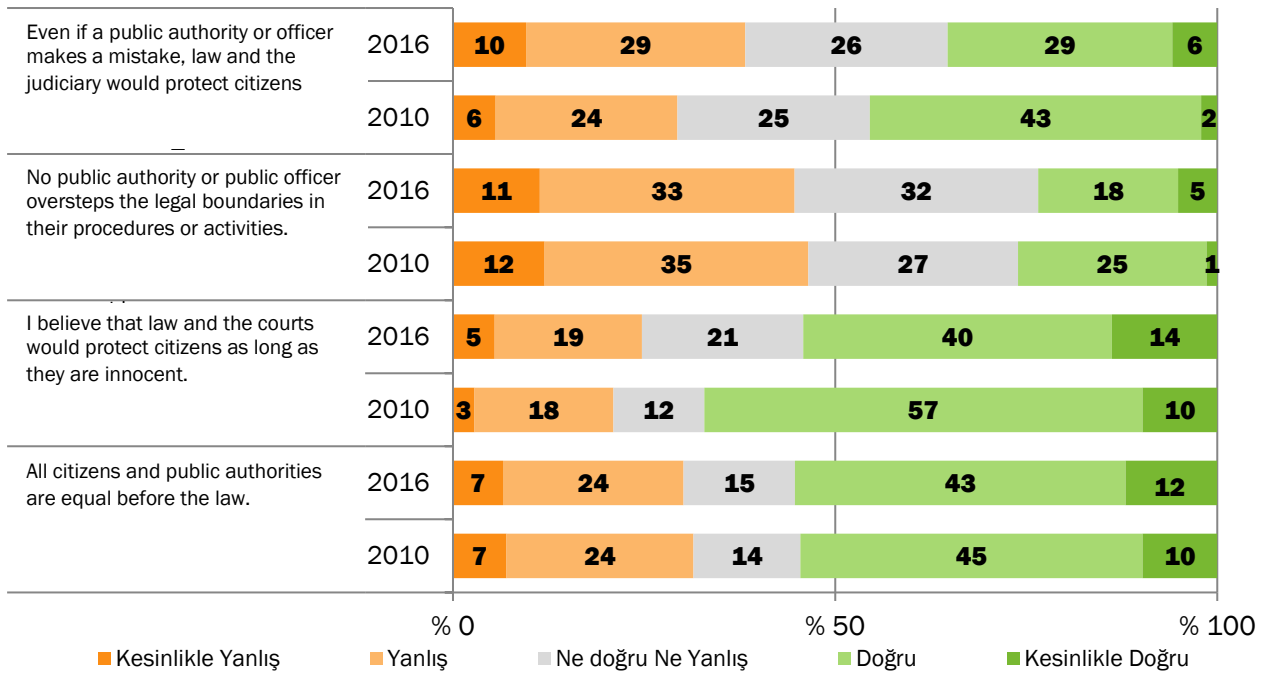
**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /  
CHP voters**





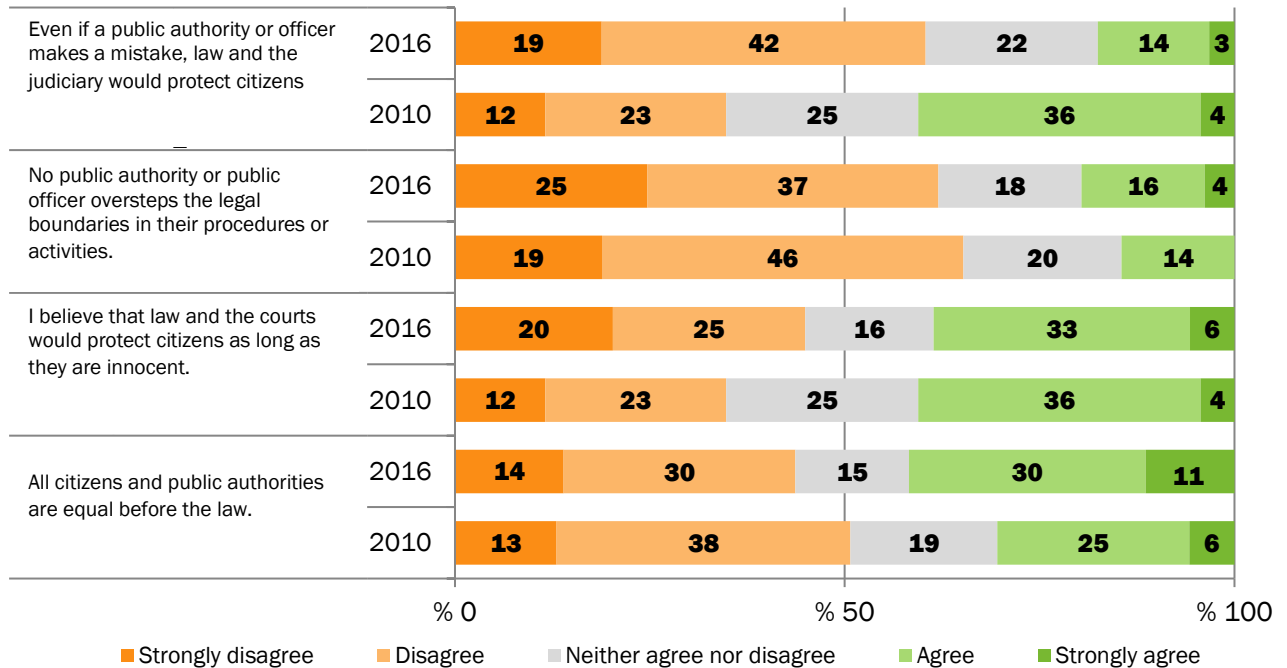
MHP voters present a very interesting picture. On the one hand, their responses to statements about the equality of citizens and the state and the observance of legal boundaries by public officers have remained more or less the same. On the other hand, looking at their responses to the other two statements, we may argue that MHP voters now have less belief that they will be protected by law. The rate of MHP voters who agree with the statement, "I believe that law and the courts would protect citizens as long as they are innocent", has declined by 13 points in the last six years. Similarly, the rate of MHP voters who agree with the statement, "Even if a public authority or officer makes a mistake, law and the judiciary would protect citizens", has decreased by 10 points in the last six years.

**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /  
MHP voters**





**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /  
HDP/BDP voters**



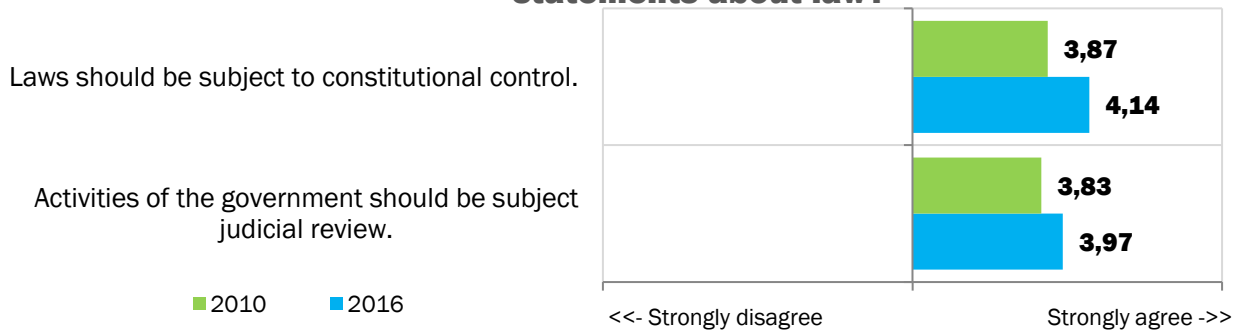
An examination of the responses provided by HDP voters reveals significant changes between 2010 and 2016. Particularly, the increase in the rate of agreement with the statement, “Even if a public authority or officer makes a mistake, law and the judiciary would protect citizens”, indicates that their trust in the rule of law has eroded. Furthermore, the rate of HDP voters who disagree with the statement, “I believe that law and the courts would protect citizens as long as they are innocent” has increased by 10 points in the last six years. However, increased emphasis placed on the concept of “equality” by HDP voters should also be noted, as the preference for the response options of “agree” or “strongly agree” has also increased by 10 points during the same period of time.

## 2.5. Opinion on Governmental Oversight

We have read the respondents the following statements: “Laws should be subject to constitutional control” and “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review”. From the responses to these two statements, we observe that social support for governmental oversight has increased over the last six years.

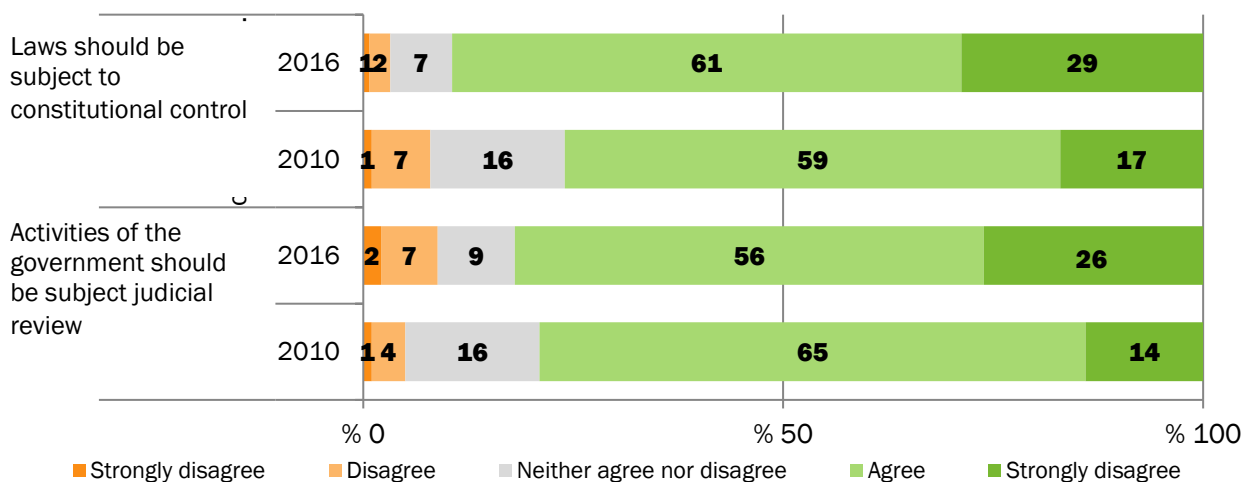


### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law?



As demonstrated by the graph on the next page that shows the comparison of responses from 2010-2016, agreement with the statement, “Laws should be subject to constitutional control”, has increased by 14 points over the last six years. The rate of those who agree with the statement, “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review”, seem to have only increased by three points, but it has reached 82 percent.

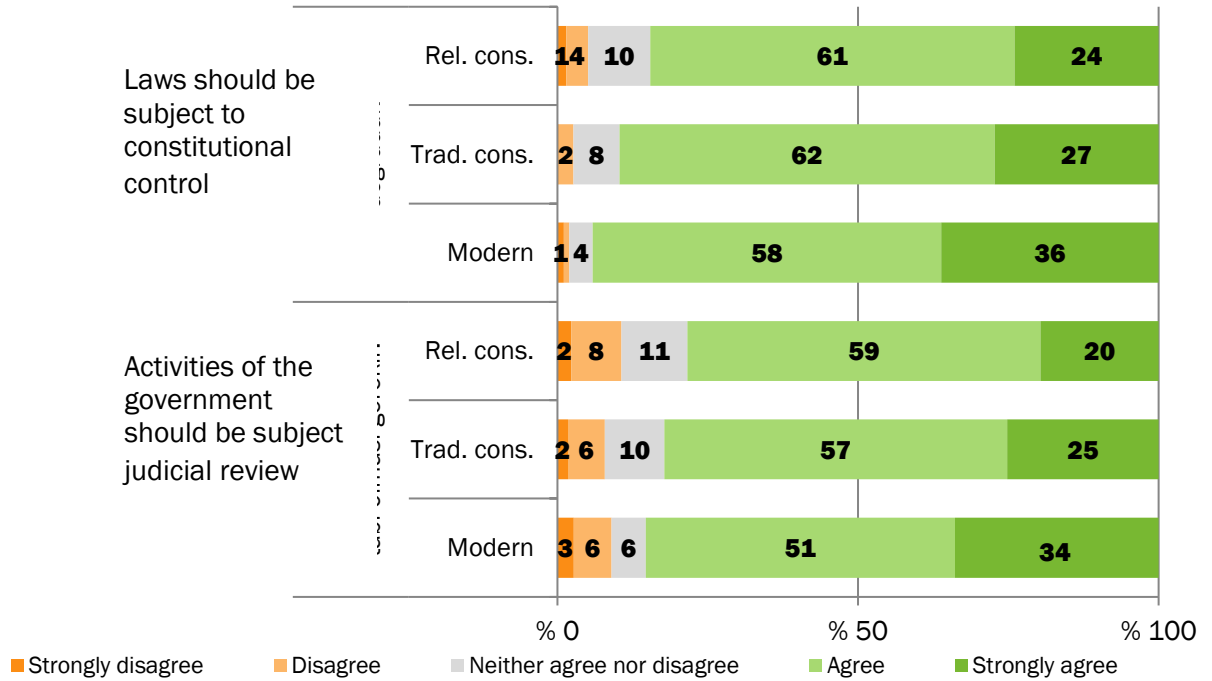
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law that I will read?



When we examine the responses by lifestyle clusters, we observe that Moderns are the most ardent supporters of governmental oversight and constitutional control of laws. However, one out of every four Religious Conservatives “strongly agrees” with the statement, “Laws should be subject to constitutional control”, while one in five Religious Conservatives also “strongly agrees” with the statement, “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review”. An analysis of opinions by lifestyle clusters shows that constitutional oversight receives support from nearly all segments of society.

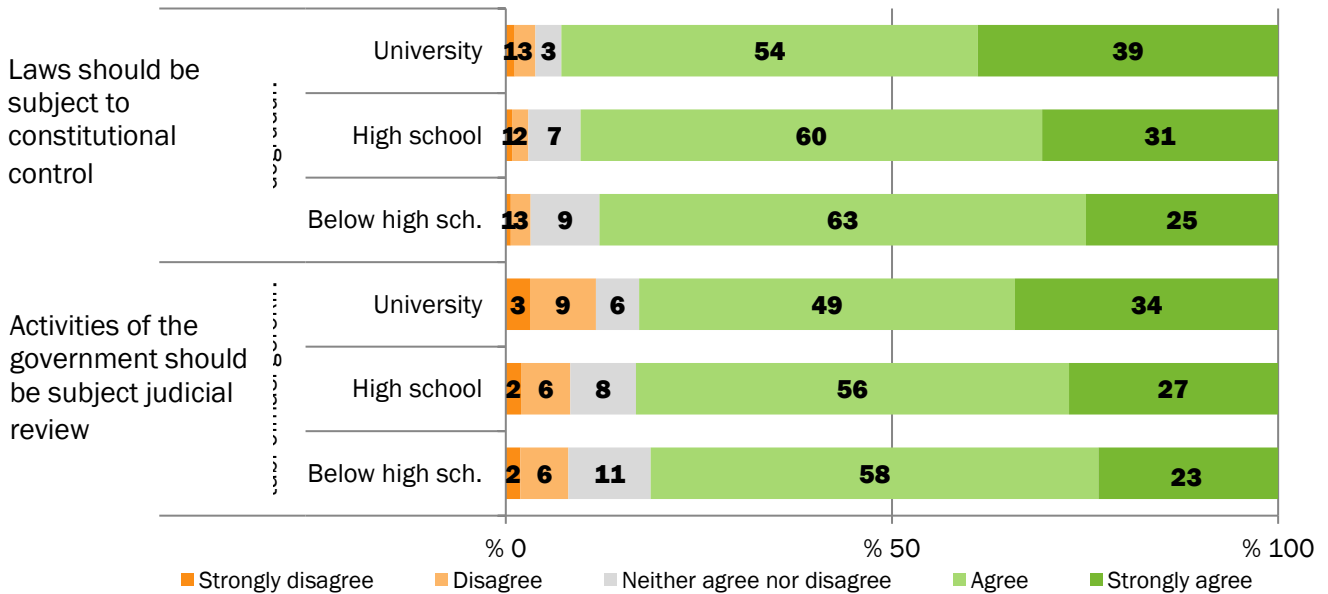


**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law that I will read? / Lifestyles**



When we look at the breakdown of responses by educational attainment level, we observe that nearly all educational attainment clusters support governmental oversight and constitutional compliance of laws.

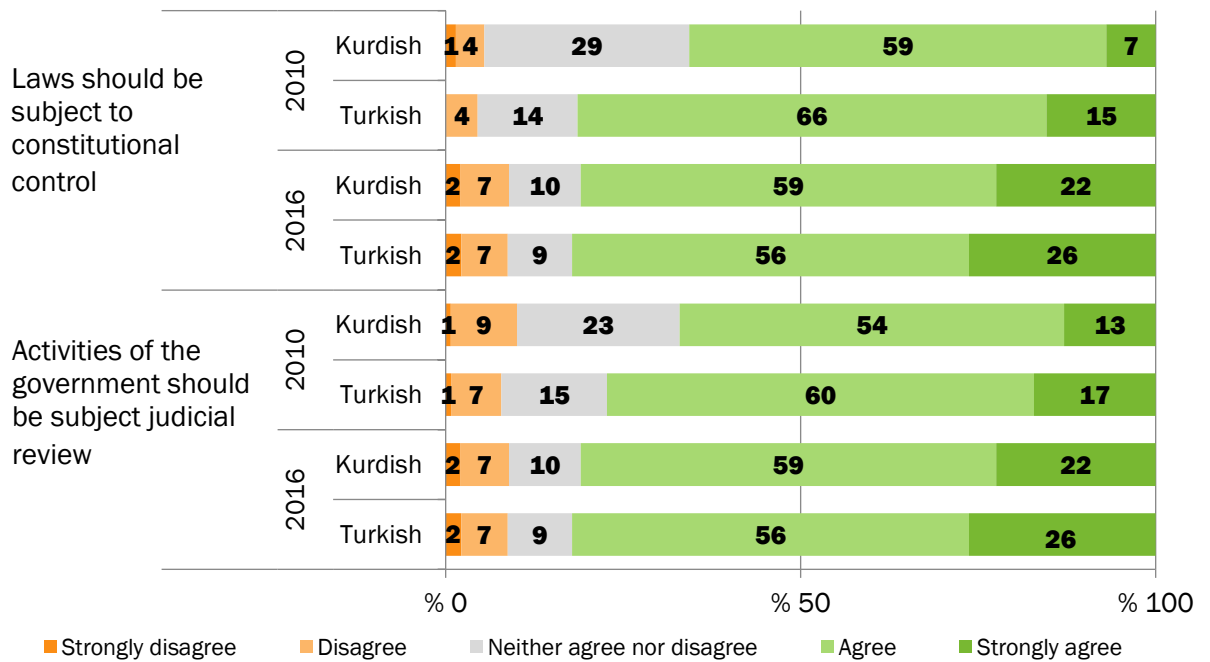
**Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? / Educational attainment level**





The two graphs below demonstrate the breakdowns for ethnic background and sect, in comparison with the results for 2010. In general, we observe that all segments of society are in support of governmental oversight and compliance of laws with the constitution, and that this support has grown stronger in the last six years. However, we also observe that agreement with the two statements has increased at a great rate among the Kurdish and Alevis than that among the Turkish and Sunnis.

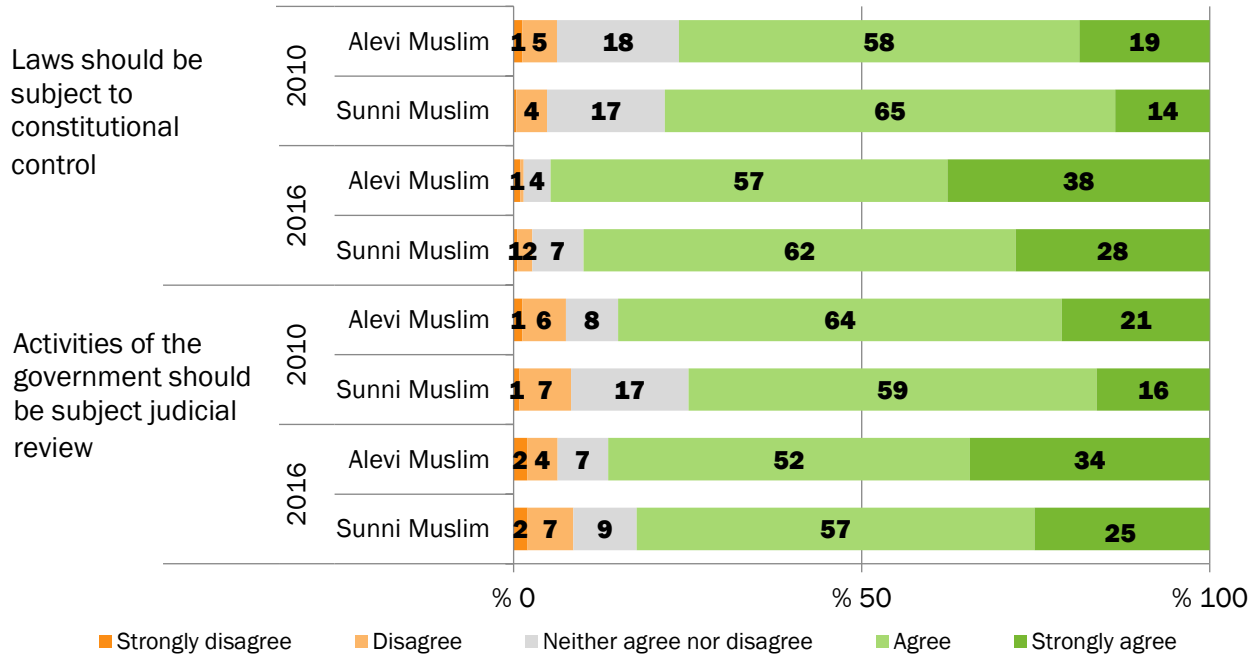
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law that I will read? / Ethnic identity





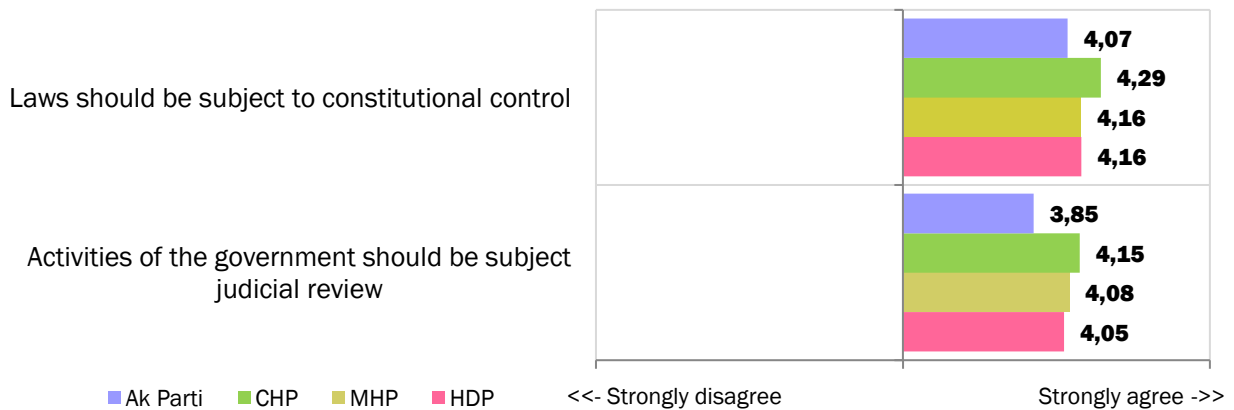


### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? / Religion, sect



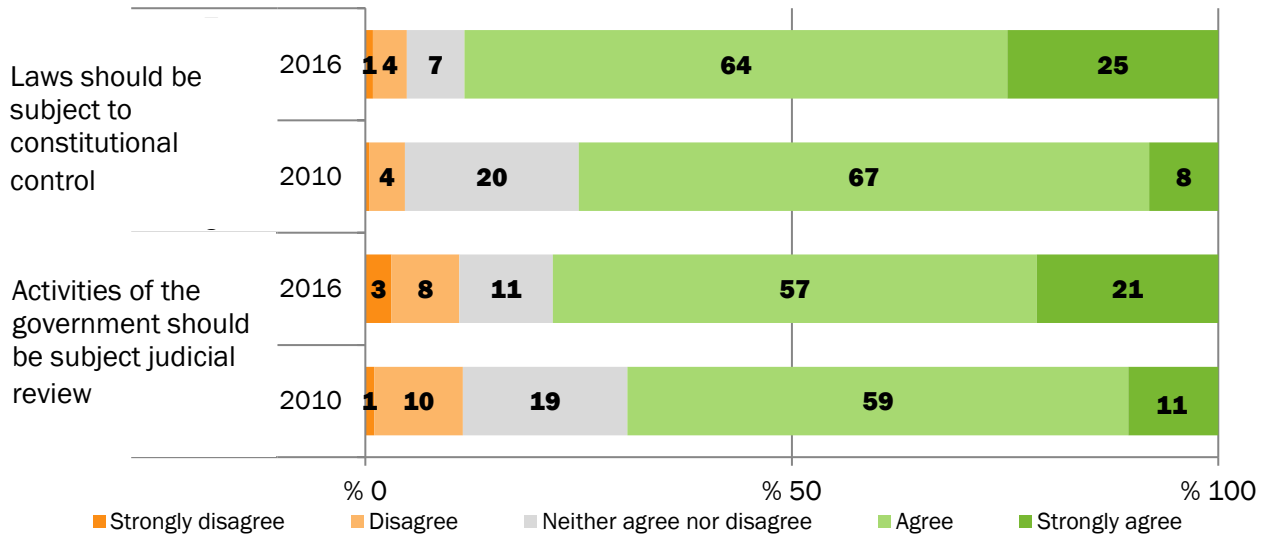
An evaluation of the responses by party preference shows that while Ak Parti voters agree with the statements to a slightly lesser degree than other voter groups, still eight out of every 10 Ak Parti voters state their agreement with both of the statements.

### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law?



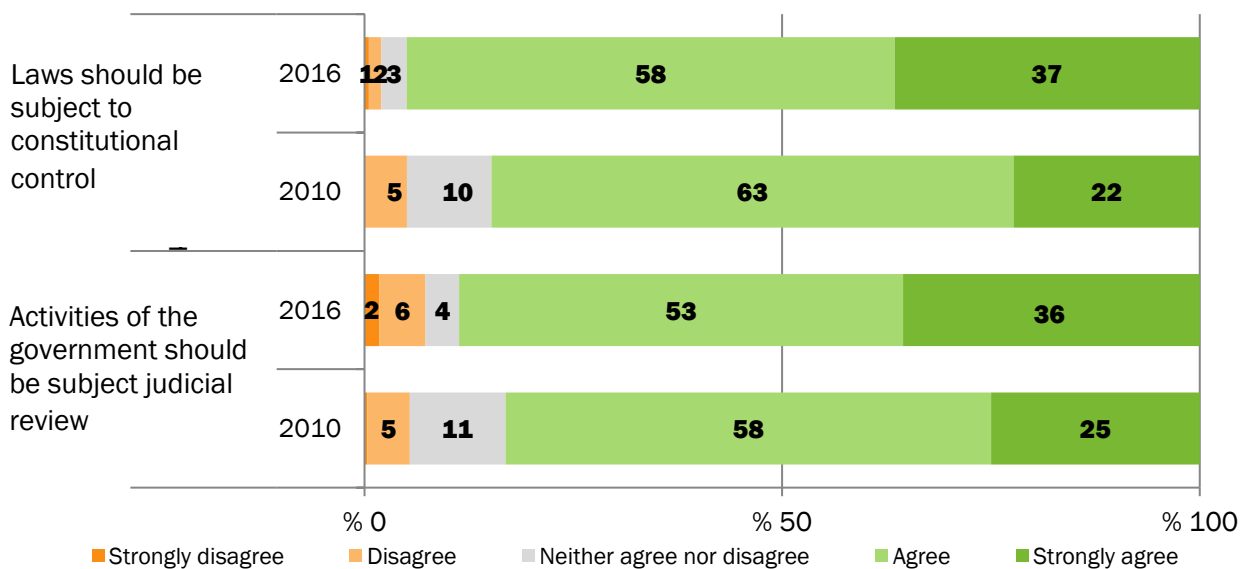


### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /Ak Parti voters



The support of Ak Parti voters to governmental oversight and compliance of laws with the constitution has grown stronger in the last six years. A similar increase is also observed among CHP voters. The rate of Ak Parti voters who state that “Laws should be subject to constitutional control” has increased to 89 percent from 75 percent, while the same rate has shot up to 95 percent from 75 percent among CHP voters. Similarly, the rate of Ak Parti voters who agree with the statement, “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review”, has increased by 8 point to reach 78 percent, while the corresponding rate for CHP voters has increased to 89 percent from 83 percent over the last six years.

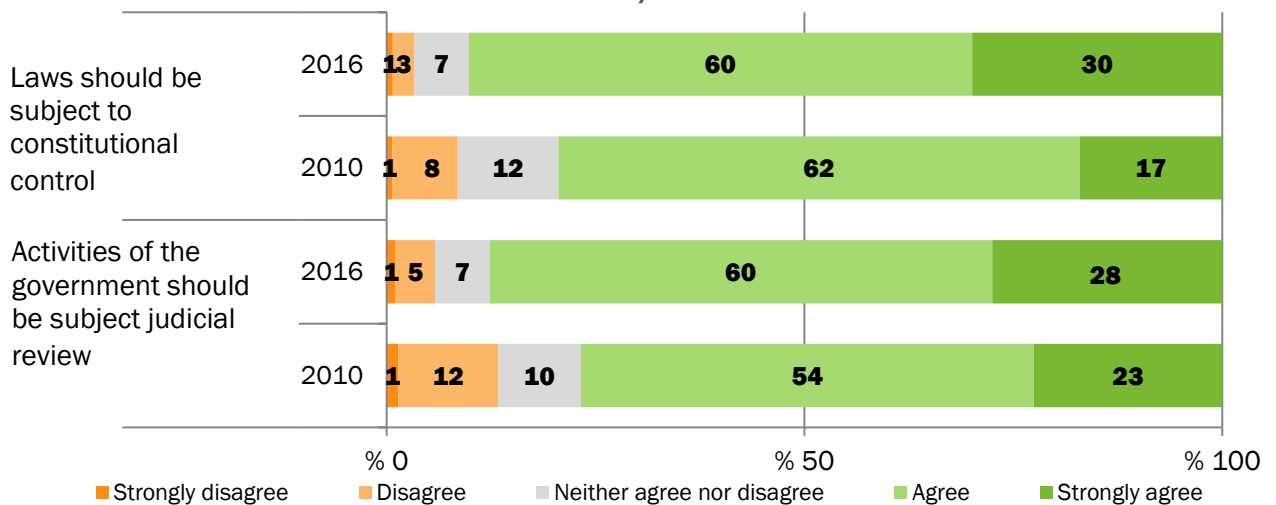
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /CHP voters





The most noteworthy finding about MHP voters is the gradual erosion of the minority who “disagreed” with both statements six years ago. As it was the case with voters of other parties, support for both statements has strengthened among MHP voters. The rate of the respondents who agree with the statement, “Laws should be subject to constitutional control” has climbed to 90 percent, while the approval rating for the statement, “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review” has reached 88 percent over the last six years.

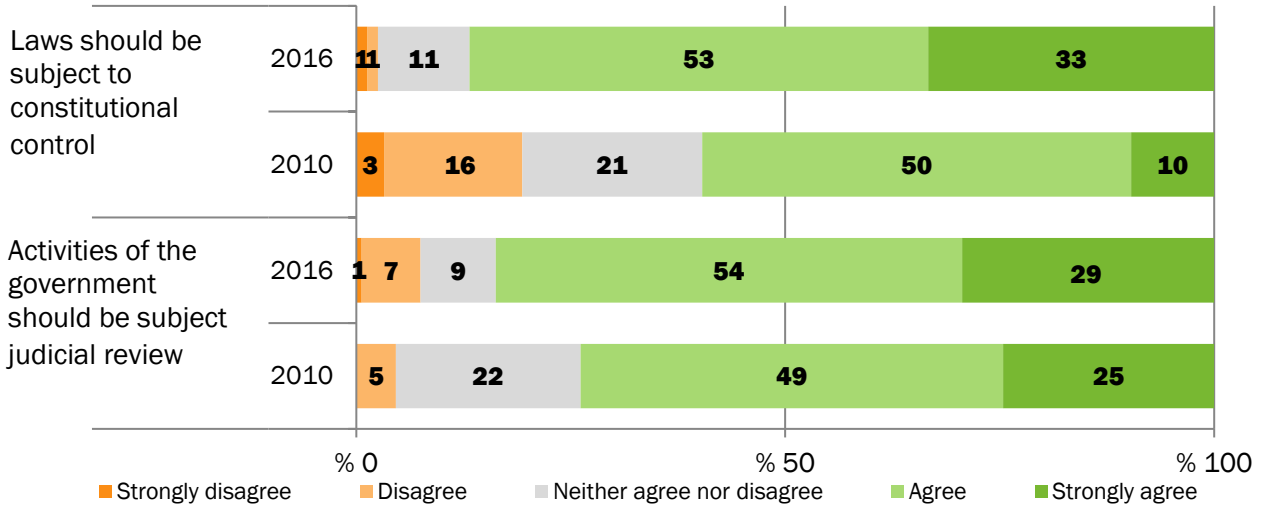
### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /MHP voters



Big changes are observed among the HDP electorate. The main reason for this is due to the fact that HDP voters do have the same demographic composition with BDP voters, the predecessor of HDP. However, among the voters who mostly have a Kurdish ethnic background, the rate of those who agree with the statement, “Laws should be subject to constitutional control”, has increased to 86 percent from 60 percent, as approval for the statement, “Activities of the government should be subject judicial review”, rose to 83 percent from 74 percent.



### Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about law? /HDP voters

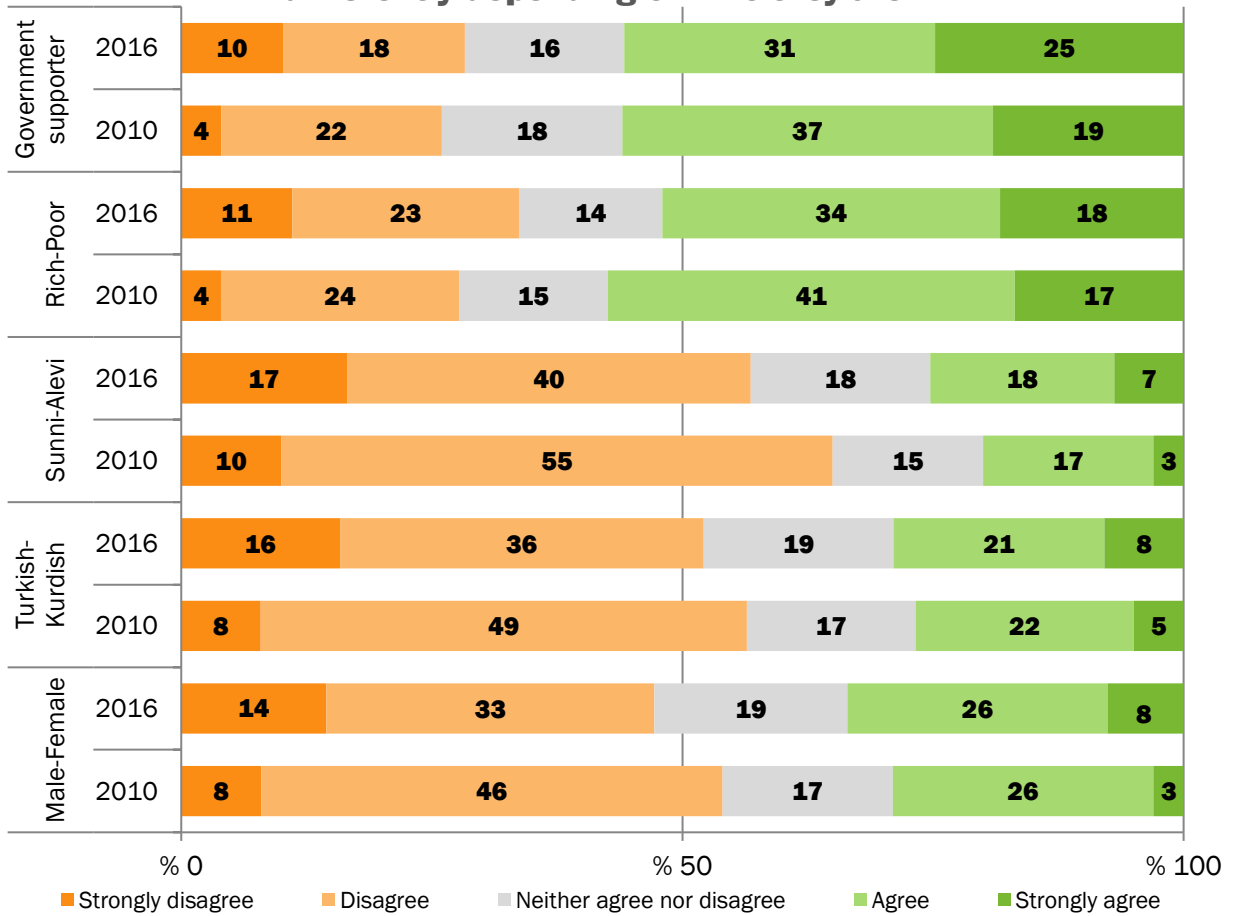


## 2.6. Opinion on Impartiality of the Judiciary

We have directed 5 questions to the respondents to measure the public opinion on the impartiality of the judiciary. Accordingly, we have asked the respondents whether being female-male, Turkish-Kurdish, Sunni-Alevi, rich-poor or government supporter-dissident influenced the decisions of judges, prosecutors and the police or not. The biggest difference from 2010 is the increased negative opinion on the impartiality of the judiciary triggered by the division of rich-poor. The rate of those who think that being Sunni-Alevi or Turkish-Kurdish makes a difference in the verdicts of the judiciary has remained more or less the same since 2010. On the other hand, the rate of those who think that being a government sycophant or not makes a difference has increased by 12 points in the last six years. While it looks like those who believe being female-male makes a difference did not increase significantly, it is noteworthy that the rate of those who think that “it does not make a difference” declined by 7 points. Another discernible difference is observed in the rate of those who believe that being rich-poor makes a difference (“strongly agree” and “agree”) which has decreased by 5 points.



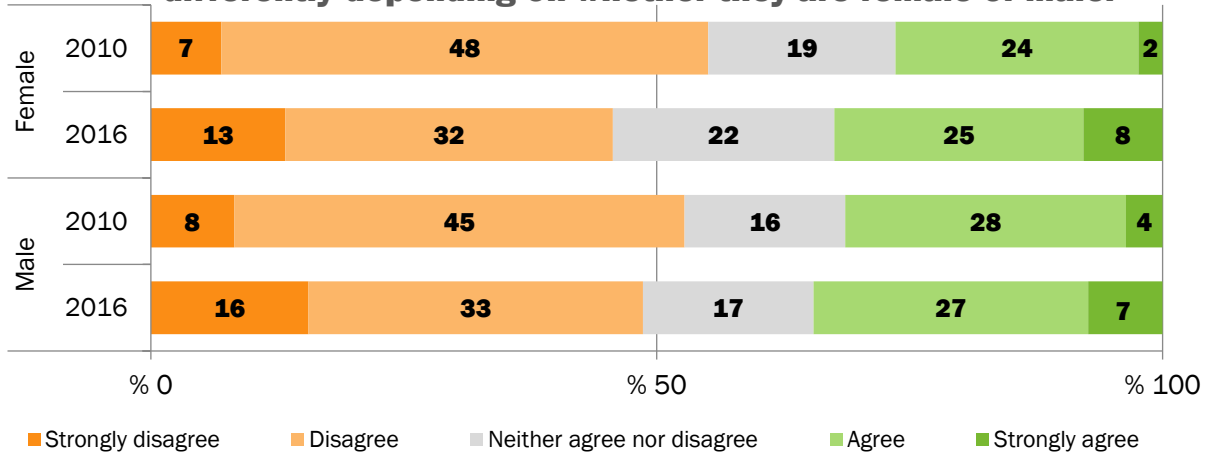
### Do judges, prosecutors, police officers treat citizens differently depending on who they are?



The most striking change is observed in the discrimination based on being female-male. The opinion that the judiciary is discriminatory towards women and men seems to have gained strength in society (with the opinion that the judiciary is not discriminatory decreasing by approximately 12 points), while it is notable that men are more likely to think that there is discrimination than women (31.3 percent for men, 26.4 percent for women).

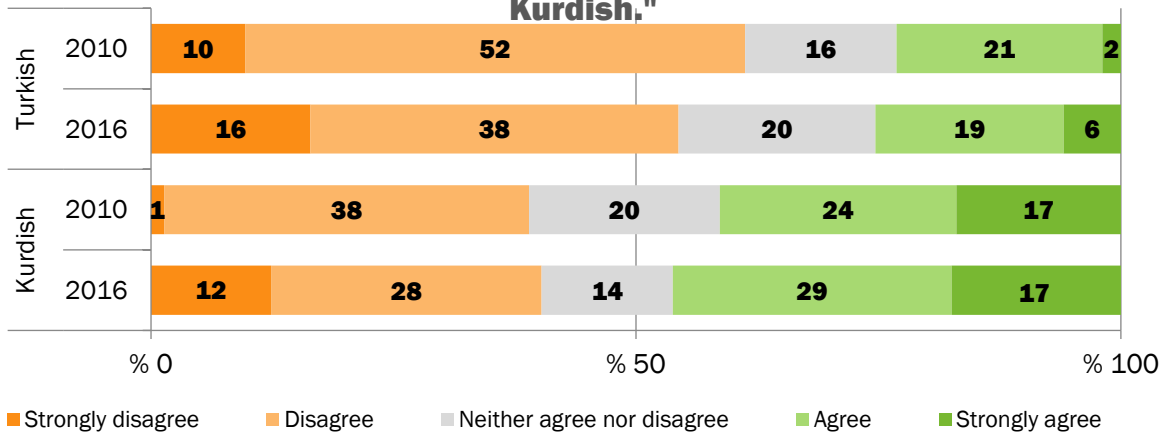


**"Judges, prosecutors or police officers treat citizens differently depending on whether they are female or male."**



Alevi are more likely to think that there is discrimination based on being Sunni-Alevi, while the Kurdish are more likely to believe in the existence of discrimination on the basis of being Turkish-Kurdish. At least 30 percent of the Kurdish think that judges, prosecutors or police officers treat citizens differently depending on their ethnic background, but the corresponding rate among the Turkish stands around 25 percent. Support for this opinion has decreased among the Turkish in the last six years, while there has been a five-point increase in agreement with the opinion that there is discrimination based on ethnicity.

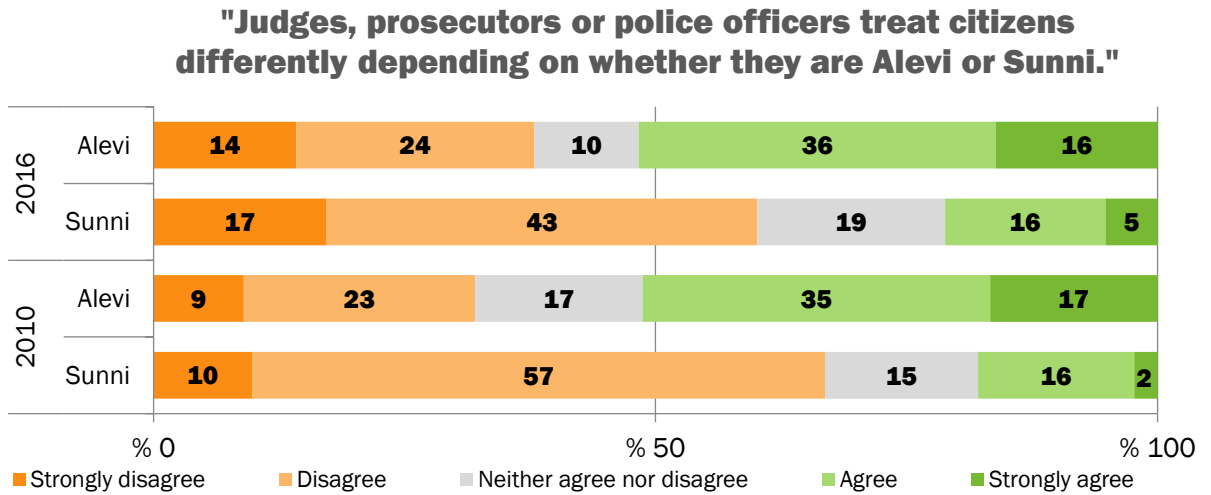
**"Judges, prosecutors or police officers treat citizens differently depending on whether they are Turkish or Kurdish."**



A little more than 50 percent of Alevi believe in the existence of discrimination based on sect in the judiciary, while the same rate among Sunnis (the total rate for “strongly agree” and “agree”) does not exceed 20 percent. However, it should be noted that



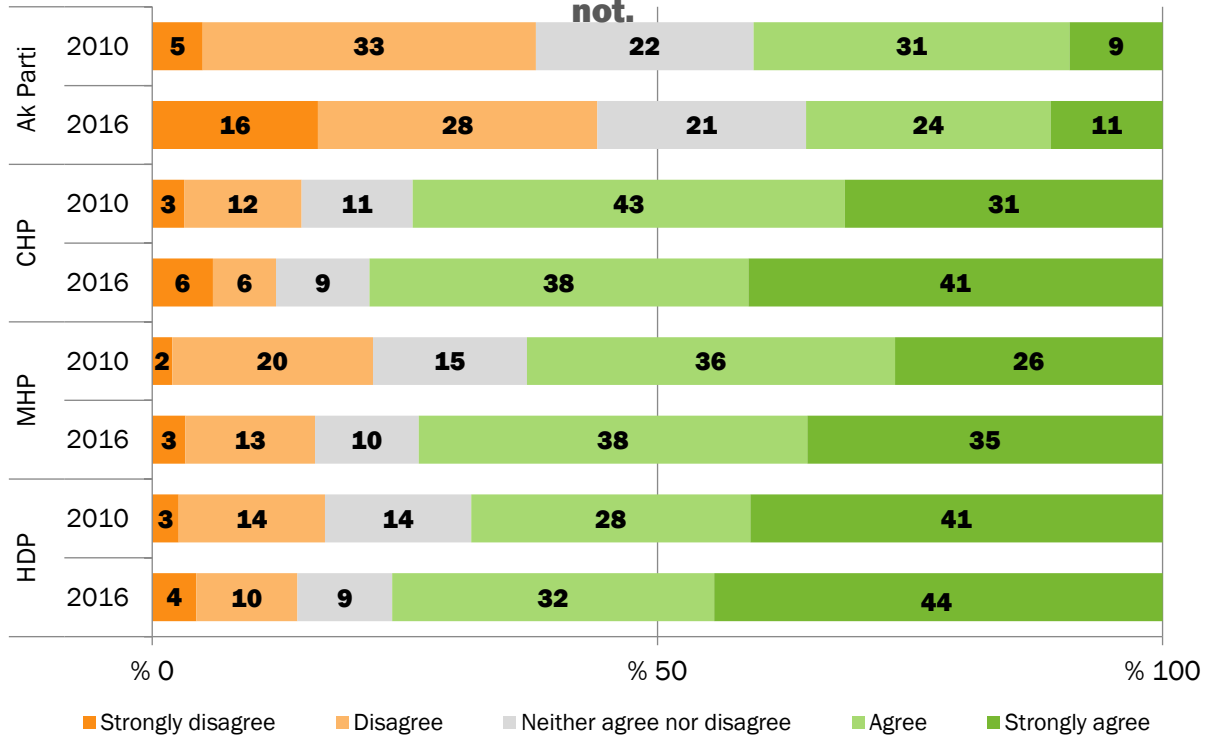
this rate has not increased among Sunnis or Alevi in the last six years. Indeed, it has decreased among Sunnis.



Again, we observe a contrast of opinion between Ak Parti voters and the voters of other parties, on the question of whether judges, prosecutors or police officers treat people differently, based on being a government sycophant or not. The rate of Ak Parti voters who believe in the existence of such discrimination has decreased. It is even the case that the rate of those who “strongly disagree” with this statement has tripled. While we do not observe a radical difference in the opinion of other party voters, it may be regarded as an exception that the rate of CHP voters who “strongly agree” has increased by 10 points.



**Judges, prosecutors, police officers treat citizens differently depending on whether they are a government sycophant or not.**



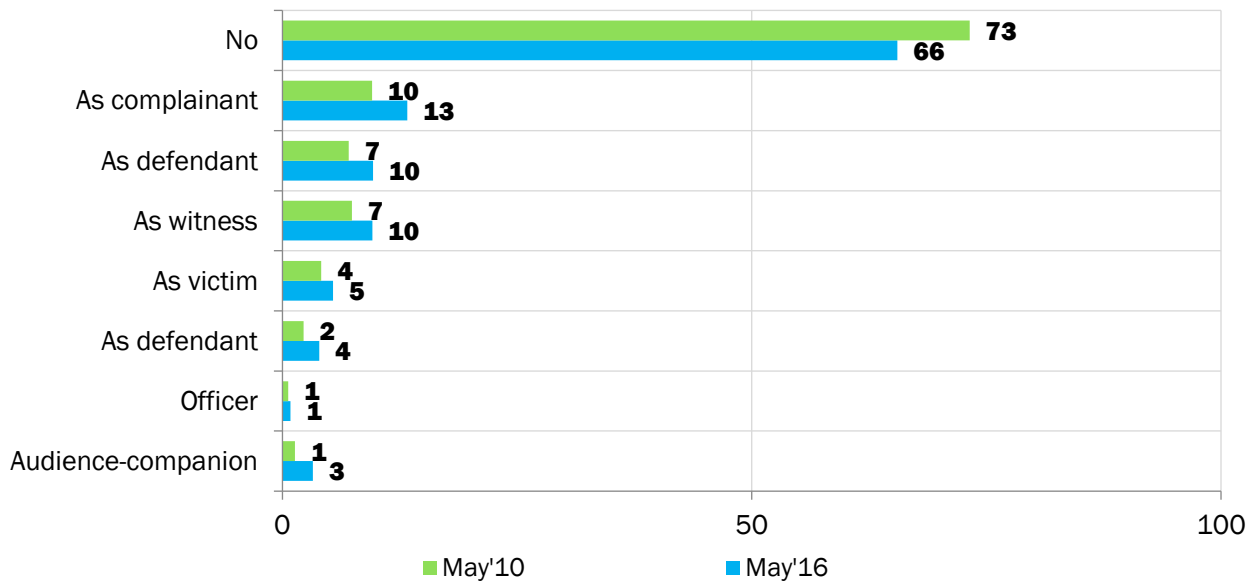
**2.7. Opinion on Courts and the Legal System**

In addition to their opinions about law and the judiciary, we have asked the respondents whether they have any previous experience with the legal system before or not, and if yes, in what position their experience with the legal system took place, in order to understand whether they had a direct relationship with the legal system in practice or not. 66 percent of the respondents said that they did not have any experience with courts, while 34 percent mentioned that they had some kind of prior interaction with them. We also observe that people’s experiences with courts involve being a complainant, defendant or witness.





### Do you have any previous direct experience with courts?



According to the May 2010 survey, the rate of the respondents who have previous direct experience with courts was 27 percent. The fact that this rate has climbed to 34 percent in the last five years indicates that approximately 4.5 million additional people had something to do with courts and had direct experience with the legal system in the meantime.

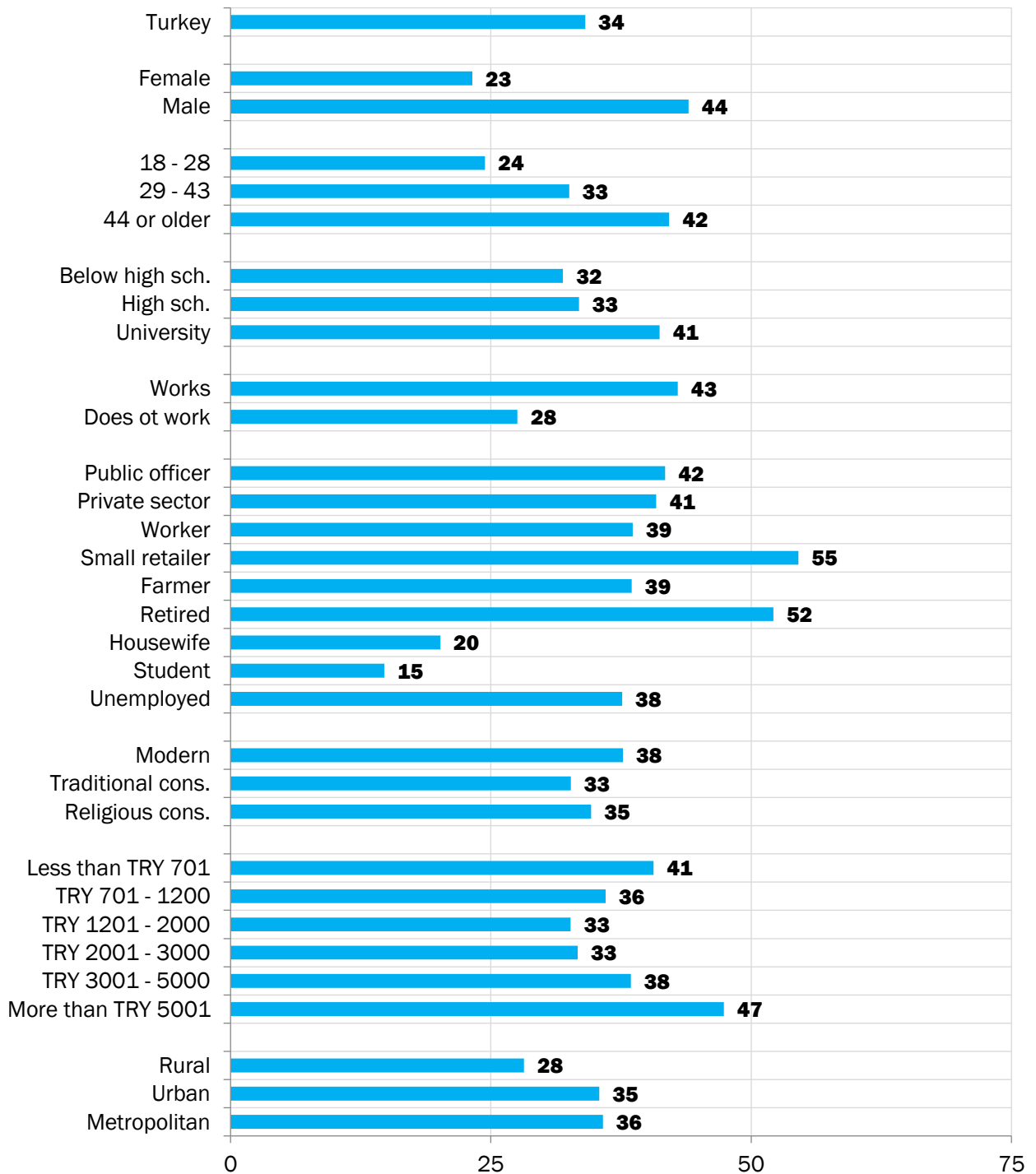
It is also notable that some groups are more likely to have direct experience with courts than others. Men are more likely than women, the employed are more likely than the unemployed, and the better educated are more likely than the lesser educated to be involved with the legal system. Similarly, older people are more likely to have previous experience with courts. This may be explained by the fact older people have a more accumulated life experience than the rest of the demographic groups. Nevertheless, it is striking that the 55 percent of the retired, who are not only older than the rest of the demographic groups, but who also have put their professional career behind, have previous relationship with courts.

Among the different income level groups, the highest earning and the lowest earning are the most likely to have faced court time in their lives. Furthermore, the fact that they are one of the two groups that have the most experience with courts as complainant underlines their likelihood to have previous direct experience with courts.

Although the Moderns are more likely than Conservatives to have direct experience with courts, as The Turkish are more likely than the Kurdish, Alevis than Sunnis, and the less religious than the more religious for the same, we do not believe that it is possible to talk about a significant relation between previous involvement with courts with lifestyle clusters or social divisions.



### Rate of those with previous direct experience with courts



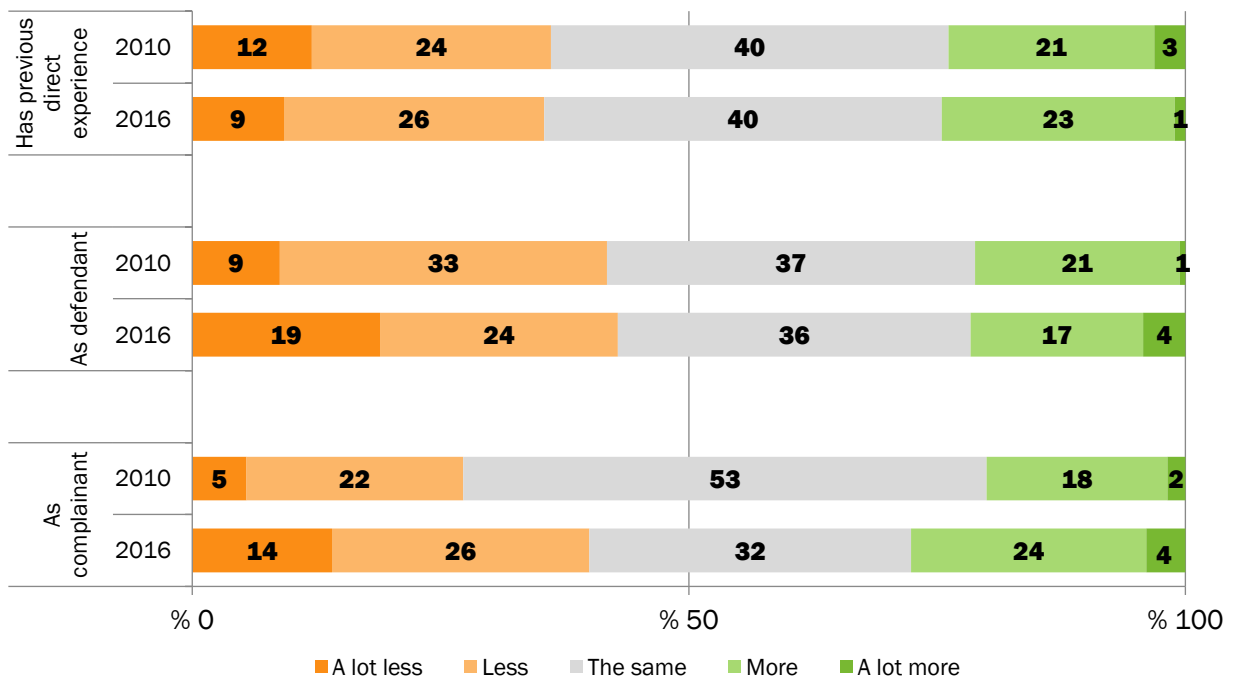
One of the questions we have used in the survey for both the May'10 Barometer and this month's survey, dealt with whether previous experience with courts made respondents more likely to have more confidence in the legal system and courts or not. We do not observe any changes in the results since May 2010: 24 percent



report increased confidence, while 35 percent say they have less confidence. Although we do not observe any fundamental change in complainants, it is notable that the rate of those who say “I have much less confidence” has declined to 9 percent from 19 percent.

The change in the opinion of those who have previous direct experience with courts is even more striking. While, in 2010, 53 percent said, “I have the same confidence”, the same rate has gone down to 32 percent this month, with a great increase in the rate of those with not only less confidence, but also with “much less” confidence. In other words, we may claim that complainants now have more pronounced opinions about the legal system.

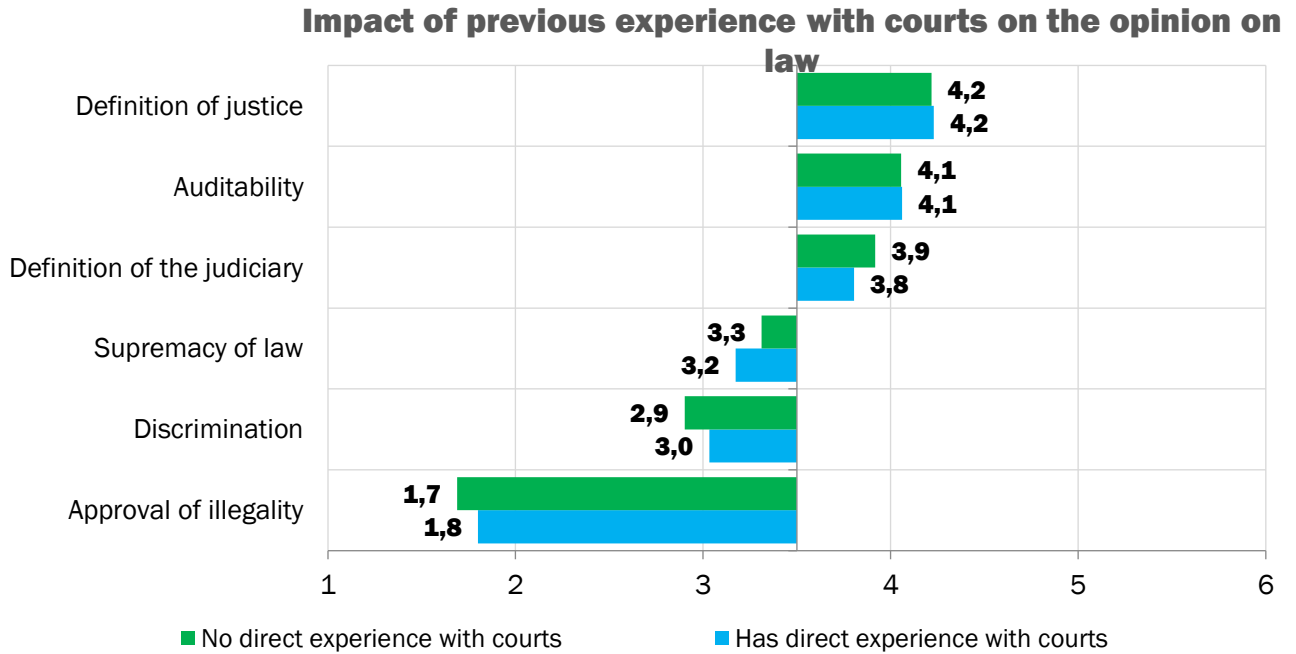
### Do you have more or less confidence in the legal system and courts after your past court experience?



When we examine whether experience with courts influences opinion on the legal system and justice, we are able to detect a slight influence. As it can be seen in the graph below, previous experience with courts does not make a difference in the opinion about the statements on governmental or legal oversight, while we observe a slight influence on the opinion about the supremacy of law and discrimination in the judiciary. In other words, **those who have previous direct experience with courts in one way or another are less likely to believe** 1) that courts/the judiciary is a place where adherence to laws is reviewed, justice is meted out and the guilty are punished; 2) that law protects citizens and that all citizens are equal before the law, and 3) that judges, prosecutors and the police treat everyone equally regardless of who they are, without any discrimination. Those who have previous experience with courts are more likely to believe that the boundaries of law may be violated in cases



of bribery, illegal use of electricity/water or perjury. Therefore, there appears to be an inverse relation between having previous experience with courts and the legal system, and the belief in the judiciary and the supremacy of law.

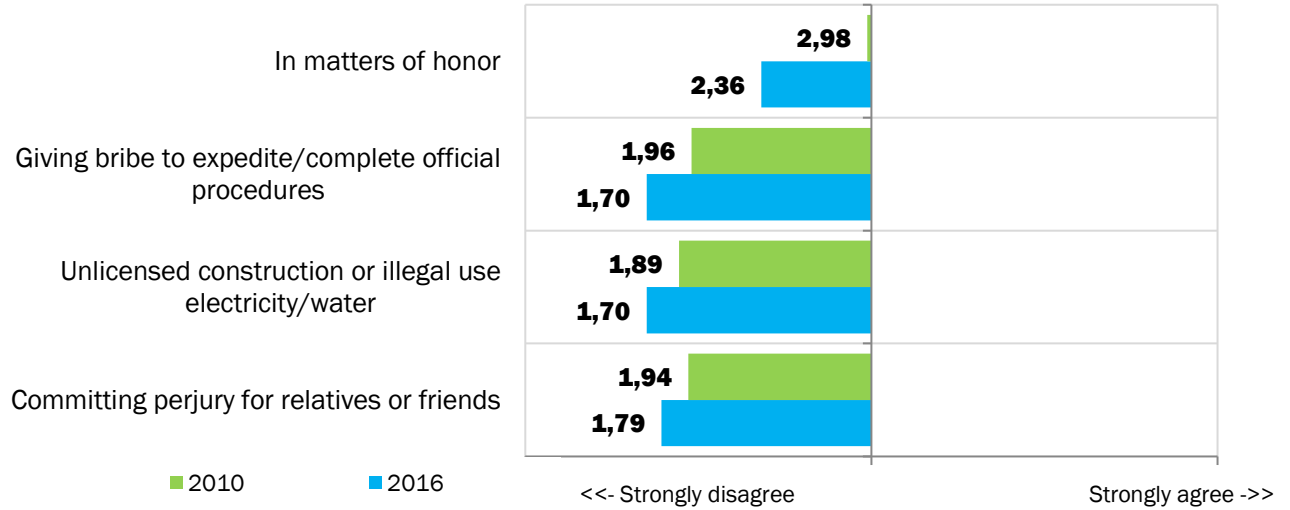


When we look at the correlation between previous experience with courts and the opinion on law, we can see that experience with the legal system leads to lower confidence in the rule of law. We also observe an inverse correlation between the supremacy of law and the definition of the judiciary, and a positive correlation between discrimination and overstepping legal boundaries. In other words, a **higher likelihood to have direct experience with courts leads to a lower likelihood to believe in the supremacy of law and the judiciary as the place where justice is served and the guilty are punished, and to a higher likelihood to believe in the existence of discrimination in the judiciary and the permissibility of overstepping legal boundaries.** However, if previous experience with courts makes the person in question more likely to trust the legal system, we observe a generally more positive opinion on law.



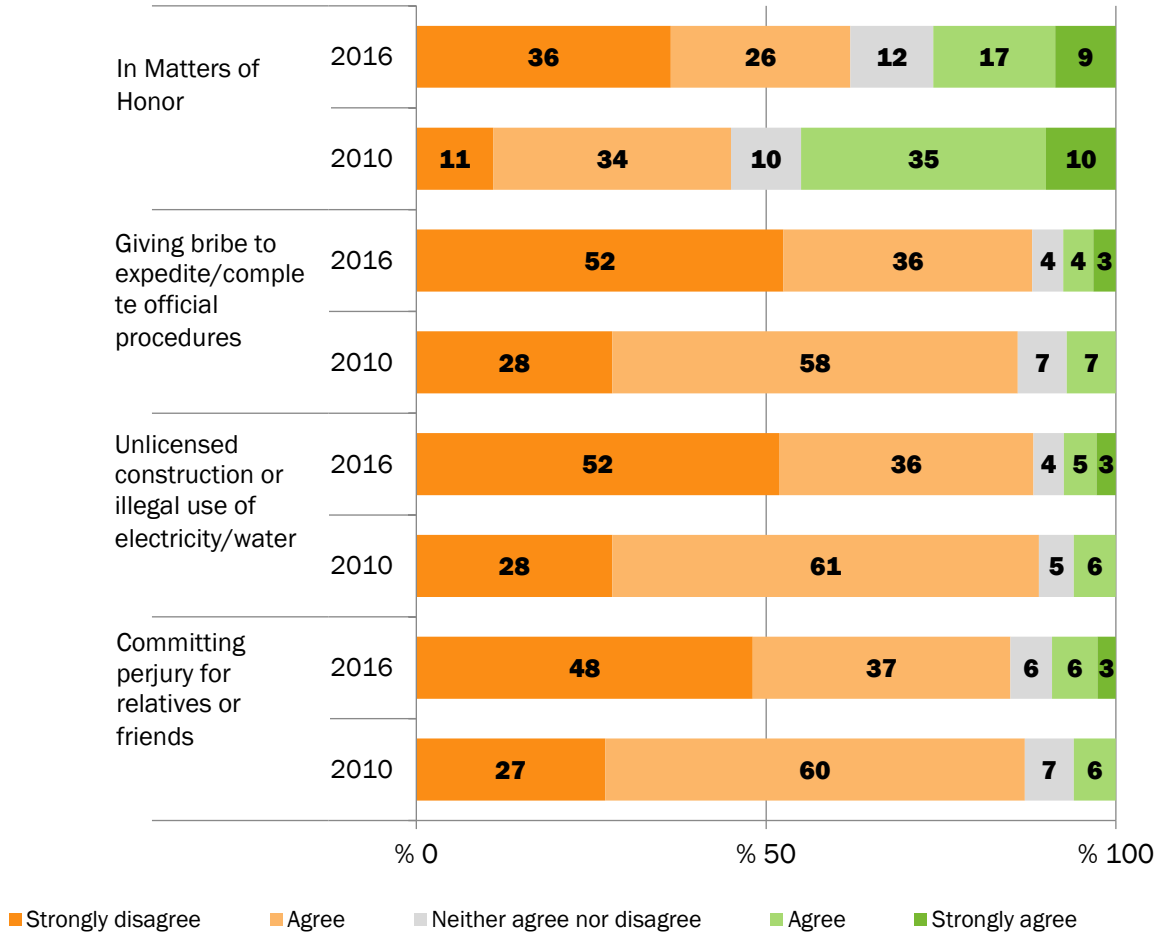
## 2.8. Approval of Illegality – Permissibility of Overstepping Legal Boundaries

"In Which Cases May Legal Boundaries Be Overstepped?"





### In Which Cases May Legal Boundaries Be Overstepped?



We have read the four statements shown in the two graphs to the respondents, with the aim to understand in which cases overstepping of legal boundaries is seen as a legitimate course of action. Accordingly, the general public does not approve overstepping of legal boundaries in any of the cases presented. However, it appears that people are more lenient about the permissibility of overstepping legal boundaries in matters of honor than the scenarios of giving/taking bribes, using electricity/water illegally or committing perjury. Although the responses to the statement, “the boundaries of law may be overstepped in matters of honor” have moved from “neither agree nor disagree” towards “disagree” since 2010, a comparison of the responses to this statement with those for the other three statements shows that this issue is perceived and evaluated differently among society.

When we look at the detailed breakdown of the responses, it becomes clear that matters of honor are perceived and considered much differently than the other issues. 85 percent “disagree” or “definitely disagree” with “committing perjury for a friend or



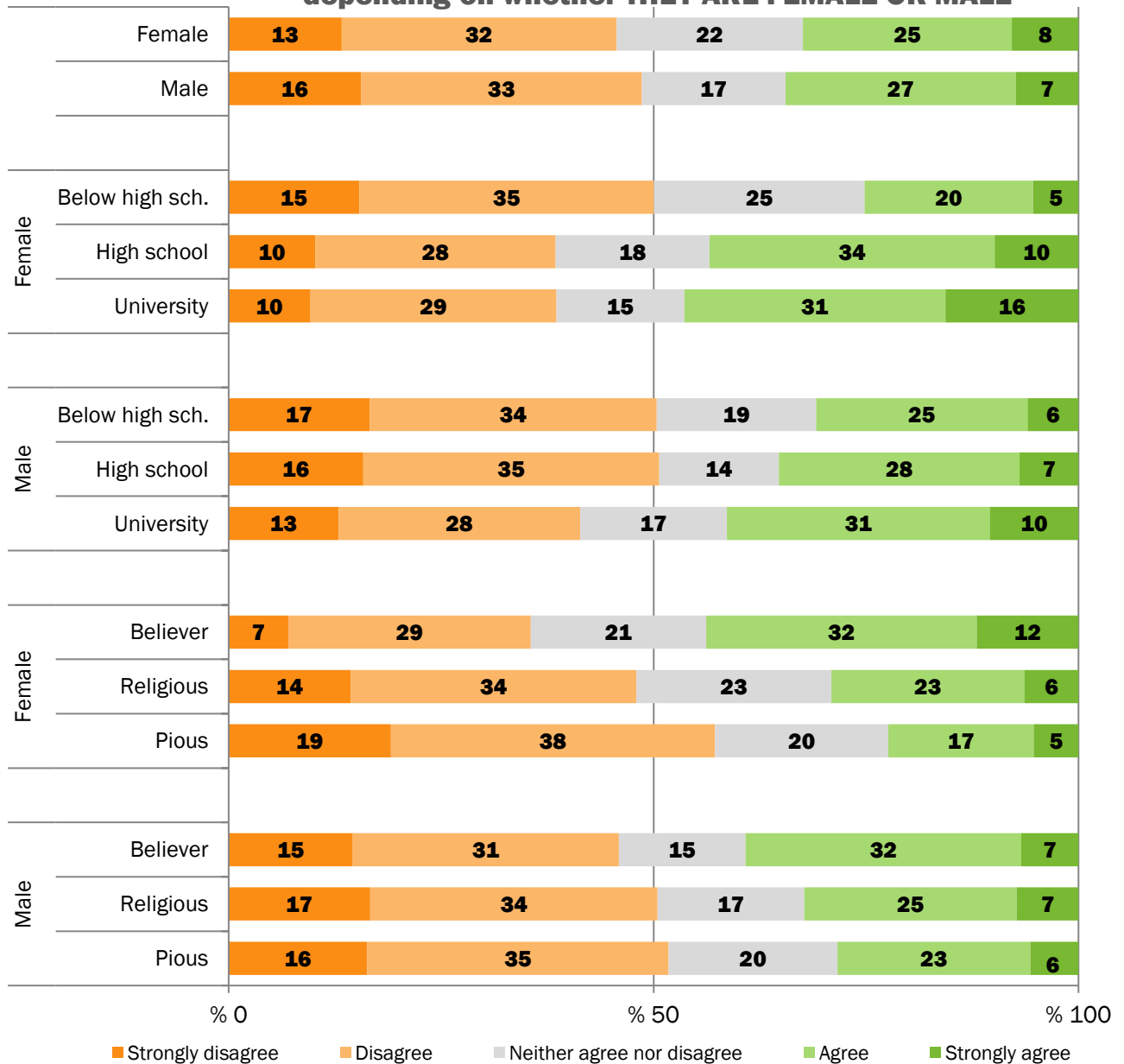
relative” and 88 percent “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with “unlicensed construction or illegal electricity use” and “giving bribe to expedite/complete official procedures”, while only 62 percent “disagree” or “strongly disagree” with “overstepping the boundaries of law in matters of honor”. As it can be seen in the next table, the value judgment on matters of honor seems to have changed since 2010. However, it should also be noted that, in 2016, 26 percent still agree that it would be permissible to overstep the boundaries of law in matters of honor.

In this sense, our exploration of the public opinion on the boundaries of law also enables us to understand the relation between the opinion on law and gender. Therefore, in the rest of this section, we have decided to investigate the differences in the opinions of women and men, in terms of their initial reaction to being subject to domestic violence, the opinion on gender discrimination and the permissibility of overstepping the boundaries of law in matters of honor.

As you may recall from the previous pages, women and men have very similar opinions on whether judges, prosecutors and the police discriminate people based on their gender or not. Young women, women with university education and women who are “believers” are most likely to report that judges, prosecutors and the police are discriminatory. However, younger men are more likely than older men to support the opinion that there is discrimination, as the better educated are more likely than the lesser educated, and people with weaker religious affiliation are more likely than the more religious to do so. What is interesting here is that pious men are more likely to believe in the existence of discrimination than pious women, and men with an educational attainment of less than high school are more likely to believe so than women with the same educational attainment. Therefore, it may be argued that being religious or not and educational attainment (of at least high school) affects women’s awareness of this issue.



### Judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE FEMALE OR MALE



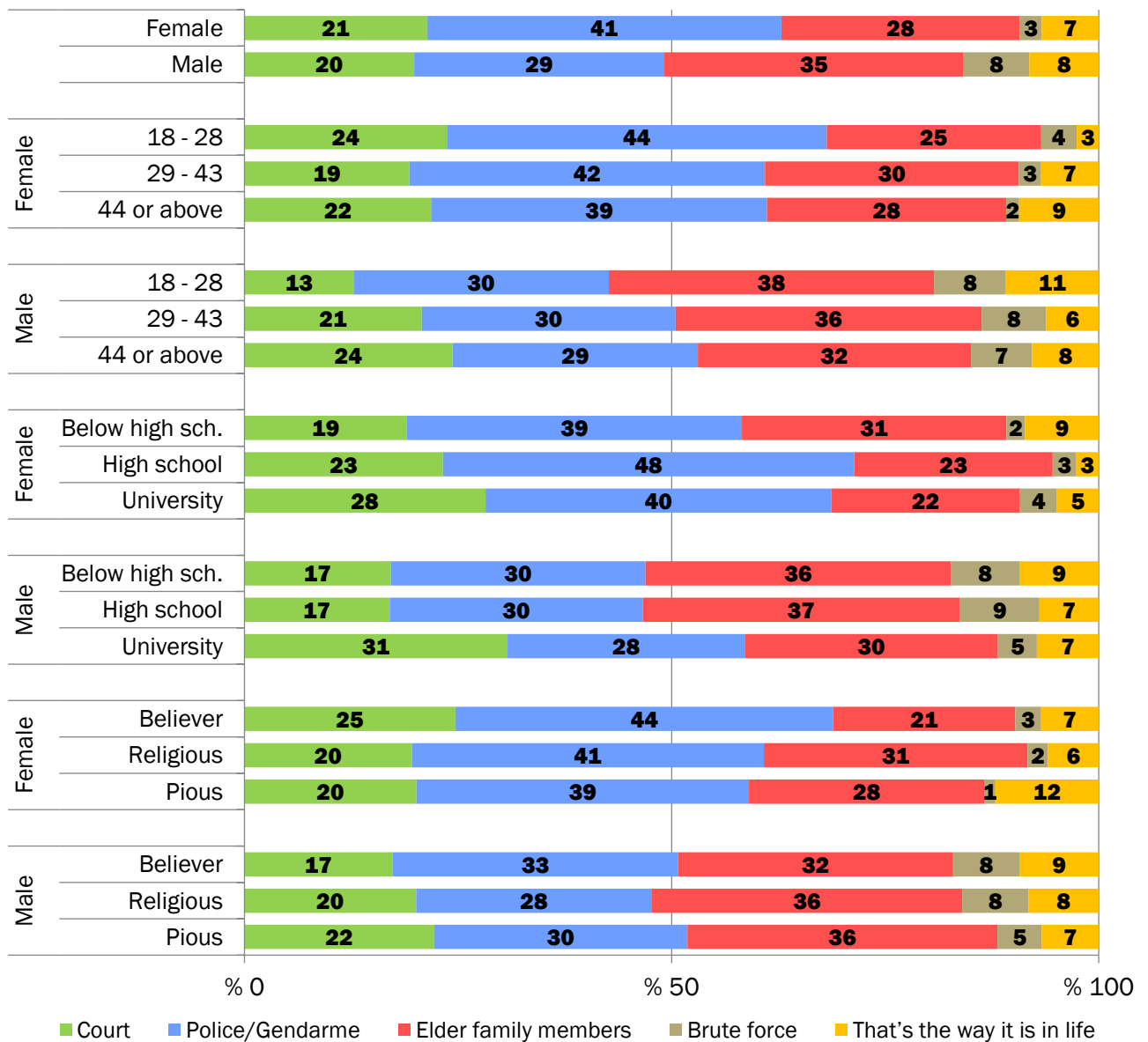
In the next graph, we see the responses to the question, “if you were subject to domestic violence, who or where would you refer to for a solution”? In general, women are more likely to report to the police/the gendarme (12 percent more than men), while men are more likely than women (7 percent more than women) to refer to elder family members. When we look at the different cohorts, we observe that the rate of women who provided the response option of “that's how it is” has tripled. Young men are more likely to refer to elder family members, and older men are more likely to go to court. The breakdown of educational attainment levels reflects that higher educational attainment in women is accompanied by a higher likelihood of going to court, and lower educational attainment leads to increased likelihood of referring to





family elders or concluding that's just the way it is in life. When we look at differences between women-men by level of religiosity, we first observe that level of religiosity does not lead to significant differences among men. It is only notable that more religious men are 5 percent more likely to go to court, and 4 percent more likely to refer to elder family members. On the other hand, level of religiosity brings about more significant differences among women. Accordingly, more religious women are more likely to report that they would refer to the court, the police or the gendarme. The rate of those who state that they would refer to elder family members is 7 percent higher, as the rate of those who think that's just the way it is in life is 5 percent higher.

### If you were subject to domestic violence, who or where would you refer for help?



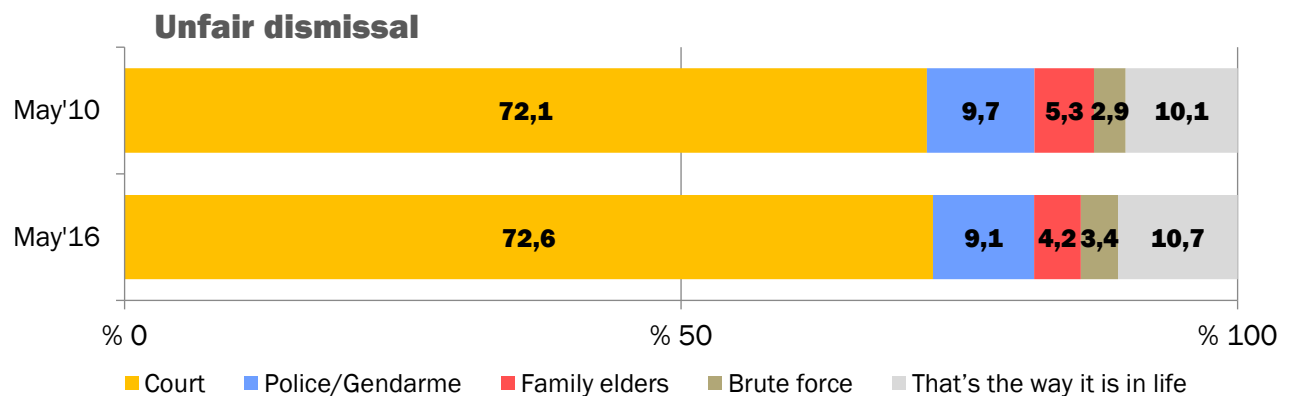


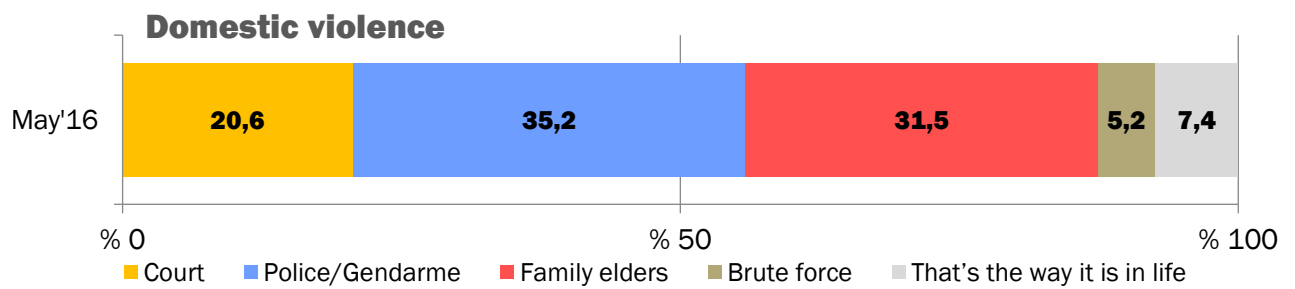
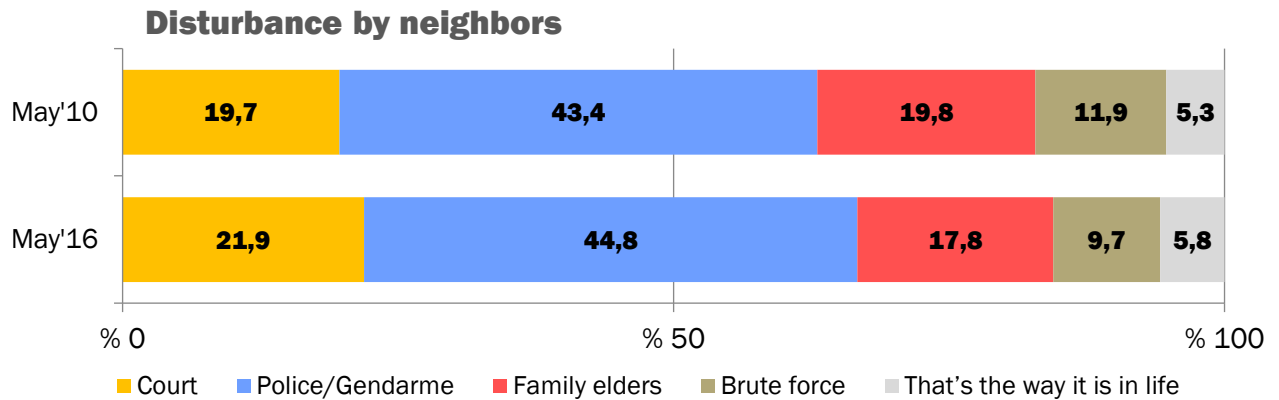
## 2.9. Pursuing Extralegal Solutions

In our attempt to address the public perception of law and justice, we also aimed to understand whether individuals would appeal to the judicial system in certain cases of disagreement, and to observe how people’s opinions about the judicial system are reflected on their daily life practices. In this context, we directed the question, “When there are no means of reaching a consensus, who or where would you appeal to for resolution?” in the context of dismissal from one’s job, disturbance by neighbors and domestic violence.

When inquired about what they would do in the event of unfair dismissal, 3 out of every 4 respondents indicate that they would appeal to court, and this outlook has not changed since 2010. About 9 percent state that they would refer to the police or the gendarme. Respondents take a different stance when inquired about their preferred course of action if a neighbor disturbed them or their spouse/children. Only 22 percent state that they would appeal to court, while 45 percent indicate that they would refer to the police or gendarme. The rate of those who would refer to elder family members (18 percent) or brute force (10 percent) in the event of disturbance by a neighbor is higher than the corresponding rate in the event of unfair dismissal. In this regard, the findings of the 2010 survey are quite similar to the latest findings. When it comes to domestic violence, more than half of the respondents indicate that they would appeal to court or refer to the police or the gendarme. Yet, the rate of those who would refer elder family members stands quite high at 32 percent.

### When there are no means of reaching a consensus, who or where would you appeal to for resolution.





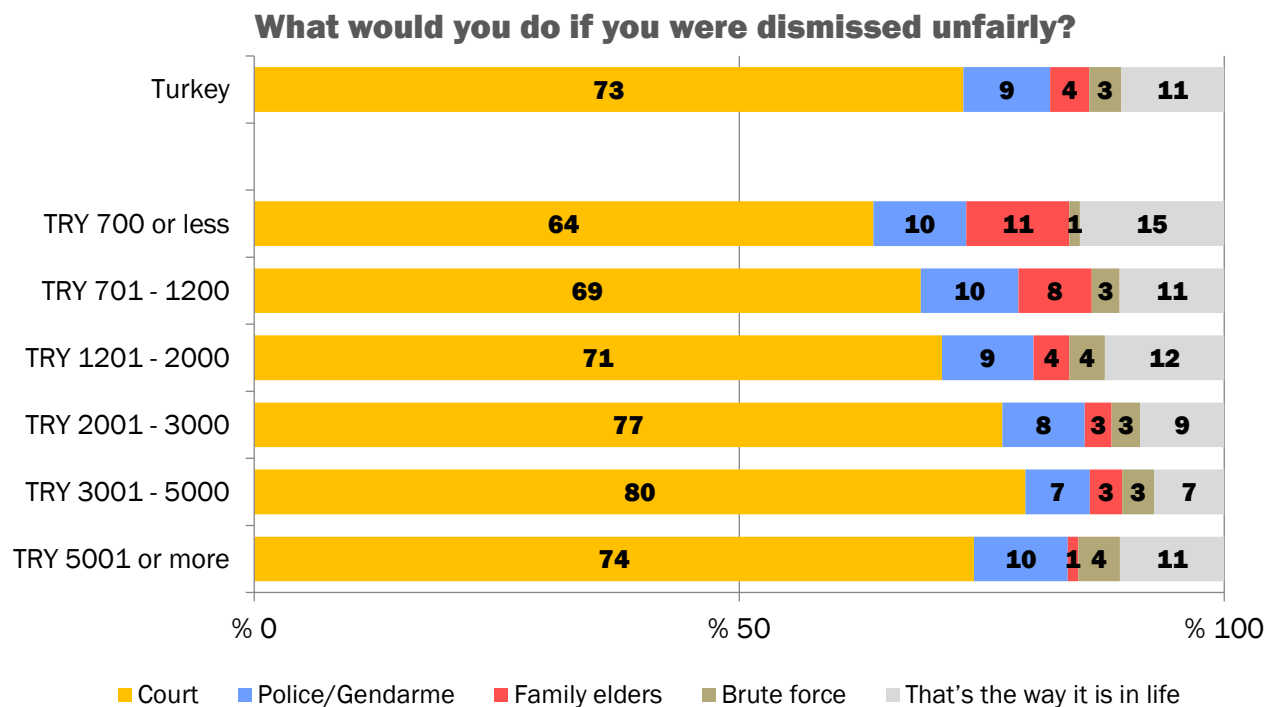
Accordingly, it is evident that appealing to court is the preferred course of action in the event of unfair dismissal. At this point, analyzing the responses of different social groups may provide clues to understanding the opinions of the respondents about courts and law. First, let's take a look at the respondents who are currently employed, and therefore who have the possibility of being subject to unfair dismissal in the near future.

| Employment status | Unfair dismissal |                 |                      |             |                              | Total |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------------------|-------|
|                   | Court            | Police/Gendarme | Elder family members | Brute force | That's the way it is in life |       |
| Public officer    | 91               | 5               | 1                    | 1           | 2                            | 100   |
| Private sector    | 81               | 10              | 2                    | 2           | 5                            | 100   |
| Worker            | 74               | 9               | 2                    | 5           | 10                           | 100   |
| Small retailer    | 69               | 8               | 6                    | 6           | 11                           | 100   |
| Farmer            | 62               | 15              | 7                    | 7           | 9                            | 100   |
| Employed, other   | 70               | 6               | 4                    | 3           | 17                           | 100   |
| Retired           | 81               | 9               | 2                    | 2           | 7                            | 100   |
| Housewife         | 70               | 9               | 6                    | 1           | 14                           | 100   |
| Student           | 65               | 10              | 6                    | 9           | 11                           | 100   |
| Unemployed        | 61               | 10              | 4                    | 6           | 20                           | 100   |
| Turkey            | 73               | 9               | 4                    | 3           | 11                           | 100   |



91 percent of public officers and 81 percent of private sector employees indicate that they would go to court if they were unfairly dismissed. However, the corresponding rate is 74 percent among workers, 69 percent among small retailers, and 62 percent among farmers, which is much lower. Indeed, in comparison to the other three groups, the likelihood of public officers and private sector employees are less likely to say “that’s the way it is in life” and accept unfair dismissal. Workers, however, are more fatalist: Three out of every five workers indicate that they would go to court, whereas only one fifth indicate that they would accept the situation. The table above also reveals that the rate of those who would resort to “brute force” among small retailers, farmers, workers (to some extent), and particularly students is double the countrywide average.

When the responses provided to the unfair dismissal scenario are analyzed, it is possible to observe small differences: Younger respondents, men and particularly single young men are more likely to resort to brute force; those with an educational attainment below high school are more likely to say “that’s the way it is in life”, and the Kurdish are more likely to seek the advice of elder family members. However, similar to the findings presented in the other sections, income level has a great influence on how respondents tend to resolve conflicts. Although appealing to court is preferred by the majority of the respondents in all income groups, the rate of those who say “that’s the way it is in life” or who would consult elder family members is higher in lower income groups.

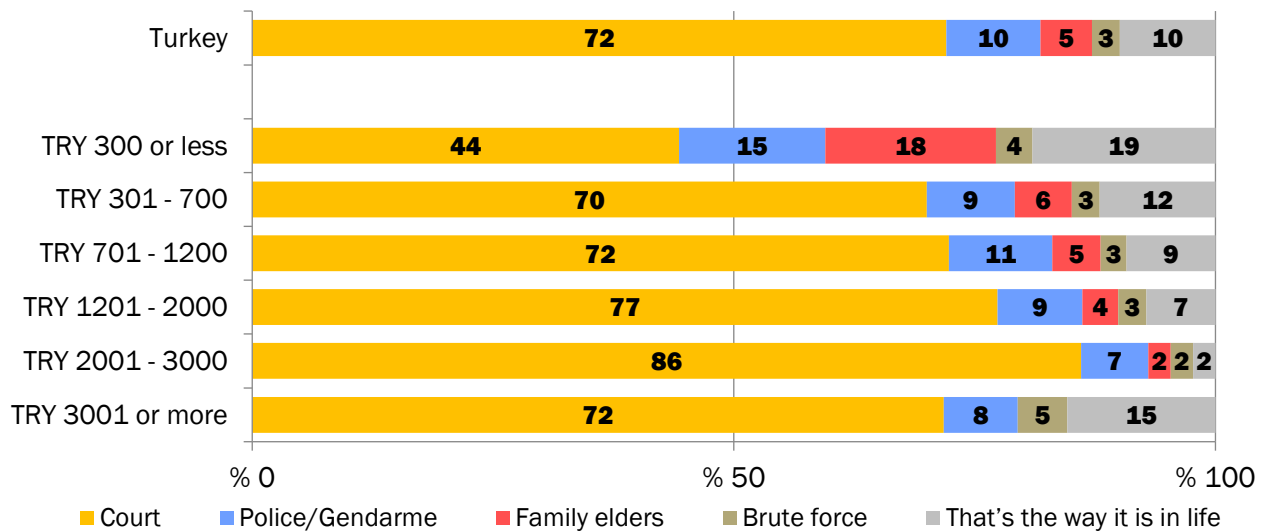


When we analyze such differences between income groups and compare the results with those from 2010, it is apparent that the rate of those who would appeal to court in the lowest- and the highest-income groups has significantly increased to reach the same level observed in other income groups. At this point, we would like to remind



that not only the nominal income of households has increased between 2010-2016, but also the rate of households in the two lowest income groups has decreased from 37 percent to 15 percent. Consequently, we may suggest that income groups have become similar to each other over time, and going to court has become the preferred course of action in all income groups despite the significant influence of income on the preferred method to resolve conflicts.

### What would you do if you were dismissed unfairly? (May 2010)



We observe different dynamics in the scenario on disturbance by a neighbor. In this scenario, the majority of the respondents indicate that they would go to the police/gendarme and then would appeal to court. Yet, the difference in the rate of other responses (such as appealing to court and resorting to brute force) enables us to understand the attitudes and characters of different groups.

Income is the demographic characteristic that proves to be the most explanatory. Decrease in income leads to an increase in the rate of those who would ask advice from family elders or who take on a fatalist attitude; on the other hand, it causes a decrease in the rate of those who would appeal to court and resort to brute force. However, the relation between income and the rate of those who would consult elder family members in the case of a disturbing neighbor was more apparent in 2010. According to the results of the survey carried out in 2010, 37 percent of the low-income group and only 3 percent of the high-income group stated that they would ask for advice from the elders of the family. However, the survey carried out this month reveals that 28 percent of the low-income group and 13 percent of the high-income group would consult family elders. This finding may be an indication that social groups that prefer to consult the elder family members have become integrated to more affluent groups, while it may also be implying that upper-income groups are now more inclined to resort to extralegal solutions.



When we analyze the respondents' preferred method of resolution in case of a disturbing neighbor by other demographic factors, we observe that those who live in rural areas and the religious conservatives are more likely to ask for advice from elder family members. In addition, 32 percent of HDP voters and 25 percent of the Kurdish state that they would refer to elder family members. Men as well as those who are younger and who are less religious are more likely to resort to brute force. 19 percent, in other words one fifth, of small retailers, 20 percent of MHP voters, and 22 percent of single men state that they would resort to violence in the event of disturbance by neighbors. CHP voters, those who do not cover their heads, senior employees and university graduates are more inclined to appeal to public authorities for a resolution.

An analysis of the shift in behavior since 2010 reveals the noteworthy findings. The rate of small retailers who would go to the police has increased, while the rate of those who would appeal to court has decreased (7 points). The rate of HDP voters who would refer to elder family members has decreased from 49 percent to 32 percent; however, it should be noted that BDP voters made up only 4.2 percent of the sample back in May 2010 and presented a quite different profile than today.



## **2.10. Conclusion**

In this report, we addressed the public opinion on law and the legal system in Turkey, based on six fundamental criteria: the meaning of justice, the meaning of the judiciary, supremacy of law, governmental and legal oversight, discrimination in the judiciary, and violation of legal boundaries. When these criteria are analyzed altogether, it becomes very clear that social groups have evolved between 2010 and 2016, or in other words, since the first time we conducted the survey, and we now observe a stronger emphasis on the rule of law in the responses. In this context, we should particularly dwell on the transformation observed in two social groups.

The first of these groups is the Kurdish. Back in 2010, the Kurdish has less confidence in law and the legal system and they did not express much demand for the rule of law. Over time, however, they caught up with and even surpassed the Turkish in these categories. The findings presented in the previous section indicate that the Kurdish have less confidence both in the government and in political parties than the Turkish. In this sense, it looks like the Kurdish are striving to express their demands in the most legitimate way available. As suggested earlier in the section on law, the emphasis placed by the Kurdish in the rule of law may be a tactic they have developed against the government's strategy to leave the Kurdish out of politics.

The second group that deserves specific attention is made up of Sunnis, rather than Alevis. In 2010, the rate of Sunnis who expressed demand for the rule of law was lower than that among Alevis. However, Sunnis have not only caught up with the Alevis, but they have also surpassed them in some respects. This shift in demographics, which we mentioned in introduction, may offer an explanation to this outlook. Both groups have enjoyed an increase in terms of educational attainment and income levels. Even so, Sunni Muslims, who lagged behind Alevi Muslims six years ago, seem to have gone through a great transformation. As we also mentioned in the introduction, there is a reverse correlation between the demand for the rule of law and educational attainment. Thus, the change in the demands of Sunnis should be evaluated through this perspective.

In one of the sections before the section on law, we focused on current politics and the current debates on secularism and the presidential system within the context of the new constitution. The findings presented in this section imply that voters in Turkey appear to be in consensus about whether secularism should remain in the constitution or not, but they are not yet convinced about the presidential system. Other findings that stand out in the survey are the high rates of public support for governmental oversight and the constitutional control over laws, which have become stronger since 2010, when we first conducted the survey.

Finally, the number of voters who have previous direct experience with courts as a complainant, defendant or witness has increased since 2010, while their confidence in the rule of law seems to have eroded. The current distribution of the responses on whether the state protects the citizens or not is highly influenced by



the ensuing climate of polarization, and the rate of those who think that the state protects citizens has decreased in the last six years. The belief that judges, prosecutors and police treat citizens differently depending on who they are has become more predominant over time, and it is evident that almost all voters are in agreement about the existence of discrimination between the rich and the poor.





### 3. RESEARCH ID

#### 3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

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

The field survey was conducted on 7-8 May 2016. 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 margin of error of the survey is +/- 1.7 at 95 percent confidence level and +/- 2.3 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 Election 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, 2685 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 104 districts - including central districts - of 27 provinces.

|                                |      |
|--------------------------------|------|
| Provinces visited              | 27   |
| Districts visited              | 104  |
| Neighborhoods/villages visited | 153  |
| Number of respondents          | 2685 |

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                |
| 3  | Aegean                  | Denizli, İzmir, 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                    |
| 9  | Eastern Black Sea       | Trabzon                          |
| 10 | Northeastern Anatolia   | Erzincan                         |
| 11 | Middle Eastern Anatolia | 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 | Metropolitan | Total |
|----|-------------------------|-------|-------|--------------|-------|
| 1  | İstanbul                |       |       | 21.6         | 21.6  |
| 2  | Western Marmara         | 2.0   | 3.2   |              | 5.2   |
| 3  | Aegean                  | 4.1   | 5.4   | 5.4          | 14.8  |
| 4  | Eastern Marmara         | 1.3   | 2.7   | 4.7          | 8.7   |
| 5  | Western Anatolia        | 0.7   |       | 9.6          | 10.3  |
| 6  | Mediterranean           | 3.3   | 2.6   | 5.6          | 11.5  |
| 7  | Central Anatolia        | 1.1   | 1.2   | 1.6          | 3.9   |
| 8  | Western Black Sea       | 2.6   | 3.4   |              | 5.9   |
| 9  | Eastern Black Sea       | 1.3   | 2.0   |              | 3.4   |
| 10 | Northeastern Anatolia   | 1.3   |       |              | 1.3   |
| 11 | Middle Eastern Anatolia | 1.3   | 2.7   |              | 4.1   |
| 12 | Southeastern Anatolia   | 2.0   | 3.4   | 4.0          | 9.4   |
|    | Total                   | 21.1  | 26.5  | 52.4         | 100.0 |



## 4. FREQUENCY TABLES

### 4.1. Profile of the Respondents

| Gender | Percentage |
|--------|------------|
| Female | 47.7       |
| Male   | 52.3       |
| Total  | 100.0      |

| Age           | Percentage |
|---------------|------------|
| Between 18-28 | 26.4       |
| Between 29-43 | 35.7       |
| 44 or above   | 37.9       |
| Total         | 100.0      |

| Educational attainment level | Percentage |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Illiterate                   | 5.7        |
| Literate without degree      | 2.0        |
| Primary school degree        | 29.5       |
| Secondary school degree      | 17.5       |
| High school degree           | 28.5       |
| University degree            | 15.4       |
| Masters/PhD                  | 1.3        |
| Total                        | 100.0      |

| Maternal educational attainment level | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Illiterate                            | 38.1       |
| Literate without degree               | 5.4        |
| Primary school degree                 | 40.5       |
| Secondary school degree               | 8.3        |
| High school degree                    | 6.2        |
| University degree                     | 1.4        |
| Masters                               | 0.1        |
| PhD                                   | 0.1        |
| Total                                 | 100.0      |



| Paternal educational attainment level | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| Illiterate                            | 21.5       |
| Literate without degree               | 5.5        |
| Primary school degree                 | 43.2       |
| Secondary school degree               | 14.2       |
| High school degree                    | 10.8       |
| University degree                     | 4.3        |
| Masters                               | 0.4        |
| PhD                                   | 0.0        |
| Total                                 | 100.0      |

| Birthplace (region)     | Percentage |
|-------------------------|------------|
| İstanbul                | 7.7        |
| Western Marmara         | 5.2        |
| Aegean                  | 13.2       |
| Eastern Marmara         | 6.8        |
| Western Anatolia        | 7.7        |
| Mediterranean           | 10.8       |
| Central Anatolia        | 7.1        |
| Western Black Sea       | 9.1        |
| Eastern Black Sea       | 6.6        |
| Northeastern Anatolia   | 4.0        |
| Middle Eastern Anatolia | 5.7        |
| Southeastern Anatolia   | 12.9       |
| Abroad                  | 1.0        |
| Total                   | 100.0      |

| Lifestyle Cluster        | Percentage |
|--------------------------|------------|
| Modern                   | 25.6       |
| Traditional conservative | 50.7       |
| Religious conservative   | 23.8       |
| Total                    | 100.0      |



| <b>Employment status</b>             | <b>Percentage</b> |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Public officer                       | 5.3               |
| Private sector                       | 8.5               |
| Worker                               | 10.0              |
| Small retailer                       | 7.6               |
| Merchant/businessman                 | 0.8               |
| Self-employed                        | 2.2               |
| Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder | 4.1               |
| Employed, other                      | 4.4               |
| Retired                              | 12.3              |
| Housewife                            | 30.9              |
| Student                              | 9.0               |
| Unemployed                           | 4.1               |
| Disabled                             | 0.8               |
| Total                                | 100.0             |

| <b>Head cover status</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|--------------------------|-------------------|
| No head cover            | 28.3              |
| Headscarf                | 48.4              |
| Turban                   | 9.3               |
| Chador                   | 0.6               |
| Bachelor male            | 13.5              |
| Total                    | 100.0             |

| <b>Ethnic identity</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|------------------------|-------------------|
| Turkish                | 80.0              |
| Kurdish                | 13.7              |
| Zaza                   | 0.9               |
| Arab                   | 2.9               |
| Other                  | 2.6               |
| Total                  | 100.0             |



| Religion / sect | Percentage |
|-----------------|------------|
| Sunni Muslim    | 89.7       |
| Alevi Muslim    | 8.3        |
| Other           | 2.1        |
| Total           | 100.0      |

| Level of religiosity | Percentage |
|----------------------|------------|
| Non-believer         | 3.2        |
| Believer             | 22.3       |
| Religious            | 63.2       |
| Pious                | 11.3       |
| Total                | 100.0      |

| TV channel preferred to watch the news | Percentage |
|----------------------------------------|------------|
| Does not watch                         | 3.8        |
| A Haber                                | 4.8        |
| ATV                                    | 12.4       |
| CNNTürk                                | 2.2        |
| Fox TV                                 | 16.7       |
| Habertürk                              | 1.8        |
| Halk TV                                | 2.6        |
| İMÇ                                    | 2.0        |
| Kanal 7                                | 2.0        |
| Kanal D                                | 7.7        |
| Kanaltürk                              | 0.1        |
| NTV                                    | 2.7        |
| Roj/Nuçe/Sterk                         | 0.5        |
| Samanyolu                              | 0.1        |
| Show TV                                | 4.7        |
| Star                                   | 4.5        |
| TRT                                    | 10.7       |
| Ulusal                                 | 1.2        |
| Local channels                         | 6.2        |
| Other channels                         | 14.9       |
| Total                                  | 100.0      |



| Monthly household income | Percentage |
|--------------------------|------------|
| TRY 700 or less          | 3.9        |
| TRY 701 - 1200           | 11.6       |
| TRY 1201 - 2000          | 44.2       |
| TRY 2001 - 3000          | 23.2       |
| TRY 3001 - 5000          | 13.4       |
| TRY 5001 or more         | 3.8        |
| Total                    | 100.0      |

| Type of housing                                  | Percentage |
|--------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Squatter / apartment without external plastering | 3.5        |
| Single family, traditional house                 | 39.5       |
| Apartment                                        | 51.4       |
| Housing complex                                  | 5.1        |
| Very luxurious apartment, villa                  | 0.4        |
| Total                                            | 100.0      |

## 4.2. The Perception of Law and the Justice System

| THE MEANING OF JUSTICE Protecting the rights of the victim | Percentage |
|------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Strongly disagree                                          | 1.6        |
| Disagree                                                   | 4.4        |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                 | 5.8        |
| Agree                                                      | 55.9       |
| Strongly agree                                             | 32.2       |
| Total                                                      | 100.0      |

| THE MEANING OF JUSTICE: Equality of everyone regardless of his or her religion, ethnic background, gender, opinion, language and skin color. | Percentage |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                                            | 1.3        |
| Disagree                                                                                                                                     | 2.4        |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                                                   | 3.7        |
| Agree                                                                                                                                        | 54.0       |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                                               | 38.6       |
| Total                                                                                                                                        | 100.0      |



| <b>THE MEANING OF JUSTICE Distinguishing the just from the unjust</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                     | 1.1               |
| Disagree                                                              | 2.4               |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                            | 4.4               |
| Agree                                                                 | 53.2              |
| Strongly agree                                                        | 38.9              |
| Total                                                                 | 100.0             |

| <b>METHOD OF RESOLUTION: Unfair dismissal</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Court                                         | 72.1              |
| Police/Gendarme                               | 9.7               |
| Elder family members                          | 5.3               |
| Brute force                                   | 2.9               |
| That's the way it is in life                  | 10.1              |
| Total                                         | 100               |

| <b>METHOD OF RESOLUTION: Disturbance by neighbors</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Court                                                 | 19.7              |
| Police/Gendarme                                       | 43.4              |
| Elder family members                                  | 19.8              |
| Brute force                                           | 11.9              |
| That's the way it is in life                          | 5.3               |
| Total                                                 | 100               |

| <b>METHOD OF RESOLUTION: Domestic violence</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Court                                          | 20.6              |
| Police/Gendarme                                | 35.2              |
| Elder family members                           | 31.5              |
| Brute force                                    | 5.2               |
| That's the way it is in life                   | 7.4               |
| Total                                          | 100.0             |





| <b>THE MEANING OF JUSTICE Protecting the rights of the victim</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Court                                                             | 1.6               |
| Police/Gendarme                                                   | 4.4               |
| Elder family members                                              | 5.8               |
| Brute force                                                       | 55.9              |
| That's the way it is in life                                      | 32.2              |
| Total                                                             | 100.0             |

| <b>Do judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE FEMALE OR MALE?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                     | 14.5              |
| Disagree                                                                                                              | 32.7              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                            | 19.3              |
| Agree                                                                                                                 | 26.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                        | 7.6               |
| Total                                                                                                                 | 100.0             |

| <b>Do judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE TURKISH OR KURDISH?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                         | 15.8              |
| Disagree                                                                                                                  | 36.3              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                                | 18.9              |
| Agree                                                                                                                     | 21.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                            | 7.9               |
| Total                                                                                                                     | 100.0             |

| <b>Do judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE SUNNI OR ALEVI?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                     | 15.8              |
| Disagree                                                                                                              | 36.3              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                            | 18.9              |
| Agree                                                                                                                 | 21.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                        | 7.9               |
| Total                                                                                                                 | 100.0             |



| <b>Do judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE RICH OR POOR?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                   | 11.1              |
| Disagree                                                                                                            | 22.6              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                          | 14.3              |
| Agree                                                                                                               | 33.7              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                      | 18.3              |
| Total                                                                                                               | 100.0             |

| <b>Do judges, prosecutors and the police treat citizens differently depending on whether THEY ARE GOVERNMENT SYCOPHANTS OR NOT?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                                   | 10.2              |
| Disagree                                                                                                                            | 18.2              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                                          | 15.9              |
| Agree                                                                                                                               | 31.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                                      | 24.8              |
| Total                                                                                                                               | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-Activities of the government should be subject judicial review.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                          | 2.1               |
| Disagree                                                                   | 6.7               |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                 | 9.2               |
| Agree                                                                      | 55.8              |
| Strongly agree                                                             | 26.1              |
| Total                                                                      | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-Laws should be subject to constitutional control</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                           | 0.8               |
| Disagree                                                    | 2.5               |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                  | 7.3               |
| Agree                                                       | 60.6              |
| Strongly agree                                              | 28.8              |
| Total                                                       | 100.0             |



| <b>LAW-All citizens and public authorities are equal before the law.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                        | 6.4               |
| Disagree                                                                 | 18.7              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                               | 14.5              |
| Agree                                                                    | 43.9              |
| Strongly agree                                                           | 16.5              |
| Total                                                                    | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-I believe that law and the courts would protect citizens as long as they are innocent.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                 | 5.3               |
| Disagree                                                                                          | 15.0              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                        | 17.3              |
| Agree                                                                                             | 45.5              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                    | 16.9              |
| Total                                                                                             | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-No public authority or public officer oversteps the legal boundaries law in their procedures or activities.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                                      | 10.6              |
| Disagree                                                                                                               | 30.2              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                             | 23.9              |
| Agree                                                                                                                  | 27.5              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                         | 7.9               |
| Total                                                                                                                  | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-The guilty gets away with it</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                       | 9.0               |
| Disagree                                | 21.2              |
| Neither agree nor disagree              | 22.5              |
| Agree                                   | 35.9              |
| Strongly agree                          | 11.3              |
| Total                                   | 100.0             |



| <b>LAW-Even if a public authority or officer makes a mistake, law and the judiciary would protect citizens.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                               | 8.0               |
| Disagree                                                                                                        | 23.5              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                      | 23.5              |
| Agree                                                                                                           | 35.9              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                                  | 9.1               |
| Total                                                                                                           | 100.0             |

| <b>LAW-Courts give verdicts in favor of men in murder cases where women are the victim.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                           | 13.0              |
| Disagree                                                                                    | 25.9              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                  | 22.2              |
| Agree                                                                                       | 27.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                              | 11.9              |
| Total                                                                                       | 100.0             |

| <b>THE MEANING OF THE JUDICIARY: The place where the state reviews observance of the law by its citizens</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                            | 13.0              |
| Disagree                                                                                                     | 25.9              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                                   | 22.2              |
| Agree                                                                                                        | 27.0              |
| Strongly agree                                                                                               | 11.9              |
| Total                                                                                                        | 100.0             |

| <b>THE MEANING OF THE JUDICIARY: The place where justice is served.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                       | 2.3               |
| Disagree                                                                | 9.8               |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                              | 11.0              |
| Agree                                                                   | 55.2              |
| Strongly agree                                                          | 21.6              |
| Total                                                                   | 100.0             |



| <b>THE MEANING OF THE JUDICIARY: The place where the guilty are punished.</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                             | 2.8               |
| Disagree                                                                      | 7.1               |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                    | 11.4              |
| Agree                                                                         | 54.6              |
| Strongly agree                                                                | 24.1              |
| Total                                                                         | 100.0             |

| <b>LEGAL BOUNDARIES MAY BE OVERSTEPPED- Committing perjury for relatives or friends</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                       | 48.1              |
| Disagree                                                                                | 36.8              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                              | 5.9               |
| Agree                                                                                   | 6.5               |
| Strongly agree                                                                          | 2.6               |
| Total                                                                                   | 100.0             |

| <b>LEGAL BOUNDARIES MAY BE OVERSTEPPED- Unlicensed construction or illegal use electricity/water</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                    | 51.8              |
| Disagree                                                                                             | 36.4              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                           | 4.4               |
| Agree                                                                                                | 4.7               |
| Strongly agree                                                                                       | 2.7               |
| Total                                                                                                | 100.0             |

| <b>LEGAL BOUNDARIES MAY BE OVERSTEPPED- Giving bribe to expedite/complete official procedures</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                                                                 | 52.5              |
| Disagree                                                                                          | 35.6              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                                                        | 4.4               |
| Agree                                                                                             | 4.3               |
| Strongly agree                                                                                    | 3.2               |
| Total                                                                                             | 100.0             |



| <b>LEGAL BOUNDARIES MAY BE OVERSTEPPED- In matters of honor</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Strongly disagree                                               | 36.4              |
| Disagree                                                        | 25.7              |
| Neither agree nor disagree                                      | 11.9              |
| Agree                                                           | 17.4              |
| Strongly agree                                                  | 8.7               |
| Total                                                           | 100.0             |

| <b>Do you have any previous direct experience with courts?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| No                                                             | 65.5              |
| As complainant                                                 | 13.3              |
| As defendant                                                   | 9.6               |
| As witness                                                     | 9.6               |
| As victim                                                      | 5.4               |
| As defendant                                                   | 3.9               |
| Officer                                                        | 0.9               |
| Audience-companion                                             | 3.2               |

| <b>Do you have more or less confidence in the legal system and courts after your previous court experience?</b> | <b>Percentage</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| A lot less                                                                                                      | 9.1               |
| Less                                                                                                            | 17.8              |
| The same                                                                                                        | 55.1              |
| More                                                                                                            | 15.7              |
| A lot more                                                                                                      | 2.3               |
| 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 whose income per capita is 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                                           |
| Headscarf:                | A woman who wears a headscarf or a man whose spouse wears a headscarf                           |
| Chador:                   | A woman who wears chador or a man whose spouse wears a chador                                   |
| Religious:                | A person who tries 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                           |
| Ideological:              | A person who states that it is the party closest to his/her political view                      |
| Believer:                 | A person who believes in the requirements of the religion, but does not fulfill them completely |
| 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                                        |
| Leader follower:          | A person who states that he/she trusts in/favors the leader of a certain party                  |



|                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 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                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Non-partisan:                    | A person who states that none of these parties represent him/her                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Pious:                           | A person who completely fulfills the requirements of the religion                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| Late decider:                    | A person who states that he/she makes a decision based on the election campaigns                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| Sunni Muslim:                    | A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Sunni Muslim                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| Partisan:                        | A person who states that he/she/they always vote for that party                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 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                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| Multiple Correspondence Analysis | Multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) is a data analysis technique for nominal categorical data, used to detect and represent underlying structures in a data set. MCA can be viewed as an extension of simple correspondence analysis (CA) in that it is applicable to a large set of categorical variables. |





## 5.1. 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

Headscarf

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 piety?**

A person who does not believe in the requirements of the religion

A person who believes in the requirements of the religion, but does not fulfill them completely

A person who tries to fulfill the requirements of the religion

A person who completely fulfills the requirements of the religion



| <b>Which of the reasons below influence/determine your political preferences?</b> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I/we always vote for that party.                                                  |
| It is the party closest to my political view.                                     |
| I trust/favor its leader.                                                         |
| None of these parties represent me.                                               |
| I make a decision based on the election campaigns.                                |
| Total                                                                             |

| <b>Settlement Code (Data obtained from the sample)</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------|
| Rural                                                  |
| Urban                                                  |
| Metropolitan                                           |

| <b>Economic classes (determined by using household size, household income and car ownership)</b> |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lower class                                                                                      |
| Lower middle class                                                                               |
| New middle class                                                                                 |
| Upper class                                                                                      |