

# **KONDA**

# **Barometer**

***THEMES***

**Outlook on Public Security**  
***March 2016***

**KONDA**  
— ARAŞTIRMA VE DANIŞMANLIK



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## **1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

The survey which forms the basis of this report was conducted on 5-6 March 2016 by face-to-face interviews with 2649 individuals in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 98 districts including the central districts of 27 provinces.

### **THEME OF THE MONTH: PUBLIC SAFETY**

Particularly as of the elections held in June 7th, chaos and insecurity in Turkey reached significant levels. Therefore, the issues of personal security of life and property as well as public safety have been occupying people's minds extensively. Accordingly, we decided to handle the perceptions in this matter as the theme of this month.

### **Living in metropolitans is a significant reason for feeling unsafe**

We observe that the safety perception of the society is not independent from gender, lifestyle and political party preferences. Issues of security of life and property which presumably are based on the assessment of concrete situations are in fact evaluated differently depending on the perception and subjective point of view of individuals. Women indicate that they feel safe at a rate of 37 percent whereas men feel safe at a rate of 46 percent. Feeling of unsafety exists among people with modern lifestyle at a rate of 29 percent whereas this rate is 45 percent among traditional conservatives and 47 percent among religious conservatives. The Ak Parti supporters feel the safest whereas only 8 percent of the HDP voters feel safe. In addition, the feeling of unsafety increases from rural areas to metropolitans. In general, it is concluded that feelings of safety change according to the attitude towards the government and the state.

### **Turkey feels more unsafe compared to Europe**

A comparison with the data for Europe in general reveals that the public in Turkey feels significantly more unsafe than Europeans.

### **The government is seen as the main body responsible for maintaining security yet it is also considered as the main failure in this matter**

The answer to the question "Who do you think is the main responsible for maintaining the security of life and property of the citizens?" was "the government" at a rate of 71.4 percent. However, the rate of those who find the government successful in maintaining security of life and property is only 53 percent, namely one in every two people find the government unsuccessful in maintaining security of life and property whereas the majority find the military and the police successful, i.e. 81 percent and 71 percent, respectively.

### **Modern and higher educated people say that they will answer violence with violence at higher rates**

The attitude of the society towards violence also reveals many significant results. More than 70 percent of the society state that they will resort to the police if they are exposed to violence, yet 17 percent indicate that they will answer violence with violence. The most striking point is that people with modern lifestyle and higher educational level state that they will answer violence with violence at higher rates.



### **Almost half of the society put the state before the citizens**

Within the framework of the theme of this month, we tried to understand as to whether individuals prioritize the state or the citizens. 45 percent of the society put the security of the state before that of the citizens. Further, again about half of the society support that fundamental rights and freedoms may be restricted for the sake of anti-terrorism. According to survey findings, these people who can be defined as statist tend to feel safer, think that anti-terrorist operations are the natural duty of the state and define the situation in Turkey as normal developments.

### **Erdoğan's discourse on "the state"**

A combined analysis of the findings on the theme of public safety some of which are mentioned above and other data and even the information on the state obtained in previous surveys shows that "the state" as an institution is an extremely widespread and powerful concept in Turkey independently from political preferences, demography and lifestyle. Analyzing only the data of this month for now, we may assume that the government and the state are still separate concepts in the minds of the people. However, the discourse President Erdoğan has adopted in the past 8 months based on anti-terrorism, conflicts with foreign states and libel suits about his position implies an attempt for transforming and re-defining his position as the state itself. The survey findings show that even those who are opponents of Erdoğan or the government, if they are at the "statist" side, come close to the general discourse of Erdoğan. It is presumed that this force of gravity Erdoğan exerts in relation to statism will create the potential to change the balance in a probable referendum.



## **2. THEME OF THE MONTH VIEW ON PUBLIC SECURITY**

### **2.1. Introduction**

While we were preparing this month's survey the field study of which was conducted on March 5-6<sup>th</sup>, it was highly debatable as to what extent the public security could be maintained due to the clashes in the Southeast and suicide bombers, and it became crucial to understand as to what extent the individuals took their own security of life and property into consideration while shaping their lives and structuring a game plan for the future. Unfortunately, the suicide attacks that took place in Kizilay, Ankara on March 13<sup>th</sup> and in Istiklal Avenue, Istanbul on March 19<sup>th</sup> revealed how vital public security was.

As our subscribers will recall in the Barometer Reports of January 2016 and February 2016, we have been continuing to contemplate on the ways individuals structure game plans in their daily lives. In other words, we have been trying to understand as to how they perceive others and how they assess situations, when they prefer to react and when they prefer to keep silent, how they adopt to sudden changes and how fears and expectations shape their social behaviors. Accordingly, we handled the perception of "an average person of Turkey" in the January'16 Barometer Report and "foreigners" in general and "Syrians" in particular in the February'16 Barometer Report. In both reports, we on the one hand analyzed the perception of the interviewees as to the people they come across in their daily lives and on the other hand determined on the basis of these perceptions their daily universe and contact points. The most significant common finding of these two reports was that the most noteworthy influences in the formation of these life and contact areas were created by gender, ethnicity and lifestyle. Our second most significant observation was that those who currently contacted various people in their daily lives were more accepting about contact with other people. In short, we observed that those who avoided or feared contact were separated from those who did not also in practice.

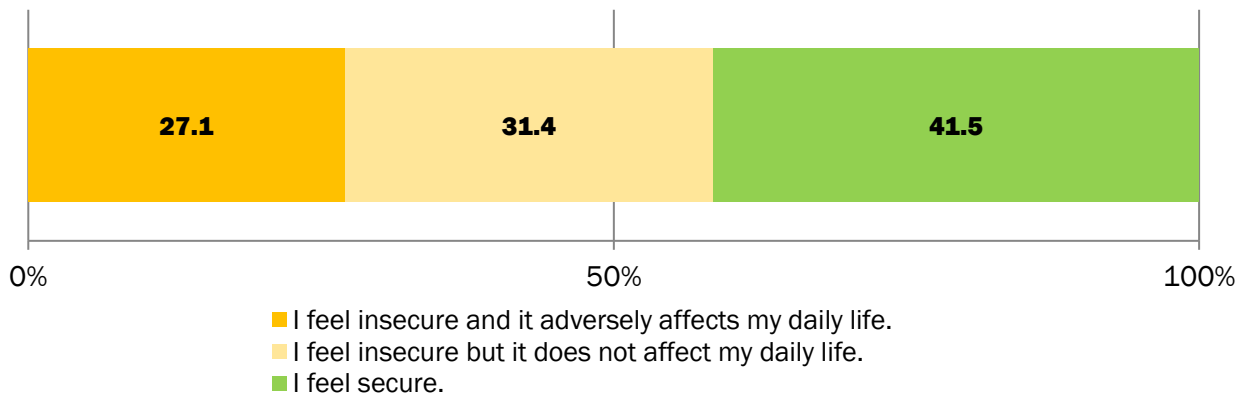
#### **The government is seen as the main body responsible for security**

The March'16 Barometer Report also continues in parallel to the above, aiming to decode the general perception of security in Turkey. Our aim here is to understand as to how a subjective assessment directs social life and to infer as to how it may direct the politics in the future. Majority of the society consider that state institutions are responsible for maintaining security of life and property and the government comes first in this regard at a rate of 71.4 percent. However, only half of the society consider the government successful in this regard whereas 17 percent of the adult population indicate that when exposed to direct physical violence, they will answer violence with violence. This rate is equal to 9.5 million people, i.e. the population of a medium sized European country. Even these simple findings alone reveal that public security is a fundamental issue that mirrors the relationship between the lawmaker and the citizens as well as inter-citizen relationships.

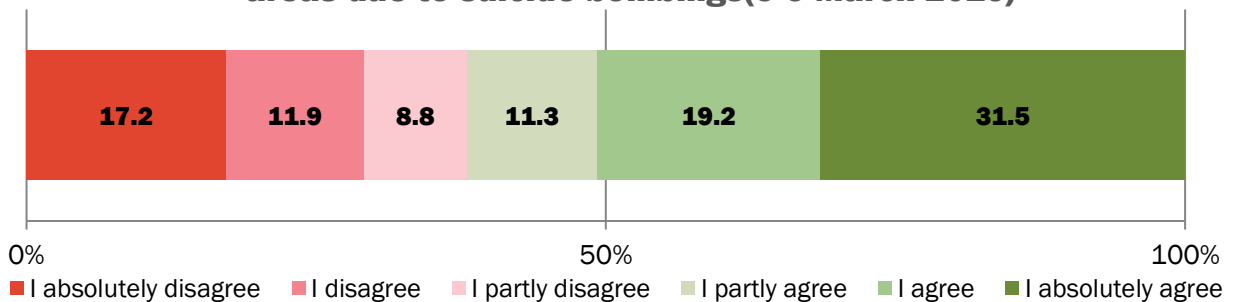


Regarding the theme of public security, we will first determine perceptions about security in general and the feeling of security. Then, we will reveal as to which institutions the interviewees consider as responsible for the security of life and property of individuals and what kind of personal precautions they take when they feel insecure, including resorting to state institutions. However, as a quick introduction, let us first review the most important item of the March agenda on two graphs:

**Have you been feeling concerned about going out and being in crowded places, do security concerns affect your daily life? (5-6 March 2016)**



**I am careful about where to go in public transport or shopping areas due to suicide bombings(5-6 March 2016)**



Sixty percent of the society feel insecure

The society in Turkey has a very serious feeling of insecurity. As seen in the first graph, 60 percent of the society feel insecure about going out and being in crowded places and about 30 percent indicate that this adversely affects their daily life. At the date of the survey, one in every two people in Turkey clearly feared suicide bombers and such fear lingers on their minds constantly. Furthermore, such fear significantly increases from villages to metropolitan areas.

The survey was conducted before the Ankara and Istanbul bombings



It must be noted that our survey was conducted on March 5-6<sup>th</sup>, before suicide attacks were conducted in the two biggest metropolises of Turkey. Therefore, the results revealed through the survey conducted in the first half of March might be optimistic in comparison to the social situation after the bombings. Of course, both cities had already experienced bombings very recently (Istanbul, 12 January 2016 and Ankara, 10 October 2015). Accordingly, we may assume that people on the one hand already exceeded a threshold where they felt insecure and on the other hand this feeling of insecurity might have swelled. Therefore, by repeating some of the questions next month, we will continue to measure the reaction of the public on the bombings and the increasing acts of violence, and how they change their game plans accordingly.

## **2.2. Conceptual Framework**

In his article written for the Helsinki Citizens Assembly on September 2015, Ahmet Insel indicated that not only in Turkey but in many different parts of the world, societies have started dissolving and the risk of death has become common for tens of thousands of people in their daily lives:

In the explosion of societies, we witness that they completely lose their characteristics of being a society. As Turkey, we receive the highest number of refugees in the world, therefore we closely feel the great destructive wave created by this loss of characteristics of being a society, the use of extreme and blind violence as the principal military and political tool and the practice of the intentions for becoming a regional power through extremely violent and terrorist methods. The tragedy of tens of thousands of people who have no choice but risk death in order to live has become ordinary news in our coasts and close surroundings.<sup>1</sup>

This citation not only emphasizes the refugee problem but also forecasts that a situation that pertains to refugees –or the citizens of other states- has been increasingly getting closer to us, i.e. ordinary people. Individuals are forced to take higher risks in other countries and in Turkey. Security is becoming an important criterion that influences even the simplest decisions in daily life. Insel and other thinkers who have been handling this issue recently attribute this to the fact that the state puts its own security before human security. In its simplest sense, this situation results from the existence of different definitions and priorities about security. For instance, the concept “human security” put forward by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on 1994 emphasizes that the concept of security based on the state, police and military must be transformed into a concept of security based on welfare, laws and freedoms:

The concept of security for a long time has been handled in a narrow perspective. It is limited to the security of a piece of land against external attacks, defense of national interests against foreigners or the security of the

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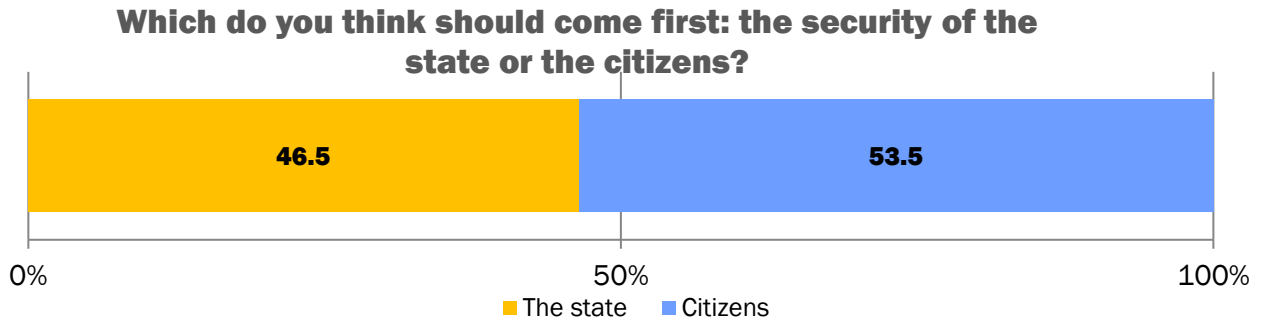
<sup>1</sup> Ahmet Insel (2015). “Assessing Security at the Level of Individuals” *Field* (1): 3-4





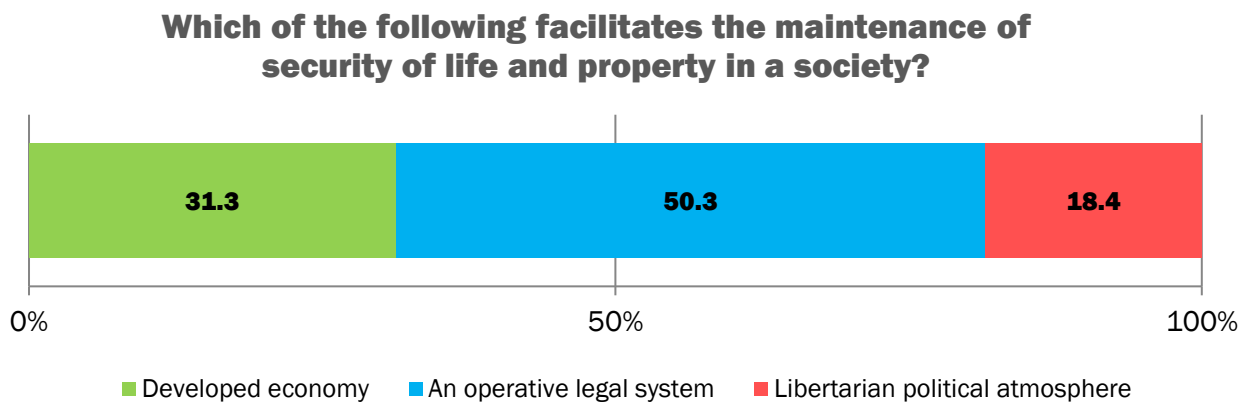
earth against a threat of nuclear genocide. It is applied for nation-states rather than individuals.<sup>2</sup>

Starting from this point, we asked the interviewees “Which comes first: the security of the state or the security of life and property of citizens?” We observed that the society is roughly divided into these two definitions of security.



### Almost half of Turkey are “statists”

The issue as to who is prioritized about security must vary according to the individuals’ understanding of security. However, direct answers to this question indicates as to what extent different clusters of the society feel under the threat of security of life and property rather than a polarization between statist and their opponents. Irrespective of their preference for the state or the citizens, people believe in similar ways that law, freedoms and economy are determinative in the issues of security of life and property.

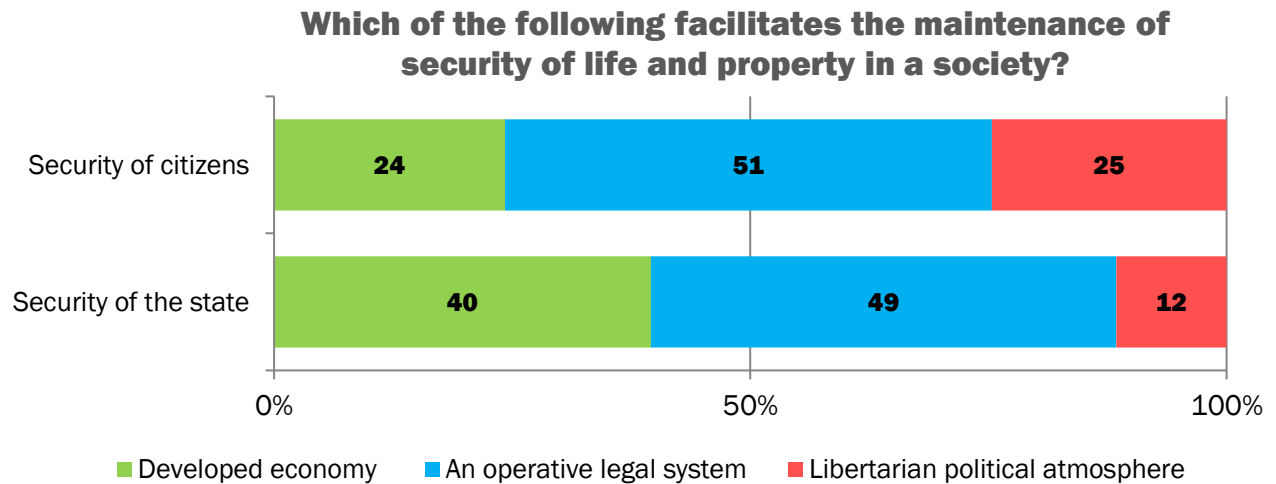


As revealed in the graph above, half of the society consider that an operative legal system is an important prerequisite for maintaining security of life and property. The two extremes, on the other hand, believe that the prerequisites are the economy or libertarian political atmosphere, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> UNDP Human Development Report 1994



We understand through the graph below that just like the case in those who prioritize the security of citizens, half of those who prioritize the security of the state also consider an operative legal system as the prerequisite for maintaining the security of life and property of citizens.



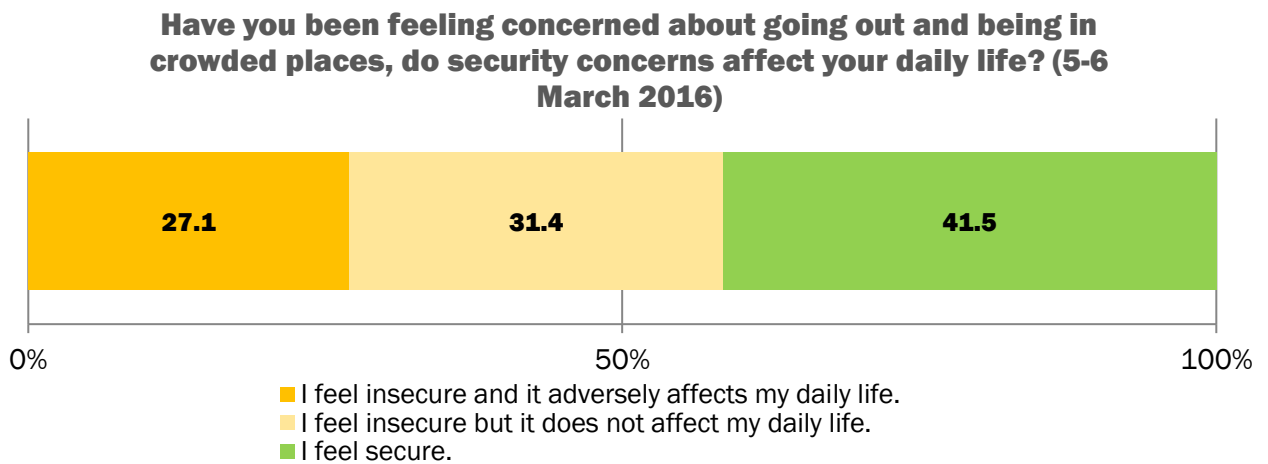
The greatest difference in the graph comes from answers “developed economy” and “libertarian political atmosphere.” Those who prioritize the security of citizens create a social cluster in which those who consider a libertarian political atmosphere a prerequisite are intensified whereas those who prioritize the security of the state create a social cluster in which those who consider development a prerequisite are intensified. In short, rather than a direct polarization between the statist group and the individualist group, there are significant smaller social groups formed on the basis of different priorities, expectations and fears between both groups.

Therefore, on the basis of two very general security questions about feeling secure while going out and watching out for suicide bombers, we observe that we must look into this matter in a narrower focus point because of the ambiguity resulting from social paradigms as well as the different meanings of the concept of security, namely the security of the state and the security of citizens. Otherwise, the social polarization dynamics –or roughly, polarizing social paradigms- we have thought about frequently in our previous reports create the possibility that we might not understand as to what extent different clusters directly feel under threat of security of life and property. Therefore, we have two aims in the rest of the report: Firstly, analyzing the concept of security only in terms of public security, i.e. directly on the basis of the individual’s security of life and property (and possible threat thereto). Secondly, coming up with a new definition of polarization. It must be noted that a new definition of polarization means a new definition of political and social polarization on the basis of the perceptions of individuals about public security rather than the definition of public security on the basis of polarization.



### 2.3. Feeling Secure

We asked the interviewees whether they feel secure or not upon which 27 percent indicated that they felt insecure and this feeling adversely affected their daily lives whereas 31 percent stated that they felt insecure but this did not affect their daily lives and the remaining 42 percent stated that they felt secure. In summary, about 6 in every 10 people stated that they felt insecure. However, as indicated in sections Introduction and Conceptual Framework, this state of insecurity is not explanatory enough as to what extent it shapes daily lives of people because even though about one in every three people in the society feel insecure, they state that this does not affect their daily lives.



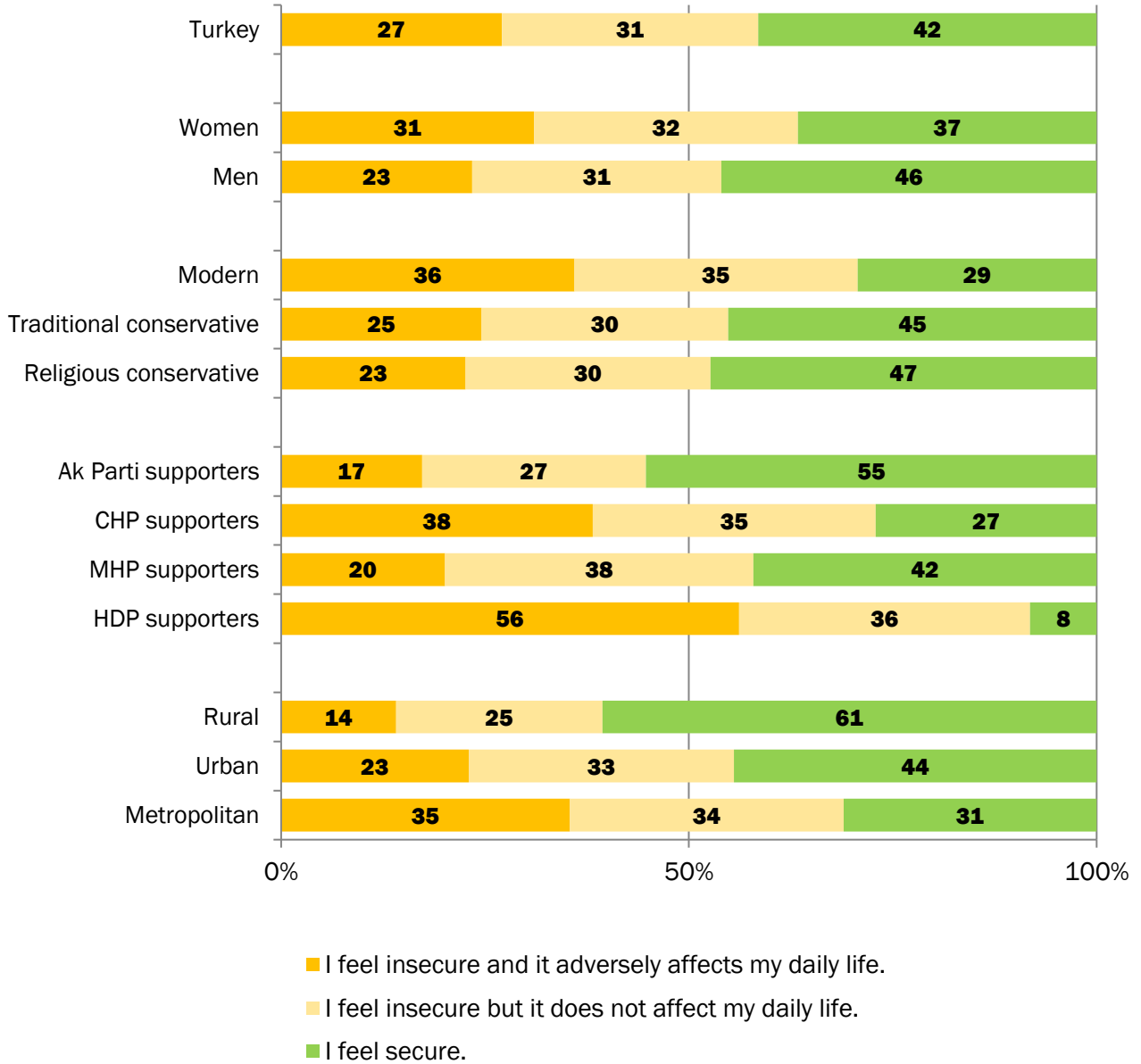
As indicated in January'16 and February'16 Barometer Reports, most social perceptions in Turkey may be explained on the basis of gender, how individuals define themselves in terms of lifestyle, political party preferences and contact areas (residential area or how much a person contacts different clusters of the society in practice). As seen in the graph below, in Turkey, women feel more insecure than men, people with modern lifestyle than conservatives and HDP and CHP electorate than the Ak Parti and MHP electorate.

#### Two third feel insecure in metropolises

In terms of size of residential area, 3 out of every 10 people in metropolises indicate that they feel secure whereas this rate increases two folds in rural areas, i.e. 6 in every 10 people. Again, the rate of those who indicate that they feel insecure but that this does not influence their daily lives decrease from metropolitan to rural areas. In metropolises, 3 out of every 10 people indicate that their daily lives are adversely affected whereas this rate decreases to 14 percent in rural areas.



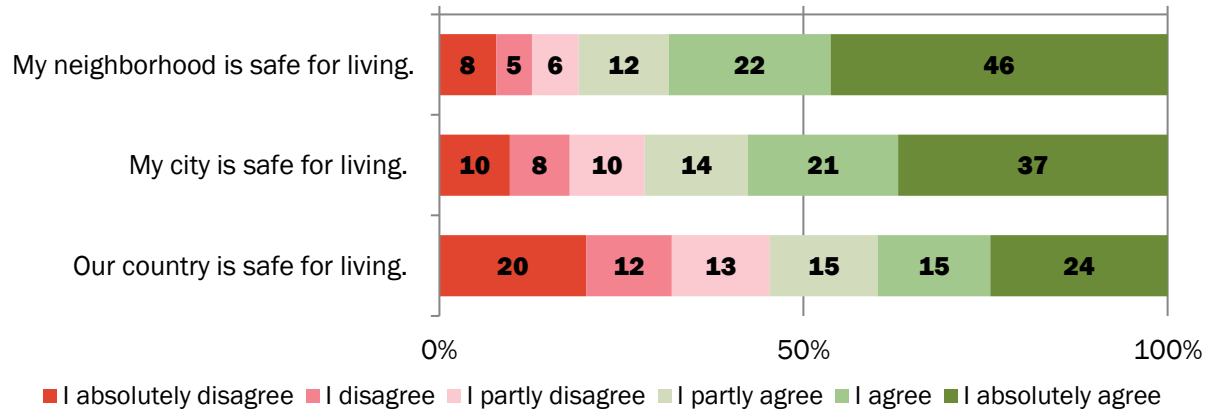
**Have you been feeling concerned about going out and being in crowded places, do security concerns affect your daily life?**



The three statements we asked in terms of people’s feeling of security concerned as to what extent people saw their own neighborhoods, cities and the country secure. As seen in the graph below, in neighborhoods, i.e. the place where individuals have direct/concrete contact, they feel more secure whereas as the area of contact becomes abstract, the feeling of security decreases. 20 percent think that their neighborhoods are not secure whereas 28 percent think that their cities are not secure and 45 percent consider the country as insecure.



## To what extent do you agree with these statements in terms of security of life and property?



### Almost half of the society consider the country insecure

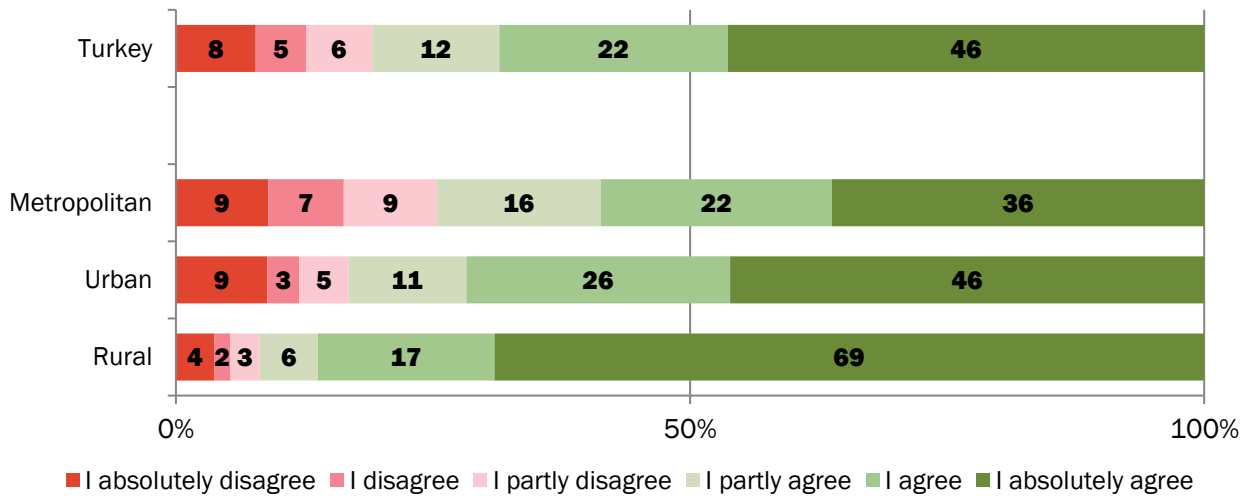
This finding supports the findings of our previous two reports. People avoid contact more as they move from their own living spaces (home, neighborhood, etc) towards more abstract scales such as cities and the country. The increase in the feeling of insecurity might be considered as a more visible state of the same situation in a different point of view. The difference in the feeling of security increases between the city and the country, namely the rate of those who find their cities insecure is 28 percent whereas 45 percent find the country insecure (almost one in every two people).

### Living in metropolises is a reason for feeling insecure

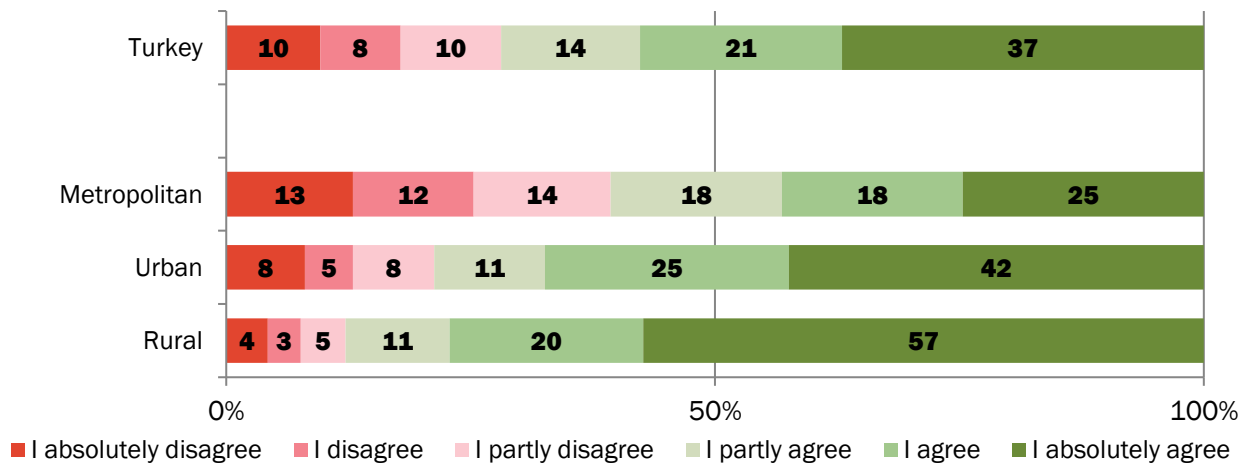
The three graphs below show the distribution of the answers to these three statements according to residential areas. It is again observed that the feeling of security increases from metropolitan to rural areas. People living in rural areas are the group that find their living spaces secure at the highest rates whereas people living in metropolises find the country insecure at the lowest rates.



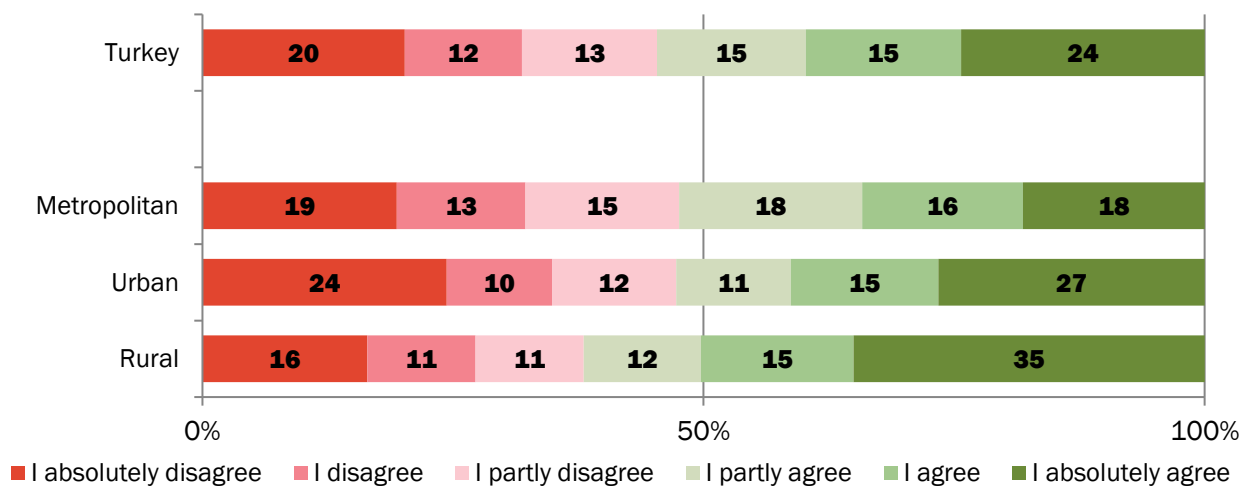
### My neighborhood is safe for living.



### My city is safe for living.



### Our country is safe for living.

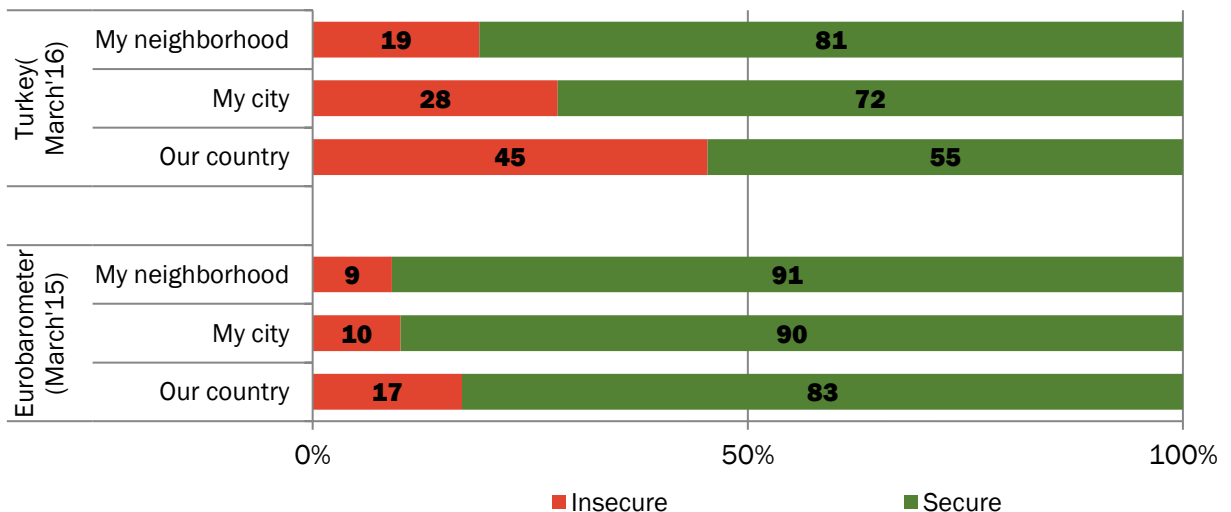




## Europeans feel more secure compared to the society in Turkey

As the final aspect of this section, we will compare Turkey and European countries. The same questions were posed to people in various European countries in March 2015. The most striking aspect of the comparison is that there is a similar tendency in Turkey and Europe from the neighborhood scale to national scale in that individuals find their own neighborhoods more secure than their countries. Secondly, we observe that in average, people living in Europe feel more secure than those living in Turkey. Almost one in every two people living in Turkey state that the country is insecure whereas less than one in every five people states the same in Europe. Secondly, there are significant differences in the rates of finding neighborhoods, cities and the country secure, namely there is a 26-point difference between those who find their neighborhoods secure and those who find the country secure whereas this difference is only 8 points in Europe.

### Is the place you live secure?



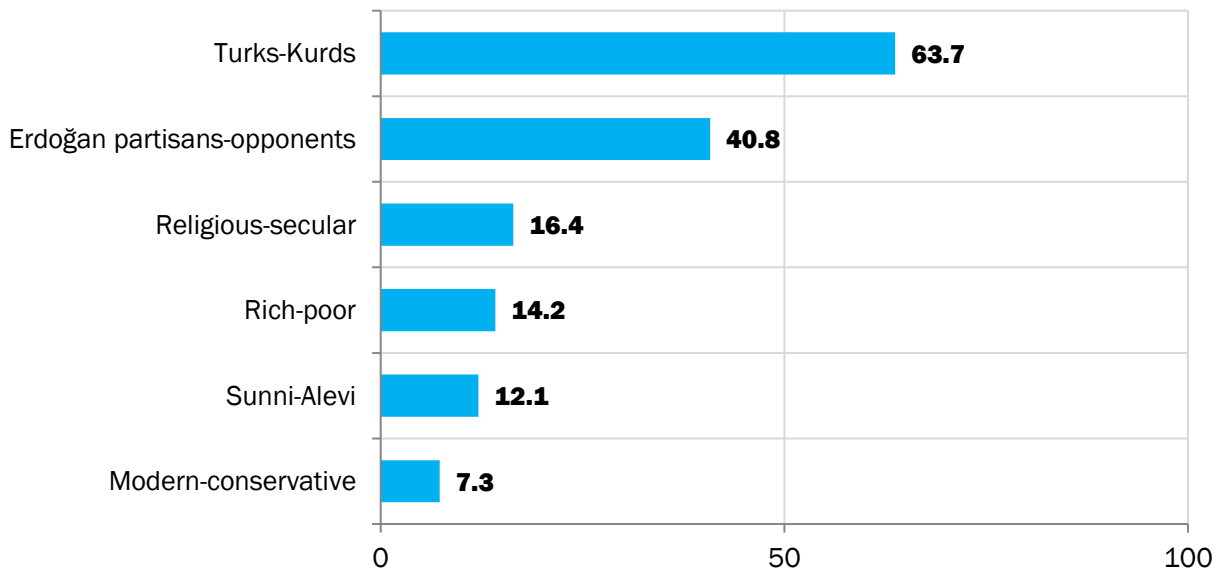
## 2.4. New definition of polarization: Who feels secure?

The answers to question “Which are the major aspects in Turkey that threaten the security of life and property of people?” which we shall handle below intensify on choices terror, civil war and war against other countries which are intensively mentioned by different social masses. Despite difference according to demographic characteristics, the elements regarded as threats against public safety indicate that the traditional social polarizations between the Ak Parti supporters vs. other parties, Turks vs. Kurds and religious people vs. secular people have now been transforming into new types of contrasts and convergences. In other words, in the answers to questions on security, even though we detected demographic and political breaking points, it is observed that the feelings of security and insecurity bring together those social masses that have not come together previously.



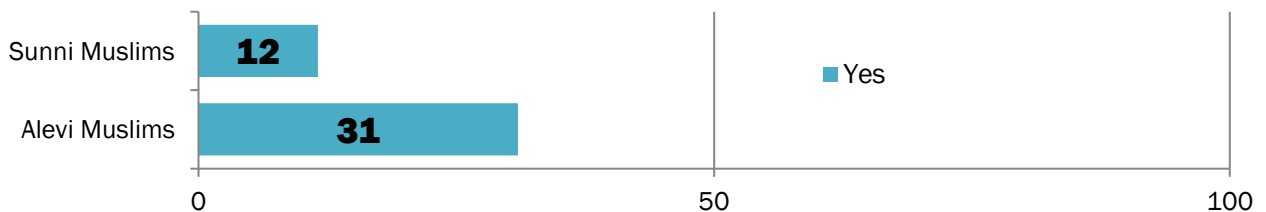
The issue as to who feels safe and therefore who is considered as the primary threat must be a precursor to social transformation and future political change. Therefore, we will now analyze the relationship between feeling of security and social polarization. Firstly, as seen in the graph below, we asked the interviewees which social tension scares them the most and stated that they could name two tensions. 63 percent feared the contradiction of Turks vs. Kurds the most whereas 40 percent feared the contradiction of Erdoğan partisans vs. opponents the most. 16 percent feared the tension between the religious people and secular people the most. Even though demographic clusters are different and the parties to these probable tensions may be more sensitive, it is important to note that in almost all social clusters, the first named tension is the one between the Turks and the Kurds followed by the tension between Erdoğan partisans and opponents.

### Which social tension scares you the most? (two choices)



When we interviewed our subjects about polarization, we have come to the conclusion that this fact may not always be perceived equally by the sides as one social mass may observe themselves as the target whereas the other side might reject such polarization. As seen in the graph below, Alevis indicate three times more than Sunnis that they fear a polarization based on sectarian differences.

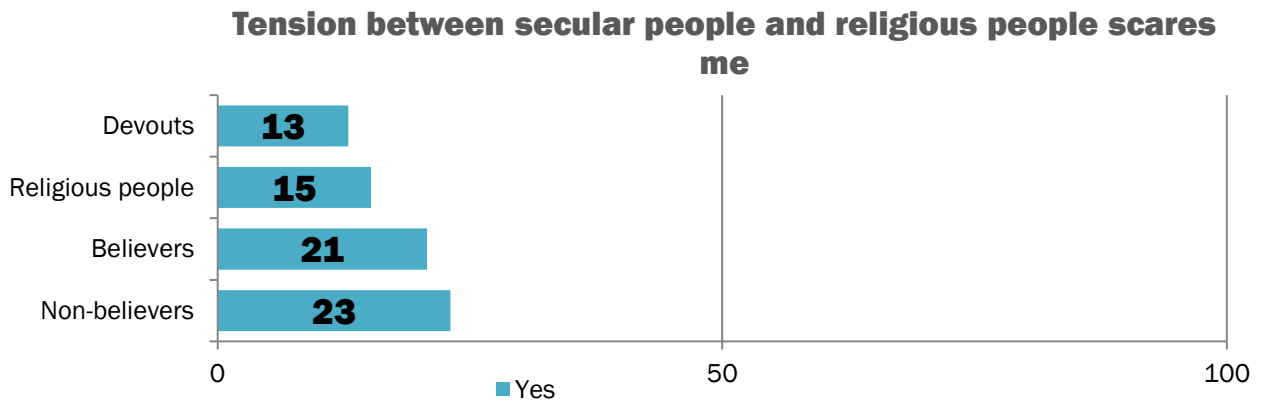
### Tension between Sunnis and Alevis scares me







View on different levels of religiousness reveals that 21 percent of the group we define as believers who describe themselves as believers who do not fulfill religious requirements indicated the tension between secular people and religious people and expressed fear of secular-religious polarization 8 points more than devouts and 5.5 points more than religious people did.



Starting from this point, we may conclude that social masses that do not shape their victimhood on the basis of these polarization equations also tend to deny at high levels the victimization of those who claim that they are victims. Another reason for such denial might be the fact that the population of those who claim that they are victims is lower than that of those who deny the victimization, namely that they are minorities, because the issues of smaller social masses might be invalid for social masses of higher population. In other words, as Alevis are the minority, they might fear a probable tension with Sunnis whereas since Sunnis are the dominant group, they might not find such tension likely. The fear non-religious people feel towards a tension between secular people and religious people might be considered a similar kind of fear.

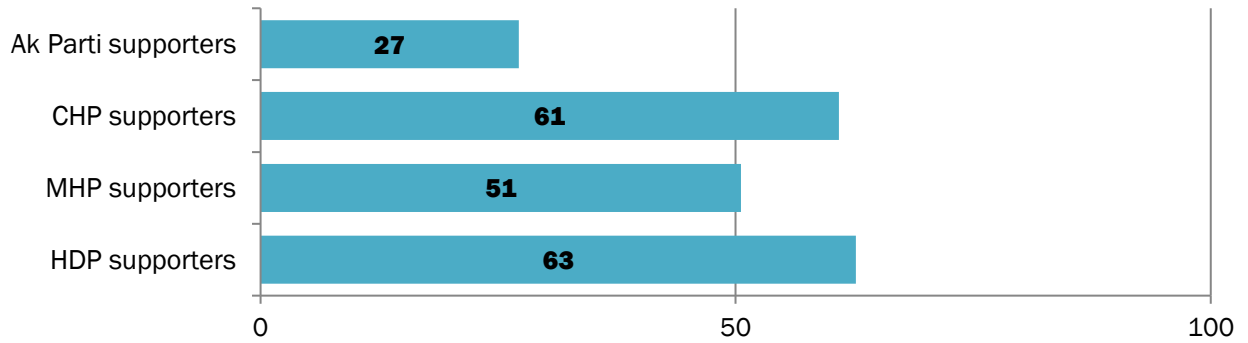
### **Opposition against Erdoğan scares the electorate of the opposition parties more than it does the Ak Parti electorate**

At this point, we detected that there is another social tendency in the question on social tension directed at the interviewees and presumed by us to exist between Erdoğan partisans and opponents as well as Turks vs. Kurds. Analyzing the political party preferences, we observe that the Ak Parti supporters fear less about polarization between Erdoğan partisans and opponents than the electorates of other parties do. Especially, the HDP and CHP electorates indicated such fear two times more than the Ak Parti electorate did. In a way, for the majority of the Ak Parti voters who make half of the society, the polarization that the electorate of the other three parties that make the other half of the society claim that exists is non-existent. Yet in another way, a new type of victimization (and therefore of security and threat) perception is formed according to which the relations between the Erdoğan partisans and the opponents are a reason for polarization for the Ak Parti opponents whereas they are not for the Ak Parti supporters.



It is noteworthy that the lack of fear among the Ak Parti supporters about polarization of Erdoğan partisans and opponents is similar to the lack of fear among other dominant masses, namely Sunnis and religious people.

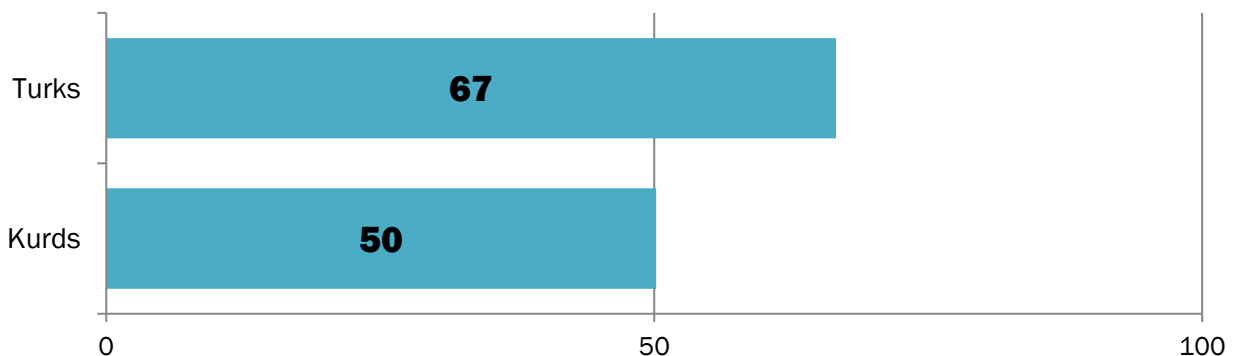
### Tension between Erdoğan partisans and opponents scares me



### Kurds fear polarization on the basis of Erdoğan rather than ethnic polarization

The graph below shows as to what extent ethnic polarization scares Turks and Kurds. Similar to the average in Turkey, 67 percent of the Turks fear such tension whereas only half of the Kurds fear it. Accordingly, contrary to the Alevi-Sunni or Secular-Religious polarizations, the higher populated group indicated fear at higher rates than the minority. This might in a way be interpreted that Turks consider the current process of conflict as a Turkish-Kurdish polarization more than the Kurds do. Or it may be that such polarization is valid for the Kurds at lower rates than the Turks.

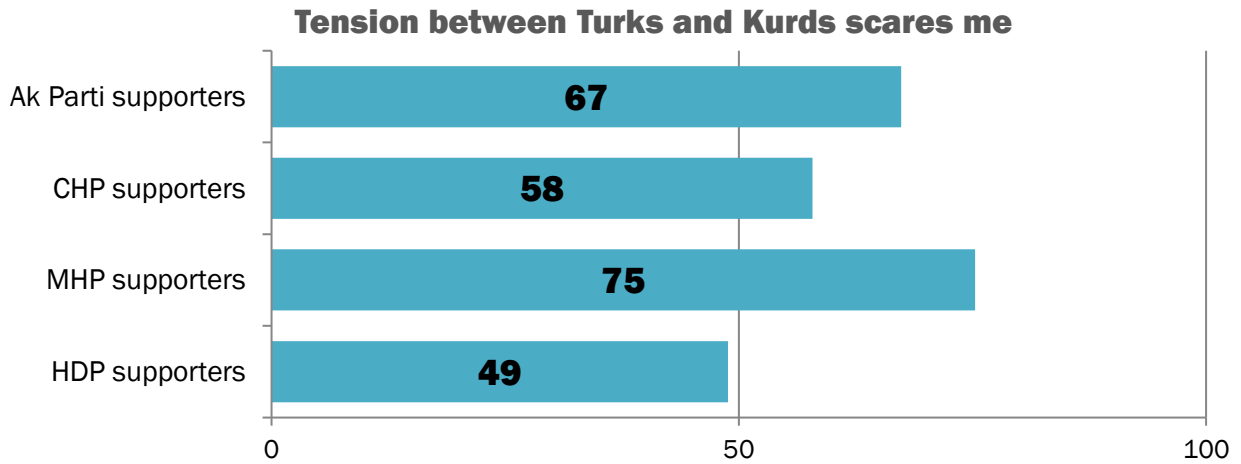
### Tension between Turks and Kurds scares me



Viewing the fear of tension between the Turks and the Kurds in terms of voting preferences, an interesting situation comes up. As might be expected, one in every two HDP supporters indicated such fear in a way to support this finding pertaining to the Kurds in general, followed by the CHP supporters at a rate of 58 percent. The

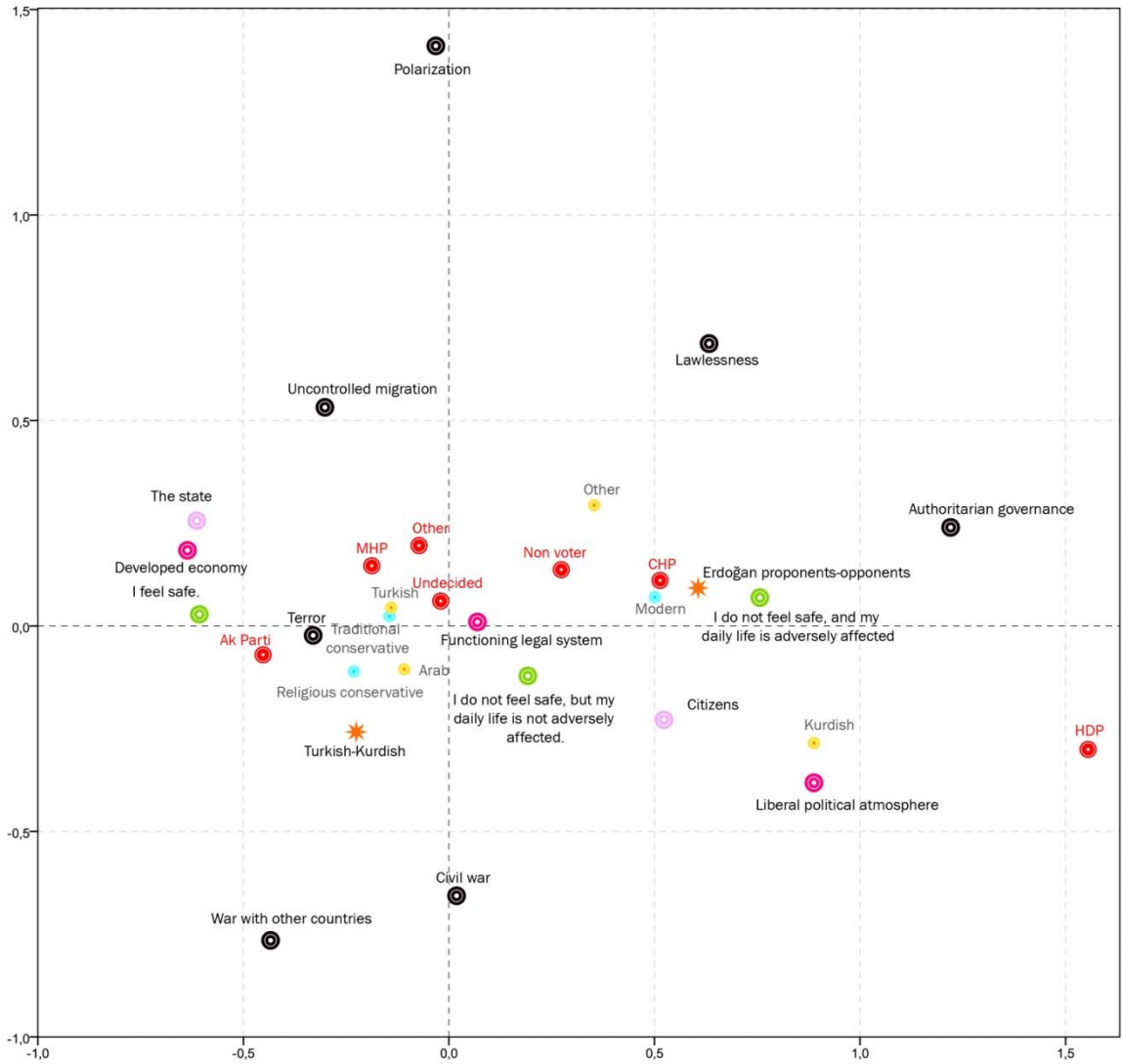


MHP electorate is the cluster that fears such polarization the most with 75.3 percent followed by the Ak Parti electorate with 67.4 percent.



#### **Asymmetrical polarization in the society**

Based on these probabilities of tension, we arrive at two important conclusions. Firstly, the polarization presumed between any two social groups mentioned above may not be always valid for both of these groups. The second group which the first group perceives as a threat may not be disturbed by such an issue or a conflict against them. However such a situation may work just the contrary for the group that claims the existence of the polarization and they might insist more on their claim of polarization as the opposing group denies their victimhood. In such a case, our second determination is naturally that polarization is asymmetrical contrary to our definitions so far. There are separations and conflicts among social groups based on polarization however different social groups understand these polarizations on the basis of different perceptions of threat and the victimization narratives they have internalized. The analysis that forms the basis to the graph below has been formed in order to clarify this situation.



- ⊙ In your opinion, which of the below in a society would ensure security of life and property?
- ⊙ If the election were held today, which party would you vote for?
- ⊙ Have you been concerned about going out on the street or being in crowded places recently? Do safety concerns affect your daily life?
- ⊙ In your opinion, does the security of the state or the security of life and property come first?
- ⊙ In your opinion, which affects the security of life and property in a country the most?
- ⊙ Between which TWO groups does social tension scare you?
- ⊙ Ethnic identity
- ⊙ Lifestyle cluster



This graph shows how different views would be distributed if the entire Turkey was a two dimensional universe as a result of the multiple correspondence analysis (MCA) of the answers to various questions selected from our questionnaire. This universe was formed through the distribution of the answers to the questions on security in our legend but the answers with respect to ethnic origins and lifestyle choices did not play a role in this process.

The horizontal axis x indicates firstly the distribution of political parties listed from left to right as the Ak Parti, MHP, CHP and HDP electorate. The axis also shows as to whether the individual feels secure or not. Those who feel secure are located on the far left whereas towards the right, those who feel insecure and those who insecure and at the same time think that it adversely affects their daily lives are located. This axis also shows the distribution of the answers to the question as to whether security should be prioritized for the state or the citizens. Those who prioritize the security of the state are located on the far left whereas those who prioritize the security of the citizens are located on the far right. In short, if a person supports the Ak Parti or MHP, one feels more secure whereas if a person is a supporter of the CHP or HDP, one feels less secure. Similarly, those who prioritize the security of the state are closer to the Ak Parti and MHP electorate whereas those who emphasize the security of the citizens are the HDP electorate followed by the CHP electorate.

Axis y of the graph is shaped as to how the interviewees interpret the threats against the security of life and property of the citizens and as to what extent they can be direct victims of this threat. The lower part of the axis consists of those answers focused on the security of the state such as civil war and war against other countries as the greatest threat to public security whereas the upper part of the axis consists of other items related to internal politics and social matters such as polarization, irregular migration and unlawfulness. It will be observed that terror as a threat against public security is at the center of the axis and it is already the item that is indicated at the highest rates by the biggest part of the society therefore it is not distinctive as it is a security matter shared by wide social masses. Another important matter is that feeling of security or insecurity depends on which party the individual votes for, whether one prioritizes the security of the state or the citizens or whether one prefers the developmental model or the libertarian model in the establishment of the security of life and property rather than how one interprets the threat –in the way shown in the graph. In other words, the perception of security depends highly on the position of an individual on the polarization. As shall be seen in the final pages of our report on security, feeling of security is shaped by not only objective but also subjective criteria.

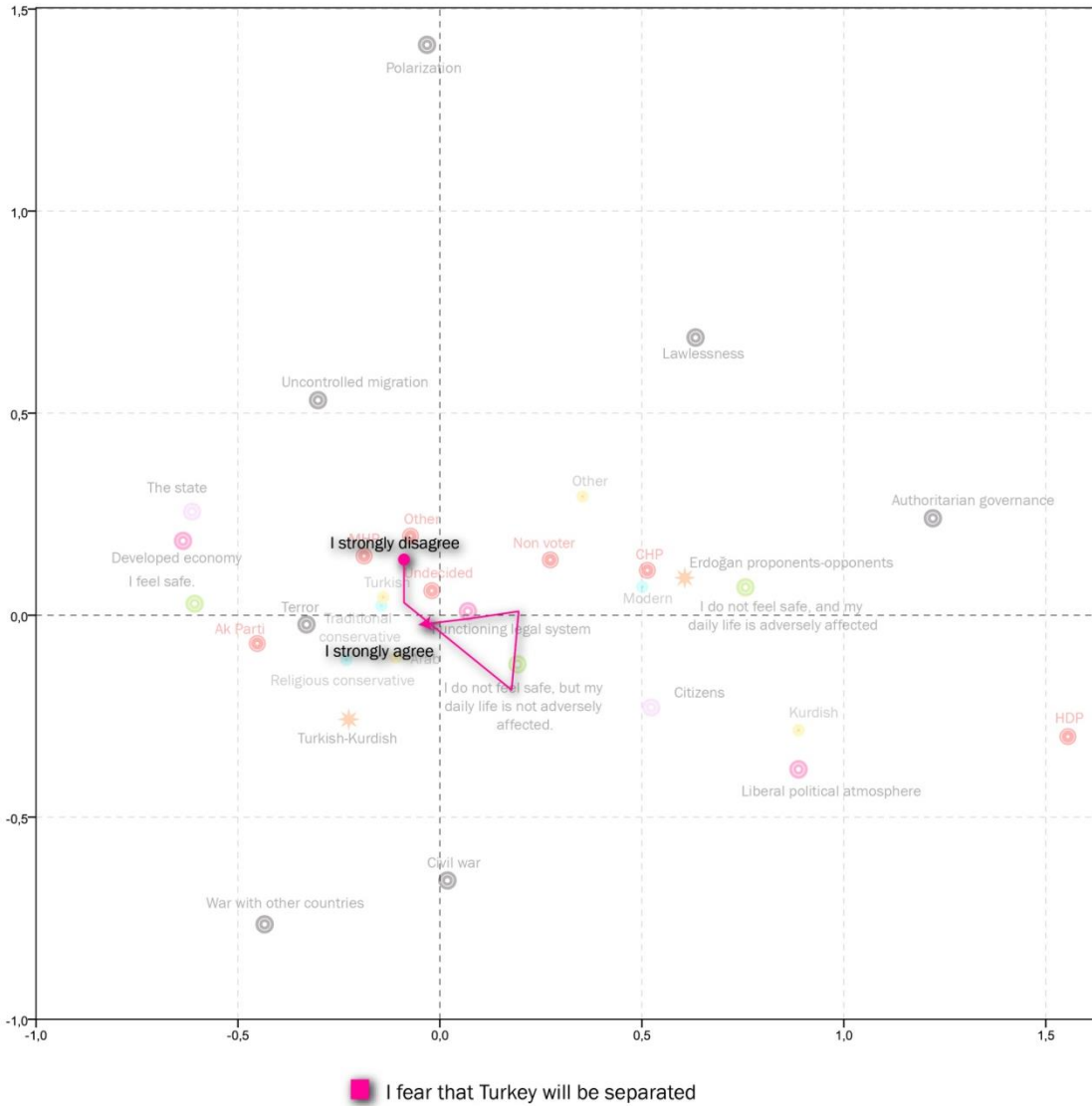
Everybody's polarization axis is different

After defining these two axes, let us see how the polarization questions are distributed in the universe of Turkey above. The Ak Parti and MHP interpret polarization on the basis of the conflict of Turks vs. Kurds whereas the HDP and partly CHP interpret polarization on the basis of Erdoğan partisanship or opposition. It seems that in the future, new shifts in this asymmetrical distribution of polarization (i.e. new



convergences or conflicts among the sides) will initially be formed on the basis of the perception of security and threat and secondly, may give an idea as to how the politics will be shaped in the future.

The three graphs in the upcoming pages show as to how the answers to the three statements mobilize within the universe of Turkey.

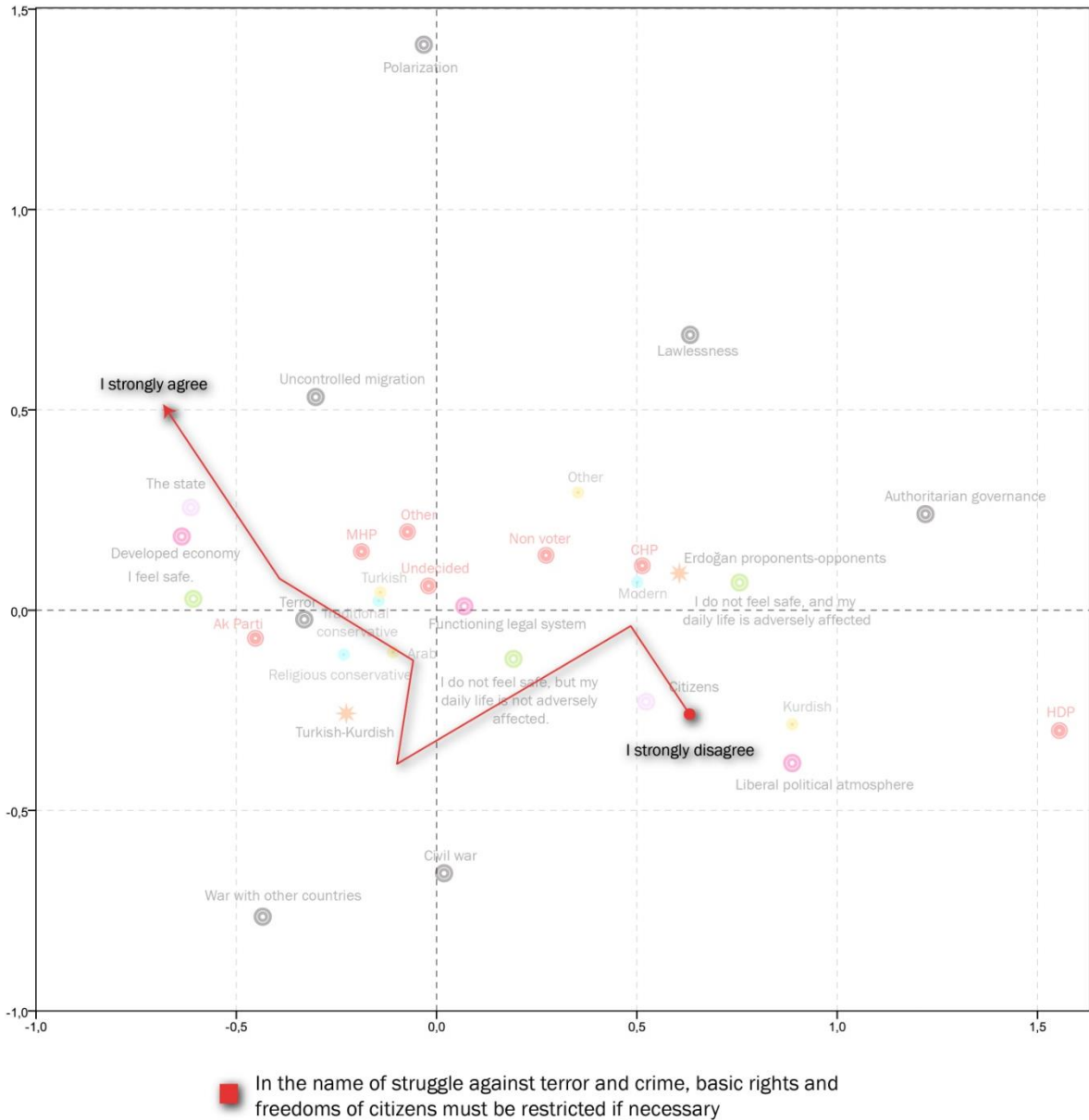


### Everybody is afraid of separation

This graph reveals two important findings: Firstly, those who absolutely agree or absolutely disagree with the statement “I fear that Turkey will be separated” are not really different people, however, they provide different answers due to similar reasons. This is frequently observed in many surveys based on statistical and social science methods. In the part of the graph in which those social masses which we assume to be more nationalistic are located, a part of the people state that they absolutely disagree as they never really find it likely that Turkey would be separated whereas



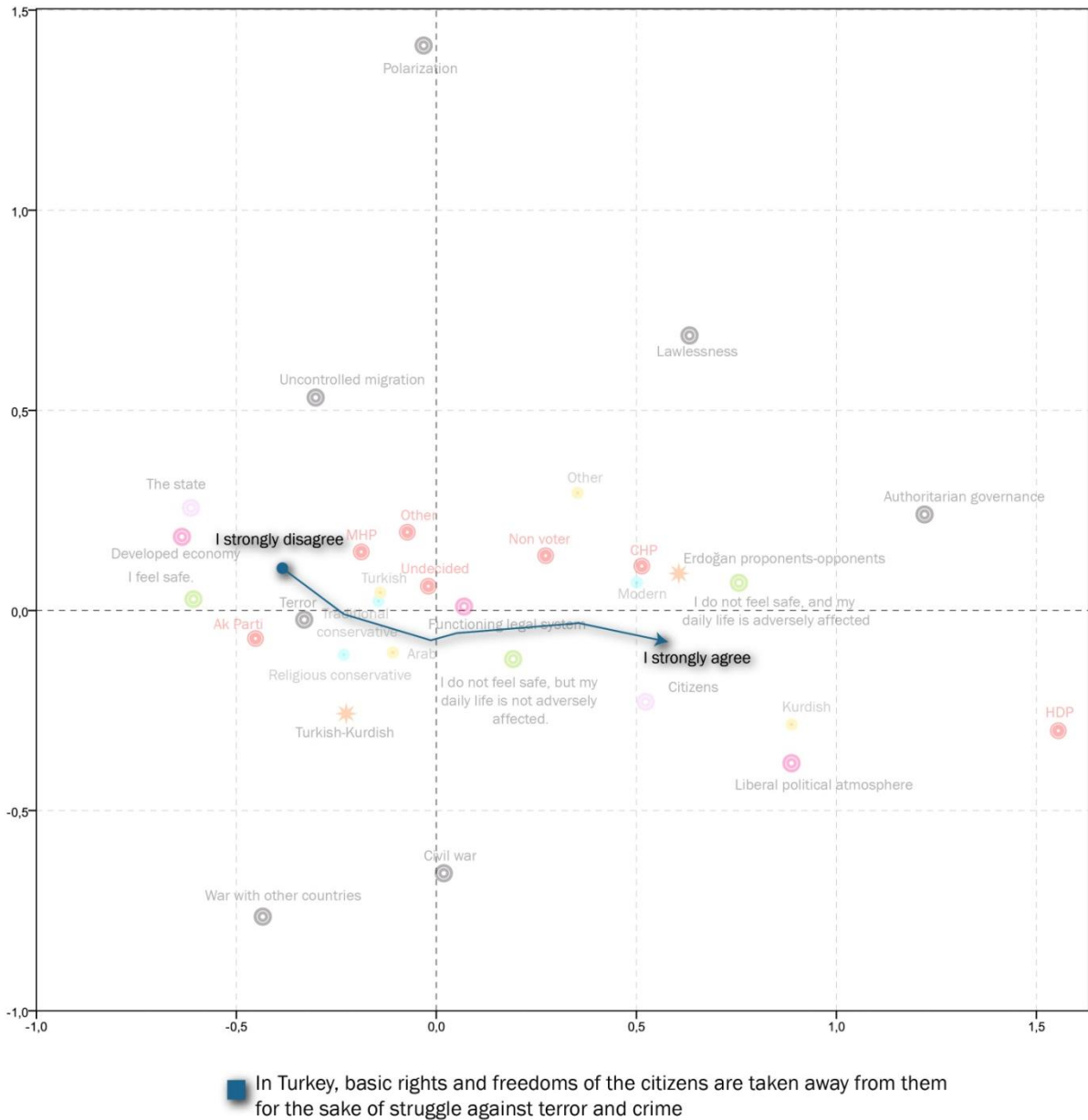
similar people answer that they absolutely agree due to nationalistic tendencies. In short, similar political approaches might cause different feelings and perceptions. Secondly, the fact that the arrow we formed by placing the answer distributions to the graph is clustered at the center means that this question in fact is not very distinctive in the interpretation of polarization.



This graph reveals social polarization very clearly. Those who absolutely agree with the statement “In the name of struggle against terror and crime, basic rights and freedoms of citizens must be restricted if necessary” are those clusters who prioritize the security of citizens and libertarian political atmosphere who for the most part overlap with the HDP supporters whereas those who agree are mostly the CHP supporters. On the other hand, the answers “I disagree” and “I absolutely



disagree” are provided by more nationalistic people prioritizing the security of the state before the security of the citizens as located at the upper left corner of the graph.



This graph reveals another aspect of social polarization. The answers to the statement “In Turkey, basic rights and freedoms of the citizens are taken away from them for the sake of struggle against terror and crime” move from one side of the graph to the other. Those who absolutely disagree with this statement are positioned again at the upper left corner covered by more nationalistic people who put the security of the state before the security of citizens whereas those who absolutely agree, i.e. those who think that the freedoms of the citizens are taken away from them are those who prioritize a libertarian political atmosphere in the maintenance of





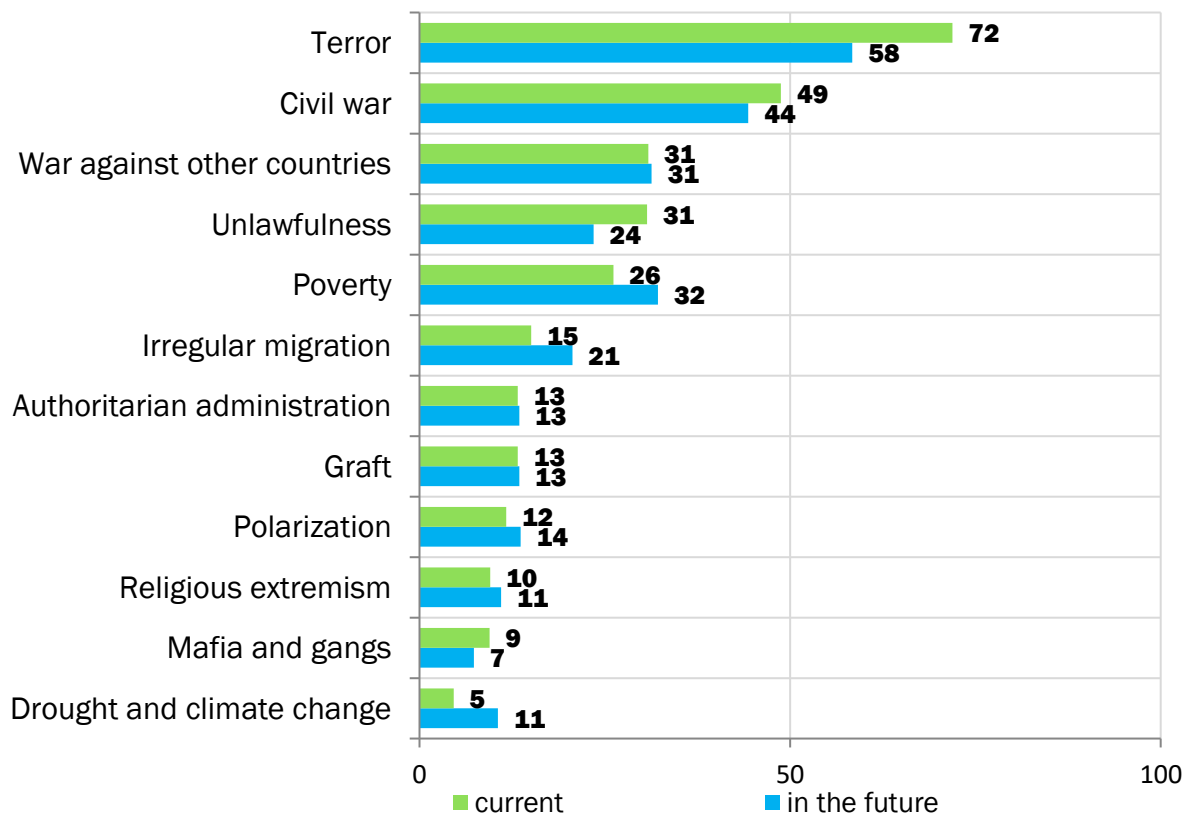
security of life and property and those who put the security of citizens before that of the state as positioned at the lower right corner of the graph.

## 2.5. Perception of Public Security in Turkey

We asked the interviewees an open-ended question “What do you think is the most important current problem in Turkey that threatens the security of life and property of people?” in response to which 6 out of every 10 people (63.3 percent) stated that it was terror. Subsequently, we asked as to which three elements among 12 choices does and will affect the security of life and property of people in Turkey in response to which again terror was the most preferred choice (72 percent) followed by a probable civil war (49 percent), war against other countries (49 percent), unlawfulness (31 percent) and poverty (26 percent).

Three elements that the interviewees presume that will significantly increase compared to the situation today are poverty (6 percent), irregular migration (6 percent) and drought-climate change (6 percent). There is an expectation that currently more influential elements will be less influential in the future. Therefore, it is possible to assess the expectation that poverty, migration and drought will be more influential as a wish.

**What are the most important problems that do and will affect security of life and property in Turkey?**



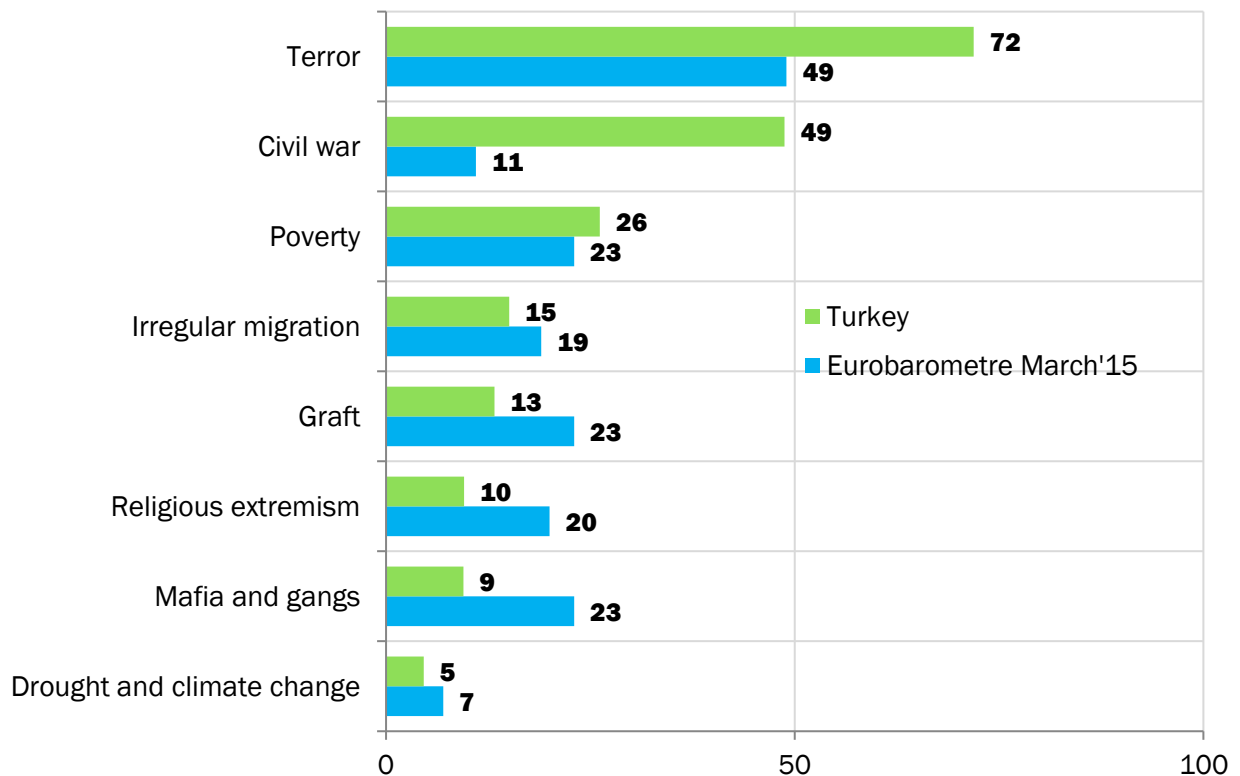


In a survey conducted by Eurobarometer on March 2015 about security, similar elements were handled therefore we have the chance to compare Turkey with European countries. The most significant aspect is that terror is perceived as the most important security problem in both Europe and Turkey. In both scopes, people do not feel secure. Of course, it is highly probable that these rates have further increased in both Europe and Turkey after these surveys were conducted due to recent terrorist attacks (In Europe Paris, 13 November 2015 and Brussels, 22 March 2016; in Turkey, Ankara, 13 March 2016 and Istanbul, 19 March 2016). 3 4

### Fear of civil war is 4 times more common in Turkey than it is in Europe

One in every two people in Europe and 7 in every 10 people in Turkey consider terror as the most important problem about security of life and property. The second significant point is that a probable civil war is perceived as a serious problem in Turkey four and a half times more than it is in Europe. In Turkey, one in every two people consider it as a problem whereas this rate decreases to one in every 10 people in Europe.

### What are the most important three problems that affect the security of life and property in your country?



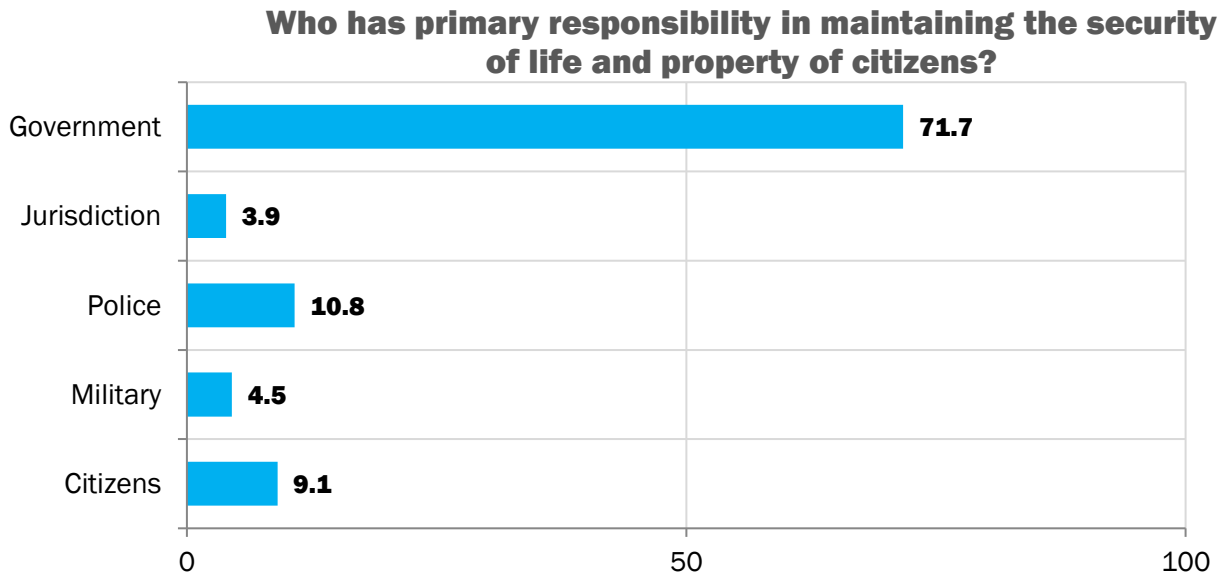
<sup>3</sup> This comparison is based on the numbers provided in Special Eurobarometre No. 432 published in April 2015 the survey of which was conducted on March 2015. For detailed information, see [http://ec.europa.eu/public\\_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs\\_432\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_432_en.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> It is useful to note that before the two surveys which form the basis to the comparison were conducted, similar attacks also took place (In Europe, Paris Charlie Hebdo, 7 January 2015; in Turkey, Ankara, 10 October 2015 and Istanbul, 12 January 2016).



## 2.6. Trust in the State and its Institutions in terms of Maintaining Public Security

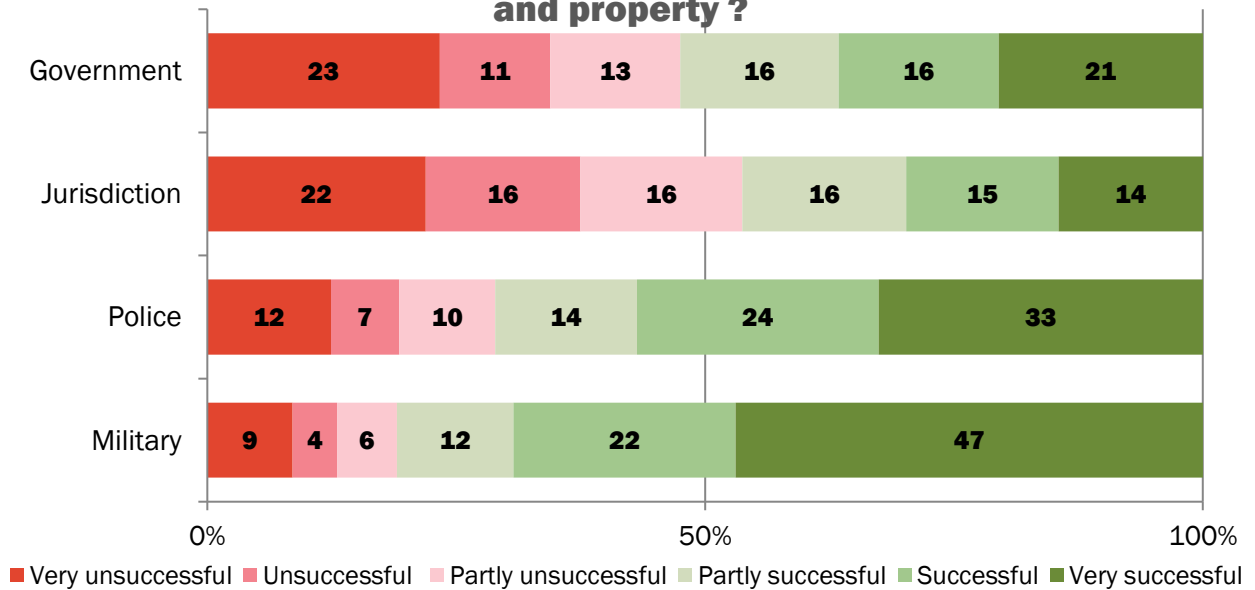
As for who the main responsible body about public security is, it is clearly observed that the responsibility is considered to be on the shoulders of the government. Seven out of every 10 people hold the government responsible whereas 1 considers the police and 1 considers the citizens responsible.



However, when we asked as to which institution was more successful in this regard separately for each institution, the interviewees chose the military (8 in every 10 people) and the police (7 in every 10 people) than the government (one in every two people).



### How successful are they in maintaining security of life and property ?



#### The government which is considered as the main body responsible for maintaining security is also considered as the main failure in this matter

The most interesting finding here is that even though the military and the police are mostly found successful in all demographic and political clusters, there are significant breaking points in the rate of those who find the jurisdiction and the government successful. In this regard, as shown in the analyses above, those who fear tension between Erdoğan partisans and their opponents and Turks and Kurds tend to find the government and the jurisdiction unsuccessful.

#### Military is the most successful

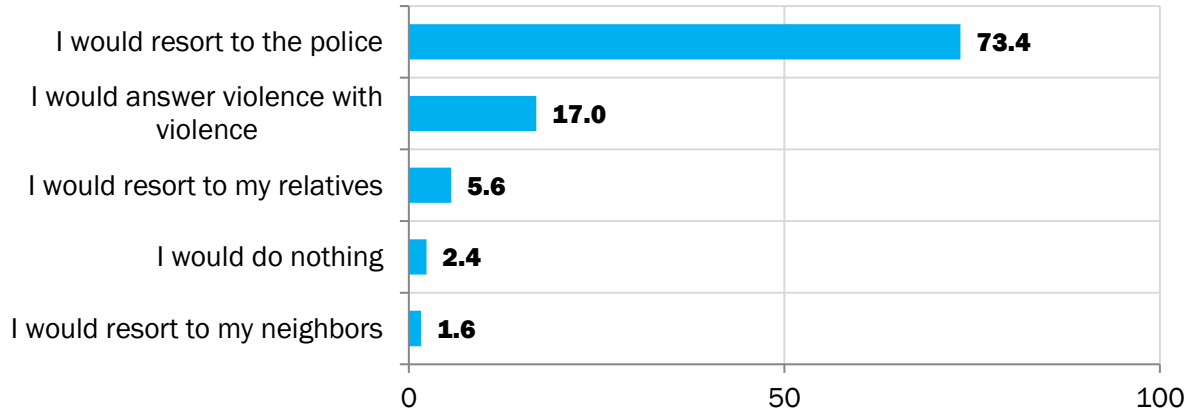
The second most important finding is that those who expect public security from the military find the military successful and those who expect it from the government or the police find the police successful however, conversely, those who think that the jurisdiction holds the responsibility find the jurisdiction unsuccessful in this regard. This might be an important clue as to the fact that those who have expectations from the law are empty handed in this regard.

## 2.7. Personal Precautions and Behaviors

We asked the interviewees as to what they would do if they were exposed to physical violence in response to which about 3 out of every four people in the society indicated that they would resort to the police. In this regard, state institutions are the priority for the majority of the society in terms of public security. However, the most important finding in the graph is that 17 percent of the population at the age of 18 and above (i.e. about 9 million people within the adult population) indicated that they would answer violence with violence.

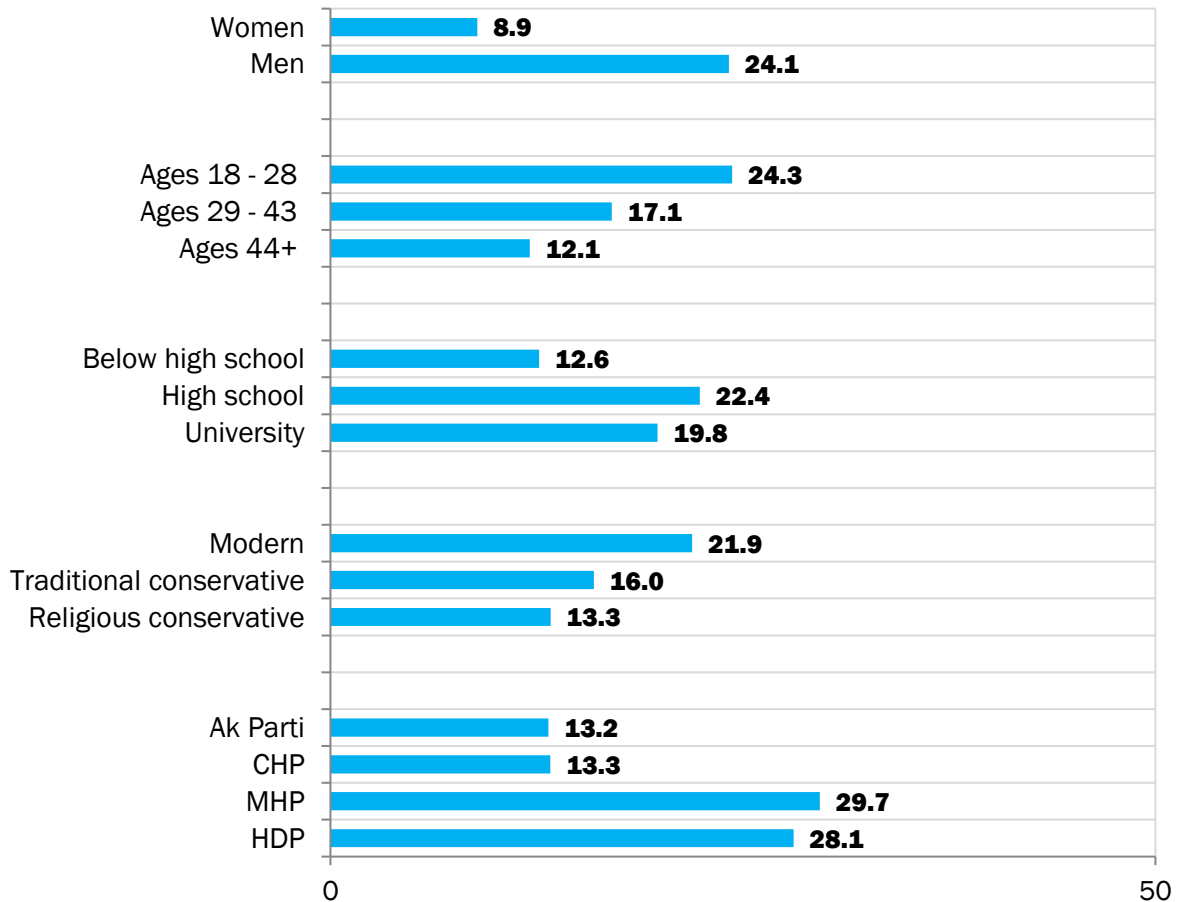


## What would you do if you were exposed to physical violence?



When we analyze this finding in terms of demographic breakdowns such as gender, educational level and lifestyle, a very interesting outcome is obtained.

### I answer violence with violence.





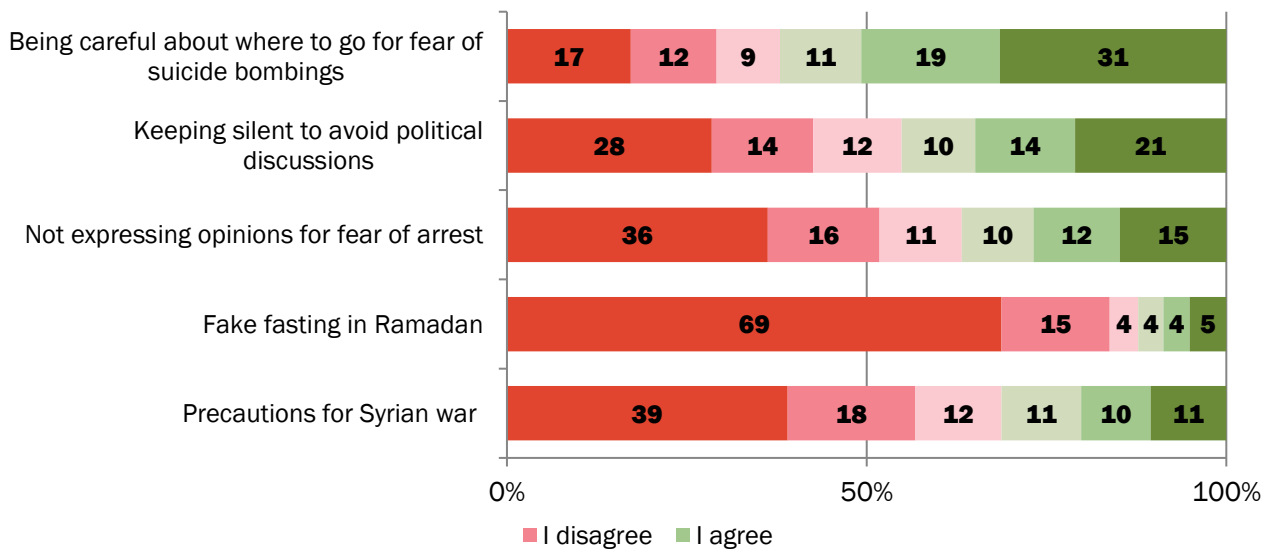
**Educated people and modern people resort to violence more than uneducated people and religious people do, respectively**

According to the graph above, one in every four men state that they would answer violence with violence whereas this rate drops to less than one in every ten women. As for age distribution, young people are more tended to resort to violence rather than the police or other institutions compared to older people. The most striking finding is that high school and university graduates and modern people stated that they would answer violence with violence at much higher rates than less educated people and traditional conservatives and religious conservatives did, respectively. It is probable yet not evidenced that those clusters who lose hope on the law indicate at higher rates that they would resort to violence.

Analyzing the state of answering violence with violence when exposed to violence personally in terms of party distributions, we observe that the MHP and HDP electorate agree with this statement at similar rates. This might be attributed to the fact that the electorate of both parties are 5 years younger than the electorates of the Ak Parti and the CHP. The average age of the Ak Parti and CHP voters is 41 whereas it is 36 for the MHP and HDP and in fact, those MHP and HDP voters who state that they would answer violence with violence are in the age range of 18-28.

Finally, let us look into the degree of precautions individuals take in their daily lives about security.

**To what extent do you agree with the statements below?**

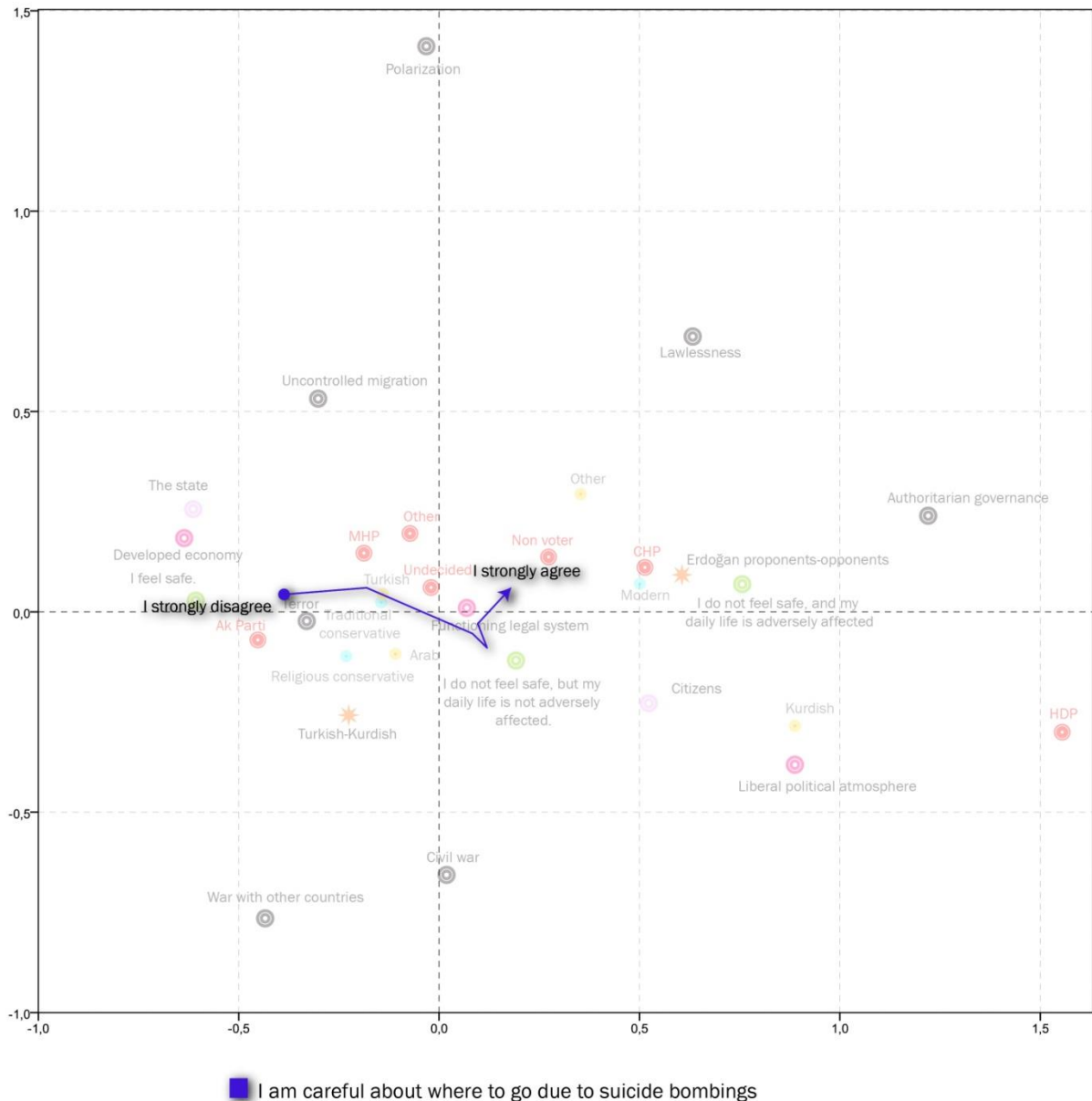


As previously indicated, 61 percent of the society watch out for suicide bombers. In addition, 45 percent state that they keep silent in order not to enter into a discussion with a person of different political view and 37 percent state that they keep their opinions to themselves because the state detains people with no or arbitrary grounds whereas 32 percent indicate that they take precautions against



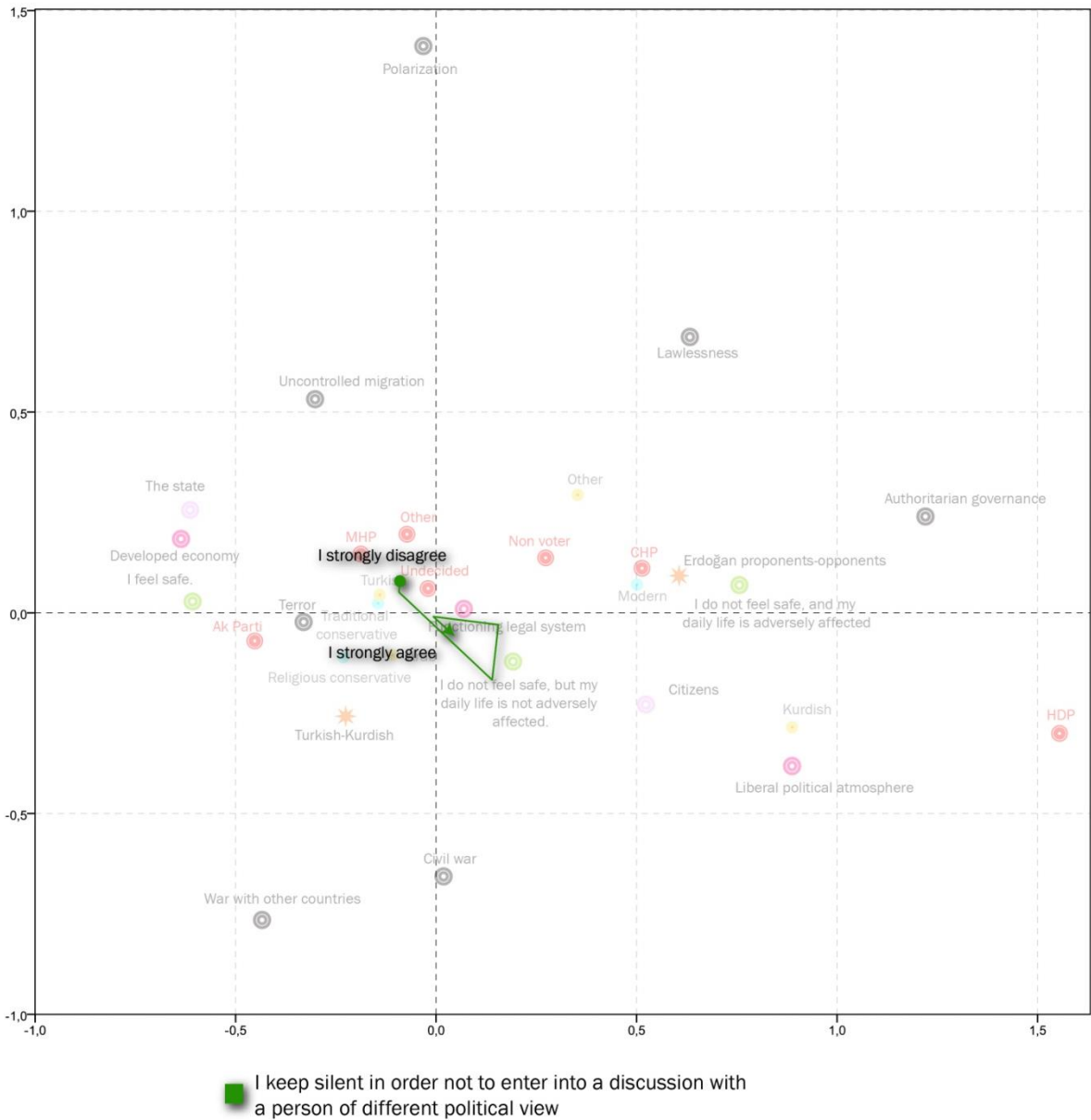
the possibility that the war in Syria spreads into Turkey. There is a small cluster who feel that they should fake fasting in Ramadan however we did not include this to our analyses as it was not directly related to the matter of security and besides, the religiousness-secularism debate is not considered as a priority.

The graph below shows the three statements we included in the graph above which visualizes the society in Turkey as if it is a two dimensional universe through the MCA mentioned above.





This graph shows the distribution of the answers to the statement “I am careful about where to go due to suicide bombings” within the universe of Turkey. It is important to note that the arrow formed by the answers moves according to the feeling of security at one end and according to the parties at the other end. Consequently, those who feel secure, the Ak Parti voters and the MHP voters fear suicide bombers less than those who feel insecure, the CHP voters and the HDP voters do.

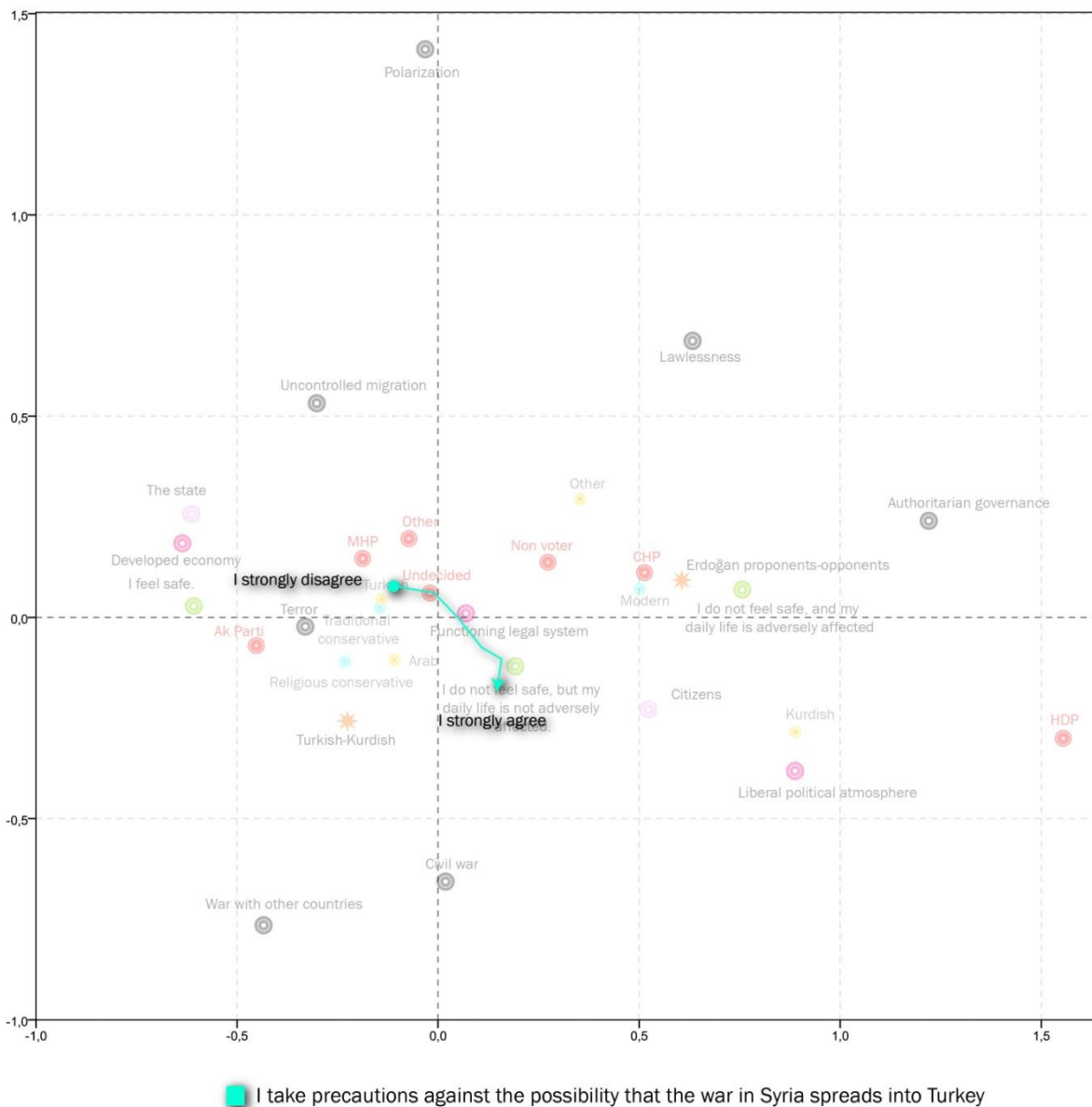


This graph shows the distribution of the answers to statement “I keep silent in order not to enter into a discussion with a person of different political view.” Accordingly, those who state that they absolutely disagree with the statement are those clusters who prioritize the security of the state and currently feel secure whereas those who absolutely agree with the statement have a similar profile. This might be due to two





reasons. Firstly, it might be that agreeing with this statement or not is not distinctive and similar social clusters might have provided different answers due to similar reasons. Just like the case above that statement “I fear that Turkey will be separated” was not distinctive, a part of similar people answer that they do not agree in order to reject the very existence of such an issue whereas another part of these people might accept the issue and act accordingly. Secondly, in connection with the first reason, self-censorship might be more common than expected throughout the society in general rather than a single social mass or a particular side of polarization.



This graph shows the distribution of the answers to statement “I take precautions against the possibility that the war in Syria spreads into Turkey” on our mapping, according



to which those who state that they do not take precautions generally indicate that they are MHP voters, Turkish and religious conservatives in terms of lifestyle and feel relatively safe whereas those who take precautions are at the contrary side of the graph. The interesting point here is that those who state that they take precautions are also those who think that their daily lives are not directly influenced even though they have concerns about security. This might be due to two reasons. Firstly, as indicated above in the sections where we defined the MCA analysis for the first time, security is an objective assessment therefore one's feeling of security or insecurity should be assessed independently from one's political preferences and therefore polarization. Consequently, individuals might indicate that they take precautions and that their daily lives are not really affected at the same time. Secondly, individuals might not be much affected by insecurity in their daily lives as they already take the necessary precautions.



### 3. RESEARCH ID

#### 3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

The surveys 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 5-6 March 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 Elections in neighborhoods and villages.

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

Within the scope of the survey, 2649 respondents were interviewed face-to-face in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 98 districts - including central districts - of 27 provinces.

Provinces visited	27
Districts visited	98
Neighborhoods/villages visited	153
Number of respondents	2649

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, Çanakkale, 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
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			17.2	17.2
2	Western Marmara	2.1	3.5		5.6
3	Aegean	4.3	6.4	5.4	16.2
4	Eastern Marmara	1.4	2.8	4.9	9.1
5	Western Anatolia	0.7		10.0	10.7
6	Mediterranean	3.1	2.9	6.2	12.2
7	Central Anatolia	1.4	2.2	1.4	5.0
8	Western Black Sea	2.8	3.3		6.1
9	Eastern Black Sea	1.4	2.1		3.5
10	Northeastern Anatolia	1.4			1.4
11	Middle Eastern Anatolia	1.4	2.1		3.5
12	Southeastern Anatolia	2.1	3.5	3.9	9.5
	Total	22.2	28.8	49.1	100.0



## 4. FREQUENCY TABLES

### 4.1. Profile of the Respondents

Gender	Percentage
Female	47.2
Male	52.8
Total	100.0

Age	Percentage
Between 18-28	25.2
Between 29-43	35.5
44 or above	39.3
Total	100.0

Educational attainment level	Percentage
Illiterate	4.1
Literate without degree	2.1
Primary school degree	31.2
Secondary school degree	14.6
High school degree	30.7
University degree	16.0
Masters/PhD	1.2
Total	100.0

Household size	Percentage
1-2 person(s)	17.6
3-5 people	68.7
6-8 people	13.7
9 people or more	17.6
Total	100.0



<b>Birthplace (region)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
İstanbul	6.8
Western Marmara	5.5
Aegean	13.5
Eastern Marmara	6.7
Western Anatolia	7.7
Mediterranean	12.5
Central Anatolia	7.2
Western Black Sea	8.8
Eastern Black Sea	7.0
Northeastern Anatolia	4.0
Middle Eastern Anatolia	5.9
Southeastern Anatolia	12.5
Abroad	1.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>

<b>Employment status</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Civil servant	5.6
Private sector	8.5
Worker	8.2
Small retailer	7.2
Merchant/businessman	1.0
Self-employed	2.2
Farmer, agriculturist, stock breeder	3.7
Employed, other	6.4
Retired	11.5
Housewife	29.1
Students	9.5
Unemployed	5.7
Disabled	1.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>



<b>Lifestyle cluster</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Modern	25.9
Traditional conservative	48.4
Religious conservative	25.8
Total	100.0

<b>Head cover status</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
No head cover	27.6
Headscarf	52.5
Turban	7.9
Chador	0.6
Bachelor male	11.4
Total	100.0

<b>Ethnic identity</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Turkish	82.8
Kurdish	11.6
Zaza	1.2
Arab	2.2
Other	2.3
Total	100.0

<b>Religion / sect</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Sunni Muslim	92.9
Alevi Muslim	4.6
Other	2.4
Total	100.0

<b>Piety</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Non-believer	2.6
Believer	22.7
Religious	63.4
Pious	11.4
Total	100.0



<b>TV channel preference for watching the news</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Does not watch	4.8
A Haber	5.2
ATV	11.9
CNNTürk	2.6
Fox TV	17.4
Habertürk	2.0
Halk TV	1.7
İMÇ	3.4
Kanal 7	2.0
Kanal D	7.4
Kanaltürk	0.2
NTV	2.0
Roj/Nuçe/Sterk	0.2
Samanyolu	0.2
Show TV	5.0
Star	3.5
TRT	10.3
Ulusal	0.9
Local channels	4.4
Other channels	14.9
Total	100.0

<b>Monthly household income</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
TRY 700 or less	4.2
TRY 701 - 1200	15.2
TRY 1201 - 2000	43.7
TRY 2001 - 3000	20.3
TRY 3001 - 5000	12.3
TRY 5001 or more	4.2
Total	100.0





Type of housing	Percentage
Squatter / apartment without external plastering	5.4
Single family, traditional house	39.7
Apartment	51.0
Housing complex	3.4
Very luxurious apartment, villa	0.5
Total	100.0

## 4.2. Public Security

The neighborhood I live in a safe place to live.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	7.8
Disagree	4.9
Somewhat disagree	6.4
Somewhat agree	12.4
Agree	22.2
Strongly agree	46.3
Total	100.0

The city I live in a safe place to live.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	9.7
Disagree	8.2
Somewhat disagree	10.3
Somewhat agree	14.2
Agree	20.6
Strongly agree	37.0
Total	100.0

Our country is a safe place to live.	Percentage
Strongly disagree	20.2
Disagree	11.7
Somewhat disagree	13.5
Somewhat agree	14.8
Agree	15.5
Strongly agree	24.3



Total	100.0
<b>Have you been concerned about going out on the street or being in crowded places recently? Do safety concerns affect your daily life?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
I do not feel safe, and my daily life is adversely affected.	27.1
I do not feel safe, but my daily life is not adversely affected.	31.4
I feel safe.	41.5
Total	100.0
<b>If you become victim to physical violence or if you are assaulted by someone, which of the below would you do?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
I would not do anything	2.4
I would refer to my neighbors.	1.6
I would respond to violence with violence.	17.0
I would refer to the police.	73.5
I would refer to my relatives.	5.6
Total	100.0
<b>In your opinion, which people or institutions below should someone who has become a victim of violence refer to?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Relatives /other family members	6.0
The police or other security forces	81.9
Attorney general	6.3
Non-governmental organization	1.5
Friends / neighbors	2.4
Nobody	1.9
Total	100.0
<b>In your opinion, does the security of the state or the security of life and property come first?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
The state	46.5
Citizens	53.5
Total	100.0
<b>In your opinion, which of the below in a society would ensure security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Developed economy	31.3
Functioning legal system	50.3



Liberal political atmosphere	18.4
Total	100.0

<b>In your opinion, which affects the security of life and property in a country the most?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Terror	71.9
Civil war	48.8
War with other countries	30.9
Lawlessness	30.7
Poverty	26.2
Uncontrolled migration	15.1
Authoritarian governance	13.3
Corruption	13.3
Polarization	11.7
Religious extremism	9.5
Mafia and gangs	9.5
Drought and climate change	4.6

<b>In your opinion, which will affect the security of life and property in a country the most in the future?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Terror	58.4
Civil war	44.3
Poverty	32.2
War with other countries	31.3
Lawlessness	23.5
Uncontrolled migration	20.6
Polarization	13.6
Authoritarian governance	13.5
Corruption	13.5
Religious extremism	11.0
Drought and climate change	10.6
Mafia and gangs	7.4



<b>Between which TWO groups does social tension scare you?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Turkish-Kurdish	63.7
Erdoğan proponents-opponents	40.8
Religious-Secular people	16.4
Rich-Poor people	14.2
Sunnis-Alevis	12.1
Moderns-Conservatives	7.3

<b>I am paying attention to where I go with fear of getting hurt from a suicide bomb in public transportation or in markets/shopping malls.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	17.2
Disagree	11.9
Somewhat disagree	8.8
Somewhat agree	11.3
Agree	19.2
Strongly agree	31.5
Total	100.0

<b>I refrain from speaking out in order to avoid an argument with someone with a different political opinion than mine.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	28.5
Disagree	14.1
Somewhat disagree	12.3
Somewhat agree	10.2
Agree	13.9
Strongly agree	21.0
Total	100.0

<b>I keep my opinions to myself because the state arrests people arbitrarily, without showing any reason.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	36.3
Disagree	15.5
Somewhat disagree	11.4
Somewhat agree	10.0
Agree	12.0
Strongly agree	14.8
Total	100.0



<b>I pretend to be fasting in Ramadan because I am afraid of what others may say.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	68.7
Disagree	15.0
Somewhat disagree	4.0
Somewhat agree	3.5
Agree	3.6
Strongly agree	5.1
Total	100.0

<b>I am taking precautions in my own way with the fear that the war in Syria may spread into Turkey.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	39.0
Disagree	17.8
Somewhat disagree	12.0
Somewhat agree	11.1
Agree	9.6
Strongly agree	10.5
Total	100.0

<b>Which of the below is the most responsible in ensuring the citizens' security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
The government	71.7
The judiciary	3.9
The police	10.8
The military	4.5
The citizens	9.1
Total	100.0



<b>How successful is the government in ensuring the security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very unsuccessful	23.3
Unsuccessful	11.1
Somewhat unsuccessful	13.1
Somewhat successful	15.9
Successful	16.1
Very successful	20.5
Total	100.0

<b>How successful is the judiciary in ensuring the security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very unsuccessful	21.9
Unsuccessful	15.5
Somewhat unsuccessful	16.3
Somewhat successful	16.5
Successful	15.3
Very successful	14.5
Total	100.0

<b>How successful is the police in ensuring the security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very unsuccessful	12.4
Unsuccessful	6.9
Somewhat unsuccessful	9.6
Somewhat successful	14.2
Successful	24.3
Very successful	32.6
Total	100.0



<b>How successful is the military in ensuring the security of life and property?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Very unsuccessful	8.6
Unsuccessful	4.5
Somewhat unsuccessful	6.0
Somewhat successful	11.7
Successful	22.3
Very successful	46.9
Total	100.0

<b>Do you think that you are oppressed because of your identity, and if yes, how frequently do you feel so?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Never	81.5
Rarely	6.0
Sometimes	5.3
Often	2.6
Frequently	2.3
Always	2.2
Total	100.0

<b>To what extent does this oppression affect your life?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Affects very much	3.2
Affects considerably	5.1
Affects	6.6
Does not affect	21.6
Does not affect very much	5.3
Total	100.0



<b>Do you think that you are oppressed because of your political preference and opinions, and if yes, how frequently do you feel so?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Never	72.9
Rarely	8.8
Sometimes	8.9
Often	3.2
Frequently	3.4
Always	2.8
Total	100.0

<b>To what extent does this oppression affect your life?</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Affects very much	3.8
Affects considerably	7.1
Affects	8.1
Does not affect	22.0
Does not affect very much	6.8
Total	100.0

<b>Fundamental rights and freedoms of people may be restricted in the fight against terror and crime if necessary.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	28.9
Disagree	11.6
Somewhat disagree	9.9
Somewhat agree	10.5
Agree	14.8
Strongly agree	24.4
Total	100.0

<b>I am happy with the functioning of the legal system and the judiciary in Turkey.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	28.4
Disagree	14.2
Somewhat disagree	13.3
Somewhat agree	13.1
Agree	14.5
Strongly agree	16.6
Total	100.0





<b>If I had a son and if he became a martyr during his military service, I would say “long live Turkey”.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	24.0
Disagree	7.1
Somewhat disagree	6.7
Somewhat agree	7.5
Agree	14.0
Strongly agree	40.7
Total	100.0

<b>I am afraid of secession in Turkey.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	16.0
Disagree	8.2
Somewhat disagree	8.0
Somewhat agree	9.3
Agree	17.6
Strongly agree	40.9
Total	100.0

<b>Fundamental rights and freedoms of people are taken away in the fight against terror and crime.</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Strongly disagree	30.7
Disagree	15.1
Somewhat disagree	11.5
Somewhat agree	11.2
Agree	12.6
Strongly agree	18.8
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



## 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