



KONDA

Barometer

THEMES

Individualism in Turkey

October 2018

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The survey which forms the basis of the October'18 Barometer has been conducted on October 6-7 by face-to-face interviews with 2762 people in their homes in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 106 districts including the central districts of 31 provinces.

Individualism in Turkey

Individualism, one of the keystones of Western understanding of self, defines the subject as an independent, autonomous and almost asocial being. According to individualism as a moral system, autonomy, independence, self-sufficiency and self-determination are an individual's natural rights. In individualistic societies, the individual is at the center of the system of values. All institutions such as education, law, media and literature support and spread these values in usually inexplicit ways.

In Turkey, it is observed that especially in business life, human resources, marketing, communication and advertising policies are substantially developed on the basis of and targeting individuals. On the other hand, KONDA Barometer surveys and Lifestyle surveys have shown that individualism conflicts with the understanding of traditional person in Turkey. The traditional viewpoint also known as familism in Turkey is based upon family and kinship, thus the main finding of the family structure survey which had been the theme of the month ¹ in the KONDA January'12 Barometer is that the keystone in Turkey is "relational emotional family." According to this understanding, family members form such an intertwined unity that an immoral behaviour of a family member deserving penalty or a moral behaviour deserving reward are considered as the success or immorality of all other family members. In this structure, the needs, wants and desires of the family are more important and prioritized than those of the self.

Today, we can conclude that this contrast is no longer categorical and that various hybrid expressions have formed both theoretically and practically. Today, we observe that this contrast has been replaced by another understanding that attaches importance to context, ethnicity and culture and emphasizes cultural polyphony, and that the concepts of both individualism and collectivism have been renewed. This matter which has significant consequences in both business life and politics has been chosen as the theme of the month with the academic contribution of *Prof. Dr. Sevda Numanbayraktaroğlu* from Istanbul Medipol University.

"Mehmet studied law but even when he was a student, he never wanted to become a lawyer which was his father's profession. Mehmet always wanted to be a movie director. He even took courses in this field and won awards. Now, he has a new opportunity to study abroad on scholarship. He will have the chance to take classes from leading directors. On the one hand there are the demands of his parents who intend to pass the family business to their son, and on the other hand, there is this unique opportunity. What do you think Mehmet should do?"

¹ <http://konda.com.tr/tr/rapor/turkiyede-aile-yapisi/>



This is our first scenario explaining a situation in which the wants and desires of an individual conflict with the demands of his family. When we read this scenario to the interviewees, a little more than half of them (53.7 percent) chose the alternative involving Mehmet following his dreams and going abroad. On the other hand, 20 percent argued that Mehmet should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them.

Young people associate with Mehmet at higher rates and support his decision for receiving education abroad at higher rates. This tendency of young people is particularly prominent among those who are currently students, as the rate of those who favor Mehmet's going abroad reach 82. It is an extremely striking finding that currently, four in every five adults receiving education in Turkey support the alternative of going abroad and also alarming as has been the case in the question about going abroad for education posed in the October'17 Barometer.

*“After graduating from the university, Ayşe started working as a teacher in the city her family lives and rented a flat close to her school. At every opportunity, she visited her family to provide both financial and moral support. After long considerations, Ayşe decided to **stop covering her head**. She announced her decision to the entire family one day when everybody was at home. How should Ayşe's family react to her decision?”*

The first of the two scenarios in which the individual wants to uncover or cover her head using her right to self-determination was read for half of the sample. 65 percent chose the alternative involving Ayşe's family supporting this decision. 14 percent chose the alternative of her family not accepting this decision and reminding her that she can uncover her head after getting married if her husband permits, which can be considered as the midway solution, whereas 20 percent argued that Ayşe's family should reject this decision.

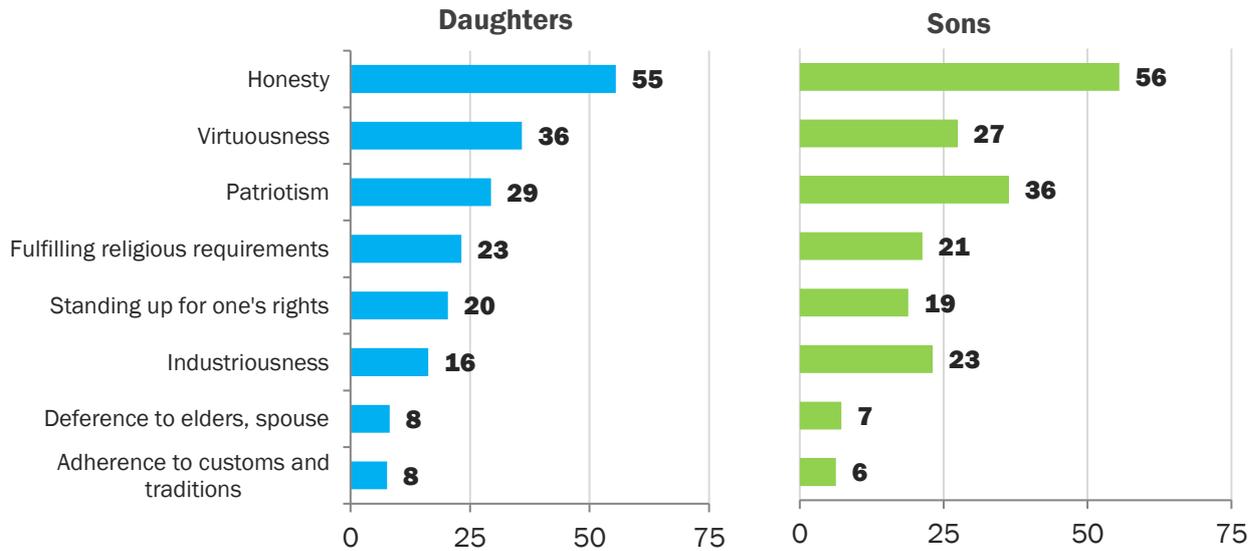
In the second half of the sample, this time the version in which Ayşe decides to cover her head was read in response to which a quite high rate at 83 percent argued that her family should support Ayşe's decision.

In all three scenarios, **more than half of the society have supported the individualistic decisions of these fictitious persons called Mehmet and Ayşe**. However, the decision supported at the highest rate has become Ayşe's decision to cover her head. 47 percent of the society support both Ayşe's decision to cover her head and Mehmet's decision to go abroad, whereas the rate of those who support both Ayşe's decision to uncover her head and Mehmet's decision to go abroad drops down to 41 percent. In both situations, those who support individualistic decisions clearly constitute the largest cluster of the society.

In order to get a better understanding as to what extent individualism is accepted and embraced in the society and who are tended to which choices in the scenarios for which reasons, we have also examined moral values on the basis of the virtues that parents should enable their children to attain.



Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their children to attain?



In the society, honesty has come up as the most important virtue for both sons and daughters. For daughters, to be virtuous comes second and patriotism comes third whereas for sons, patriotism supersedes virtuousness. We may presume that among the virtues, the ones that may be associated with individualism at the highest rate are honesty, standing up for one's rights and industriousness.

In the upcoming sections of the report, you will find our findings about many questions included in the survey. However, one of the most interesting findings is that 95 percent of the society in Turkey simultaneously believe that a person is "responsible for himself/herself before anyone else" and that irrespective of the self-sacrifice it requires, "family members should watch for and protect each other." Moreover, 84 percent argue that "the virtuousness of a family member is the virtuousness of all." When it comes to religious conversion, the rate of individualistic answers drops down to the level of 50 percent. The society largely agrees with those statements that explain behaviours and attitudes reflecting both individualism and the system of values of collectivism.

These seemingly conflicting findings may in fact be interpreted as the society's act of balancing the negative effects that liberal individualism would create in the society with a new kind of familial practice or as the creation of a new hybrid space by the increasingly metropolitanized citizens of Turkey. Only upon such interpretation we can understand these seemingly conflicting findings.



Our survey answers the questions forming the basis of our choice of the theme as follows:

- ✓ *It is not correct to define the society in Turkey as collectivist. It is possible to find individualistic, collectivist and hybrid moral viewpoints in the socio-cultural context of Turkey.*
- ✓ *The state of individualism or collectivism of individuals vary according to their socio-demographic characteristics. Turkey entails a polyphonic culture which encompasses the viewpoints of various generations, religious attitudes, lifestyles, income and educational levels, marital status, etc.*

The difference between the answers given for the scenarios of Ayşe's covering or uncovering her head shows that context influences the individualistic or collectivist tendencies in the behaviour, attitude and decisions of individuals.



2. INDIVIDUALISM IN TURKEY

2.1. Conceptual Framework

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevda Numanbayraktarođlu

The controversy between individualism and collectivism was suggested in anthropological studies in the 1980's to emphasize the differences between individuals' perception of self and the world. This controversy involved a promise to accurately define complex cultural structures on a single dimension and was quickly adopted in all fields of social sciences with growing interest. Thus, currently, a Google Academic search reveals about 200,000 results involving individualism vs. collectivism. In the years that passed, social scientists have also developed criticism against the deficiencies of this controversy in a way emphasizing the polyphony of cultures.

In this study, we have analyzed the thesis "the culture of Turkey is a collectivist culture" in the light of the understanding of individualism-collectivism developed over the years through the criticism developed. Before detailing the results of our study, firstly we will explain individualism and collectivism below.

2.1.1. Individualism and Collectivism

Individualism, one of the keystones of Western understanding of self, defines the subject as an independent, autonomous and almost asocial being, as described by French sociologist Dumont. According to individualism as a moral system, autonomy, independence, self-sufficiency and self-determination are an individual's natural rights. In societies where individualism prevails, the violation of such rights is considered ethically and morally wrong and there is an insistent resistance against such violations. In other words, in individualistic societies, the individual is at the center of the system of values. All institutions such as education, law, media and literature support and spread these values in usually inexplicit ways.

The rise of the individual as an autonomous and sacred value has been correlated with capitalism and modernism ever since the works of classic sociologists such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber. Even against the changes Western modernism has gone through over the years, individualism has not lost its significance. Today, the individual raised in individualistic societies in a way emancipated from personal and traditional bonds, is considered by himself and the other members of the society as the author of his own biography who is responsible for his won being, self-improvement, success and happiness.

Individualism conflicts with the understanding of the traditional individual in Turkey. The traditional viewpoint in Turkey also defined as familism is based on family and kinship. Accordingly, family members form such an intertwined unity that an immoral behavior of a family member deserving penalty or a moral behavior deserving reward are considered as the success or immorality of all the other family members. In this structure, the needs, wants and desires of the family are more important and prioritized than those of the self. The traditional moral



structure in Turkey supports the state of being embedded in social relations as well as emotional and economic dependence. Within this hierarchical order identified as traditional patriarchy by Deniz Kandiyoti, men have authority over women, older women have authority over younger women and older men have authority over everyone. As shown in Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı's work, as a result of modernism and globalism, traditional systems have gone through changes, yet for most of the people of Turkey, family maintains its significance.

As indicated above, the individualism vs. collectivism controversy has been used in social sciences at an increasing rate starting from the 1980's until the 2010's which is a means of thought facilitating contemplation and research on complex cultural structures. In this regard, it has sometimes been mistaken as the reality but in fact it is only a short cut. Therefore, it inevitably entails a reductive approach. For example, from the viewpoint of this controversy, the world consists of two giant camps in which significant cultural differences become indistinct: On the one hand there is the individualistic Europe and North America and on the other hand there is the collectivist rest of the world. This controversy renders the polyphony within cultures invisible, thus many studies on social sciences have ignored differences as a result of the formula of country equals to culture. Nevertheless, studies show that there is a correlation between individualism and demographic variables such as ethnicity, socioeconomic status, education level and extent of beliefs. Furthermore, this controversy disregards the effect of context on human behavior presuming that a person who has adopted collectivist morality will act in a collectivist way in any situation irrespective of context and that an individualistic person will act in an individualistic way in any situation.

In the light of the criticism developed over the years, currently this controversy has been in the process of being replaced by an understanding that attaches importance to context, ethnicity and culture and emphasizes the polyphony of cultures. Thus, we observe that the concepts of both individualism and collectivism are being renewed and research methods have been shifting towards qualitative or combined methods allowing context and cultural differences to be addressed.

2.1.2. Method

This research we have created together with Konda aimed to study individualistic and collectivist tendencies among the people of Turkey over a large sample and to re-analyze the judgment of "the culture of Turkey is a collectivist culture" in the light of the criticism against this controversy. For this aim, we asked the volunteers who participated in our study as to their opinion about the essential beliefs of both the individualistic and collectivist viewpoints. In this way, we have learned about their behaviors signifying these viewpoints and also we have worked on the probable familistic or individualistic reactions of the participants through two scenarios we have developed.

2.1.3. Individualism and Familism Through Scenarios

Social scientific research shows that people who live in the same country but have different cultural and socio-demographic characteristics may differentiate in terms of individualistic-familistic attitudes and that the characteristics of context (the content of the problem, people present in the environment, people who will be affected by the behavior, etc.) influence people's



attitudes. We prepared three different scenarios in order to work on the correlation among the socio-cultural characteristics of individuals, context and moral tendencies. In the first scenario, we described a situation in which the wants and desires of the individual conflict with the wants of his family and asked the participants as to what this individual should do under such circumstances. In the other two scenarios, the individual wants to cover or uncover her head by using her right to self-determination which is an indispensable characteristic of the individual and the individualistic viewpoint, and asked the participants as to what the family of the individual should do. The results of this specific part of our study are stated below.

2.1.4. Individualism and Familism Through Questions

Through our questions to the participants, we aimed to find out about their opinion and attitude towards individualism as well as familism which is a type of collectivism. Thus, we studied the correlation between these attitudes and the socio-demographic characteristics of the individuals. Our questions consisted of three main groups. The first group of questions analyzed as to which values families should enable their sons and daughters to attain. The second group of questions aimed to analyze the participants' opinion on the basic values of individualistic and collectivist moral systems such as conforming to the group or to reveal one's uniqueness in a group or a person being responsible to himself or to his family first. The final group of questions helped us collect information about the participants' own behavior.

2.2. Scenarios About Individualistic Decisions

During the survey, we started with the introduction below and then read the scenarios and asked the interviewees their opinion.

Now I will inform you about a particular situation and then ask you to choose the alternative that suits you the best. Please keep in mind that this question does not have any single correct answer. Therefore, your opinion matters rather than what the correct or wrong answer is.

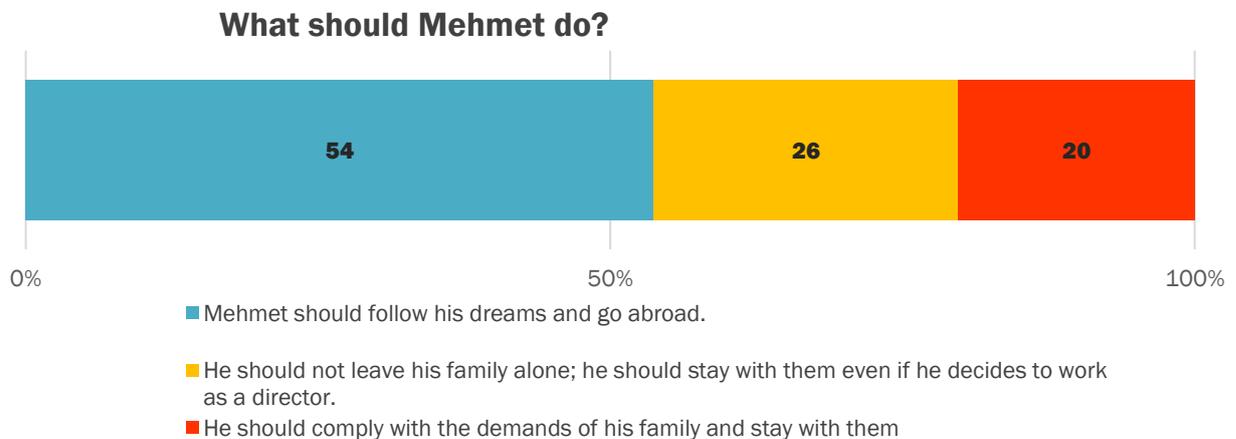


2.2.1. Mehmet's Decision to Go Abroad

Mehmet studied law but even when he was a student, he never wanted to become a lawyer which was his father's profession. Mehmet always wanted to be a movie director. He even took courses in this field and won awards. Now, he has a new opportunity to study abroad on scholarship. He will have the chance to take classes from leading directors. On the one hand, there are the demands of his parents who intend to pass the family business to their son, and on the other hand, there is this unique opportunity. What do you think Mehmet should do?

- () He should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them.
- () Mehmet should follow his dreams and go abroad.
- () He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them even if he decides to work as a director.

When we read the scenario above, a little more than half of the interviewees chose the alternative involving Mehmet's going abroad to chase his dreams. 26 percent preferred the alternative involving Mehmet's not leaving his family alone and staying with them even if he decided to work as a director, thus in a way preferred to establish a middle ground. On the other hand, 20 percent explicitly argued that Mehmet should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them.

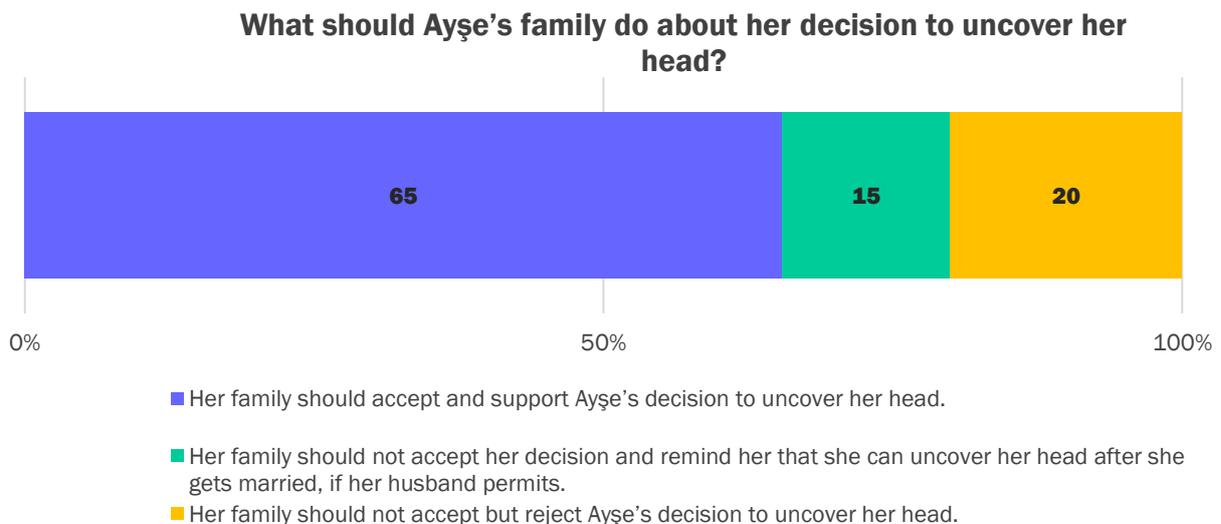


2.2.2. Ayşe's Decision to Uncover Her Head

After graduating from the university, Ayşe started working as a teacher in the city her family lives and rented a flat close to her school. At every opportunity, she visited her family to provide both financial and moral support. After long considerations, Ayşe decided to stop covering her head. She announced her decision to the entire family one day when everybody was at home. How should Ayşe's family react to her decision?

- Her family should accept and support Ayşe's decision to uncover her head.
- Her family should not accept but reject Ayşe's decision to uncover her head.
- Her family should not accept her decision and remind her that she can uncover her head after she gets married, if her husband permits.

We read the scenario above involving Ayşe's decision to uncover her head to half of the interviewees. 65 percent, i.e. two in every three people, chose the alternative involving support from Ayşe's family. 14 percent chose the alternative of her family not accepting this decision and reminding her that she can uncover her head after getting married if her husband permits, which can be considered as the midway solution, whereas 20 percent argued that Ayşe's family should reject this decision.





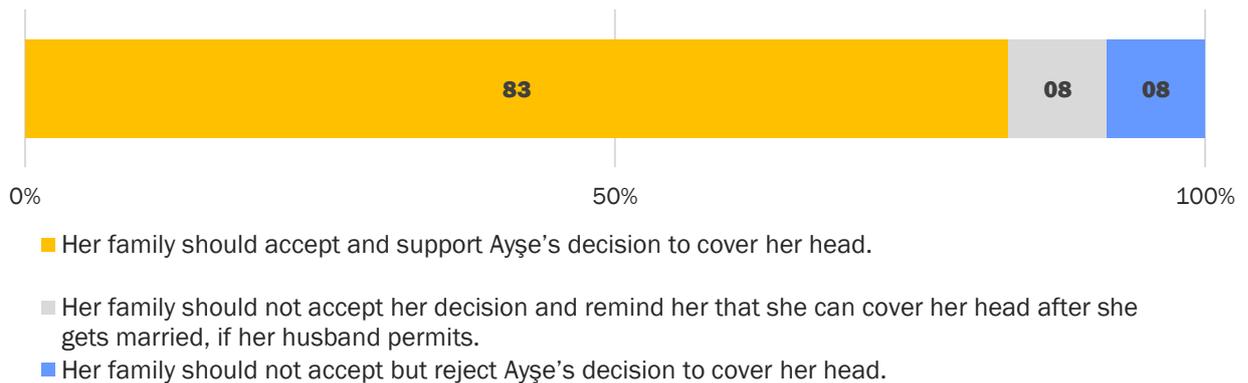
2.2.3. Ayşe's decision to cover her head

After graduating from the university, Ayşe started working as a teacher in the city her family lives and rented a flat close to her school. At every opportunity, she visited her family to provide both financial and moral support. After long considerations, Ayşe decided to cover her head. She announced her decision to the entire family one day when everybody was at home. How should Ayşe's family react to her decision?

- () Her family should accept and support Ayşe's decision to cover her head.
- () Her family should not accept but reject Ayşe's decision to cover her head.
- () Her family should not accept her decision and remind her that she can cover her head after she gets married, if her husband permits.

As for the other half of the interviewees, we read the scenario involving Ayşe's decision to cover her head this time, in response to which a high rate of interviewees at 83 percent argued that Ayşe's family should accept and support this decision.

What should Ayşe's family do about her decision to cover her head?



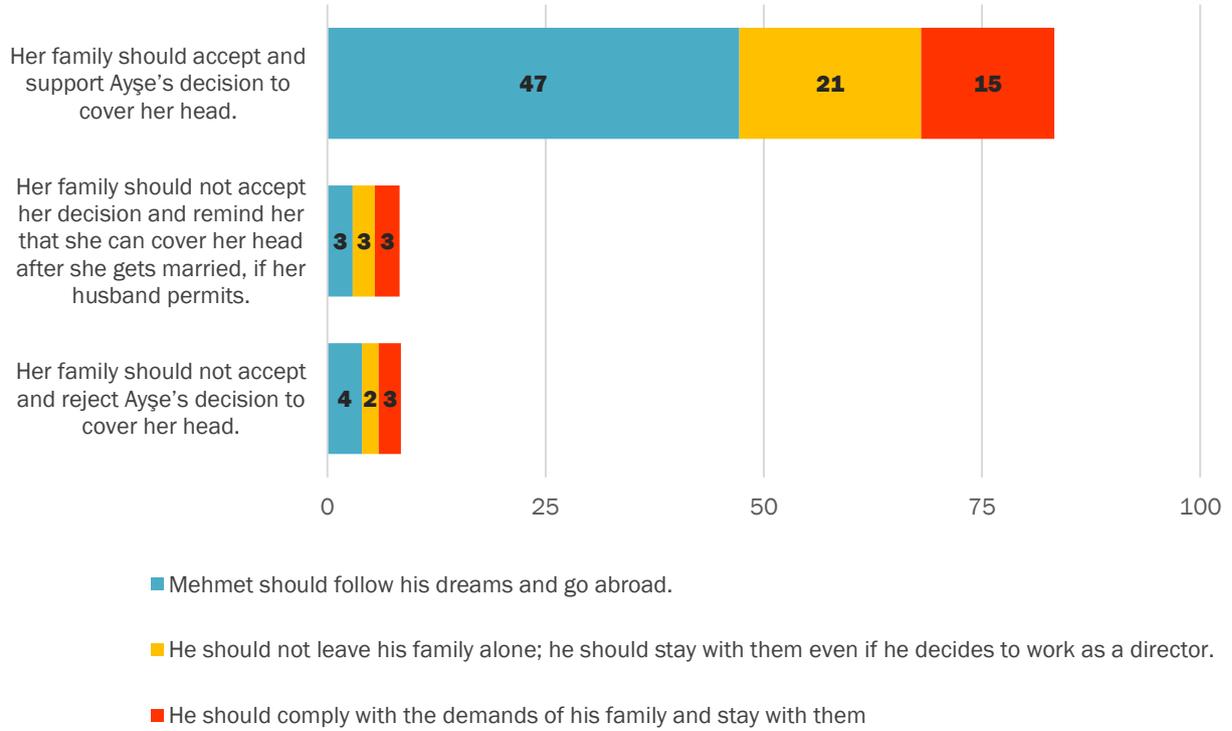
2.2.4. Assessment about the scenarios

In all three scenarios, more than half of the society have supported the individualistic decisions of these fictitious persons called Mehmet and Ayşe. However, the decision supported at the highest rate has become Ayşe's decision to cover her head. The difference between the rates of those who support Ayşe's covering or uncovering her head reveals that the society does not evaluate these decisions independently from their content and attributes different meanings to them. Before going on with our analysis as to the rate of support for these decisions in different clusters of the society and the related reasons, let us first handle the relations between the scenarios.

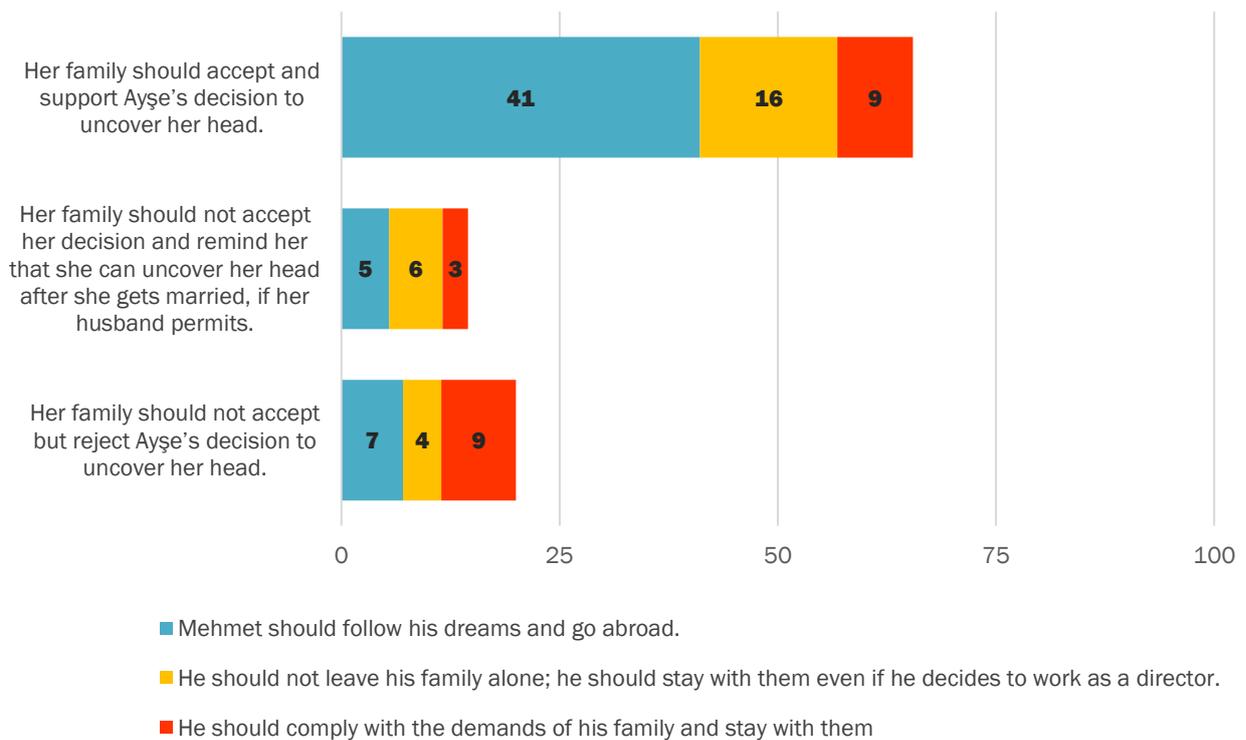
As shall be clear in the two graphs below, 47 percent of the society support both Ayşe's decision to cover her head and Mehmet's decision to go abroad, whereas the rate of those who support both Ayşe's decision to uncover her head and Mehmet's decision to go abroad drops down

to 41 percent. In both situations, those who support individualistic decisions clearly constitute the largest cluster of the society.

Ayşe's decision to cover her head / Mehmet's decision to go abroad



Ayşe's decision to uncover her head / Mehmet's decision to go abroad





In the scenario about Mehmet, the decision representing individualism is related to going abroad, thus we would like to reiterate a few findings about the wish for going abroad in the society. According to our October 2017 findings, 74 percent support the idea of going abroad for education and according to our February 2017 findings, 21 percent state that in the face of an opportunity to go abroad, they would not choose to live in Turkey. Therefore, although our aim in the scenario about Mehmet was to measure the view on individualism, it is necessary to keep in mind that the demand in the society for going abroad is also influential.

If you had the means, would you like to go or your child to go abroad for EDUCATIONAL purposes? (October'17 Barometer)	Percent
Yes	73.9
No	26.1
Total	100.0

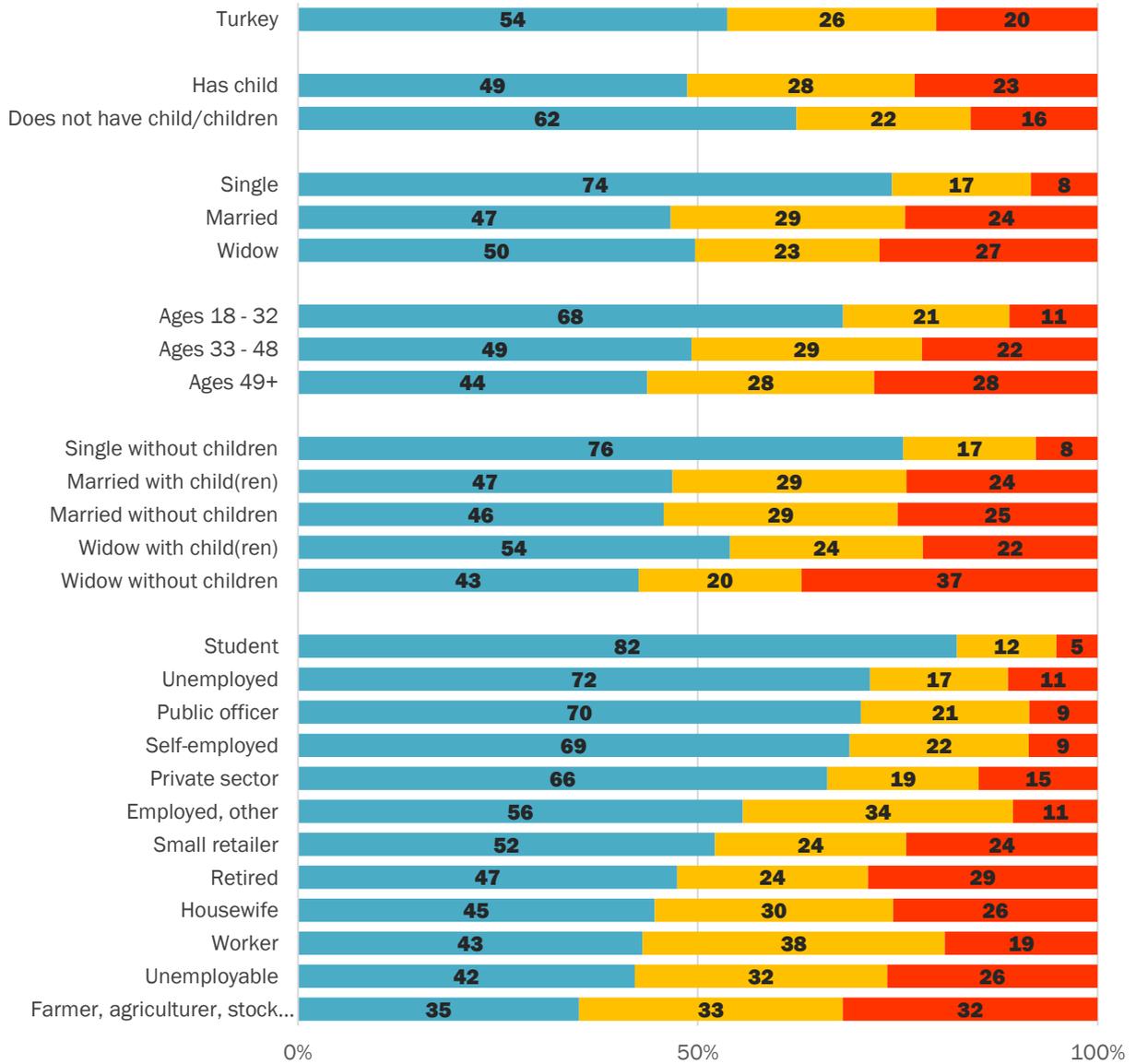
I would prefer to live in Turkey, even if I had/even though I have the opportunity to live in another country. (February' 17 Barometer)	Percent
Absolutely wrong	10.8
Wrong	9.9
Neither right nor wrong	9.6
Right	29.4
Absolutely right	40.2
Total	100.0

As might be expected, the rate of the answers about what Mehmet should do is influenced by certain demographic characteristics such as marital status, parenthood and age. Probably, married people and parents identify with the family and prefer the choices involving Mehmet's complying with his family's demands or staying with them and working as a director at higher rates. On the other hand, young people identify with Mehmet as he is still young and has not yet taken over the family business, and support his decision to go abroad for education and object to the idea of complying with the demands of the family.

This tendency of young people is particularly prominent among those who are currently students, as the rate of those who favor Mehmet's going abroad reaches 82 percent. It is an extremely striking finding that currently, four in every five adults receiving education in Turkey support the alternative of going abroad, and it is also alarming, as has been the case in the question about going abroad for education posed in the October'17 Barometer. Senior level employees, i.e. public officials, self-employed people and private sector employees support the choice of going abroad at higher rates, whereas more than half of farmers, housewives, workers and retired people favor the alternative involving that Mehmet stays with his family by either working as a director or taking over the family business.



What should Mehmet do?



- Mehmet should follow his dreams and go abroad.
- He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them even if he decides to work as a director.
- He should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them

Before analyzing Ayşe’s decision to cover or uncover her head, it is necessary to go over the religiousness status in Turkey and the rate of head covering among women. About 2-3 percent of the society in Turkey consists of non-Muslims, i.e. believers of different religions or non-believers. Both scenarios assume that Ayşe’s decision to cover/uncover her head has been asked in a Muslim context and the respondents also take it that way.

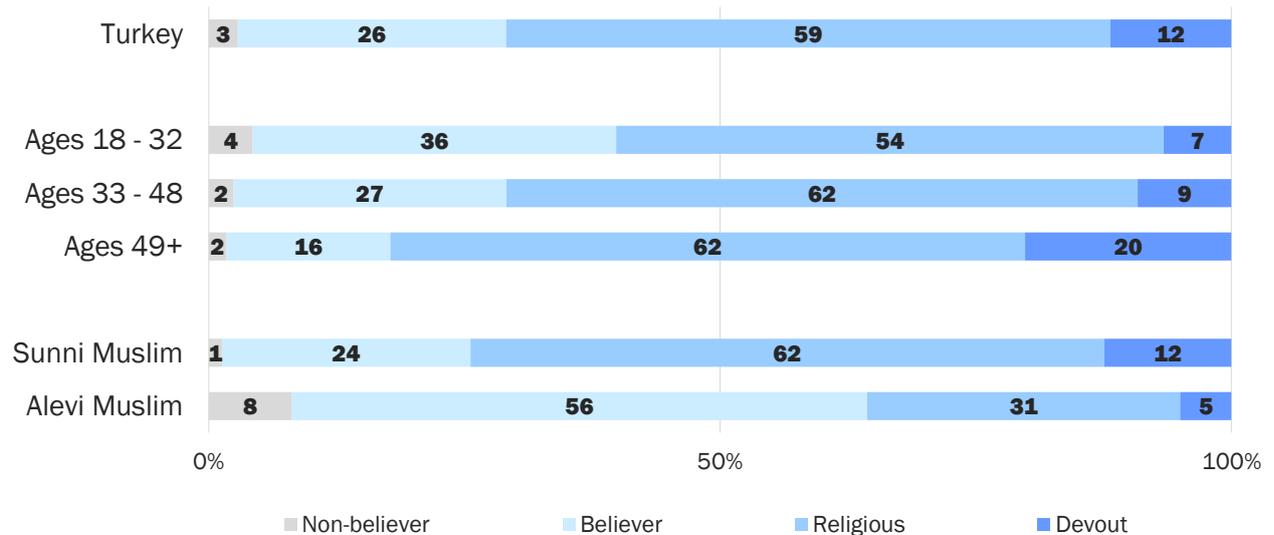
The rate of answers to the question we have been asking in each Barometer survey about the extent of religiousness in the society has shown this month that 59 percent of the society consider themselves as “religious” who try to fulfill all religious requirements whereas 12 percent



define themselves as “devouts” who fulfill all religious requirements. On the other hand, young people do not regard themselves as religious as the previous generations do with the influence of factors such as education and urbanization.

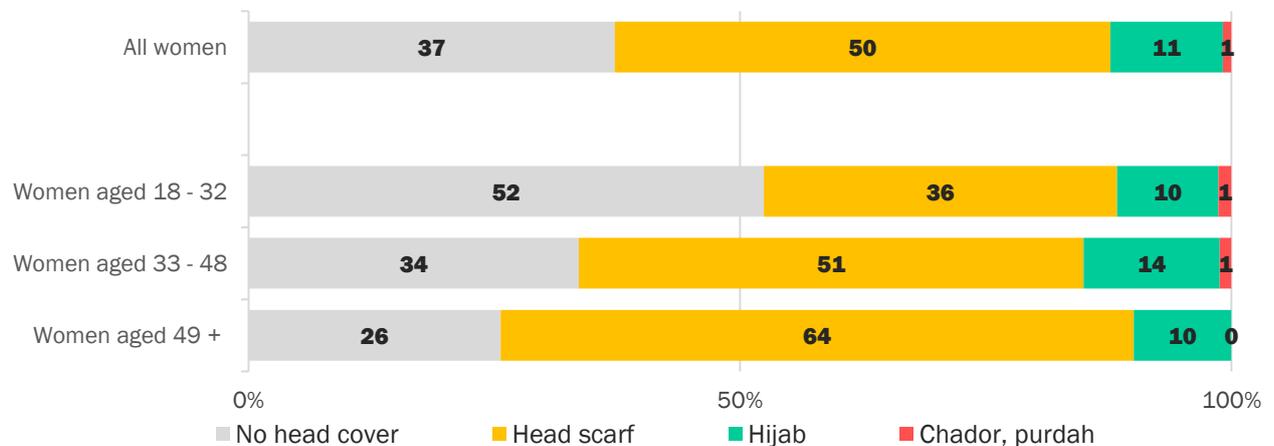
We are unable to collect information about non-Muslim groups due to the insufficient number of subjects, but among the Muslims, the Sunnis are much more religious than the Alevi who constitute 5 to 7 percent of the population.

How do you define yourself in terms of religiousness?



In Turkey, 37 percent of women aged 18 or above, i.e. about one third do not wear head cover whereas 63 percent do and as has been the case about religiousness, the head covering rate is lower among young women as more than half of them do not wear head covers. Therefore, while evaluating the two scenarios, it is necessary to keep in mind that religiousness and head covering are the norm but also that they have been changing.

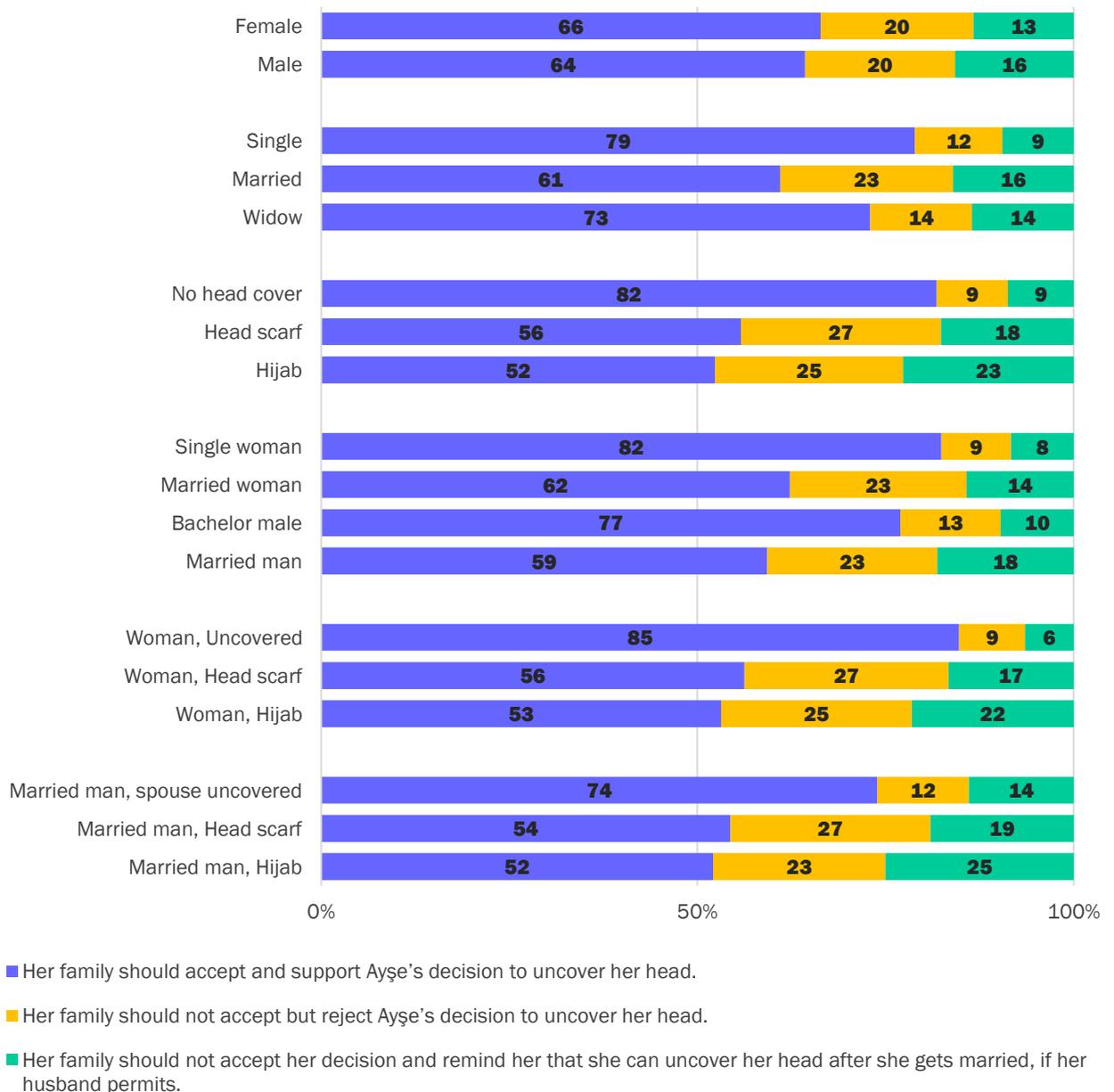
Do you cover your head when going out? If so, how?





The support for Ayşe’s decision to uncover her head changes considerably on the basis of the individual’s head covering status and marital status. 85 percent of those women who do not wear head covers support this decision whereas the rate of support drops down to 52 percent among women who wear hijabs and men whose spouses wear hijabs. Furthermore, both men and women tend to support Ayşe’s decision to uncover her head at high rates if they are single people, whereas the rate of support decreases among married people. Of course, this also has to do with the fact that married people are older, more traditional and religious than single people rather than the mere change of marital status. Therefore, as we have previously observed in the scenario about Mehmet, we understand that the interviewees gave their answers according to the extent of identification with Ayşe.

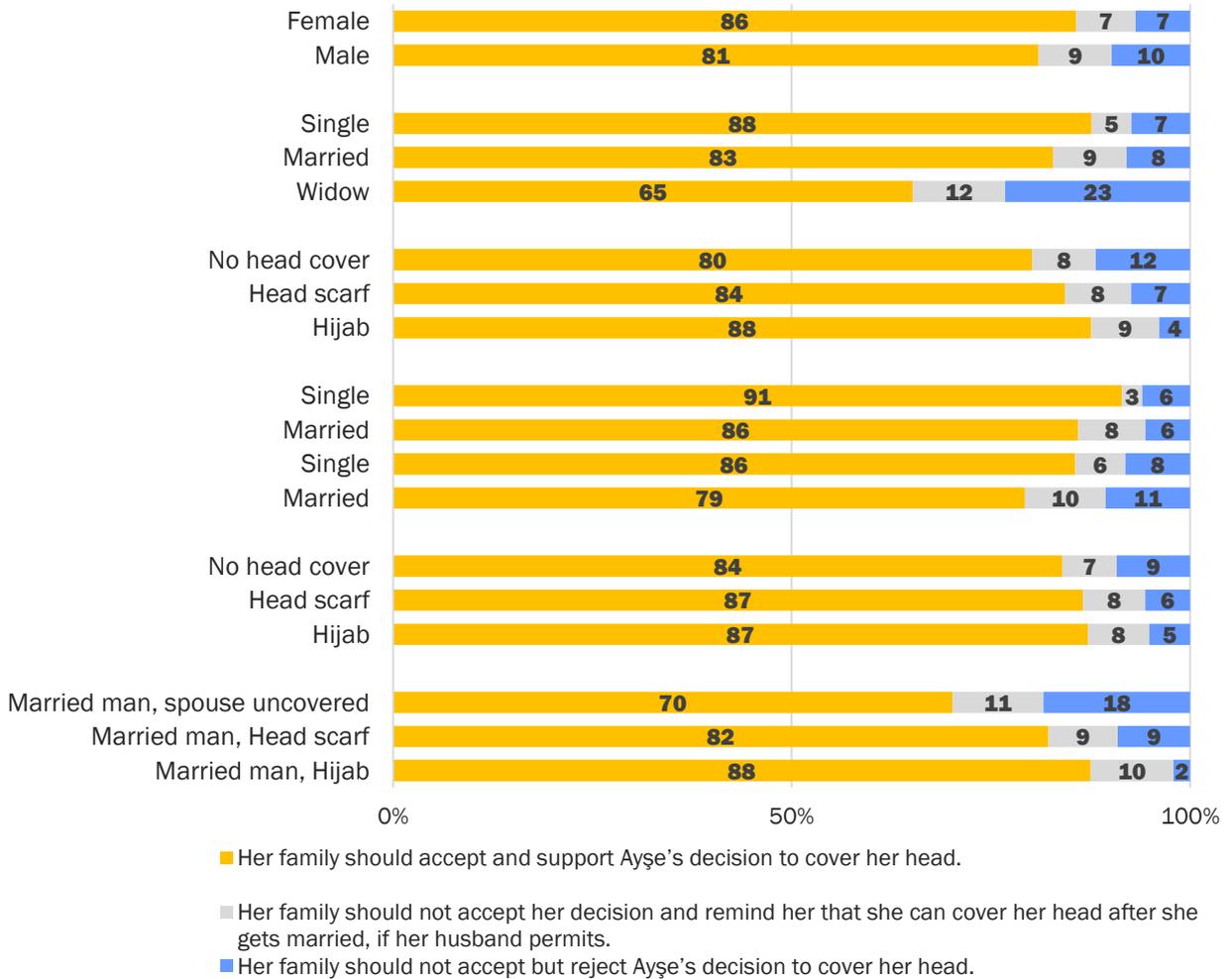
What should Ayşe’s family do about her decision to uncover her head?





As Ayşe’s decision to cover her head enjoys broad social support, the differences of opinion that have become apparent among the social clusters in the scenario of uncovering are not as distinct this time. The greatest objection to Ayşe’s covering her head comes from widows who mostly consist of women, and men whose spouses do not cover their heads.

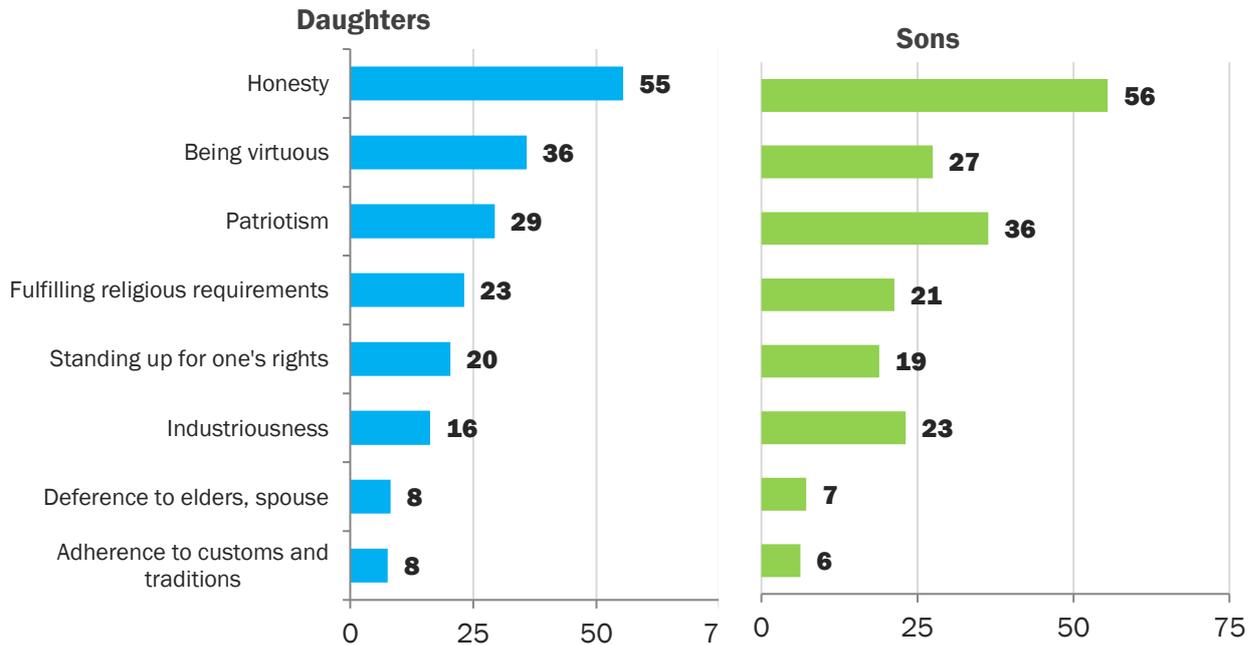
What should Ayşe’s family do about her decision to cover her head?



2.3. Sense of Morality and Its Effect on the Preferences in the Scenarios

In order to get a better understanding as to what extent individualism is accepted and embraced in the society and who are tended to which choices in the scenarios for which reasons, we have also examined moral values on the basis of the virtues parents should enable their children to attain which were asked separately for daughters and sons.

Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their children to attain?



In the society, honesty has come up as the most important virtue for both sons and daughters. For daughters, to be virtuous comes second and patriotism comes third whereas for sons, patriotism supersedes virtuousness. Industriousness comes fourth for men whereas it comes after fulfilling religious requirements and standing up for one's rights for daughters.

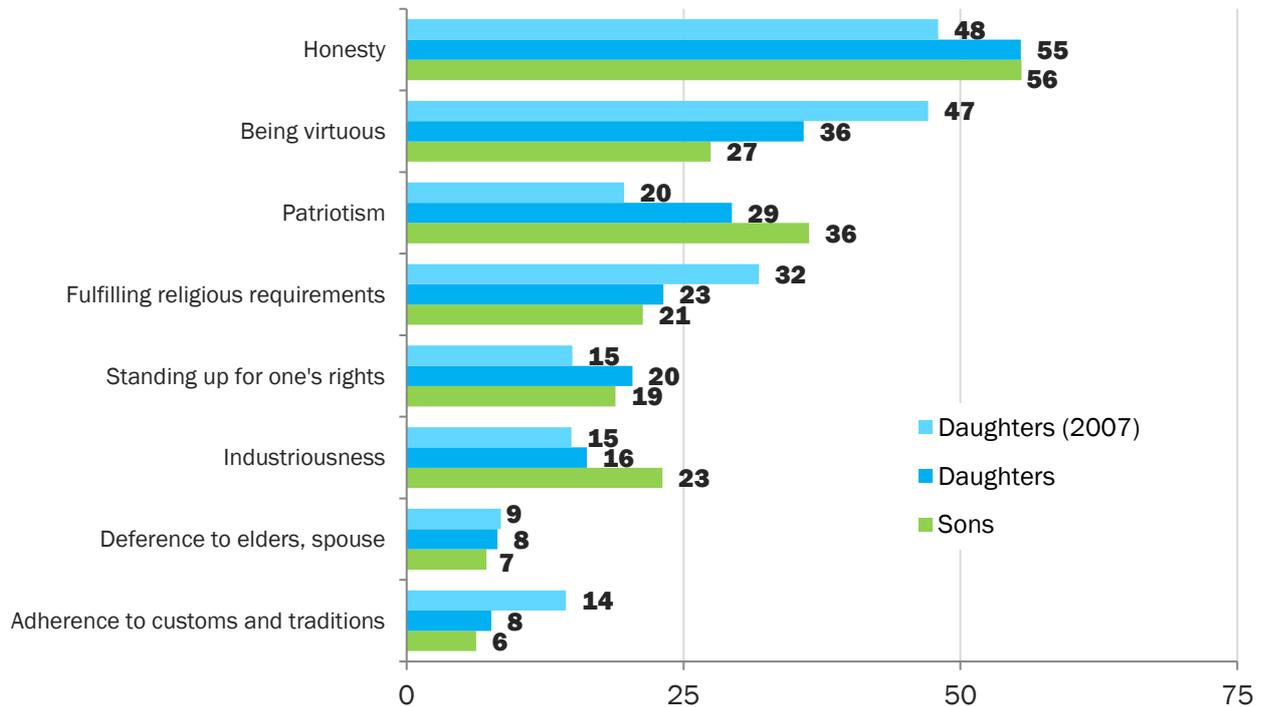
We may presume that among the virtues, the ones that may be associated with individualism at the highest rate are honesty, standing up for one's rights and industriousness. Other virtues may be considered as those pertaining to the protection and continuation of rules and common values for the co-existence of a group, community or society such as religion, homeland, morality, hierarchy and traditions.

Although the alternatives in the scenarios predominantly relating to collectivist and familistic decisions rather than individualistic ones in which the family instead of the individual dominates imply deference to elders and spouses, we observe that this is not a virtue primarily significant for the society. Similarly, the fact that fulfillment of religious requirements has been preferred more than adherence to customs and traditions provides clues as to the fact that the preferences about Ayşe's decisions to cover or uncover her head stem from religion rather than tradition.

Before continuing with the scenarios, let us analyze as to how the opinion on the virtues that parents should enable their daughters to attain has changed over the years. This change also relates to social dynamics and the way they evolve just like the inter-generation change in religiousness and head covering.



Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their children to attain?



In comparison to the findings of our survey conducted in 2007 titled “Survey on Religion, Secularism and Hijab in Daily Life”², we observe that among the virtues that parents should enable their daughters to attain, honesty, patriotism and standing up for one’s rights have become more prominent, whereas virtuousness, fulfilling religious requirements and adherence to customs and traditions have become less important. Comparisons between age groups also show similar tendencies.

² <http://konda.com.tr/tr/rapor/gundelik-yasamda-din-laiklik-ve-turban-arastirmasi/>

	Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their DAUGHTERS to attain?							
	Honesty	Being virtuous	Patriotism	Fulfilling Religious requirements	Standing up for one's rights	Industriousness	Deference to elders, spouse	Adherence to customs and traditions
Turkey	56	36	30	23	21	16	8	8
What should Mehmet do?								
He should follow his dreams and go abroad.	61	32	30	16	27	19	6	6
He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them even if he decides to work as a director.	50	42	30	30	14	11	9	10
He should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them	48	40	30	31	11	16	12	10
Upon Ayşe's decision to UNCOVER her head, her family....								
should accept and support it	61	31	31	16	25	20	7	7
Should reject it and remind her that she can uncover her head after getting married if her husband permits	42	43	33	34	14	8	11	12
should not accept it, should reject it	43	48	21	39	12	13	13	9
Upon Ayşe's decision to COVER her head, her family....								
should accept and support it	58	34	31	21	22	16	8	7
should reject it and remind her that she can cover her head after getting married if her husband permits	46	45	29	25	20	12	9	12
should not accept it, should reject it	52	45	27	31	10	18	6	9

The answers to the questions on virtues given by those who chose different answers for the scenarios provide clues as to the background of these preferences:

- ✓ Those who argue that Mehmet should follow his dreams and go abroad have emphasized honesty, standing up for one's rights and industriousness for girls at rates higher than the average whereas those who argue that Mehmet should comply with the demands of his family have emphasized virtuousness, fulfilling religious requirements and deference to elders at higher rates than the average. Those who think that Mehmet should stay with his family and work as a director have not emphasized deference to elders at rates higher than the average contrary to those who think that Mehmet should comply with the demands of his family.
- ✓ Those who think that Ayşe's family should support her decision to uncover her head prioritized honesty, standing up for one's rights and industriousness for girls just like those who support Mehmet's decision did. On the other hand, those who think that the family should reject Ayşe's decision prioritized virtuousness and fulfilling religious requirements. It is an interesting point that those who think that the family should remind Ayşe that she can cover her head after getting married if her husband permits also emphasized adherence to customs and traditions at rates higher than the average.



- ✓ The opinion of those who support Ayşe's decision in the scenario involving head covering, about the virtues that parents should enable daughters to attain are the same as the average in Turkey because they constitute the majority of the society. It is illuminating about the standards of judgment on a woman's uncovering her head that those who argue that Ayşe's family shouldn't accept her decision have emphasized virtuousness and fulfilling religious requirements at rates higher than the average.

	Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their SONS to attain?							
	Honesty	Being virtuous	Patriotism	Fulfilling religious requirements	Standing up for one's rights	Industriousness	Deference to elders, spouse	Adherence to customs and traditions
Turkey	56	28	37	21	19	23	7	6
What should Mehmet do?								
He should follow his dreams and go abroad.	61	26	34	14	25	25	5	5
He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them even if he decides to work as a director.	52	28	41	29	14	19	8	6
He should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them	46	30	37	29	11	24	11	9
Upon Ayşe's decision to UNCOVER her head, her family....								
should accept and support it	62	23	37	15	22	27	6	5
should reject it and remind her that she can uncover her head after getting married if her husband permits	43	33	42	31	11	14	11	11
should not accept it, should reject it	46	32	33	38	10	23	10	6
Upon Ayşe's decision to COVER her head, her family....								
should accept and support it	57	29	36	19	21	22	7	6
should reject it and that she can cover her head after getting married if her husband permits	46	27	47	24	15	20	9	10
should not accept it, should reject it	51	31	32	27	19	29	4	4

When we correlate the scenarios with those virtues parents should enable their sons to attain, we observe a very similar pattern to girls.

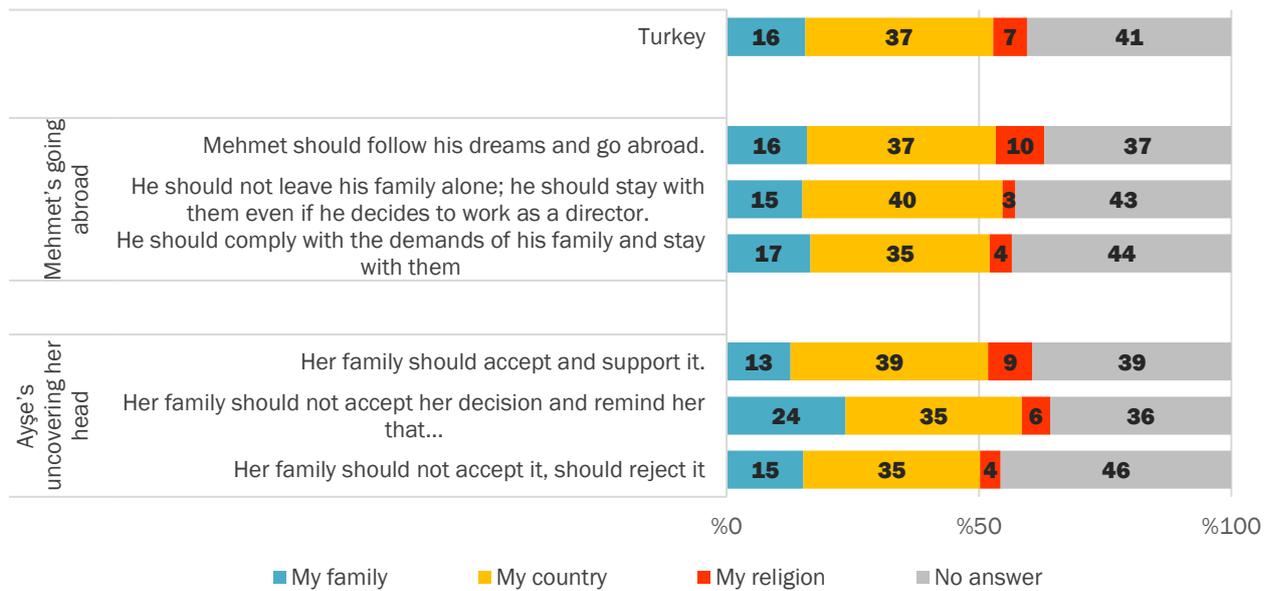
- Those who support Mehmet's going abroad again prioritize honesty and industriousness for boys just like they did for girls. Those who argue that Mehmet should comply with the demands of his family prioritize religious requirements and deference to elders. The fact that they prioritize religious requirements points to the fact that they may have been inclined towards this alternative on the basis of the concerns that Mehmet may not or will not fulfill these requirements if he goes abroad. Thus, for those who argue that Mehmet should stay with his family even if he works as a director, it is important at rates above the average to



enable boys to attain the virtue of fulfilling religious requirements. Those who chose this final alternative also emphasized patriotism more which also shows that such concerns may have played a role in their preference.

- Those who choose the alternative that Ayşe may uncover her head in the future if her husband permits, emphasize adherence to customs and traditions at higher rates for boys just like they did for girls, but also add to it patriotism.

If you had to abandon something to realize your dreams, which of the following would you abandon?



Another question on one's moral values and mental world was asked in terms of what the interviewees would abandon instead of their preferences. In order to understand as to which of family, country or religion is less important, we asked the interviewees "If you had to abandon something to realize your dreams, which of the following would you abandon?" 41 percent did not answer this question thereby indicating that they would not abandon any of them. "Country" has become the answer chosen at the highest rate at 37 percent. This is not surprising considering the preferences revealed in the previous sections of the report about education and living abroad and the preferences in Mehmet's scenario.

The answers as to what would be abandoned somewhat vary according to the preferences in the scenarios. Those who support Mehmet's going abroad answer this question at higher rates and also indicate that they would abandon their religion 3 points more than the average. As for Ayşe's scenario for uncovering her head, those who think that Ayşe's family should not accept her decision and tell her that she can do so when she gets married if her husband permits state that they would abandon their family to chase their dreams at 8 points higher than the average.

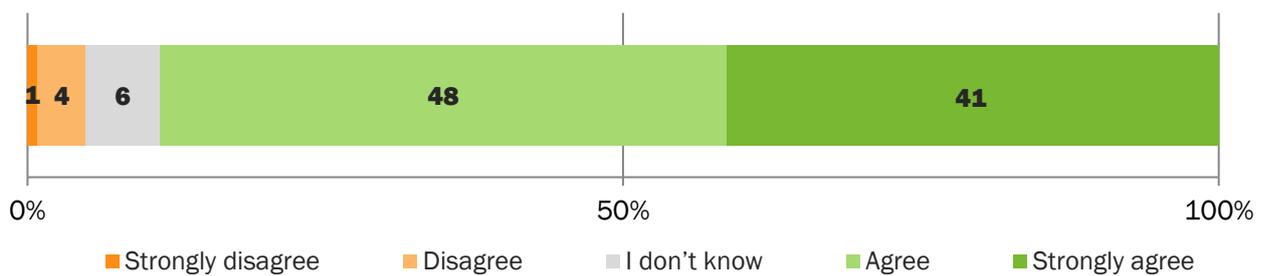


2.4. Individualism, Familism and Personal Freedoms

As the final section of the theme of this month on individualism, we read a series of statements to the interviewees. These statements involved the role of the family, regarding children as individuals, collectivism, intra-group behavior, an individual's manifesting himself/herself and personal responsibilities, some of which were asked as to whether the interviewees agreed with them or not and some of which were asked as to the frequency of the related behavior.

2.4.1. Collectivism

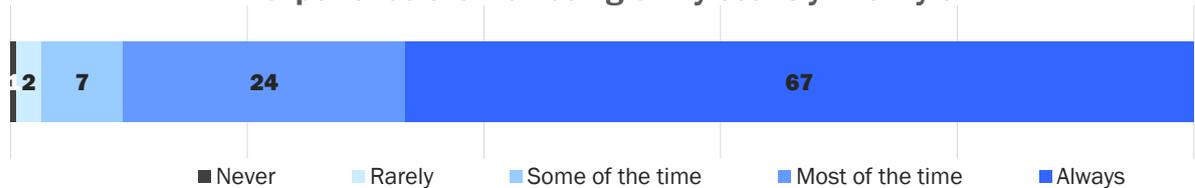
A person should respect the decisions of the group to which he/she belongs and avoid acting in a disconcerting way.



I behave selflessly for the sake of the harmony of the group I belong to.

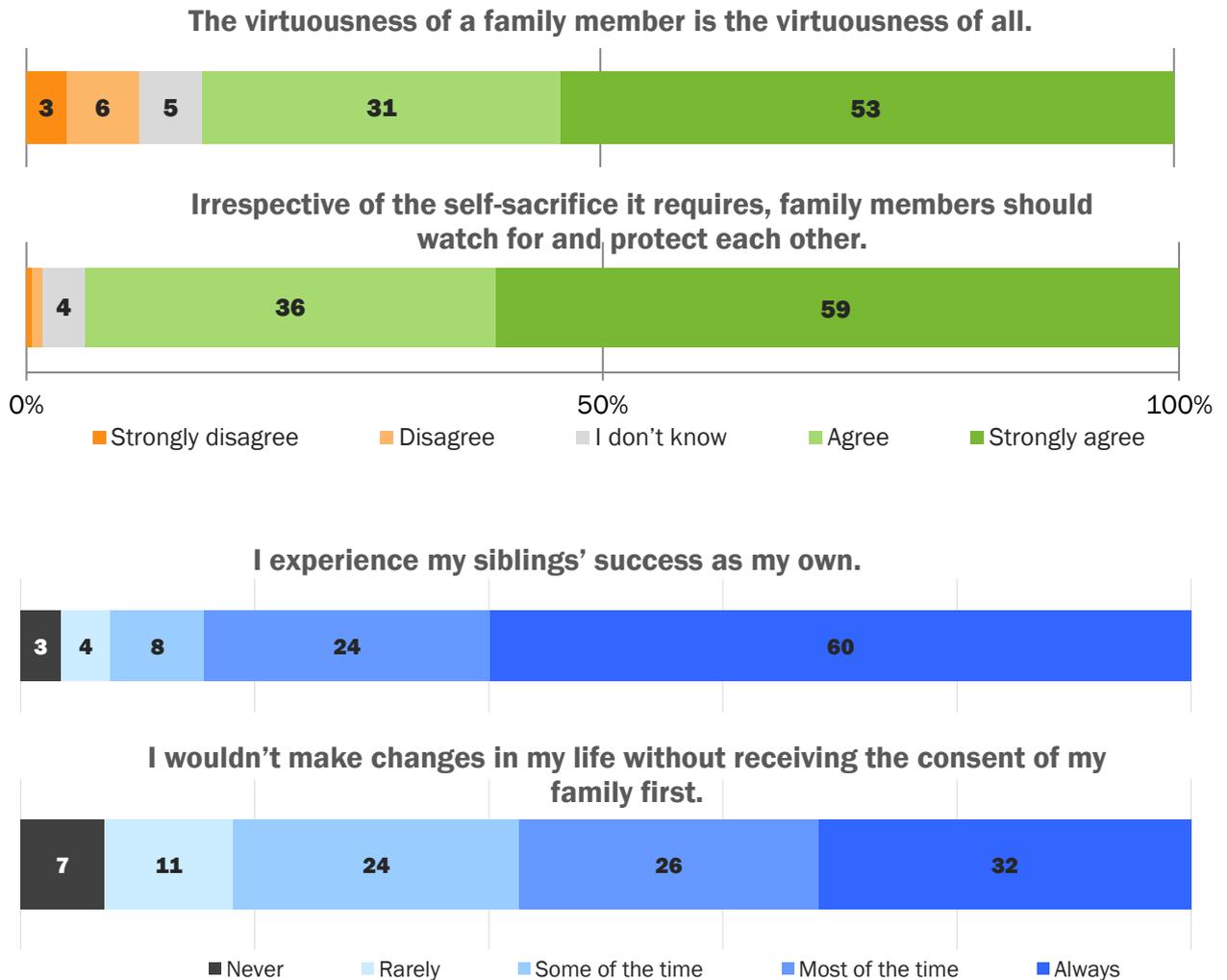


I experience the well being of my country like my own.



Although in the scenarios individual decisions were supported at high levels, we now observe that the society has quite strong values about collectivism and that conformity with a group is regarded as very important. The interviewees agree with the fact that people should respect the decisions of a group at high rates and state that they in fact put this opinion into practice and take care not to disrupt harmony in a group. In the statement about the country which was used as an example of a group, the collectivist tendency surges.

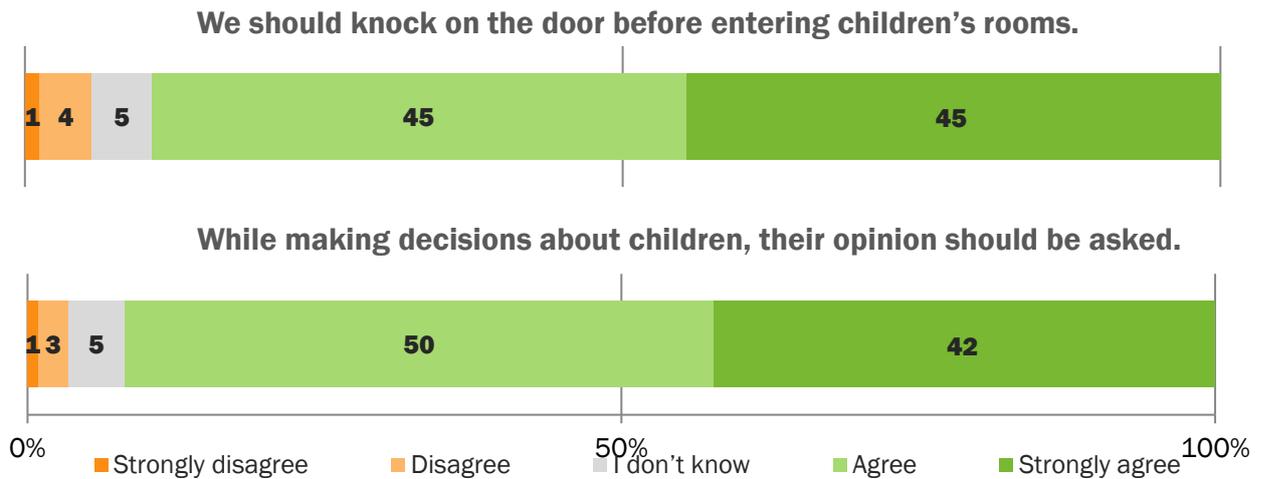
2.4.2. The Role of the Family



We have been dealing with the role of the family in the society occasionally in the Barometer surveys and emphasizing its significance in understanding the society. The findings of the theme of this month also confirm this. As shall be understood from the results above about both virtuousness and family members' watching out for each other, the society takes the harmony and reputation of the family as a social value to be protected. The high rate of agreement with the statement "I experience my siblings' success as my own" shows that this is not limited to protection but also covers and expectation for improvement. However, slightly more than half of the society indicate that they wouldn't make changes in their lives without receiving the consent of their family first.

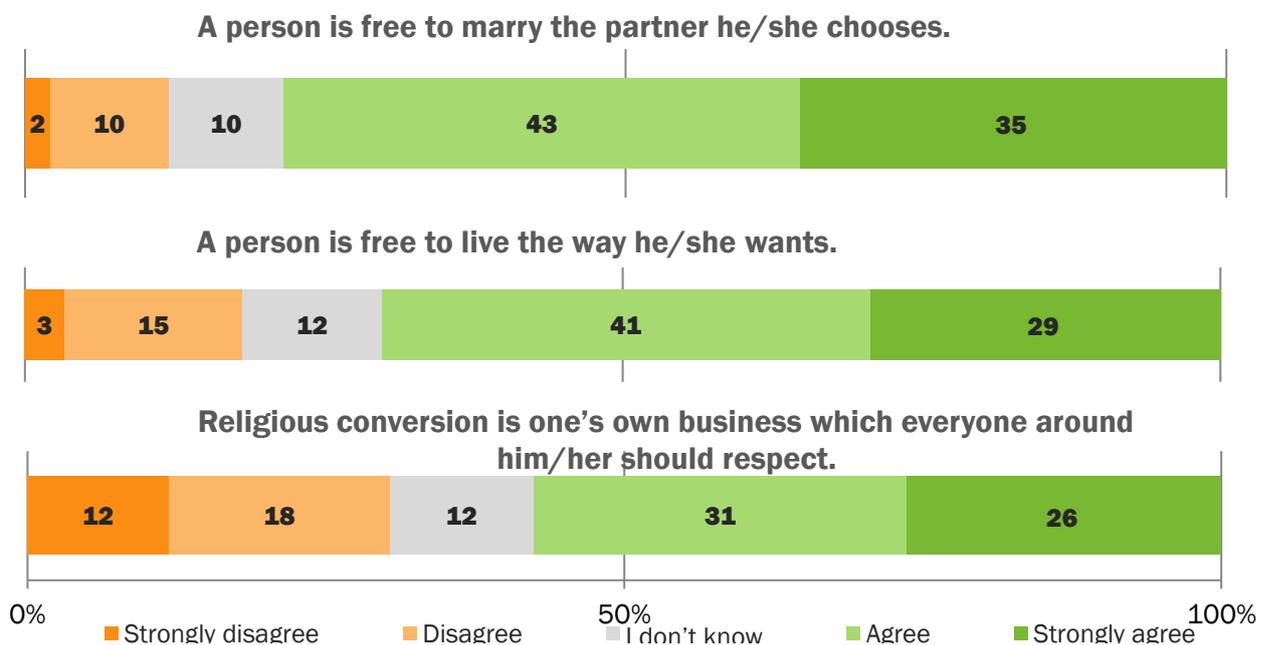


2.4.3. Regarding Children as Individuals



The society thinks that children should be regarded and respected as individuals. There is a high rate of agreement with the statements that we should knock on the door before entering children's rooms and we should ask their opinion while making decisions about children. However, this survey does not involve findings as to whether these views are practiced in daily life.

2.4.4. Personal Freedoms



These three statements dealing with different aspects of personal freedoms point to the limitations of the society with regard to personal freedoms. 78 percent of the society agree with the statement that a person is free to marry the partner he/she chooses, 70 percent agree with the statement that a person is free to live the way he/she wants and 57 percent accept religious conversion. We know that religiousness is very strong, thus when personal freedoms are identified by means of religious conversion, religiousness comes into play and

creates a more limiting behavior. Yet, it is to be considered significant that more than half of the society think that religious conversion should be respected.



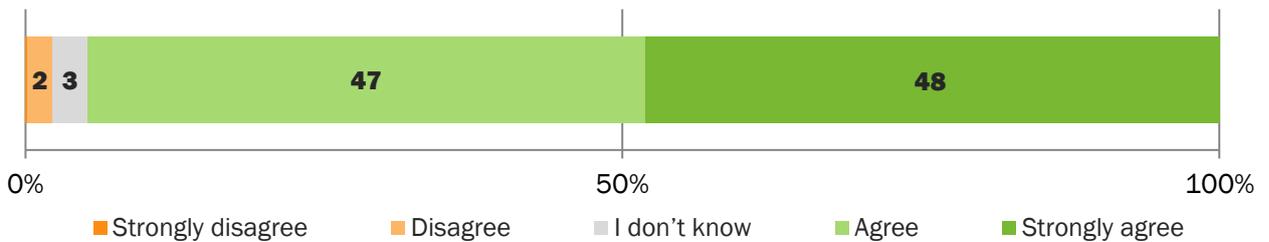
In addition to the opinion about personal freedoms, the majority of the society also indicate that in practice they can and indeed do act according to what they think is right for them. On the other hand, 5 percent answered the statement above as “never” and 10 percent as “rarely.” In other words, it is a very striking finding that almost one in every 6 adults in Turkey expressed to a surveyor who knocked on their door that they do not or cannot do the things they believe to be right.

2.4.5. Personal responsibility

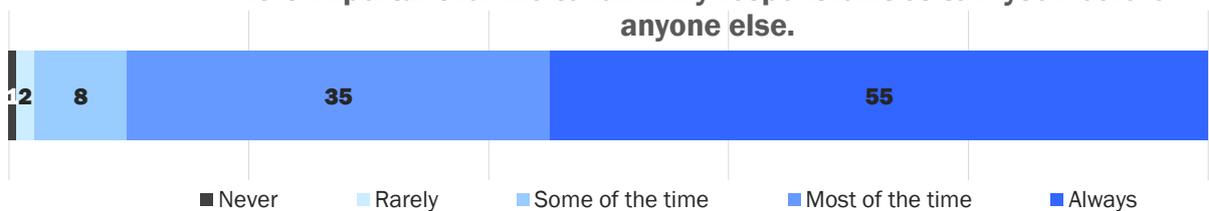
A person is responsible for improving himself/herself in every matter.



A person is responsible to himself/herself before anyone else



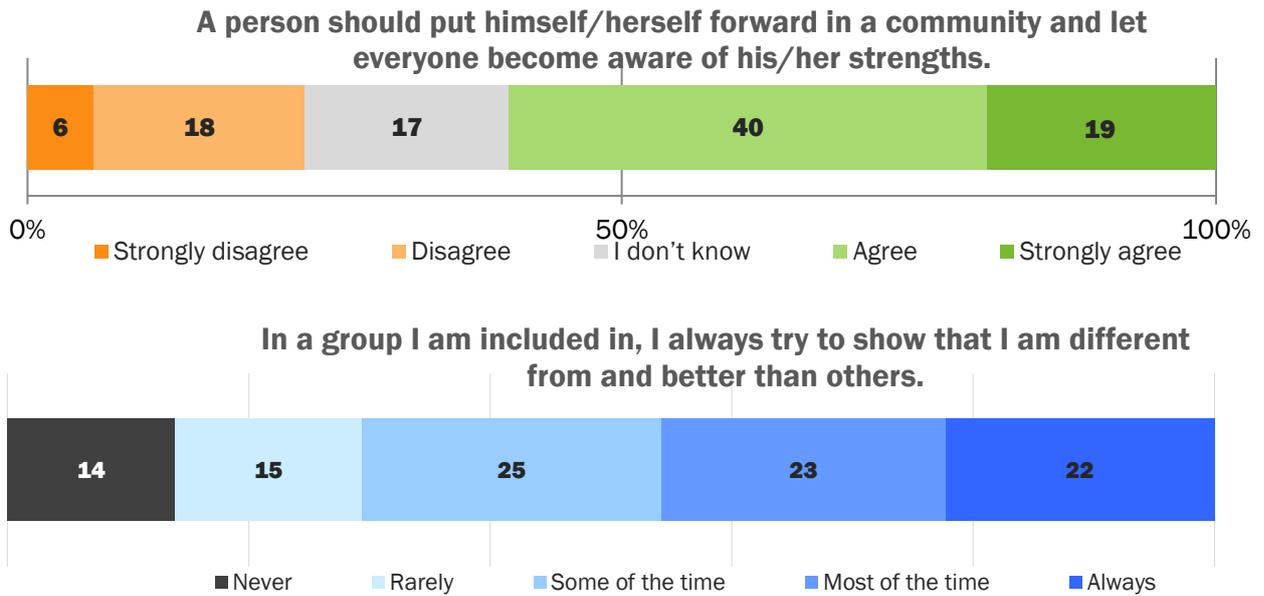
It is important for me to fulfill my responsibilities to myself before anyone else.



After personal freedoms, similarly three statements were read about an individual’s responsibilities to oneself which turned out to be the statements in relation to which the highest rate of agreement was expressed.



2.4.6. Asserting oneself



The statements we have handled up until now shows that the society attaches a lot of importance to group harmony and family on the one hand and regarding children as individuals and personal freedoms and responsibilities on the other hand. However, the answers to the two statements above show that the society does not find as important for a person to manifest himself/herself and emphasize his/her individuality.

2.4.7. The relationship between the statements and the scenarios on individualism

All the statements in this section were asked on a 1 to 5 scale and are listed below from top to bottom and red to blue. The most frequently approved / mentioned statement is “I experience the well being of my country like my own” at the top in red whereas the least frequently approved / mentioned statement is “In a group I am included in, I always try to show that I am different from and better than the others.”

The statements people typically agree with at the highest rate do not vary according to their choices in the scenarios. However, there are quite notable differences with regard to certain statements providing us clues as to the reasons behind these choices as has been the case with the virtues. For example, those who support Mehmet’s decision agree with the statement “While making decisions about children, their opinion should be asked” at higher rates than those who think that Mehmet should stay with his family. Namely, the latter are more tended to think that it is not necessary to ask children’s opinion even if the situation is related to them. Similar and even more striking differences are observed for the statement “A person is free to marry the partner he/she chooses” with regard to different opinions on Ayşe’s decision to uncover her head and Mehmet’s receiving education abroad. Interestingly, the greatest difference is observed for the statement “Religious conversion is one’s own business which everyone around him/her should respect.” Those who support Ayşe’s decision to uncover her head support religious conversion at 3.6 points which is above the average. On the other hand, those who argue that Ayşe’s family should not accept but should reject her decision to uncover her head are in fact against religious conversion at 2.8 points.

	Upon Ayşe's decision to UNCOVER her head, her family....			Upon Ayşe's decision to COVER her head, her family....			What should Mehmet do?			
	should accept and support it	should reject it and remind her that she can uncover her head	should not accept it, should reject it	should accept and support it	should reject it and remind her that she can cover her head after	should not accept it, should reject it	He should comply with the demands of his family and stay	He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them	He should follow his dreams and go abroad.	Average in Turkey
I experience the well being of my country like my own.	4.5	4.6	4.6	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.5	4.5
Irrespective of the self-sacrifice it requires, family members should watch for and protect each other.	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
A person is responsible for improving himself/herself in every matter.	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.4
It is important for me to fulfill my responsibilities to myself before anyone else.	4.5	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.4
A person is responsible to himself/herself before anyone else	4.4	4.3	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.5	4.4
I experience my siblings' success as my own.	4.3	4.4	4.2	4.4	4.1	4.1	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.3
While making decisions about children, their opinion should be asked.	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.0	4.2	4.4	4.3
I behave selflessly for the sake of the harmony of the group I belong to.	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.3
We should knock on the door before entering children's rooms.	4.3	4.1	4.0	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.0	4.1	4.4	4.3
A person should respect the decisions of the group to which he/she belongs and avoid acting in a disconcerting way.	4.2	4.2	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.2	4.3	4.2
The virtuousness of a family member is the virtuousness of all.	4.1	4.5	4.6	4.2	4.4	4.3	4.5	4.4	4.1	4.2
A person is free to marry the partner he/she chooses.	4.1	3.8	3.5	4.1	3.9	4.1	3.7	3.8	4.2	4.0
I do the things I believe in no matter what other people say.	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.6	4.0	3.7	3.6	3.9	3.8
A person is free to live the way he/she wants.	3.9	3.7	3.3	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.5	3.5	4.0	3.8
I wouldn't make changes in my life without receiving the consent of my family first.	3.5	3.8	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.9	3.8	3.7	3.5	3.6
A person should put himself/herself forward in a community and let everyone become aware of his/her strengths.	3.6	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.5
Religious conversion is one's own business which everyone around him/her should respect.	3.6	3.2	2.8	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.7	3.4



In a group I am included in, I always try to show that I am different from and better than others.	3.2	3.3	3.2		3.3	3.2	3.4		3.3	3.2	3.3		3.3
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2.5. Individualism - Collectivism in Turkey (Comments and Evaluations)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Sevda Numanbayraktaroğlu

We have studied through scenarios and questions the prevalence of individualistic and collectivist moral systems in Turkey and as to whether there are any differences between those who adopt them in terms of socio-demographic characteristics.

The participants' answers touch upon the following points:

1. Mehmet's Decision to Go Abroad:

- a. Those who think that Mehmet should do what he wants and go abroad despite the demands of his family constitute the majority (54%) which shows that the majority of our participants are of the opinion that the wants of the individual are more valuable than the wants and needs of the family. This shows that these people have adopted an individualistic viewpoint.
- b. Among the participants, 26 percent indicate that he can do what he wants in Turkey in an attempt to find a midway solution whereas 20 percent believe that he should comply with the demands of his family. This means that 46% of the participants are of the opinion that Mehmet should somehow comply with his family's demands which points to the fact that they have a collectivist moral structure.
- c. With regard to the correlation of the answers with socio-demographic characteristics:
 - i. As the age, religiousness and conservativeness levels of the participants increase and as their marital and parenthood status change from singledom to parenthood, they tend to choose those answers that reflect collectivist morality;
 - ii. As the educational level and income level increase and places of residence change from rural to metropolitan areas, they tend to give more individualistic answers.
- d. In consideration of the social gender roles in Turkey, it may seem that the scenario involving the name of a male may create bias in the results. However, although the study may be limited due to not involving a female name, it is a striking finding that only 54% of the participants find it appropriate even for a man to chase his dreams and go abroad despite his family. These findings show that there are hybrid moral systems in Turkey involving both individualistic and collectivist aspects as well as a tendency to find a middle ground between these two approaches. Religiousness, income and education levels and rural or urban upbringing are determinative in the moral systems through which individuals see the world.

2. Ayşe's Decision to Uncover Her Head

- a. Upon Ayşe's decision to uncover her head as an adult with a profession, the majority of the participants (65%) stated that her family should accept and support her decision. This attitude shows that the participants recognize an individual's right to self-determination which is one of the fundamental values of individualism.
- b. The remaining participants (35%) indicated that Ayşe's family should oppose to her decision to uncover her head. This answer shows that the participants believe that the family has the right to dictate on the individual what she can or cannot do and that they have a collectivist moral system of values.

- c. With regard to the correlation of the participants' answers with their socio-demographic characteristics:
 - i. As the age, religiousness and conservativeness levels of the participants increase and for married or engaged participants (in comparison to singles, widows or divorced people), the rate of indicating that the family should be supportive decreases in accordance with the collectivist viewpoint.
 - ii. As the educational level and income level increase and places of residence change from rural to metropolitan areas, they tend to give more individualistic answers.

A very interesting finding is observed in the answers of those participants who themselves or their spouses cover their heads in different ways. The answer of "Ayşe's family should support her decision" follows a downward trend from uncovered participants (82%) to those participants wearing hijabs (52%).

3. Ayşe's Decision to Cover Her Head

- a. Upon Ayşe's decision to cover her head as is an adult with a profession, the majority of the participants (83%) stated that her family should accept and support her decision. This attitude at first seems to show that the participants recognize an individual's right to self-determination which is one of the fundamental values of individualism, but as shall be seen below, the situation is more complex.
 - b. The remaining participants (17%) indicated that Ayşe's family should oppose to her decision to cover her head. This response points to two important aspects about the systems of moral values: Their belief that the family has the right to dictate on the individual what he/she can or cannot do and their collectivist system of moral values.
 - c. With regard to the correlation of the participants' answers with their socio-demographic characteristics:
 - i. As the age, religiousness, education and income levels increase, the rate of stating that the family should be supportive increases in small fractions. This finding shows rather than the ineffectiveness of the other variables on the attitude, the fact that the participants have no significant change in their perception when it comes to a behavior which is believed to deserve support at a rate above 80%.
 - ii. Within the sample representing the society in Turkey, covering one's head is regarded as a behavior to be supported at a significantly high rate at 80% compared to uncovering one's head. It is not surprising that covering one's head finds broad social support in the society in Turkey which places extremely high importance to religion.
 - iii. The answers to these questions about head covering which is considered to deserve support by both collectivist and individualistic persons on different grounds, should be supported by supplementary studies in order that they can be correctly interpreted in terms of individualism-familism.
4. The answers of the participants to the questions investigating their attitude towards the fundamental values of the individualistic and collectivist morality point to the following matters:
- a. Among the participants, 95% agreed with the statements "A person is responsible to himself/herself before anyone else" and "A person is responsible to improve himself/herself in every matter" which are among the essentials of the individualistic viewpoint.
 - b. Again, the majority of the participants agreed with the statements "A person is free to live the way he/she wants" (70%) and "A person is free to marry the partner he/she chooses" (78%) expressing appreciation for personal freedoms and personal choices.



- c. However, agreement with the statement “Religious conversion is one’s own business which everyone around him/her should respect” about freedom of belief which is another fundamental personal freedom is comparatively lower (57%).
- d. As for the statement “A person should put himself/herself forward in a community and let everyone become aware of his/her strengths” which is determined in the literature as one of the personality traits of those who have been raised in individualistic cultures has been approved by 59%.
- e. Again, in societies in which individualism prevails, the statements “We should knock on the door before entering children’s rooms” and “While making decisions about children, their opinion should be asked” are typically found to be important for developing self-confidence and individualism in children. The participants in this study also found these statements to be correct at quite high rates (90% and 92%, respectively).
- f. The statements “The virtuousness of a family member is the virtuousness of all” (84%), “Irrespective of the self-sacrifice it requires, family members should watch for and protect each other” (95%) and “A person should respect the decisions of the group to which he/she belongs and avoid acting in a disconcerting way” (89%) were found to be correct at a significantly high rate under answer choices “I agree” and “I absolutely agree” showing the recognition of some of the basic values of familism as a type of collectivism.
- g. The findings of this part of our study involves a significant contradiction. 95 percent of the sample representing the society in Turkey simultaneously believe that a person is “responsible to himself/herself before anyone else” and that irrespective of the self-sacrifice it requires, “family members should watch for and protect each other.” Moreover, 84% argue that “the virtuousness of a family member is the virtuousness of all.” When it comes to religious conversion, the rate of individualistic answers drops down to the level of 50%.

In order to explain this contradiction, as indicated by Deniz Kandiyoti, we have to work on the issue of the act of balancing the negative effects that liberal individualism would create in the society with conservative familism through government policies. Only upon such interpretation can we understand this hybrid moral understanding that has surfaced in this study.

5. We have also asked another set of questions in order to understand as to how often the participants experience in daily life various behaviors and attitudes influenced by individualism or collectivism. The answers point to the following matters:
 - a. The majority of the participants chose the answer choices of “I agree” and “I absolutely agree” about the statements that describe individualistic attitude and behavior, i.e. “In a group I am included in, I always try to show that I am different from and better than others” (46%), “I do the things I believe in no matter what other people say” (63%) and “It is important for me to fulfill my responsibilities to myself before anyone else” (90%).
 - b. They also indicated that they frequently experience behavior and attitude reflecting the system of collectivist values under statements “I wouldn’t make changes in my life without receiving the consent of my family first” (57%), “I behave selflessly for the sake of the harmony of the group I belong to” (85%) and “I experience my siblings’ success as my own” (84%).
 - c. The statement “I experience the well being of my country like my own” has been the most frequently expressed experience at 91%.



- d. The contradiction we have found above is apparent here again with less emphasis: 90% of the participants who normally go along a collectivist morality in all other answers have stated that they care about themselves before anyone else.

This survey provides the following answers to the questions we have expressed at the beginning:

- ✓ It is not correct to define the society in Turkey as collectivist. It is possible to find individualistic, collectivist and hybrid moral viewpoints in the socio-cultural context of Turkey.
- ✓ The state of individualism or collectivism of individuals vary according to their socio-demographic characteristics. Turkey entails a polyphonic culture which encompasses the viewpoints of various generations, religious attitudes, lifestyles, income and educational levels, marital status, etc.
- ✓ The difference between the answers given for the scenarios of Ayşe's covering or uncovering her head shows that context influences the individualistic or collectivist tendencies in the behavior, attitude and decisions of individuals.

The results of this survey should be supported by additional studies and the findings should be subjected to advanced analysis.





3. RESEARCH ID

3.1. Overall Description of the Survey

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

The field survey was conducted on 6 – 7 October 2018. This report presents the political trends, preferences and profiles of the adult population above the age of 18 in Turkey, as observed on 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 prepared by stratification of the data on population and educational level of neighborhoods and villages based on Address-Based Population Registration System with the neighborhood and village results of the general elections dated November 1, 2015. Residential areas were first graded as rural/urban/metropolitan and then the sample was determined based on 12 regions.

Within the scope of the survey, face-to-face interviews were carried out with 2762 individuals in 153 neighborhoods and villages of 106 districts -including central districts- of 31 provinces. Age and gender quotas were applied for 18 questionnaires conducted in each neighborhood.

Provinces visited	31	Yaş grubu	Female	Male
Districts visited	106	Ages 18 - -32	3 denek	3 denek
Neighborhoods/villages visited	153	33-48 yaş	3 denek	3 denek
Subjects interviewed	2762	49 yaş ve üstü	3 denek	3 denek

	Level 1 (12 regions)	Provinces visited
1	Istanbul	Istanbul
2	West Marmara	Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Edirne
3	Aegean	Denizli, İzmir, Kütahya, Manisa
4	East Marmara	Bolu, Bursa, Eskişehir, Kocaeli
5	West Anatolia	Ankara, Konya
6	Mediterranean	Adana, Antalya, Hatay, Mersin
7	Central Anatolia	Kayseri, Sivas
8	West Black Sea	Samsun, Tokat
9	East Black Sea	Trabzon
10	Northeast Anatolia	Erzurum, Kars
11	Middle East Anatolia	Malatya, Van
12	Southeast Anatolia	Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Mardin, Şanlıurfa



	Area of survey	Rural	Urban	Metropolitan	Total
1	Istanbul			21.4%	21.4%
2	West Marmara	0.7%	3.9%		4.6%
3	Aegean	1.9%	6.3%	5.2%	13.4%
4	East Marmara	1.3%	2.6%	5.8%	9.7%
5	West Anatolia	0.7%	1.9%	6.7%	9.3%
6	Mediterranean	1.8%	5.1%	5.1%	12.0%
7	Central Anatolia	0.7%	2.6%	1.2%	4.5%
8	West Black Sea	2.0%	3.2%	0.7%	5.8%
9	East Black Sea	1.3%	1.9%		3.2%
10	Northeast Anatolia	1.3%	1.3%		2.6%
11	Middle East Anatolia	1.3%	2.5%	0.7%	4.5%
12	Southeast Anatolia	1.9%	3.3%	3.9%	9.1%
	Total	14.8%	34.5%	50.7%	100.0%

4. FREQUENCY TABLES

4.1. Profile of Subjects

Gender	Percent
Female	51.2
Male	48.8
Total	100.0

Age	Percent
Ages 18 - 32	33.2
Ages 33 - 48	34.8
Ages 49+	31.9
Total	100.0

Educational status	Percent
Illiterate	5.9
Literate without degree	2.8
Primary school graduate	27.7
Primary education / Middle school graduate	16.6
High school graduate	29.7
University graduate	16.1
Postgraduate / Doctorate	1.3
Total	100.0

Educational status (grouped)	Percent
Less than high school	52.9
High school	29.7
University	17.4
Total	100.0

Place of origin	Percent
Village	30.8
Town / district	25.2
City	30.4
Metropolitan area	13.6
Total	100.0



Birthplace (region)	Percent
Istanbul	8.1
West Marmara	4.7
Aegean	11.9
East Marmara	8.1
West Anatolia	7.1
Mediterranean	12.5
Central Anatolia	6.6
West Black Sea	9.1
East Black Sea	6.2
Northeast Anatolia	6.3
Middle East Anatolia	6.7
Southeast Anatolia	11.3
Abroad	1.4
Total	100.0

Marital status	Percent
Single	22.9
Engaged	1.6
Married	68.8
Widow	5.4
Divorced	1.3
Total	100.0

Household population	Percent
1 - 2 person(s)	20.3
3 - 5 people	66.0
6 - 8 people	12.0
9 people or more	1.7
Total	100.0

Lifestyle cluster	Percent
Modern	30.6
Traditional conservative	46.5
Religious conservative	23.0
Total	100.0

Do you have children living with you in the household?	Percent
Yes, I do.	63.9
No, I don't.	36.1
Total	100.0



Employment status	Percent
Public officer	5.5
Private sector	8.2
Worker	9.2
Small retailer	7.8
Merchant / businessman	0.9
Self-employed	2.1
Farmer, agriculturer, stock breeder	3.3
Employed, other	5.2
Retired	13.0
Housewife	30.5
Student	8.6
Unemployed	4.3
Unemployable	1.4
Total	100.0

Employment status (grouped)	Percent
Senior level	16.7
Worker, small retailer, farmer	25.4
Retired	13.0
Housewife	30.5
Student	8.6
Unemployed	5.8
Total	100.0

Social Media	Percent
Facebook	46.5
Twitter	19.5
Whatsapp	57.9
Youtube	30.5
Instagram	39.0
Other	.9
I use the internet but not social media.	6.0
I do not access the Internet	25.4



TV channel for watching the news	Percent
I don't watch TV	.5
I don't follow the news on TV	15.2
A Haber	6.7
ATV	15.8
CNN Türk	2.2
Fox TV	21.7
Haber Türk	2.1
Halk TV	0.8
Kanal 7	1.8
Kanal D	6.0
NTV	2.2
Show TV	5.7
Star TV	3.1
TRT	11.3
Ulusal Kanal	.6
Other channels	4.4
Total	100.0

Do you have an automobile owned by this household?	Percent
Yes	49.6
No	50.4
Total	100.0

Ethnicity	Percent
Turkish	80.5
Kurdish	13.2
Zaza	1.1
Arab	2.7
Other	2.5
Total	100.0

Religiousness	Percent
Non-believer	2.8
Believer	26.3
Religious	59.1
Devout	11.8
Total	100.0



Religion/sect	Percent
Sunni Muslim	92.0
Alevi Muslim	6.0
Other	2.0
Total	92.0

Head covering status	Percent
No head cover	29.5
Head scarf	45.5
Hijab	9.7
Chador, purdah	0.8
Subject single male	14.4
Total	100.0

Monthly household income	Percent
TRY 700 or less	2.6
TRY 701 - 1200	5.7
TRY 1201 - 2000	34.2
TRY 2001 - 3000	26.0
TRY 3001 - 5000	21.7
TRY 5001 or more	9.8
Total	100.0

Economic classes	Percent
Lower income	17.5
Lower middle class	35.0
New middle class	27.3
Upper income	20.2
Total	100.0

Type of residence	Percent
Slum/unplastered apartment building	6.1
Single, traditional house	29.2
Apartment building	58.7
Housing estate	5.7
Luxury residence, mansion	.3
Total	100.0



4.2. Individualism in Turkey

Mehmet studied law but even when he was a student, he never wanted to become a lawyer which was his father's profession. Mehmet always wanted to be a movie director. He even took courses in this field and won awards. Now, he has a new opportunity to study abroad on scholarship. He will have the chance to take classes from leading directors. On the one hand there are the demands of his parents who intend to pass the family business to their son, and on the other hand, there is this unique opportunity. What do you think Mehmet should do?	Percent
He should comply with the demands of his family and stay with them	20.2
Mehmet should follow his dreams and go abroad.	53.7
He should not leave his family alone; he should stay with them even if he decides to work as a director.	26.1
Total	100.0

After graduating from the university, Ayşe started working as a teacher in the city her family lives and rented a flat close to her school. At every opportunity, she visited her family to provide both financial and moral support. After long considerations, Ayşe decided to stop covering her head. She announced her decision to the entire family one day when everybody was at home. How should Ayşe's family react to her decision?	Percent
Her family should accept and support Ayşe's decision to uncover her head.	65.4
Her family should not accept but reject Ayşe's decision to uncover her head.	20.0
Her family should not accept her decision and remind her that she can uncover her head after she gets married, if her husband permits.	14.5
Total	100.0

After graduating from the university, Ayşe started working as a teacher in the city her family lives and rented a flat close to her school. At every opportunity, she visited her family to provide both financial and moral support. After long considerations, Ayşe decided to cover her head. She announced her decision to the entire family one day when everybody was at home. How should Ayşe's family react to her decision?	Percent
Her family should accept and support Ayşe's decision to cover her head.	83.4
Her family should not accept but reject Ayşe's decision to cover her head.	8.4
Her family should not accept her decision and remind her that she can cover her head after she gets married, if her husband permits.	8.3
Her family should accept and support Ayşe's decision to uncover/cover her head.	100.0
Total	

If you had to abandon something to realize your dreams, which of the following would you abandon?	Percent
My family	26.2
My country	62.6
My religion	11.2
Total	100.0



Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their DAUGHTERS to attain?	Percent
Honesty	55.5
Being virtuous	35.8
Patriotism	29.4
Fulfilling religious requirements	23.2
Standing up for one's rights	20.4
Industriousness	16.3
Deference to elders, spouse	8.2
Adherence to customs and traditions	7.6

Which 2 virtues should good parents enable their SONS to attain?	Percent
Honesty	55.5
Patriotism	36.4
Being virtuous	27.4
Industriousness	23.1
Fulfilling religious requirements	21.3
Standing up for one's rights	18.9
Deference to elders, spouse	7.2
Adherence to customs and traditions	6.3

We should knock on the door before entering children's rooms.	Percent
Strongly disagree	1.2
Disagree	4.4
I don't know	5.0
Agree	44.7
Strongly agree	44.7
Total	100.0

While making decisions about children, their opinion should be asked.	Percent
Strongly disagree	0.9
Disagree	2.6
I don't know	4.7
Agree	49.7
Strongly agree	42.2
Total	100.0



Religious conversion is one's own business which everyone around him/her should respect.	Percent
Strongly disagree	11.9
Disagree	18.5
I don't know	12.0
Agree	31.3
Strongly agree	26.3
Total	100.0

A person is free to live the way he/she wants.	Percent
Strongly disagree	3.3
Disagree	14.9
I don't know	11.6
Agree	40.8
Strongly agree	29.3
Total	100.0

A person is free to marry the partner he/she chooses.	Percent
Strongly disagree	2.1
Disagree	9.8
I don't know	9.6
Agree	43.0
Strongly agree	35.5
Total	100.0

A person should put himself/herself forward in a community and let everyone become aware of his/her strengths.	Percent
Strongly disagree	5.6
Disagree	17.8
I don't know	17.1
Agree	40.2
Strongly agree	19.3
Total	100.0

A person is responsible to himself/herself before anyone else	Percent
Strongly disagree	0.2
Disagree	2.0
I don't know	3.0
Agree	46.7
Strongly agree	48.1
Total	100.0



A person is responsible for improving himself/herself in every matter.	Percent
Strongly disagree	0.3
Disagree	1.0
I don't know	4.1
Agree	45.0
Strongly agree	49.5
Total	100.0

Irrespective of the self-sacrifice it requires, family members should watch for and protect each other.	Percent
Strongly disagree	0.5
Disagree	0.9
I don't know	3.7
Agree	35.7
Strongly agree	59.3
Total	100.0

A person should respect the decisions of the group to which he/she belongs and avoid acting in a disconcerting way.	Percent
Strongly disagree	0.9
Disagree	4.1
I don't know	6.2
Agree	47.6
Strongly agree	41.3
Total	100.0

The virtuousness of a family member is the virtuousness of all.	Percent
Strongly disagree	3.5
Disagree	6.3
I don't know	5.5
Agree	31.3
Strongly agree	53.4
Total	100.0

I experience my siblings' success as my own.	Percent
Strongly disagree	3.4
Disagree	4.3
I don't know	8.0
Agree	24.4
Strongly agree	59.9
Total	100.0



I experience my siblings' success as my own.	Percent
Never	3.4
Rarely	4.3
Some of the time	8.0
Most of the time	24.4
Always	59.9
Total	100.0

I wouldn't make changes in my life without receiving the consent of my family first.	Percent
Never	7.2
Rarely	11.0
Some of the time	24.4
Most of the time	25.5
Always	31.8
Total	100.0

I do the things I believe in no matter what other people say.	Percent
Never	4.7
Rarely	9.8
Some of the time	22.7
Most of the time	25.7
Always	37.0
Total	100.0

In a group I am included in, I always try to show that I am different from and better than others.	Percent
Never	13.9
Rarely	15.4
Some of the time	24.9
Most of the time	23.5
Always	22.3
Total	100.0

It is important for me to fulfill my responsibilities to myself before anyone else.	Percent
Never	0.6
Rarely	1.6
Some of the time	7.7
Most of the time	35.3
Always	54.9
Total	100.0



I behave selflessly for the sake of the harmony of the group I belong to.	Percent
Never	0.8
Rarely	2.8
Some of the time	12.0
Most of the time	36.5
Always	47.8
Total	100.0

I experience the well being of my country like my own.	Percent
Never	0.5
Rarely	2.1
Some of the time	6.9
Most of the time	23.9
Always	66.7
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..

	DEFINITION
Alevi muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Alevi Muslim
Lower middle class:	Households with an income per capita in the 60 percent segment but which do not own a car
Lower class:	Households whose income per capita is in the lowest 20 percent segment
Arab:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Arab
Headscarf:	A woman who does not cover her head or a man with a headscarf or whose spouse does not cover her head with 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
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
Metropolitan:	Settlements which are located within the integrated boundaries of the most crowded 15 cities (differs from the official definition)
Modern:	A person who identifies his/her lifestyle as modern
No cover:	A woman who does not cover her head or a man whose spouse does not cover her head
Pious:	A person who fulfills the requirements of the religion completely
Sunni muslim:	A person who identifies his/her religion/sect as Sunni Muslim
Turban:	A woman who wears a turban or a man whose spouse wears a turban
Turkish:	A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Turkish
Upper class:	Households whose income per capita is in the highest 20 percent segment
New middle class:	Households whose income per capita is in the 60 percent segment and which own a car



Zaza:

A person who identifies his/her ethnic origin as Zaza

Multiple correspondence analysis

It is a data analysis technique for nominal categorical data, used to detect and represent underlying structures in a data set. It is used for applying Correspondence Analysis (CA) to large data sets with more than two variables.

5.1. Questions and Response Options

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

Modern

Traditional Conservative

Religious Conservative

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 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 fulfills the requirements of the religion completely

Which religion or sect do you feel you belong to?

Sunni Muslim

Alevi Muslim

Other

Settlement Code (Data obtained from the sample)

Rural

Urban

Metropolitan

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

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

Lower class

Lower middle class

New middle class

Upper class