

A close-up photograph of a person's hand, wearing a ring, placing a white ballot into a slot of a ballot box. The background is blurred, showing other people in a voting area. A dark grey rectangular box is overlaid on the image, containing the title text.

THE ELECTORAL STRUCTURE IN TURKEY

THE ELECTORAL STRUCTURE IN TURKEY: Five Ideological Clusters and Their Political Reflections

This analysis, based on a sample of 1,251 respondents, aims to examine the dimensions of political fragmentation in Turkey by classifying voters into five clusters according to their ideological orientations. The traditional left–right spectrum has become insufficient to explain contemporary voter behavior and the underlying value cleavages. Defining voters solely through the lens of left and right, for instance, overlooks the distinctions between a nationalist conservative and a devout democrat. Therefore, this study seeks to move beyond the conventional left–right scale and position voters along richer ideological axes.

The five newly defined ideological clusters reveal distinct dimensions of political polarization. Through these clusters, voters' value priorities and political leanings become more clearly visible along such axes as conservatism, preferences for governance models, and attitudes toward cultural freedoms. The analysis fills a significant gap in understanding the current political balance, shedding light on overlaps and divergences among party constituencies that cannot be captured merely by the left–right dichotomy. In sum, the study aims to unpack the fundamental value conflicts shaping political competition in Turkey and to provide evidence-based insights into the ideological fault lines along which voter transitions between parties may occur.

METHODOLOGY AND SUMMARY OF CLUSTERS

A multi-stage clustering method was employed in the study. Voter attitudes were first grouped separately along three major ideological axes, after which the final clusters were derived. Initially, survey questions corresponding to the axes of conservatism, preferred mode of governance, and cultural freedoms were analyzed using the K-Means clustering technique to identify subgroups within each dimension.

For instance, along the conservatism axis, voters were divided into five segments: Absolute Conservative Devouts, Pragmatic Authoritarians, Secular Traditionalists, Secular Liberals, and Religious Liberals. Similarly, on the governance preference axis, clusters such as Parliamentary System Advocates and Absolute Authoritarians were identified. Within the cultural freedoms axis, subgroups included Dual Opponents (those resistant to both Alevi and Kurdish rights), Alevi-Focused, Kurdish-Focused, and Inclusive Democrats.

Finally, the classical left-right self-placement question was simplified into three categories—left, center, and right—and incorporated into a TwoStep cluster analysis that combined the three ideological dimensions. Through this process, five final ideological clusters were identified.

The five resulting ideological groups illustrate the differentiation of voters according to their fundamental value systems. Their main characteristics can be summarized as follows:

- Authoritarian/Conservative Right
- Conciliatory/Status Quo Center
- Conservative Democrats
- Left-Seculars
- Libertarian Center

- Authoritarian/Conservative Right:

This cluster consists of voters who strongly endorse religious values and authoritarian governance, displaying highly conservative attitudes on social issues. Representing 27.8% of respondents, it is the largest voter group in Turkey. These voters prioritize authority and traditional values in state administration and distinguish themselves from other clusters through their skeptical stance toward democracy and individual freedoms.

- Conciliatory/Status Quo Center:

Ideologically situated near the center, this group includes voters who avoid extreme views and prefer the preservation of the existing order. Making up around 16.8% of the electorate, it is the third-largest cluster. While cautious toward social and political change, these voters exhibit a lower degree of authoritarianism and show occasional openness to compromise. Compared with other clusters, they remain moderate and centrist, deliberately steering away from political polarization.

- Conservative Democrats:

Comprised of religiously oriented voters who also value democracy and pluralism, this group accounts for approximately 24.4% of the total electorate. While conservative in terms of faith and moral values, they adopt more democratic attitudes toward governance and civil liberties. Unlike the authoritarian right, Conservative Democrats favor consensus-based and participatory politics over strongman leadership. Their belief that religiosity and democracy can coexist gives them a distinctive position among Turkey's ideological camps.

- Left-Seculars:

The most steadfast defenders of secular lifestyles and democratic principles, this is the cluster farthest removed from authoritarian tendencies. Comprising about 13.3% of respondents, it is the smallest group. These voters strongly support the separation of religion and state, individual freedoms, and the parliamentary system. They also show the highest level of inclusivity regarding cultural freedoms, such as the public use of Kurdish and the recognition of Alevi rights. Consequently, the Left-Secular cluster stands in sharp contrast to authoritarian-conservative values.

- Libertarian Center:

Representing 17.8% of voters, this group is characterized by pragmatism and liberal orientations, engaging less with the traditional left-right polarization. They maintain relatively liberal positions on economic and social matters while avoiding ideological dogmatism. Neither fully aligned with the secular left nor the conservative right, they focus on practical, solution-oriented approaches to everyday issues. The Libertarian Center values democracy and stability simultaneously, embodying a moderate yet freedom-oriented middle ground in Turkey's political landscape.

Table 1. Characteristics and Sizes of the Five Ideological Clusters

Ideological Cluster	Share of the Electorate (%)	Core Characteristics
1. Authoritarian/Conservative Right	27.8%	Extremely conservative and authoritarian; places strong emphasis on a powerful leader and traditional values.
2. Conciliatory / Status Quo Center	16.8%	Centrist and conciliatory; cautious toward radical change, inclined to preserve the existing order.
3. Conservative Democrats	24.4%	Religious-conservative yet pro-democratic; supports the parliamentary system and maintains distance from authoritarianism.
4. Left-Seculars	13.3%	Secular and left-leaning; advocates cultural freedoms and minority rights, firmly opposed to authoritarianism.
5. Libertarian Center	17.8%	Ideologically centrist; neither strictly conservative nor strongly secular, focused on individual freedoms and practical solutions.

These five ideological clusters differ markedly from one another, particularly in their orientations toward religiosity and social values, governance preferences, and cultural identity demands. For instance, while the Authoritarian-Conservative Right and the Left-Secular groups display diametrically opposed attitudes on nearly every dimension, the Conservative Democrats and the Libertarian Center occupy intermediate positions, often serving as bridging segments between the two poles.

When the relative sizes of the clusters are taken into account, it becomes evident that a significant portion of the Turkish electorate—52.1%, encompassing both the Conservative Right and Conservative Democrat groups—remains anchored in a conservative value framework. Conversely, a substantial share of voters—approximately 31%—align around secular or liberal value orientations.

This pattern suggests that political competition in Turkey unfolds not only between parties, but also as a struggle among these fundamental value-based blocs, reflecting the deeper ideological cleavages that shape voter behavior and the broader political landscape.

DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES ACROSS IDEOLOGICAL CLUSTERS

The central finding of this analysis is that the electoral bases of Turkey's major political parties are clearly differentiated across the five ideological clusters identified in the study.

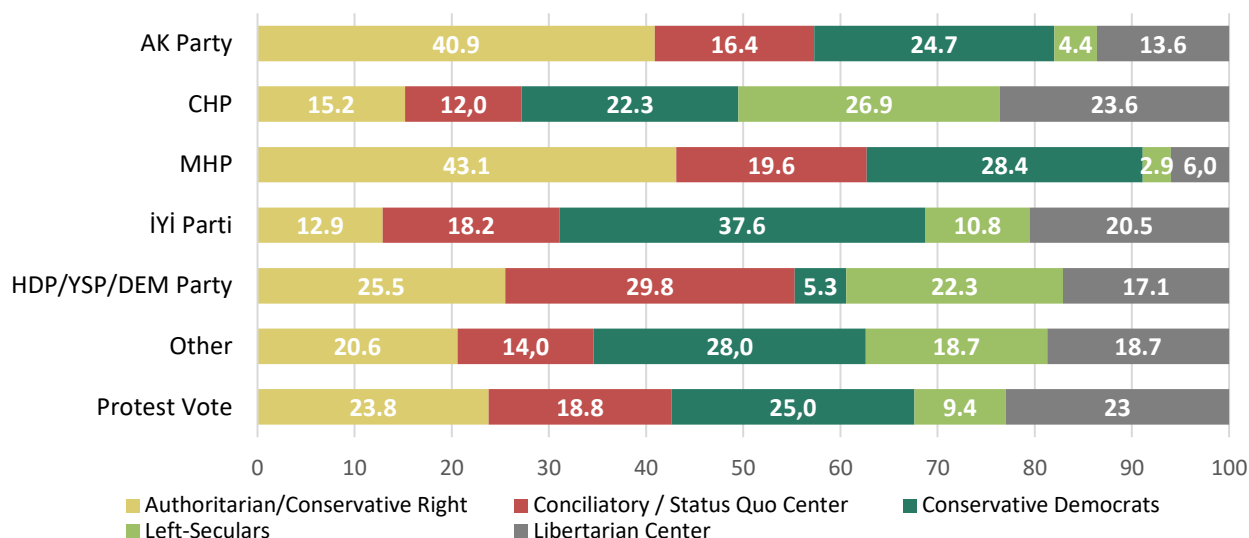
Voters supporting the People's Alliance—composed of *AKP* and the *MHP* are ideologically highly overlapping. Approximately 65% of *AKP* voters are concentrated within the *Authoritarian/Conservative Right* (40.9%) and *Conservative Democrat* (24.7%) clusters. Similarly, nearly two-thirds of *MHP* voters fall within these two conservative groups. This concentration indicates that the People's Alliance rests on a solid and ideologically homogeneous conservative foundation, unified around traditional, nationalist, and religious values.

In contrast, *CHP* voters are predominantly situated within the *Left-Secular* (26.9%) and *Libertarian Center* (23.7%) clusters, reflecting a more secular-democratic and liberal orientation. However, a noteworthy portion of *CHP* supporters (22.3%) also belong to the *Conservative Democrat* cluster, suggesting a degree of ideological diversity within its electorate, likely reflecting the party's broader appeal to centrist and moderately conservative voters in recent years.

The *İYİ* Party draws its support primarily from the *Conservative Democrat* (37.6%) and *Libertarian Center* (20.4%) clusters. This pattern illustrates the party's ideologically mixed base, combining nationalist-conservative and liberal-centrist tendencies. As such, *İYİ* Party functions as a bridge between right-leaning and centrist liberal voters, appealing to multiple ideological constituencies.

Finally, *DEM* Party (formerly *HDP*) exhibits the most heterogeneous ideological composition. Its voter base is dispersed across the *Conciliatory Center*, *Conservative Right*, and *Left-Secular* clusters. This fragmentation indicates that the Kurdish electorate is not confined to a single leftist bloc, but instead encompasses a variety of value orientations—ranging from traditional conservatism to secular pluralism—reflecting the diverse ideological landscape within Turkey's Kurdish regions.

Figure 1. Distribution of Parties' May 2023 Vote Shares Across Ideological Clusters (%)



Note: Each column represents the percentage distribution of that party's supporters across the five ideological clusters.

Analyzing the party preferences within the five ideological clusters provides a clear picture of contemporary voter behavior in Turkey.

The Authoritarian/Conservative Right cluster functions as the stronghold of the People's Alliance, as nearly 60% of its voters support either the AK Party (46.2%) or the MHP (12.9%). In contrast, the shares of CHP voters (12.7%) and non-voters (11.2%) within this group are comparatively low. This pattern underscores the cluster's strong attachment to religious conservatism, nationalism, and centralized authority.

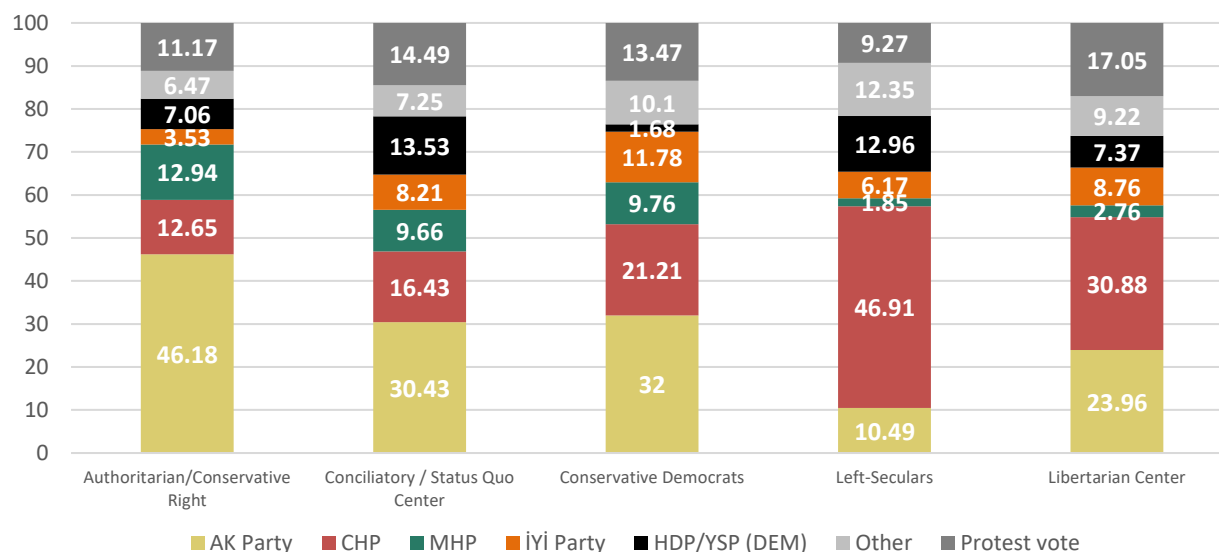
The Left-Secular cluster, by contrast, displays the reverse pattern. Nearly half of its voters (47%) support the CHP, making it the party's core ideological base. Support for conservative parties such as AK Party and MHP is almost negligible here, highlighting the cluster's secular, progressive, and pluralist orientation.

The Conservative Democrat cluster shows a more dispersed distribution of votes. Although the AK Party retains the largest share (32%), other major parties—including the CHP, MHP, and İYİ Parti—also receive meaningful support. This reflects the group's bridge position between traditional religiosity and democratic pluralism, accommodating diverse political preferences.

The Conciliatory/Status Quo Center cluster is similarly heterogeneous. While the AK Party holds the largest proportion (30.4%), both the CHP and DEM Party also enjoy notable representation, indicating that centrist pragmatism cuts across partisan lines.

Finally, the Libertarian Center cluster stands out for its mixed but politically ambivalent composition. The CHP secures the highest share (30.9%), followed by the AK Party with a significant 24%. However, this cluster also contains the largest proportion of non-voters (17.1%), suggesting that voters aligned with liberal and centrist values may feel underrepresented in the current party system.

Figure 2. Distribution of Ideological Clusters by May 14, 2023 Vote Preferences (%)



Note: Each ideological cluster column shows which party the voters belonging to that cluster voted for (or whether they abstained) in the respective election.

When the above figures are evaluated together, it becomes evident that most political parties' voter bases are concentrated within specific ideological segments, while a few parties draw significant support from multiple ideological groups. For instance, *AK Party* and *MHP* voters are primarily clustered within the authoritarian-conservative and religious segments, whereas *CHP* supporters are predominantly found in the secular and liberal segments. The *İYİ Party* stands out with a broader ideological reach, managing to attract votes from both religiously conservative and liberal centrist constituencies. The *DEM Party's* ideological diversity is also notable: the Kurdish electorate surrounding this party does not form a homogeneous "leftist bloc" but instead spans a spectrum ranging from center-right conservative to secular-liberal values.

Non-voters were likewise analyzed within the framework of the ideological clusters. This group is most prevalent in the Libertarian Center (17.1%) and Conciliatory Center (14.5%) segments, followed by the Conservative Democrats (13.5%), as shown in *Figure 2*. In contrast, the share of non-voters within the Left-Secular cluster is lower (9.3%). These findings suggest that abstention is more common among centrist-pragmatic and moderately conservative groups, whereas secular voters tend to participate more actively in elections.

The ideological profile of non-voters—discussed in greater depth in later sections—offers important insights into the potential for parties to broaden their electoral bases, particularly among the centrist and conservative segments that currently exhibit weaker engagement with the political process.

INTER-PARTY SIMILARITY ANALYSIS

The similarity and distance between the voter bases of different parties were analyzed using two separate metrics: cosine similarity and Euclidean distance. Table 2 presents the cosine similarity matrix showing the ideological profile similarities of the parties. This matrix treats each party's vote distribution across the five ideological clusters as a vector and calculates the angular similarity between parties.

Table 2. Cosine Similarities Between the Voter Profiles of Major Parties Across Ideological Clusters

	AK Party	CHP	MHP	İYİ Party	DEM Party	Other	Protest vote
AK Party	1.00						
CHP	0.74	1.00					
MHP	0.99	0.68	1.00				
İYİ Party	0.80	0.88	0.78	1.00			
DEM Party	0.78	0.83	0.74	0.69	1.00		
Other	0.87	0.96	0.83	0.95	0.82	1.00	
Protest vote	0.92	0.90	0.88	0.94	0.84	0.97	1.00

Note: Values close to 1 indicate that the profiles are almost identical, while lower values show greater differentiation.

The cosine similarity analysis vividly reveals the ideological proximity among the parties' voter bases. The pair with the highest similarity score is AK Party and MHP (0.986), demonstrating that the electorates of these two *People's Alliance* partners are virtually identical, largely rooted in the same conservative and authoritarian ideological segments.

Within the opposition bloc, the CHP–İYİ Party pair also exhibits a high similarity value (0.882), indicating that the *Nation Alliance* partners share parallel ideological distributions, with voter bases overlapping in secular and liberal-democratic clusters. Furthermore, among the opposition parties other than İYİ Party, CHP shows the highest similarity with DEM (0.829), reflecting a common ideological ground within the broader opposition spectrum.

Overall, the analysis highlights that parties within the same alliance demonstrate strong ideological alignment in their voter compositions, underscoring the cohesive nature of both the conservative and opposition blocs.

Table 3. Euclidean Distances Between the Voter Profiles of Major Parties Across Ideological Clusters

	AK Party	CHP	MHP	İYİ Party	DEM Party	Other	Protest vote
AK Party	0.00						
CHP	0.36	0.00					
MHP	0.10	0.42	0.00				
İYİ Party	0.32	0.24	0.36	0.00			
DEM Party	0.34	0.28	0.38	0.39	0.00		
Other	0.26	0.13	0.31	0.15	0.28	0.00	
Protest vote	0.20	0.21	0.27	0.17	0.27	0.12	0.00

Note: Values close to 0 indicate that the profiles are almost identical, while higher values show greater differentiation.

The Euclidean distance metric yields results that closely parallel those of the cosine similarity analysis; in this context, shorter distances indicate ideological closeness, while greater distances reflect divergence. The analysis shows that the distance between the AK Party and MHP is 0.1 units, the lowest among all party pairs, confirming once again that the voter profiles of the *People's Alliance* are almost perfectly aligned.

By contrast, the distance between CHP and MHP is notably large, illustrating that the two parties' electorates occupy opposite ideological poles—with *CHP* voters concentrated in the secular-liberal clusters and *MHP* voters in the authoritarian-conservative segments. Moreover, *CHP*'s moderate distances from both *İYİ* Party (0.24) and *DEM* (0.28) suggest the existence of some shared ideological ground between the *Nation Alliance* parties and *DEM*.

Taken together, both distance metrics indicate that parties within the same alliance (*People's* and *Nation Alliances*) are ideologically very close to one another, whereas inter-bloc parties remain clearly distant, reflecting the deep value-based divide structuring Turkish politics.

Overall, the inter-party similarity analysis offers valuable insights for future alliance dynamics and policy strategies. Since *AK Party* and *MHP* already exhibit an exceptionally high level of voter similarity, their alliance appears socially coherent and potentially durable. Likewise, the resemblance between *CHP* and *İYİ* Party voter profiles supports the internal cohesion of the *Nation Alliance*. However, the cultural and ideological gaps between *CHP* and *DEM* indicate potential challenges in maintaining message and policy consistency within any extended collaboration.

It is also noteworthy that the voter bases of smaller allied parties (*DEVA*, *Future*, *Saadet*, etc.) show very high similarity with *CHP* and *İYİ* Party (cosine similarity > 0.95). This suggests that these minor components of the *Nation Alliance* draw from the same ideological pool, and their unification would likely be perceived as coherent and credible by voters.

When examining the ideological profiles of non-voters, it becomes apparent that this group does not stem from a single bloc but instead displays a heterogeneous and mixed composition. Cosine similarity results show that non-voters share high resemblance with *İYİ* Party (94%), *CHP* (90%), and *AK Party* (92%) electorates. Despite this diversity, their strong correlation with centrist and pragmatic parties suggests a potential strategic opportunity for the opposition, as these voters may be more responsive to inclusive, issue-oriented appeals.

In conclusion, the similarity patterns observed across these analyses provide data-driven insights for future alliances and political strategies: parties sharing common ideological foundations can integrate their voter bases more easily, whereas those addressing distinct sociological and value domains may face greater challenges in sustaining cohesive collaboration.

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTIONS AND POLITICAL INSIGHTS

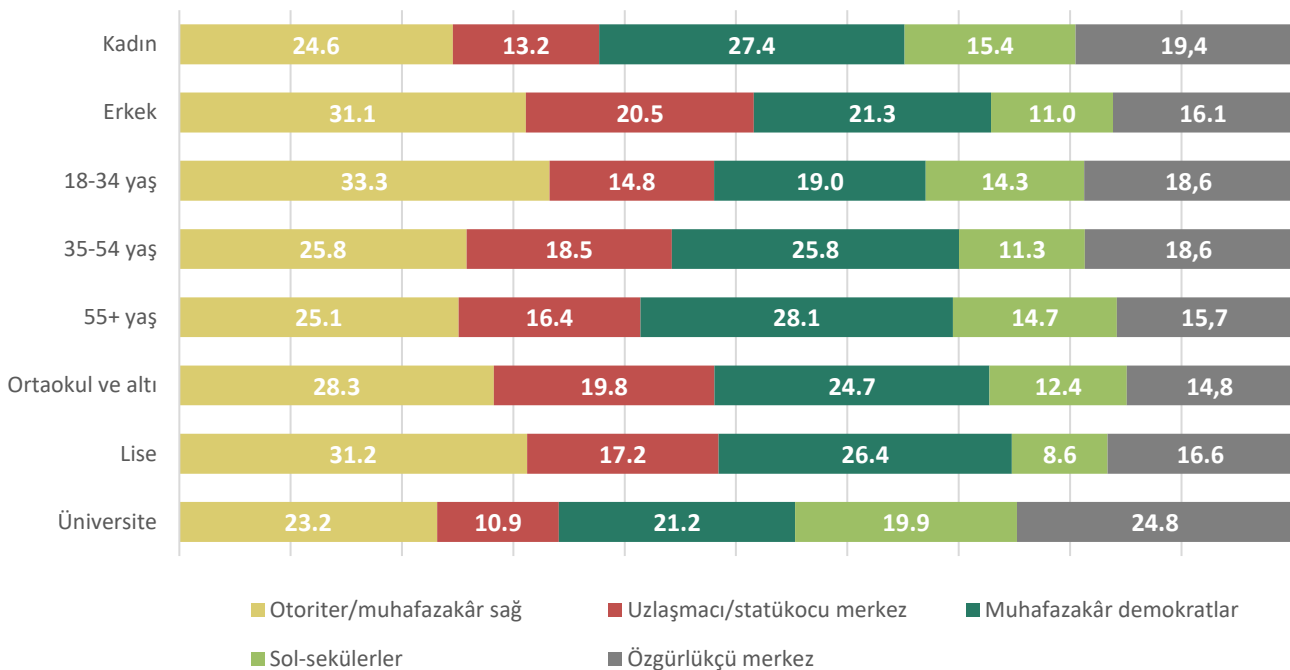
An examination of the demographic composition of the ideological clusters reveals a pronounced gender-based differentiation.

Male voters are predominantly concentrated in the Authoritarian/Conservative Right and Conciliatory/Status Quo Center clusters, where they constitute a majority ranging between 55.5% and 60.5%. These clusters correspond to more conservative-authoritarian and status quo-oriented ideological orientations.

In contrast, female voters are more prevalent—ranging from 55% to 59%—within the Conservative Democrat, Left-Secular, and Libertarian Center clusters, which are more inclined toward secular, democratic, and liberal values.

This differentiation is directly reflected in the party bases. Since the male-dominated authoritarian-conservative clusters form the core electorate of the AK Party and MHP, these parties' voter profiles can be characterized as sociologically more masculine on average. Conversely, the female-majority segments, associated with secular and liberal orientations, primarily comprise the CHP and, to a lesser extent, the İYİ Party voter bases—reinforcing the broader perception that these parties possess relatively more female-oriented and gender-balanced electorates.

Figure 3. Distribution of Voters Across Ideological Clusters by Selected Demographic Indicators (%)



Note: Each demographic group's distribution across the five ideological clusters is displayed using stacked columns.

When examined across age groups, the ideological clusters reveal distinct patterns of differentiation.

Among young voters (ages 18–34), the profile is ideologically polarized, with significant representation at both extremes. The largest share of youth is found within the Authoritarian/Conservative Right (33.3%), yet a notable portion also aligns with more liberal-leaning clusters such as the *Conservative Democrat* and *Libertarian Center*. This duality indicates that while part of the younger electorate remains strongly attached to nationalist-conservative values, another segment is open to change and pragmatism.

The middle-aged group (35–54) is concentrated mainly in the Conservative Democrat and Conservative Right clusters, reflecting a more traditional orientation. Among those aged 55 and older, religious-conservative attitudes remain dominant; however, the fact that this age group is most heavily represented within the Conservative Democrat segment suggests that older conservatives place greater importance on democracy and moderation. Overall, the prevalence of secular and liberal orientations is relatively higher among the youngest and oldest voters compared to the middle-aged cohort.

Education level is another decisive factor in the differentiation of ideological clusters. Survey data indicate that university graduates are predominantly represented within the Left-Secular and Libertarian Center clusters—those aligned with secular and liberal values. In contrast, voters with lower educational attainment tend to cluster within the Conservative Right and Conservative Democrat segments, which emphasize traditional moral frameworks. This pattern aligns with the expectation that parties such as CHP and İYİ Party draw strength from the highly educated, urban electorate, while AK Party and MHP, dominant within the authoritarian-conservative clusters, maintain bases with lower average education levels, typically among rural or small-town voters.

These demographic findings provide concrete sociological insights into the foundations of party support. The AK Party and MHP, consistent with their conservative-authoritarian orientation, draw backing primarily from male, middle-aged, less-educated, rural voters attached to traditional values. For instance, the AK Party's discourse emphasizing family structure and religious morality resonates strongly within this demographic. Conversely, the CHP, strengthened within the secular and liberal clusters, attracts a base that is more female, more educated, and urban, supported by its focus on secularism, women's rights, and education. The İYİ Party and smaller opposition parties such as DEVA also gain notable support from the liberal-pragmatic segments, appealing to educated, urban, female, and younger voters. These patterns confirm that party strategies are tightly linked to their sociological constituencies.

Finally, the study reveals that Kurdish-origin voters do not constitute a monolithic ideological bloc; instead, they are distributed across multiple value clusters. A significant portion aligns with the Left-Secular and Libertarian Center groups. This distribution suggests that while some Kurdish voters adhere to secular-left ideals, others with religious-conservative backgrounds adopt pragmatic and conciliatory attitudes toward ethnic rights. This dual structure is also evident among DEM Party supporters, whose base extends from the non-authoritarian center-right to the secular left. The relatively low representation of Kurdish voters in the Authoritarian Right and Conservative Democrat clusters—where the Turkish-Islamic synthesis predominates—indicates that the Kurdish issue constitutes a distinct axis of political division in Turkey, transcending the traditional left–right spectrum.

In sum, the ideological diversity among Kurdish voters underscores that one-dimensional approaches are insufficient, and that political competition is likely to continue evolving along axes defined by ethnic identity and cultural rights, rather than solely by classical economic or left–right cleavages.

INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The detailed ideological clustering map presented in this study provides crucial insights into the future dynamics of voter transitions and inter-bloc competition within Turkish politics. The analysis suggests that voter fluidity occurs mainly between adjacent ideological segments that share similar value systems—though such transitions remain limited and directional rather than random.

For example, within the conservative base, there are evident value overlaps between the *Authoritarian Right* and *Conservative Democrat* clusters. This implies that when conservative-democrat actors such as *DEVA* or *Saadet Party* are active, voter movement between these two segments becomes possible. Similarly, in the secular bloc, shared liberal values and system preferences between the *Left-Secular* and *Libertarian Center* clusters create a bridge between CHP's staunchly secular base and the centrist-liberal electorate of *İYİ Party* or *DEVA*, allowing for limited cross-support.

Limited Cross-Pole Transitions

However, direct voter movement between ideologically opposite poles—for instance, between the *Authoritarian-Conservative Right* and the *Left-Secular* cluster—is highly unlikely. The findings demonstrate that these two poles belong to distinct sociological worlds with virtually no shared value foundation. As a result, parties are expected to avoid compromising their core values to attract voters from the opposite ideological extreme. Instead, they will likely focus on neighboring ideological segments as more viable targets for electoral expansion.

Non-Voters and the Centrist Opportunity

A significant portion of non-voters has been identified within the *Libertarian Center* and *Conciliatory Center* clusters. This indicates that many abstainers do not find adequate representation among existing parties, but also that they constitute a latent potential for mobilization. Given their demographic and ideological proximity to centrist parties such as *İYİ Party* and smaller opposition movements (e.g., *DEVA*), these actors possess a comparatively higher potential to attract non-voting citizens.

Overall, non-voters tend to belong to moderate, pragmatic, and freedom-oriented value clusters, distant from authoritarian or polarizing narratives. Thus, in contexts of rising economic hardship or democratic discontent, the opposition bloc may hold a strategic advantage in reactivating this group.

New Axes of Political Competition

Perhaps the most significant outcome of the study is that Turkey's political competition has moved beyond the traditional left–right divide, reorganizing instead around multidimensional, value-based fault lines. The key dimensions of this new structure can be summarized as:

- Authoritarianism vs. Pluralist Governance,
- Conservatism vs. Liberal Social Values, and
- Cultural Identity Claims.

For example, the *AK Party–MHP* alliance is anchored around the shared principles of strong leadership, national survival discourse, and conservative identity, while opposition alliances such as *CHP–İYİ Party* are founded on democracy, rule of law, and institutional pluralism. This realignment compels Turkish political discourse to extend beyond economic promises, centering instead on justice, freedom, security, and identity-based values.

Strategic Implications

In the coming period, the success of political parties will depend on their ability to:

Preserve their ideological core while appealing to neighboring value clusters, and

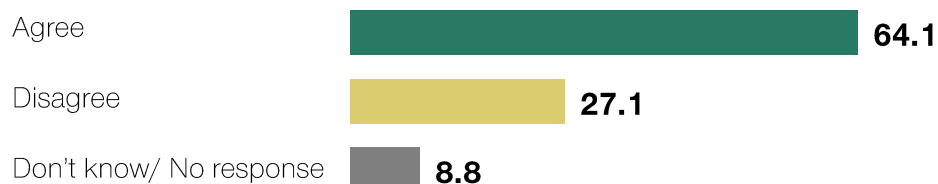
Balance the emerging axes of competition by integrating demands for both stability and freedom.

Ultimately, this research suggests that Turkey's future political realignments will be shaped less by conventional ideology and more by value-driven identities, where the capacity to build cross-segment bridges—without alienating the core electorate—will define long-term electoral success.

THE LEGAL STATUS OF CEM HOUSES

Sixty-four percent agree that cem houses should be granted the status of places of worship. Support for this view is 74% among MHP voters, reflecting Bahçeli's emphasis on the Alevi initiative, and 54% among AK Party voters, the MHP's coalition partner.

Do you agree with the statement “Cem houses should be granted the status of places of worship”?



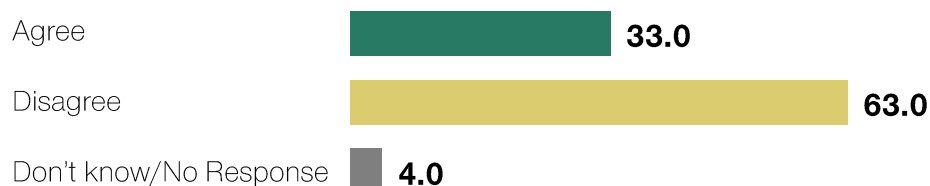
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know/ No Response	Total
AK Party	53.6	35.5	10.9	100
CHP	75.8	19.4	4.8	100
MHP	73.5	18.5	8.0	100
İYİ Party	75.8	13.6	10.6	100
DEM Party	71.6	24.3	4.1	100
Other	65.0	29.4	5.5	100
AVERAGE	64.1	27.1	8.8	100

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Sixty-three percent of the public believe that religious values should not guide political decisions.

Do you agree with the statement “Religious values should guide political decisions”?



According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know/ No Response	Total
AK Party	53.5	42.5	4.0	100
CHP	17.1	80.2	2.7	100
MHP	54.6	41.1	4.3	100
İYİ Party	13.4	85.0	1.6	100
DEM Party	26.7	68.4	4.9	100
Other	18.7	81.3		100
AVERAGE	33.0	63.0	4.0	100

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN FREEDOM AND TRADITION

While voters of the People's Alliance and the İYİ Party tend to lean more toward traditional values, opposition voters prioritize individual freedoms.

When individual freedoms and traditional values come into conflict, which would you prioritize?



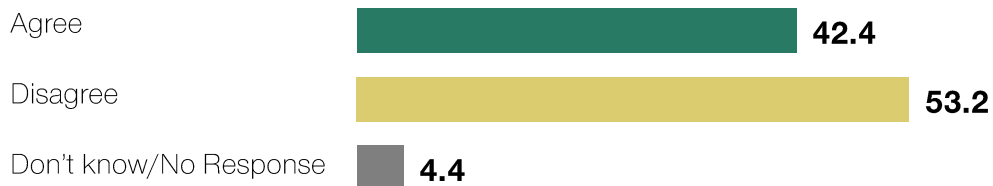
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	I would prioritize individual freedoms.	I would prioritize traditional values.	Don't know/No Response	Total
AK Party	36.0	54.7	9.4	100
CHP	62.4	27.3	10.4	100
MHP	31.3	63.5	5.2	100
İYİ Party	43.5	54.7	1.8	100
DEM Party	46.2	42.6	11.2	100
Other	43.8	45.7	10.5	100
AVERAGE	43.9	46.4	9.7	100

THE USE OF KURDISH IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS

Forty-two percent approve of the use of Kurdish in public institutions.

Do you agree with the statement “The use of Kurdish should be permitted in public institutions and municipalities”?



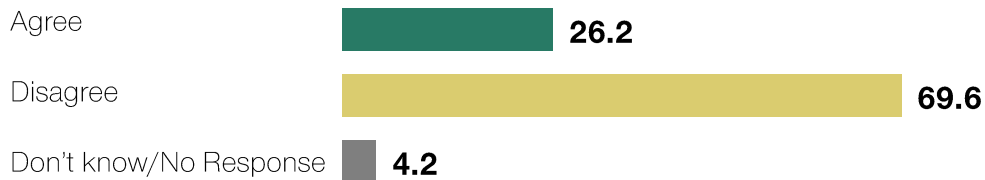
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know/ No Response	Total
AK Party	44.1	49.9	6.0	100
CHP	30.7	67.5	1.8	100
MHP	39.8	59.2	1.0	100
İYİ Party	28.0	69.9	2.1	100
DEM Party	92.5	7.5		100
Other	37.7	52.8	9.5	100
AVERAGE	42.4	53.2	4.4	100

PERSPECTIVES ON STRONG LEADERSHIP

Only 26% of the public are open to a leader who would disregard the parliament and elections.

Do you agree with the statement “In certain situations, it is better for a strong leader to make decisions without paying attention to the parliament or elections”?



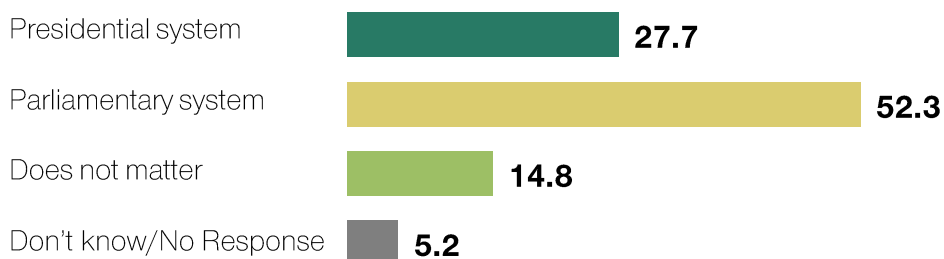
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	Agree	Disagree	Don't know/ No Response	Total
AK Party	39.6	55.5	4.9	100
CHP	13.0	84.3	2.7	100
MHP	38.4	56.4	5.2	100
İYİ Party	9.0	86.8	4.2	100
DEM Party	24.5	71.4	4.1	100
Other	24.1	70.2	5.6	100
AVERAGE	26.2	59.6	4.2	100

WHICH SYSTEM?

More than half of the voters prefer the parliamentary system.

Which system of governance do you prefer?



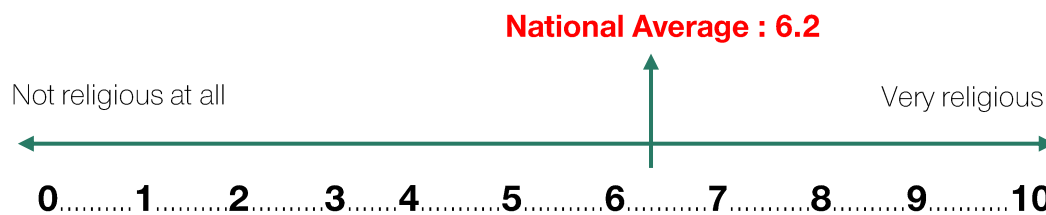
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	Presidential system	Parliamentary system	Does not matter	Don't know/No Response	Total
AK Party	47.5	27.3	19.8	5.4	100
CHP	13.3	77.5	6.8	2.4	100
MHP	56.6	23.1	17.7	2.6	100
İYİ Party	3.8	89.8	6.4		100
DEM Party	7.6	76.8	12.8	2.8	100
Other	17.2	70.7	2.7	9.4	100
AVERAGE	27.7	52.3	14.8	5.2	100

LEVEL OF RELIGIOSITY

The most religious segment of society consists of AK Party voters, with an average score of 7.2, followed by MHP voters at 7.1.

How would you rate your level of religiosity on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “not religious at all,” 5 means “moderately religious,” and 10 means “very religious”?



**Responses to this question were given on a scale from “0 – not religious at all” to “5 – moderately religious” and “10 – very religious.”*

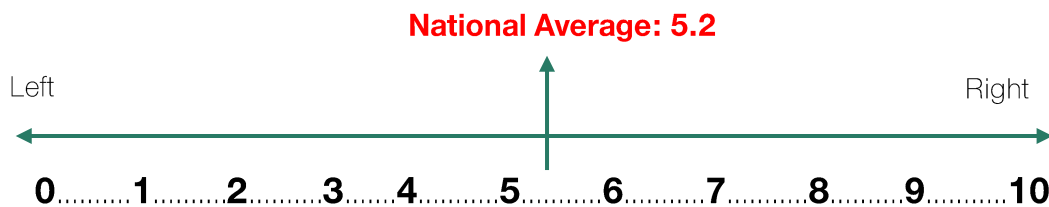
According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	How would you rate your level of religiosity on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means “not religious at all,” 5 means “moderately religious,” and 10 means “very religious”?
AK Party	7.2
CHP	5.1
MHP	7.1
İYİ Party	6.5
DEM Party	5.7
Other	5.8
AVERAGE	6.2

PERSONAL POSITION ON THE LEFT–RIGHT POLITICAL SPECTRUM

With an average score of 8.1, MHP voters constitute the group that most strongly identifies as right-wing.

Where would you place yourself on the left–right political spectrum, where 0 means “left-wing,” 5 means “centrist,” and 10 means “right-wing”?



**Responses to this question were given on a scale from “0 – left-wing,” to “5 – centrist,” and “10 – right-wing.”*

According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

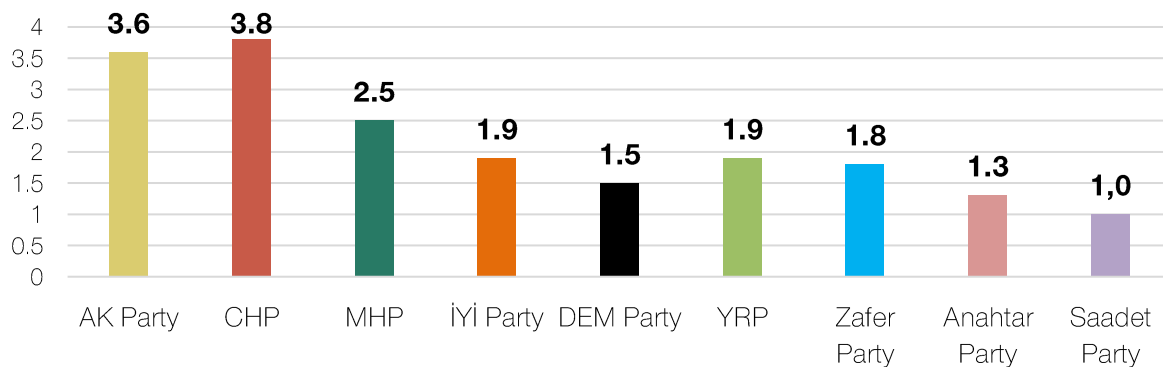
	Where would you place yourself on the left–right political spectrum, where 0 means “left-wing,” 5 means “centrist,” and 10 means “right-wing”?
AK Party	6.7
CHP	3.5
MHP	8.1
İYİ Party	5.5
DEM Party	2.4
Other	4.9
AVERAGE	5.2

VOTING TENDENCIES TOWARD POLITICAL PARTIES

When asked about their voting tendencies, the CHP emerges as the most likely to be preferred party in Turkey, with a score of 3.8, closely followed by the AK Party. The tight race between the two leading parties is also reflected in their voting tendency scores. However, the fact that the scores cluster closer to the “would not vote” side of the scale carries an important message for all parties.

What is your likelihood of voting for the following parties?

** Responses to this question were given on a scale from “0 – would never vote,” to “5 – neutral,” and “10 – would definitely vote.”*



According to party vote cast in May 14 2023 parliamentary election -%

	AK Party	CHP	MHP	İYİ Party	DEM Party	Yeniden Refah Party	Zafer Party	Anahtar Party	Saadet Party
AK Party	7.9	1.6	4.8	1.4	1.1	2.4	1.2	1.2	1.1
CHP	0.6	7.8	0.4	2.2	1.0	1.2	2.3	1.0	0.8
MHP	4.7	1.3	7.0	1.1	0.6	1.7	0.8	1.0	0.4
İYİ Party	0.6	5.6	0.9	6.1	1.0	2.1	3.9	3.3	2.1
DEM Party	0.9	3.8	0.4	0.5	8.4	0.9	0.2	0.2	0.6
Other	1.4	3.5	0.6	2.1	0.7	2.5	3.4	2.9	1.2
AVERAGE	3.6	3.8	2.5	1.9	1.5	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.0