International Republican Institute: Turkish Public Opinion Survey

Methodology

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 2005 with a response rate of 18 percent and a cooperation rate of 32 percent according to American Association for Public Opinion Research calculation standards. Estimated sampling error under the simple random sampling assumption is $\pm$ 2.18 percent at the 95 percent level of confidence.

The fieldwork was completed between September 18 – September 30, 2010.

Infakto created the questionnaire with input from 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.

Demographic Profile

Gender	N=2005
Male	52%
Female	48%

Age	N=2005
18-24	19%
25-34	28%
35-44	23%
45-54	17%
55-64	8%
65 and over	5%

Marital Status	N=2005
Married	69%
Single	26%
Divorced	1%
Widowed	4%

Has Children	N=2005
Yes	68%
No	29%

Education	N=2005
Can't read	4%
Can just read	3%
Elementary	34%
Secondary	16%
High School	31%
Vocational, 2 year university	3%
4 year university	8%
Masters or doctorate	*

Employment Status	N=2005
Full-time	30%
Part-time	3%
Seasonal	3%
Unpaid work for family	2%
Housewife	34%
Retired	11%
Student	8%
Unemployed with Income	1%
Unemployed	8%
Can't work	*

Region	N=2005
Istanbul	18%
Western Marmara	5%
Aegean	13%
Eastern Marmara	9%
Western Anatolia	9%
Mediterranean	13%
Central Anatolian	6%
Western Black Sea	6%
Eastern Black Sea	4%
North Eastern Anatolia	3%
Central Eastern Anatolia	5%
South Eastern Anatolia	10%
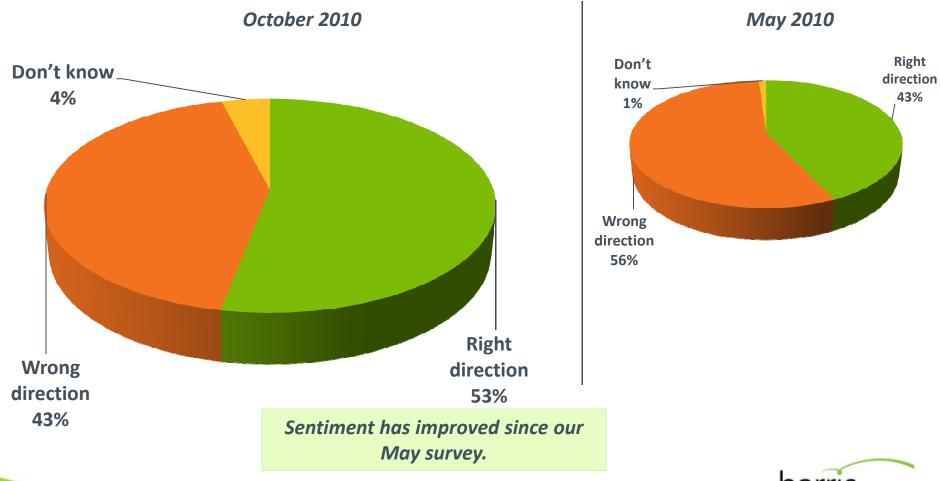
Monthly Family Income	N=2005
150 TL and less	3%
151-300 TL	2%
301-450 TL	4%
451-600 TL	9%
601-750 TL	12%
751-1,000 TL	18%
1,001-1,200 TL	11%
1,201-1,500 TL	10%
1,501-1,800 TL	8%
1,801-2,400 TL	7%
2,401-3,000 TL	4%
3,001 TL and over	3%
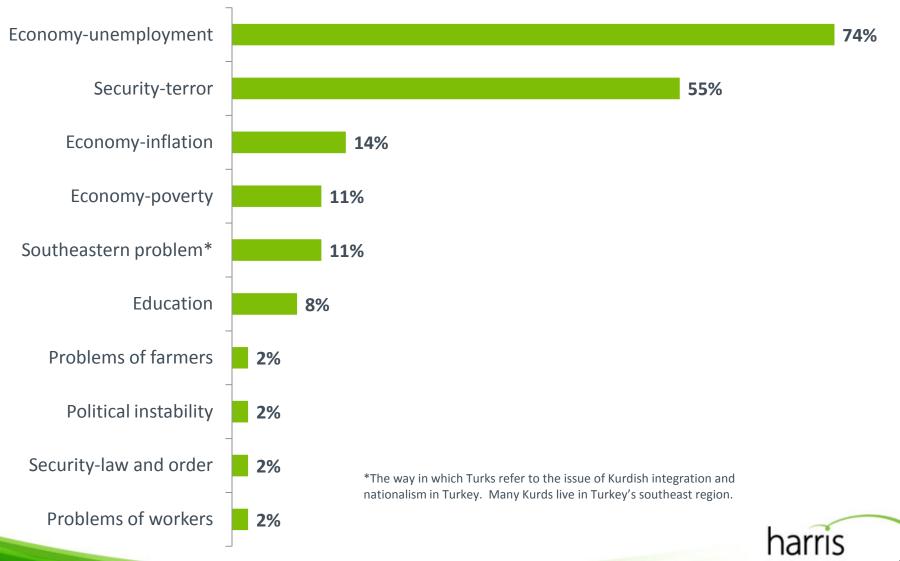
Political Environment

Overall, do you think Turkey is headed in the right direction or in the wrong direction?

October 2010

Don't know
4%

Wrong
direction
43%

Right
direction
53%

May 2010

Don't
know
1%

Right
direction
43%

Wrong
direction
56%

Sentiment has improved since our May survey.

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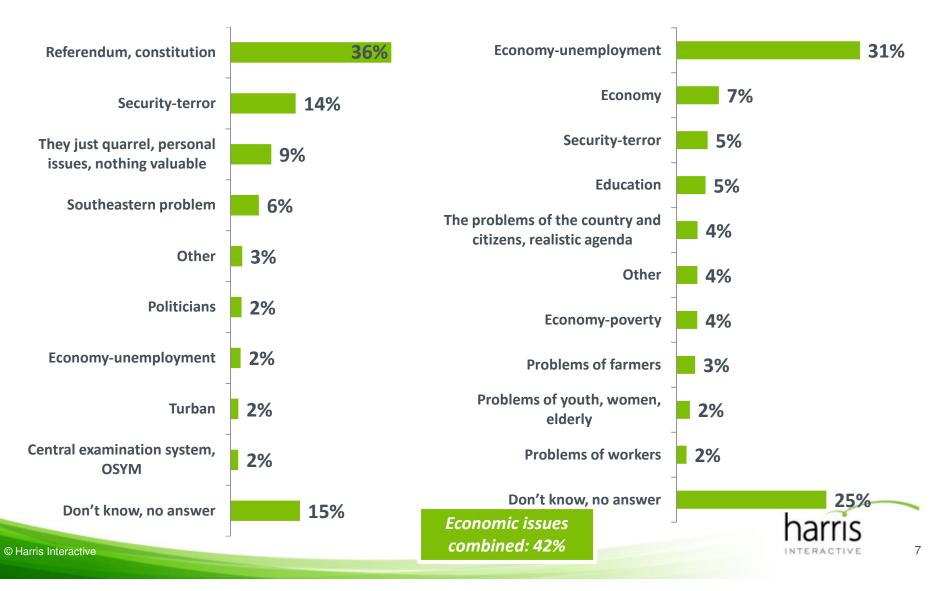
What is the most urgent problem our country is facing today? (Top two issues combined)

Issue	Percentage
Economy-unemployment	74%
Security-terror	55%
Economy-inflation	14%
Economy-poverty	11%
Southeastern problem*	11%
Education	8%
Problems of farmers	2%
Political instability	2%
Security-law and order	2%
Problems of workers	2%

*The way in which Turks refer to the issue of Kurdish integration and nationalism in Turkey. Many Kurds live in Turkey's southeast region.

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Voters would like to hear more from politicians about the economy

What do politicians talk about too much?

Referendum, constitution	**36%**
Security-terror	**14%**
They just quarrel, personal issues, nothing valuable	**9%**
Southeastern problem	**6%**
Other	**3%**
Politicians	**2%**
Economy-unemployment	**2%**
Turban	**2%**
Central examination system, OSYM	**2%**
Don't know, no answer	**15%**

What do politicians not talk about enough?

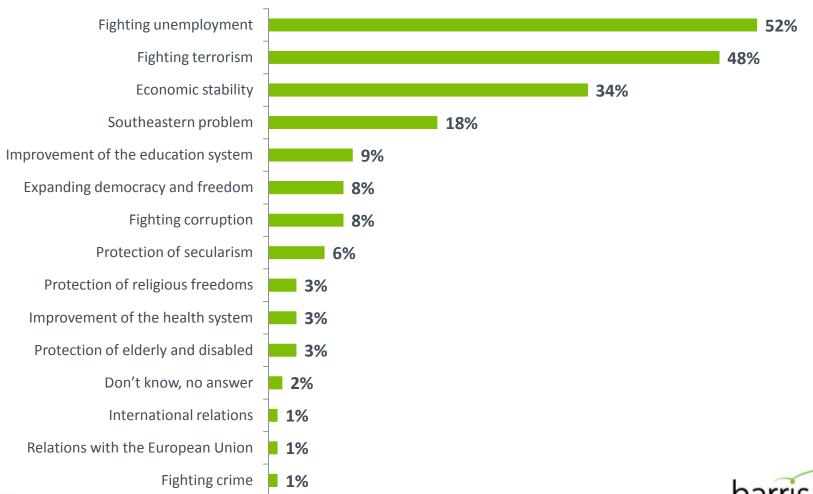|	
Economy-unemployment	**31%**
Economy	**7%**
Security-terror	**5%**
Education	**5%**
The problems of the country and citizens, realistic agenda	**4%**
Other	**4%**
Economy-poverty	**4%**
Problems of farmers	**3%**
Problems of youth, women, elderly	**2%**
Problems of workers	**2%**
Don't know, no answer	**25%**

Economic issues combined: 42%

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When you consider the governing period of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) since the last general elections, how do you rate the performance of the government on these issues? Please use the scale in which 10 refers to the best performance and zero refers to the worst.
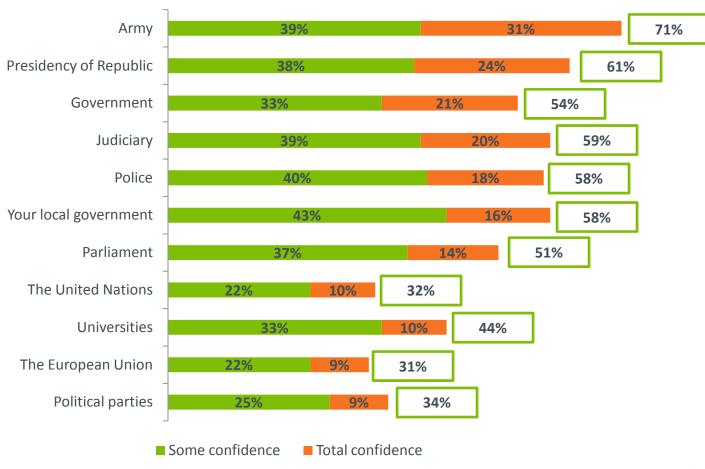
Issue	Rating
Improvement of the health system	5.97
Protection of religious freedoms	5.70
Protection of elderly and handicapped people	5.67
International relations	5.65
Relations with the European Union	5.49
Improvement of the education system	5.28
Fighting crime	5.07
Economic stability	5.04
Expanding democracy and freedom	5.02
Fighting corruption	4.92
Protection of secularism	4.68
Southeastern Problem	4.26
Fighting terrorism	4.00
Fighting unemployment	3.85

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Which of these issues will be the most important for you when you vote in the next general elections? (Top Two Answers)

Issue	%
Fighting unemployment	52%
Fighting terrorism	48%
Economic stability	34%
Southeastern problem	18%
Improvement of the education system	9%
Expanding democracy and freedom	8%
Fighting corruption	8%
Protection of secularism	6%
Protection of religious freedoms	3%
Improvement of the health system	3%
Protection of elderly and disabled	3%
Don't know, no answer	2%
International relations	1%
Relations with the European Union	1%
Fighting crime	1%

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

Total confidence:

Institution	Some confidence	Total confidence	Total
Army	39%	31%	71%
Presidency of Republic	38%	24%	61%
Government	33%	21%	54%
Judiciary	39%	20%	59%
Police	40%	18%	58%
Your local government	43%	16%	58%
Parliament	37%	14%	51%
The United Nations	22%	10%	32%
Universities	33%	10%	44%
The European Union	22%	9%	31%
Political parties	25%	9%	34%

■ Some confidence ■ Total confidence
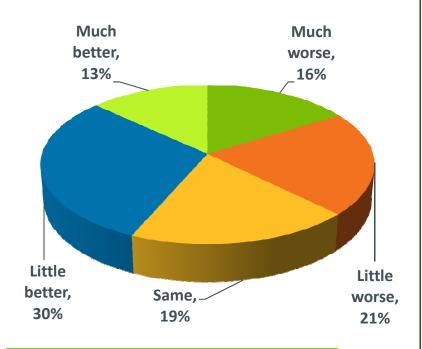
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Financial Crisis

Compared to five years ago, do you think the economic situation is better or worse?

Much better, 13%

Much worse, 16%

Little better, 30%

Same, 19%

Little worse, 21%

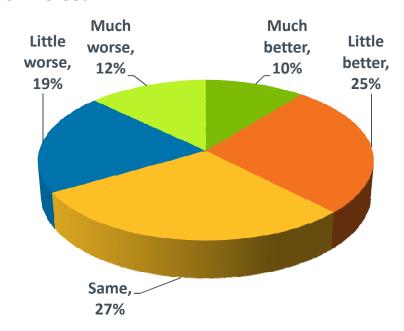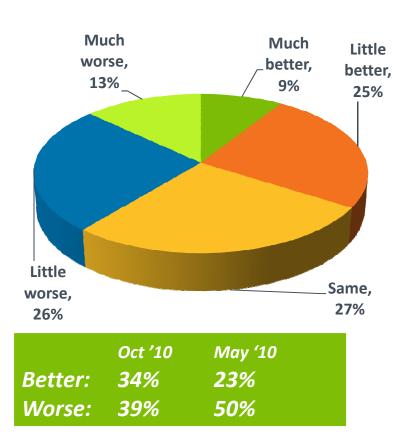|	Oct '10	May '10
Better:	43%	32%
Worse:	37%	52%

When you think about the next 12 months, do you expect the economic situation will be better or worse?
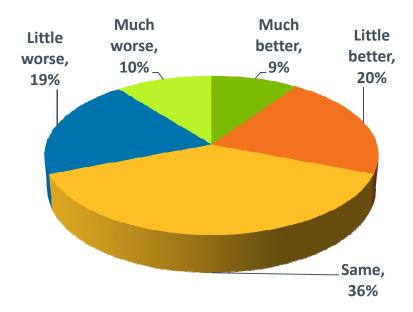
Little worse, 19%

Much worse, 12%

Much better, 10%

Little better, 25%

Same, 27%

	Oct '10	May '10
Better:	35%	28%
Worse:	31%	42%

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Compared to five years ago, do you think your family's economic situation is better or worse?

Much worse, 13%

Much better, 9%

Little better, 25%

Little worse, 26%

Same, 27%

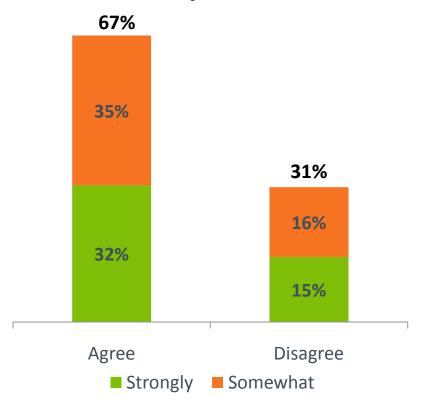|	Oct '10	May '10
Better:	34%	23%
Worse:	39%	50%

When you think about the next 12 months, do you expect your family's economic situation will be better or worse?
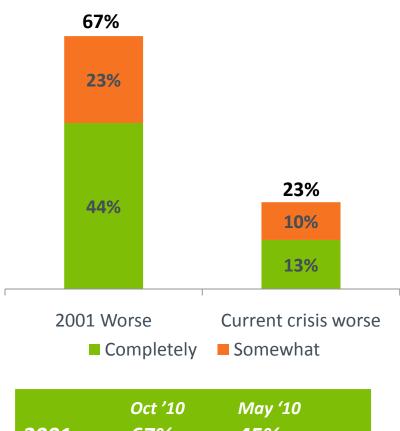
Little worse, 19%

Much worse, 10%

Much better, 9%

Little better, 20%

Same, 36%

	Oct '10	May '10
Better:	29%	23%
Worse:	29%	36%

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Is there a financial crisis?

67%

35% Somewhat

32% Strongly

31%

16% Somewhat

15% Strongly

Agree   Disagree

■ Strongly ■ Somewhat
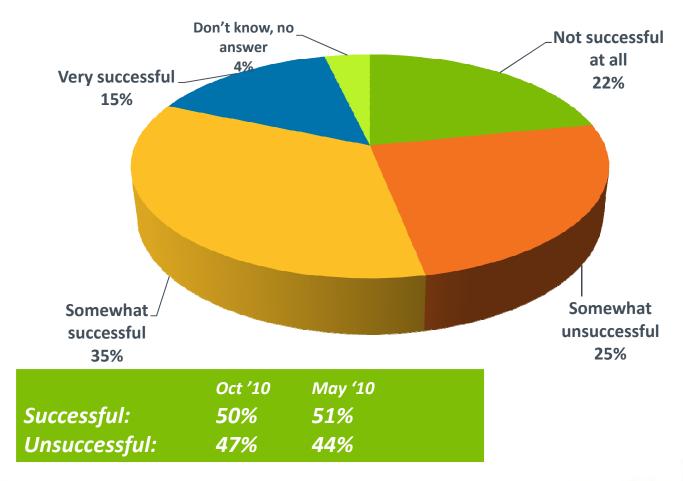
	Oct '10	May '10
Agree:	67%	73%
Disagree:	31%	25%

Is the existing situation worse than the crisis in 2001?

67%

23% Somewhat

44% Completely

23%

10% Somewhat

13% Completely

2001 Worse   Current crisis worse

■ Completely ■ Somewhat

	Oct '10	May '10
2001:	67%	45%
Current:	23%	44%

INTERACTIVE   14
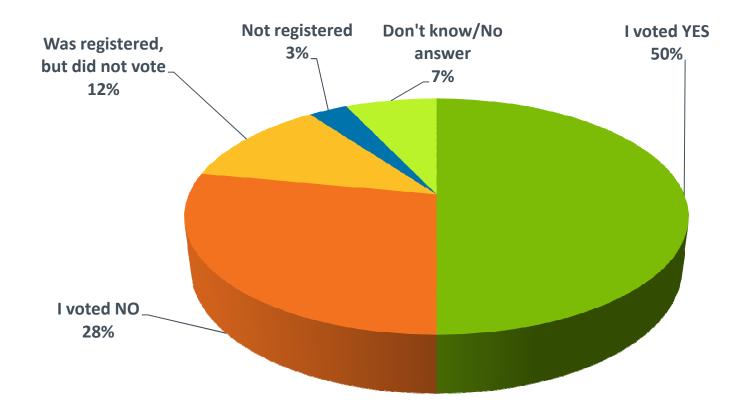
How successful has the government been dealing with the crisis?

Don't know, no answer
4%

Not successful at all
22%

Very successful
15%

Somewhat unsuccessful
25%

Somewhat successful
35%

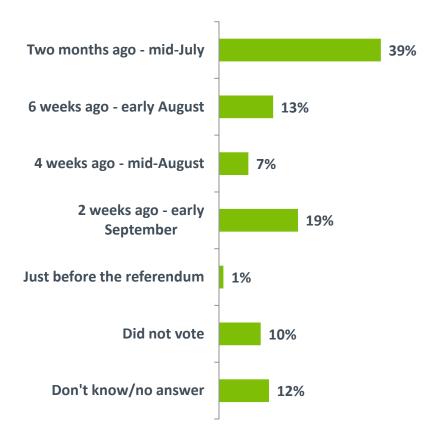|	Oct '10	May '10
Successful:	*50%*	*51%*
Unsuccessful:	*47%*	*44%*

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Referendum

Did you vote in the referendum of September 12 and can you state your preference in this referendum?

Was registered, but did not vote 12%

Not registered 3%

Don't know/No answer 7%

I voted YES 50%

I voted NO 28%

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When did you decide your preference in this referendum?

Response	Percentage
Two months ago - mid-July	39%
6 weeks ago - early August	13%
4 weeks ago - mid-August	7%
2 weeks ago - early September	19%
Just before the referendum	1%
Did not vote	10%
Don't know/no answer	12%

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Now I will read out some possible reasons for your decision in the last referendum. Can you state whether each of these reasons is valid for you?

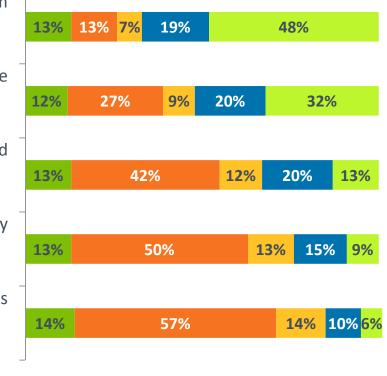I voted according to my perceptions of the referendum package
13% | 13% | 7% | 19% | 48%

I voted according to my party's/leader's position in the referendum
12% | 27% | 9% | 20% | 32%

I voted according to the views of my family, relatives and friends
13% | 42% | 12% | 20% | 13%

I voted according to views of reputable persons in my neighborhood
13% | 50% | 13% | 15% | 9%

I voted according to the views of my favorite columnists
14% | 57% | 14% | 10% | 6%

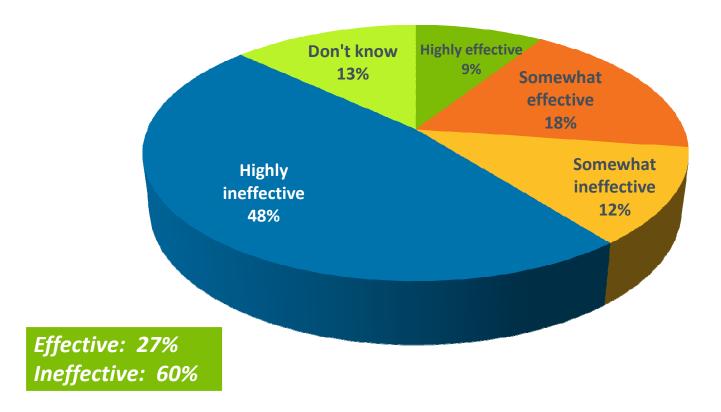■ Don't know ■ Strongly invalid ■ Somewhat invalid ■ Somewhat valid ■ Strongly valid
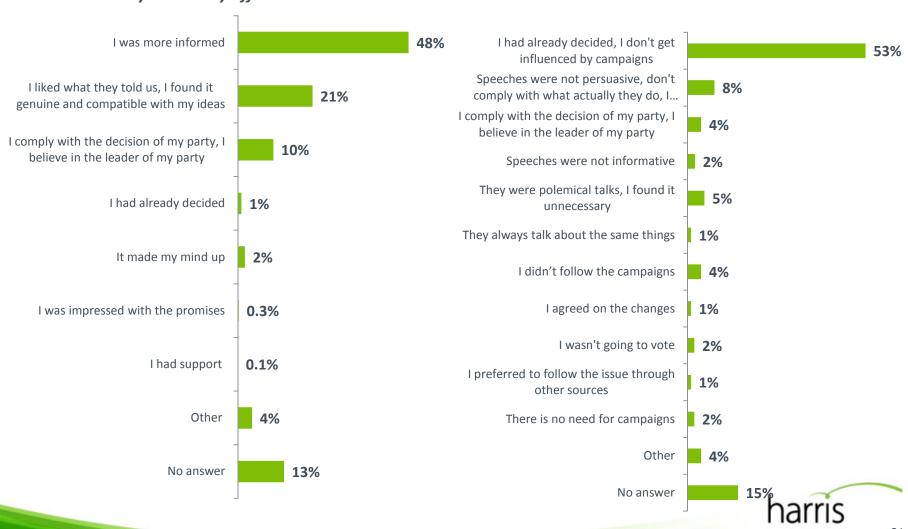
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Considering the last two months before the referendum, how effective were the campaigns of political parties?

Don't know
13%

Highly effective
9%

Somewhat effective
18%

Somewhat ineffective
12%

Highly ineffective
48%

Effective: 27%
Ineffective: 60%

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Why were they effective?

- I was more informed — **48%**
- I liked what they told us, I found it genuine and compatible with my ideas — **21%**
- I comply with the decision of my party, I believe in the leader of my party — **10%**
- I had already decided — **1%**
- It made my mind up — **2%**
- I was impressed with the promises — **0.3%**
- I had support — **0.1%**
- Other — **4%**
- No answer — **13%**

Why weren't they effective?

- I had already decided, I don't get influenced by campaigns — **53%**
- Speeches were not persuasive, don't comply with what actually they do, I… — **8%**
- I comply with the decision of my party, I believe in the leader of my party — **4%**
- Speeches were not informative — **2%**
- They were polemical talks, I found it unnecessary — **5%**
- They always talk about the same things — **1%**
- I didn't follow the campaigns — **4%**
- I agreed on the changes — **1%**
- I wasn't going to vote — **2%**
- I preferred to follow the issue through other sources — **1%**
- There is no need for campaigns — **2%**
- Other — **4%**
- No answer — **15%**
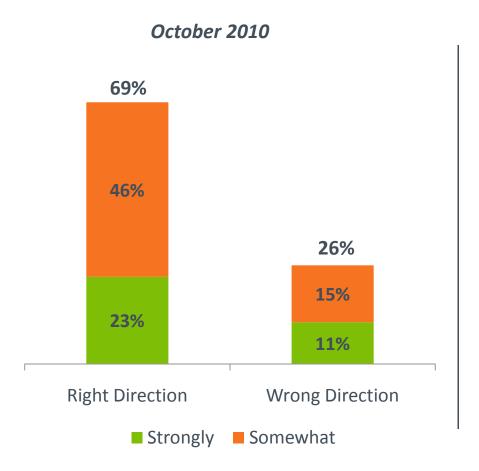
Local Political Attitudes
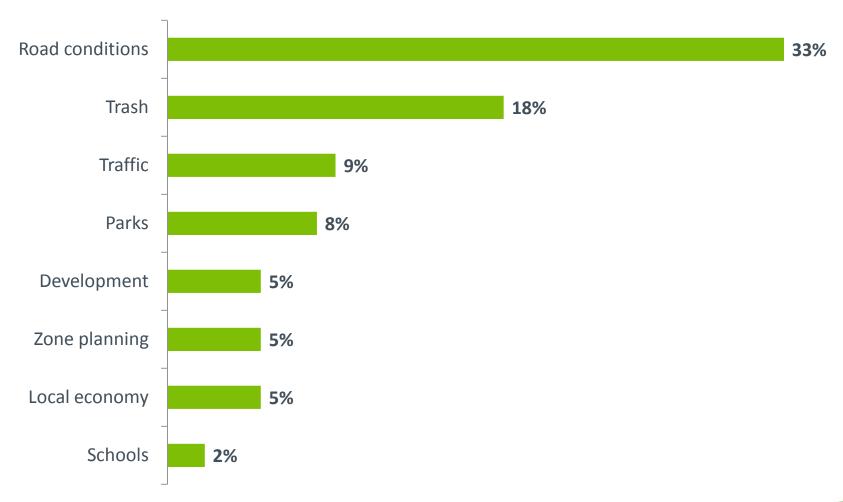
Generally speaking, are things in your municipality heading in the right direction or the wrong direction?

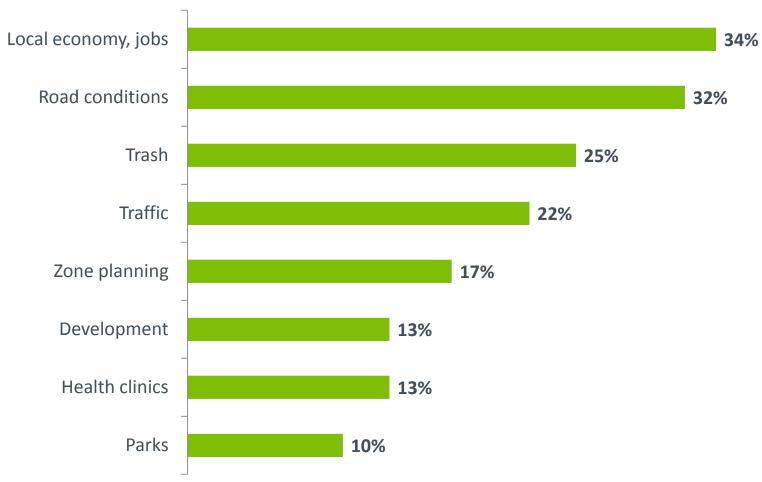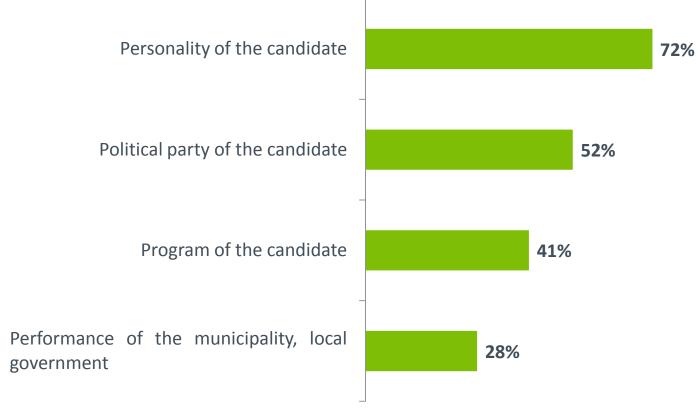**October 2010**

- 69%
  - 46%
  - 23%
- 26%
  - 15%
  - 11%

Right Direction | Wrong Direction

■ Strongly ■ Somewhat

May 2010

- 63%
  - 40%
  - 23%
- 27%
  - 14%
  - 13%

Right direction | Wrong direction

■ Strongly ■ Somewhat

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23

What is the main reason for your answer?

Category	Percentage
Road conditions	33%
Trash	18%
Traffic	9%
Parks	8%
Development	5%
Zone planning	5%
Local economy	5%
Schools	2%

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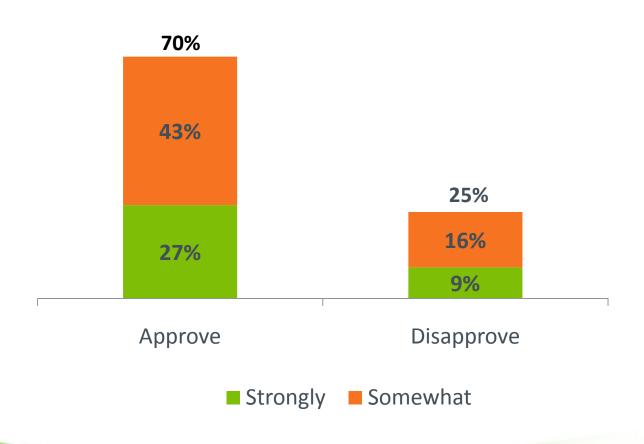
What is the most pressing issue for local government to address? (Top Two Answers)

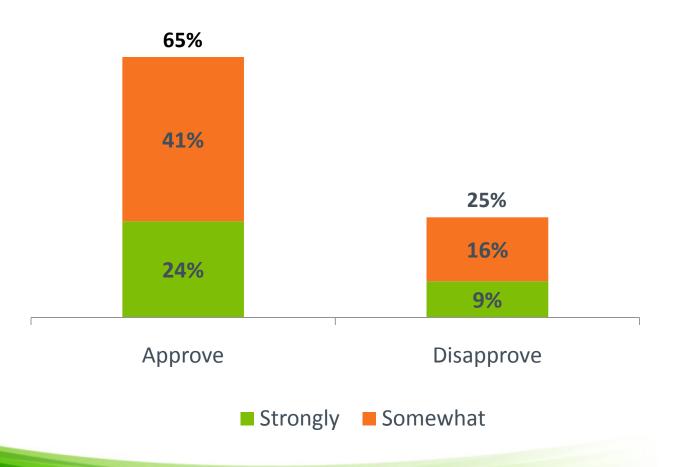| Issue	Percentage
Local economy, jobs	**34%**
Road conditions	**32%**
Trash	**25%**
Traffic	**22%**
Zone planning	**17%**
Development	**13%**
Health clinics	**13%**
Parks	**10%**

I will read out some factors which may be affecting your decisions in the forthcoming local elections. Please say which of these factors is the most important (Top Two Responses)
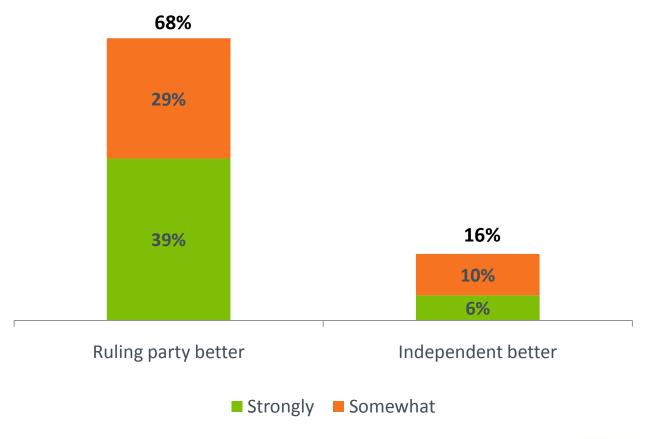
Factor	Percentage
Personality of the candidate	72%
Political party of the candidate	52%
Program of the candidate	41%
Performance of the municipality, local government	28%

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Do you approve or disapprove of the way your local mayor has been handling his or her job?
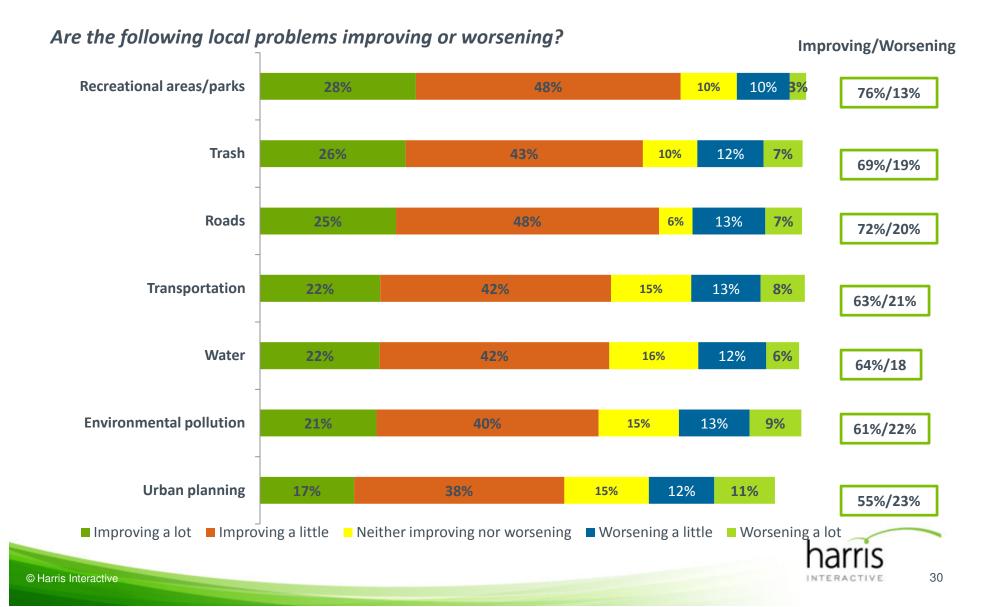
Do you approve or disapprove of the way your local municipal council has been handling its job?
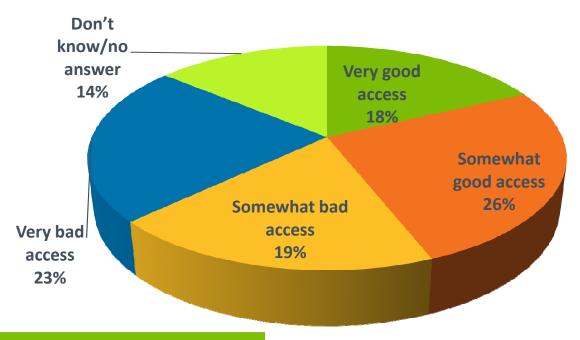

Legend: ■ Strongly ■ Somewhat

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?

68%

29%

39%

16%

10%

6%

Ruling party better

Independent better

■ Strongly ■ Somewhat

Are the following local problems improving or worsening?

Improving/Worsening

	Improving a lot	Improving a little	Neither improving nor worsening	Worsening a little	Worsening a lot	Improving/Worsening
Recreational areas/parks	28%	48%	10%	10%	3%	76%/13%
Trash	26%	43%	10%	12%	7%	69%/19%
Roads	25%	48%	6%	13%	7%	72%/20%
Transportation	22%	42%	15%	13%	8%	63%/21%
Water	22%	42%	16%	12%	6%	64%/18
Environmental pollution	21%	40%	15%	13%	9%	61%/22%
Urban planning	17%	38%	15%	12%	11%	55%/23%

■ Improving a lot ■ Improving a little ■ Neither improving nor worsening ■ Worsening a little ■ Worsening a lot

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As a citizen, do you have good or bad access to your local government elected officials?

Don't know/no answer 14%

Very good access 18%

Somewhat good access 26%

Somewhat bad access 19%

Very bad access 23%
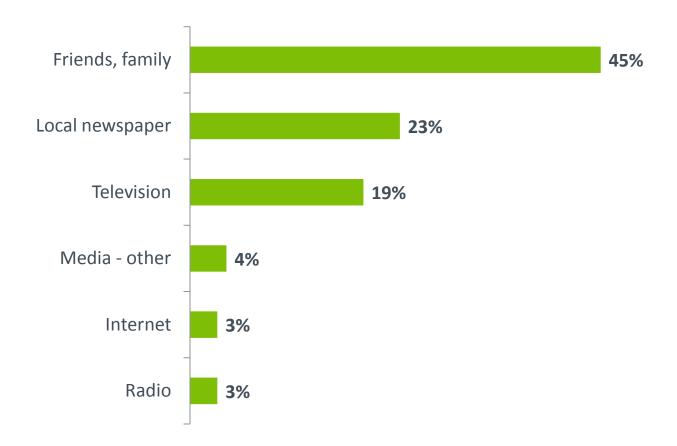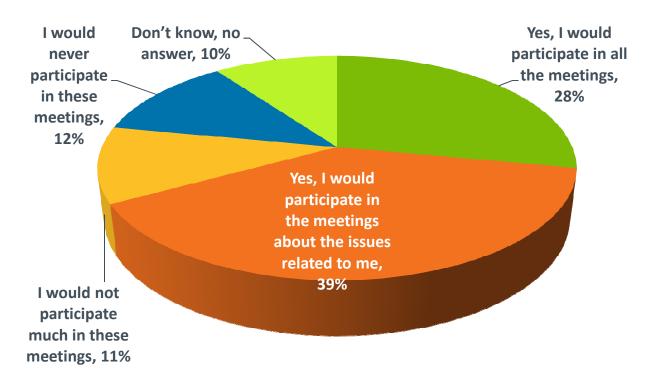
	Oct '10	May '10
Good Access:	**44%**	**41%**
Bad Access:	**42%**	**38%**

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Where do you receive information about what is happening in your municipality?

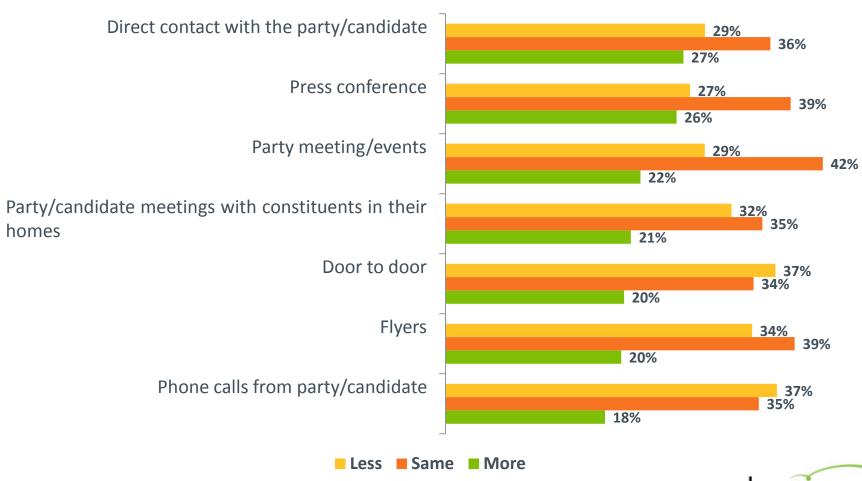|	
Friends, family	45%
Local newspaper	23%
Television	19%
Media - other	4%
Internet	3%
Radio	3%

If there was a citizen council auditing the decisions and practices of your municipality, would you participate in its meetings?
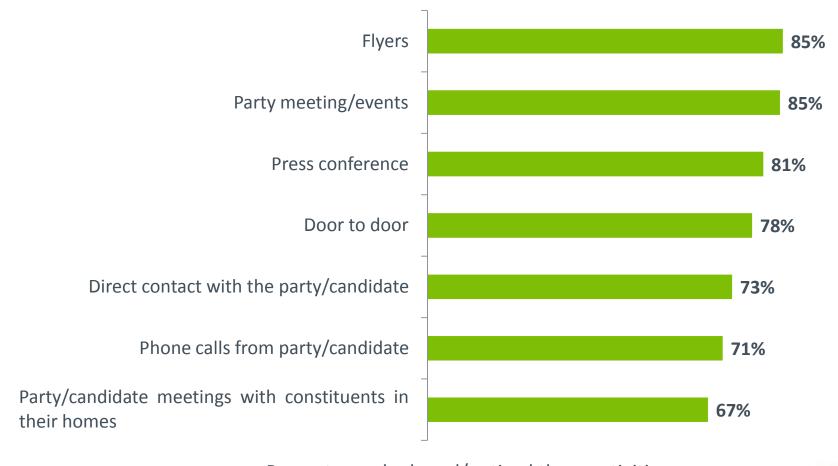

I would never participate in these meetings, 12%

Don't know, no answer, 10%

Yes, I would participate in all the meetings, 28%

Yes, I would participate in the meetings about the issues related to me, 39%

I would not participate much in these meetings, 11%

Would Participate: 67%
Would Not Participate: 23%

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Would you like to see...

Chart: *Would you like to see...*

Category	Less	Same	More
Direct contact with the party/candidate	29%	36%	27%
Press conference	27%	39%	26%
Party meeting/events	29%	42%	22%
Party/candidate meetings with constituents in their homes	32%	35%	21%
Door to door	37%	34%	20%
Flyers	34%	39%	20%
Phone calls from party/candidate	37%	35%	18%

Legend: Less, Same, More

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Have you heard or noticed local political party activities...

Activity	Percentage
Flyers	85%
Party meeting/events	85%
Press conference	81%
Door to door	78%
Direct contact with the party/candidate	73%
Phone calls from party/candidate	71%
Party/candidate meetings with constituents in their homes	67%

■ Percentage who heard/noticed these activities

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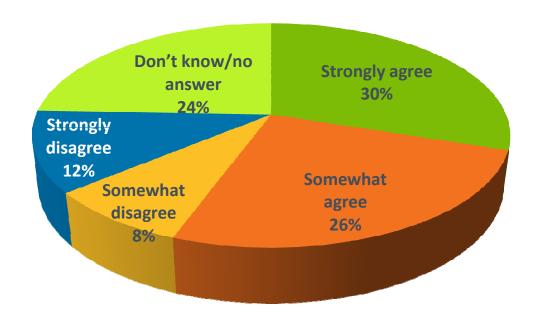
Key Issues for Turkey
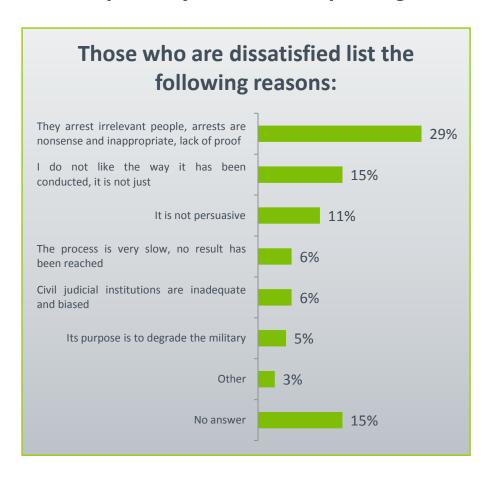
Some argue that certain groups have sought to take control of the government through a plan called Ergenekon*. Do you agree or disagree with them?
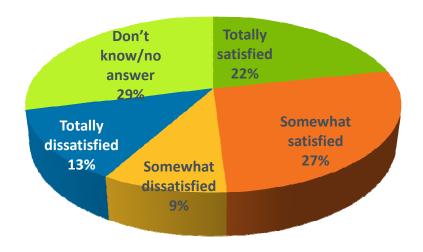
*The name given to an alleged conspiracy to overthrow the government

	Oct '10	May '10
Agree:	56%	55%
Disagree:	20%	28%

Are you satisfied with the way the Ergenekon investigation has been carried out?

Those who are dissatisfied list the following reasons:

Reason	
They arrest irrelevant people, arrests are nonsense and inappropriate, lack of proof	29%
I do not like the way it has been conducted, it is not just	15%
It is not persuasive	11%
The process is very slow, no result has been reached	6%
Civil judicial institutions are inadequate and biased	6%
Its purpose is to degrade the military	5%
Other	3%
No answer	15%

Pie chart:
- Don't know/no answer 29%
- Totally satisfied 22%
- Somewhat satisfied 27%
- Somewhat dissatisfied 9%
- Totally dissatisfied 13%

	Oct '10	May '10
Satisfied	49%	53%
Dissatisfied	22%	27%
Don't know	29%	20%

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Turkish Cultural Attitudes

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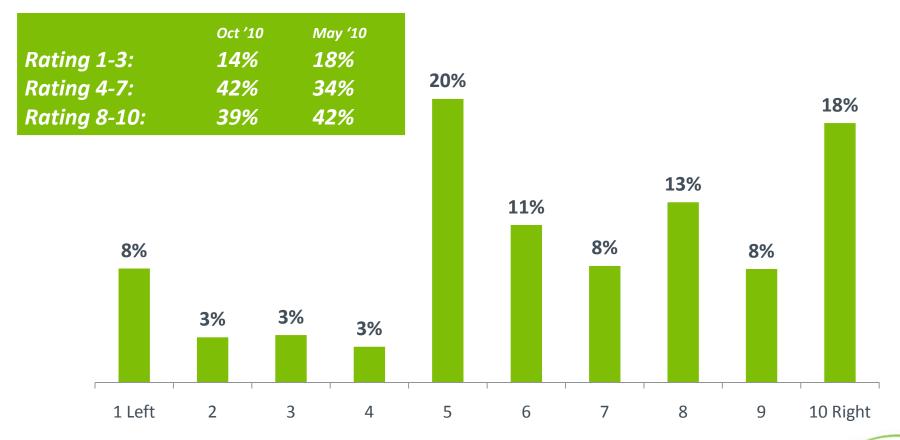*Generally speaking, how nationalist do you feel? (With one being not nationalist at all and 10 being entirely)*

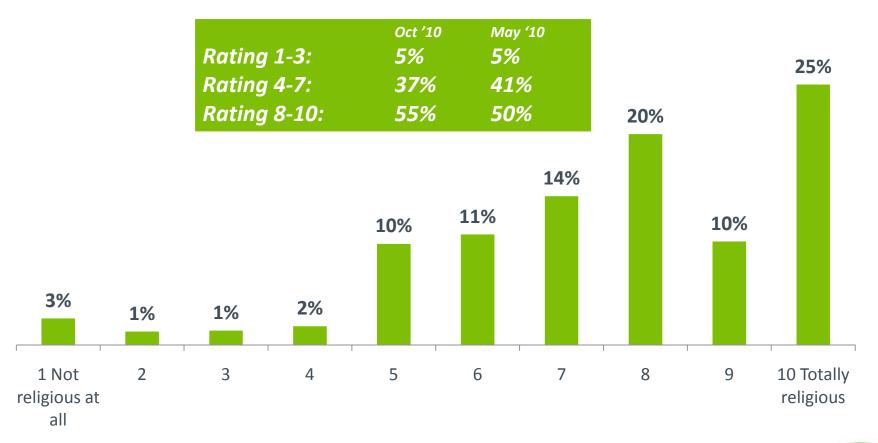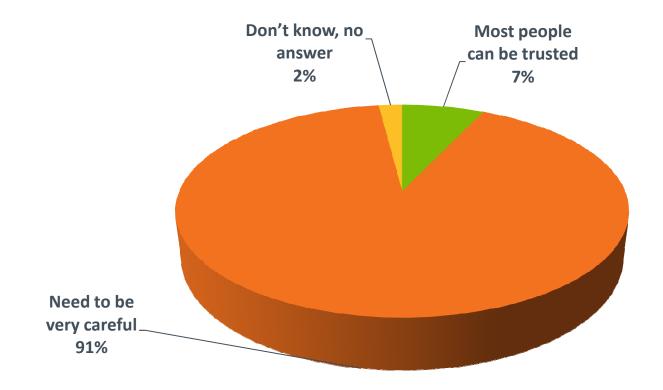## Turkish Nationalist

	Oct '10	May '10
Rating 1-3:	*9%*	*10%*
Rating 4-7:	*28%*	*21%*
Rating 8-10:	*62%*	*61%*

- 1 Not nationalist at all: 6%
- 2: 2%
- 3: 1%
- 4: 1%
- 5: 8%
- 6: 8%
- 7: 11%
- 8: 15%
- 9: 11%
- 10 Totally nationalist: 36%

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In political matters, people speak of the left and the right. How would you place your views on this scale? (With one being the far left and 10 being the far right)
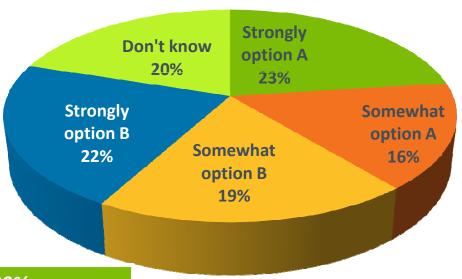
	Oct '10	May '10
Rating 1-3:	14%	18%
Rating 4-7:	42%	34%
Rating 8-10:	39%	42%

Bar chart values:
- 1 Left: 8%
- 2: 3%
- 3: 3%
- 4: 3%
- 5: 20%
- 6: 11%
- 7: 8%
- 8: 13%
- 9: 8%
- 10 Right: 18%

harris
INTERACTIVE

Generally speaking, how religious are you? (With one being not religious at all and 10 being totally religious)

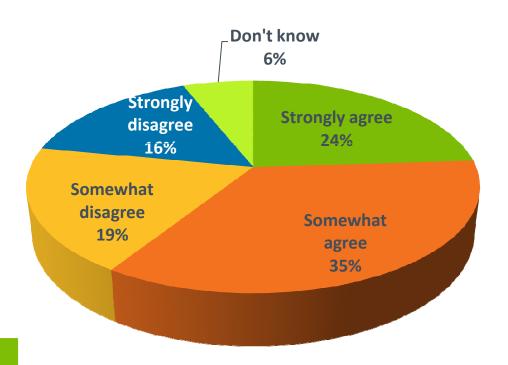|	Oct '10	May '10
Rating 1-3:	5%	5%
Rating 4-7:	37%	41%
Rating 8-10:	55%	50%

Bar chart values:
- 1 Not religious at all: 3%
- 2: 1%
- 3: 1%
- 4: 2%
- 5: 10%
- 6: 11%
- 7: 14%
- 8: 20%
- 9: 10%
- 10 Totally religious: 25%

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you need to be very careful in dealing with people?

Don't know, no answer
2%

Most people can be trusted
7%

Need to be very careful
91%

harris
INTERACTIVE

Some say that the AKP government and its leaders want to limit democratic opposition in the country through authoritarian means (A), while some others believe that the government has no such agenda (B). Which of these arguments is closer to your own?
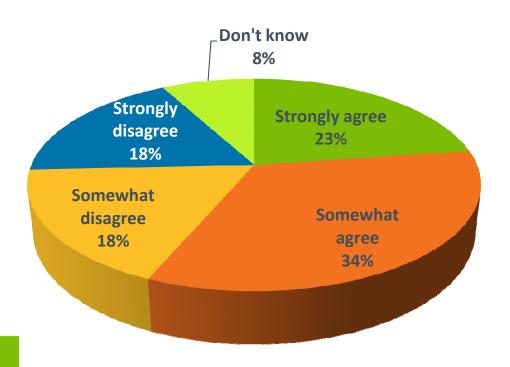

Strongly option A
23%

Somewhat option A
16%

Somewhat option B
19%

Strongly option B
22%

Don't know
20%

Limit opposition (A): 39%
No agenda to limit (B): 41%

harris
INTERACTIVE

Compared with 10 years ago, do you believe that Turkey has become a more democratic country?

Don't know 6%

Strongly disagree 16%

Strongly agree 24%

Somewhat disagree 19%
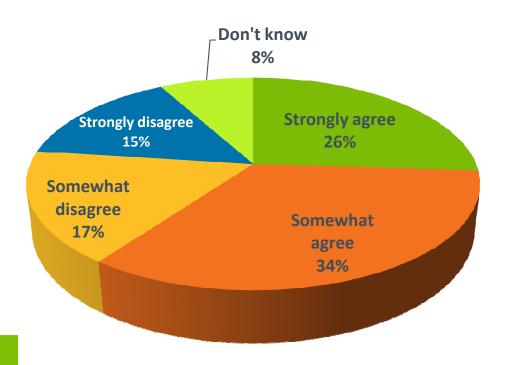
Somewhat agree 35%

Agree: 59%
Disagree: 35%

harris
INTERACTIVE

If you compare the situation of the country with 10 years ago, do you believe Turkey has become a more secular country?

Don't know
8%

Strongly agree
23%

Strongly
disagree
18%

Somewhat
disagree
18%

Somewhat
agree
34%

Agree: 57%
Disagree: 36%

harris
INTERACTIVE

Considering the political and economic situation of the country 10 years ago, do you believe that Turkey has become a more stable country?
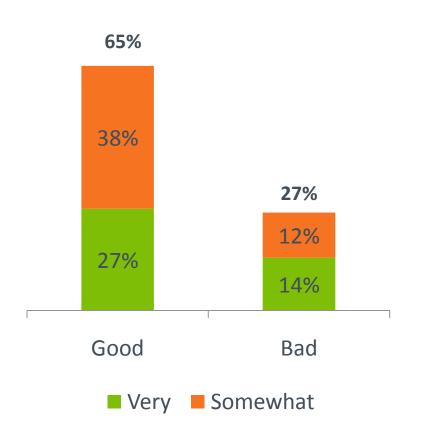
Don't know
8%

Strongly disagree
15%

Strongly agree
26%

Somewhat
disagree
17%

Somewhat
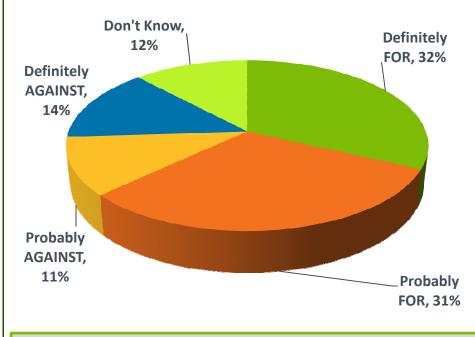agree
34%

Agree: 60%
Disagree: 32%

harris
INTERACTIVE

International Relations

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

65%

38%

27%

27%

12%

14%

Good   Bad

■ Very   ■ Somewhat

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

Don't Know, 12%

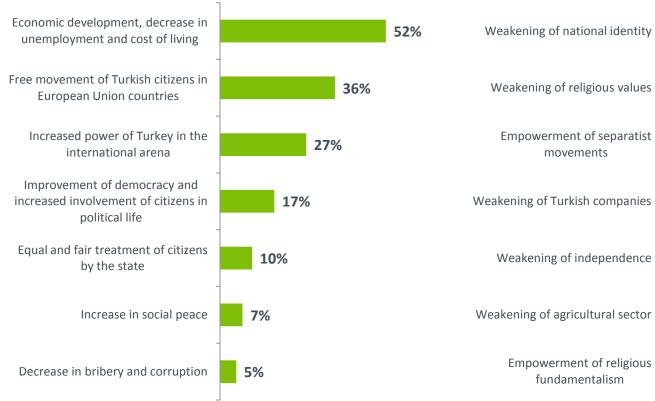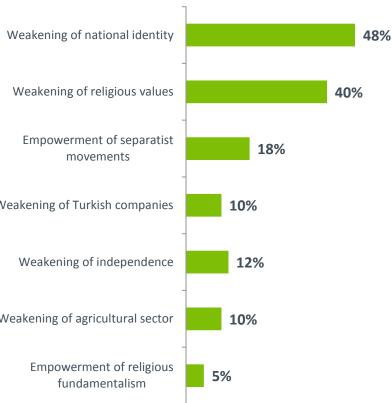Definitely AGAINST, 14%

Definitely FOR, 32%

Probably AGAINST, 11%

Probably FOR, 31%

	Oct '10	May '10
Total FOR European Union Membership:	63%	51%
Total AGAINST European Union Membership:	25%	28%

harris
INTERACTIVE
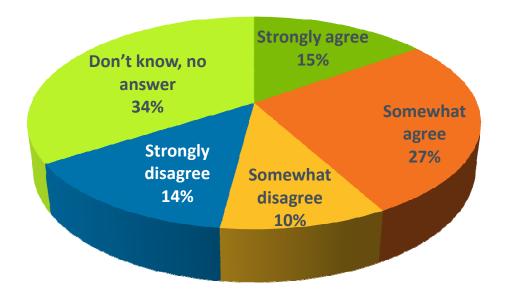
What is the most important benefit of EU membership? (Top Two Responses)

Economic development, decrease in unemployment and cost of living	52%
Free movement of Turkish citizens in European Union countries	36%
Increased power of Turkey in the international arena	27%
Improvement of democracy and increased involvement of citizens in political life	17%
Equal and fair treatment of citizens by the state	10%
Increase in social peace	7%
Decrease in bribery and corruption	5%

What are the most important disadvantages of EU membership? (Top Two Responses)

Weakening of national identity	48%
Weakening of religious values	40%
Empowerment of separatist movements	18%
Weakening of Turkish companies	10%
Weakening of independence	12%
Weakening of agricultural sector	10%
Empowerment of religious fundamentalism	5%

harris
INTERACTIVE

Given the implications for the European Union accession process, do you agree or disagree with the government's decision to embargo Southern Cyprus?

Strongly agree
15%

Don't know, no answer
34%

Somewhat agree
27%

Strongly disagree
14%

Somewhat disagree
10%

Agree: 42%
Disagree: 24%

harris
INTERACTIVE