



**Insights in Focus**  
Perspectives – Analysis - Understanding

Turkey – June 2016



A PROJECT OF THE INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE

# Insights in Focus

Turkey Focus Group Research

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June 15-17, 2016

International Republican Institute

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## Insights in Focus: Turkey June 2016

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## Executive Summary:

IRI conducted a series of focus groups in Istanbul and Ankara from June 15 to 17. Participants were not extreme supporters of any party and selected security as a top concern. The key findings from the research are:

**Finding 1: Turks feel they have a distinct identity and historically-unique path towards democracy, and do not feel that democracy and security are mutually exclusive.**

**Finding 2: Turks feel alienated from other nations, distrustful of international alliances and vulnerable to terrorism.**

The groups were convened just a few weeks before the terrorist attack on Istanbul and attempted military coup rocked the country. The results of the discussions revealed aspects of public opinion only hinted at in quantitative public opinion polls, including:

- Concerns over the influence of foreign powers in Turkey's internal affairs;
- Support for a rapprochement with Russia; and
- A lack of confidence in Turkey's NATO integration.

In the aftermath of the attempted coup, it will be crucial for Turkey's partners in the West to gain a better understanding of the dynamics underlying these feelings of exceptionalism, isolation, vulnerability and distrust of foreign powers.

## Overview:

Turkey has witnessed a tumultuous series of events in recent months, from the terrorist attack in Istanbul on June 28, 2016 to the failed coup of July 15. Just a few weeks before these events rocked the country, IRI conducted a series of focus groups in Istanbul and Ankara from June 15 to 17, 2016 to provide a qualitative analysis of public opinion trends regarding the following issues:

- 1) The security challenges posed by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the Islamic State (ISIS);
- 2) Attitudes towards democracy and the appropriate balance with security concerns; and
- 3) President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's efforts to transform Turkey from a parliamentary to a presidential system.

The focus groups presaged the security-driven debate that was given fresh relevance by the Istanbul attack and attempted coup. The results of the discussions revealed aspects of public opinion only hinted at in quantitative public opinion polls, including:

- Concerns over the influence of foreign powers in Turkey's internal affairs (most dramatically characterized by the belief that these powers are supporting PKK and ISIS);
- Support for a rapprochement with Russia; and
- A lack of confidence in Turkey's NATO integration.

The focus group results can be grouped into two broad themes:

- 1) A strong sense of Turkey's unique national identity and a belief in Turkish exceptionalism, particularly with regard to attitudes towards democratic norms which are often expressed in non-Western forms; and
- 2) Feelings of vulnerability and isolation heightened by security threats and a misunderstanding by outsiders of the unique contours of Turkey's political system, including a desire to look outside the NATO alliance for military partnerships.

The findings foreshadow the national response to the June terrorist attack and the failed coup attempt, which has thrown abiding concerns for the country's democracy and security into sharp relief.

## Context:

Turkish democracy has experienced profound challenges in recent years, including rising security concerns connected with the war in Syria, the diverse consequences of the refugee and migrant crisis, and a deep imbalance in internal political competition related to growing authoritarianism. The unsuccessful coup d'état attempt on July 15 was the latest in long history of military moves to take over Turkey's democratic system.

In response to the failed coup, the AKP-led government is in the midst of an ongoing purge of the security services, the judiciary and educational institutions. Anti-American and anti-Western rhetoric—already on the rise—have ratcheted up further. On July 20, a three-month state of emergency was

announced by President Erdogan, which could lead to the further curtailment of individual rights and freedoms, due process, and the independence of state institutions.

Erdogan's actions could constitute a serious threat to Turkey's democratic development. However, there is an opportunity to build upon cross-party opposition to the attempted coup, a widespread consensus that the democratic process is the only way to effect political changes, and the public rejection of military takeovers. If Turkey is to remain on a democratic path, political leaders and civil society will have to build on this consensus to prepare citizens to confront the complex security challenges facing the country.

### **Methodology:**

IRI conducted six focus groups in Istanbul and Ankara from June 15 to 17, 2016 in coordination with our polling partner in Turkey, involving a total of 60 participants. IRI developed the discussion guide (Appendix A) and the participant screening questionnaire (Appendix B) used in the focus group research.

Participants were screened for the following characteristics:

- 1) They were at least "somewhat informed" about general political trends in Turkey and at least "somewhat interested in/following" the political affairs of the country, in particular the ongoing discussion about the proposed constitutional reforms;
- 2) They considered the security issue to be either the most urgent or second most urgent problem facing Turkey; and
- 3) They would not exclude the possibility of voting for a political party other than the one they currently support.

The focus groups were coordinated by *Metropoll Stratejik ve Sosyal Arastirmalar Merkezi* (Metropoll). Participants were recruited with the Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) system (a telephone surveying technique in which the interviewer follows the questionnaire displayed on the screen of a computer and records the answers to correspond with the pre-coded displayed responses), using the screening questionnaire developed by IRI. The participants were reimbursed for their time with a small stipend.

The groups were observed by IRI staff. Four focus groups were conducted in Istanbul, and two were held in Ankara. The locations were chosen because they offered a greater potential to assemble groups of citizens who could be considered representative of Turkey's overall population. Each moderator-led focus group lasted two hours and consisted of 10 participants.

Participant screening ensured that voting preferences reflected the overall voting ratio in public opinion: the Justice and Development Party (AKP), 45-50 percent; the Republican People's Party (CHP), 25-30 percent; and the Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP), 10-15 percent; Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), 10-15 percent. The educational breakdown of participants followed official census data in Turkey. Participants were separated into younger (18-35) and older (36-60) age groups.

Location	Date	Number of Participants
Istanbul (younger)	June 15, 2016	5 female
		5 male
Istanbul (older)	June 15, 2016	5 female
		5 male
Istanbul (younger)	June 16, 2016	5 female
		5 male
Istanbul (older)	June 16, 2016	5 female
		5 male
Ankara (younger)	June 17, 2016	5 female
		5 male
Ankara (older)	June 17, 2016	5 female
		5 male

## Findings:

### **Finding 1** Turks feel they have a distinct identity and historically-unique path towards democracy, and do not feel that democracy and security are mutually exclusive.

- Many focus group respondents conveyed a general sense of the distinctiveness of Turkish national identity, often expressed as a strong feeling of Turkish exceptionalism. Respondent views reflected a recognition of the specific contours of Turkey’s democratic system, as well as unique, pragmatic and positive views of democratic norms. Although Turkey’s path to democracy was seen as distinct from other countries’ experiences, respondents underscored the important role that Turkey could play in the community of democratic nations.
- Notably, a number of participants referred to Turkey’s Ottoman heritage to explain why the country’s culture and traditions are distinct from the West. This exceptionalism was perhaps best illustrated in the discussion on citizenship. Most respondents felt that the definition of citizenship in Turkey should remain “being Turkish,” despite the presence of many minority groups in the country.
- Respondents often made explicitly non-Western references when describing Turkey. For example, one respondent noted that foreign powers saw Turkey as being similar to other Middle East countries, i.e. as targets of influence and manipulation. Another participant expressed the view that Turkey could only rely on other Turkic nations (i.e. Azerbaijan, Central Asian states) as potential sources of support.
- Views of democracy also reflected respondents’ attitudes toward the history and current state of the Turkish political system. Many respondents acknowledged that a de facto presidential system was probably already in place, given Erdogan’s recent attempts to maximize his power. While some conceded that there were potential benefits to changing to a presidential system, others noted the large degree of uncertainty involved in making such a change. Several respondents stated that such a constitutional change would result in a return to the “time of the sultanate” (using an Ottoman reference for the all-powerful Caliph).

Opposition to a powerful presidency appeared to be rooted in a fear that the further centralization of power would undermine democratic norms such as accountability and the rule of law.



**“There would be no democracy with a presidential constitution.”**  
-Female participant, Istanbul

**“[under such a system,] we would not be able to hold the president accountable..”**  
-Male participant, Ankara

- Respondents expressed pragmatic and conditional support for democratic norms. While most respondents had generally positive views of democracy, they did not believe democracy was an end in itself. Support for democracy was couched in terms of being a necessary precondition for prosperity and security. Many respondents noted the importance of democratic values, but believed it was possible to uphold these values while increasing security measures. Democracy, security and prosperity were not held to be mutually exclusive.



**“You cannot solve security issues long term without democracy.”**  
-Male participant, Istanbul

**“...a prosperous economy inevitably followed a democratic system.”**  
-Female participant, Istanbul

**Zoom In - Our Analysis** Turkish exceptionalism and a sense of historical uniqueness informs the political perspectives of many Turks. Support for democracy remains strong in Turkey, despite the recognition that the current democratic system has largely become a de-facto presidential system. Democratic norms are often defined in terms of Turkey’s unique historical experience. Security is a priority, but participants also did not feel that democracy and security were mutually exclusive.



## **Finding 2** Turks feel alienated from other nations, distrustful of international alliances and vulnerable to terrorism.

- Respondents often expressed strong feelings of vulnerability related to security concerns. Participants viewed Turkey as isolated from other nations, and saw themselves as particularly susceptible to terrorist attacks. The sense of isolation was also reflected in a general distrust of existing international alliances, and negative attitudes towards perceived foreign involvement in Turkish affairs.
- Respondents often articulated a wariness of Western powers, and specifically the NATO alliance. In response to questions about their views of NATO, many respondents had a poor perception of the institution, and did not believe the alliance would help Turkey if requested.



**“NATO would rather help the Syrians than us.”**

**-Female participant, Istanbul**

In contrast, there appeared to be interest in engaging with non-Western countries like Russia. While many respondents saw Turkey’s decision to shoot down a Russian jet in November 2015 as warranted, others emphasized the importance of mending relations with Russia in order to improve the economy. The desire for a rapprochement is also tied to the perceived need to cultivate alliances with non-Western partners.

- Numerous participants argued that Turkey’s security concerns were at least partially a consequence of meddling by foreign powers. For example, one respondent described ISIS and the PKK as “subcontractors.” Multiple participants in both Ankara and Istanbul said “these groups are tools in the hands of big powers.”
- The sense of isolation also appeared to be driven by a sense of vulnerability to terrorism, framed by respondents as a personal security issue. This vulnerability was also linked to a belief that the police and military were ineffective and lacked authority. This attitude was often expressed in terms of the inability of the security services to address the terrorist threat. Adjectives used to describe the security forces included “weak,” “unpredictable” and “insufficient.”



**“I am not sure if it will soon be safe to take my child out to the park.”**

**-Female participant, Istanbul**

**Zoom In - Our Analysis** A strong sense of isolation and a distrust of Western powers drives anti-Western sentiment in Turkey. Many believe that attacks by PKK and ISIS are a consequence of Western meddling, and are cynical about the prospect of NATO coming to Turkey’s aid. This feeling can be seen as contributing to Turkey’s desire to look elsewhere for alliances, including through a

rapprochement with Russia. Understanding the narratives that support these public perceptions are critical to addressing this challenge and improving US-Turkish relations.

## Conclusions:

Focus group participants emphasized two interconnected themes:

- 1) The exceptional and unique nature of Turkish democracy; and
- 2) A deep sense of isolation and vulnerability in relation to foreign affairs and domestic security.

Participants viewed Turkey as a tough and resilient democracy that had proudly survived periods of military authoritarianism following the death of Ataturk. However, respondents were also keenly aware of their democracy's vulnerability to being undermined through the over-centralization of power. Respondents felt that Turkey's exceptionalism makes it a target of foreign meddling and attacks by their perceived terrorist "subcontractors," PKK and ISIS. In this sense, they view Turkey as being treated like any other "Middle Eastern" country, as opposed to a member of the democratic community of nations.

With participants expressing the view that relations with the West are deteriorating, there was a strong sentiment that Turkey must find allies wherever it can, including non-traditional ones like Russia. This sense of exceptionalism is connected with the feelings of isolation, which—combined with the security threat—has engendered a sense of vulnerability. The perceived inadequacies of security institutions have intensified security fears. Significantly, although respondents would like to see more done to improve counterterrorism measures, they did not advocate sacrificing their hard-won democratic rights on the altar of security.

Moving forward in the wake of the attempted coup, it will be crucial for Turkey's partners in the West to gain a better understanding of the dynamics underlying popular feelings of Turkish exceptionalism, strong feelings of isolation and vulnerability, and distrust of foreign powers.

## Appendices:

Appendix A – Focus Group Discussion Guide

Appendix B – Participant Screening Questionnaire

## Appendix A: Focus Group Discussion Guide

### Introduction – 5 min

*Getting acquainted.*

*Indicating working methods and purpose of the discussion in focus groups, etc.*

*Moderator introduces the agency and her/himself, providing short information for the respondents about topic of the conversation and technical circumstances (cameras, microphones, what will happen with the tapes, anonymity, etc.)*

*Creating a “safe” atmosphere. Warming-up.*

*Moderator asks the respondents to introduce themselves in terms of name, age, occupation, size of family, their ambitions...*

### Situation in the country – 10-15 min

**Objective: to reveal perceptions of the political dynamic on the national level**

Let's start with some general issues...Overall, is Turkey heading in the right/wrong direction? Why do you think like that?

Thinking about the major problems facing Turkey as a whole, which would you say are most pressing? And which of them bother you most personally?

When you look ahead a year from now, what scares you most personally...what gives you the biggest concerns? Why? Is there any person or organization who can prevent this from happening?

And what are you positively excited about? Is there anything? Why? Who should be given the most credit to for this?

Let's pretend for a bit that I just came to Turkey and I don't know absolutely anything about the current situation...what would you tell me in order to introduce me to what is now going on in Turkey?

If you could only one or the other, which is more important to you: a democratic system of government or a prosperous economy? Why?

Let me ask you about one thing that has been talked about a lot lately...change in the leadership of Nationalist Action Party (MHP). Should there be a change in the MHP leadership? Why? If you believe this, who should take over? For those of you who don't vote for MHP now, would a change in MHP make you consider voting for MHP? Yes/no, why? (**PROBE ON THE REASONS WHY THEY WOULD LEAVE THE CURRENT**)

***PARTY THEY VOTE FOR.***) How about you who vote for MHP now...would a change in leadership make you stay with MHP? Why?

**Security – 30-35 min**

**Objective: discovering perceptions about the state of security in Turkey**

Some of you mentioned security as the issue of concern for Turkey...so, let's talk more about that: if you would have to use one word to describe the state of security in Turkey today, what would that word be? (*Moderator encourages participants to choose one word and writes the words on the white board*)

Let's discuss these words which you just mentioned...(*Moderator goes through the words and probes on each of them*)...why did you pick this particular word?

Could you please tell me what specifically you consider to be a security challenge in Turkey today? (*Moderator probes and asks for specific examples*) Can we somehow rate these challenges from the most to the least pressing one?

Do these security challenges Turkey has been experiencing lately affect you personally? Do you PERSONALLY feel safe/threatened nowadays in Turkey?

What do you think is the main root of security challenges in Turkey? Who/what would you say is most responsible for this?

How successful/unsuccessful do you think Turkish authorities have been in dealing with current security challenges in Turkey? Can you please elaborate?

What needs to happen so that Turkey and Turkish authorities could deal with the current security challenges more effectively? Should there be any systematic, political or any other change? If yes, what is it?

If you had to choose between the system which prioritizes security and the system which prioritizes democratic values (and you can choose only one), which one would you choose? Why?

Is it possible to keep the security of a country at the highest possible level while at the same time preserving the highest level of democratic values? Is this possible in Turkey? Yes/no? Why? Can you please elaborate?

**PKK, ISIS, parallel structures – 20-25 min**

**Objective: probing on perceptions about specific threats to Turkey's security**

What's your overall opinion of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK)? Can you elaborate please? How big of a threat are PKK to Turkey? To you personally? What do you think PKK wants to achieve? *If any of the participants mentions "Kurdish issue":* is finding the

solution to the so called “Kurdish issue” in Turkey possible? In your view, how would this solution look like?

How about the so called Islamic State (ISIS)? Have you heard about them? What’s your opinion of them? Do you consider ISIS a threat to Turkey? To you personally? How big of a threat are they and why? What do you think is ISIS’ goal? Do you think Turkey is adequately fighting against ISIS? Some say that ISIS is hurting the image of Islam in the world...do you agree/disagree with this? Why?

Do you see any correlation/similarity between PKK and ISIS? If you could evaluate the level of threat they present to Turkey...what would you say, which one is a bigger threat, PKK or ISIS? Why?

Lately, there have been a lot of talks and activities against something which is often called the “parallel structures” or “parallel state”...have you heard about these? What is meant by these “parallel structures”? What’s your opinion of them? Do you consider them a threat to Turkey? To you personally? How big of a threat are they? If you had to compare them to PKK and ISIS, what would you say, are they less of a threat, about the same, or a bigger threat than PKK and ISIS? Can you quickly elaborate on this?

### **Tensions with Russia and NATO membership – 10-15 min**

**Objective: discovering perceptions about Turkey’s tensions with Russia and NATO membership**

Lately, tensions between Russia increased following the downing of the Russian jet by Turkish military...have you heard about this? What do you think of this? Was Turkey right to shoot down the jet? Why?

As a consequence, Russia introduced economic and diplomatic sanctions on Turkey (such as halting the import of some Turkish products and suspending its visa-free regime with Turkey)...are these sanctions hurting Turkey? How exactly?

How do you think could these tensions be resolved? What should the two sides now do?

Do you think that Russia presents any kind of a security threat to Turkey? If so, in which way?

Is Turkey a member of NATO? *After allowing them to answer confirm that it is.*

In the context of military challenges Turkey faces and may face in the future...how helpful or unhelpful do you think is Turkey’s NATO membership in providing stability and support in these challenges? Do you believe NATO would actively provide support to Turkey during any potential military challenge which Turkey may encounter? Can you elaborate on this? If you don’t believe NATO would provide adequate support to Turkey in these times, why do you think this is the case? If you don’t believe in the good purpose of

Turkey's NATO membership, what do you think should be done in that respect? Should anything change? If yes, what?

### Constitutional reform – 20-25 min

**Objective: discovering perceptions about constitutional reform debate; presidential system**

Let me now ask you a little bit about one of the most discussed topics lately in Turkey...changing the constitution. First of all, does Turkey need a new constitution? Why do you believe this? Which specific part/s do you think should be changed? **Moderator makes a list of the things participants believe need to be changed.**...can we rate these? Which one of these is most pressing? Why? Can you tell me what you think about the following statement (**project the statement on the screen, and read it out.**)

RTE: *Whoever opposes the new constitution is happy with the current constitution which is a product of the coups.*

Agree/Disagree? Why?

**If not spontaneously mentioned.**...how about the definition of Turkey as a secular country? There were comments recently made by some of the ruling party officials that the definition of Turkey as a secular country should be deleted from the constitution (**project the statement on the screen, and read it out.**)

*Ismail Kabraman: As a Muslim country, why should we be in a situation where we are retreating from religion? We are a Muslim country. So we must have a religious constitution. As a Muslim country, Turkey's constitution should be religious. A description of secularism shouldn't be in the new constitution. France, Ireland and Turkey have constitutions that include a description of secularism. But everyone interprets it the way they want to. That shouldn't be the case.*

What do you think about this? **Probe.**...

**Also if not spontaneously mentioned.**...another point of frequent constitutional discussions in the public is the definition of citizenship in the constitution. Do you know how the citizenship of Turkey is currently defined in the constitution? **Let them try to interpret this on their own for a bit and then tell them.** Currently, the definition of citizenship in the constitution includes only Turkish nationality. Do you think this is good/bad? Why? Should this be changed? If yes, how?

And how about the issue of decentralization...should Turkey's constitution be changed so it gives local administrations more executive and financial authority? Should administrative power be decentralized? **If they don't mention spontaneously, add the Southeastern component to the discussion.** How about decentralization of the Southeast...would you support that? Yes/no, why?

One of the things which are most widely discussed in respect to the constitutional reform is President Erdogan's and AK Party's ambition of switching Turkey's political system from a parliamentary to a presidential one. Have you heard about this? How do you understand this proposal? What does it mean?

Do you support the idea of switching Turkey to a presidential system? Yes, no, why? How would that affect your life? Please be as specific as possible...

***If not mentioned spontaneously.***...what kind of positive/negative effect do you think introducing a presidential system to Turkey would have on Turkey's democracy? How specifically would Turkey's democracy be affected?

One argument in support of the presidential system which could often be heard is that this change would bring more stability to political arena, and that it would make decision making easier. What do you think about this argument? Please elaborate.

Also, some believe that introducing presidential system of government would help in resolving the security problems we discussed. Do you agree with this? Yes/no, why?

On the other hand, the opposition to the proposal to change Turkey into a presidential system says that this would turn the country into an overly-centralized, authoritarian system by transferring all of the executive powers into the hands of one political figure – the president. What do you think of this argument? Please elaborate.

What could you tell me about the following statements (***project the first statement on the screen, read it out, let the participants discuss it, then move on to the next one.***)

RTE: *Parliamentary system in Turkey has brought on a coup after a coup and the presidential system which is present in this country's history is the solution.*

What do you think about this statement? How do you understand it? Do you agree/disagree with it? Why? What does it mean when RTE mentions “the presidential system present in Turkey's history”? Do you agree with this?

KKilicdaroglu: *There will be no presidential system in Turkey without a bloodshed.*

How do you understand this statement from Mr. Kilicdaroglu? Agree/disagree? Why? Is this statement concerning to you? Why?

***As the ending round, ask the participants if there is anything in the end they would like to convey to the political decision makers of Turkey if they had a chance.***

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement - politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of women?

- What can politicians do in order to improve their attention to the needs and ideas of women?

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement - politicians do not listen to the needs and ideas of young people?

- What can politicians do in order to improve their attention to the needs and ideas of young people?

## Appendix B: Participant Screening Questionnaire

**Participant profile:** averagely informed (as expected from the “average” citizen), interested in/following political affairs and the situation in Turkey; consider security problem as either problem number one or number two in Turkey; are not extreme supporters of any party and would not exclude an option of voting for another party; at least somewhat follow the ongoing discussion about the constitutional reform.

Separated in younger (18-35) and older (36-60) groups

Q1. Do you or anyone from your family work in one of the following fields?

1. Marketing agencies  END
2. Marketing research  END
3. Marketing department of a company  END
4. Media  END

Q2. Gender

1. Male
2. Female

Q3. Age ? \_\_\_\_\_

Q4. The highest level of education completed

1. Elementary or less  only under condition that the person is eloquent and can articulate opinions (max 2 per group)
2. High school  (*majority in the group*)
3. College/University  (*max 2 per group*)

Q5. Have you participated in the discussion groups organized by a research agency or marketing firm in the last 6 months?

1. Yes  END
2. No

Q6. Are you an active member of any political party or a civil society organization?

1. Yes  END
2. No

Q7. How often do you inform yourself about socio-political events in Turkey – watch TV, listen to radio news, reading news from newspapers and/or the Internet?

1. Every day
2. Almost every day
3. 2 – 3 times a week (MINIMUM)
4. Once a week END
5. Less than once a week END

Q8. Generally, do you vote in the elections?

1. Always



2. Almost always
3. Most of the time
4. Sometimes (END)
5. Rarely/Never (END)
6. Just turned of voting age

Q9. How likely, if at all, would you be to vote in the next general elections if they were this Sunday?

1. Very likely (preferable)
2. Somewhat likely (preferable)
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely (END)
5. Don't know

Q10. Which political party would you vote for in the next general elections if they were this Sunday?

1. Justice and Development Party (AKP) (about 4 per group)
2. Republican People's Party (CHP) (2-3 per group)
3. People's Democratic Party (HDP) (1-2 per group)
4. Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) (1-2 per group)
5. Felicity Party (SP)
6. Independent candidate
7. Other: [PLEASE WRITE]
8. None/Spoiled ballot
9. Undecided (maybe)
10. Don't know/No idea
11. No Answer

Q11. Would you ever consider voting for another party?

1. Yes
2. No  END

Q12. What is the most urgent problem facing Turkey today? *If neither first nor second choice is "security" or some form of "security" – END (preferably should be security- economy combo)*

1st Answer \_\_\_\_\_

2nd Answer \_\_\_\_\_

Q13. Have you been following the ongoing debate about potential constitutional reform in Turkey?

1. Very closely (preferable)
2. Somewhat closely (preferable)
3. Very little
4. Not at all (END)

### CONTROL QUESTIONS

C1. What's your overall opinion about the following political parties, regardless of whether you vote for those parties or not (AKP voter participants should not give very negative grades to ALL other parties):

	Very negative	Somewhat negative	Neutral	Somewhat positive	Very positive
AKP	1	2	3	4	5
CHP	1	2	3	4	5
MHP	1	2	3	4	5
HDP	1	2	3	4	5

C2. What's your overall opinion about the following politicians, regardless of whether you vote for them or not (AKP voter participants should not give very positive grades to RTE):

	Very negative	Somewhat negative	Neutral	Somewhat positive	Very positive
Recep Tavyip Erdogan	1	2	3	4	5
Ahmet Davutoglu	1	2	3	4	5
Abdullah Gul	1	2	3	4	5
Kemal Kilicdaroglu	1	2	3	4	5
Devlet Bahceli	1	2	3	4	5
Selahattin Demirtas	1	2	3	4	5
Meral Aksener	1	2	3	4	5

C3. Do you believe there should be a change in the leadership of the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP)?

1. Yes
2. No

C4. If there were a change in the leadership of MHP, would this make you more or less likely to vote for MHP?

1. I would be more likely to vote for MHP if there were a change in the party leadership.
2. I would be less likely to vote for MHP if there were a change in the party leadership.
3. It would make no difference to me if there were a change in MHP leadership – I would vote for them regardless.
4. It would make no difference to me if there were a change in MHP leadership – I would NOT vote for them regardless.

Name : _____
Phone number : _____
Year of birth: _____
Municipality : _____
Marital status: _____
Children: _____
Profession: _____
Company (for employed): _____
School (for students): _____
Interviewer: _____
Time of interview: _____



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