International Republican Institute: Turkish Public Opinion Survey
May 8 – 16, 2010
Methodology

This report is a summary of data from a survey conducted May 8 – 16, 2010 by Infakto Research Workshop, a Turkish polling firm.

The survey was conducted through in-person, in-home interviews by Infakto Research Workshop.

Target population of the survey was Turks aged 18 and older.

Sampling framework of the poll is designed to represent Turkish voters through a multi-stage stratified random sampling. In the first stage, the sample has been stratified to 11 NUTS (the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics) of Turkey and three metropolitan cities (as Self-Representing Units). In the second stage, a province has been selected from each NUTS through the probability proportionate to size (PPS) methodology. In the third stage, the sample has been stratified according to central-other sub-provinces and the urban-rural distribution of the province. Final sampling units were households selected according to the Kish method. In order to represent three major metropolitan cities, a boosted sample with a size of 800 interviews is applied.

The sample size is 2,012 with a response rate of 24.4 percent and a cooperation rate of 42 percent according to American Association for Public Opinion Research calculation standards. Estimated sampling error under the simple random sampling assumption is ±2.18 percent at the 95 percent level of confidence.

Infakto Research Workshop created the questionnaire with input and oversight provided by Sarah Simmons at Harris Interactive.

Figures in charts and tables may not sum to 100 percent due to rounding error, omission of “Don’t know/No answer” responses to make chart more readable, highlighting only the top responses, or as specifically explained in individual slides.
Survey Specifications – Demographics

- **Gender**
  - Male 50.1%
  - Female 49.9%

- **Religion**
  - Muslim 99.6%
  - Christian 0.3%
  - Jewish 0.0%
  - Other 0.0%
  - No Answer 0.2%

- **Education**
  - Illiterate 3.9%
  - Literate, not graduated from a school 3.4%
  - Primary school 37.5%
  - Secondary school 15.6%
  - High school 30.3%
  - Vocational school (2 years) 3.3%
  - University (4 years) 5.7%
  - Graduate school 0.4%
  - Other 0.1%
  - No answer 0.1%

- **Working Status**
  - Working – Full-time 30.8%
  - Working – Part-time 2.3%
  - Working – Seasonal 2.2%
  - Working – unpaid family worker 2.74%
  - Not Working – housewife 34.6%
  - Not Working – retired 8.6%
  - Not Working – student 8.6%
  - Not Working – has other revenues 2.0%
  - Not Working – unemployed 7.8%
  - Not Working – because of illness, etc. 0.7%

- **Marital Status**
  - Married 65.9%
  - Single/Never married 29.1%
  - Divorced/Separated 1.5%
  - Widow 2.8%
  - No answer 0.1%
Political Environment
Overall, do you think Turkey is headed in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Right Direction</th>
<th>Wrong Track</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izmir</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankara</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
What is the most urgent problem which our country is facing today? (Top Two Issues Combined)

- Economy - unemployment: 85%
- Security - terror: 46%
- Other: 23%
- Economy - poverty: 16%
- Economy - inflation: 14%
- Southeastern problem*: 10%
- Education: 3%

*The way in which Turks refer to the issue of Kurdish integration and nationalism in Turkey. Many Kurds live in Turkey’s southeast region.
What do politicians talk about too much?

- Deniz Baykal case* 35%
- Constitution-referendum 21%
- Security-terror 5%
- Political instability 3%

*Deniz Baykal, leader of the opposition Republican People’s Party (CHP), was caught in a scandal involving an affair with a former assistant.

What do politicians talk about not enough?

- Economy-unemployment 29%
- Don’t know 21%
- Economic issues-making a living 9%
- Economy-poverty 5%
- Well-being of citizens-social issues 5%
- Education 4%
- Security-terror 4%

Economic Issues Combined: 43%
Compared to five years ago, do you think the economic situation is better or worse?

- Much worse: 26%
- Little worse: 27%
- Same: 13%
- Little better: 25%
- Much better: 8%

Better: 32%
Worse: 52%

When you think about the next 12 months, do you expect the economic situation will be better or worse?

- Much worse: 20%
- Little worse: 22%
- Same: 25%
- Little better: 23%
- Much better: 5%

Better: 28%
Worse: 42%
Compared to five years ago, do you think your family’s economic situation is better or worse?

Better: 23%
Worse: 50%

When you think about the next 12 months, do you expect your family’s economic situation will be better or worse?

Better: 23%
Worse: 36%
Which of these issues will be the most important for you when you vote in the next general elections?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic stability</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting unemployment</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting terrorism</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast problem</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expanding democracy and freedom</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting corruption</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of the education system</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of the health system</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of religious freedoms</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection of secularism</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/No answer</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relations with the European Union (EU)</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Please state how much confidence you have in these institutions...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Total Confidence</th>
<th>Have Confidence:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presidency of republic</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judiciary</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Nations</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **No confidence at all**
- **Don't have confidence**
- **Have some confidence**
- **Total confidence**
Local Political Attitudes
Generally speaking, are things in your municipality heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?

- Right direction: 63% strongly, 40% somewhat, 23% generally
- Wrong direction: 27% strongly, 14% somewhat, 13% generally
Generally speaking, are things in your municipality heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?
Do you approve or disapprove of the way your local mayor has been handling his job?

Ankara
- Approve: 69% (29% strongly approve, 15% somewhat approve)
- Disapprove: 31% (14% strongly disapprove, 12% somewhat disapprove)

Izmir
- Approve: 68% (25% strongly approve, 12% somewhat approve)
- Disapprove: 32% (23% strongly disapprove, 11% somewhat disapprove)

Istanbul
- Approve: 83% (26% strongly approve, 12% somewhat approve)
- Disapprove: 17% (13% strongly disapprove, 10% somewhat disapprove)

[Graph showing approval percentages for Ankara, Izmir, and Istanbul]
Do you approve or disapprove of the way your local municipal council has been handling its job?

Ankara

- Approve: 61%
  - Strongly approve: 47%
  - Somewhat approve: 14%
- Disapprove: 39%
  - Strongly disapprove: 15%
  - Somewhat disapprove: 14%

Izmir

- Approve: 63%
  - Strongly approve: 24%
  - Somewhat approve: 14%
- Disapprove: 37%
  - Strongly disapprove: 11%
  - Somewhat disapprove: 33%

Istanbul

- Approve: 75%
  - Strongly approve: 23%
  - Somewhat approve: 12%
- Disapprove: 25%
  - Strongly disapprove: 15%
  - Somewhat disapprove: 3%
I will read out some factors which may affect your decision in local elections. Please say which of these factors is the most important.

- Candidate personality: 50%
- Party of candidate: 21%
- Program of candidate: 11%
- Local government performance: 11%
I will read out some factors which may be affecting your decisions in the forthcoming local elections. Please can you say which of these factors is the most important.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Local government performance</th>
<th>Program of candidate</th>
<th>Party of candidate</th>
<th>Candidate personality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ankara</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Izmir</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istanbul</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:
- Local government performance
- Program of candidate
- Party of candidate
- Candidate personality
Some argue that if the mayor is from the ruling party, he/she can perform better with the support of the central government. Some say that if the mayor is not from the ruling party, they will be more independent. Which argument best describes your point of view?
What is the most pressing issue for local government to address?

- Roads: 33%
- Jobs: 32%
- Trash: 19%
- Zone planning: 16%
- Traffic: 17%
- Development: 14%
- Health clinics: 11%
- Schools: 9%
- Parks: 9%
Are the following local problems improving or worsening...?

- **Urban planning**: 16% Improving a lot, 36% Improving a little, 12% Worsening a little, 13% Worsening a lot, 14% Same
- **Trash**: 22% Improving a lot, 41% Improving a little, 11% Worsening a little, 10% Worsening a lot, 9% Same
- **Environmental pollution**: 18% Improving a lot, 39% Improving a little, 14% Worsening a little, 11% Worsening a lot, 11% Same
- **Transportation**: 19% Improving a lot, 39% Improving a little, 12% Worsening a little, 10% Worsening a lot, 12% Same
- **Water**: 19% Improving a lot, 38% Improving a little, 10% Worsening a little, 11% Worsening a lot, 14% Same
- **Recreation-parks**: 26% Improving a lot, 40% Improving a little, 9% Worsening a little, 8% Worsening a lot, 10% Same
- **Roads**: 19% Improving a lot, 42% Improving a little, 14% Worsening a little, 9% Worsening a lot, 8% Same
As a citizen, do you have good or poor access to your local government elected officials?

- Very good, 19%
- Somewhat good, 22%
- Somewhat poor, 16%
- Very poor, 22%
- Don't know/No answer, 22%

**Good:** 41%

**Poor:** 38%
As a citizen, do you have good or poor access to your local government elected officials?

- **Ankara**: 45% Good access, 50% Bad access
- **Izmir**: 54% Bad access
- **Istanbul**: 47% Good access, 38% Bad access

Legend: Green = Good access, Orange = Bad access
Where do you receive information about what is happening in your municipality?

- Friends and family: 46%
- Television: 20%
- Local newspaper: 18%
- Internet: 3%
- Media other: 2%
- Radio: 1%
If there was a citizen council auditing the decisions and practices of your municipality, would you participate in its meetings?

- Yes, would participate in ALL meetings, 35%
- Never participate, 13%
- Would not participate much, 11%
- Don't know, 13%

**Would participate:** 63%

**Would not participate:** 24%
### Would you like to see more, less, or the same...?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Less</th>
<th>Same</th>
<th>More</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Party/candidate meetings with constituents</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct contact with party/candidate</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Press conference</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flyers</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone calls from party/candidate</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Door-to-door</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party meetings/events</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key Issues for Turkey
Some argue that certain groups have sought to take control of the government through a plan called Ergenekon*. Do you agree or disagree with them?

Agree: 55%
Disagree: 28%

*The name given to an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government
Are you satisfied with the way the Ergenekon investigation has been carried out?

Those who are dissatisfied list the following reasons (n=540):

- It is made up, it is a fake case: 19%
- They arrest irrelevant people: 18%
- Don’t know/No answer: 11%
- Don’t like how it has been conducted: 8%
- Civil judicial institutions are biased: 8%
- It is set to degrade the military: 7%
- Investigation is not persuasive: 7%
- Other: 7%

Satisfied 53%
Dissatisfied 27%
How well informed do you feel about the government’s Democratization Program?

Informed: 50%
Not Informed: 40%
Do you support the latest reforms of the government known as the Democratization Program?

- Support: 51%
- Oppose: 29%
- Strongly support, 18%
- Somewhat support, 33%
- Strongly oppose, 16%
- Somewhat oppose, 13%
- Don't know, 20%
Some argue that the Democratization Program of the government will empower separatist movements while others believe that this program is an important opportunity to stop terrorism. Which one of these arguments is closer to your opinion?
Some argue that the current Constitution needs to be amended. Do you agree or disagree with them?

- Agree: 51%
  - Strongly: 28%
  - Somewhat: 23%
- Disagree: 29%
  - 10%

How well informed do you feel about the government’s current package of Constitutional amendments?

- Informed: 48%
- Not informed: 42%
  - Very informed, 39%
  - Somewhat informed, 28%
  - Not very informed, 14%
  - Don’t know, 10%
Can you say whether you support or oppose each of the possible amendments?

- Changing the formation of the Constitutional Court: 42% support, 23% somewhat support, 19% somewhat oppose, 11% strongly oppose, 22% strongly oppose, 26% don't know.
- Changing the formation of the Higher Council of Judges and Public Prosecutors: 42% support, 23% somewhat support, 19% somewhat oppose, 10% strongly oppose, 22% strongly oppose, 26% don't know.
- Allowing public servants the right to collective agreement and the right to strike: 67% support, 45% somewhat support, 22% somewhat oppose, 8% strongly oppose, 7% strongly oppose, 18% don't know.
- Ending immunity from prosecution for 1980 military coup leaders: 57% support, 42% somewhat support, 15% somewhat oppose, 8% strongly oppose, 13% strongly oppose, 23% don't know.
If a referendum were to be held this Sunday for the approval of the Constitutional amendments would you vote for or against?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Definitely</th>
<th>Probably</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Financial Crisis
Is there a financial crisis?

- Agree: 73%
  - Strongly: 45%
  - Somewhat: 28%
- Disagree: 25%
  - Strongly: 14%
  - Somewhat: 11%

Is the existing situation worse than the 2001 financial crisis?

- 2001 worse:
  - Totally: 31%
  - Somewhat: 14%
- Current crisis worse:
  - Totally: 27%
  - Somewhat: 17%
How successful has the government been dealing with the crisis?

- **Successful:** 51%
- **Not successful:** 44%
- Very successful, 33%
- Not very successful, 30%
- Somewhat successful, 18%
- Don't know/No answer, 5%
- Not successful at all, 14%
Turkish Cultural Attitudes
Graduates of Imam Hatip schools* should: A. be employed ONLY in their fields or B. SHOULD NOT ONLY be employed in their fields

*Imam Hatip schools are state-run, religious educational institutions, similar to vocational schools, whose students typically study to become imams.
Participation of religious leaders or authorities in political life: A. SHOULD be restricted or B. SHOULD NOT be restricted?

- Religious leaders participating in political life SHOULD be restricted: 50%
- Religious leaders participating in political life SHOULD NOT be restricted: 43%
I believe the activities of Islamic foundations: A. SHOULD be closely controlled or B. SHOULD NOT be closely controlled?

- 72% believe the activities of Islamic foundations SHOULD be closely controlled.
- 22% believe the activities of Islamic foundations SHOULD NOT be closely controlled.
A woman who wears a headscarf in my workplace: A. DOES disturb me or B. DOES NOT disturb me?
Our schools: A. **NEED** or B. **DO NOT NEED** to provide more religious education to our children?

- **63%** need more religious education
- **34%** do not need more religious education
Sharia: A. SHOULD be our government model or B. SHOULD NOT be our government model?

- 17% for Sharia SHOULD be our government model
- 77% for Sharia SHOULD NOT be our government model
Islamic extremists: A. ARE a threat to our lives or B. ARE NOT a threat to our lives?

- Islamic extremists ARE a threat to our lives: 51%
- Islamic extremists ARE NOT a threat to our lives: 39%
Now, I will read some situations from our daily lives that concern some, but not others. Regardless of what others think, for each one of them, can you state whether it concerns you or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Doesn't concern at all</th>
<th>Doesn't concern much</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wife of a minister/high level bureaucrat wearing a headscarf</td>
<td>66%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University students wearing turban</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors wearing a headscarf</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers wearing a headscarf</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of women by male doctor</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colleague wearing traditional/Islamic clothing</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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International Relationships
Generally speaking, do you think that Turkey’s membership in the European Union is a good thing or a bad thing?

If a referendum were held this Sunday for Turkey’s full membership in the European Union, would you vote for or against full membership?

- Don't know, 11%
- Definitely for, 34%
- Definitely against, 17%
- Probably against, 11%
- Probably for, 27%

Total for EU membership: 51%
Total against EU membership: 28%
Generally speaking, what are the most important advantages of Turkey’s membership in the European Union?

- Economic development: 43%
- Free movement w/in EU: 15%
- Increased international power: 10%
- Improved democracy: 7%
- Fair treatment of citizens by the State: 3%

What are the most important disadvantages of European Union membership?

- Weakening of national identity: 33%
- Weakening of religious values: 19%
- Weakening of independence: 7%
- Weakening of Turkish companies: 5%
- Empowerment of separatists: 4%