Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey 2020

Strategies and Tools for Mitigating Polarization in Turkey
## DEMOGRAPHICS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>51.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td>18-29 age group</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30-45 age group</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>46-87 age group</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Settlement</strong></td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>94.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td>Primary school and lower</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary education</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Higher education</td>
<td>20.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Employment status</strong></td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>51.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Student</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Looking for a job</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
METHOD

❖ Face-to-face interviews with 4006 people (18+ population of Turkey from 29 cities in rural and urban regions)

❖ Simple random sampling, margin of error is +/-2%

❖ Survey conducted by Fraktal Research
Political Distance among Political Parties through the Eyes of Political Party Supporters
«WHICH POLITICAL PARTY DO YOU FEEL CLOSE TO?»

- AK Party: 33.6%
- CHP: 22.2%
- MHP: 11.3%
- HDP: 9.0%
- İYİ Party: 8.6%
- DEVA: 1.1%
- GP: 0.6%
- Other: 2.4%
- NA: 11.4%
‘THE MOST DISTANT’ POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS:

- HDP: 39.8%
- AK Party: 22.8%
- CHP: 14.2%
- MHP: 8.1%
- İYİ Party: 1.4%
- GP: 0.7%
- DEVA: 0.6%

- HDP: 2020 - 39.8%, 2017 - 22.8%, 2015 - 14.2%
- AK Party: 2020 - 52.7%, 2017 - 23.9%, 2015 - 27.7%
- CHP: 2020 - 14.1%, 2017 - 12.9%, 2015 - 8.5%
- NA: 2020 - 0%, 2017 - 0%, 2015 - 0%
- MHP: 2020 - 9.6%, 2017 - 8.3%, 2015 - 8.1%
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2020

VIEWS BY POLITICAL PARTIES – ‘THE MOST DISTANT’ POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS

AKP
- CHP: 33%
- HDP: 54%

CHP
- AKP: 44%
- MHP: 46%

HDP
- AKP: 26%
- MHP: 17%
- CHP: 46%

MHP
- AKP: 34%
- İYİ Party: 50%

İYİ Party
- HDP: 34%
- MHP: 50%
CONCEPTS

Social Distance: Measures people's willingness to participate in social contacts of varying degrees of closeness with members of diverse social groups (Bogardus, 1925).

Moral Superiority: With the belief or attitude that one's positions/actions are justified by having higher moral values than ‘others’ and therefore negative attributions frequently used to reveal intergroup affinity, prejudice and stereotypes towards ‘other’ groups (Fiske and North, 2015).

Political Tolerance: Assessments concerning political rights of participants of the group seen as the ‘other’ (Gibson, 2006).
SOCIAL DISTANCE: ‘THE MOST DISTANT’ POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS

- My son/daughter marrying a supporter of this political party...
  - Would not want: 74.9%
  - Would want: 21.1%
  - NA: 0%

- Doing business with a supporter of that political party...
  - Would not want: 72.0%
  - Would want: 24.3%
  - NA: 0%

- My kids being friends with their kids...
  - Would not want: 66.6%
  - Would want: 30.9%
  - NA: 3.5%

- As a neighbor...
  - Would not want: 60.8%
  - Would want: 36.8%
  - NA: 2.4%
MORAL SUPERIORITY: ‘THE MOST DISTANT’ POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>Closer</th>
<th>Distant</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patriotic</td>
<td>87.3%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working for the benefit of the country</td>
<td>86.3%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorable</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open minded</td>
<td>83.7%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smart</td>
<td>83.1%</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generous</td>
<td>79.8%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrogant</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>82.1%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bigoted</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>76.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruel</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selfish</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Threat to the country</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>77.6%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypocrite</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>85.9%</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Supporters of the political party I feel closer | Applies to both | Supporters of the political party I feel distant to | Applies to none
POLITICAL TOLERANCE: ‘THE MOST DISTANT’ POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS

- [This group] should be able to organize a rally in the locality / province I live: 40.5% disagree, 21.2% neither agree nor disagree, 34.1% agree, 0% NA.
- [This group] should be able to organize a meeting in the locality / province I live: 37.3% disagree, 20.8% neither agree nor disagree, 38.2% agree, 0% NA.
- [This group] should be able to make a press release in the locality / province I live: 36.9% disagree, 21.8% neither agree nor disagree, 37.5% agree, 0% NA.
- [This group] should be able to get education in accordance with their needs: 35.1% disagree, 21.2% neither agree nor disagree, 38.9% agree, 0% NA.
- [This group's] members should be able to participate in the elections for undertaking political roles such as member of parliament, mayor: 33.0% disagree, 21.8% neither agree nor disagree, 40.5% agree, 0% NA.
- [This group's] members should be subject to phone tapping and recording if required for security reasons: 25.8% disagree, 20.0% neither agree nor disagree, 47.8% agree, 0% NA.
IDENTITIES AND PARTIES
USING ‘US/WE’ FREQUENTLY WHEN REFERRING TO THE PEOPLE IN THE GROUPS INDICATED BELOW:

- My family: 88.0%
- Turks: 55.1%
- Educated people: 44.4%
- People in my city: 41.1%
- Religious people: 37.9%
- Kemalists: 36.2%
- Nationalists: 35.2%
- Conservatives: 32.9%
- Modern people: 32.3%
- Secularists: 28.5%
- Ultranationalists: 22.2%
- Kurds: 21.6%
- Alawites: 12.9%
- Gezi activists: 12.0%
- Minorities: 10.2%
THE IDENTITY FELT CLOSEST TO (ONE ANSWER)

- Turks: 17.9%
- Kemalists: 10.9%
- Conservatives: 10.3%
- Educated people: 9.8%
- Kurds: 9.6%
- Religious people: 8.0%
- Nationalists: 7.6%
- Modern people: 6.4%
- Ultranationalists: 3.3%
- Secularists: 3.1%
- Alawites: 1.7%
- Minorities: 0.6%
- Gezi activists: 0.3%
POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS AND IDENTITIES (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)
## Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2020

### Perception of Identities: Group Superiority (% of «Agree» Responses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AK Party</th>
<th>HDP</th>
<th>İYİ Party</th>
<th>CHP</th>
<th>MHP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The government respects my group of people as much as other people in Turkey.</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the last five years, my group of people has become more influential.</td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The other people in Turkey envy my group of people.</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the last five years, the financial situation of my group of people has been better off compared to other people in Turkey.</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The financial situation of my group of people is better compared to other people in Turkey.</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The employment opportunities of my group of people are better compared to other people in Turkey.</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My group of people doesn't have power in Turkey.</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GROUP EXCLUSION AND POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS
(% OF «TREATED WORSE» RESPONSES)

Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey - 2020

Job applications
Police stations
Government offices
Universities
Hospitals
Luxurious shops
Streets

HDP, 55%
HDP, 54%
HDP, 50%
HDP, 40%
HDP, 38%
HDP, 38%
HDP, 32%

CHP, 22%
CHP, 18%
CHP, 17%

İYİ Party, 13%
AK Party; 11%
MHP, 7%

İYİ Party, 8%
AK Party; 5%
MHP, 5%

İYİ Party, 10%
AK Party; 8%
MHP, 7%

İYİ Party, 7%
MHP, 2%

İYİ Party, 2%

İYİ Party, 1%
}

MHP, 6%

MHP, 6%

MHP, 6%
ISSUE-BASED POLARIZATION
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020

**ISSUE-BASED POLARIZATION (% OF «SUPPORT» RESPONSES)**

- **Turning Hagia Sophia into a mosque and opening for worship**
  - AK Party: 86%
  - MHP: 82%
  - İYİ Party: 51%
  - HDP: 43%
  - CHP: 34%

- **Building the Canal İstanbul**
  - AK Party: 66%
  - MHP: 57%

- **Primary education should be available in mother tongue for children who have another mother tongue than Turkish**
  - AK Party: 32%
  - İYİ Party: 30%
  - MHP: 21%
  - CHP: 32%
  - HDP: 91%

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
POLITICAL ISSUES AND NEGATIVE/POSITIVE FEELINGS

The revenue guarantees given to companies that built bridges and highways
Negative feelings: 63.4%
Positive feelings: 14.5%
Nothing: 11.9%
NA: 0%

Dismissal of some mayors and appointment of trustees to replace them
Negative feelings: 50.7%
Positive feelings: 31.0%
Nothing: 11.0%
NA: 0%

Turkey’s military intervention to Libya’s civil war
Negative feelings: 43.4%
Positive feelings: 41.7%
Nothing: 6.2%
NA: 0%

Justice March by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu
Negative feelings: 35.1%
Positive feelings: 33.1%
Nothing: 23.2%
NA: 0%

Election of Ekrem İmamoğlu as Mayor of Istanbul
Negative feelings: 33.8%
Positive feelings: 45.1%
Nothing: 15.7%
NA: 0%

Discovery of natural gas in the Black Sea
Negative feelings: 6.0%
Positive feelings: 81.9%
Nothing: 8.9%
NA: 0%
POLITICAL ISSUES, FEELINGS AND POLITICAL PARTIES (% OF «NEGATIVE FEELINGS»)

The revenue guarantees given to companies that built bridges and highways
Dismissal of some mayors and appointment of trustees to replace them
Turkey’s military intervention to Libya’s civil war
Justice March by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu
Election of Ekrem İmamoğlu as Mayor of Istanbul
Discovery of natural gas in the Black Sea
«SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT DIFFERENCES OF OPINION AND BEHAVIOR HAVE INCREASED IN TURKEY AND REACHING A CONSENSUS HAS BECOME MORE DIFFICULT. SOME ARGUE THAT SIMILAR DIFFERENCES HAVE EXISTED IN THE SOCIETY IN THE PAST...»

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Differences of opinion and behavior have increased in Turkey.</th>
<th>Similar differences of opinion and behavior existed in Turkey in the past.</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>59.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>70.3%</td>
<td>28.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>67.4%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>60.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>64.9%</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>51.9%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
MOST IMPORTANT EVENT LED TO DIVISIONS IN THE SOCIETY (TWO RESPONSES, % OF RESPONDENTS)

- July 15, 2016 coup attempt: 34.3%
- Kurdish problem: 32.3%
- Transition to Presidential Government System: 30.0%
- Gezi protests: 22.3%
- September 12, 1980 coup: 14.0%
- 17-25 December corruption allegations: 9.8%
- February 28, 1997 coup: 8.2%
- Sledgehammer/Ergenekon cases: 7.6%
- Founding of the Republic: 5.6%
- May 27, 1960 coup: 3.9%
- Other: 2.5%
MOST IMPORTANT EVENT LED TO DIVISIONS IN THE SOCIETY & PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)

- Founding of the Republic
- May 27, 1960 coup
- September 12, 1980 coup
- February 28, 1997 coup
- July 15, 2016 coup attempt
- Sledgehammer/Ergenekon cases
- 17-25 December corruption allegations
- Transition to Presidential Government System
- Kurdish problem
- Gezi protests
- AK Party
- MHP
- HDP
- CHP
- İYİ Party
“ECHO CHAMBERS” AND SPIRALS OF SILENCE
CONCEPTS

Echo Chambers: The communication environment where individuals can only hear their own opinions (Sunstein, 2001).

The Spiral of Silence: Individuals thinking that their opinions are in the minority and remain silent (Noelle-Neumann, 1974).
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020

POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS/ CLOSE CIRCLE

Degree of Agreement Within Close Circle

- Always: 14.9%
- Mostly: 56.2%
- Rarely: 21.9%
- Never: 3.2%

Deteriorate Relations with Someone in Close Circle Due to a Disagreement

- Always: 2.5%
- Mostly: 13.5%
- Rarely: 48.0%
- Never: 32.0%
«LET US ASSUME THAT DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEGUN ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT’S PRACTICES IN JUDICIARY. COULD YOU TELL ME IF YOU WOULD JOIN THE DISCUSSION IN THE VARIOUS SETTINGS THAT I WILL READ TO YOU?»

- A family dinner at home: 49.8% Would Join, 48.0% Would not join, 2% NA
- A dinner outside with friends: 50.2% Would Join, 47.6% Would not join, 2% NA
- A neighborhood meeting: 38.1% Would Join, 59.1% Would not join, 2% NA
- Workplace / School: 29.2% Would Join, 57.3% Would not join, 13.5% NA
- Facebook: 22.2% Would Join, 64.6% Would not join, 13.2% NA
- Twitter: 18.8% Would Join, 62.6% Would not join, 18.6% NA
«DO YOU RECALL THE HIGHLY DISCUSSED PRACTICES OF THE GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE JUDICIARY? COULD YOU TELL ME IF THE PEOPLE I LIST WOULD SHARE THE SAME OPINION WITH YOU?»

- Your spouse / girlfriend / boyfriend: 79.5% Agree with me, 13.5% Disagree with me, 7.0% NA
- Your close friend: 79.3% Agree with me, 15.7% Disagree with me, 5.0% NA
- Your family: 79.6% Agree with me, 15.5% Disagree with me, 4.9% NA
- Your friends in the office / school: 45.4% Agree with me, 28.6% Disagree with me, 26.0% NA
- Your neighbors: 46.2% Agree with me, 36.2% Disagree with me, 17.6% NA
- Your Facebook friends: 39.5% Agree with me, 23.5% Disagree with me, 37.1% NA
INFORMATION SOURCES FOR POLITICAL ISSUES (% OF «ALWAYS» AND «OFTEN» RESPONSES)

- TV: 74.3%
- Smart phone: 69.4%
- Talking with friends: 57.2%
- Online news channels: 56.7%
- Facebook and Twitter: 36.5%
- Newspaper: 17.4%
- Radio: 10.9%
NEWS REPORT: TV PREFERENCES AND POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)
IMPARTIALITY OF INFORMATION SOURCES AND POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)
«HAVE YOU COME ACROSS WITH FAKE NEWS» (% OF «YES» RESPONSES)

- News carrying a certain issue to the agenda by distorting the facts: 68.1%
- Use of the concept of “fake news” by the politicians or celebrities in order to discredit the sources they don’t like: 62.8%
- News completely fabricated due to political or commercial reasons: 61.8%
- Headlines that look like news but that are actually advertisements: 61.6%
- Fabricated news to amuse the readers or audience: 60.8%
- Bad examples of journalism such as use of incorrect data and manipulative headlines: 59.8%
«IN GENERAL, WHERE DO YOU COME ACROSS SUCH NEWS» (% OF «YES» RESPONSES)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AK Party</th>
<th>CHP</th>
<th>İYİ Party</th>
<th>MHP</th>
<th>HDP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%40</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%20</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%0</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and etc. used by the supporters of the government
- Television channels and newspapers supporting the government
- Social media tools such as Twitter, Facebook and etc. used by the supporters of the opposition
- Television channels and newspapers supporting the opposition
- Everywhere equally
- WhatsApp groups I share with my friends and relatives

Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020
**SHARING POLITICAL OPINIONS IN THE SOCIAL MEDIA (TWITTER)**

**Sharing Political Opinions**
- I don’t use Twitter to share my political opinions: 63.0%
- I use Twitter occasionally to share my political opinions: 25.6%
- I use Twitter frequently to share my political opinions: 10.0%

**People Followed in Twitter**
- Very compatible: 13.8%
- Somewhat compatible: 60.2%
- Somewhat not compatible: 12.7%
- Not compatible at all: 6.0%
Sharing Political Opinions

- I don’t use Facebook to share my political opinions: 66.4%
- I use Facebook occasionally to share my political opinions: 25.4%
- I use Facebook frequently to share my political opinions: 7.2%

Friends in Facebook

- Very compatible: 13.8%
- Somewhat compatible: 60.2%
- Somewhat not compatible: 12.7%
- Not compatible at all: 6.0%
POLITICAL OPINIONS
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020

MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF TURKEY (TWO RESPONSES, % OF RESPONDENTS)

- Economy-Unemployment: 49.9%
- Economy-Inflation-Price increase: 46.8%
- Coronavirus epidemic: 27.2%
- Economy-Poverty: 14.9%
- Education: 12.4%
- Security-Terrorism: 8.2%
- Corruption: 5.5%
- Syrian refugees: 4.3%
- Political instability: 4.1%
- Problems of youngsters/women/elderly: 2.9%
- Politicians: 2.6%
- Southeastern problem ("Kurdish problem"): 2.5%
- Problems of farmers/villagers: 2.2%
- Problems of workers: 2.1%
THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS OF TURKEY AND PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)
ASSESSMENT ON THE COUNTRY’S...
(% OF «AGREE» RESPONSES)

- **Our country is on the right track.**
  - AK Party: 57%
  - MHP: 37%
  - İYİ Party, 15%
  - CHP, 10%
  - HDP, 5%

- **Compared with 5 years ago, financial situation of our country is better.**
  - AK Party: 29%
  - MHP: 15%
  - İYİ Party, 6%
  - CHP, 4%

- **Economic status of our country will be better within next year.**
  - AK Party: 44%
  - MHP: 24%
  - İYİ Party, 7%
  - CHP, 5%
  - HDP, 4%

- **Compared with 5 years ago, financial situation of your family is better.**
  - AK Party: 27%
  - MHP: 18%
  - İYİ Party, 7%
  - CHP, 5%
  - HDP, 4%

- **Financial situation of your family will be better within next year.**
  - AK Party: 39%
  - MHP: 23%
  - İYİ Party, 6%
  - CHP, 6%
  - HDP, 3%
An earthquake with a serious damage and high number of casualties... %94.6
Pandemics %94.0
Economic crisis %92.9
You or a family member to become unemployed %91.5
Our children not to be able to receive the education they deserve %91.0
A terrorist attack %90.9
Limiting of the freedom of expression %87.3
Ending the independence of the courts %86.9
War in the Middle East or Caucasia involving several countries %84.8
Partitioning of Turkey %82.5
Limiting of religious freedoms %81.8
A coup attempt similar to July 15 %78.9
Our country going to war with Greece %71.6
ISSUES ABOUT CITIZENS ARE CONCERNED & PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)

- AK Party
- CHP
- HDP
- MHP
- İYİ Party

- Limiting of the freedom of expression
- Ending the independence of the courts
- You or a family member to become unemployed
- Your children not to be able to receive the education they deserve
- Economic crisis
- Limiting of religious freedoms
- Pandemics
- An earthquake...
- War in the Middle East or Caucasus involving several countries
- Our country going to war with Greece
- Partitioning of Turkey
- An terrorist attack
- A coup attempt similar to July 15
PERCEPTIONS ON HOW TURKEY IS GOVERNED

- The opposition parties intervene in the tasks of the government too much and lead to a slowdown.
- The government must definitely be checked by the other political parties regardless of a slowdown.
- NA
PERCEPTIONS ON THE PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

- The presidential system of government is better for the future of our country.
- The presidential system of government is worse for the future of our country.
- NA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>0%</th>
<th>20%</th>
<th>40%</th>
<th>60%</th>
<th>80%</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>75.5%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>77.0%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>53.2%</td>
<td>34.1%</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>81.2%</td>
<td>9.3%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>50.7%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERCEPTIONS ON THE GEZİ PROTESTS

- Gezi protests were peaceful acts of freedom of expression unifying many citizens reacting to certain policies of the government in Turkey.
- Gezi protests were acts instigated by foreign powers willing to weaken and demolish AK Party government in line with their own interests.
- NA
PERCEPTIONS ON HOW ELECTIONS ARE CONDUCTED IN TURKEY: ARE THEY FREE AND FAIR?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
<td>77.1%</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>89.2%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İyi Party</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>44.1%</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

0% 20% 40% 60% 80% 100%
PERCEPTIONS ON THE GOVERNANCE: MY OPINIONS ARE REFLECTED...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Not reflected</th>
<th>Reflected</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>80.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>81.5%</td>
<td>13.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>87.8%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>69.3%</td>
<td>23.4%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
«PROBABLY YOU HAVE HEARD THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE LAST SUMMER ON TURKEY’S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ISTANBUL CONVENTION. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE YOU AWARE OF THESE DISCUSSIONS?»

- AK Party: 48.9% Aware, 39.6% Not aware, 11.5% NA
- CHP: 34.8% Aware, 58.3% Not aware, 7.0% NA
- HDP: 36.3% Aware, 52.7% Not aware, 11.0% NA
- MHP: 45.7% Aware, 44.4% Not aware, 9.9% NA
- İYİ Party: 44.0% Aware, 50.0% Not aware, 6.1% NA
- General: 43.9% Aware, 46.4% Not aware, 9.8% NA

- Not aware of
- Aware of
- NA
«ISTANBUL CONVENTION IS AN INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT AIMING TO COMBAT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN. SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT WITHDRAWAL FROM THIS AGREEMENT WILL INCREASE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TURKEY WHEREAS SOME THINK THAT THERE WON'T BE SUCH AN ADVERSE IMPACT.»

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Withdrawal of signature will increase violence against women in Turkey</th>
<th>Withdrawal of signature will have no impact on violence against women in Turkey</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>62.2%</td>
<td>15.1%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
<td>19.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>48.2%</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>28.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>31.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
«DO YOU THINK VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IS WIDESPREAD IN TURKEY?»

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Not widespread</th>
<th>Widespread</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
<td>80.5%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>93.9%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>91.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>89.1%</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>89.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>87.6%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020
«WHO SHOULD ASSUME THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY TO MITIGATE VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN?»
(TWO RESPONSES, % OF RESPONDENTS)
"DO YOU THINK THE INDIVIDUAL OR INSTITUTION EXERT SUFFICIENT EFFORT TO FULFILL THIS RESPONSIBILITY PROPERLY?"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Exerts no effort</th>
<th>Exerts effort</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
<td>59.1%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>81.9%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>32.5%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
VALUES
VALUES AND PARTY SUPPORTERS (% OF THOSE WHO AGREE)

- Religion lessons must be compulsory in primary and secondary education
- Religion is always right even if it contradicts with science
- If the mother works, the children will suffer
- If a person is religious, (s)he would be ethical, too
- If it is not easy to find jobs in the country, men deserve to work more than the women.
- Theory of evolution must be taught in primary and secondary education

AK Party: 85%
MHP: 77%
AK Party: 71%

CHP: 47%
HDP: 53%
IYİ Party: 60%

AK Party: 61%
MHP: 56%
HDP: 52%

AK Party: 62%
MHP: 56%

AK Party: 56%
MHP: 48%
HDP: 41%

CHP: 51%
IYİ Party: 31%
HDP: 37%

CHP: 31%
IYİ Party: 31%
MHP: 35%

AK Party: 33%
HDP: 36%
MHP: 35%

AK Party: 35%
İYİ Party: 33%
MHP: 31%

İYİ Party: 31%
CHP: 31%
AK Party: 33%
«DO YOU PLAN TO SETTLE IN ANOTHER COUNTRY THAN TURKEY DUE TO ANY REASON IN THE COMING DAYS?»

- AK Party: 91.0% Don't want to, 8.5% Want to
- CHP: 68.7% Don't want to, 31.0% Want to
- HDP: 56.2% Don't want to, 43.5% Want to
- MHP: 85.5% Don't want to, 13.6% Want to
- İYİ Party: 74.8% Don't want to, 24.6% Want to
- General: 77.9% Don't want to, 21.5% Want to
REASONS OF SETTLING ABROAD
(TWO RESPONSES, % OF RESPONDENTS)

- Better job opportunities: 63.2%
- I feel like I have no future in Turkey: 25.7%
- I want more personal freedom: 25.2%
- Better education opportunities: 20.8%
- I think my country goes downhill: 19.1%
- There is no freedom of thought in Turkey: 16.6%
- Other: 10.2%
CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS
(% OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN ...)

- Army: 72.6%
- Ministry of Health: 58.8%
- Turkish Medical Association: 50.4%
- Universities: 50.1%
- Municipalities: 48.0%
- Presidency of Republic: 47.0%
- Government: 46.6%
- Parliament: 41.8%
- Courts: 41.6%
- WHO: 41.4%
- Pres. of Religious Affairs: 40.8%
- Political parties: 24.9%
- NATO: 22.0%
- European Union: 21.1%
- Media outlets: 20.5%
- United Nations: 19.1%
CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS AND POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORTERS: (% OF PARTICIPANTS WHO HAVE CONFIDENCE IN ...)

- AK Party: 88%
- AK Party: 85%
- AK Party: 69%
- AK Party: 88%
- AK Party: 89%
- AK Party: 66%
- AK Party: 66%
- AK Party: 49%
- AK Party: 71%
- AK Party: 38%
- CHP: 57%
- CHP: 27%
- CHP: 29%
- CHP: 23%
- HDP: 39%
- HDP: 46%
- HDP: 34%
- HDP: 26%
- HDP: 9%
- HDP: 17%
- HDP: 11%
- HDP: 28%
- HDP: 16%
- HDP: 11%
- MHP: 27%
- MHP: 29%
- MHP: 28%
- MHP: 16%
- HDP: 14%
- HDP: 14%
- İYİ Party: 14%
- İYİ Party: 14%
- İYİ Party: 14%
- İYİ Party: 14%
- MHP: 14%
- MHP: 14%
- MHP: 14%
- MHP: 14%

Confidence levels for various institutions and political parties.
«IS THIS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE?» (% OF «RESPONSIBILITY OF THE STATE» RESPONSES)

- **AK Party**
  - 69%
- **CHP**
  - 84%
- **İYİ Party**
  - 78%
- **MHP**
  - 75%
- **HDP**
  - 94%

50%

- To provide healthcare to patients
- To provide a reasonable life standard to elderly
- To provide paid leave to the people caring for elderly or disabled family members
- To provide a reasonable life standard to unemployed
- To provide childcare support to working parents
- To find a job for anyone willing to work
FOREIGN POLICY
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020

**MOST IMPORTANT PARTNER OF TURKEY...**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>AK Party</th>
<th>CHP</th>
<th>HDP</th>
<th>MHP</th>
<th>İYİ Party</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Azerbaijan</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td>40.6%</td>
<td>49.7%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
<td>49.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
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<td>4.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
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<td>10.0</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>3.7%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE BIGGEST THREAT TO TURKEY...
«SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT TURKEY MIGHT USE MILITARY FORCE OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY WHEN IT IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT ITS INTERESTS IN INTERNATIONAL ARENA» (% OF THOSE WHO AGREE)
“SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT SECURING PEACE IS BEST POSSIBLE PRIMARILY BY MILITARY FORCE. OTHERS THINK THAT, IN RESOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, THE PRIMARY METHOD IS TO RESORT TO NEGOTIATIONS” (% OF THOSE WHO AGREE)
«IF A REFERENDUM WOULD BE HELD FOR FULL MEMBERSHIP TO THE EU...»

- **AK Party**: 42.5% Yes, 41.4% No, 7.9% Don't Vote, 5.4% NA
- **CHP**: 64.8% Yes, 26.2% No, 8.4% Don't Vote, 5.4% NA
- **HDP**: 62.3% Yes, 20.1% No, 8.4% Don't Vote, 10.2% NA
- **MHP**: 34.8% Yes, 50.4% No, 10.2% Don't Vote, 9.6% NA
- **İYİ Party**: 52.0% Yes, 31.4% No, 9.6% Don't Vote, 5.4% NA
Europe has assisted separationist organizations like PKK to get stronger in Turkey. 79.4%

Just like they did in the past to the Ottoman Empire, the European countries want to dissolve and disintegrate Turkey now. 78.5%

Beneath the European attitudes towards Turkey lies the Crusader spirit. 66.6%

The reforms implemented for the European Union accession are not different than the capitulations. 63.8%

The Westernization efforts of Turkey have not gone beyond imitating the West. 63.5%

The reforms requested by the European Union from Turkey are similar to those requested by the Treaty of Sévres. 57.9%
THE SÈVRES SYNDROME (AVERAGE, 1-4)

- AK Party: 3.45
- CHP: 3.06
- HDP: 2.79
- MHP: 3.46
- İYİ Party: 3.17
- General: 3.26
9 CORONAVIRUS
COMPLYING WITH CORONAVIRUS MEASURES

- Using face masks: 6.4% Never/Rarely, 90.6% Always
- No handshaking / no hugging: 8.1% Never/Rarely, 88.8% Always
- Refraining from crowded gatherings such as weddings, ceremonies: 5.2% Never/Rarely, 86.7% Always
- Washing hands frequently: 7.3% Never/Rarely, 86.6% Always
- Staying home unless it is necessary to go out: 5.5% Never/Rarely, 84.6% Always
- No home visits / No guests at home: 8.8% Never/Rarely, 84.2% Always
- Using hand sanitizers: 9.0% Never/Rarely, 80.0% Always
- None or limited public transportation: 6.8% Never/Rarely, 79.7% Always
COMPLYING WITH CORONAVIRUS MEASURES (AVERAGE, 1-5)

- AK Party: 4.36
- CHP: 4.40
- HDP: 4.30
- MHP: 4.40
- İYİ Party: 4.40
RELIABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CORONAVIRUS (TWO RESPONSES, % OF RESPONDENTS)

- Ministry of Health: 64.3%
- Turkish Medical Association: 27.3%
- Television channels: 25.3%
- World Health Organization: 25.2%
- Experts I know: 17.0%
- Family members: 11.2%
- Websites: 5.0%
- Social media channels such as Facebook, Twitter: 3.8%
- WhatsApp groups: 1.1%
- Other: 2.7%
RELIEABLE SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT CORONAVIRUS & PARTY SUPPORTERS (CORRESPONDENCE MAP)
SUPPORT FOR CORONAVIRUS MEASURES (% OF «I SUPPORT» RESPONSES)

- Provision of unemployment assistance to some employees: 84.9%
- Prohibition of crowded activities: 83.1%
- Support loans to certain businesses: 81.7%
- Provision of short-term working allowance to some employees: 79.5%
- Life Fits into Home (HES) application by Ministry of Health: 78.6%
- Prohibition of entry and exit to and from certain provinces: 76.9%
- Curfew for individuals above 65: 75.4%
- Closing of cafes and restaurants: 75.3%
- Weekend curfew: 71.4%
- Curfew for individuals under 20: 70.4%
- Closing of primary and secondary schools and provision of distance...: 69.9%
Dimensions of Polarization in Turkey-2020

SUPPORT FOR CORONAVIRUS MEASURES (PERCENTAGE OF «I SUPPORT» RESPONSES)

Provision of unemployment assistance to some employees
Prohibition of crowded activities
Support loans to certain businesses
Provision of short-term working allowance to some employees
Life Fits into Home (HES) application by Ministry of Health downloaded on mobile phones
Prohibition of entry and exit to and from certain provinces
Curfew for individuals above 65
Closing of cafes and restaurants
Weekend curfew
Curfew for individuals under 20
Closing of primary and secondary schools and provision of distance education

AK Party
CHP
HDP
MHP
İYİ Party
WHAT SHOULD BE THE GOAL OF COMBATING CORONAVIRUS?

- To minimize the number of fatalities and positive cases
- To prevent closing of businesses and loss of jobs
- To ensure continuation of education for the students
- NA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>To minimize the number of fatalities and positive cases (%)</th>
<th>To prevent closing of businesses and loss of jobs (%)</th>
<th>To ensure continuation of education for the students (%)</th>
<th>NA (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AK Party</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHP</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDP</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHP</td>
<td>75.0</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>İYİ Party</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>76.7</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Strategies and Tools for Mitigating Polarization in Turkey

www.turkuazlab.org