



# **SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN TURKEY**

**- Economic Crisis and New Directions in Turkish Politics -**

**-NOVEMBER 2008-**

## **RESEARCH TEAM**

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# GOALS

- The goal of this survey is to find out the view of people on the effects of recent global economic crisis, policy changes of AKP, CHP and MHP on the national agenda, and recent developments over the Kurdish issue.
- At the same time, as it is every month, happiness in life, the direction that Turkey has been going, EU membership, public faith and trust for political leaders and vote potentials are measured.

# SAMPLE

City Centre	Number	%
Adana	34	2,7
Ađrı	13	1,0
Ankara	79	6,3
Antalya	45	3,6
Aydın	29	2,3
Balıkesir	35	2,8
Bursa	65	5,2
Denizli	26	2,1
Diyarbakır	25	2,0
Erzurum	18	1,4
Gaziantep	34	2,7
Hatay	47	3,8
İçel	33	2,6
İstanbul	211	16,9
İzmir	73	5,8
Kastamonu	18	1,4

City Centre	Number	%
Kayseri	39	3,1
Kocaeli	59	4,7
Konya	38	3,0
Malatya	28	2,2
Manisa	55	4,4
Mardin	24	1,9
Ordu	24	1,9
Samsun	51	4,1
Tekirdađ	27	2,2
Trabzon	28	2,2
Şanlıurfa	17	1,4
Van	26	2,1
Zonguldak	20	1,6
Kırıkkale	27	2,2
<b>TOPLAM</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>100</b>

# METHOD

- The poll was conducted during November 24-26, 2008 by telephone among a random national sampling of 1248 adults residing in city centers, towns and villages.
- The margin of error for the full poll is 2.5 percentage points, at 95% confidence level.

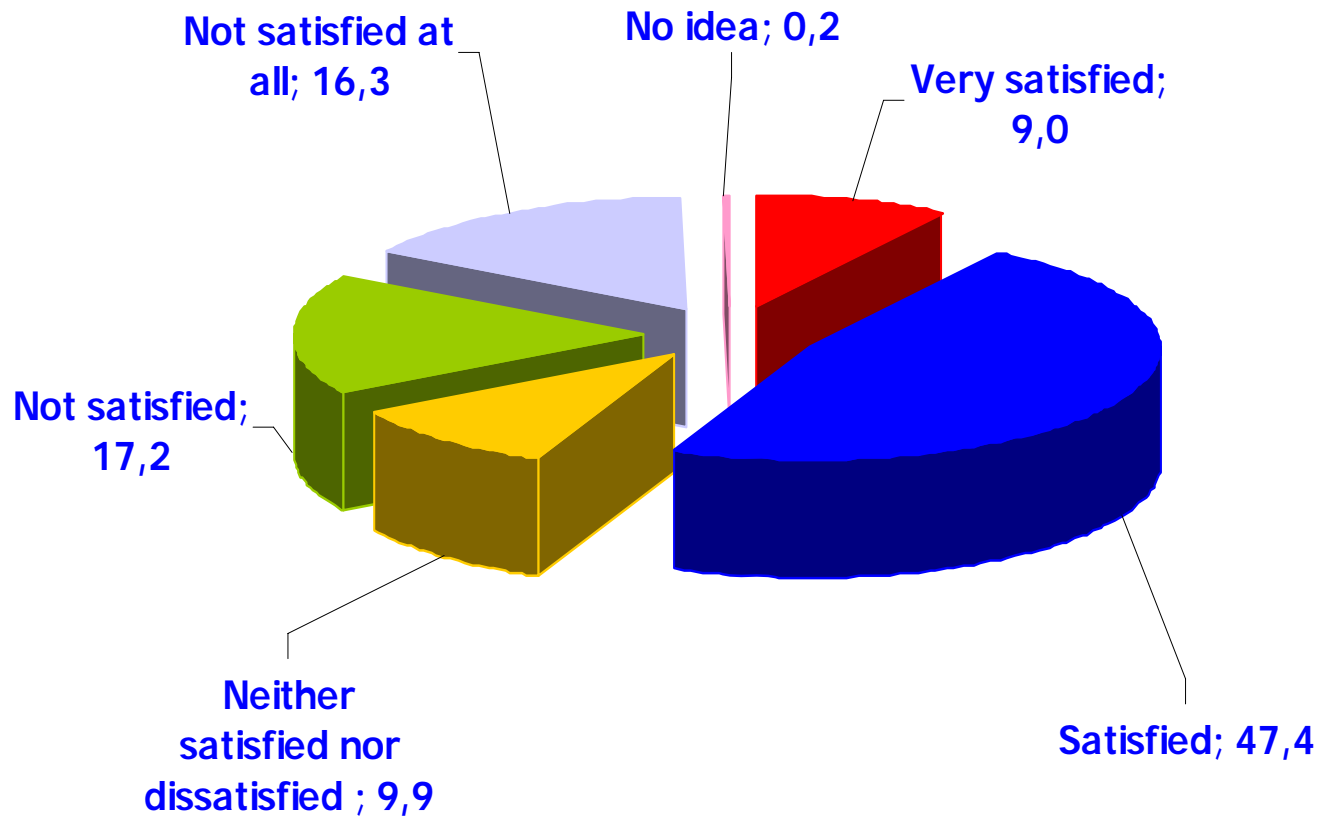
# SAMPLE

## Distribution of participants by area of residence

	Number	%	City-Village (%)
City Centre	609	48,8	68,0
Town	240	19,2	
Village	399	32,0	32,0
TOTAL	1248	100	100

# HAPPINESS IN LIFE

Taking into consideration all the conditions that you have been living through, to what extent are you satisfied with your life?



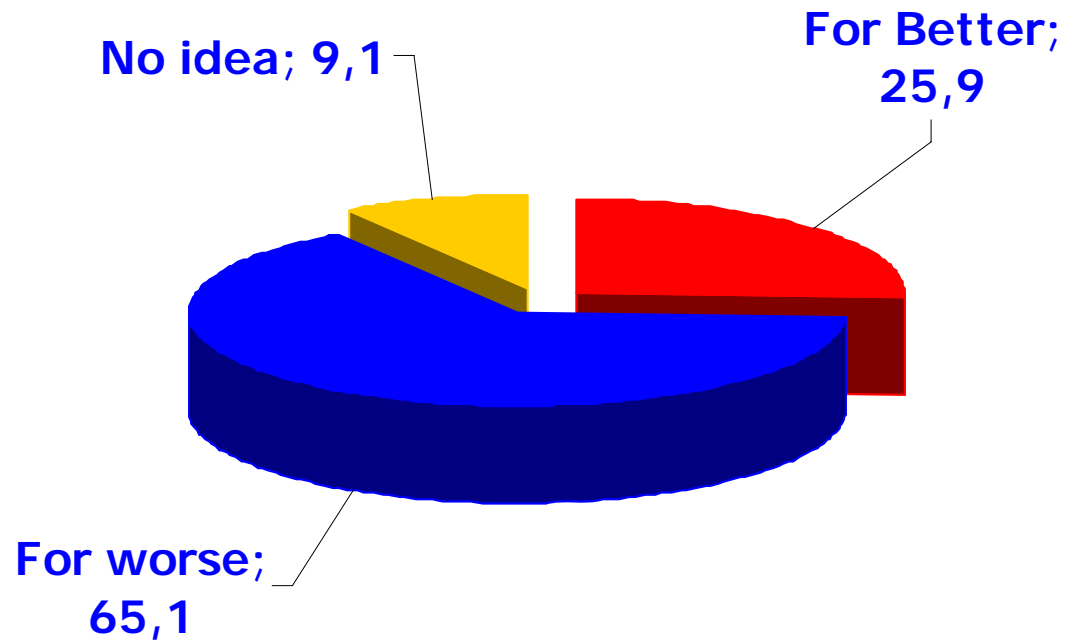
# HAPPINESS IN LIFE

Taking into consideration all the conditions that you have been living through, to what extent are you satisfied with your life?  
(Between December 2007 and November 2008)

	December 2007	April 2008	May 2008	June 2008	August 2008	September 2008	October 2008	November 2008
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Very satisfied</b>	24,3	9,4	7,8	11,7	7,3	9,2	9,0	9,0
<b>Satisfied</b>	46,1	41,3	36,8	39,2	41,1	48,8	54,9	47,4
<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>70,4</b>	<b>50,7</b>	<b>44,6</b>	<b>50,9</b>	<b>48,4</b>	<b>58,0</b>	<b>63,9</b>	<b>56,4</b>
<b>Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied</b>	12,8	12,2	14,8	22,0	19,4	17,7	6,1	9,9
<b>Not satisfied</b>	<b>16,5</b>	<b>36,5</b>	<b>40,0</b>	<b>25,9</b>	<b>32,2</b>	<b>24,3</b>	<b>29,9</b>	<b>33,5</b>
<b>No idea</b>	0,3	0,7	0,6	1,2	-	-	0,1	0,2

# TURKEY'S DIRECTION: BETTER OR WORSE?

Overall, towards which direction do you think Turkey is proceeding? For Better or Worse?



# TURKEY'S DIRECTION: BETTER OR WORSE?

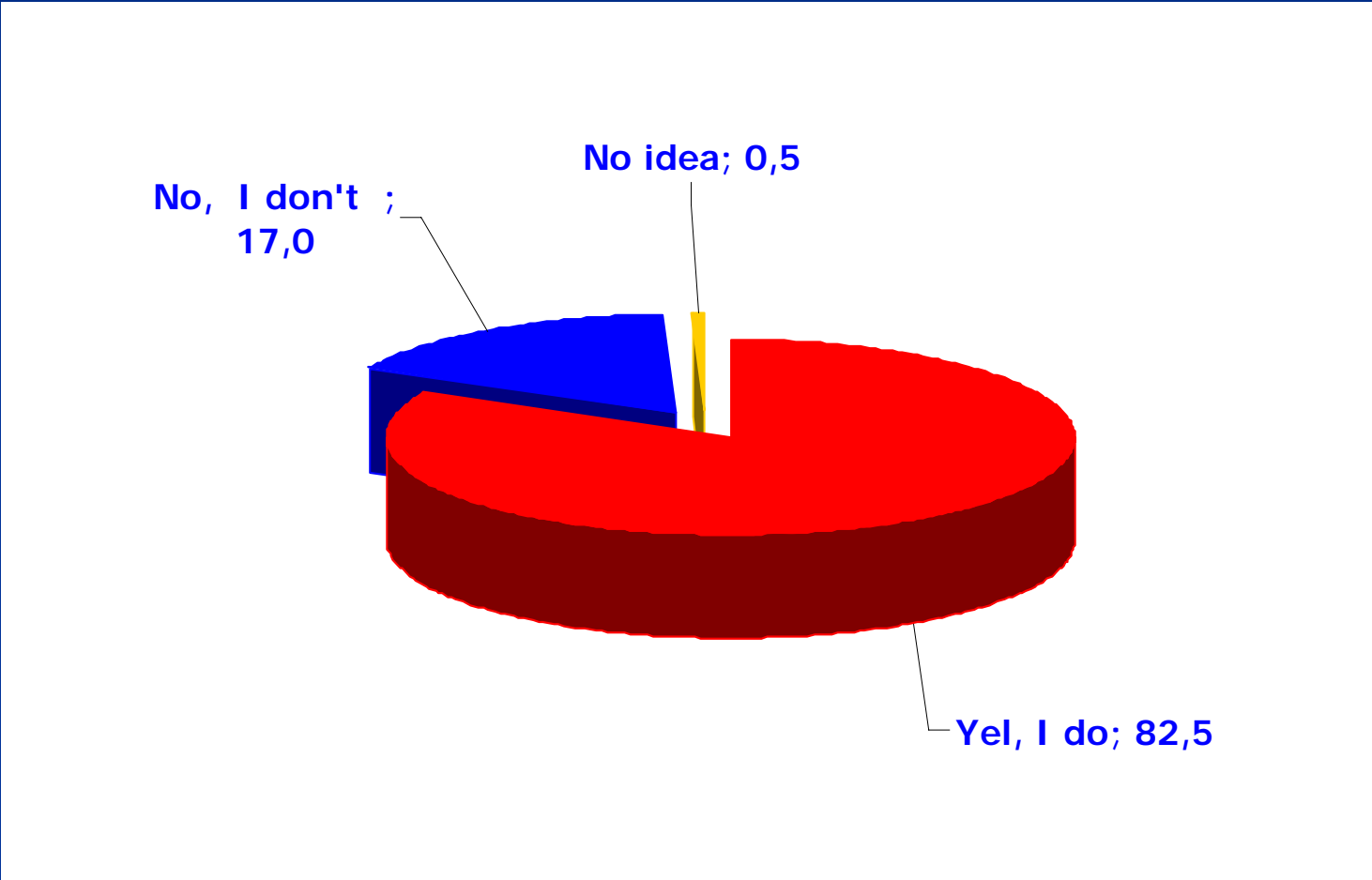
Overall, towards which direction do you think Turkey is proceeding?  
For Better or Worse?

(Between April 2008 and November 2008)

	April 2008 (%)	May 2008 (%)	June 2008 (%)	August 2008 (%)	September 2008 (%)	October 2008 (%)	November 2008 (%)
For Better	38,6	31,8	28,6	37,2	49,1	24,9	25,9
For Worse	56,9	62,2	66,0	58,2	45,2	70,2	65,1
No idea	4,5	6,0	5,3	4,6	5,7	4,9	9,1

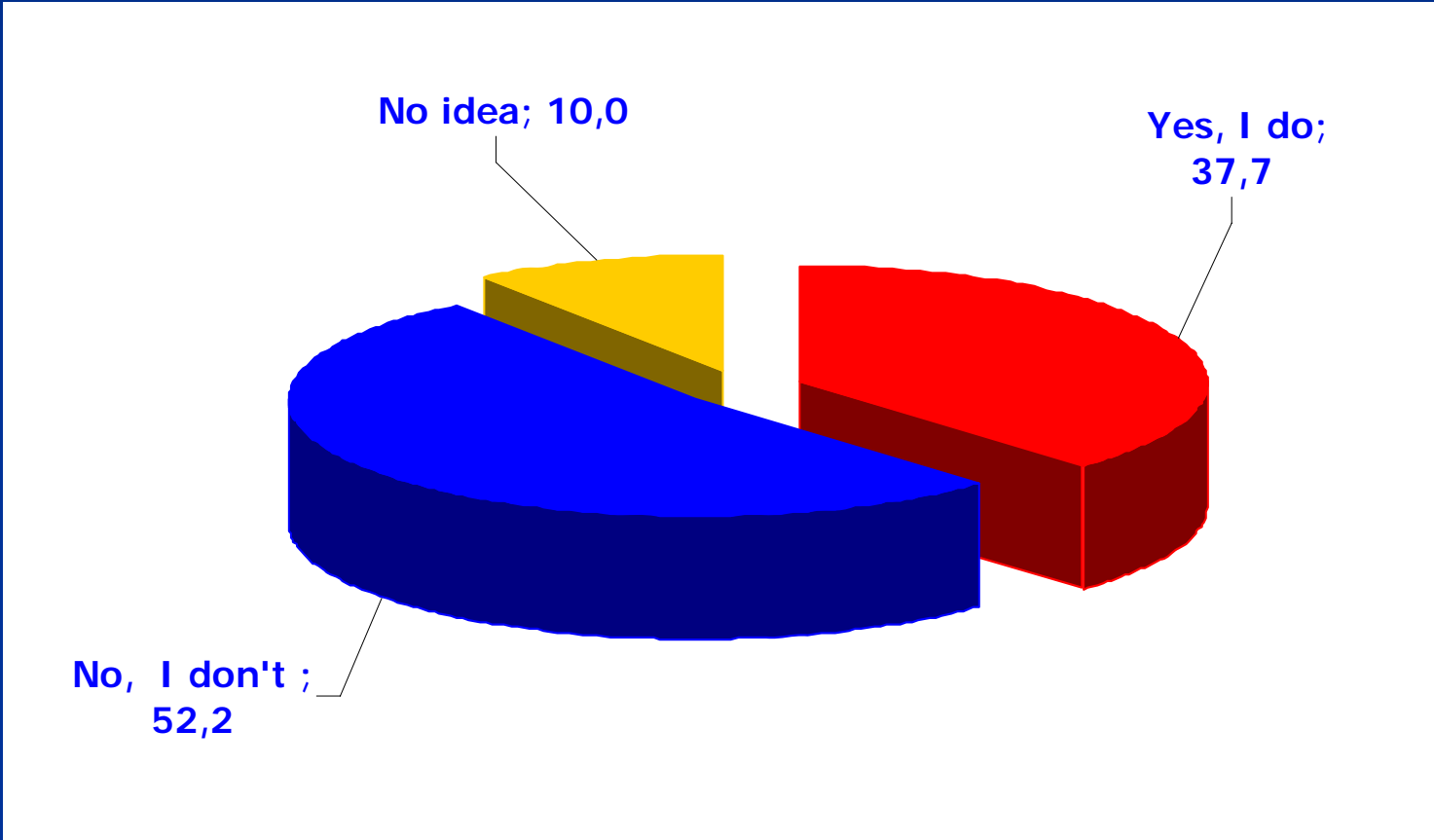
# GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ITS EFFECTS

Do you feel the effects of the economic crisis in your life recently?



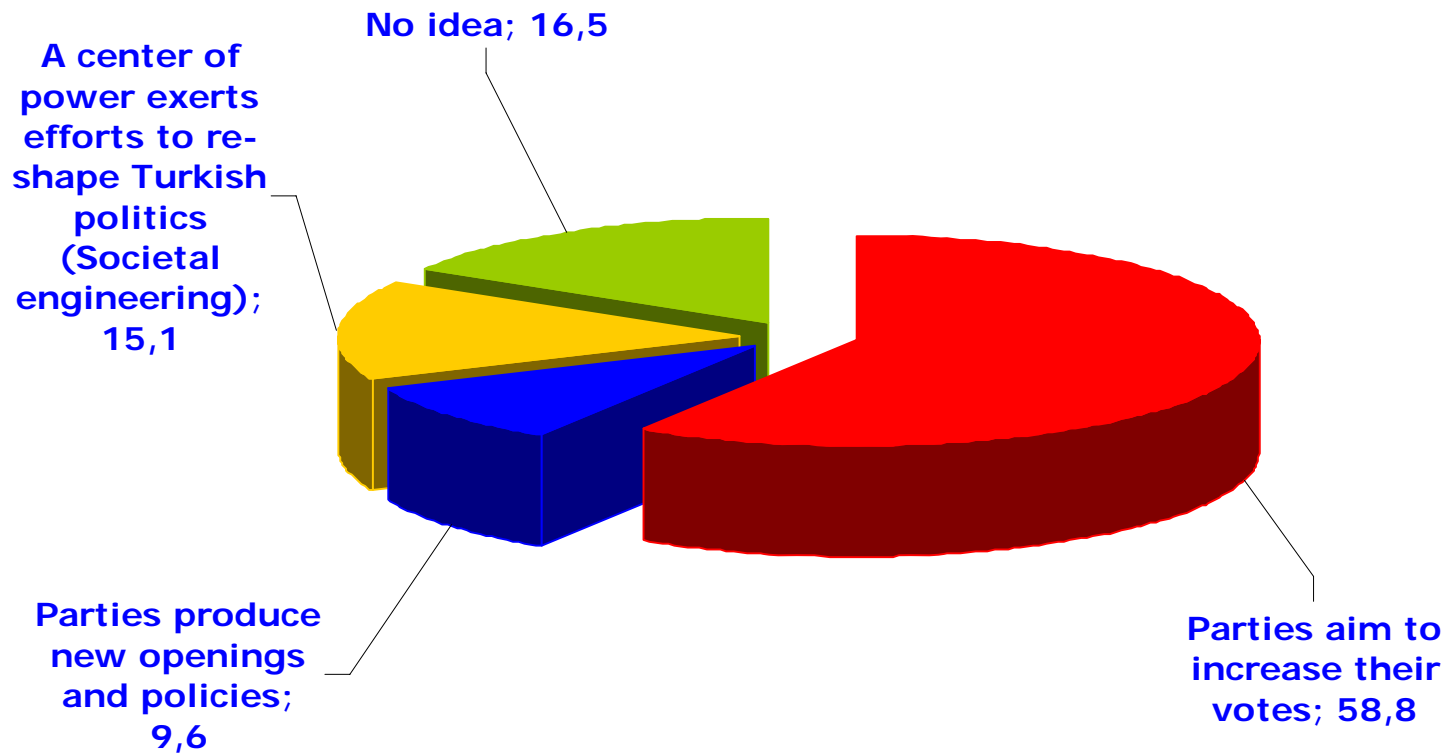
# GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND ITS EFFECTS

**Do you believe that the AKP government administers the economic crisis in a correct and effective way?**



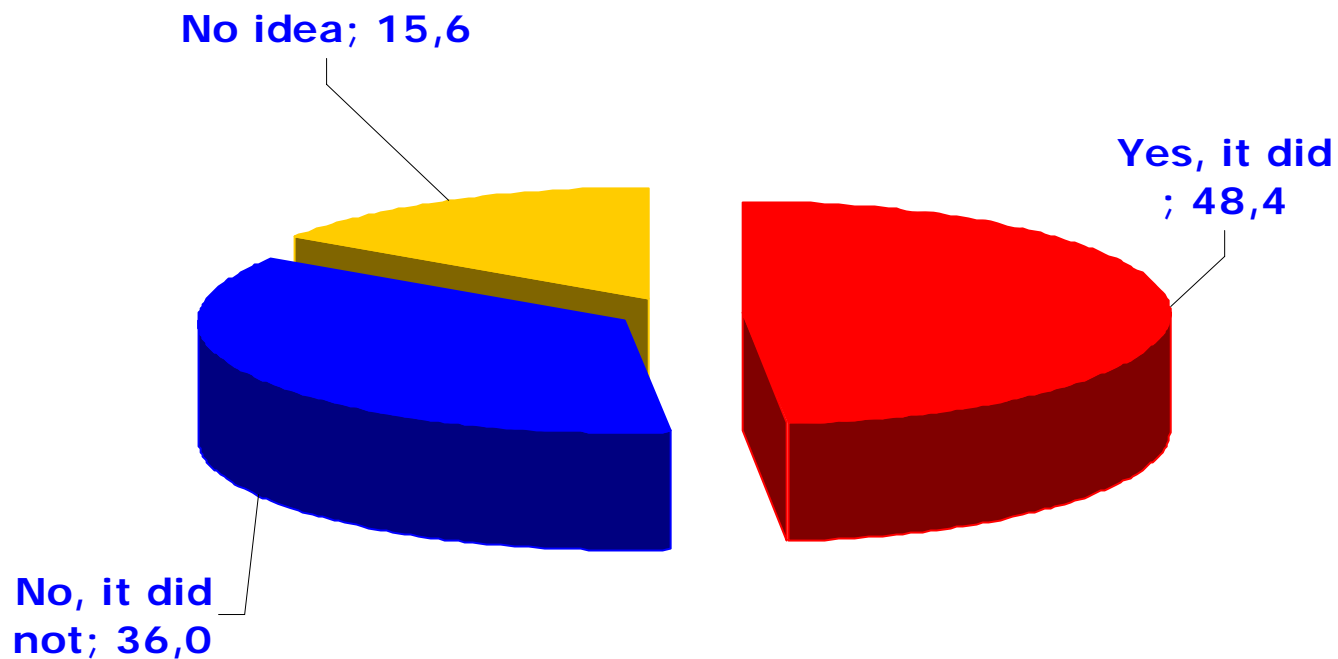
# POLICY CHANGES MADE BY POLITICAL PARTIES

In the recent days there is an almost synchronized and serious policy changes by AKP, CHP and MHP. (AKP's nationalist rhetoric, CHP's chadoor opening and MHP's Alevi initiative)  
Which one of the following would be the reason of this change



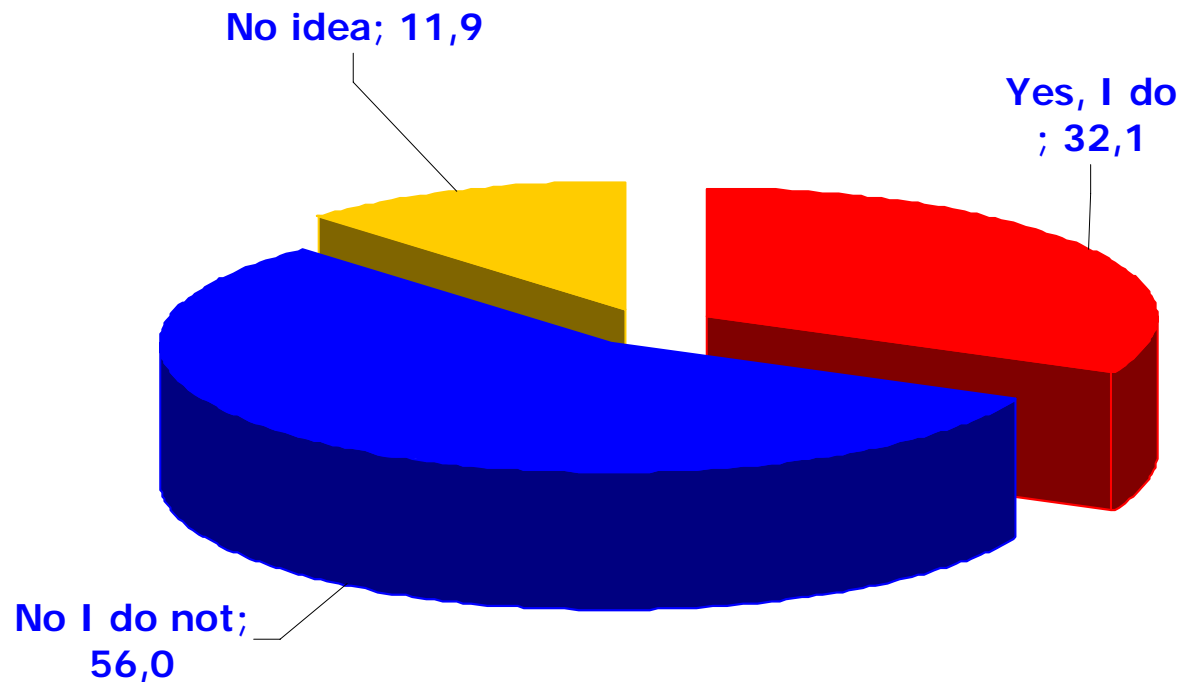
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN AKP

**Do you think that in recent days AKP has shifted from the democratic and pro-freedom line towards a more pro-status quo and pro-state line?**



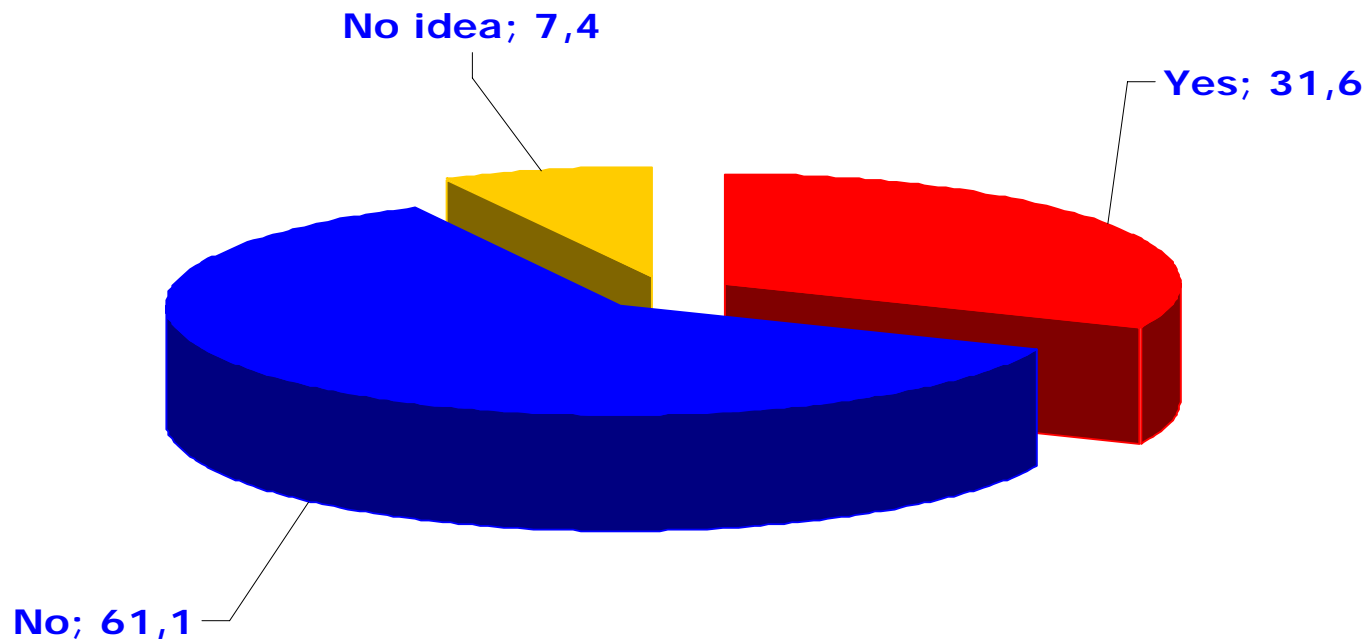
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN AKP

Do you believe that AKP government gave up a reformist and pro-freedom policy on Kurdish issue and adopted an etatist policy?



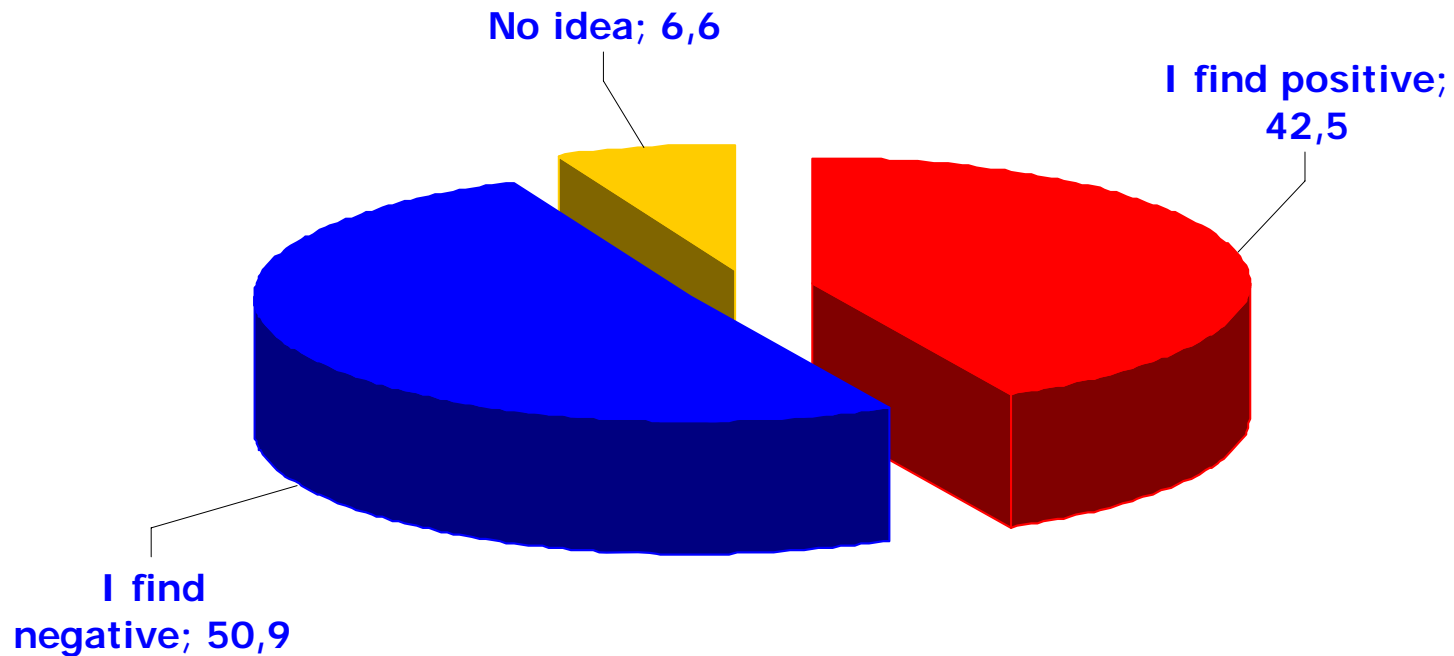
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN AKP

Do you agree with the claims that Tayyip Erdoğan “came to power like Obama but becomes like Bush now.”



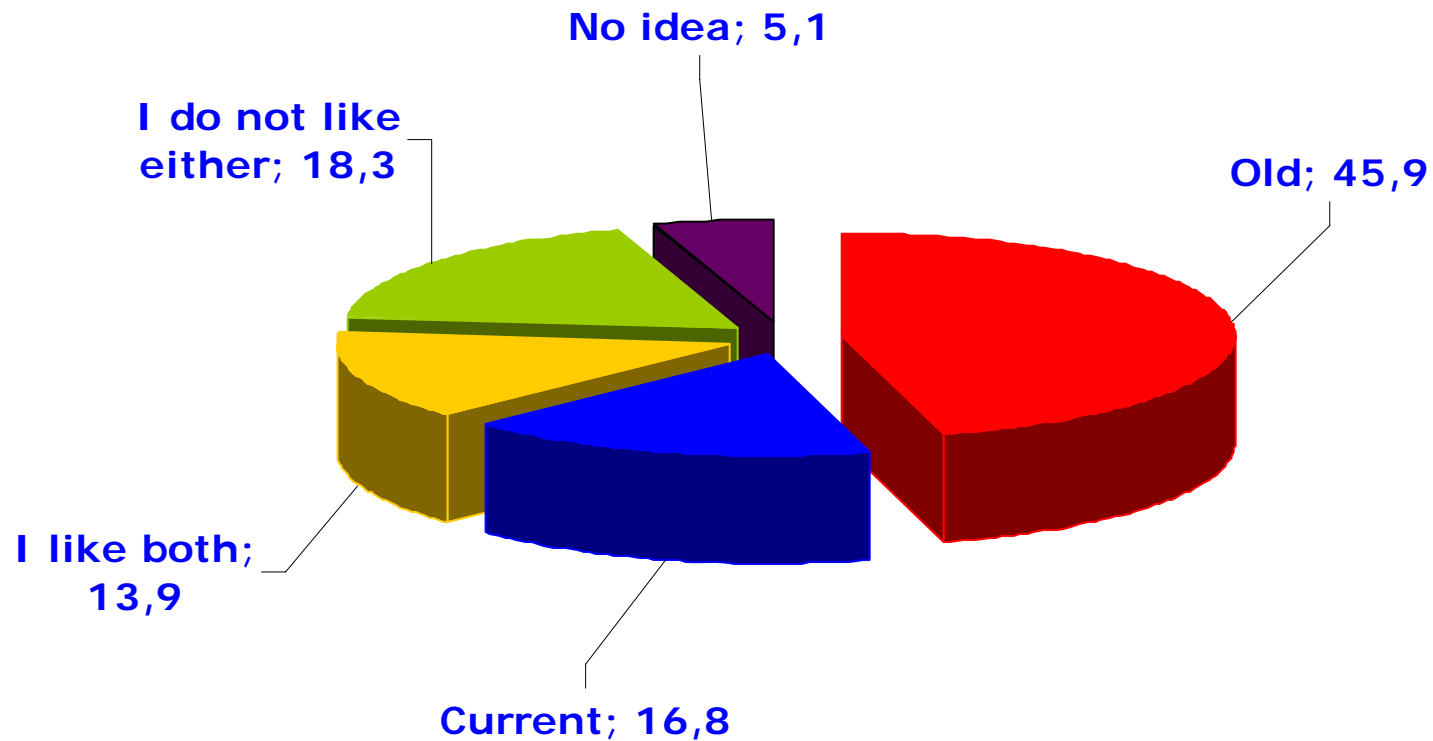
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN AKP

How do you assess the recent remark of the Prime Minister as “those who do not like may go away” and “there is a limit to the patience of the citizens.”



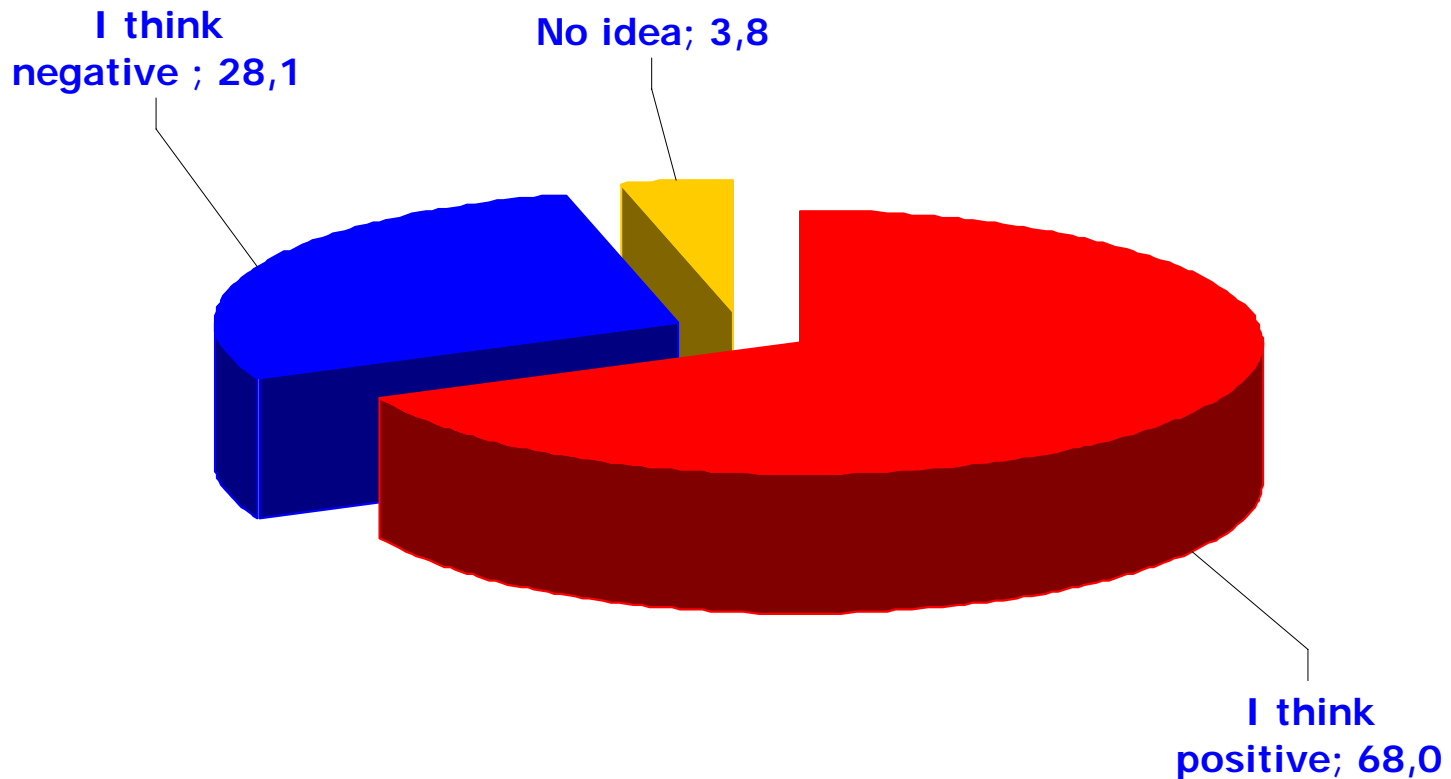
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN AKP

Which PM Erdogan do you like most: the former one or the current one?



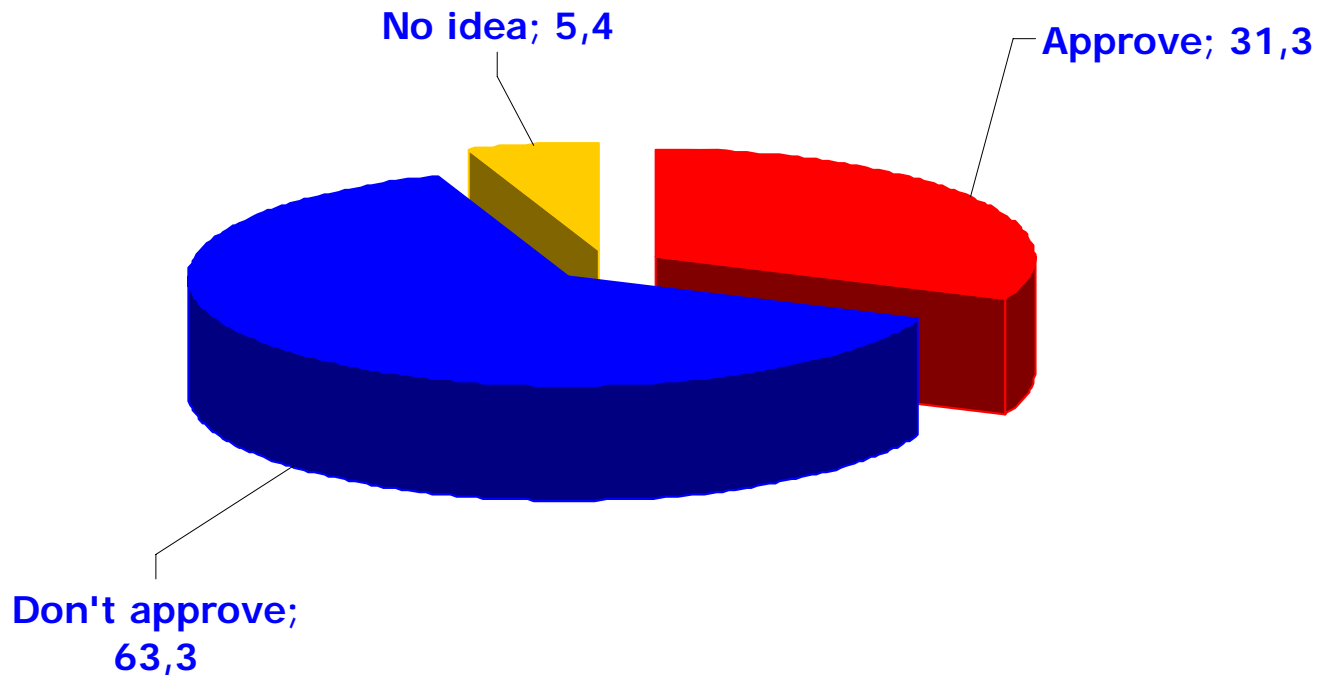
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN CHP

What do you think about active participation of women with headscarf /turban in politics?



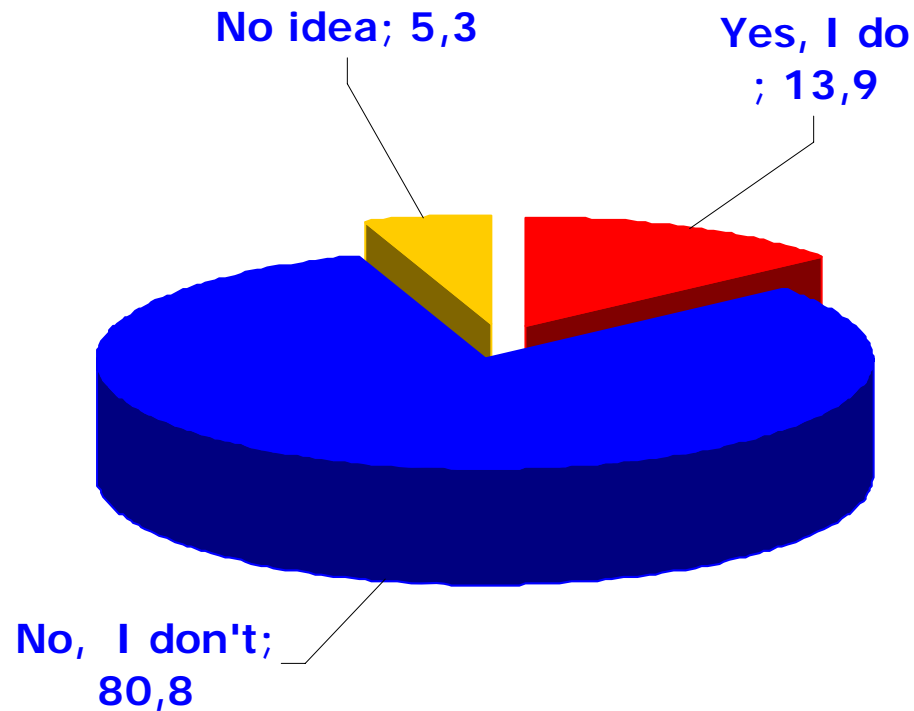
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN CHP

How do you assess CHP leader Deniz Baykal's chador opening (him registering women with turban and chador members to CHP)?



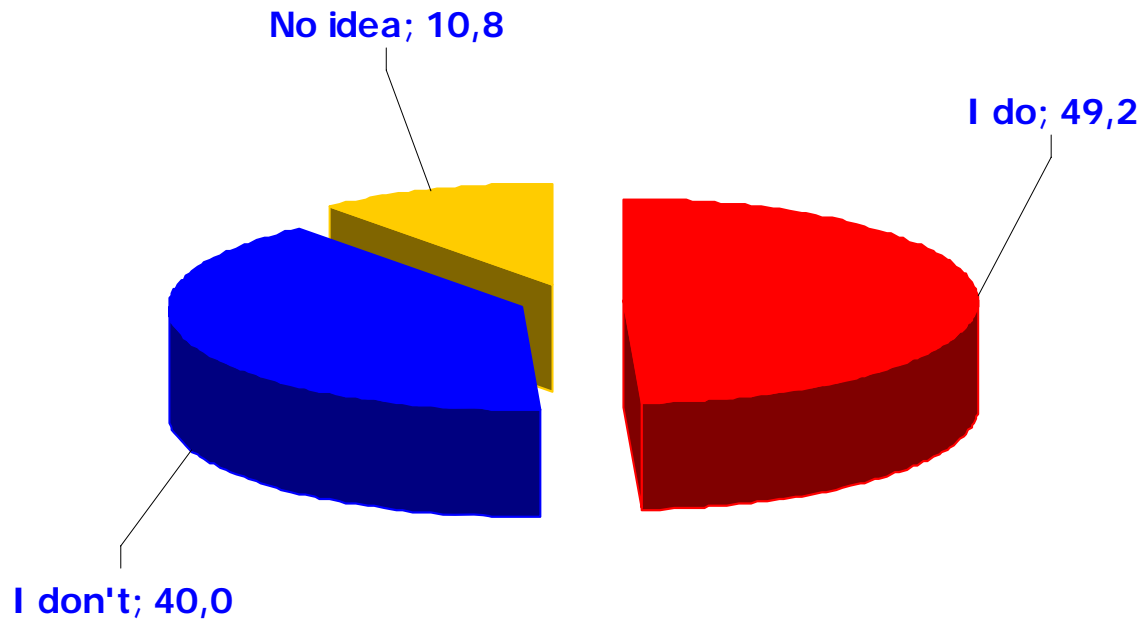
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN CHP

Do you find CHP and Deniz Baykal's chador opening sincere?



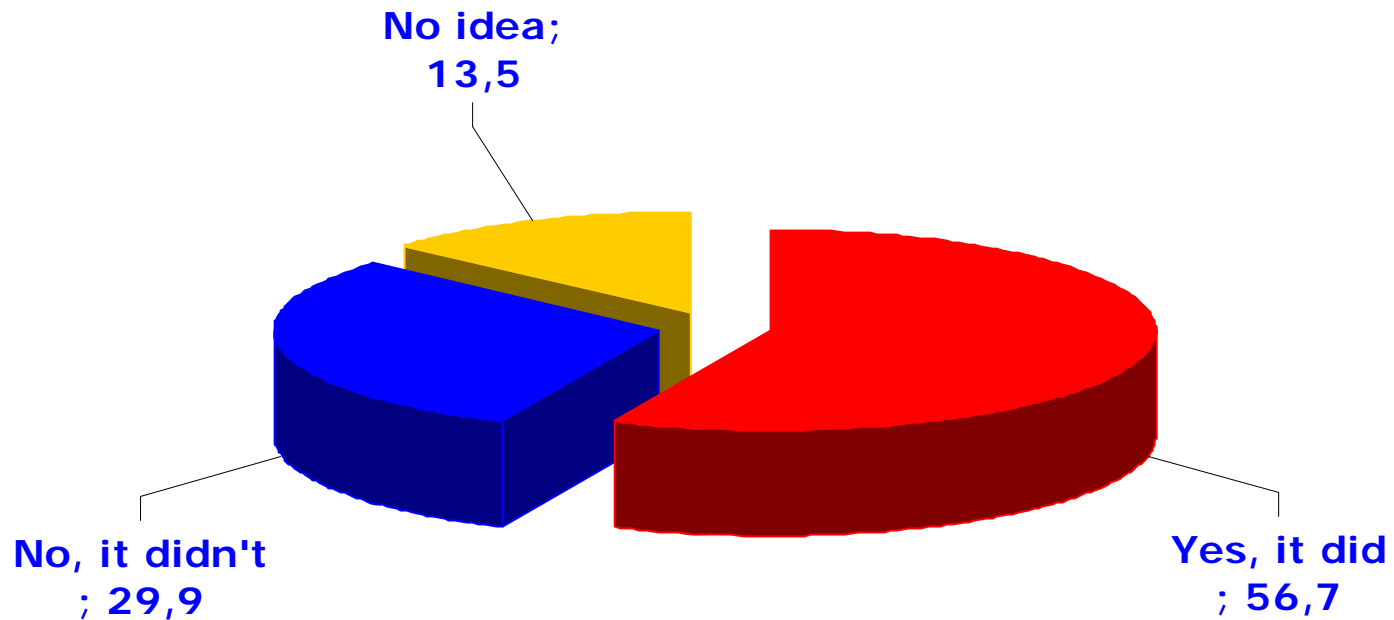
# CHANGE OF POLICY AND RHETORIC IN MHP

**Do you find rightfull the demands of Alevi citizens to the effect that Cem houses should be recognized as prayer places and "Dede"s as religious officials**



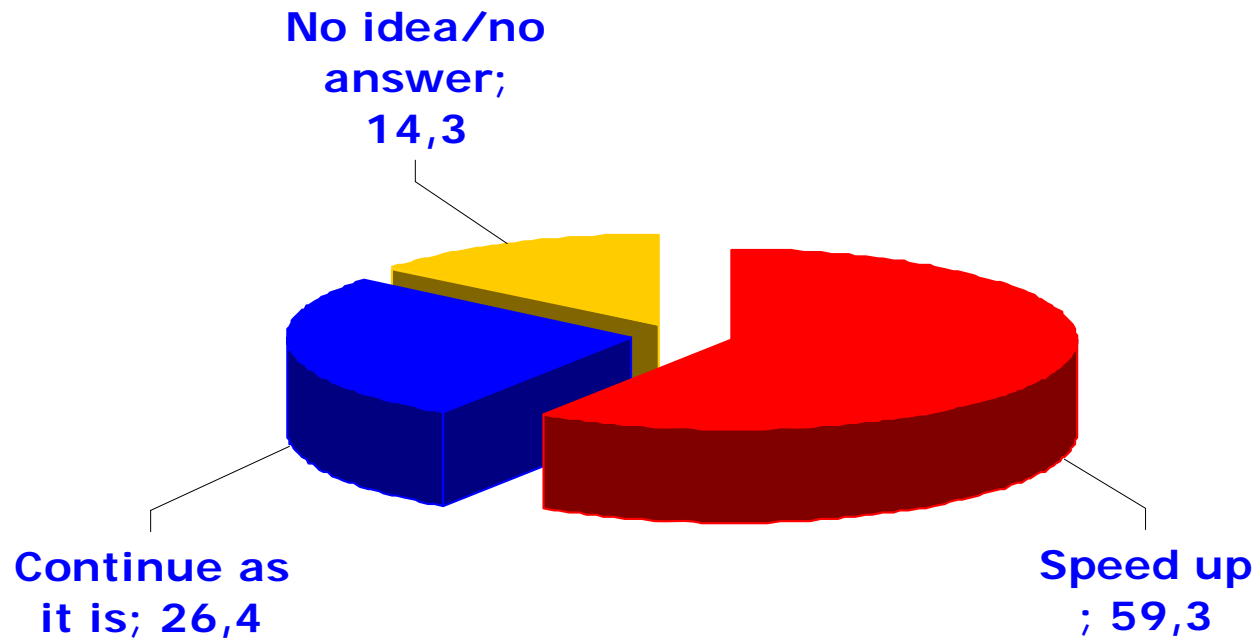
# PROGRESS IN EU PROCESS

Do you think that the AKP government had slowed down the EU process?



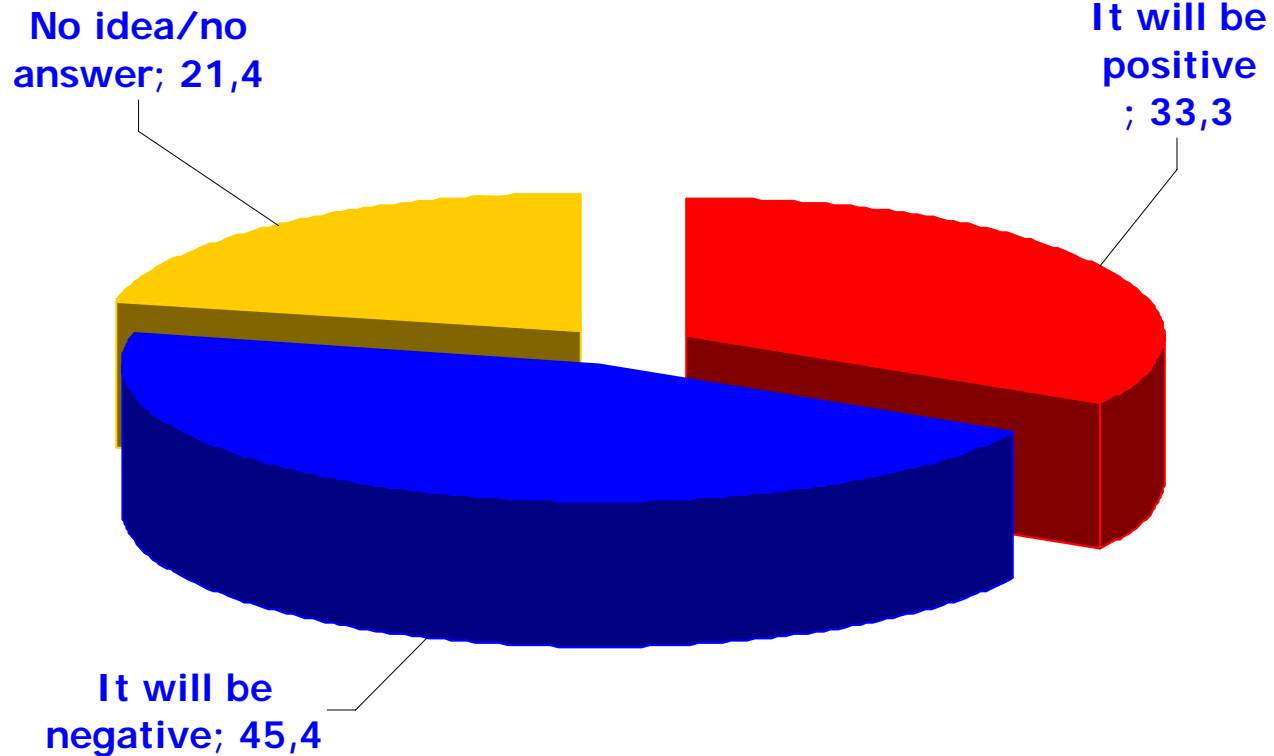
# PROGRESS IN EU PROCESS

Do you think that the AKP government should speed up the EU process or continue as it is?



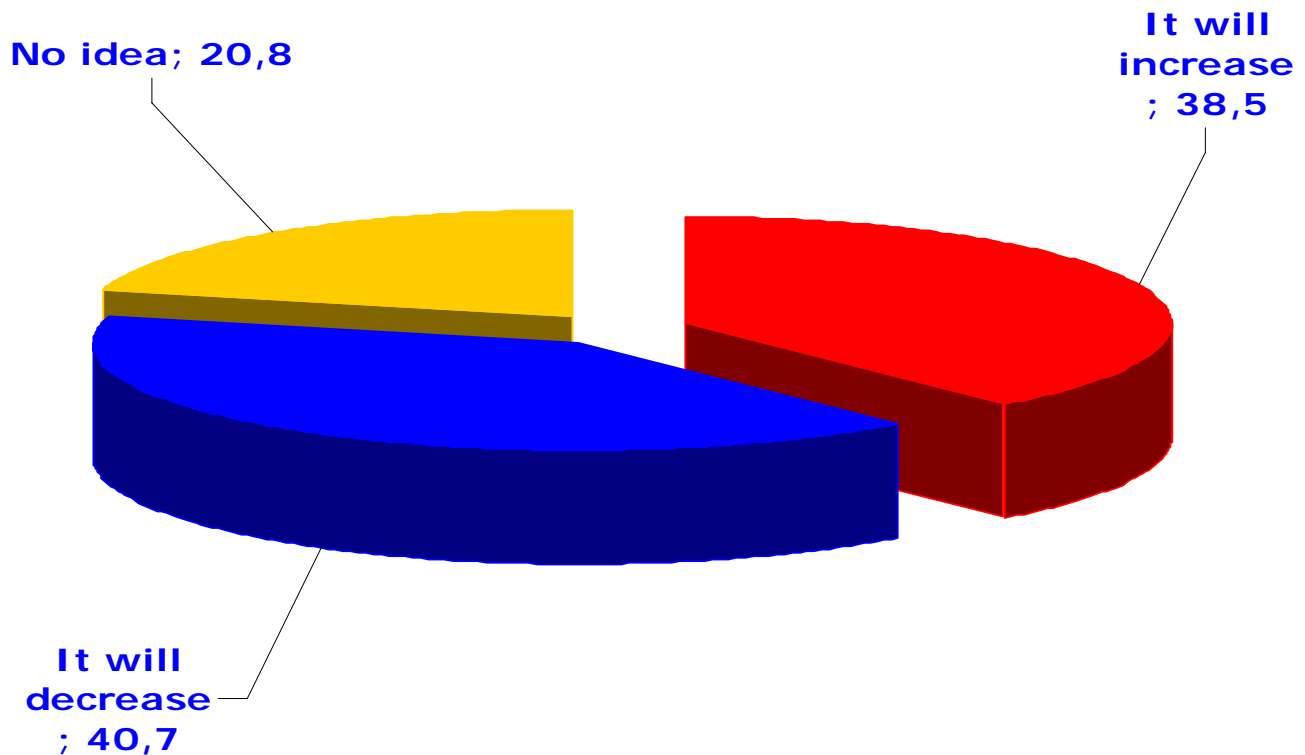
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

What would be the impact of Erdoğan's recent etatist – nationalist rhetoric on the solution of the Kurdish problem?



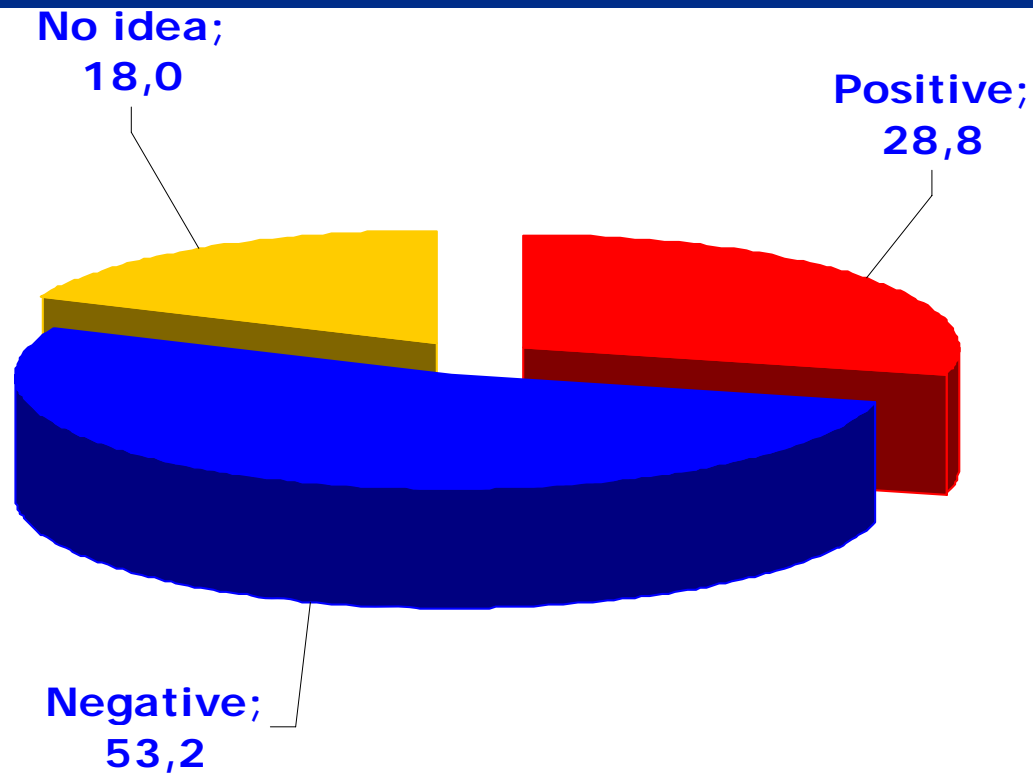
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

Do you think Turkey's rapprochement with Masud Barzani administration increase or decrease the chances for solving the PKK problem?



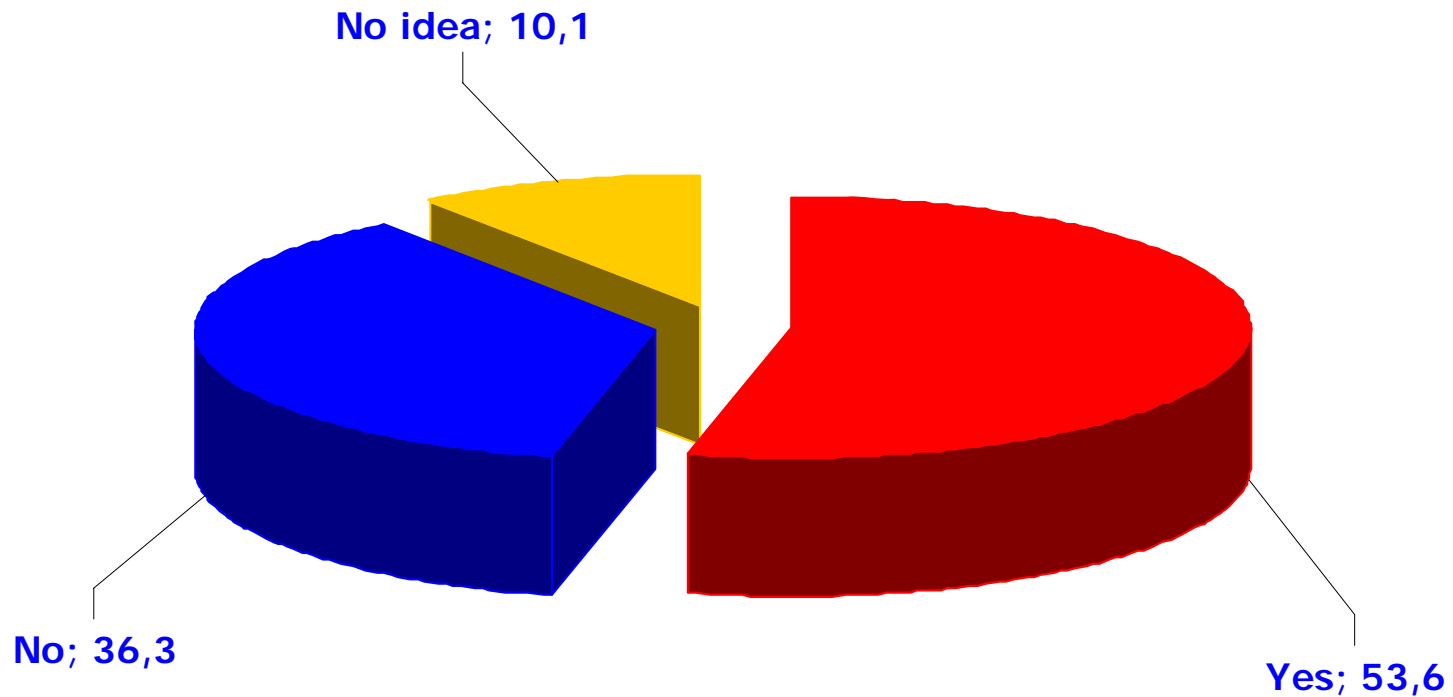
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

How would Turkey's rapprochement with Masud Barzani administration affect solution of Kurdish problem?



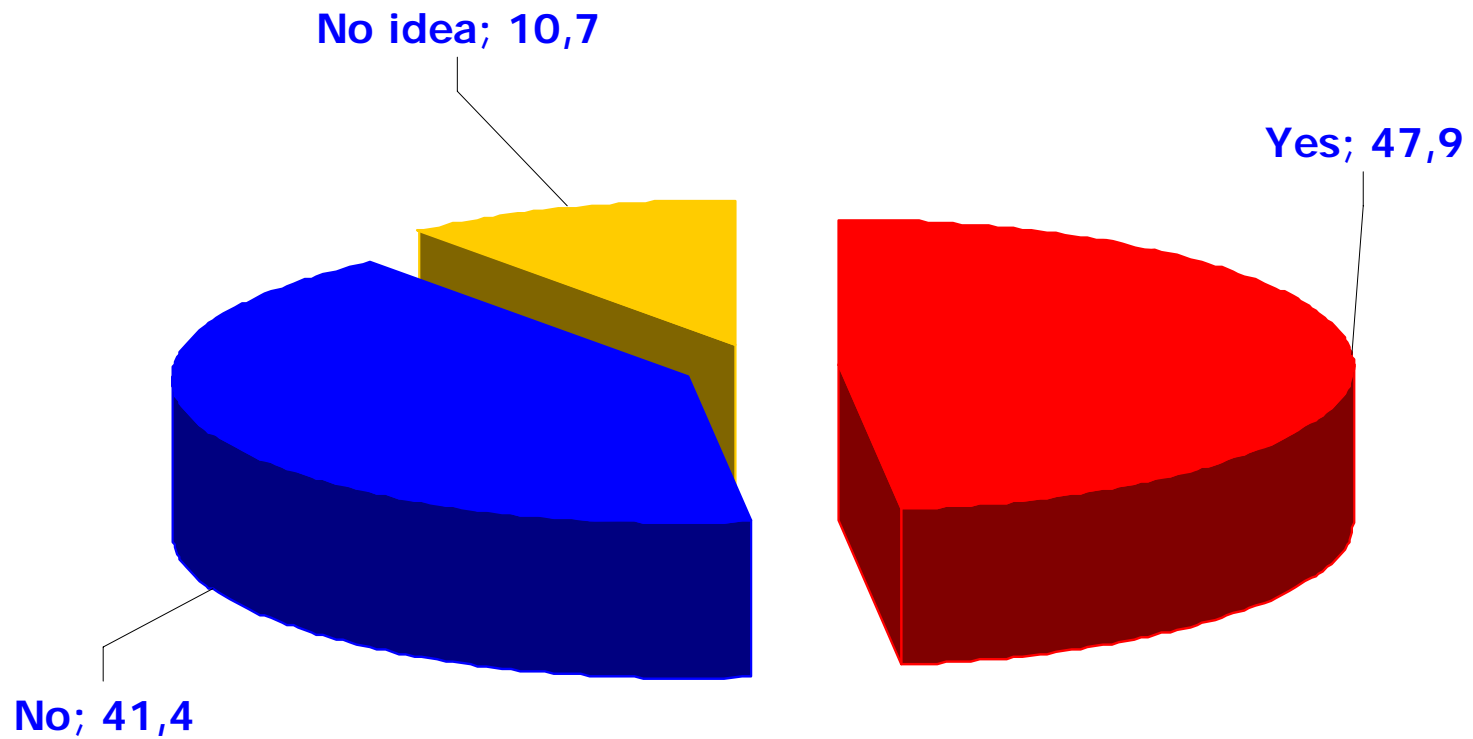
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

**Do you think that AKP is seeking a solution to the Kurdish problem?**



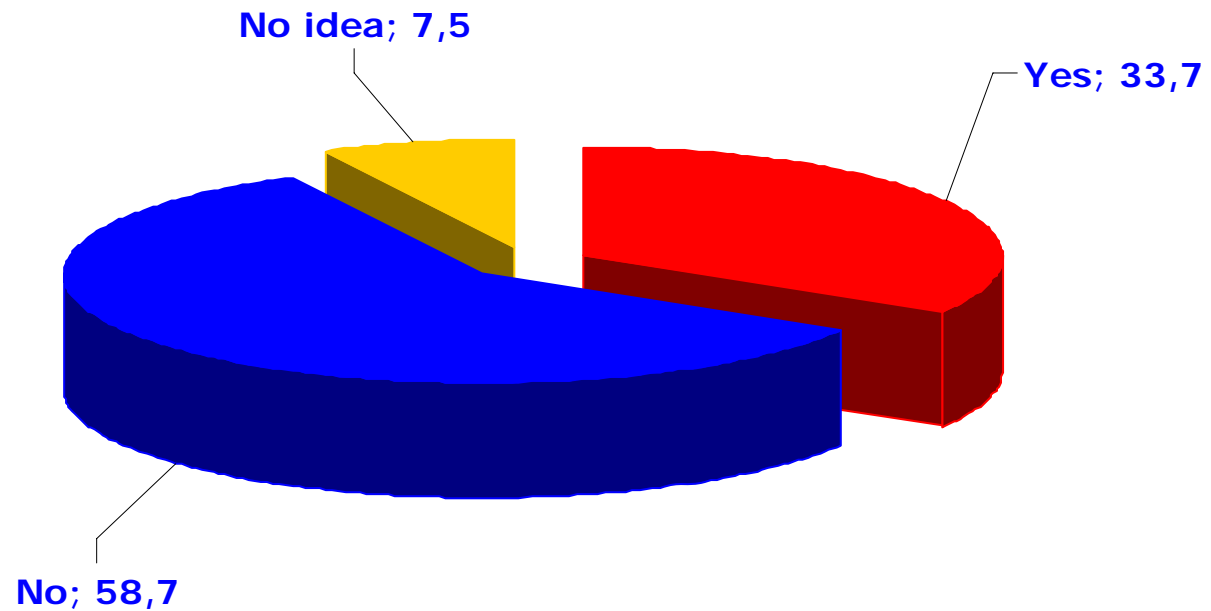
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

Do you think AKP is sincere in solving the Kurdish issue?



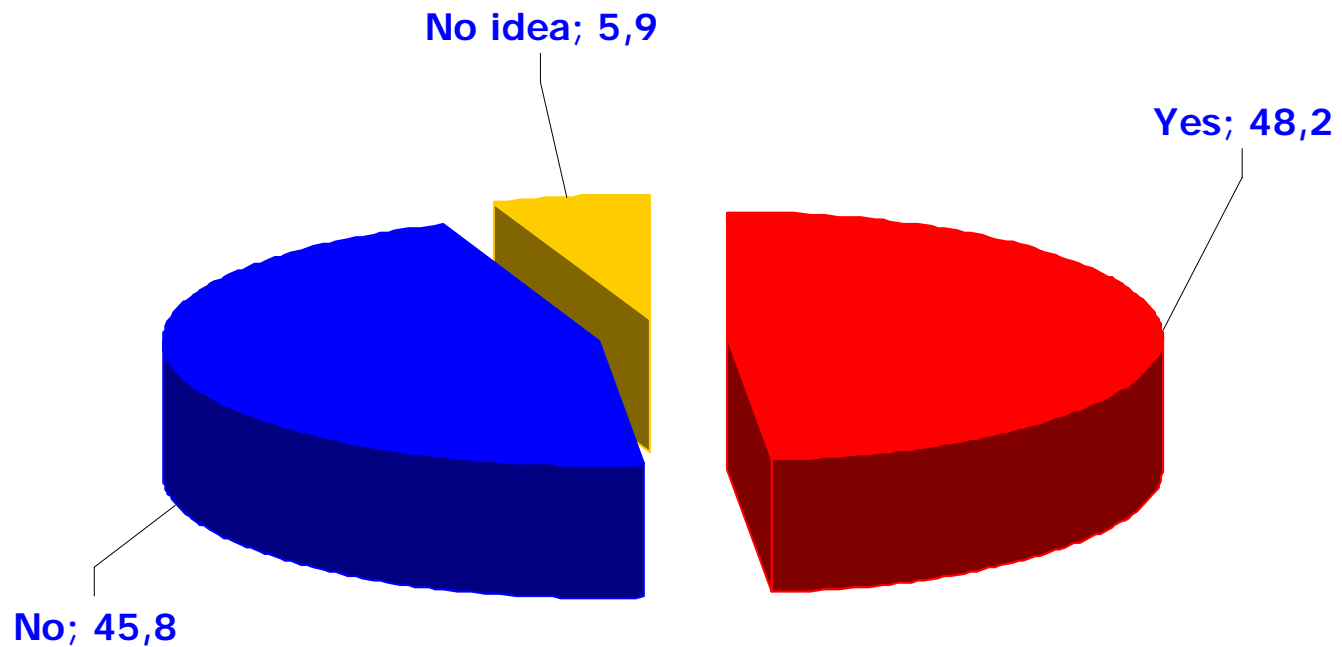
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

Do you believe that AKP can solve the Kurdish problem?



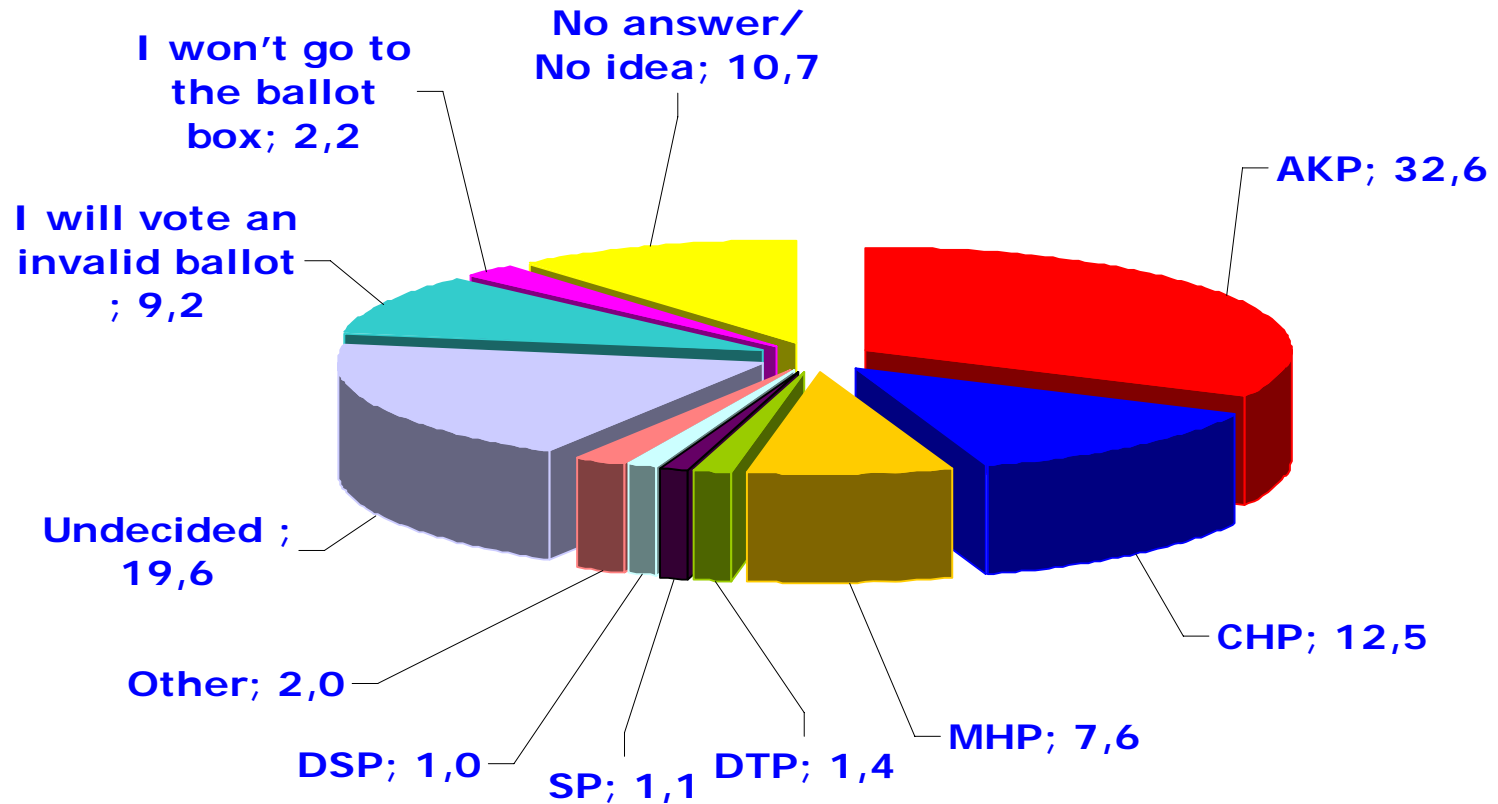
# PKK AND KURDISH ISSUE

Do you think there is the possibility of a Kurd-Turk conflict in the wake of recent incidents?



# POLITICAL SITUATION

If the elections for parliament were held today, which party would you vote for?



# POLITICAL SITUATION

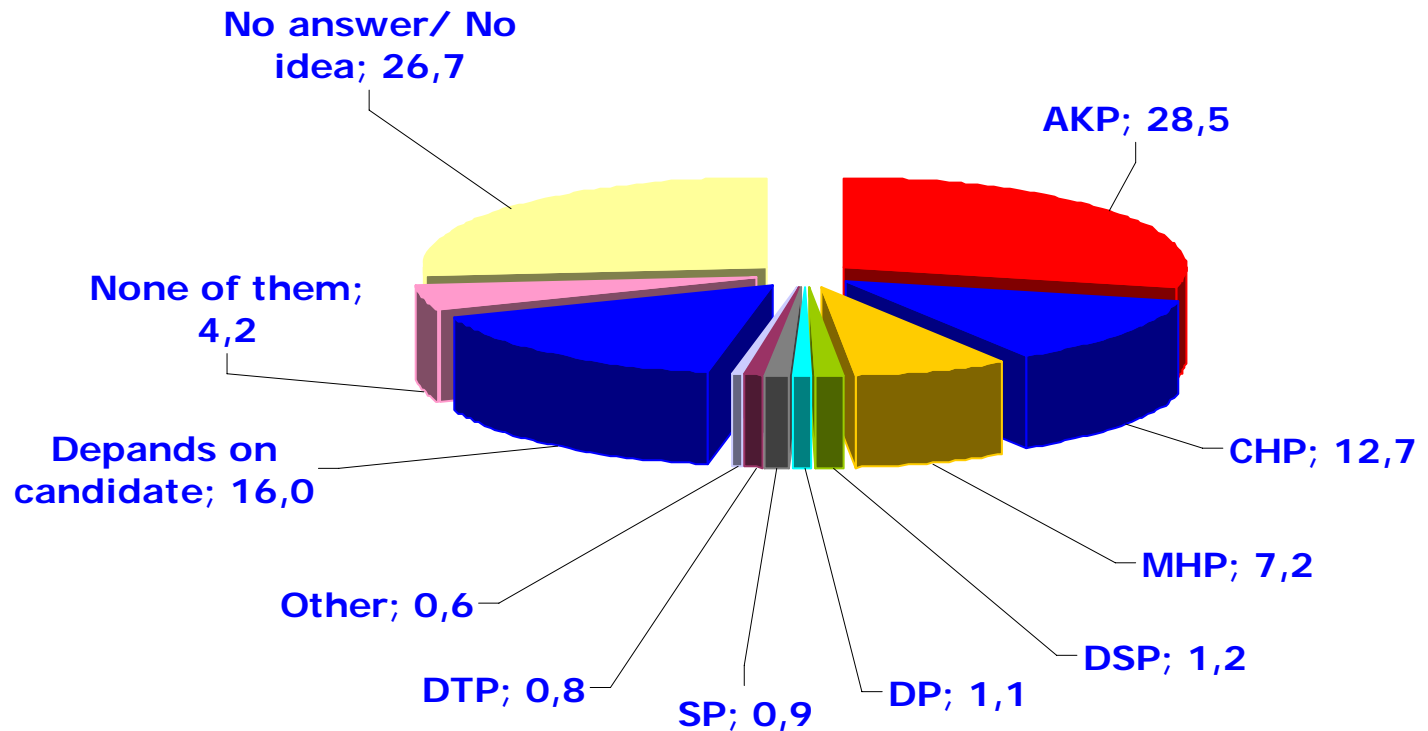
**If the elections for parliament were held today, which party would you vote for?**

**(Between April 2008 and November 2008 Comparison %)**

If the elections for parliament were held today, which party would you vote for?	April 2008	May 2008	June 2008	August 2008	September 2008	October 2008	November 2008
<b>AKP</b>	50,2	44,6	40,4	41,9	50,9	35,0	32,6
<b>CHP</b>	12,4	12,0	14,4	13,9	9,5	15,5	12,5
<b>MHP</b>	7,2	6,6	7,6	8,4	6,6	8,6	7,6
<b>DTP</b>	0,6	0,3	1,0	1,8	2,6	3,4	1,4
<b>SP</b>	1,2	0,7	0,7	0,7	0,6	1,0	1,1
<b>DP</b>	1,4	1,8	1,1	1,3	1,0	1,5	0,8
<b>Other</b>	3,3	3,3	4,2	3,2	2,4	3,8	2,2
<b>Undecided</b>	10,4	11,8	13,6	12,5	11,3	13,9	19,6
<b>I will vote an invalid ballot</b>	2,4	5,3	8,9	7,2	7,0	7,0	9,2
<b>I won't go to the ballot box</b>	1,7	3,9	2,5	3,8	2,0	2,1	2,2
<b>No answer/no idea</b>	9,2	8,2	5,7	5,4	5,3	8,2	10,7

# POLITICAL SITUATION

Which party would you consider to vote for at March 29, 2009 local elections?



# POLITICAL SITUATION

Which party would you consider to vote for at March 29, 2009 local elections? (August 2008 – November 2008 Comparison %)

	August 2008	November 2008
AKP	38,6	28,5
CHP	16,6	12,7
MHP	6,9	7,2
DP	1,4	1,1
SP	1,2	0,9
DSP	0,6	1,2
DTP	0,6	0,8
Other	1,9	0,6
None of them	4,3	4,2
<b>Adaya Bağlı</b>	16,9	16,0
No Answer	10,9	26,7

# POLITICAL SITUATION

**Among living statesmen, politicians and leaders whom do you admire most?**

	Number	%
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan	288	23,1
Abdullah Gül	97	7,8
Deniz Baykal	64	5,1
Devlet Bahçeli	34	2,7
Süleyman Demirel	30	2,4
A.Necdet Sezer	29	2,3
Abdüllatif Şener	14	1,1
Bülent Arınç	13	1,0
Mustafa Sarıgül	13	1,0
Tansu Çiller	13	1,0
Necmettin Erbakan	12	1,0
Ahmet Türk	9	0,7
Ali Babacan	9	0,7
Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu	9	0,7
Other	82	6,4
None of the above	317	25,4
No answer/No idea	215	17,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>100</b>

# POLITICAL SITUATION

**Among living statesmen, politicians and leaders whom do you admire most? (Between December 2007 and November 2008 Comparison %)**

Among living statesmen, politicians and leaders whom do you admire most?	Dec. 2007 (%)	April 2008 (%)	May 2008 (%)	June 2008 (%)	August 2008 (%)	Septm. 2008 (%)	October 2008 (%)	November 2008 (%)
R.Tayip Erdoğan	33,8	37,3	26,5	25,8	24,5	33,3	22,9	23,1
Abdullah Gül	12,2	12	12,5	13,4	11,7	14,7	8,7	7,8
Deniz Baykal	3,8	4,1	3,2	4,0	4,7	2,2	4,0	5,1
Devlet Bahçeli	4,8	3,3	1,7	4,5	4,2	2,4	2,9	2,7
Ahmet Necdet Sezer	2,7	2,7	2,1	3,4	4,0	5,1	2,8	2,3
Süleyman Demirel	3,6	1,8	2,9	4,0	4,0	2,6	3,3	2,4
Abdüllatif Şener	0,2	1,2	1,4	1,0	1,9	0,9	1,1	1,1
Necmettin Erbakan	1,3	0,9	1,5	1,5	1,5	1,2	1,0	1,0
Kenan Evren	1,0	0,7	0,3	1,1	0,4	0,4	1,3	0,4
Bülent Arınç	1,0	0,7	0,9	0,9	1,1	0,6	0,9	1,0
Tansu Çiller	0,4	0,8	1,5	0,9	1,1	1,2	0,9	1,0

# POLITICAL SITUATION

**Which one of the existing political party leaders do you trust most?**

	Number	%
AKP -R.Tayyip Erdoğan	423	33,9
CHP -Deniz Baykal	98	7,9
MHP-Devlet Bahçeli	60	4,8
DTP-Ahmet Türk	14	1,1
BBP-Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu	10	0,8
DSP- Zeki Sezer	7	0,6
SP–Numan Kurtulmuş	6	0,5
ÖDP – Ufuk Uras	4	0,3
GP-Cem Uzan	3	0,2
HYP-Yaşar Nuri Öztürk	2	0,2
DP- Süleyman Soylu	1	0,1
YP- Saadettin Tantan	1	0,1
None of the above	479	38,3
No answer / No idea	140	11,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>100</b>

# POLITICAL SITUATION

**Which one of the existing political party leaders do you trust most? (September–October–November 2008 Comparison %)**

	September 2008 %	October 2008 %	November 2008 %
AKP -R.Tayyip Erdoğan	51,9	34,1	33,9
CHP -Deniz Baykal	4,2	10,2	7,9
MHP -Devlet Bahçeli	4,2	4,4	4,8
Demokratik Sol Parti - Zeki Sezer	1,1	0,7	0,6
BBP -Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu	1,0	1,8	0,8
DTP -Ahmet Türk	0,6	0,4	1,1
DP -Süleyman Soylu	0,2	0,2	0,1
SP–Numan Kurtulmuş	0,2	0,3	0,5
GP -Cem Uzan	0,2	0,3	0,2
HYP- Yaşar Nuri Öztürk	0,2	0,1	0,2
ÖDP - Ufuk Uras	-	0,3	0,3
Other	0,2	0,3	-
None of the above	26,1	37,4	38,3
No answer / No idea	9,7	9,4	11,2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

# DEMOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES OF THE SAMPLE

		Frequency	%
<b>Gender</b>	<b>Female</b>	594	47,6
	<b>Male</b>	654	52,4
<b>Age</b>	<b>18-24</b>	223	17,9
	<b>25-34</b>	325	26,0
	<b>35-44</b>	282	22,6
	<b>45-54</b>	228	18,3
	<b>55+</b>	190	15,2
<b>Education</b>	<b>Illiterate</b>	28	2,2
	<b>Only literate</b>	27	2,2
	<b>Graduated from primary school</b>	441	35,3
	<b>Graduated from secondary school</b>	176	14,1
	<b>Graduated from junior high school</b>	384	30,8
	<b>Graduated from university</b>	192	15,4

# DEMOGRAPHIC PROPERTIES OF THE SAMPLE

		Frequency	%
<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Worker</b>	222	17,8
	<b>Civil servant</b>	80	6,4
	<b>Retired</b>	138	11,1
	<b>Housewife</b>	395	31,7
	<b>Freelance professional occupation</b>	54	4,3
	<b>Student</b>	62	5,0
	<b>Unemployed</b>	65	5,2
	<b>Small and medium size trade</b>	177	14,2
	<b>Manufacturing and large size trade</b>	9	0,7
	<b>Farmer</b>	46	3,7
<b>Monthly income</b>	<b>0 - 500 YTL</b>	196	15,7
	<b>501 - 1000 YTL</b>	487	39,0
	<b>1001 - 1500 YTL</b>	206	16,5
	<b>1501 - 2000 YTL</b>	113	9,1
	<b>2001 - 2500 YTL</b>	61	4,9
	<b>2501 YTL and above</b>	113	9,1
	<b>No answer/does not know</b>	72	5,8
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1248</b>	<b>100</b>