

**Chapter 19. "Political Cleavages and Social Inequalities in
Algeria, Iraq and Turkey, 1990-2019"**

Lydia ASSOUD, Amory GETHIN, Thomas PIKETTY, Juliet-Nil URAZ

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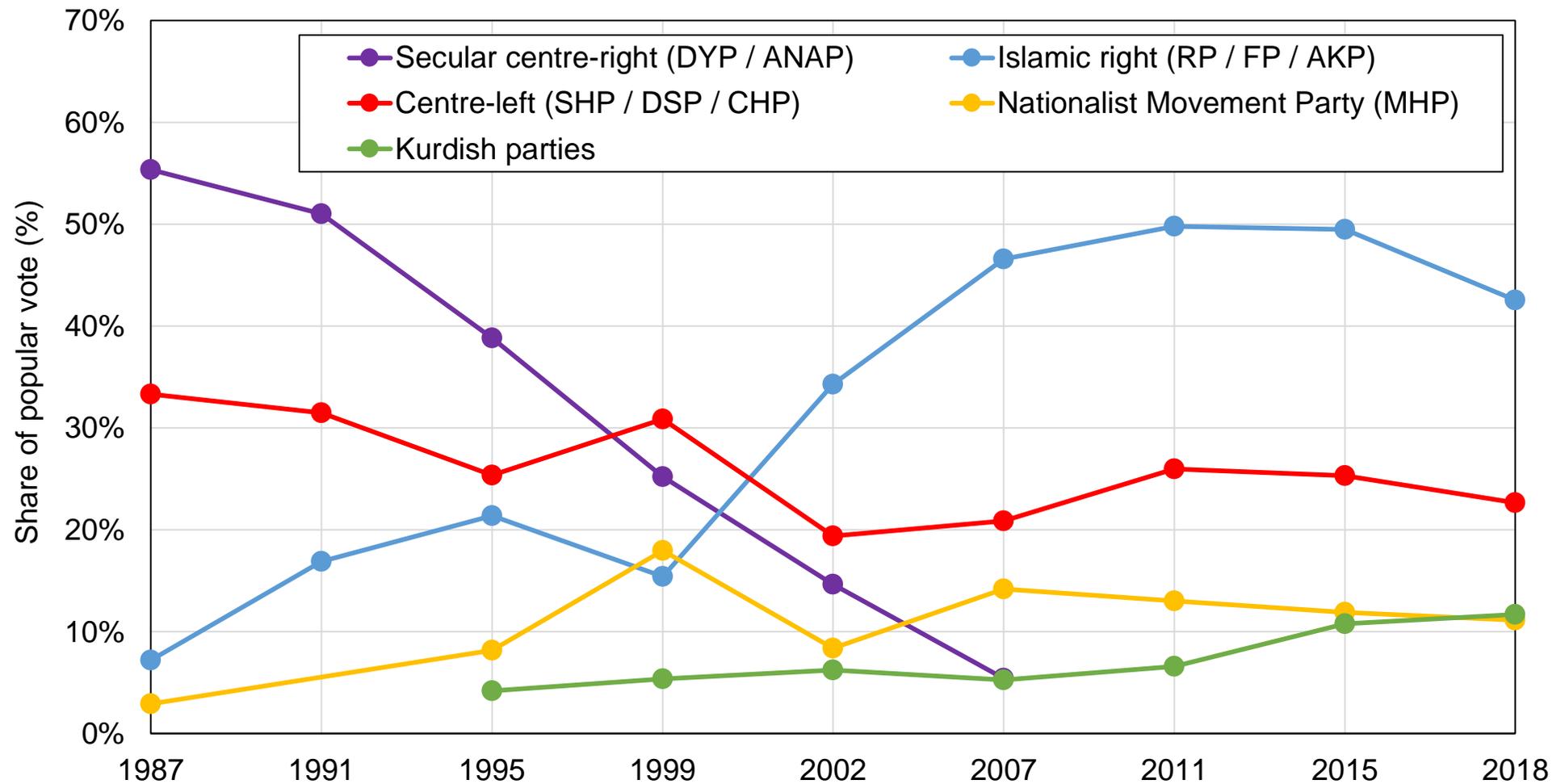
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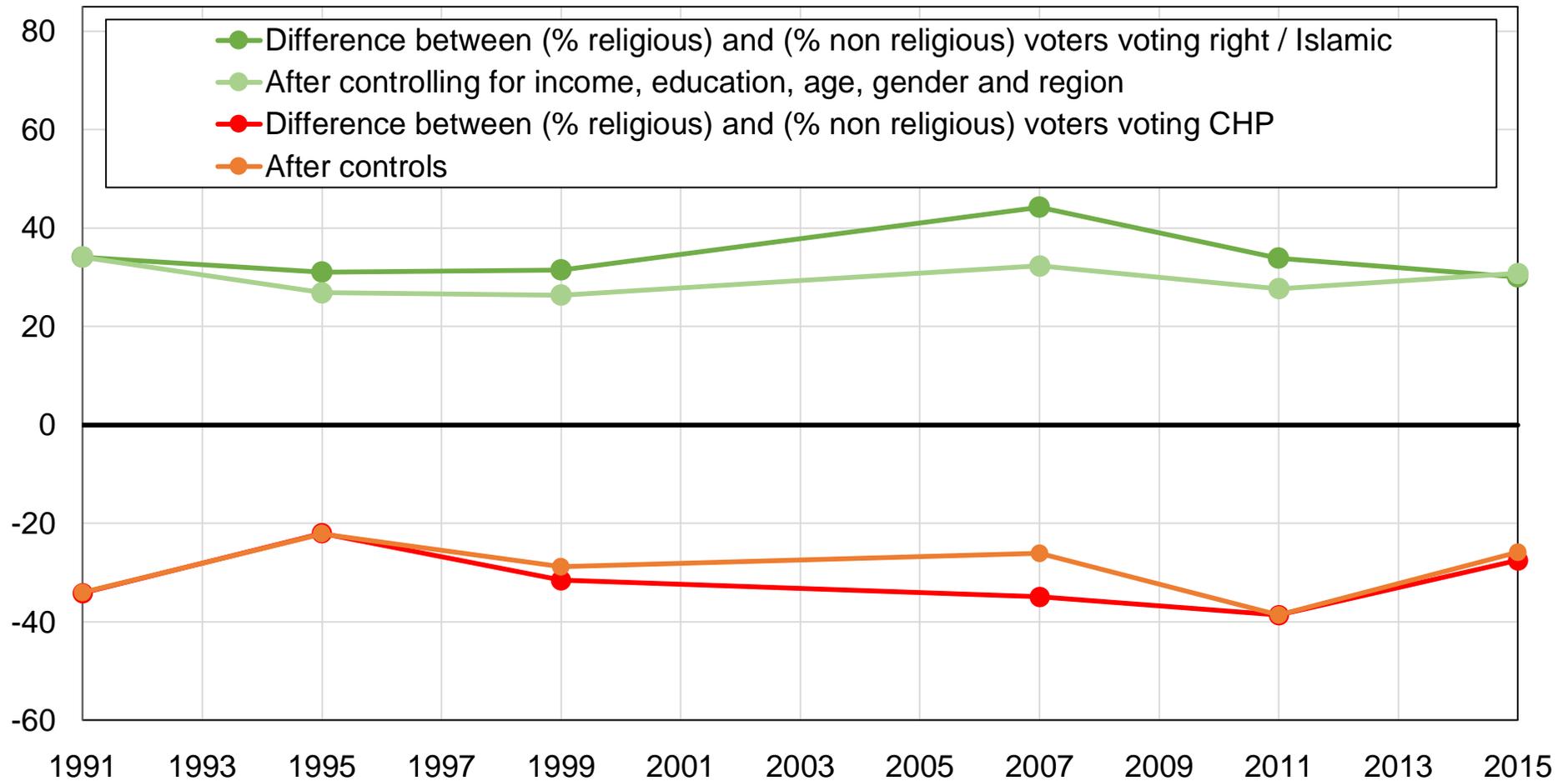
Figure A1 - Legislative election results in Turkey, 1987 - 2018



Source: authors' computations using official election results.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by selected groups of Turkish political parties in legislative elections between 1987 and 2018.

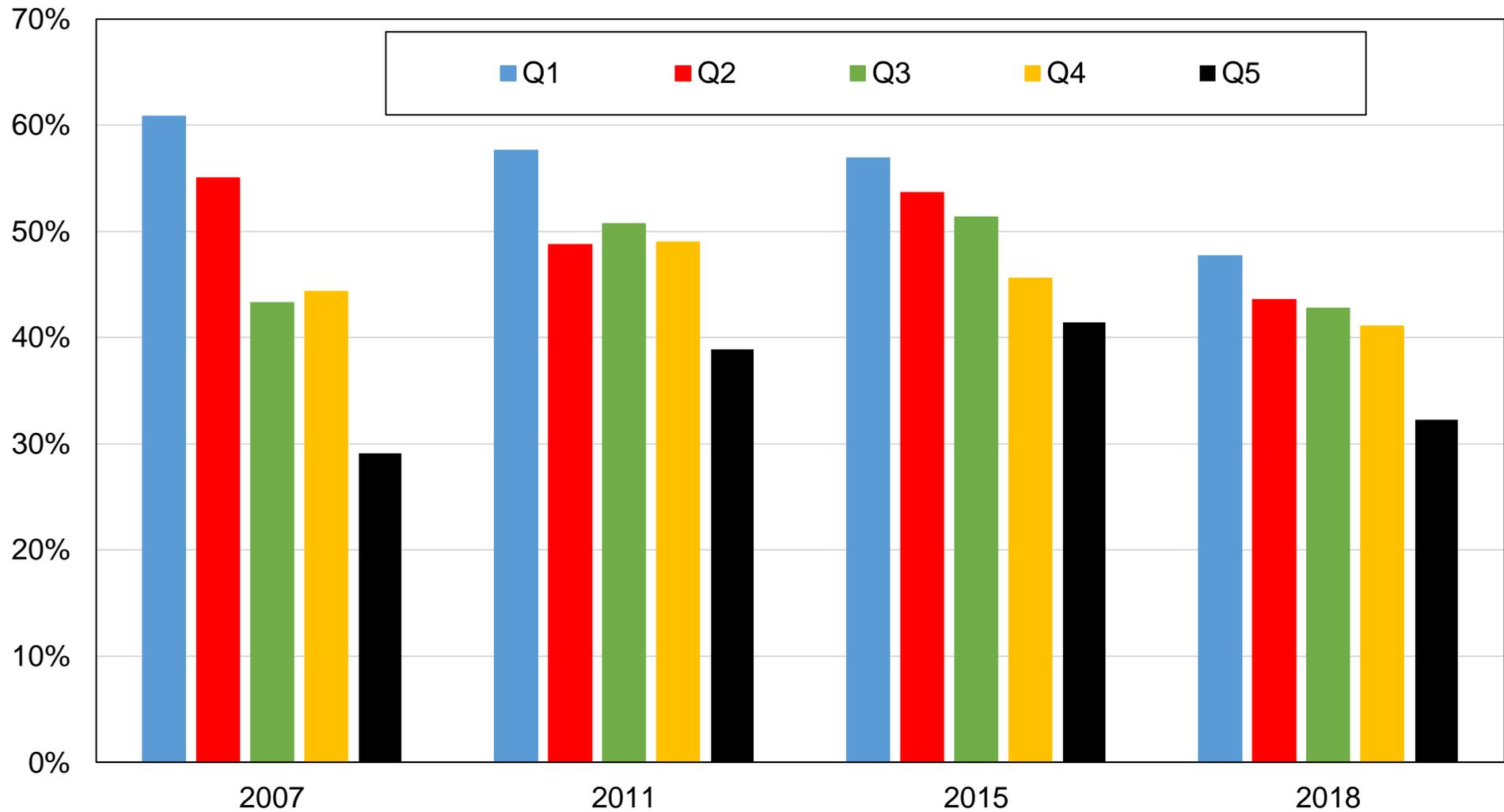
Figure A2 - The religious cleavage in Turkey



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of religious voters and the share of other voters voting for right-wing and Islamic parties, and the same difference for the CHP, before and after controls. Religious voters are defined as those who declare being "A religious person" (World Values Survey) or "Very religious / Somewhat religious" (Comparative Study of Electoral Systems).

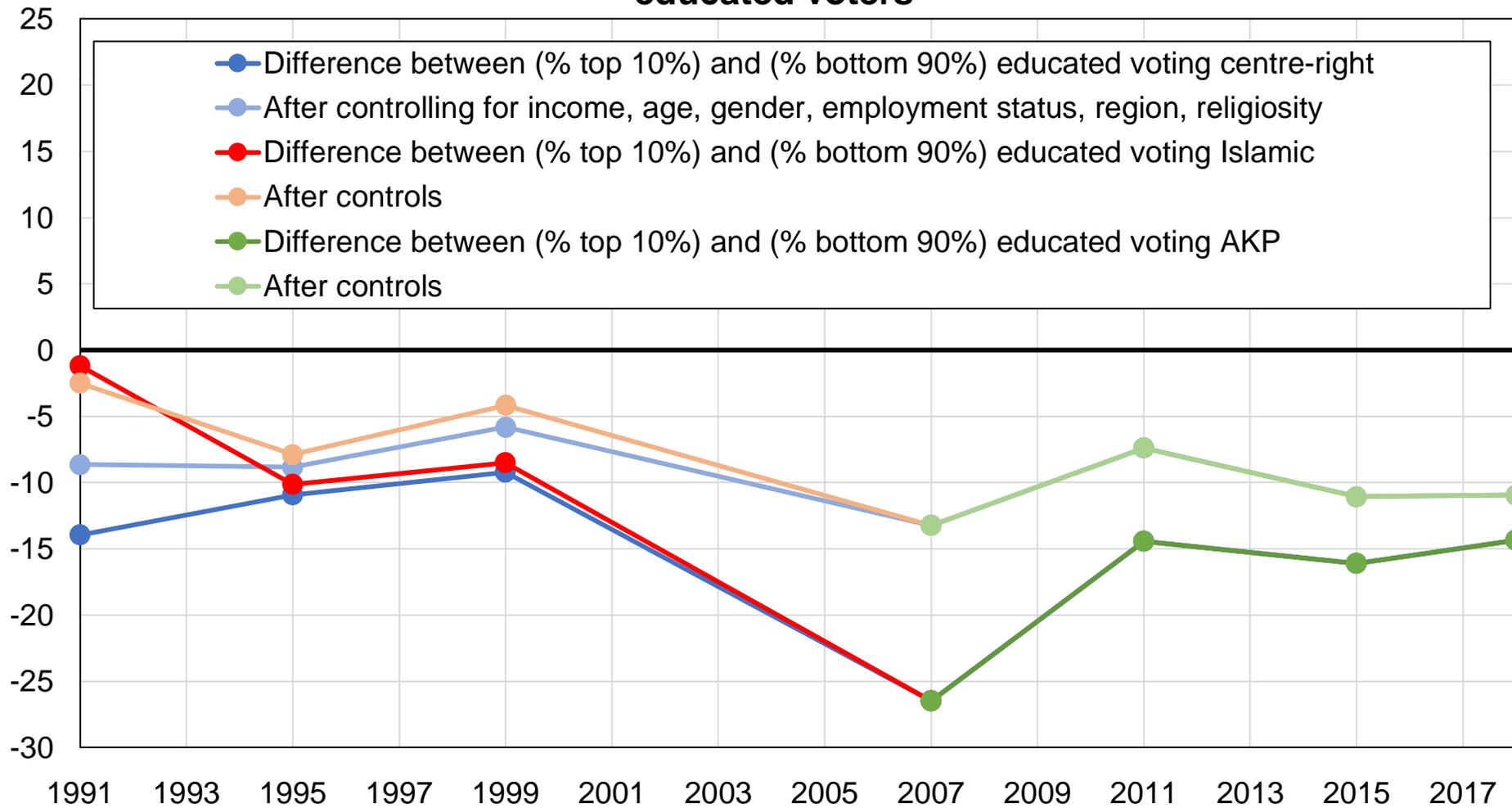
Figure A3 - Vote for AKP by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the AKP by income quintile.

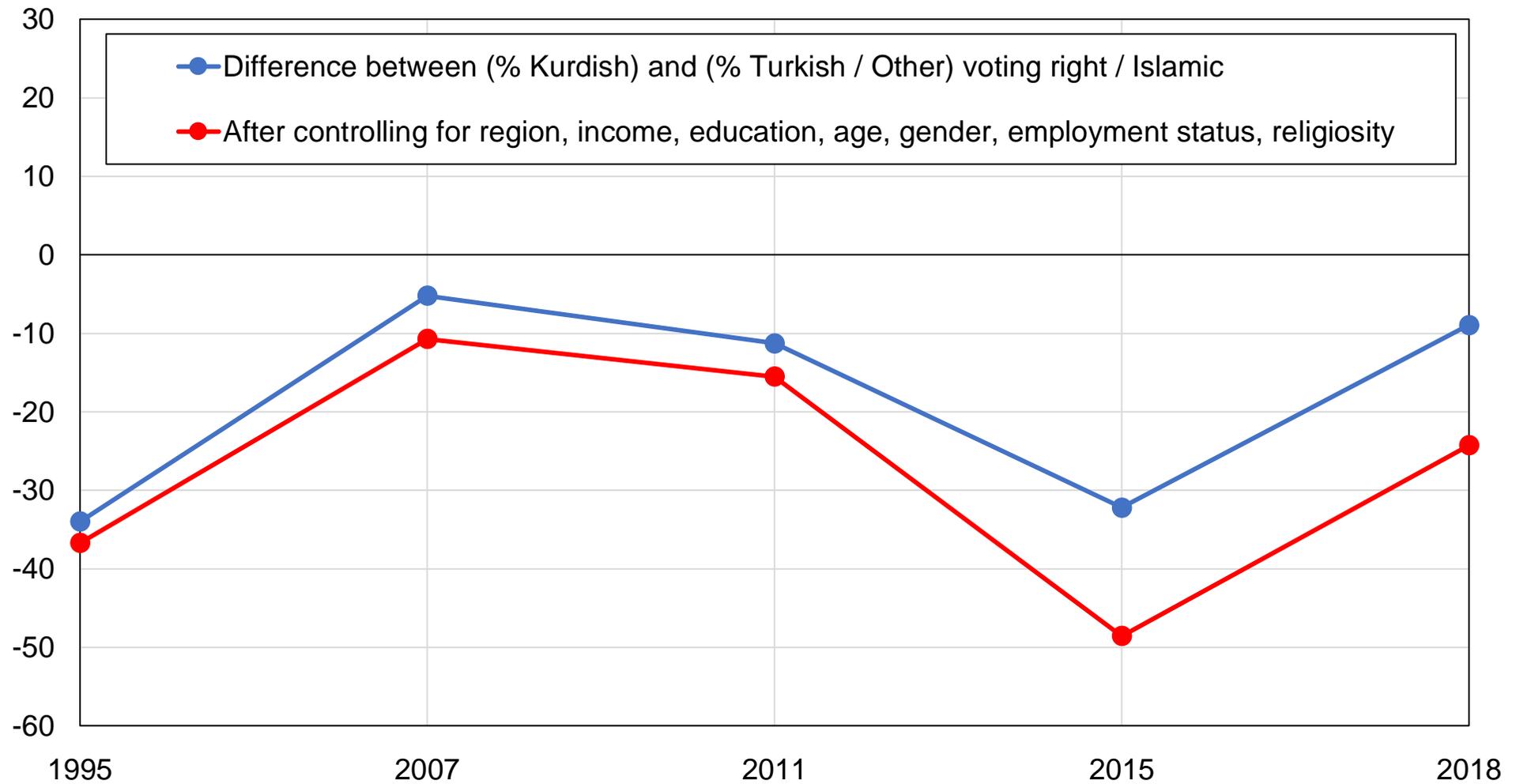
Figure A4 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among highest-educated voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% educated voters and the share of bottom 90% educated voting for right-wing (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic (RP/FP) parties before 2007 or for the AKP after that date, before and after controls.

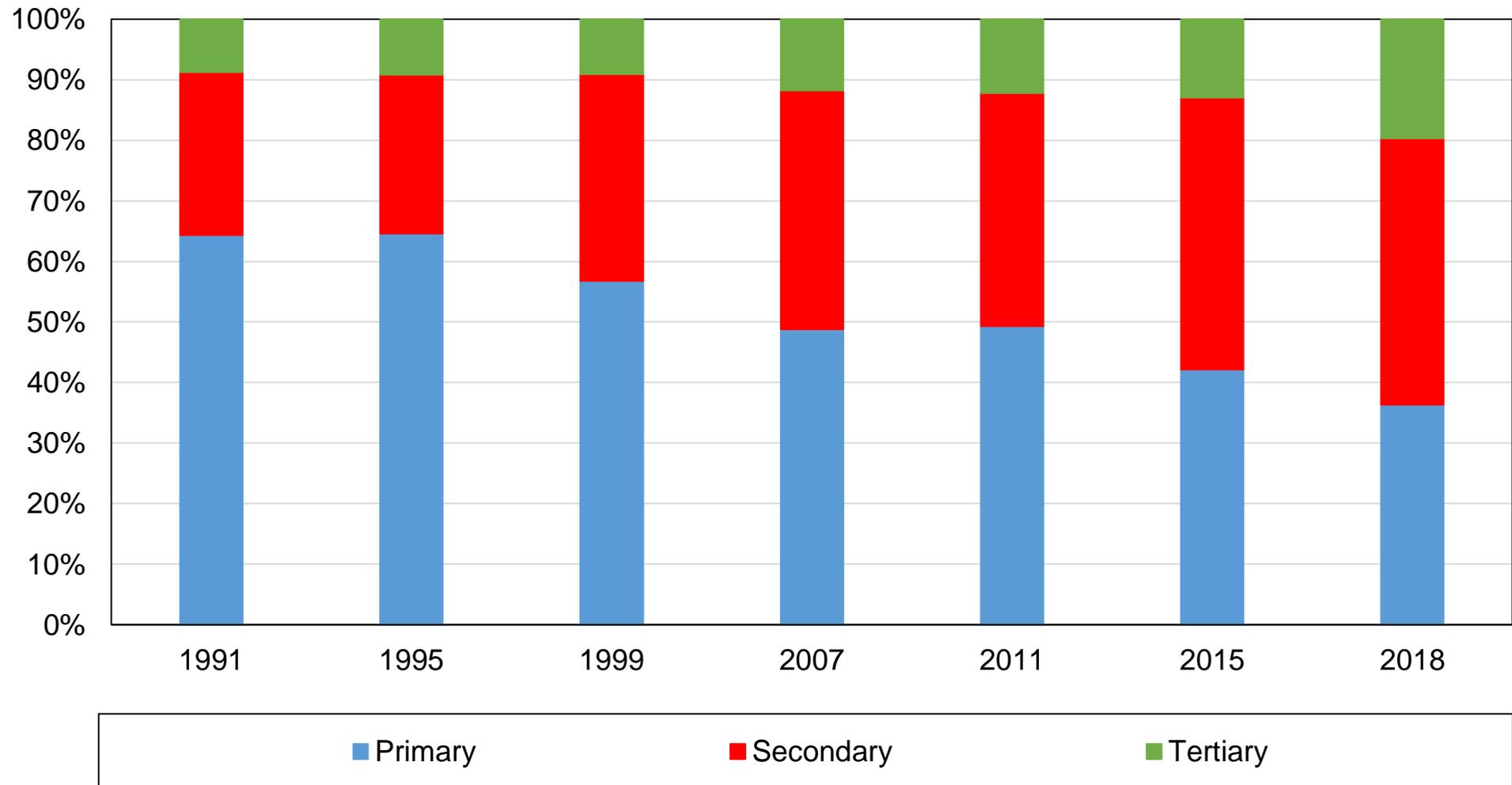
Figure A5 - The Turkish-Kurdish cleavage



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

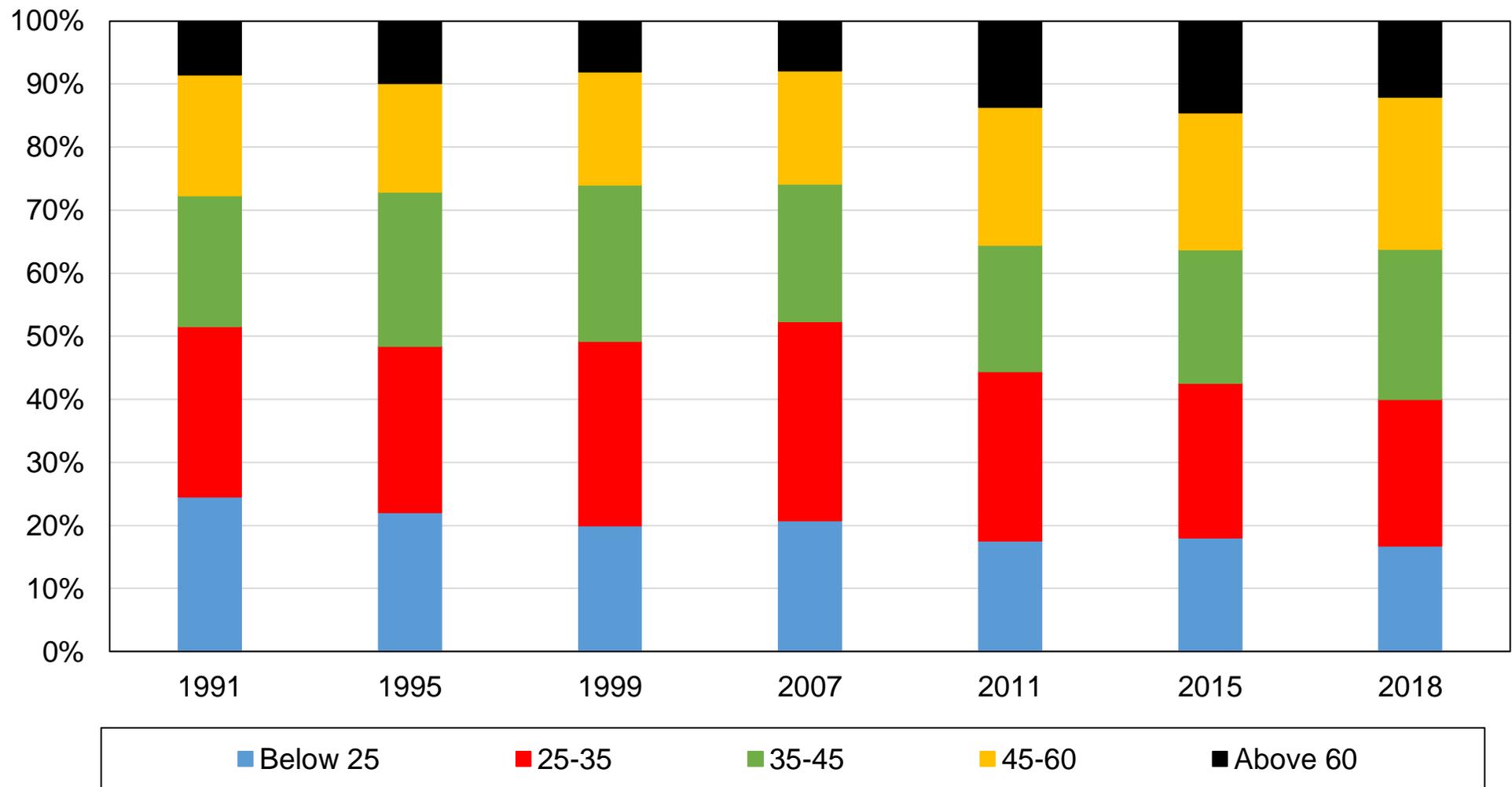
Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Kurdish speakers and the share of speakers of Turkish and other languages voting for right-wing and Islamic parties before 2007 and the AKP after that date, before and after controls.

Figure AA1 - Composition of the electorate by education



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by education level.

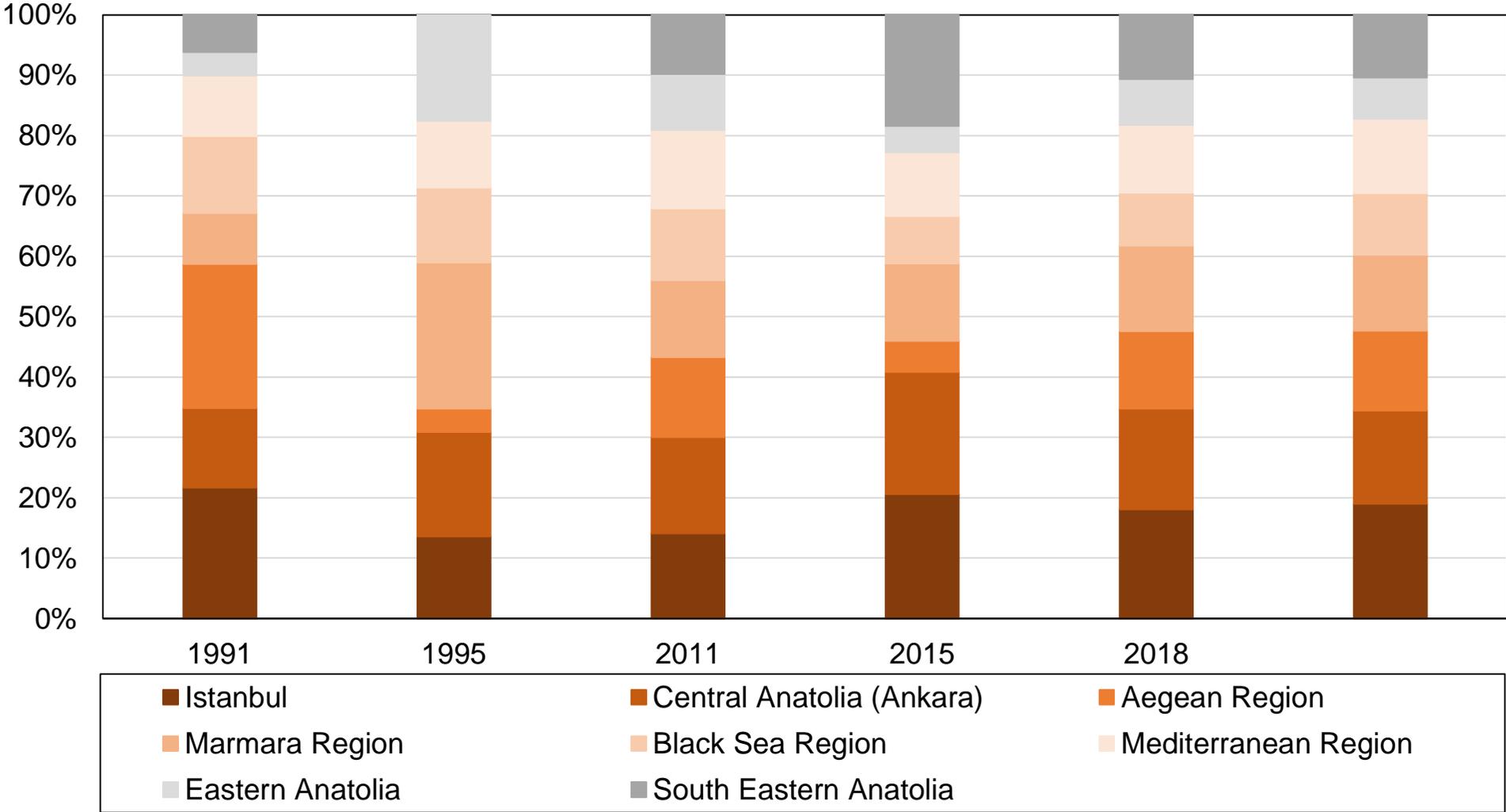
Figure AA2 - Composition of the electorate by age



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

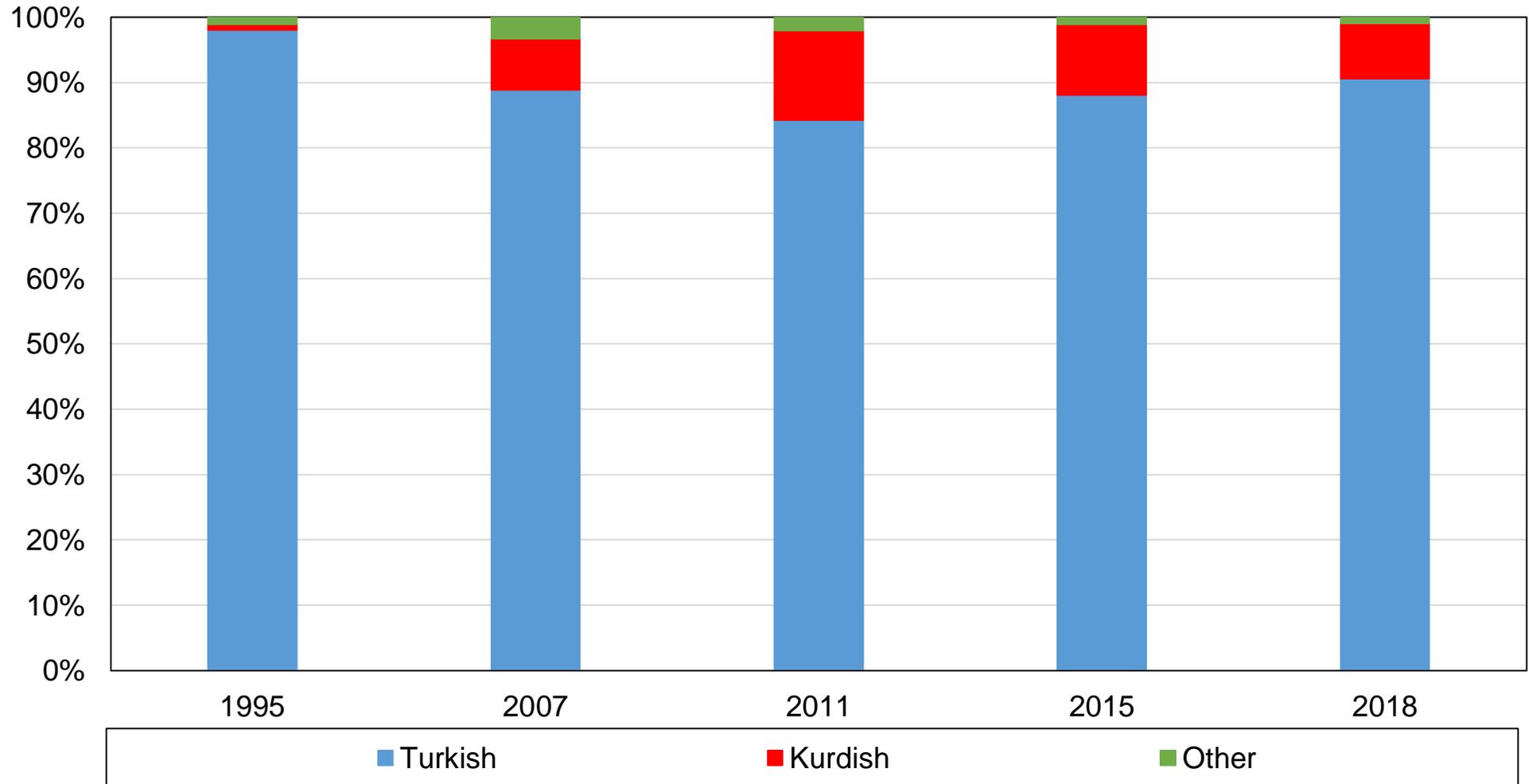
Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by age group.

Figure AA3 - Composition of the electorate by region



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by region. No data available in 1999.

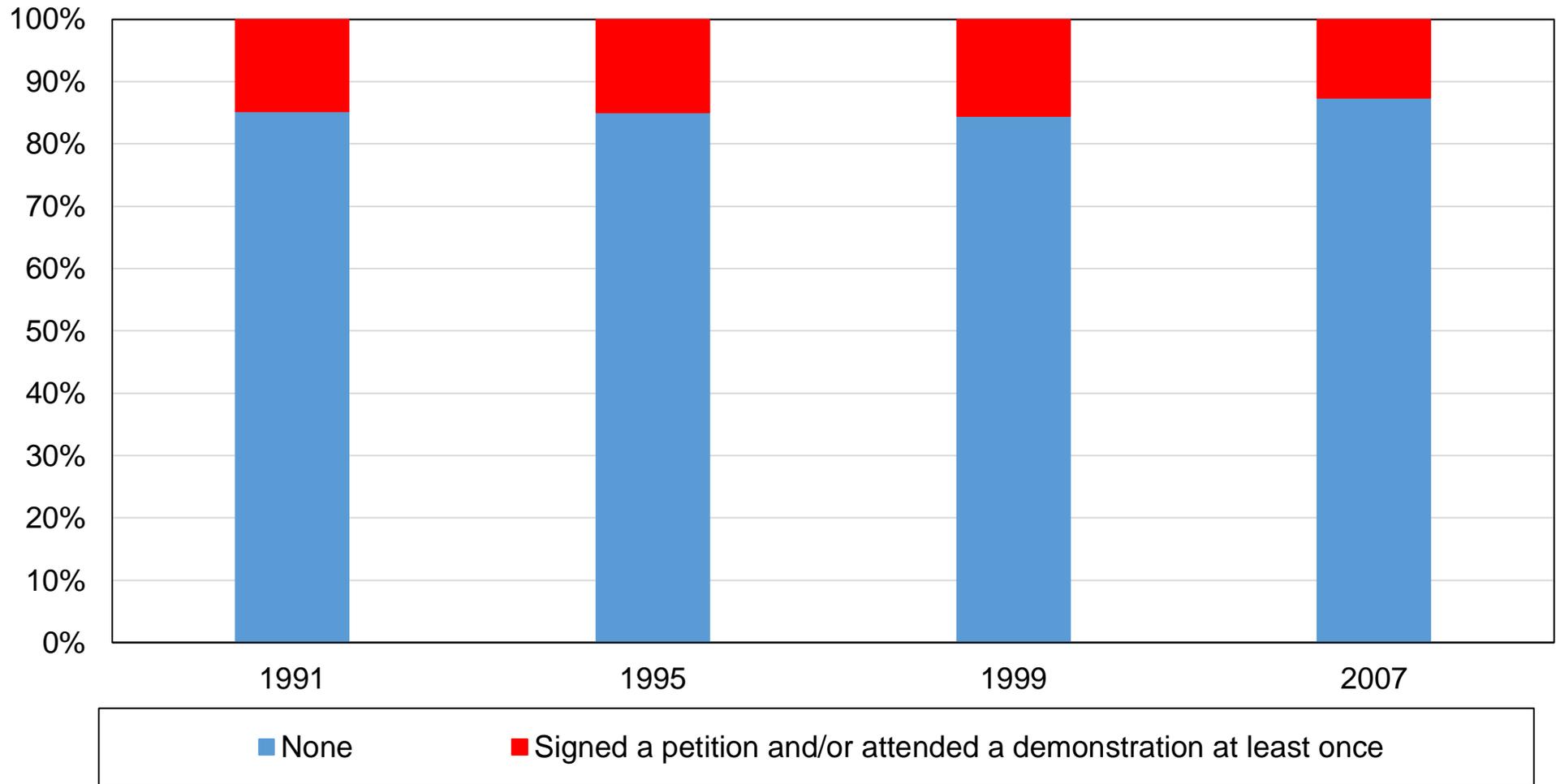
Figure AA4 - Composition of the electorate by language



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by language. No data available in 1991 and 1999.

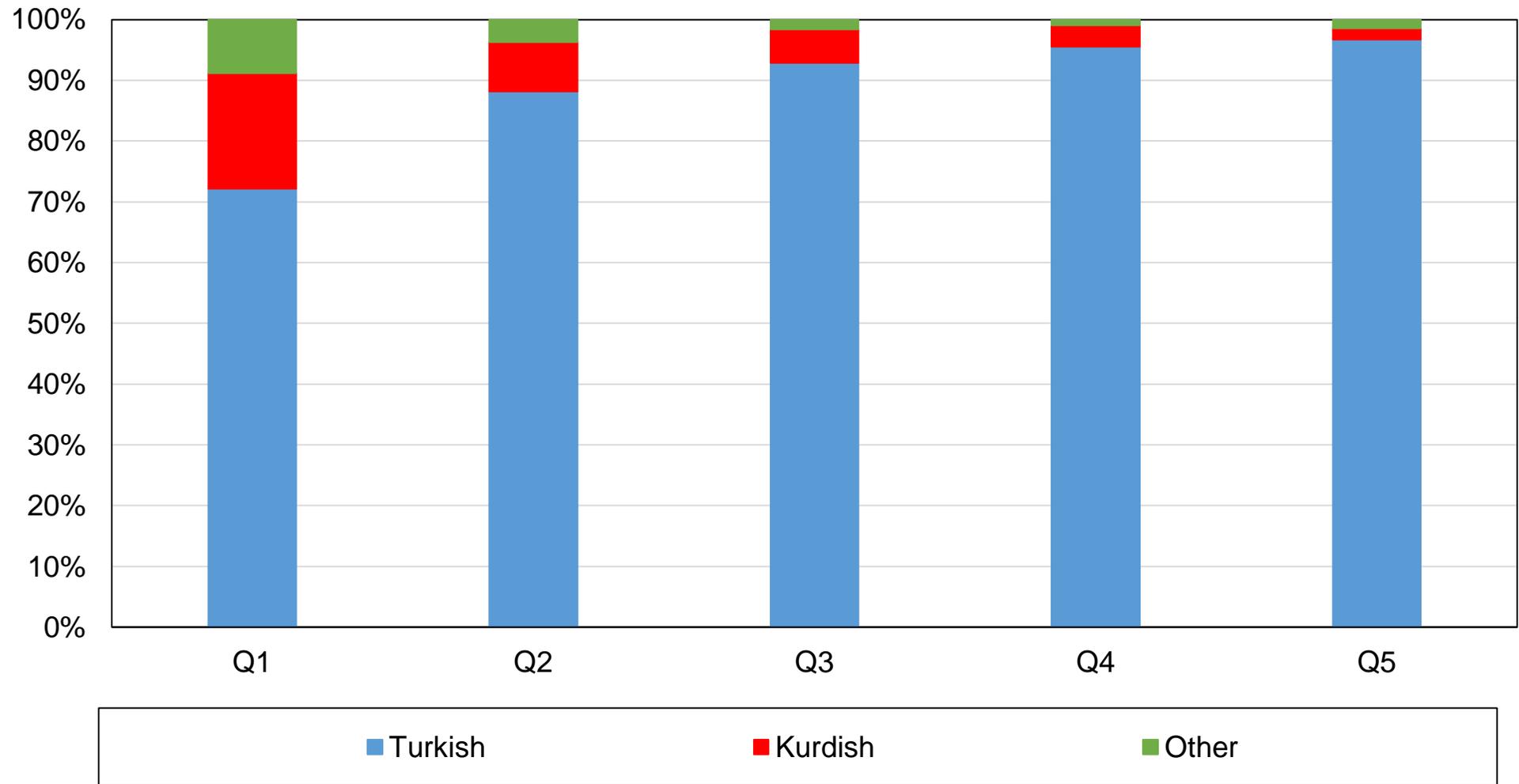
Figure AA5 - Composition of the electorate by political activism



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of the electorate by degree of political activism (defined as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration). No data available after 2007.

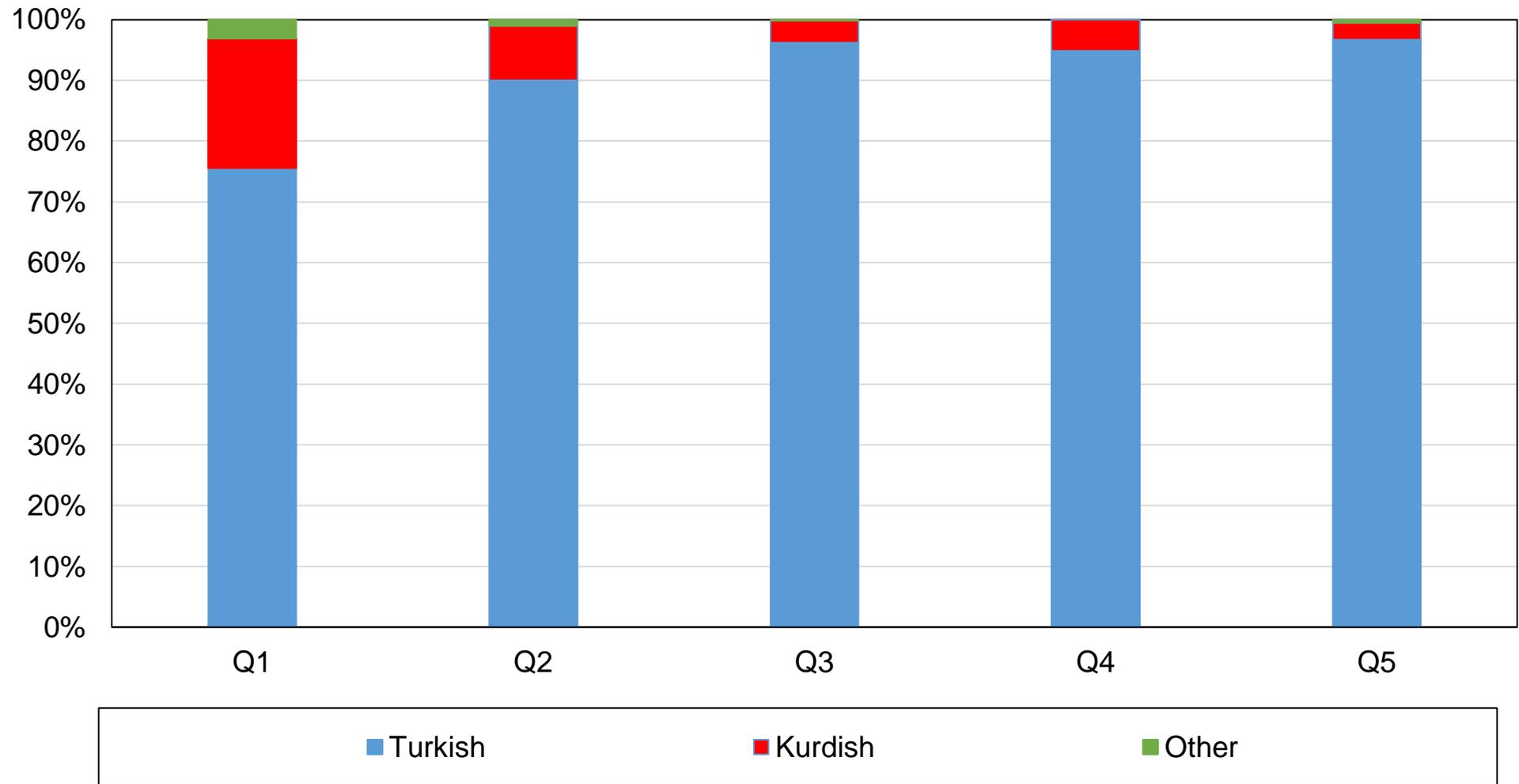
Figure AA6 - Composition of income groups by language, 2007



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by language in 2007.

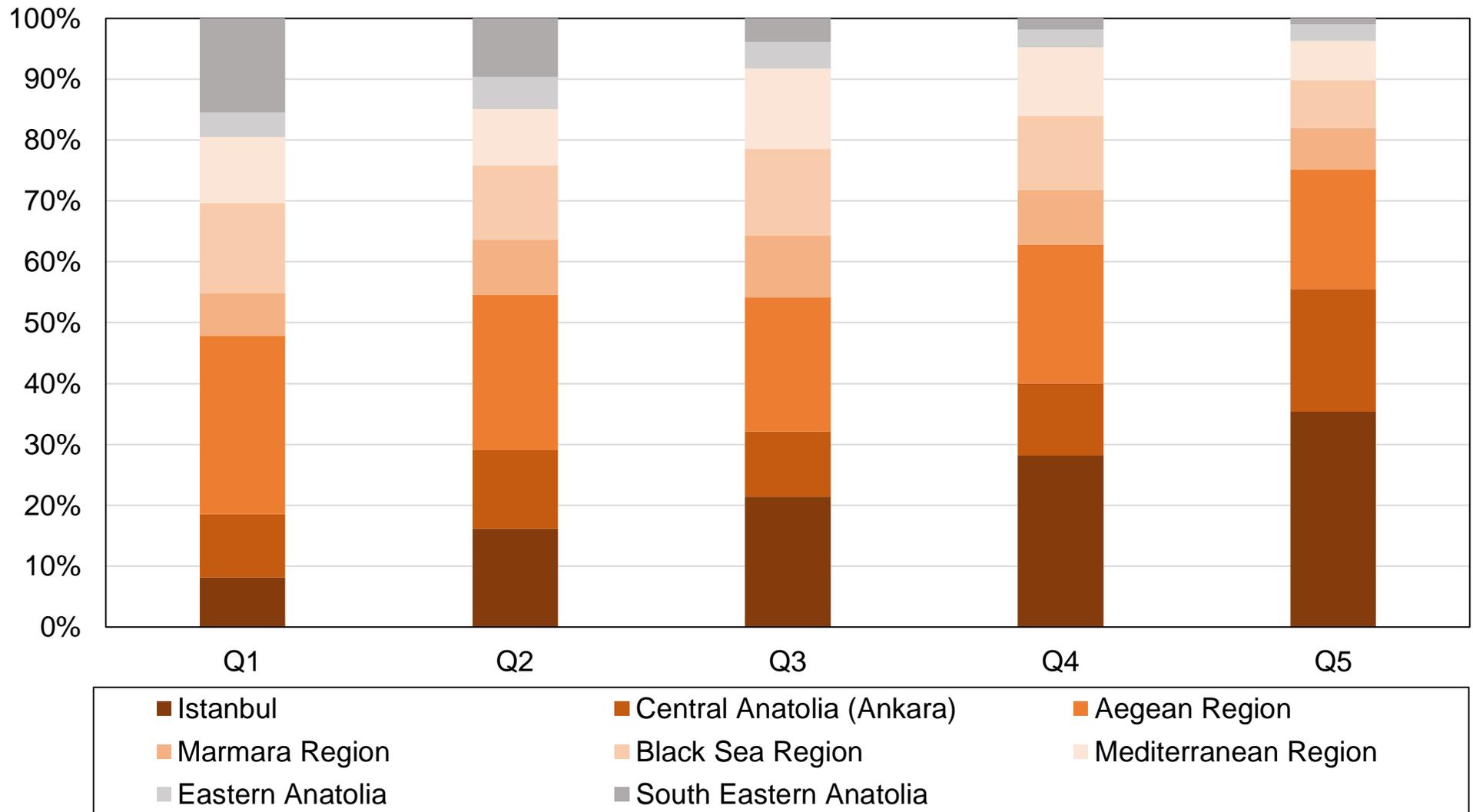
Figure AA7 - Composition of income groups by language, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

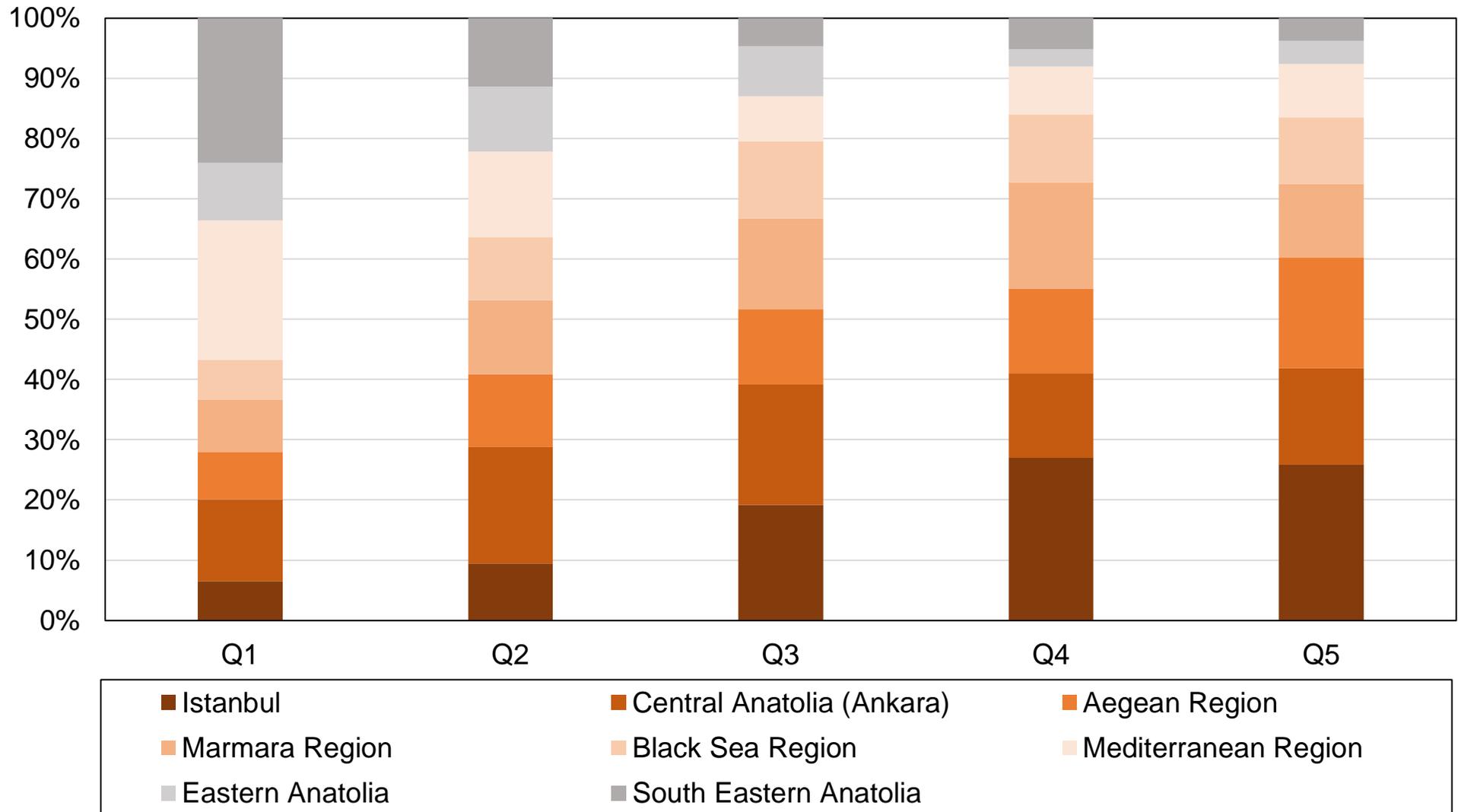
Note: the figure shows the composition of income groups by language in 2018.

Figure AA8 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 1991



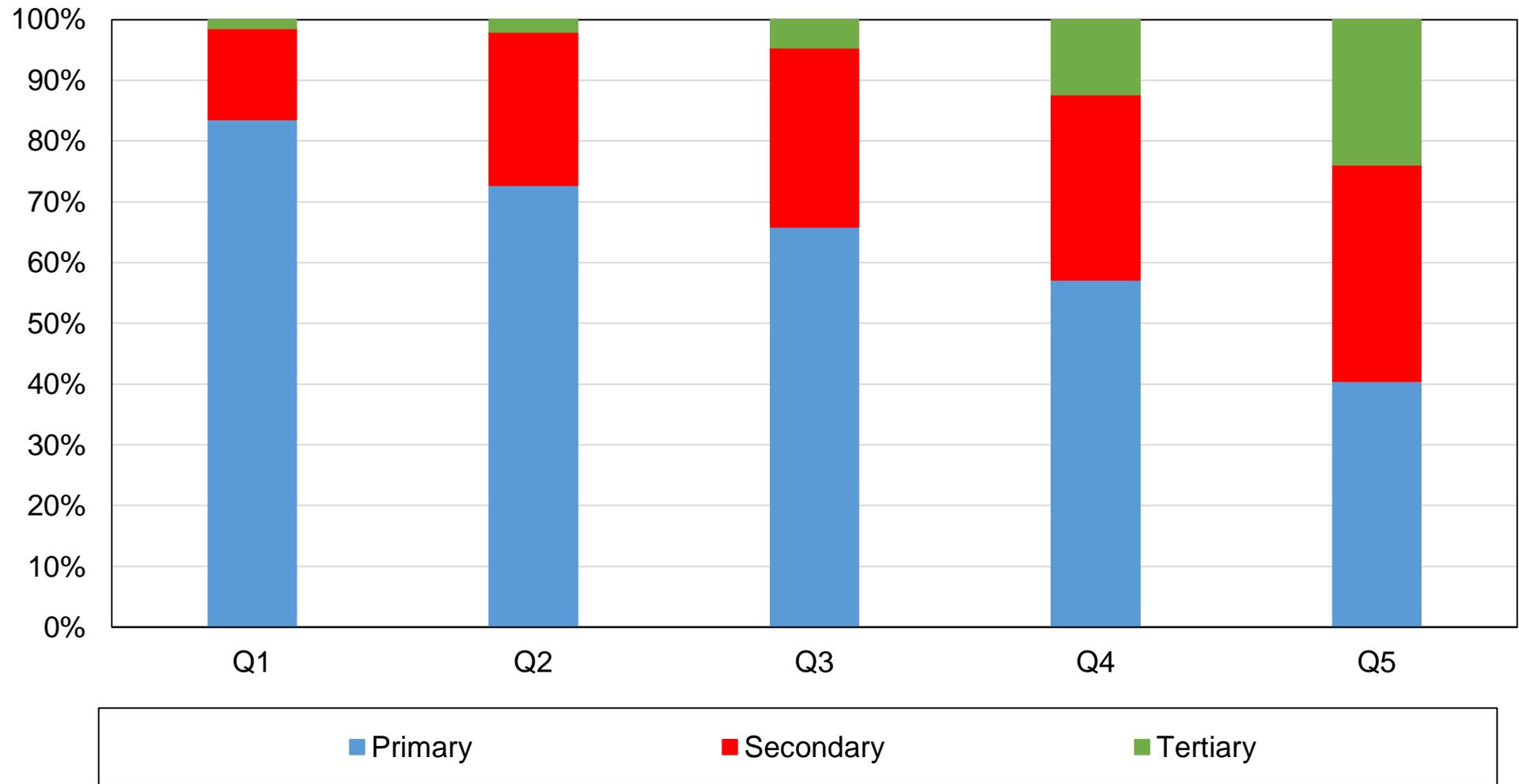
Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 1991.

Figure AA9 - Composition of income quintiles by region, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by region in 2018.

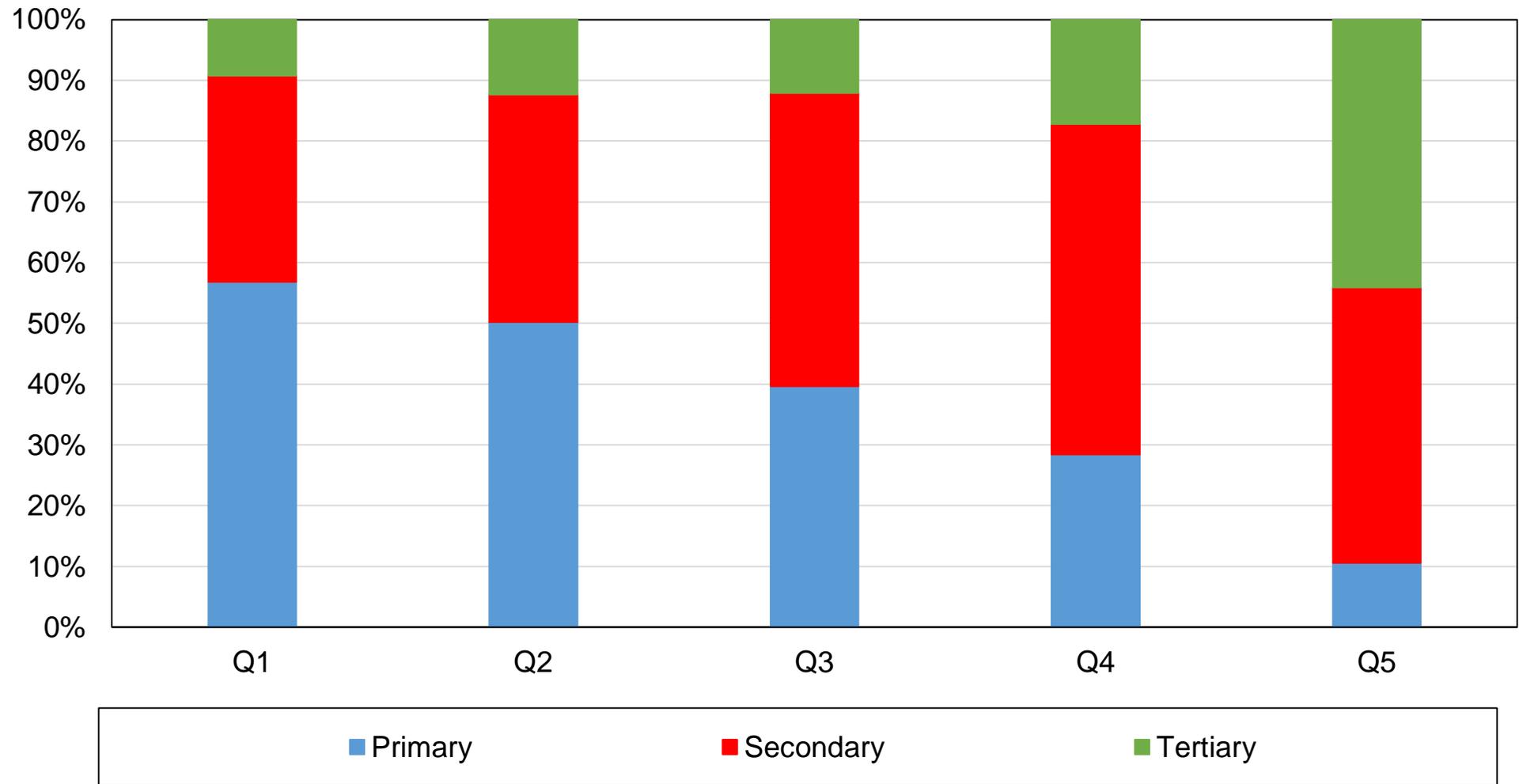
Figure AA10 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 1991



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 1991.

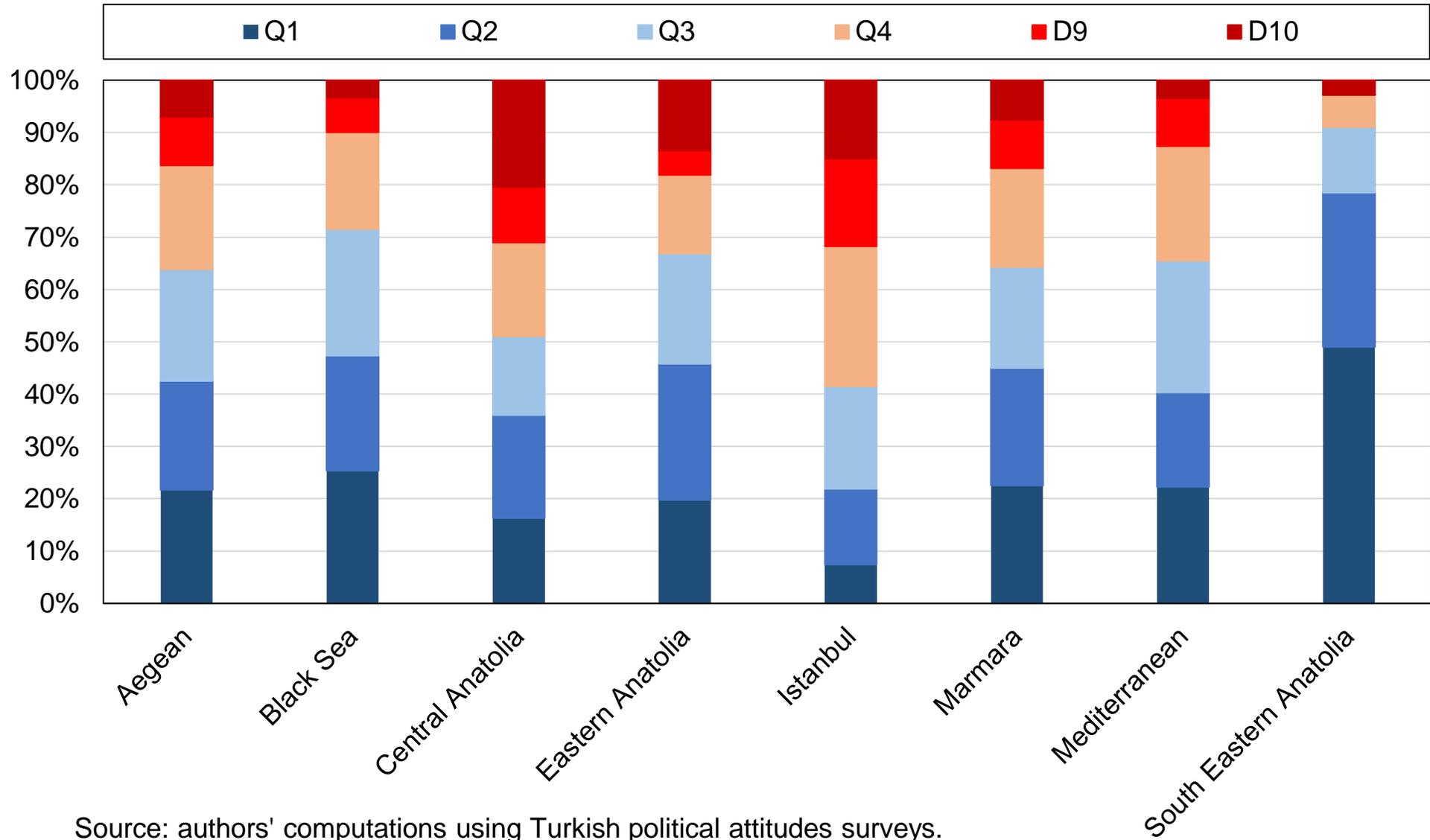
Figure AA11 - Composition of income quintiles by education level, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

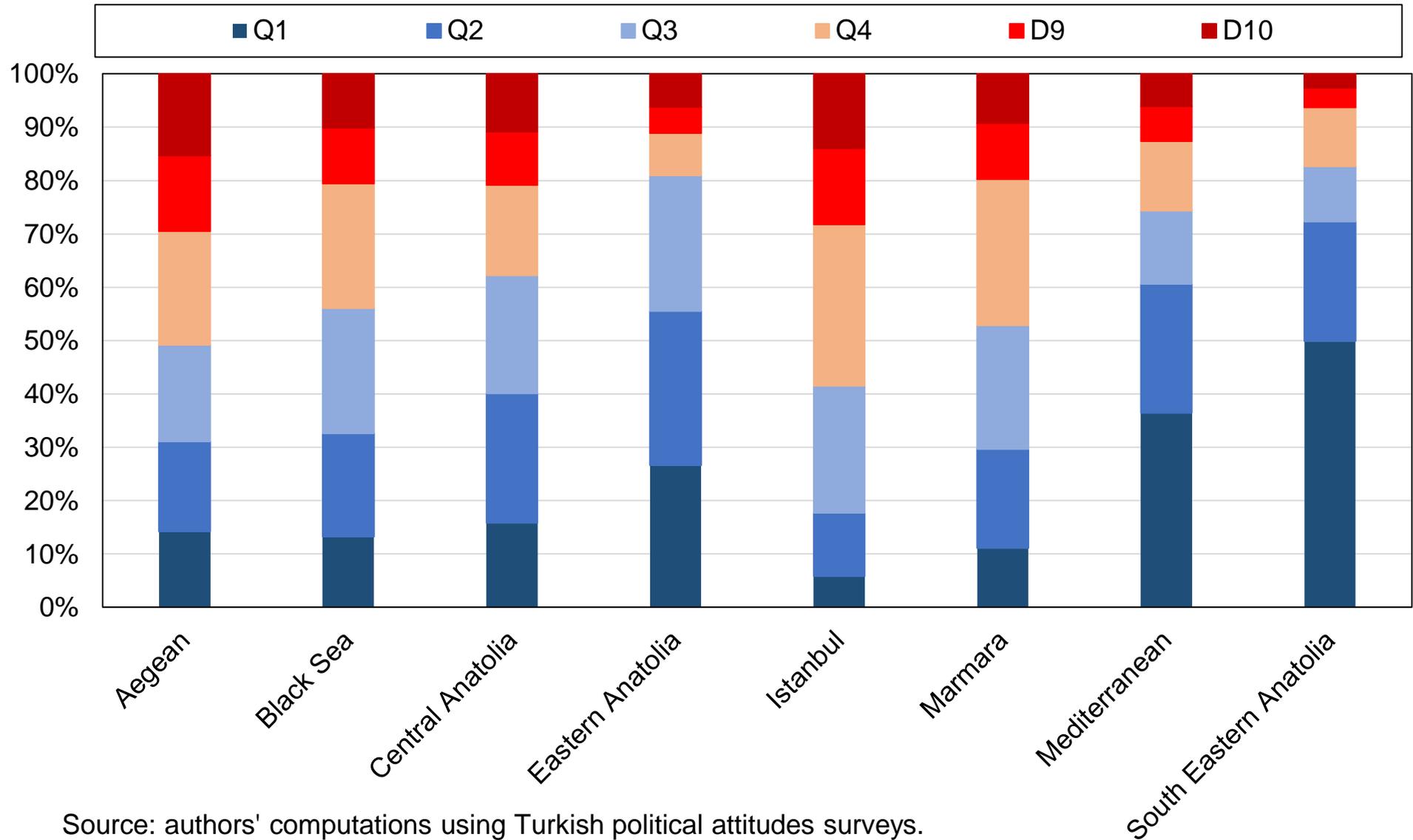
Note: the figure shows the composition of income quintiles by education level in 2018.

Figure AA12 - Income composition of regions, 1991



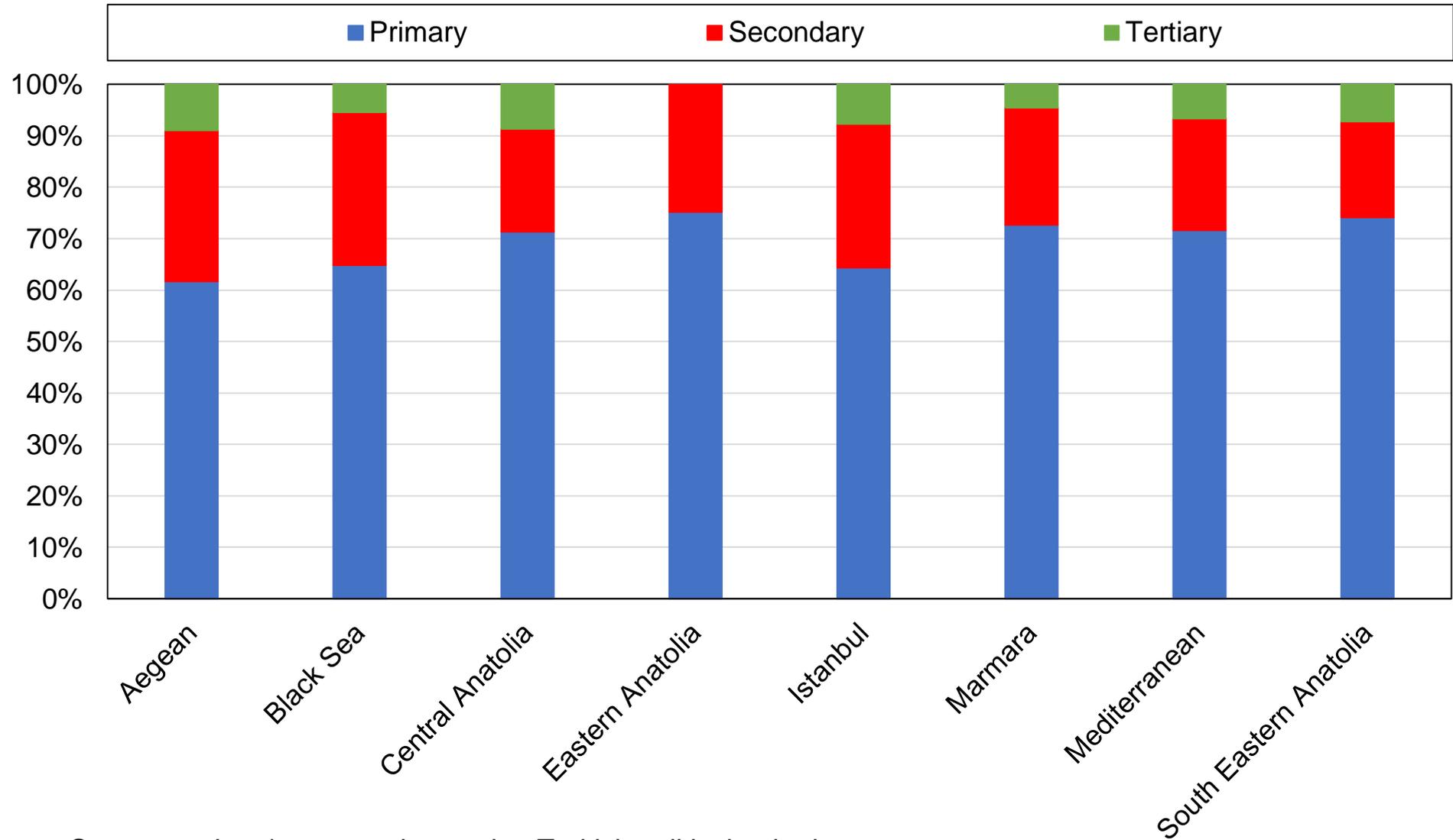
Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by region in 1991.

Figure AA13 - Income composition of regions, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the distribution of income quintiles by region in 2018.

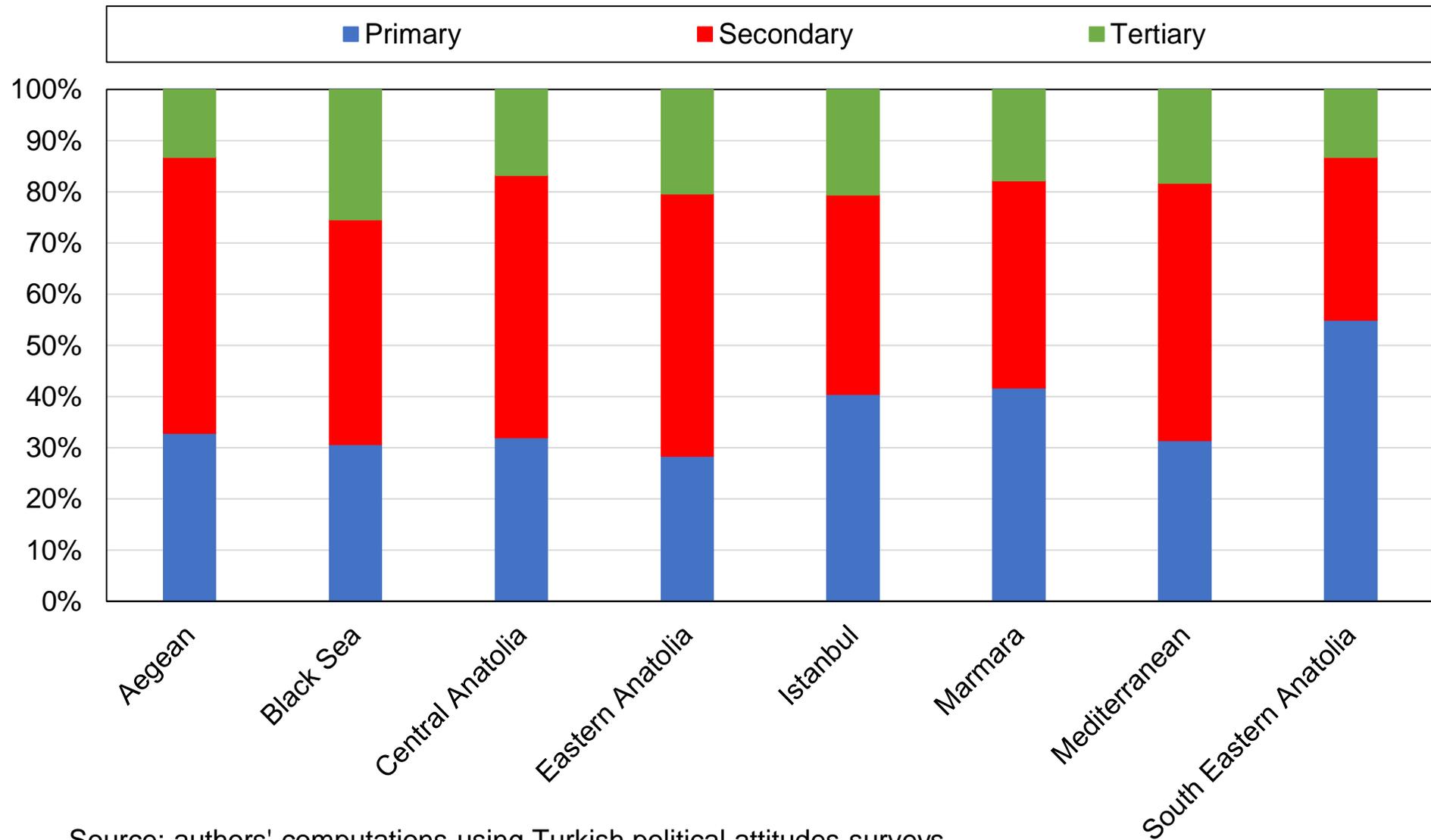
Figure AA14 - Education composition of regions, 1991



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by region in 1991.

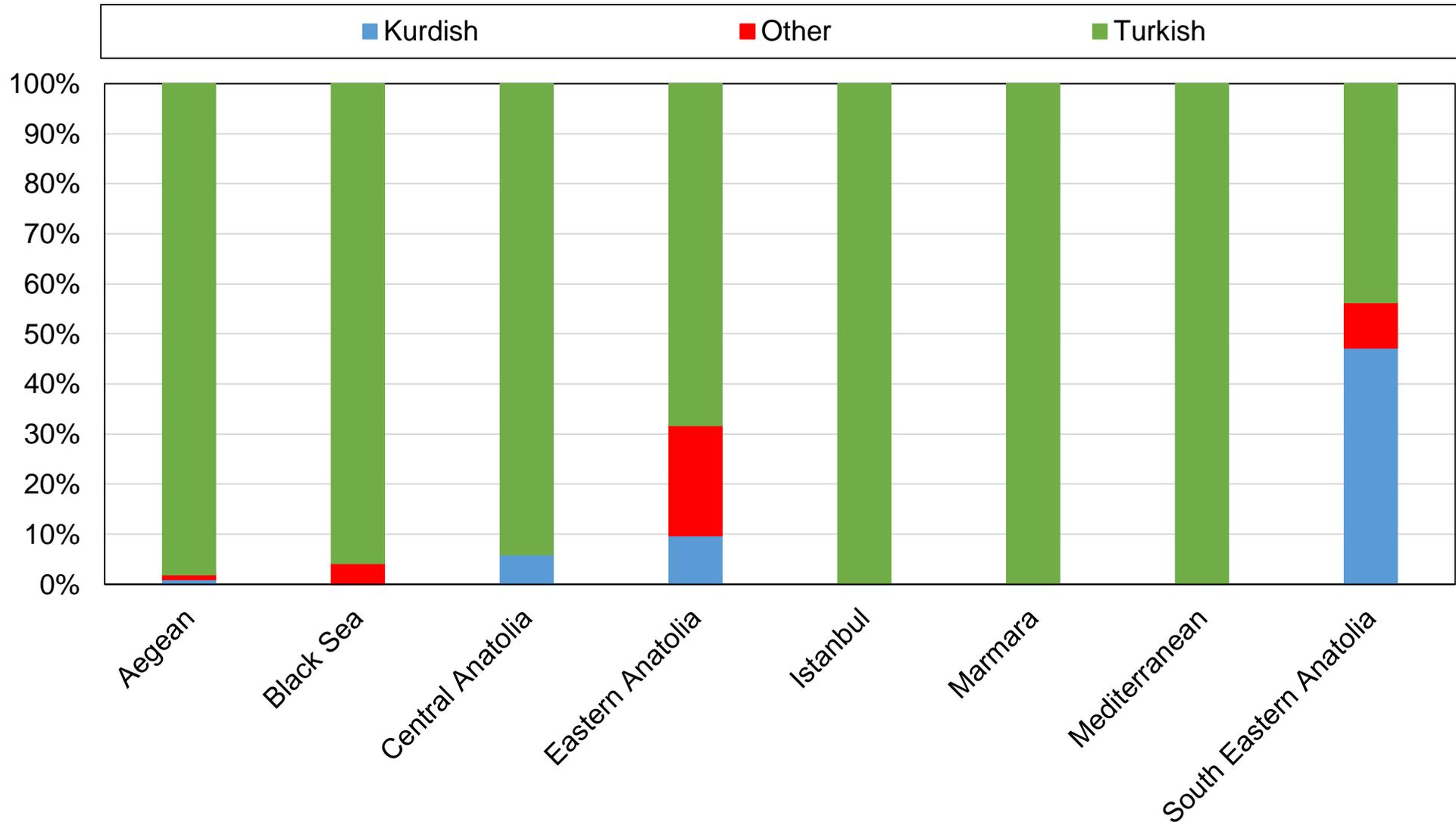
Figure AA15 - Education composition of regions, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of education groups by region in 2018.

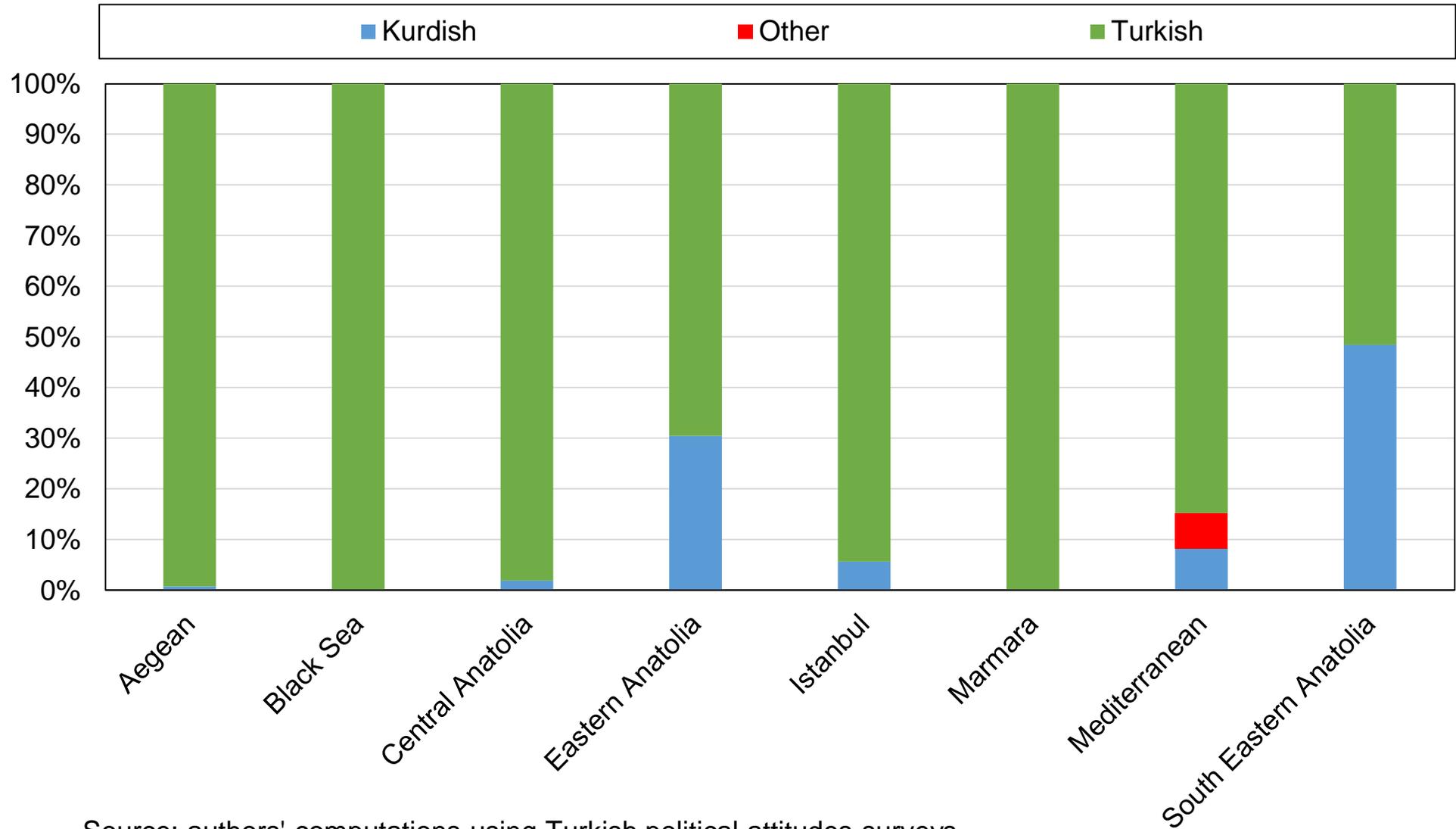
Figure AA16 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2007



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of regions by language spoken at home in 2007.

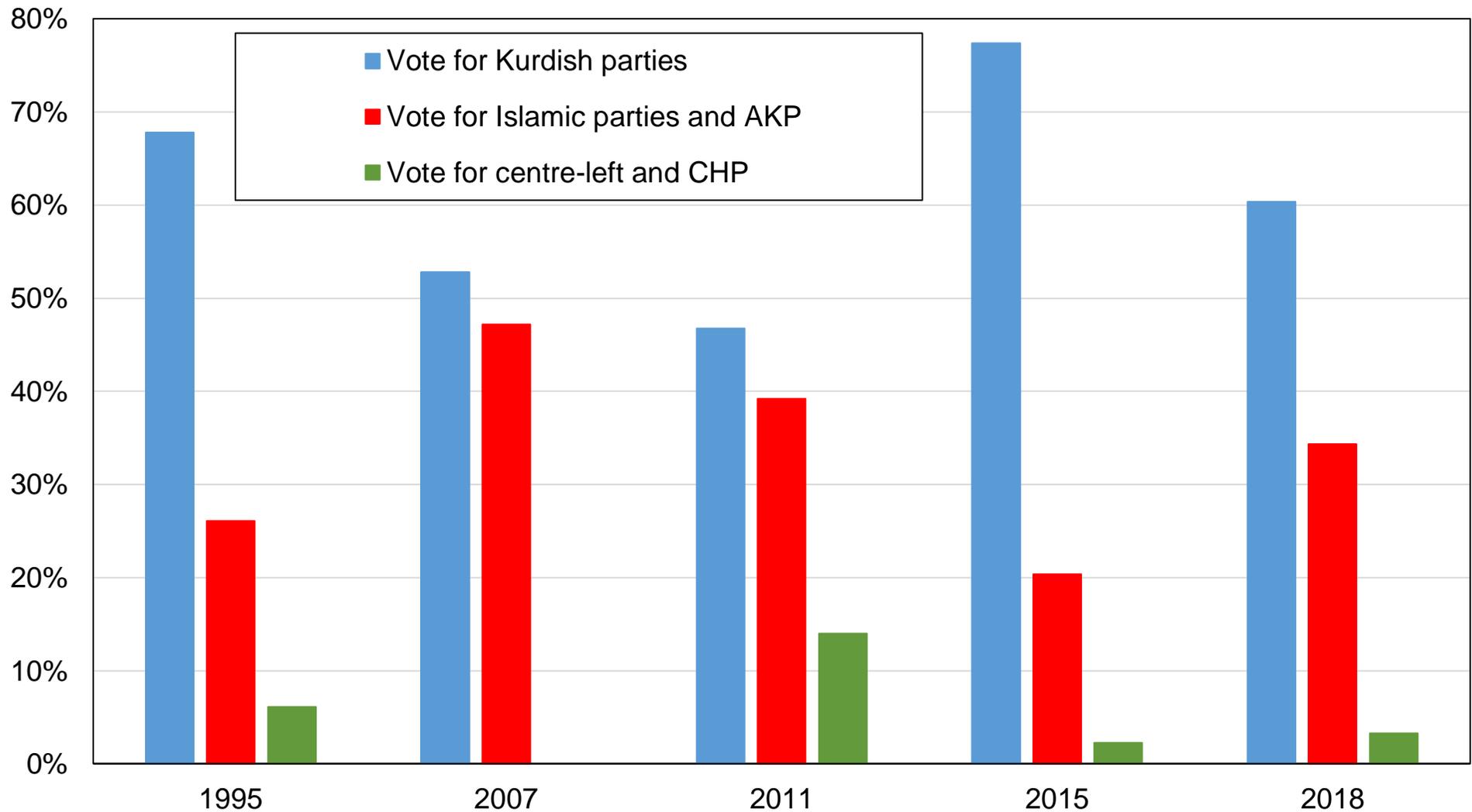
Figure AA17 - Linguistic composition of regions, 2018



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the composition of regions by language spoken at home in 2018.

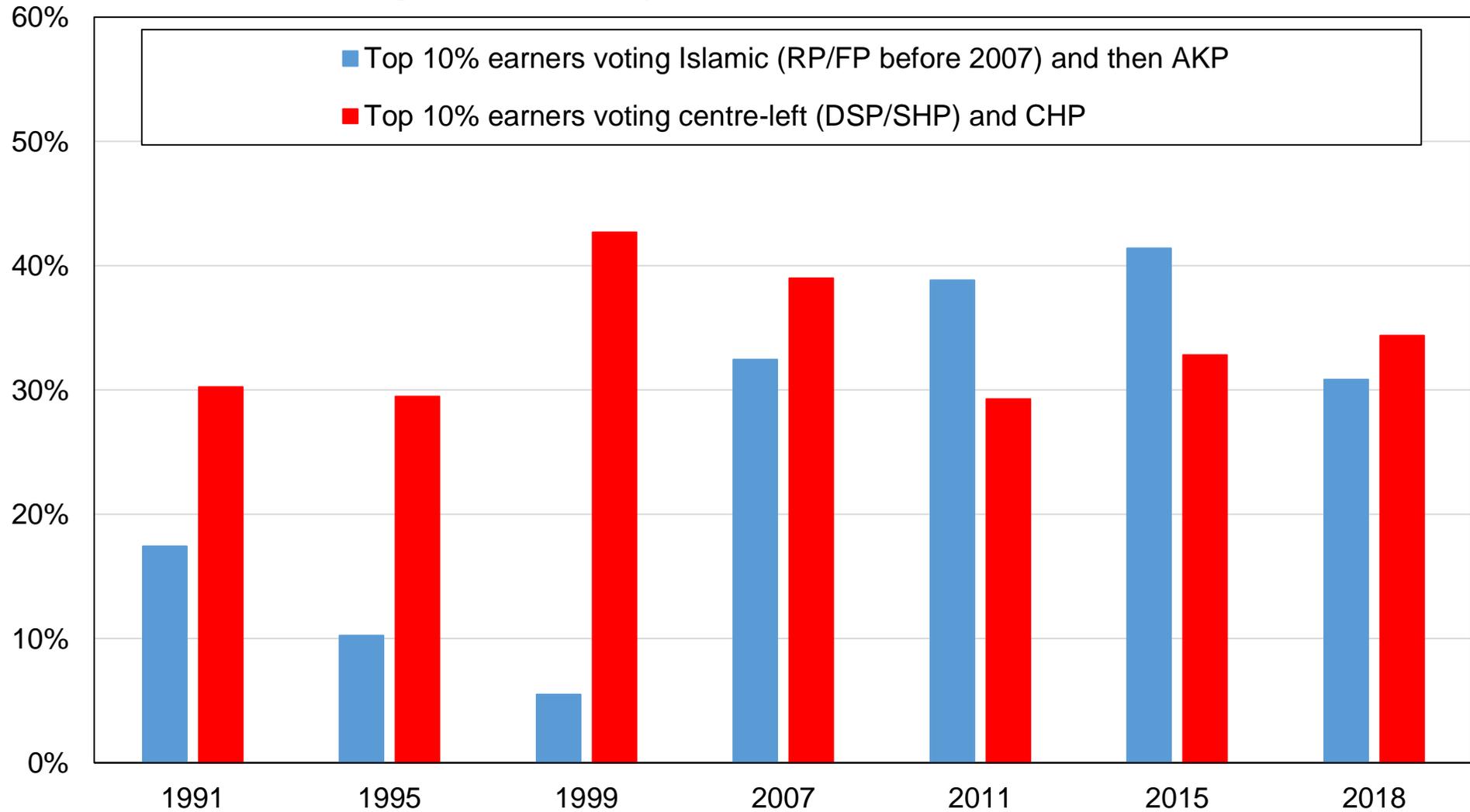
Figure AB1 - Party choice of Kurdish-speaking voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the distribution of the party choice among Kurdish speaking population. No data available in 1991 and 1999.

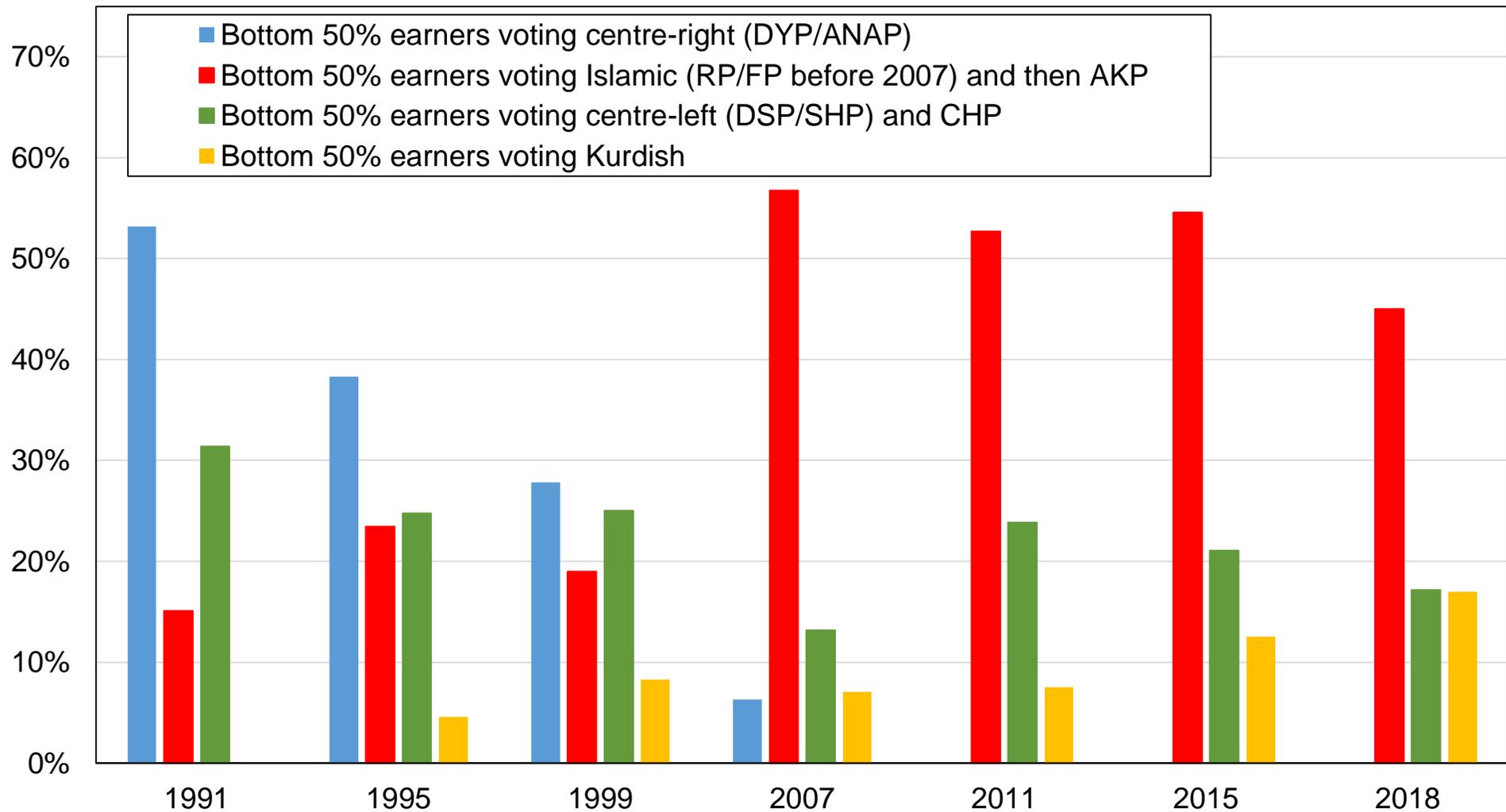
Figure AB2 - Party choice of top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of top 10% earners voting either Islamic (RP/FP) and AKP or centre-left (DSP/SHP) and CHP in the Turkish adult population, and its evolution over time.

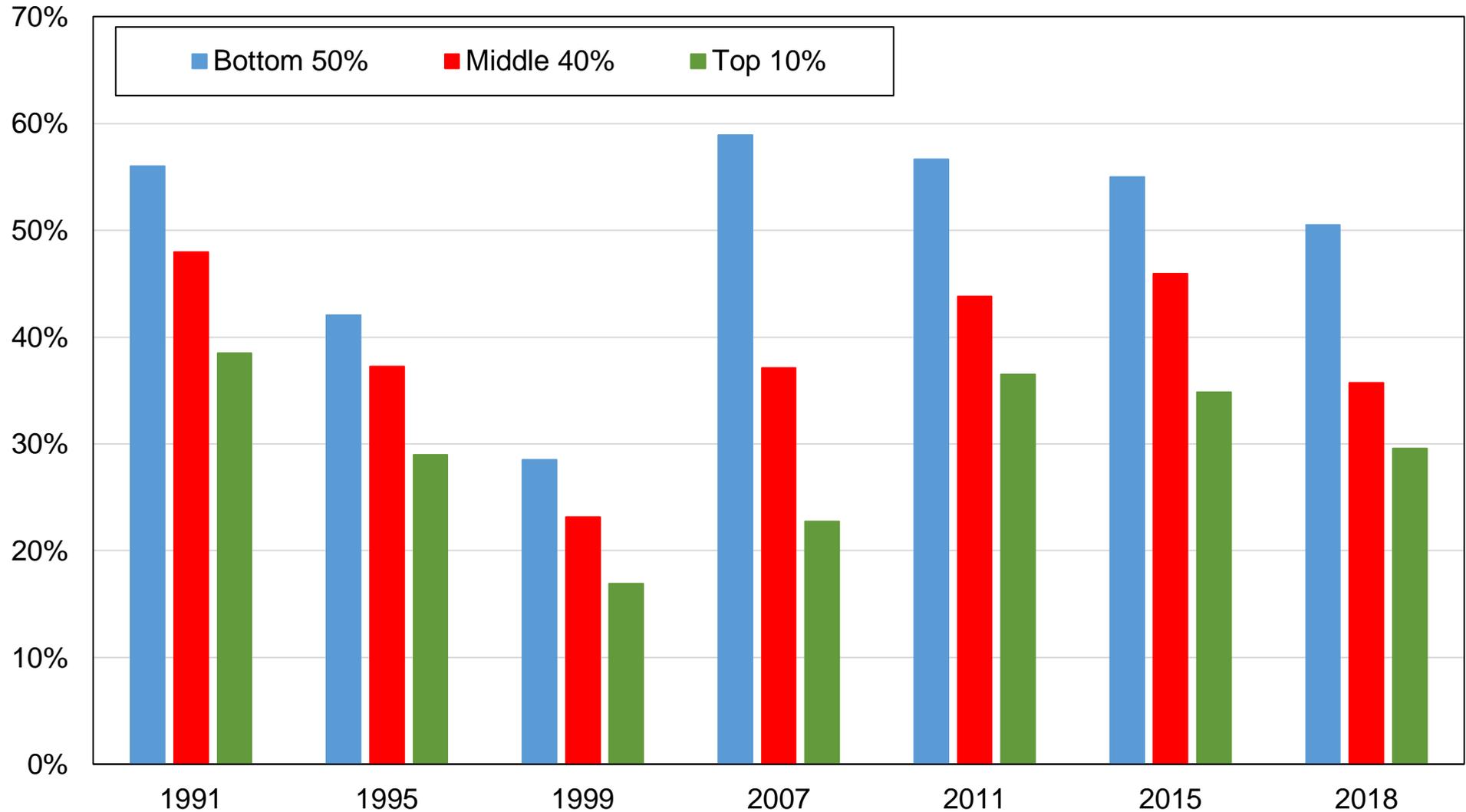
Figure AB3 - Party choice of low-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of bottom 50% earners voting either Islamic (RP/FP/AKP), center-right (DYP/ANAP), centre-left (DSP/SHP/CHP) or Kurdish parties in the Turkish adult population, and its evolution over time.

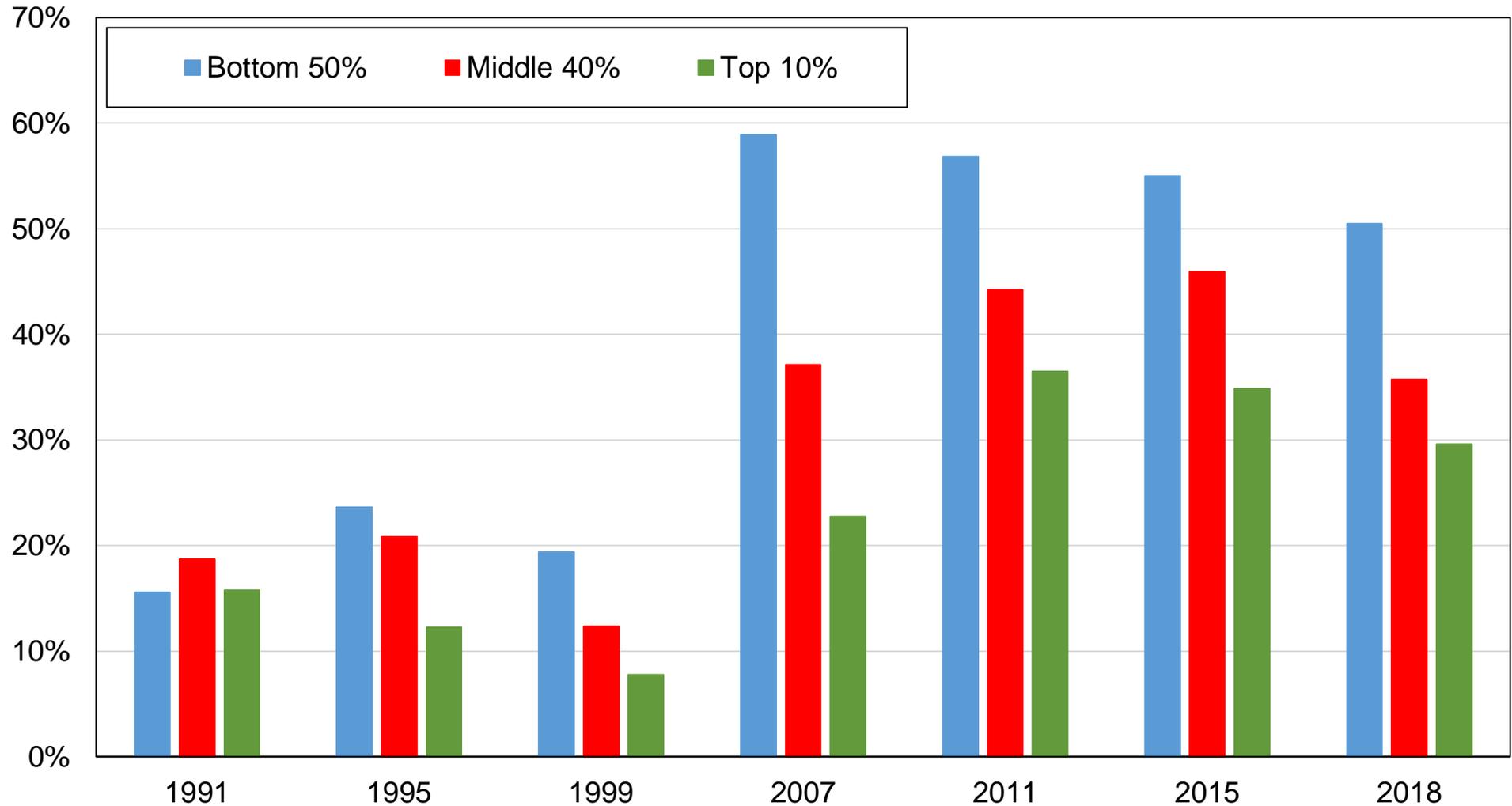
Figure AB4 - Vote for centre-right parties and AKP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right parties (ANAP/DYP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by education group.

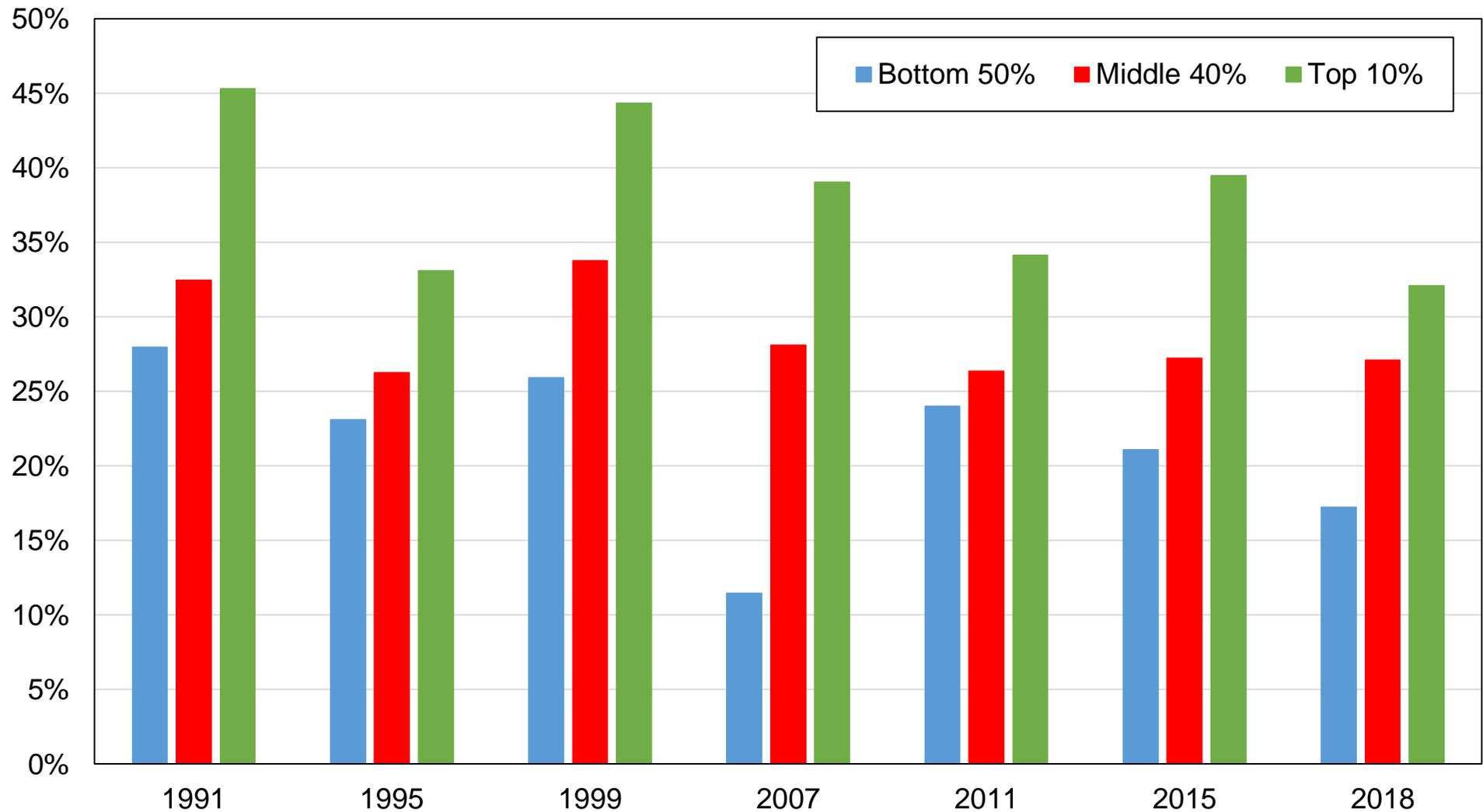
Figure AB5 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by education group.

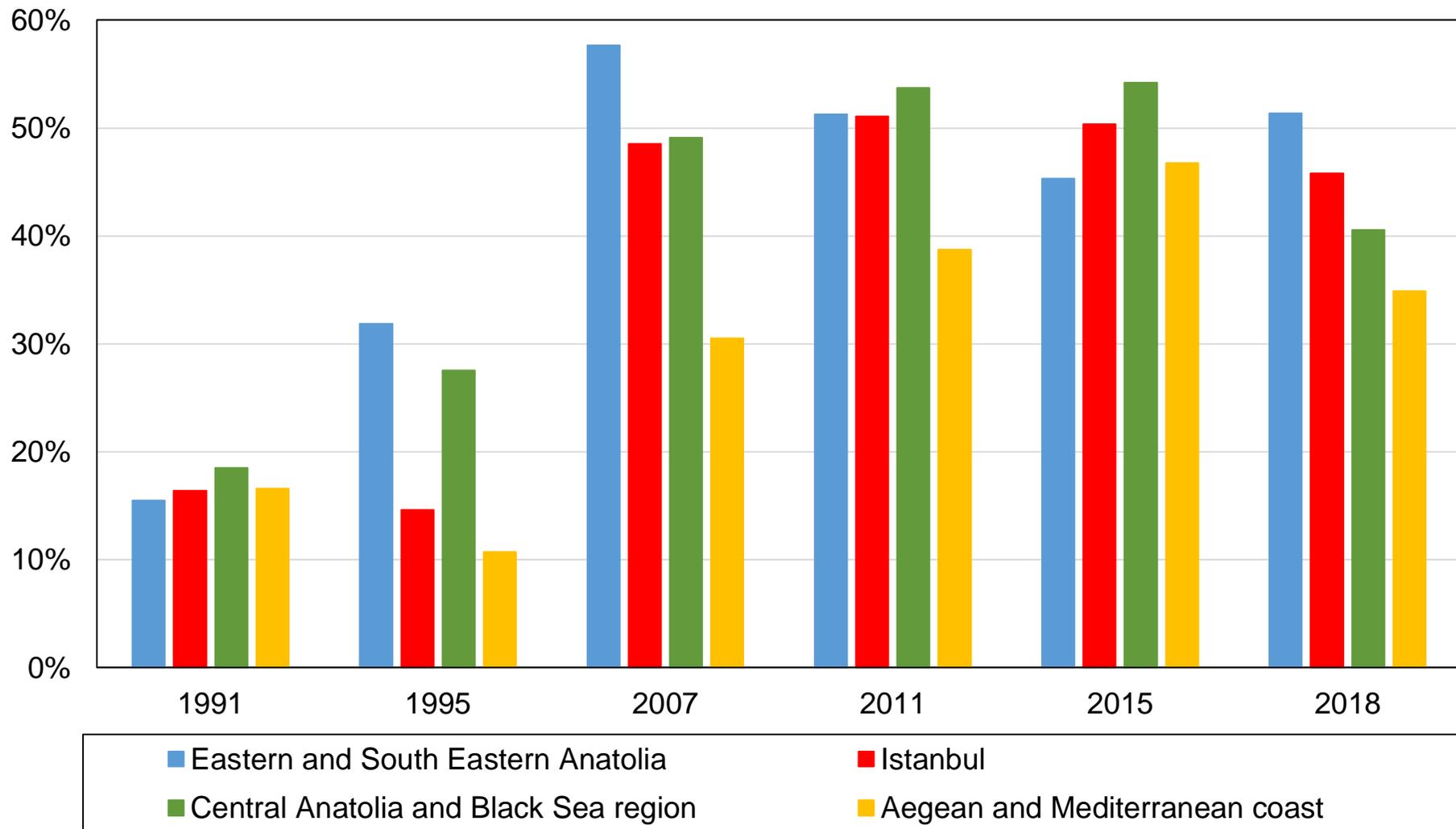
Figure AB6 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by education group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by education group.

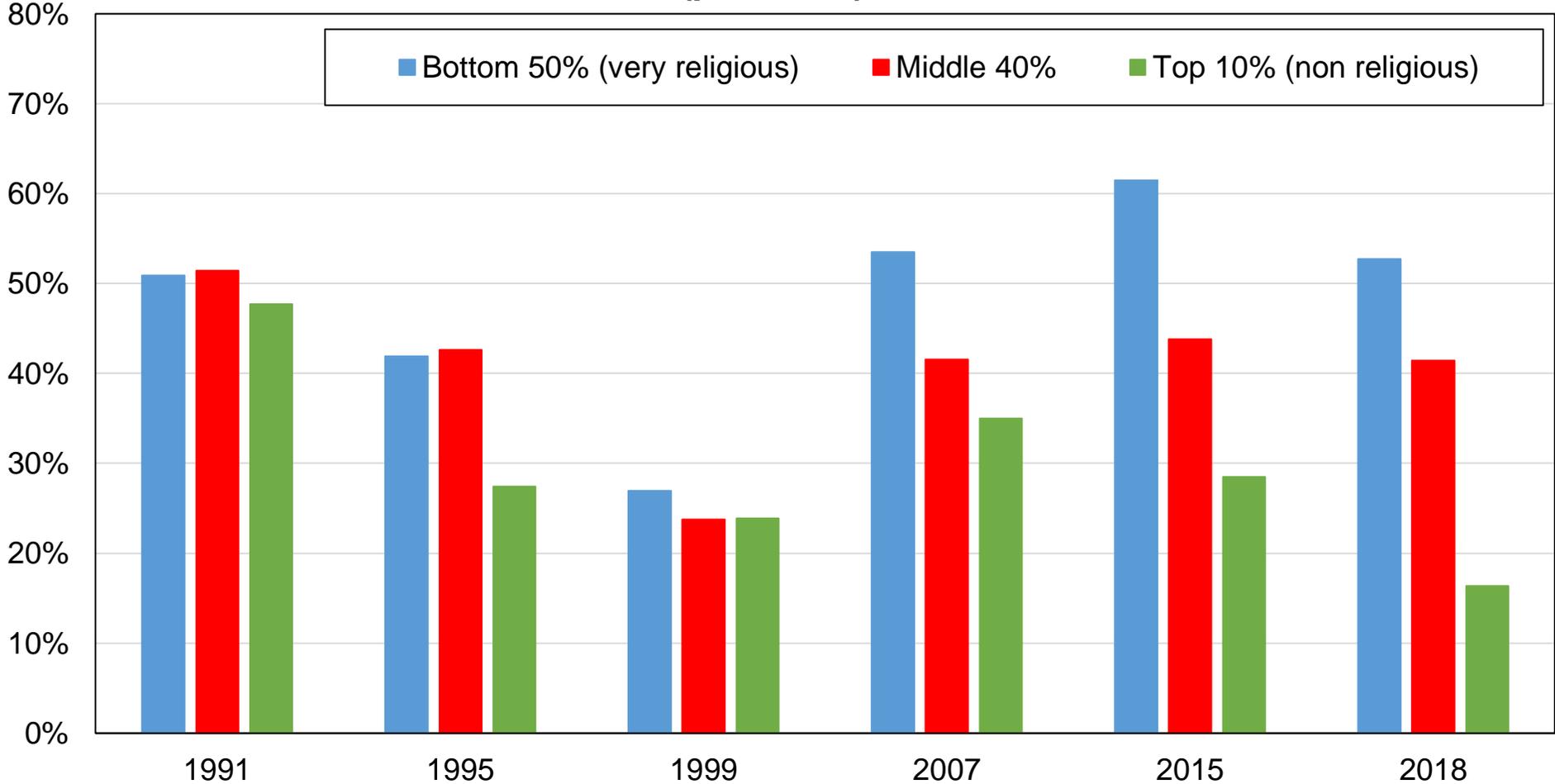
Figure AB7 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by region



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

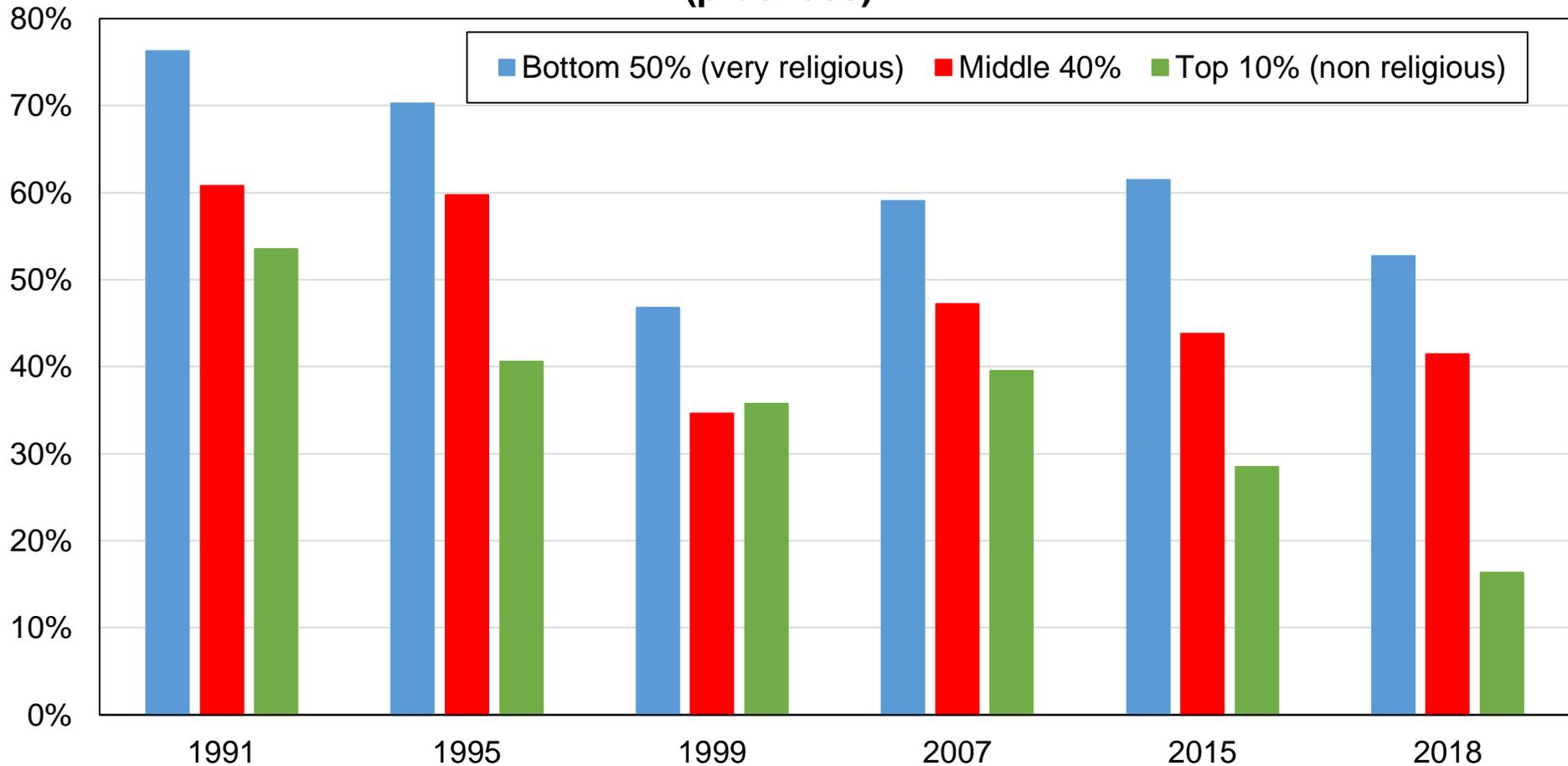
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by region.

Figure AB8 - Vote for centre-right parties and AKP by religiosity (practices)



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right parties (ANAP/DYP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by religiosity (measured by service attendances or frequency of pray). Top 10 percent denotes hardly no religious practices and bottom 50 percent denotes regular religious practices.

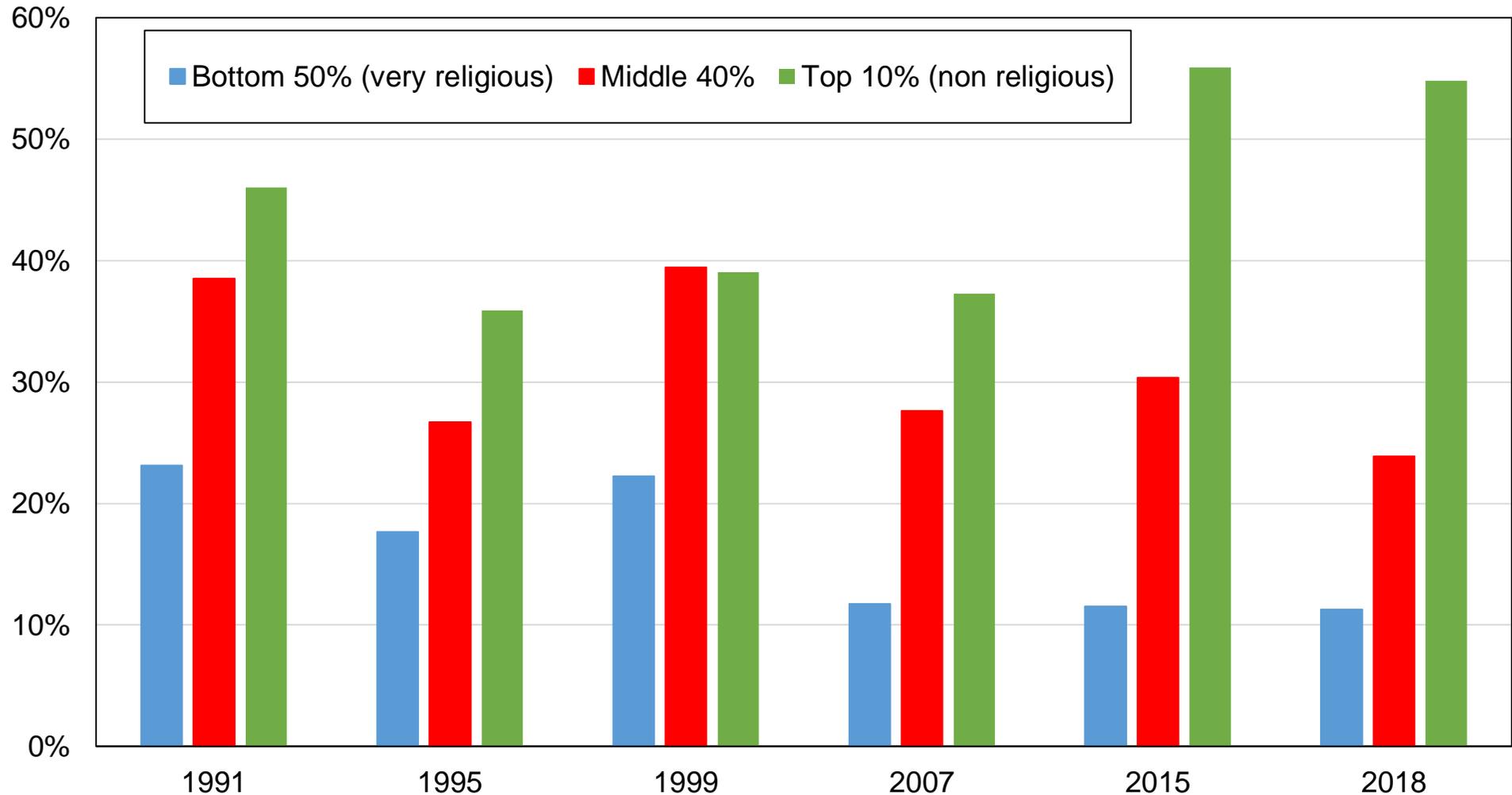
Figure AB9 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties by religiosity (practices)



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by religiosity (measured by service attendances or frequency of pray). Top 10 percent denotes hardly no religious practices and bottom 50 percent denotes regular religious practices.

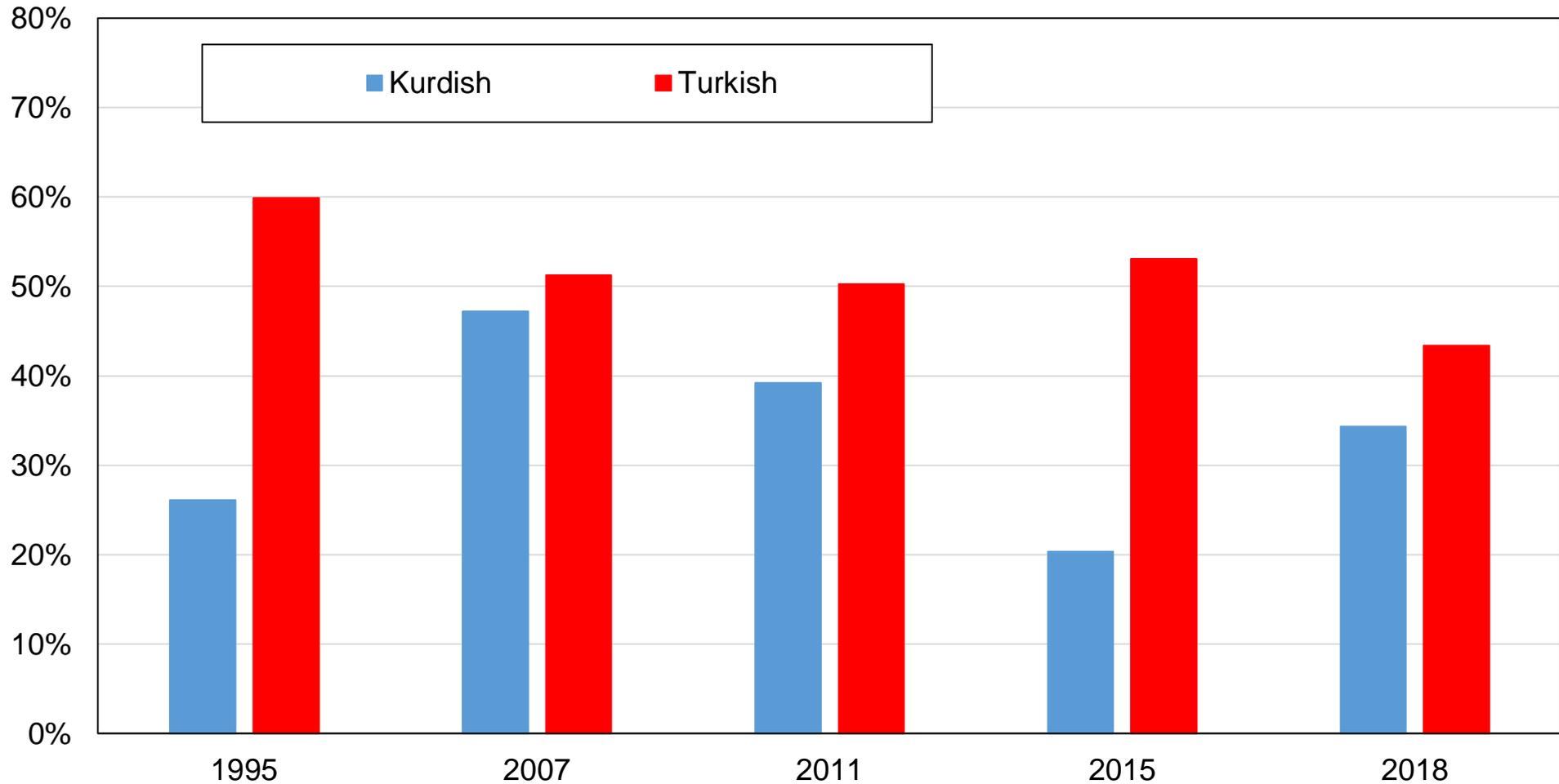
Figure AB10 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by religiosity (practices)



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and by the CHP, by religiosity (measured by service attendances or frequency of pray). No data available in 2011.

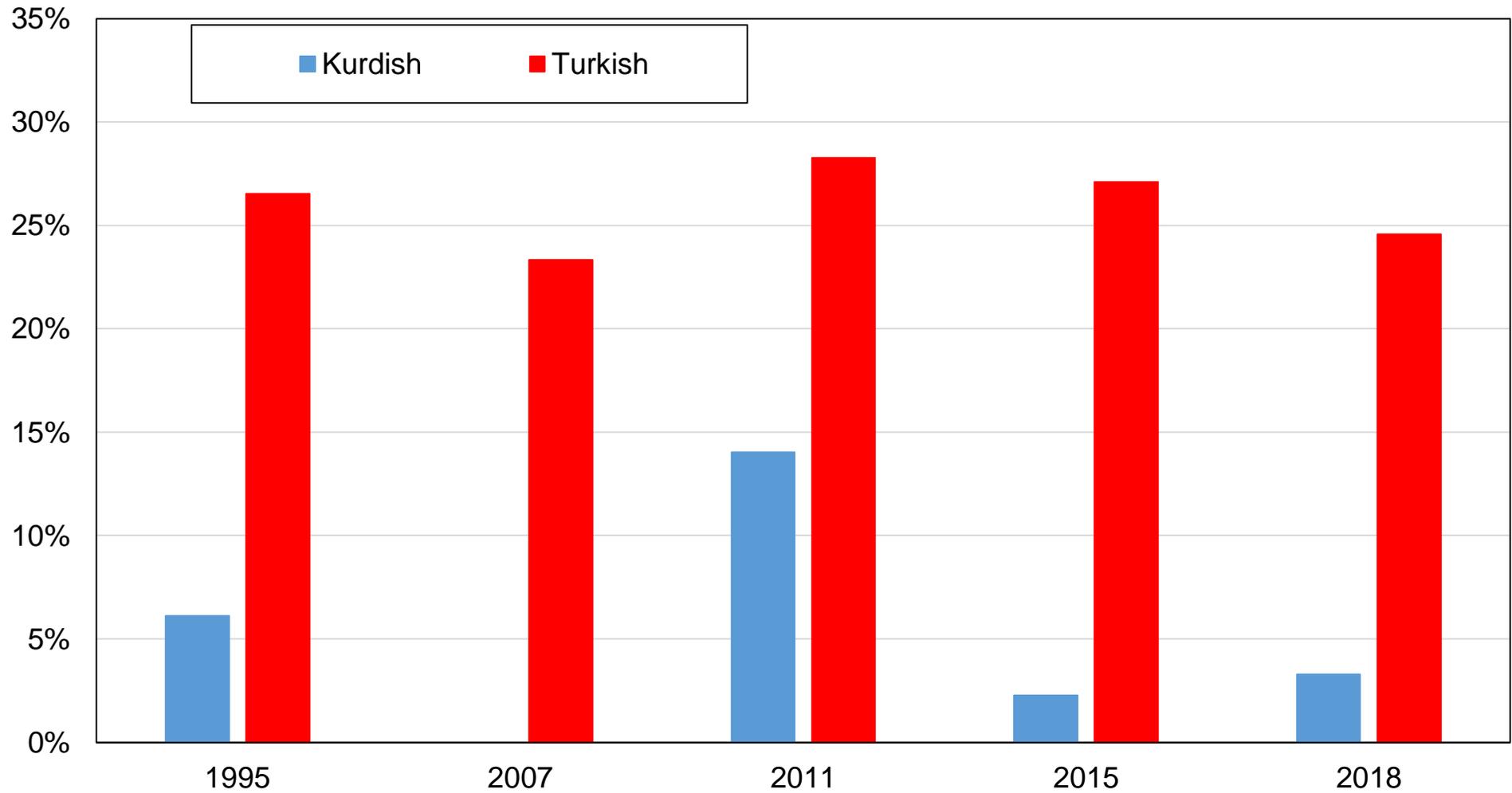
Figure AB11 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties by language



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date by language. No data available in 1991 and 1999.

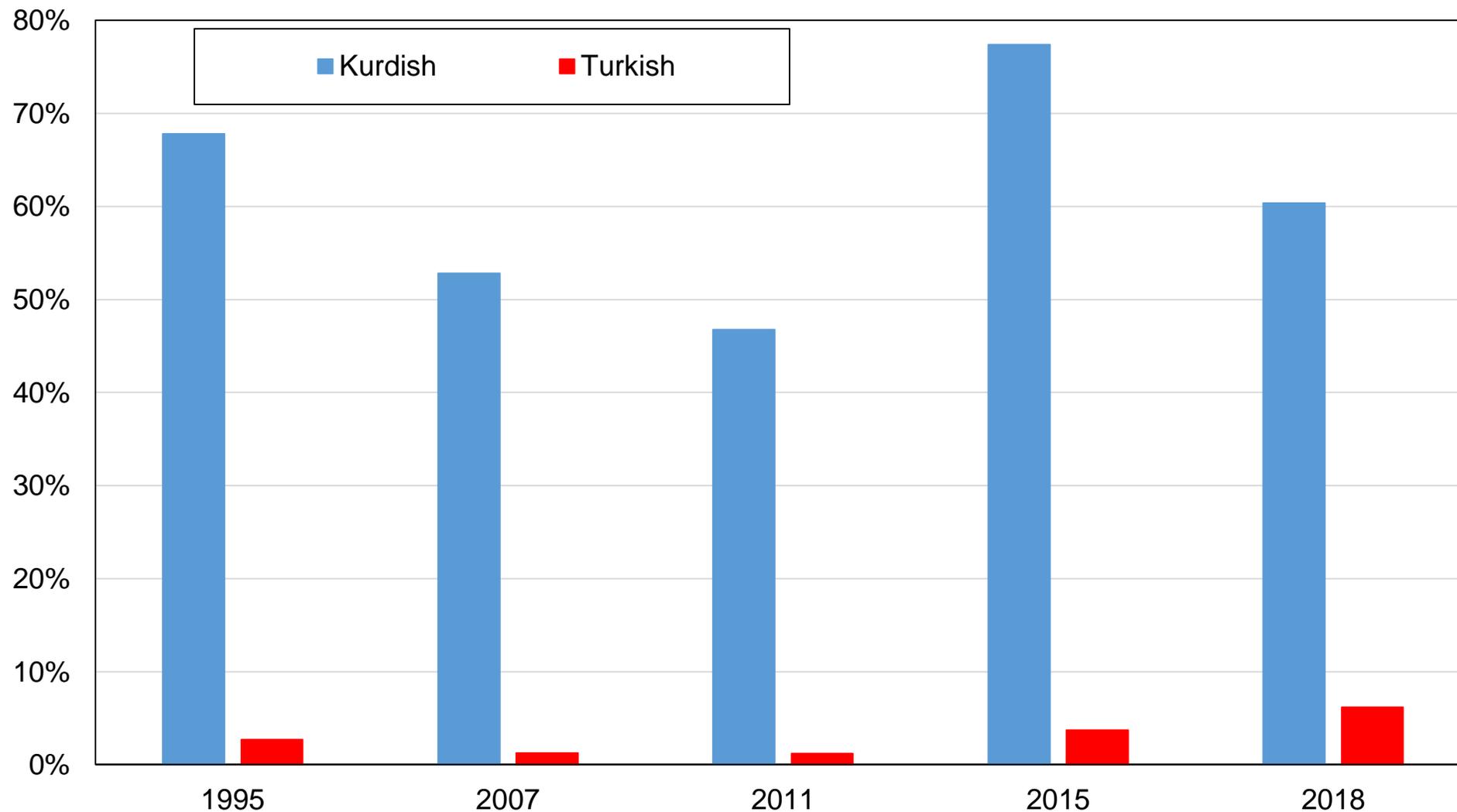
Figure AB12 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by language



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left parties (SHP/DSP) and the CHP by language. No data available in 1991 and 1999.

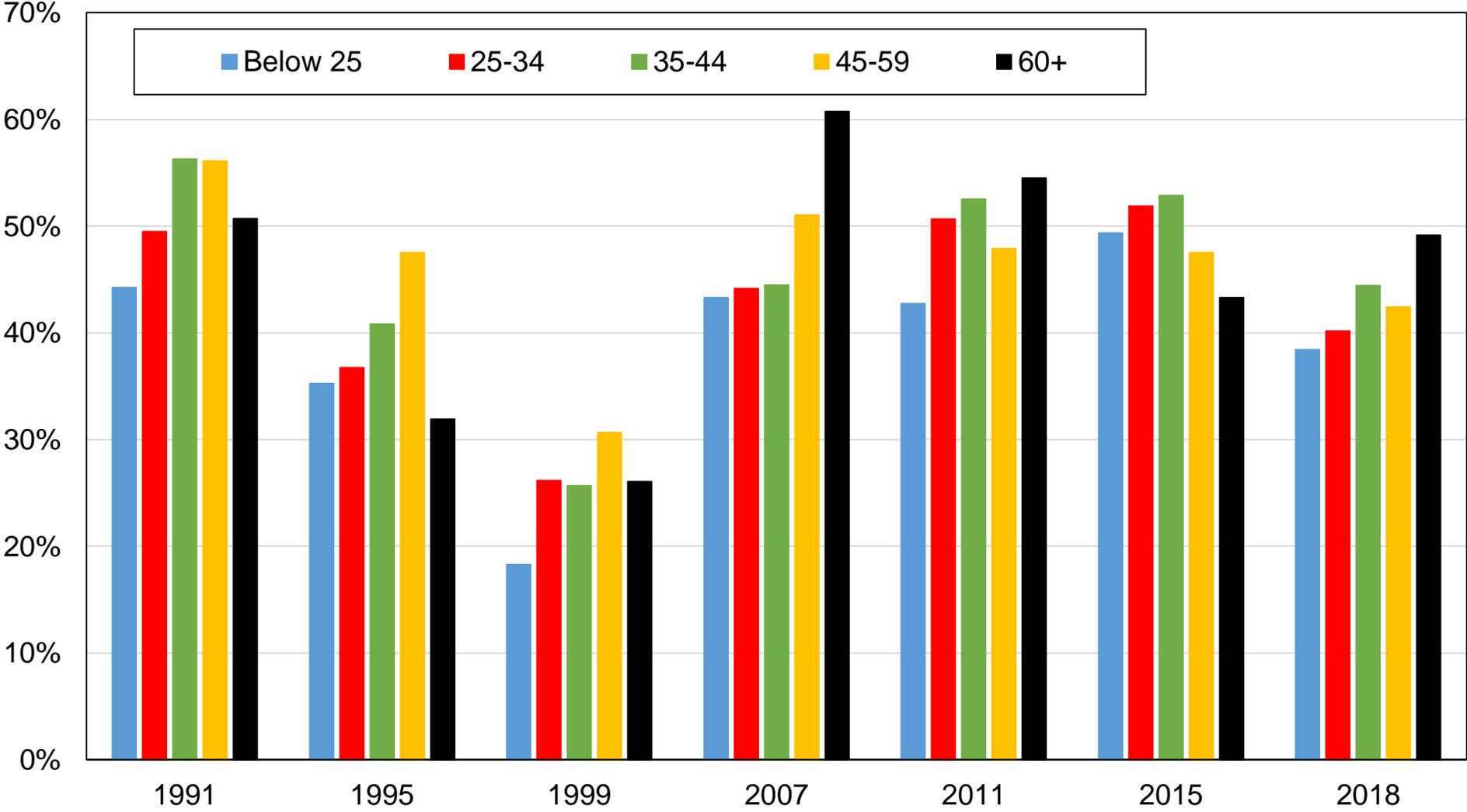
Figure AB13 - Vote for Kurdish parties by language spoken at home



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Kurdish parties by language spoken at home. No data available in 1991 and 1999.

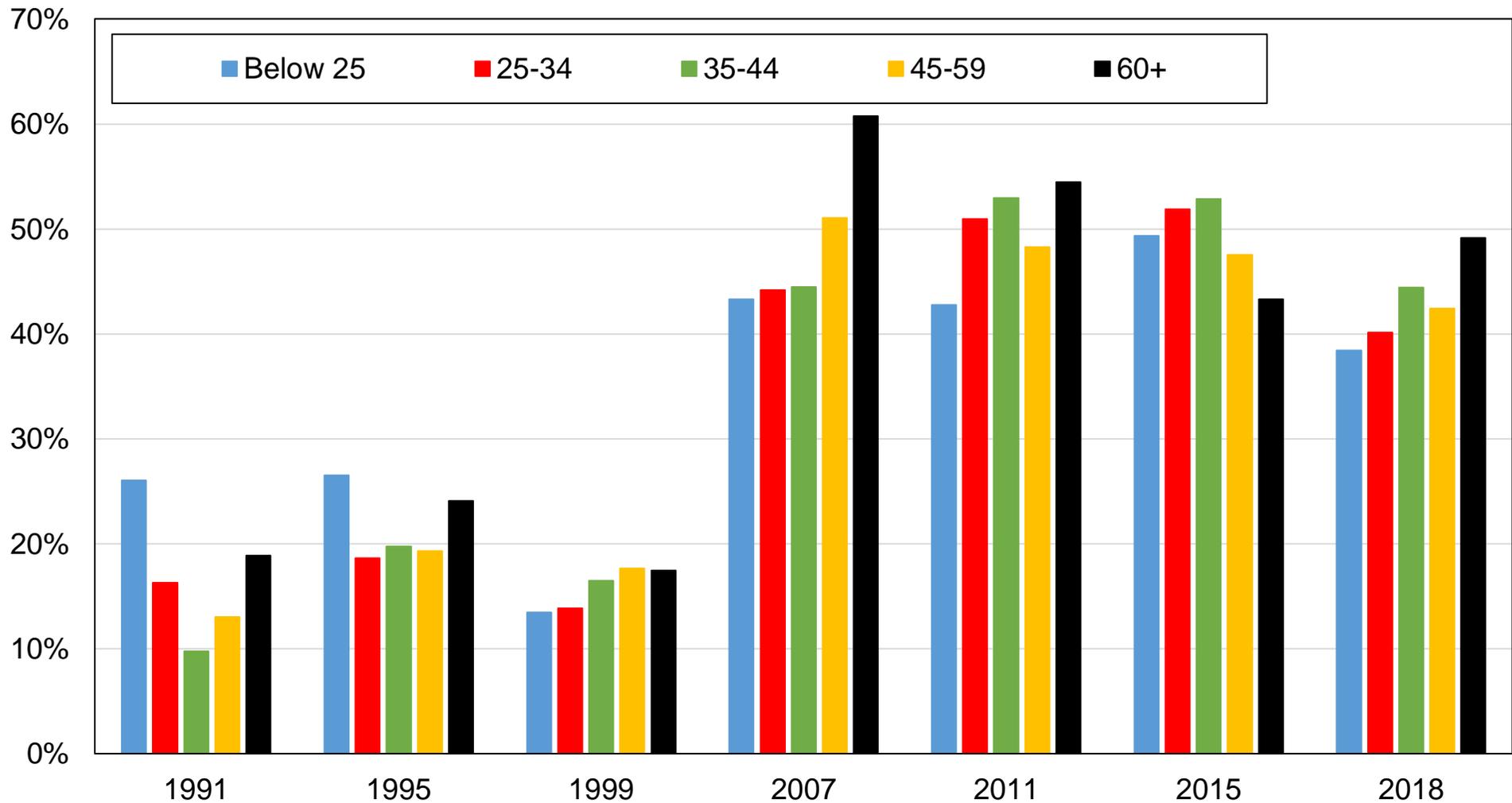
Figure AB14 - Vote for centre-right parties and AKP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right parties (DYP/ANAP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by age group.

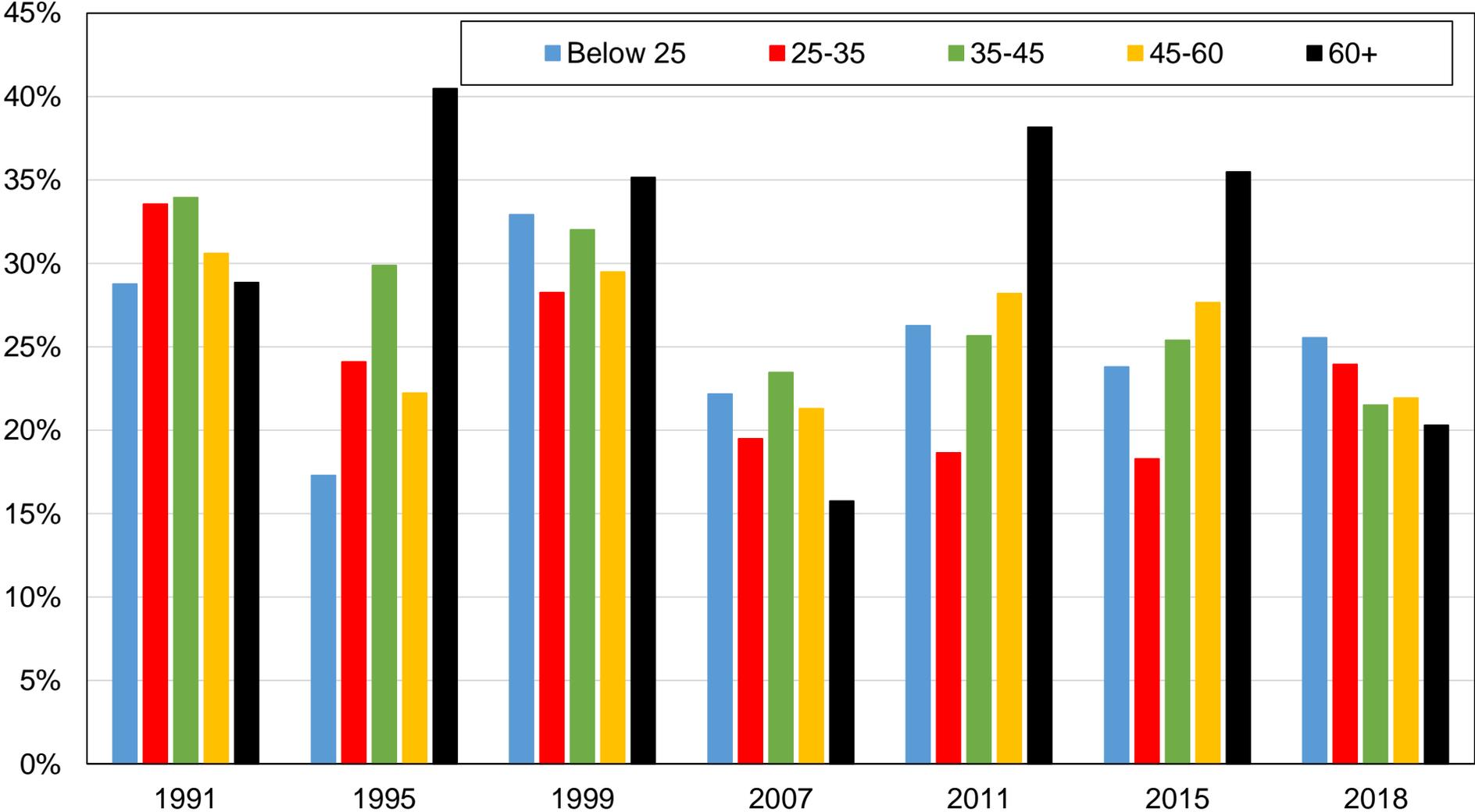
Figure AB15 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

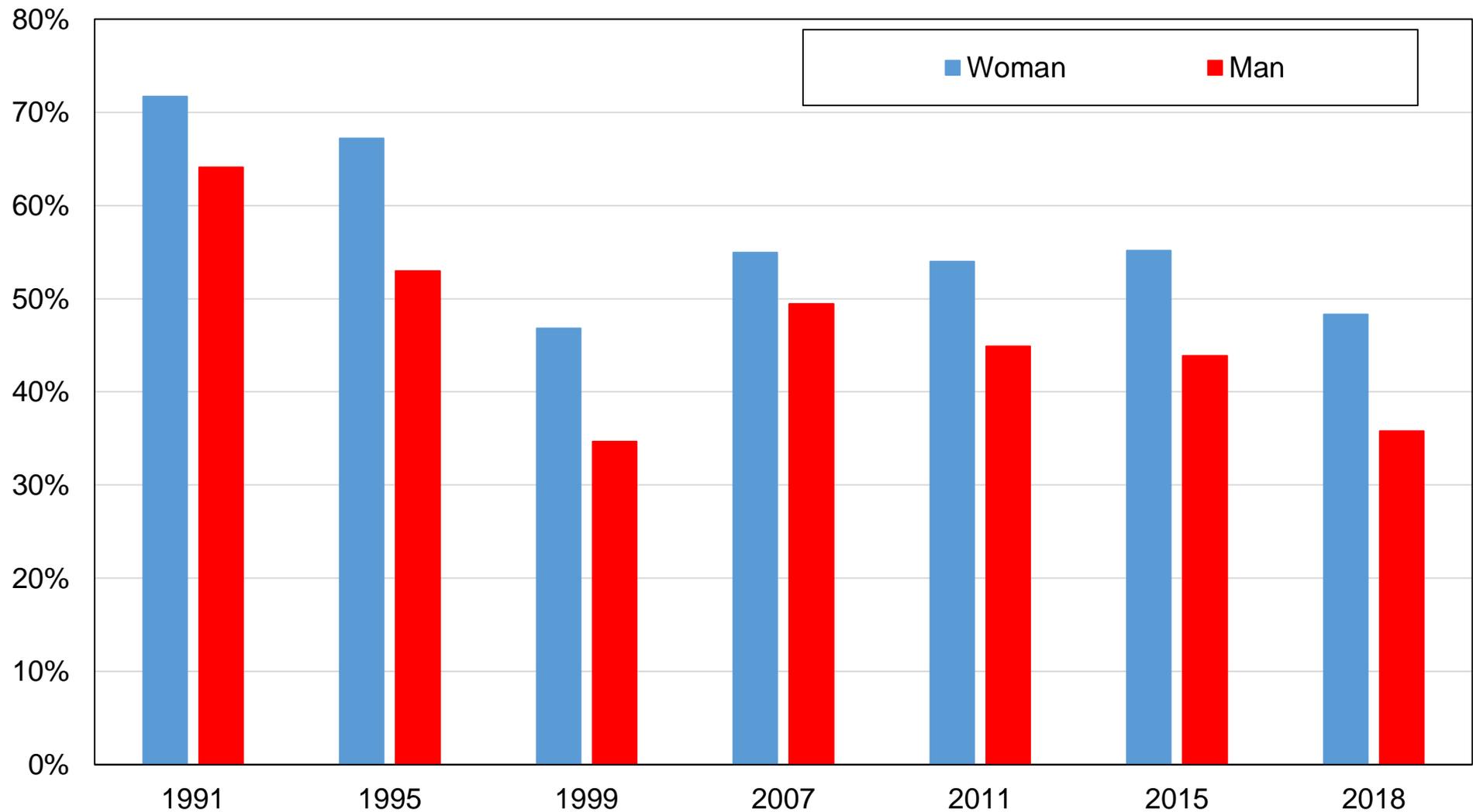
Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by age group.

Figure AB16 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by age group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.
 Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left parties (SHP/ DSP) and the CHP by age group.

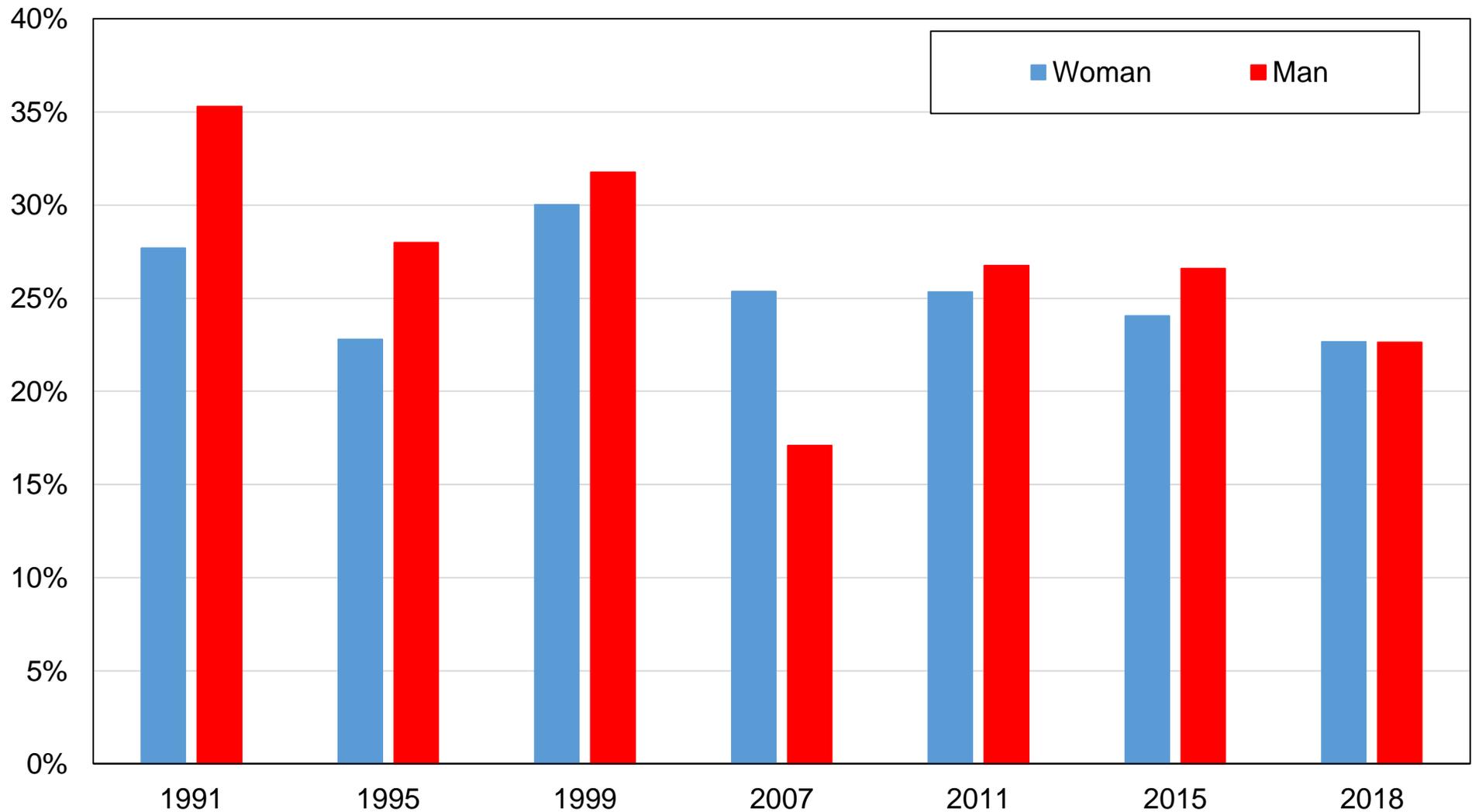
Figure AB17 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties by gender



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by gender.

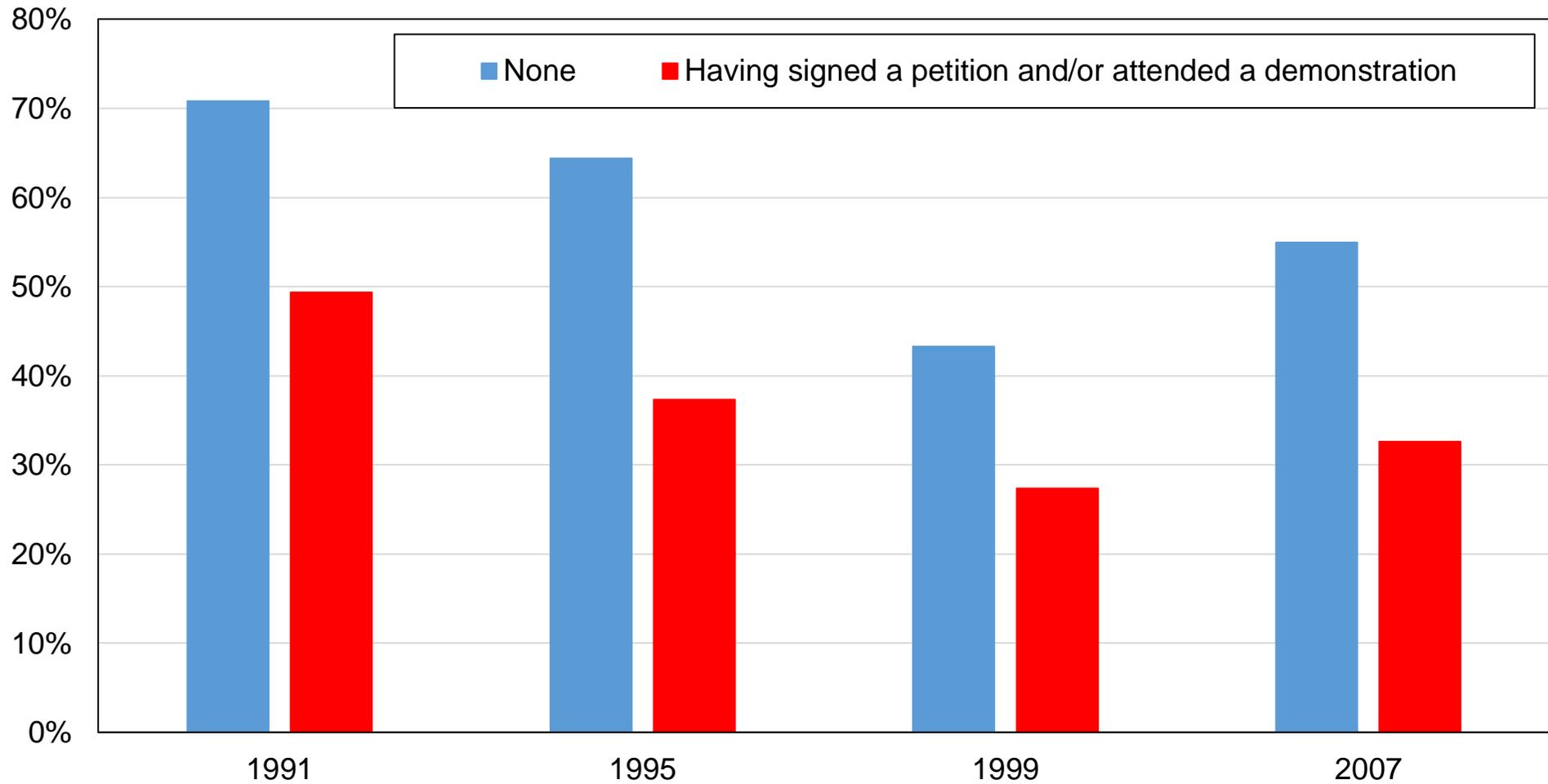
Figure AB18 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by gender



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by gender.

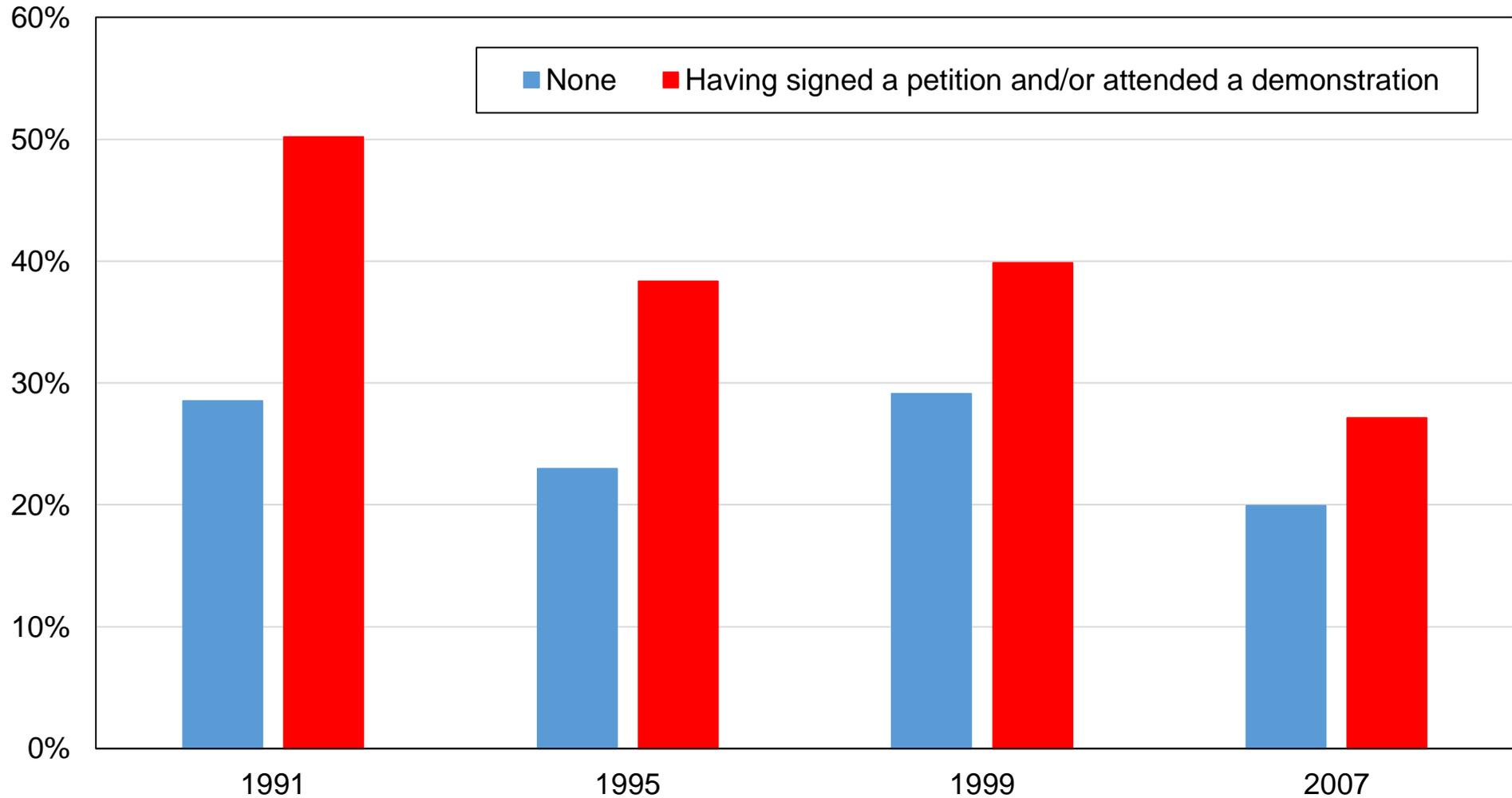
Figure AB19 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties by political activism



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by political activism degree, measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration. No data available after 2007.

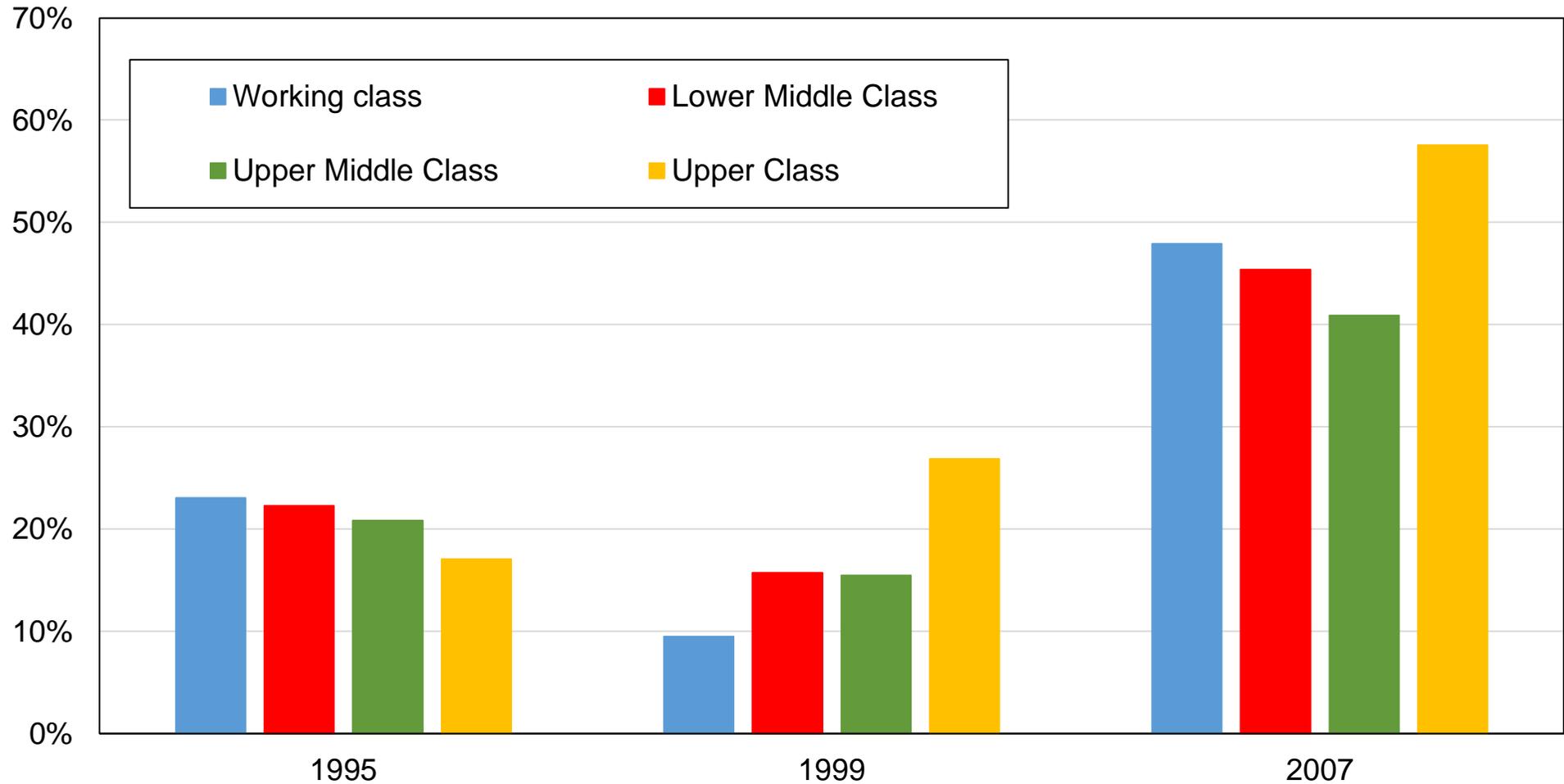
Figure AB20 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by political activism



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left parties (SHP/DSP) and the CHP by political activism degree, measured as having already signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration. No data available after 2007.

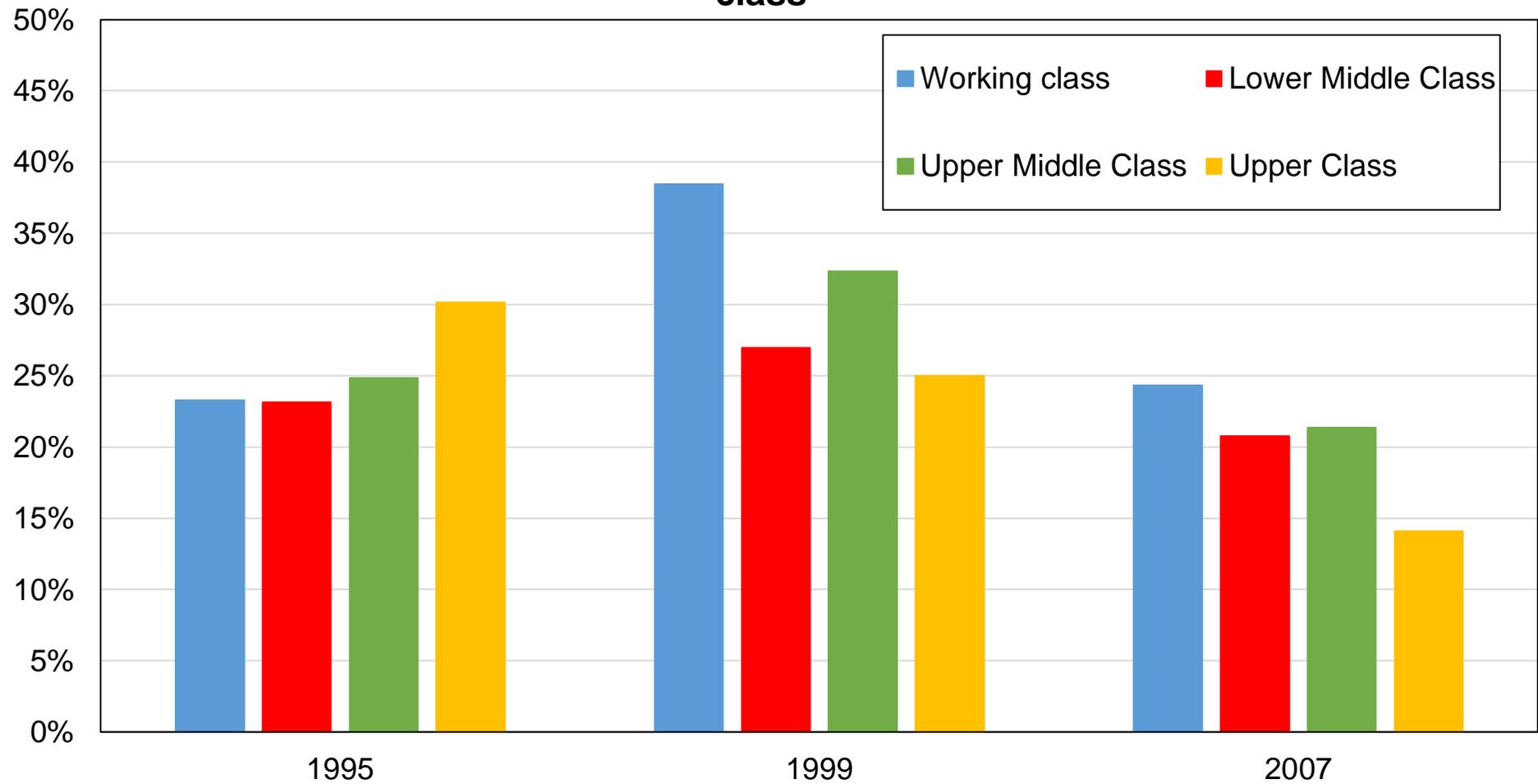
Figure AB21 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by right-wing and Islamic parties by perceived social class.

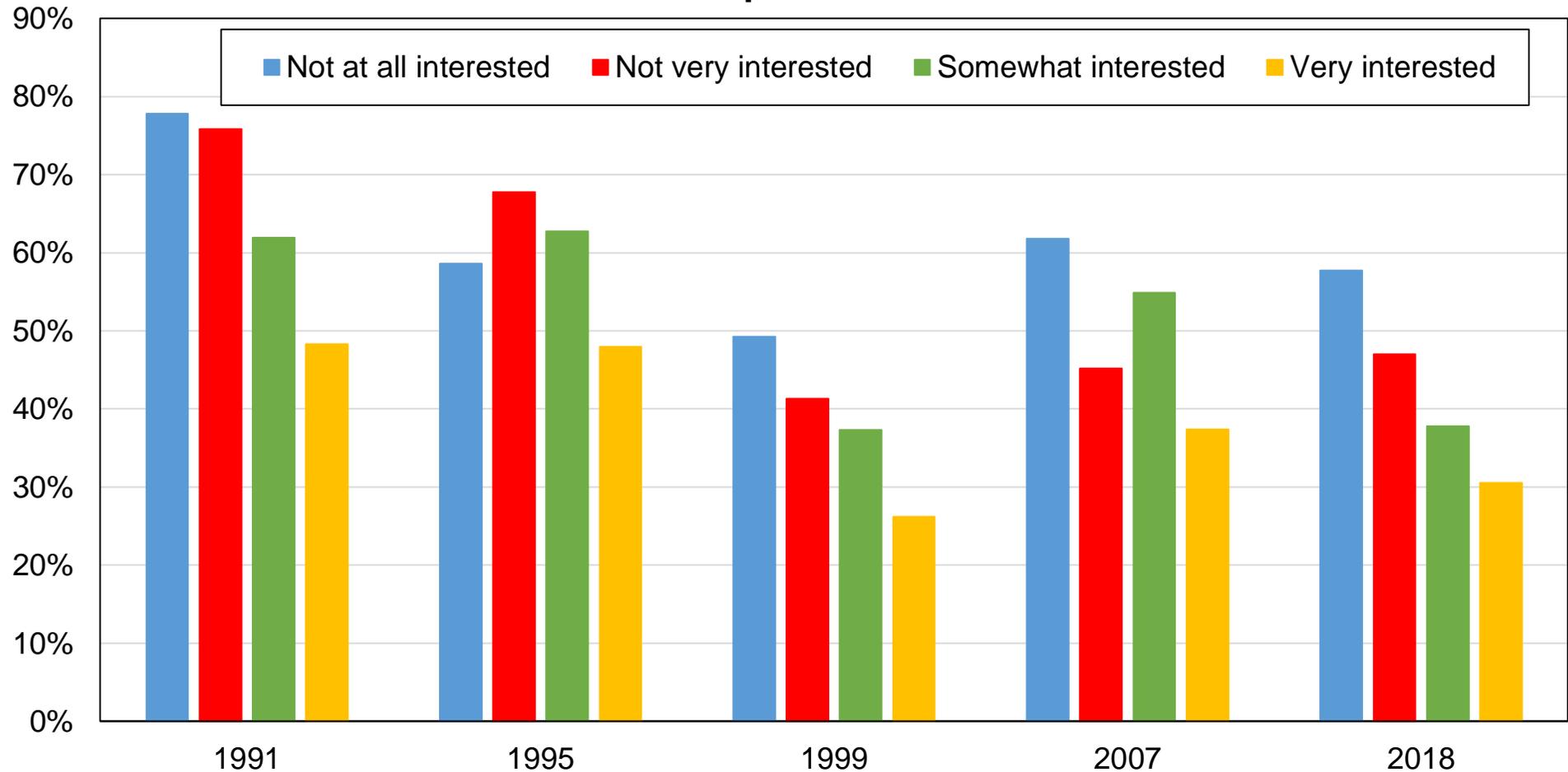
Figure AB21 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by perceived social class



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by perceived social class.

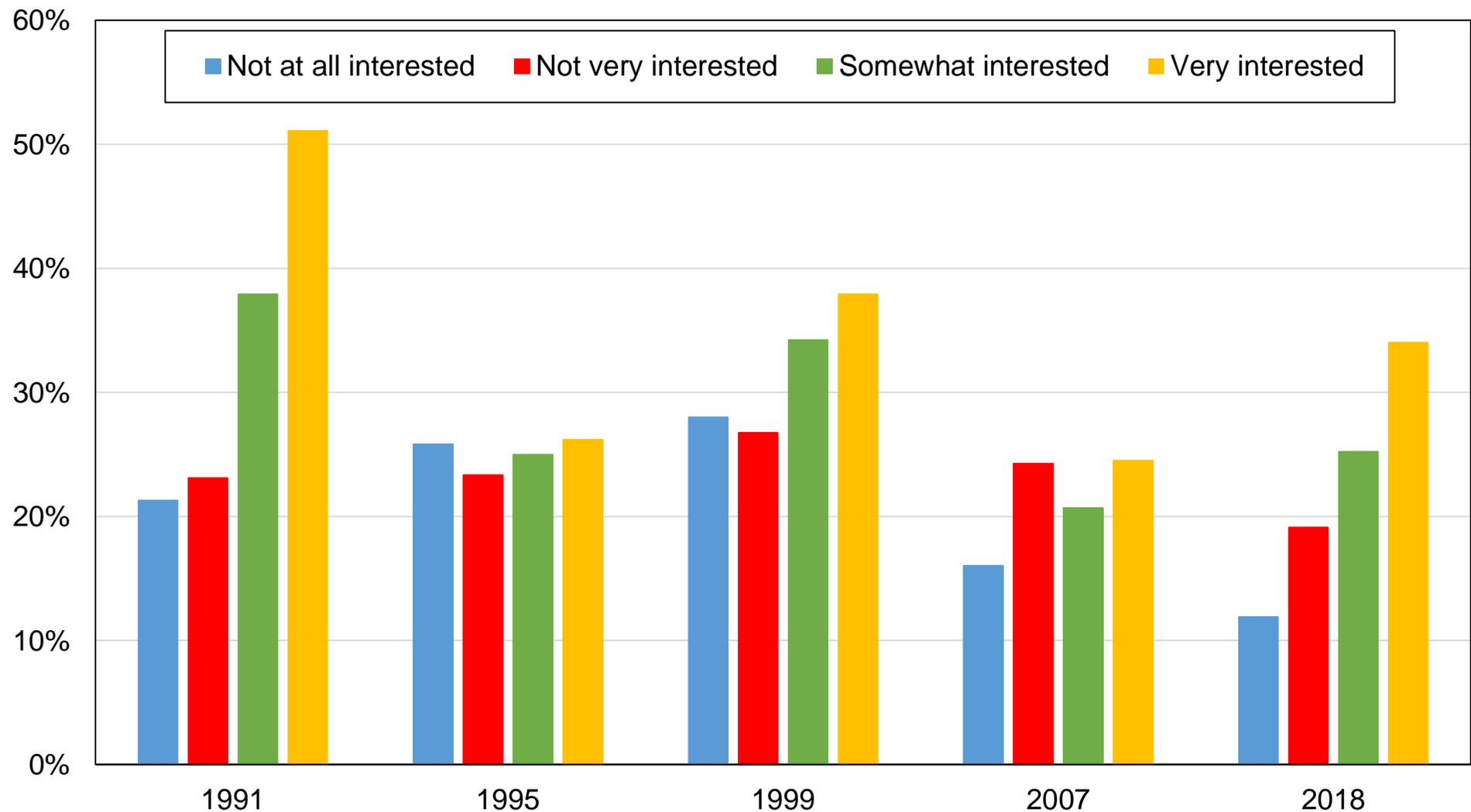
Figure AB23 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties by interest in politics



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right (DYP/ANAP), Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by interest declared in politics. No data available in 2011 and 2015.

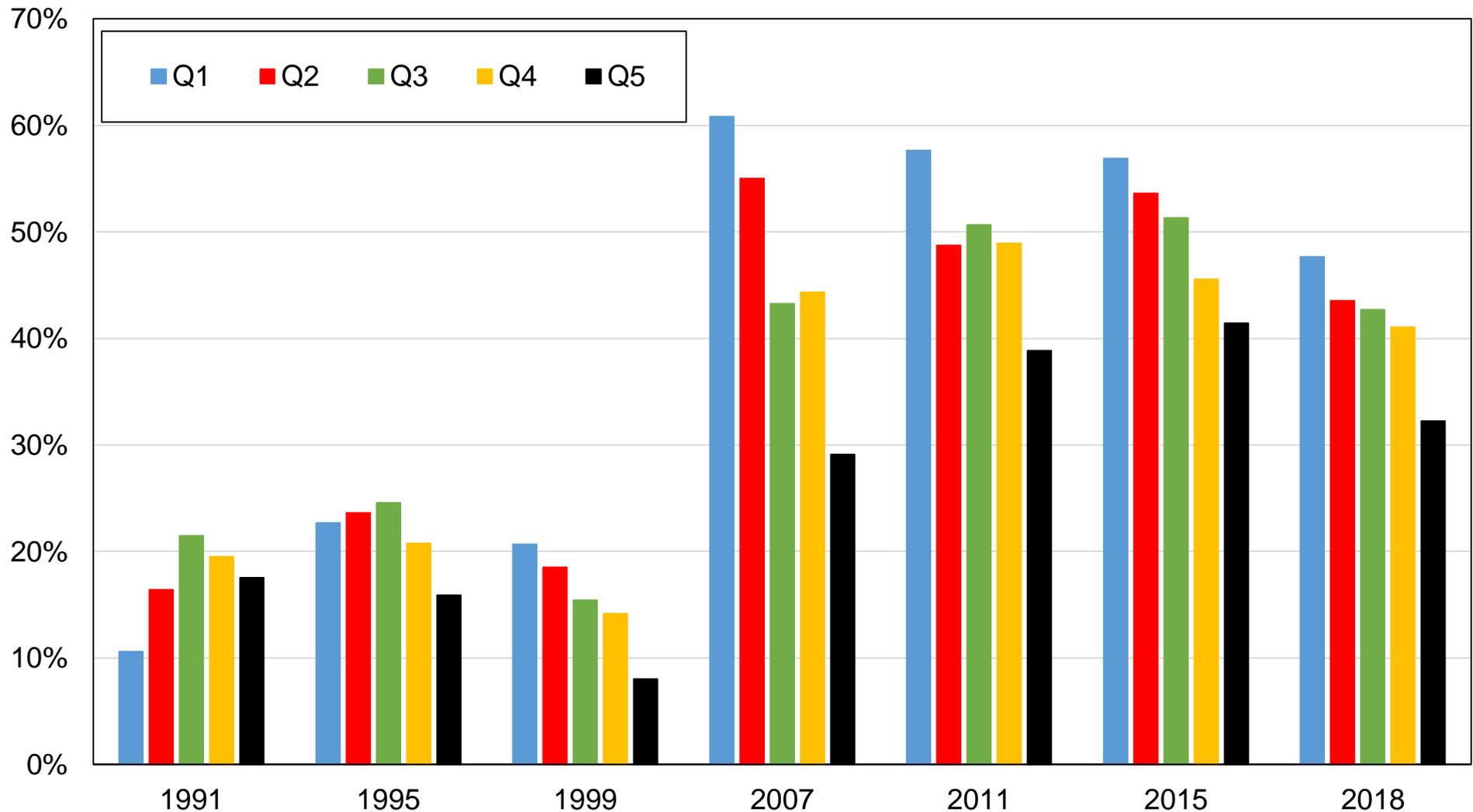
Figure AB24 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by interest in politics



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by interest declared in politics. No data available in 2011 and 2015.

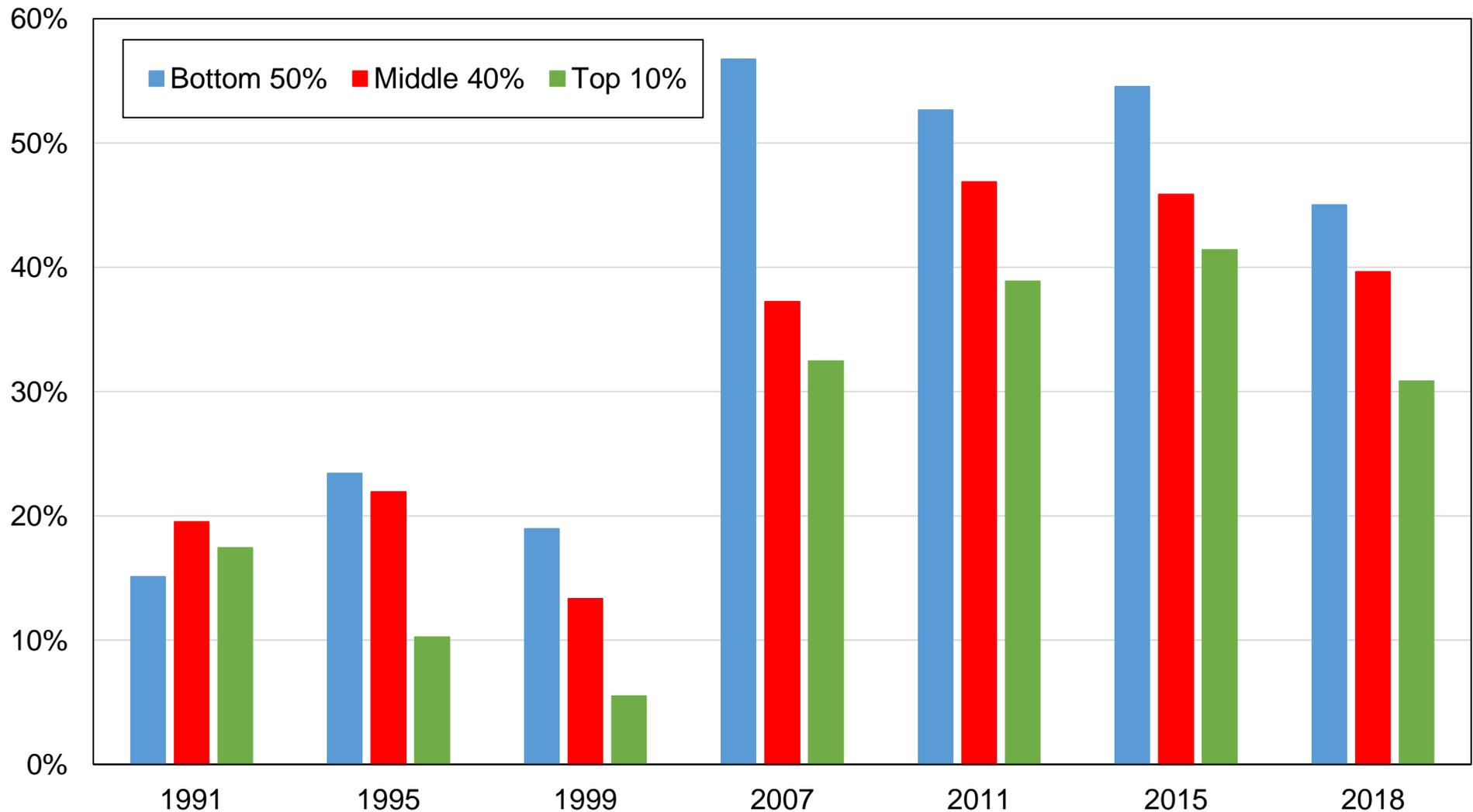
Figure AB25 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by income quintile.

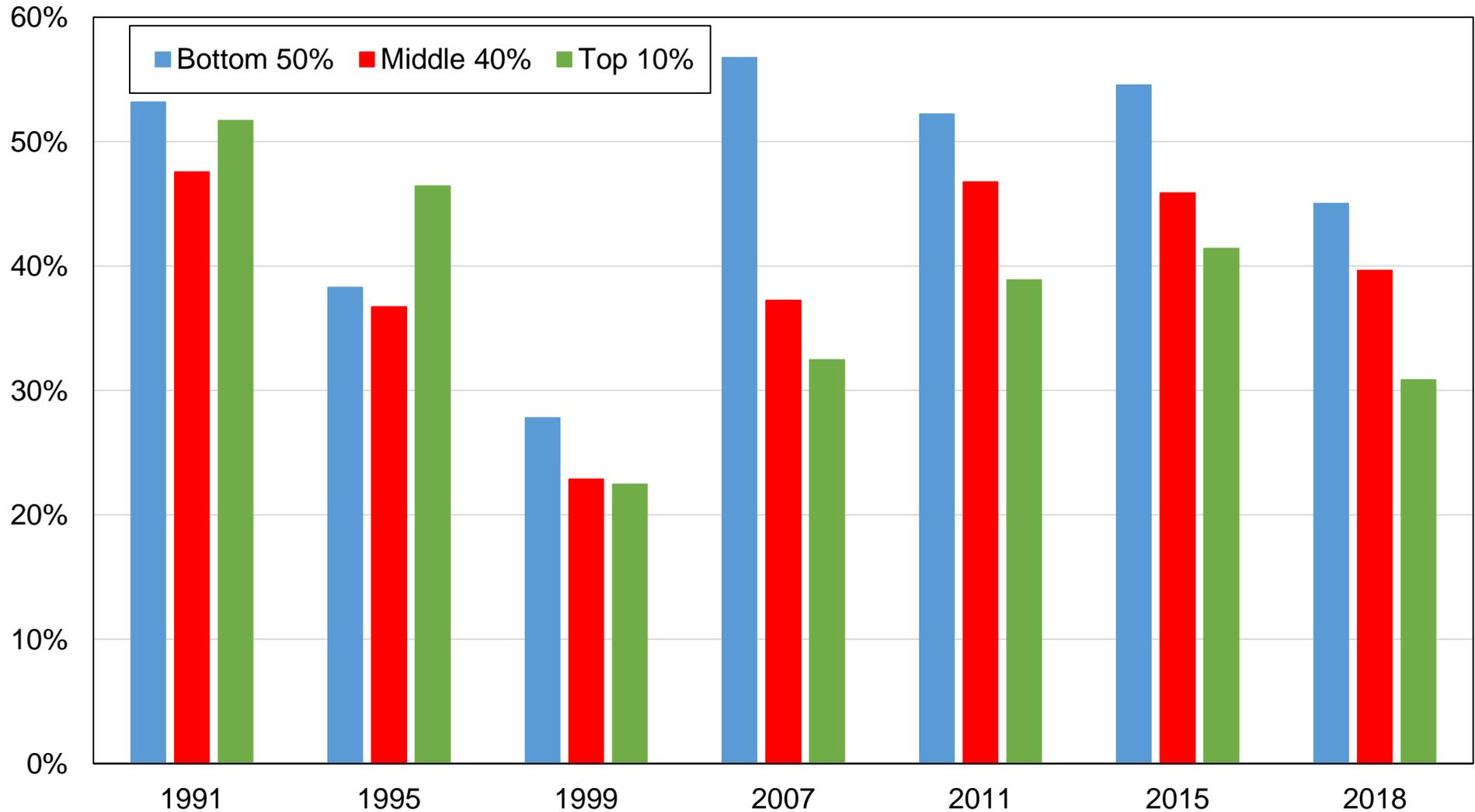
Figure AB26 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by income group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date by income group.

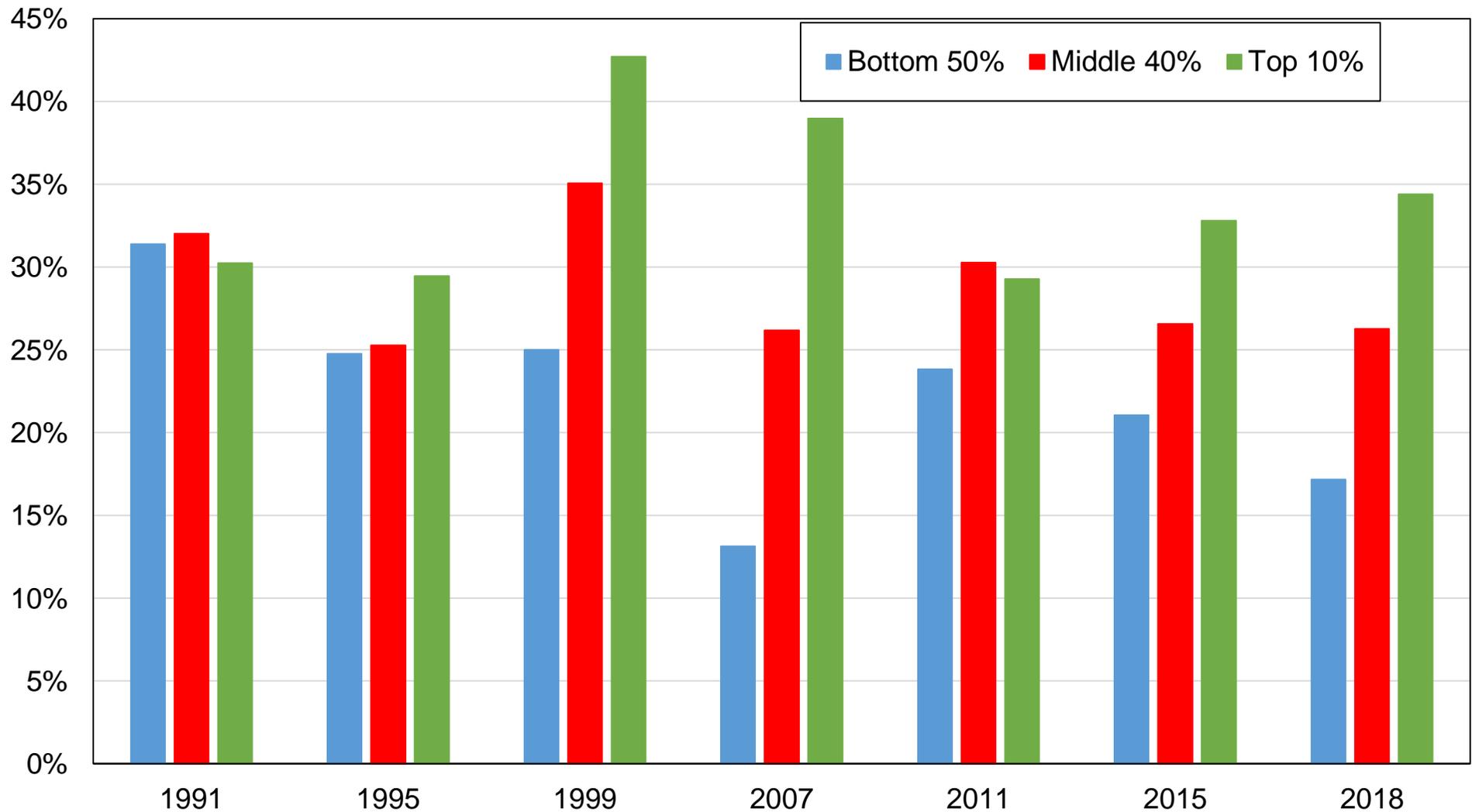
Figure AB27 - Vote for centre-right parties and AKP by income group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right parties (DYP/ANAP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by income group.

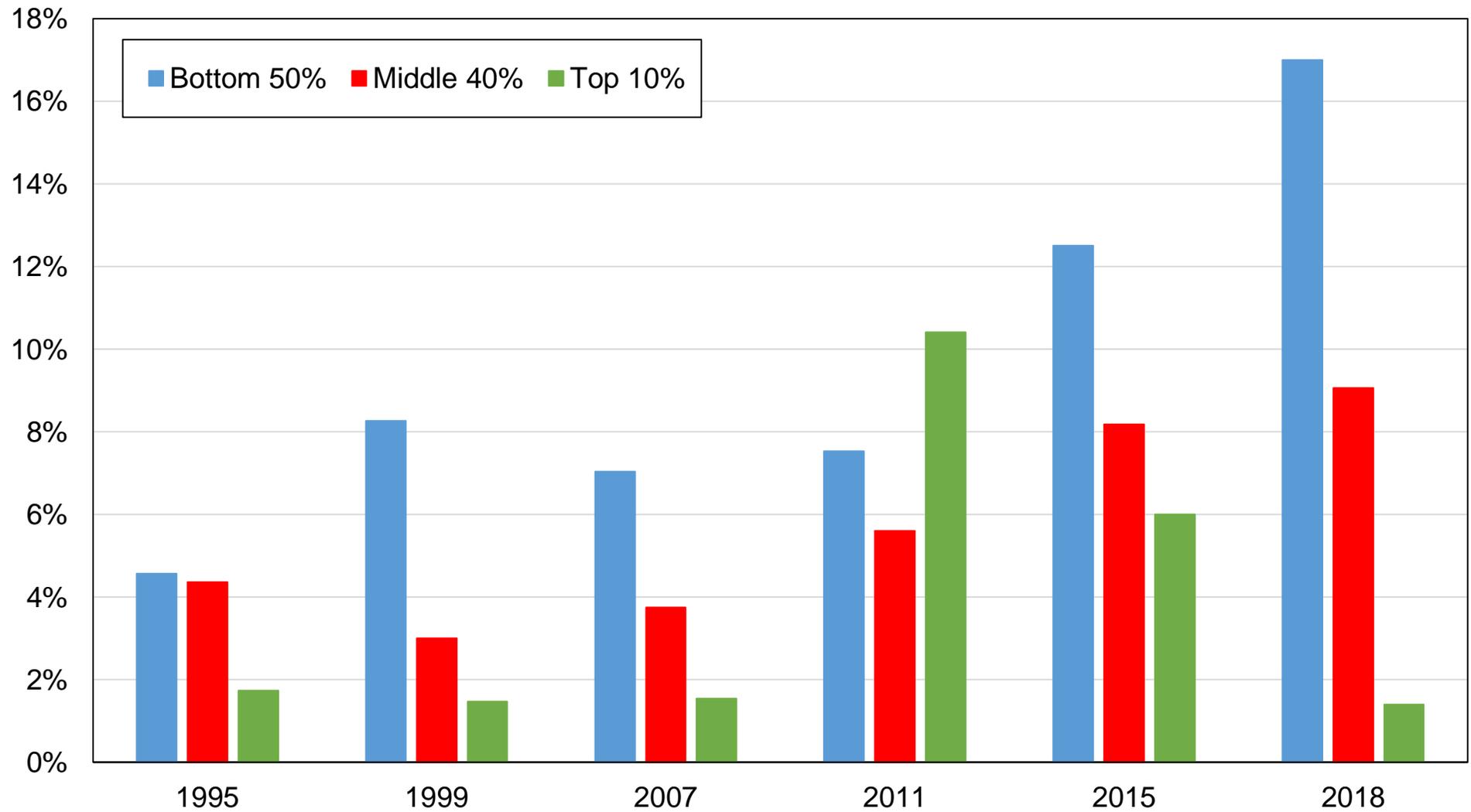
Figure AB28 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP by income group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by income group.

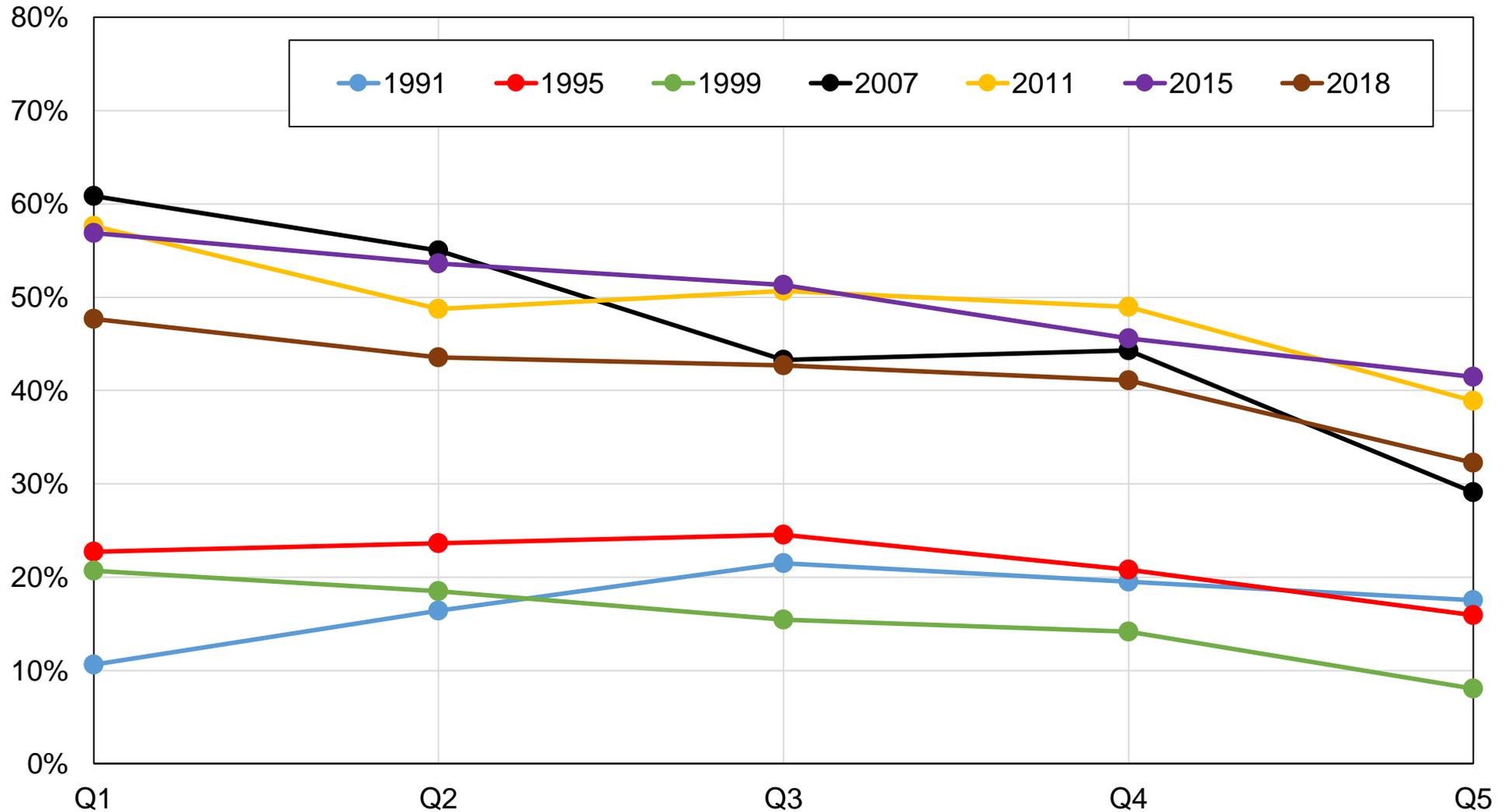
Figure AB29 - Vote for Kurdish parties by income group



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Kurdish parties by income group.

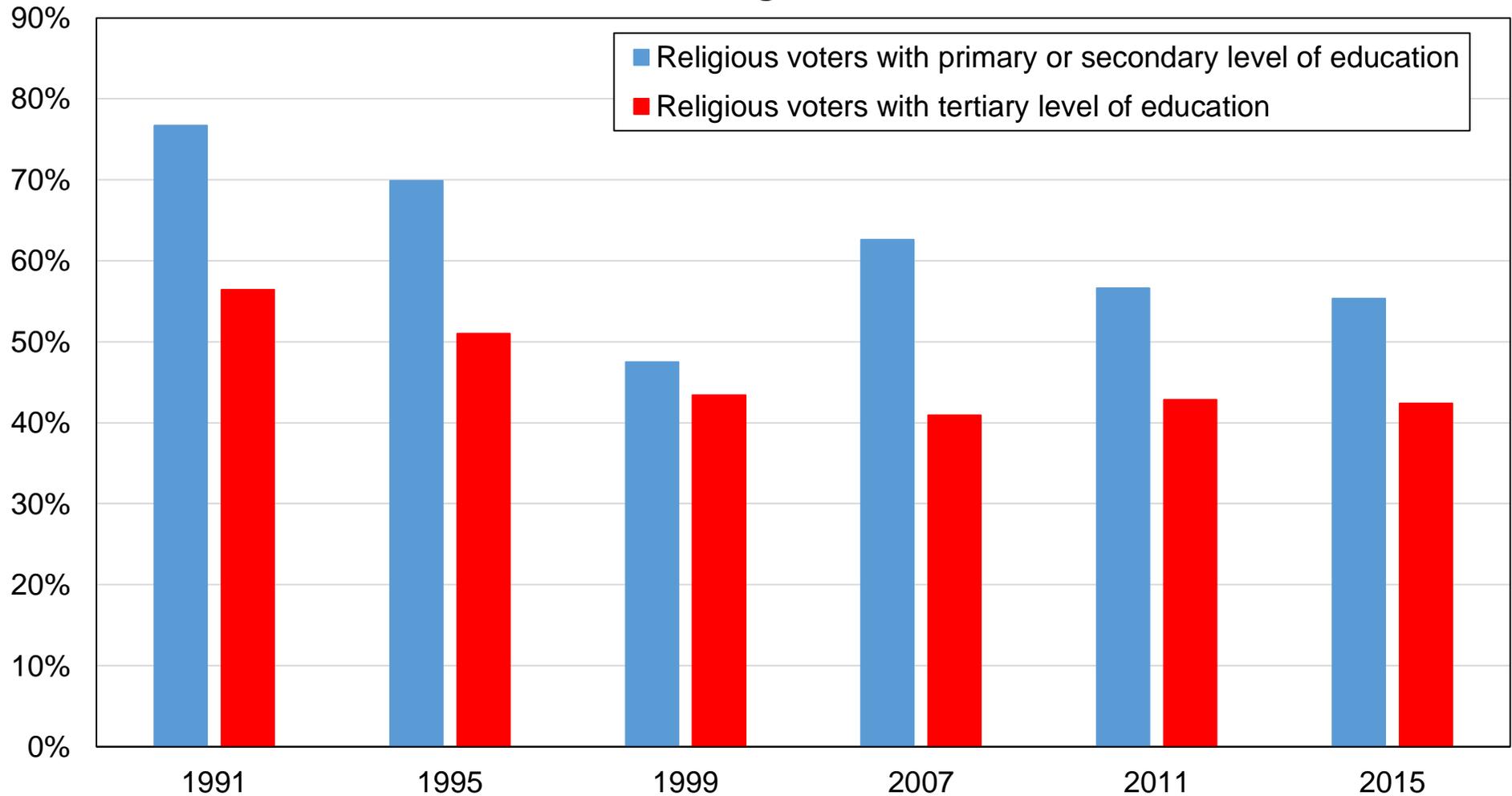
Vote for Islamic parties and AKP by income quintile



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, by income quintile.

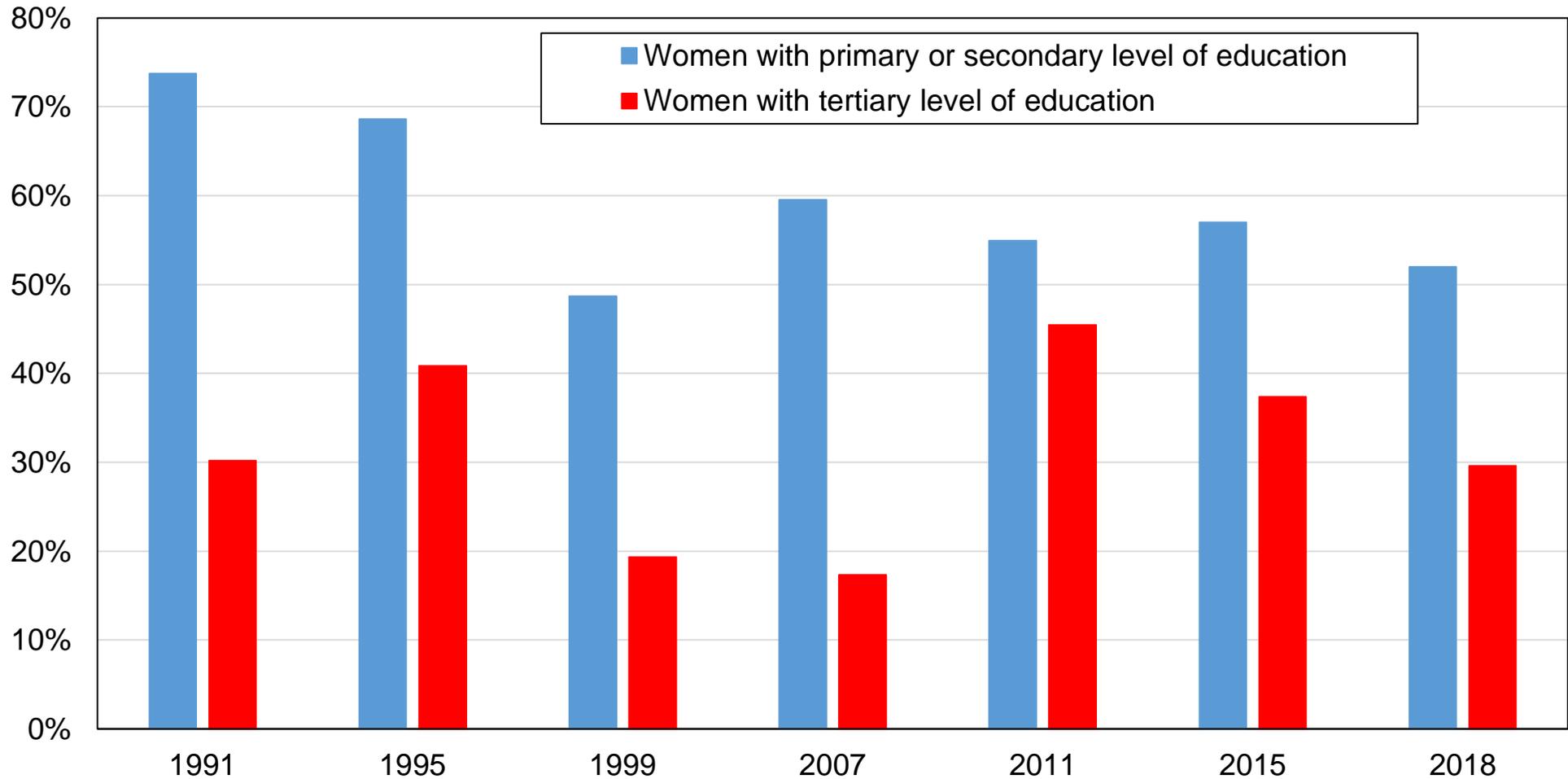
Figure AB31 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among highest-educated religious voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by right-wing and Islamic parties among voters self-describing themselves as a religious person, according to their highest educational attainment.

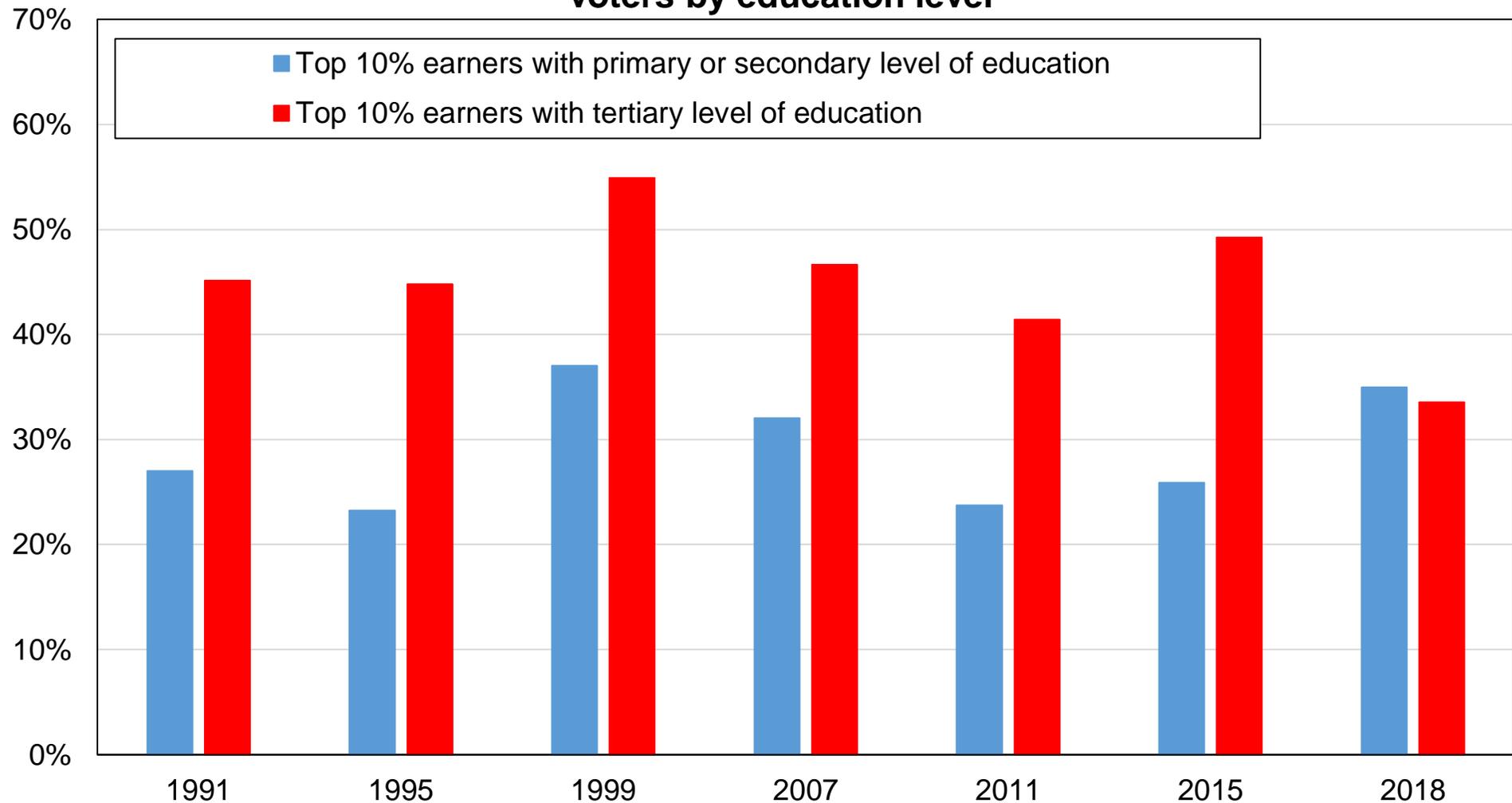
Figure AB32 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among highest-educated women



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, among women, according to their highest educational attainment.

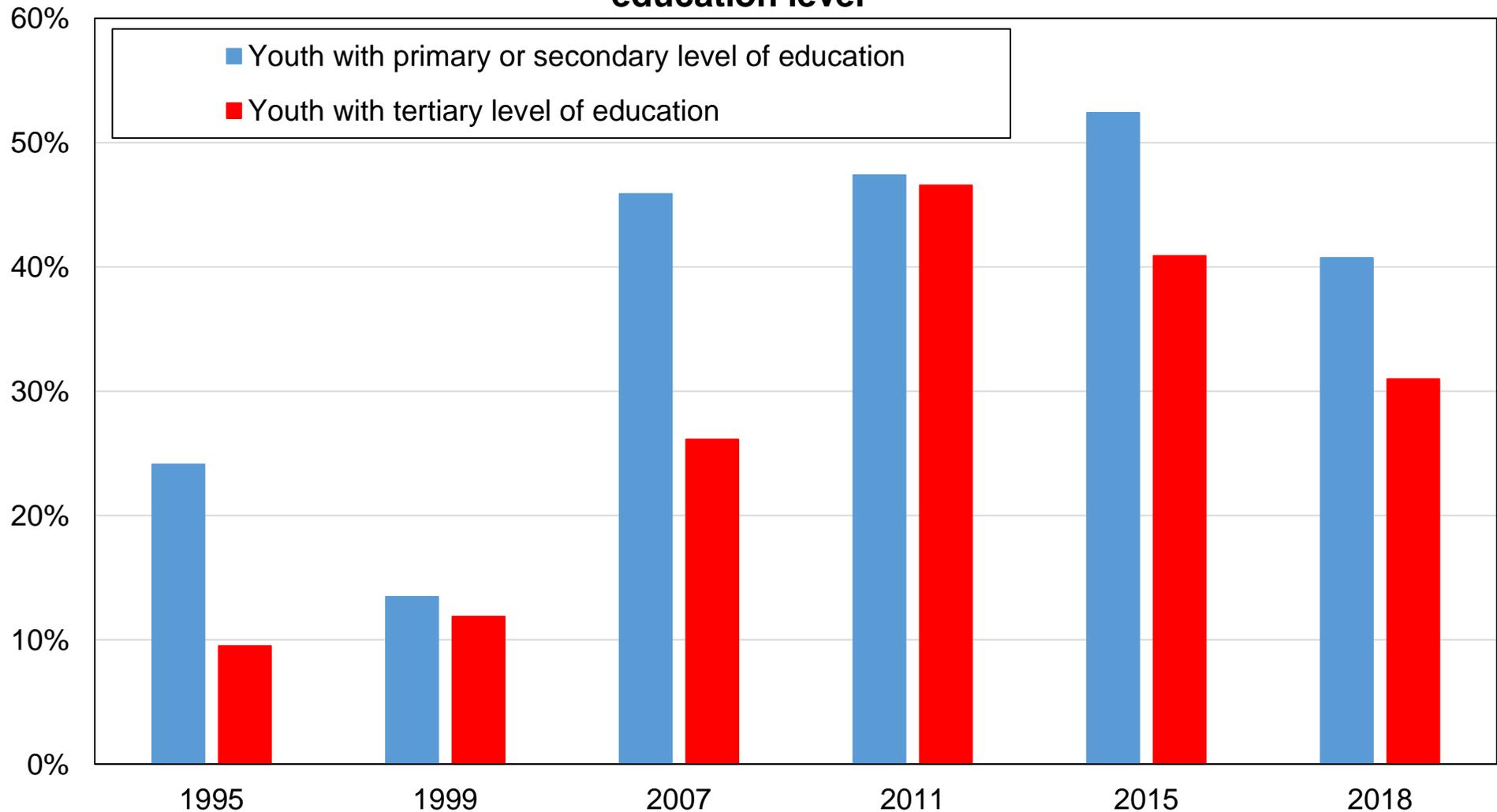
Figure AB33 - Vote for centre-left parties and CHP among top-income voters by education level



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by centre-left parties (DSP/SHP) and the CHP among top 10% earners, according to their highest educational attainment.

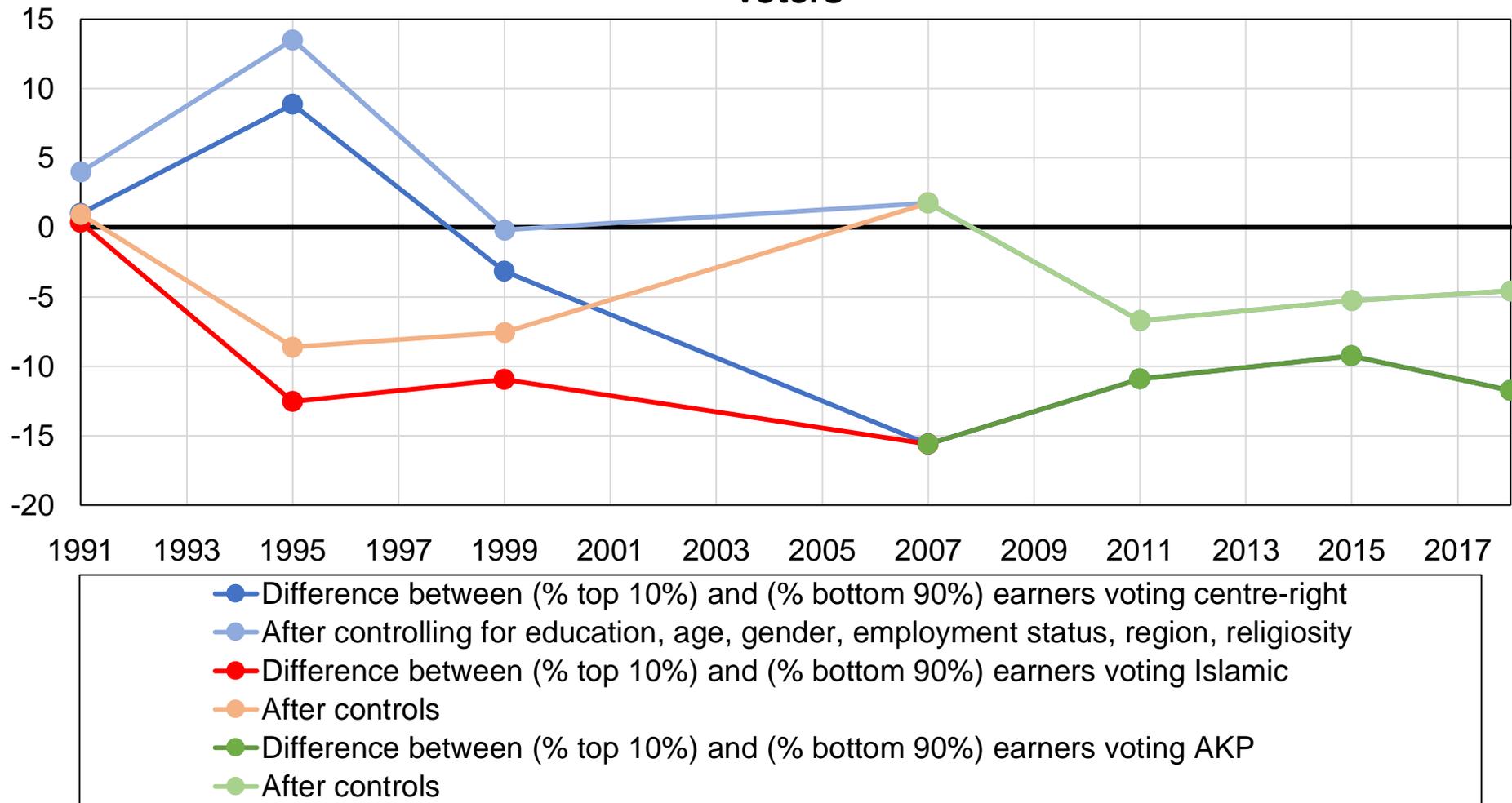
Figure AB34 - Vote for Islamic parties and the AKP among the youth by education level



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) before 2007 and by the AKP after that date, among voters aged below 30, according to their highest educational attainment.

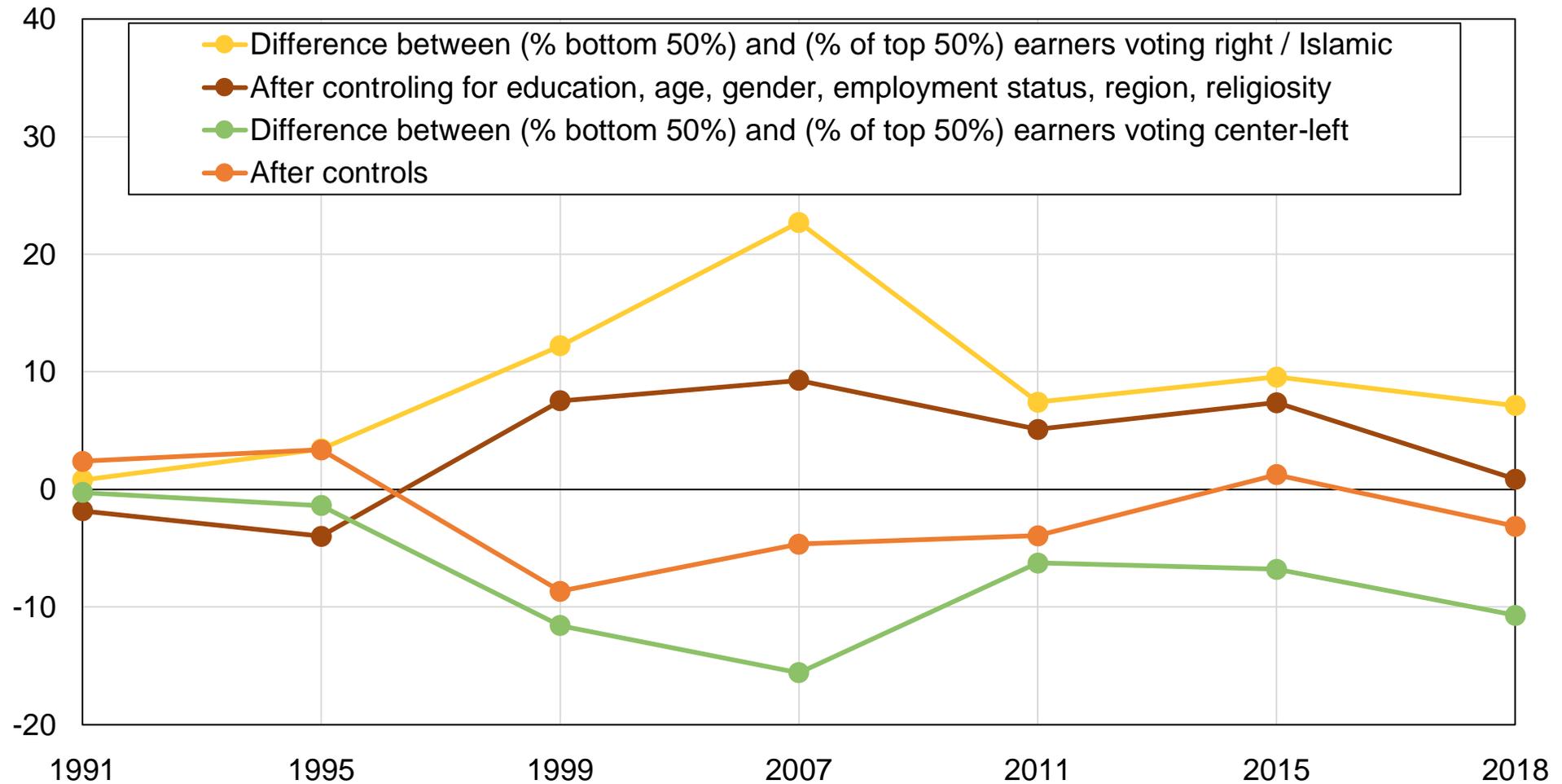
Figure AC1 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among top-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic (RP/FP) parties before 2007 and for the AKP after that date, before and after controlling for other variables.

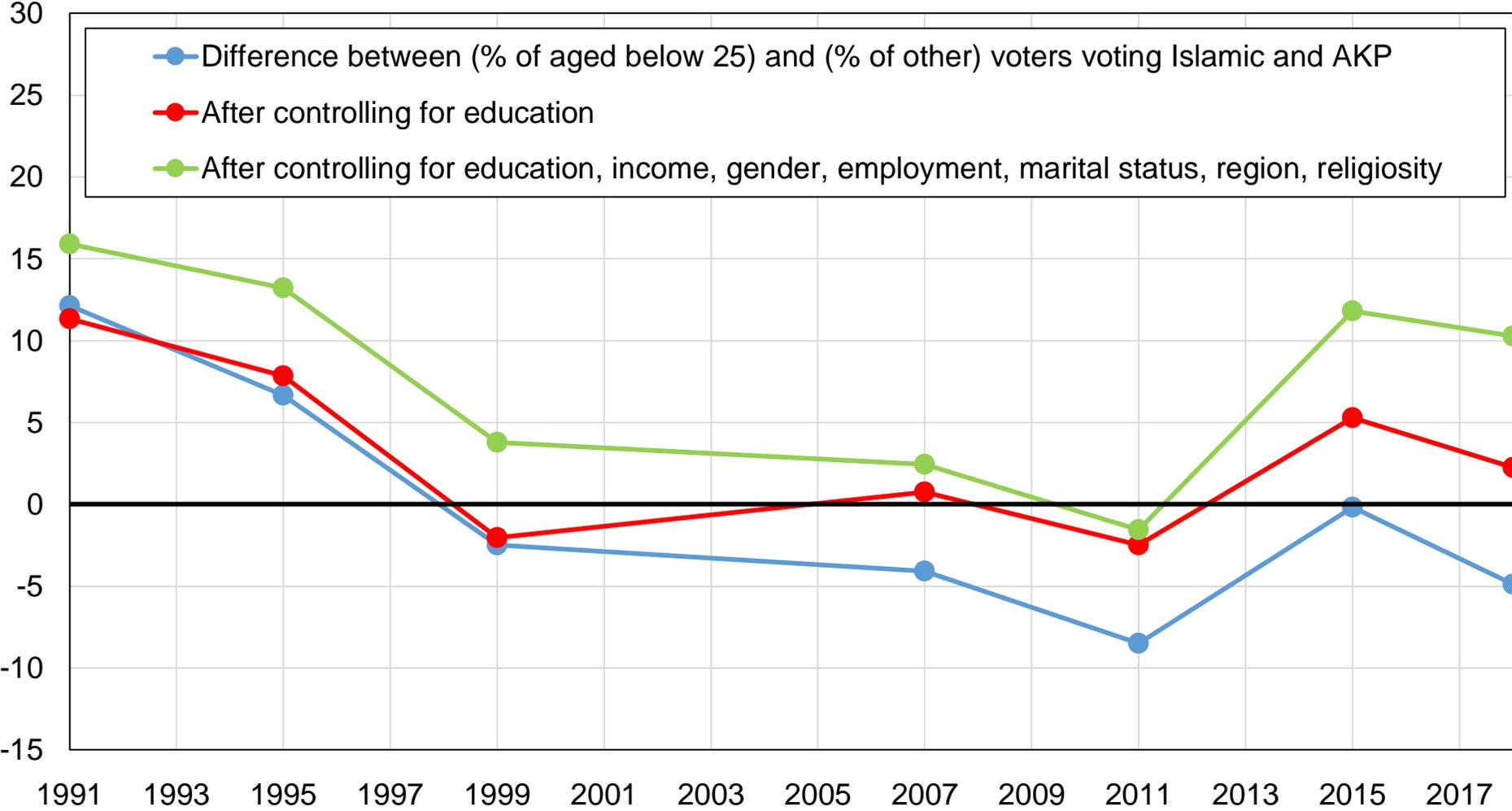
Figure AC2 - Vote for selected parties among low-income voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of bottom 50% earners voters and the share of other voters voting for centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic parties (RP/FP) and the AKP after 2007 or for the center-left (DSP/SHP) and the CHP, before and after controlling for other variables.

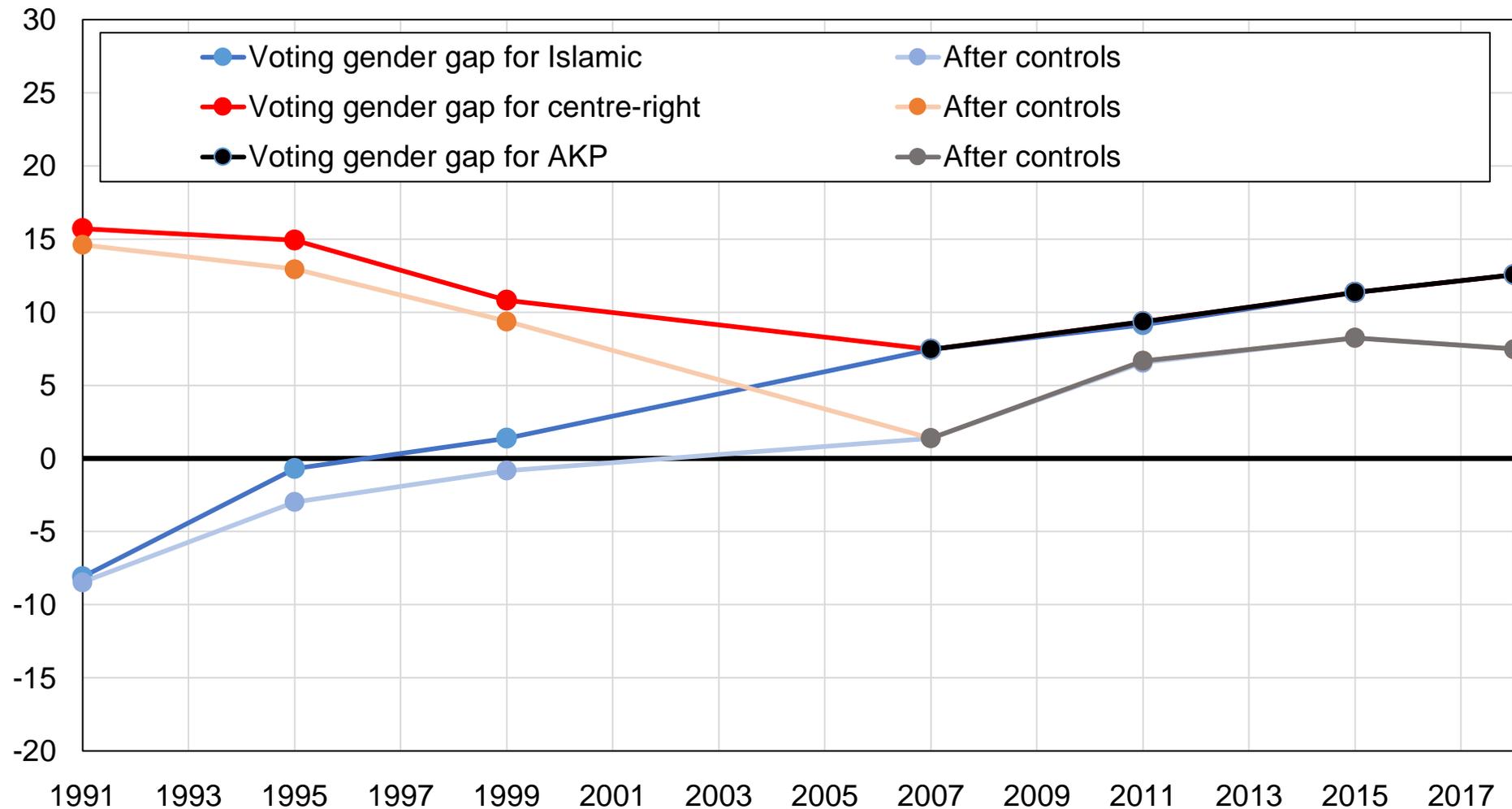
Figure AC3 - Vote for Islamic parties and AKP among young voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of voters aged below 25 and the share of older voters voting for Islamic parties (RP/FP) and the AKP after 2007, before and after controlling for other variables.

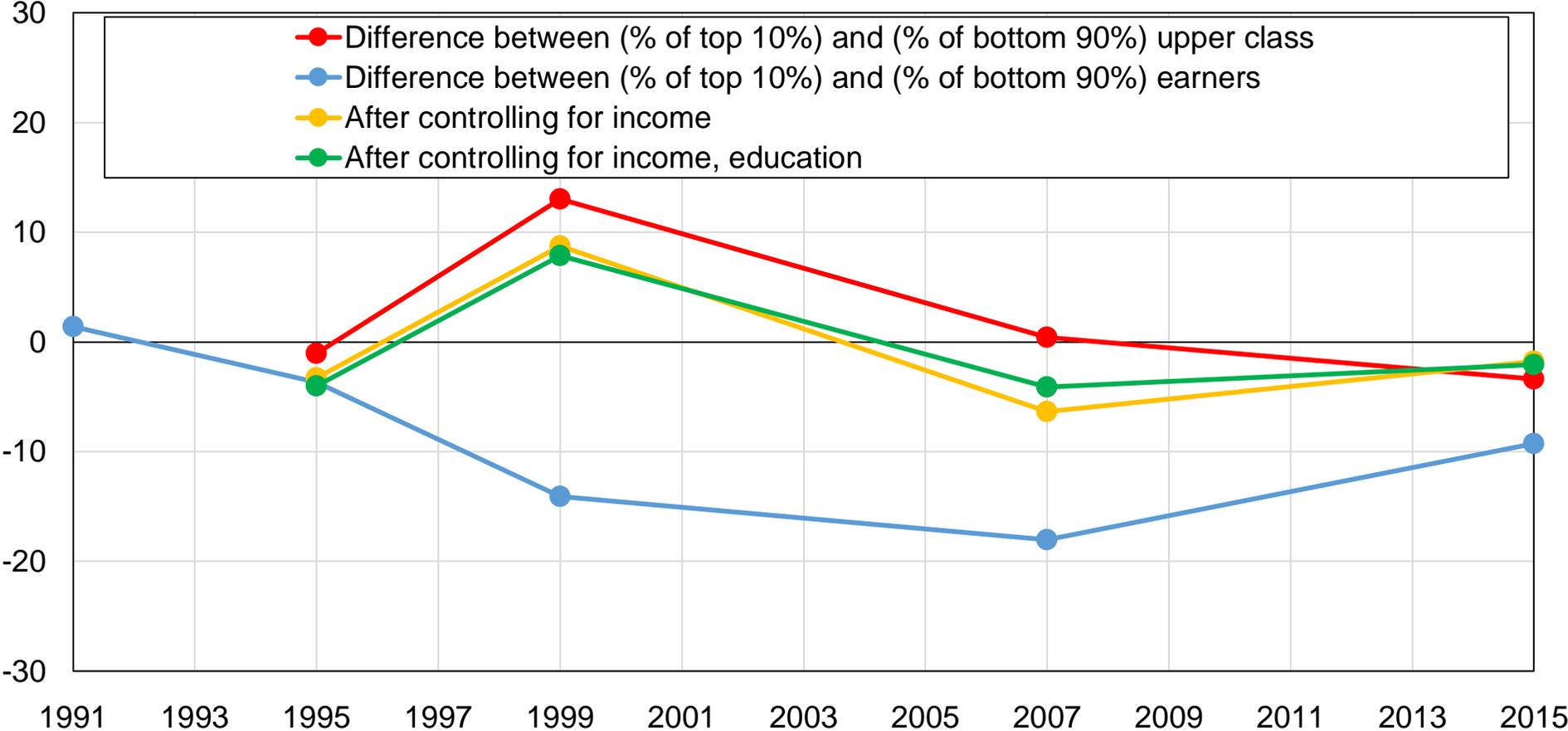
Figure AC4 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among women



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of women and the share of men voting for centre-right (DYP/ANAP) and Islamic (RP/FP) parties before 2007 and for the AKP after that date, before and after controlling for education, income, age, employment and marital status, region and religiosity.

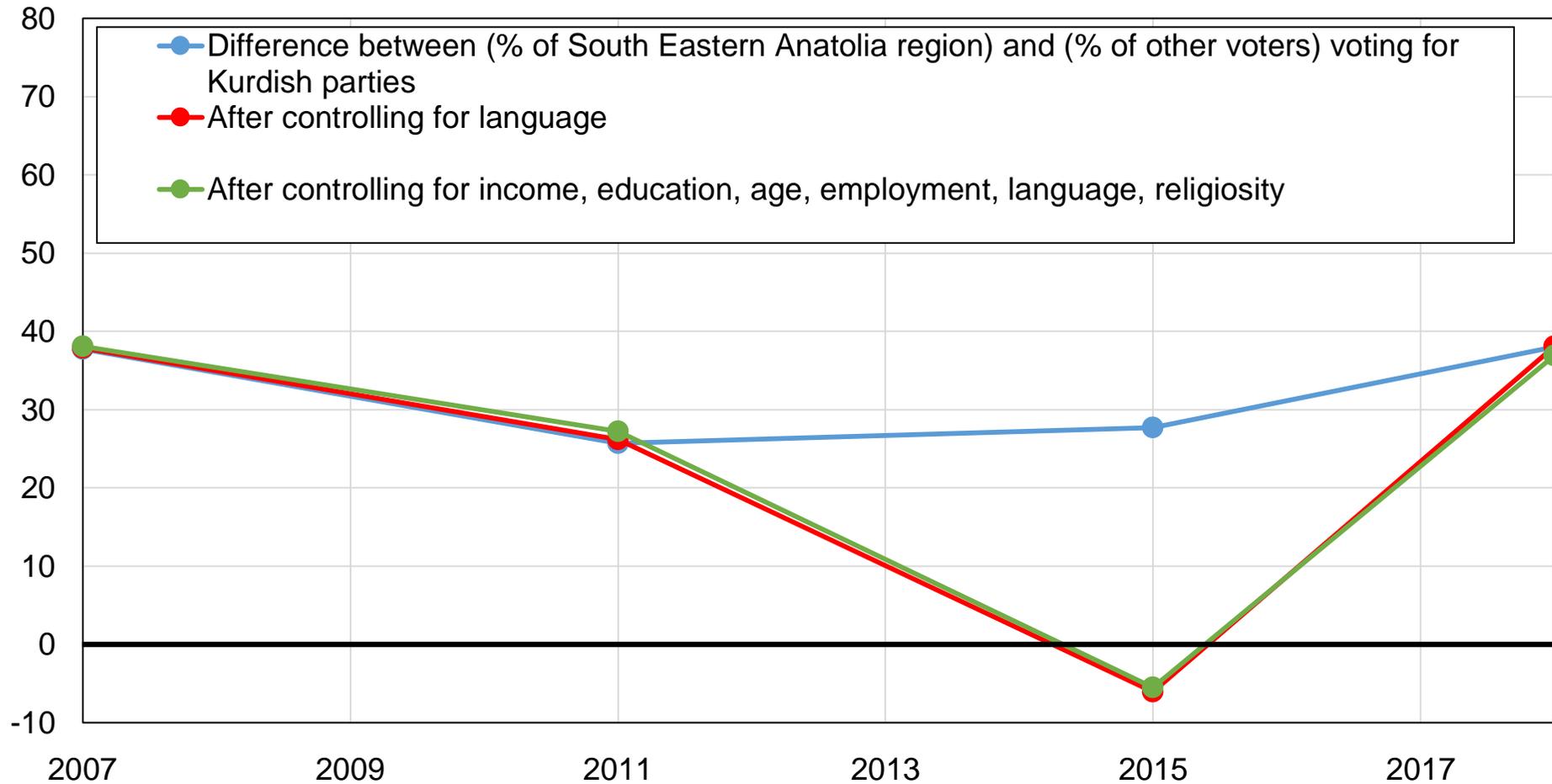
Figure AC5 - Vote for right-wing and Islamic parties among upper-class voters



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of top 10% earners and voters that identified as upper class and the share of other voters supporting right-wing and Islamic parties. In 2015, the upper class is defined as those who declared several forms of capital accumulation (residence, property, bonds, savings).

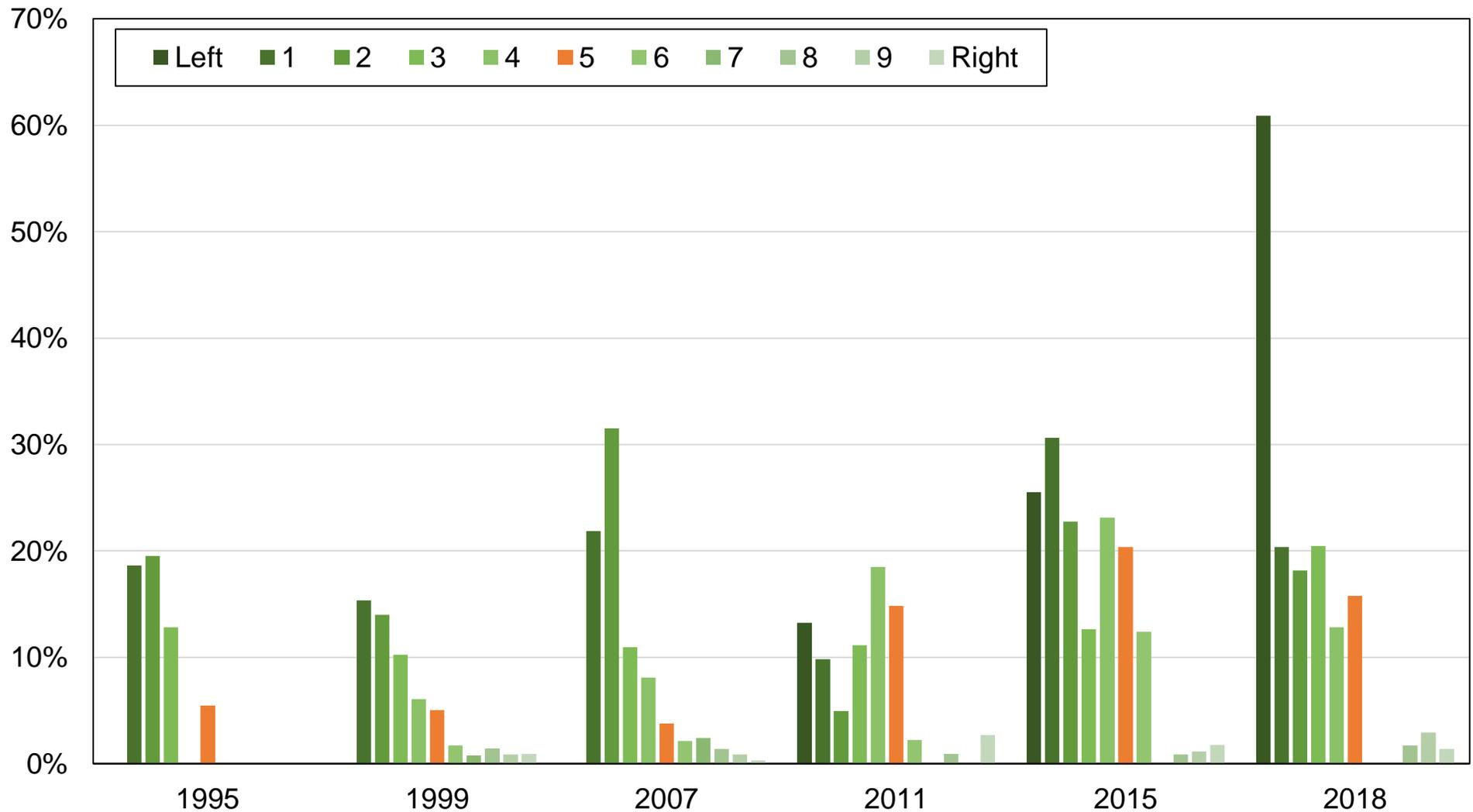
Figure AC6 - Vote for Kurdish parties in Southeastern Anatolia



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the difference between the share of Southeastern Anatolia residents and the share of other voters voting for Kurdish Parties, before and after controlling for other variables. No data are available before 2007. The Kurdish minority is predominantly located in the South Eastern region.

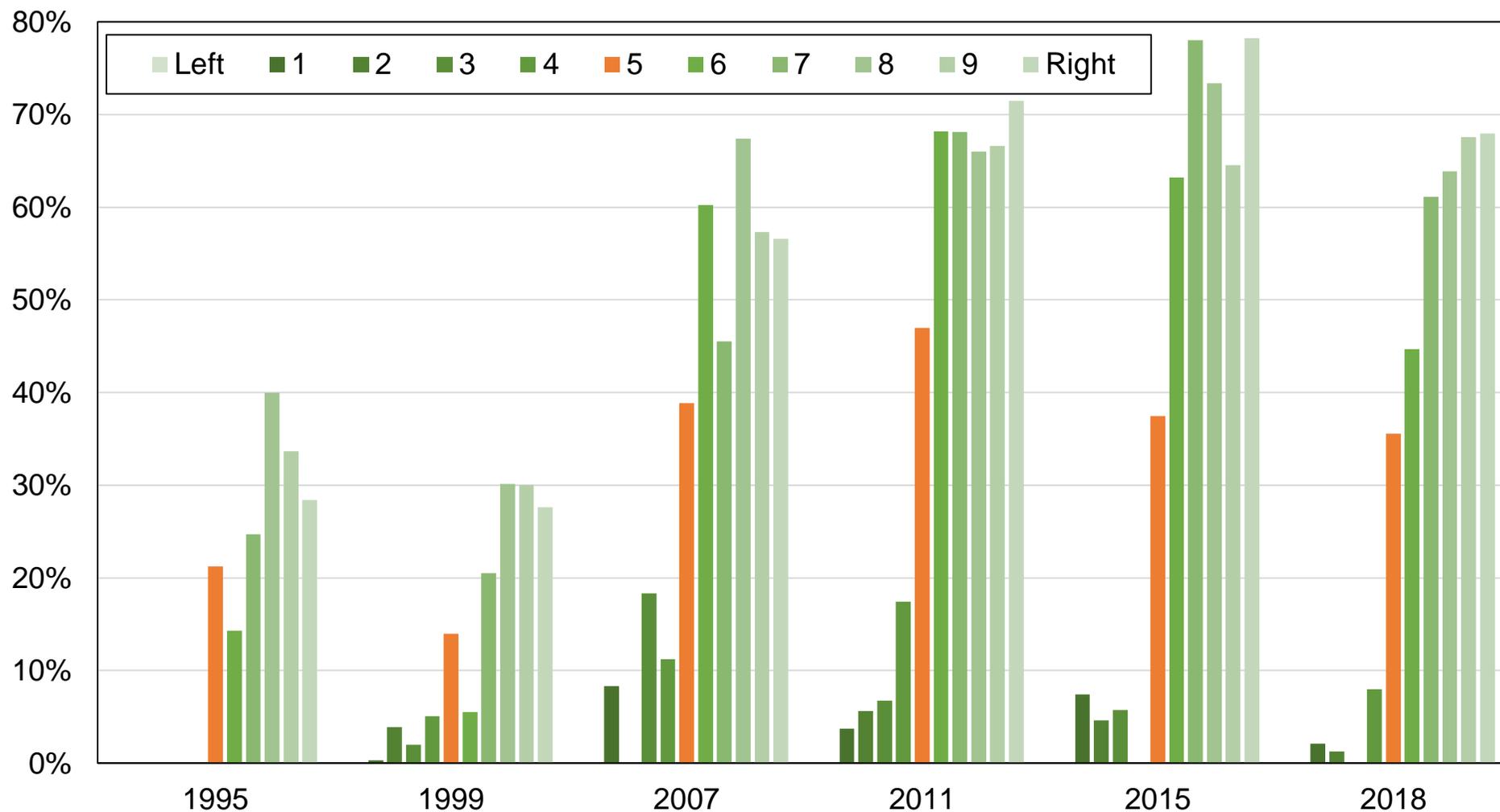
Figure AD1 - Vote for Kurdish parties by position on a left-right scale



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the Kurdish parties by the self-assessed position of voters on a left-right scale.

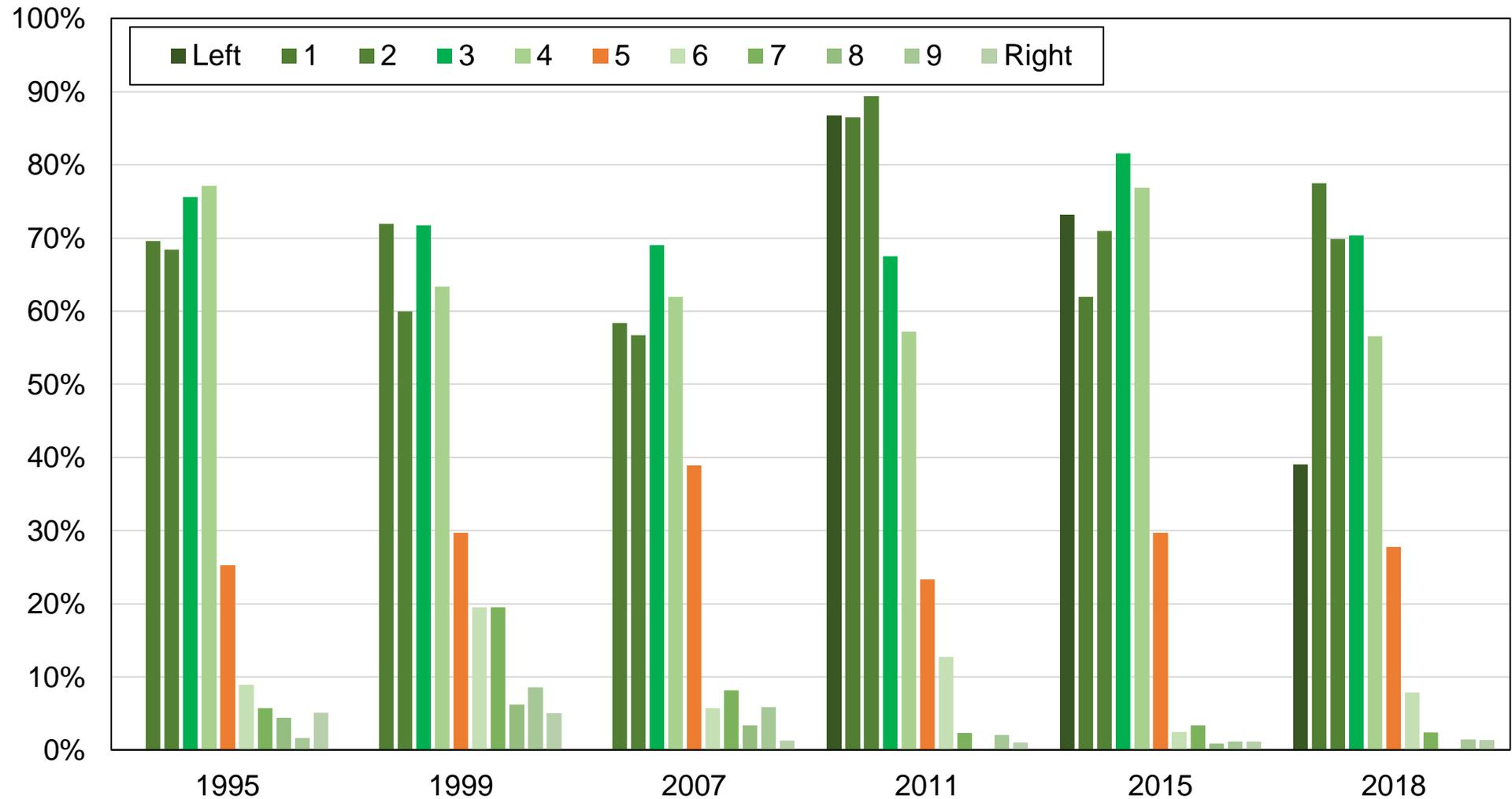
Figure AD2 - Vote for Islamic and AKP by position on a left-right scale



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by Islamic parties (RP/FP) and the AKP by the self-assessed position of voters on a left-right scale.

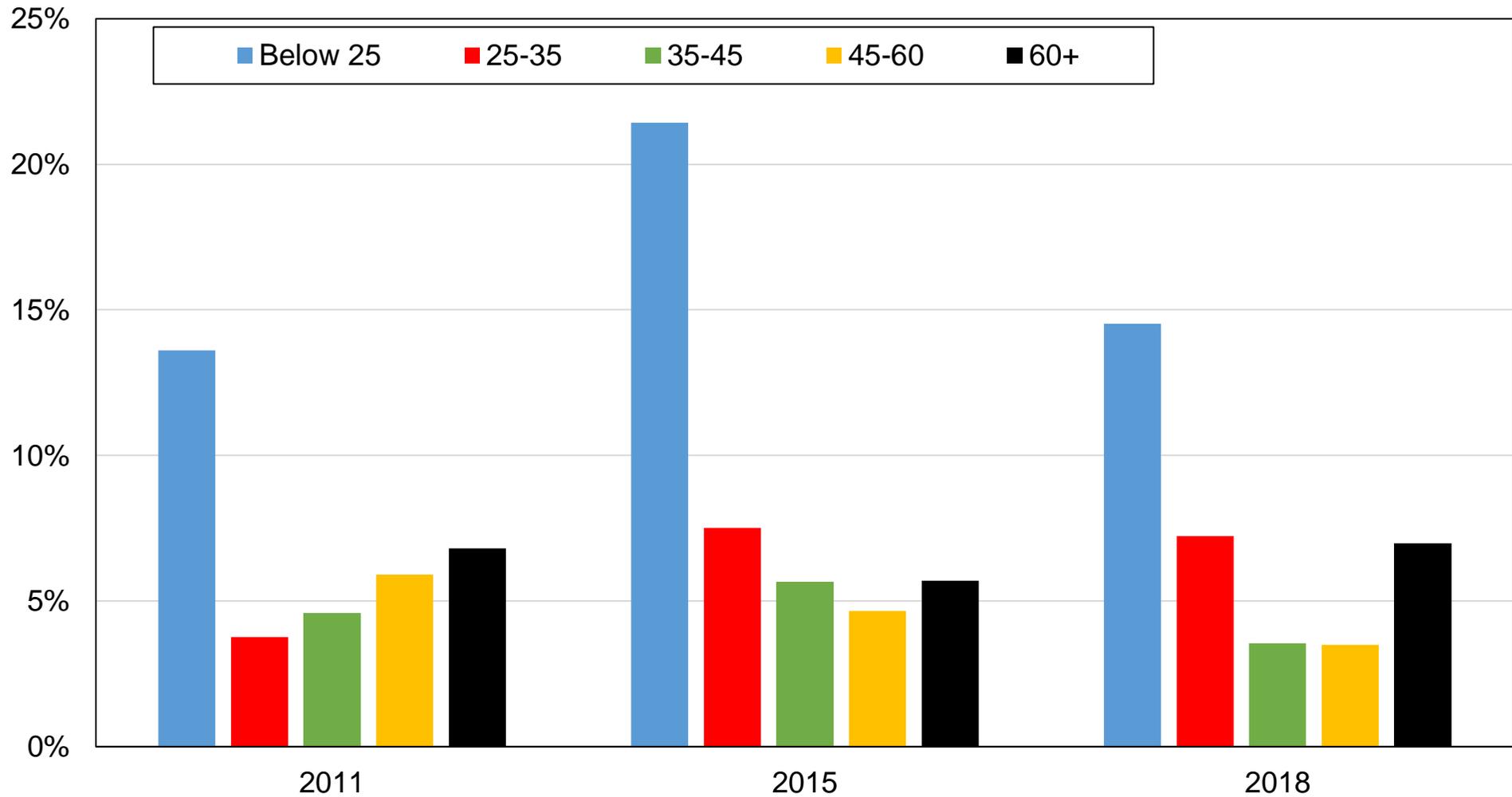
Figure AD3 - Vote for centre-left and CHP by position on a left-right scale



Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of votes received by the centre-left (DSP/SHP) and the CHP by the self-assessed position of voters on a left-right scale.

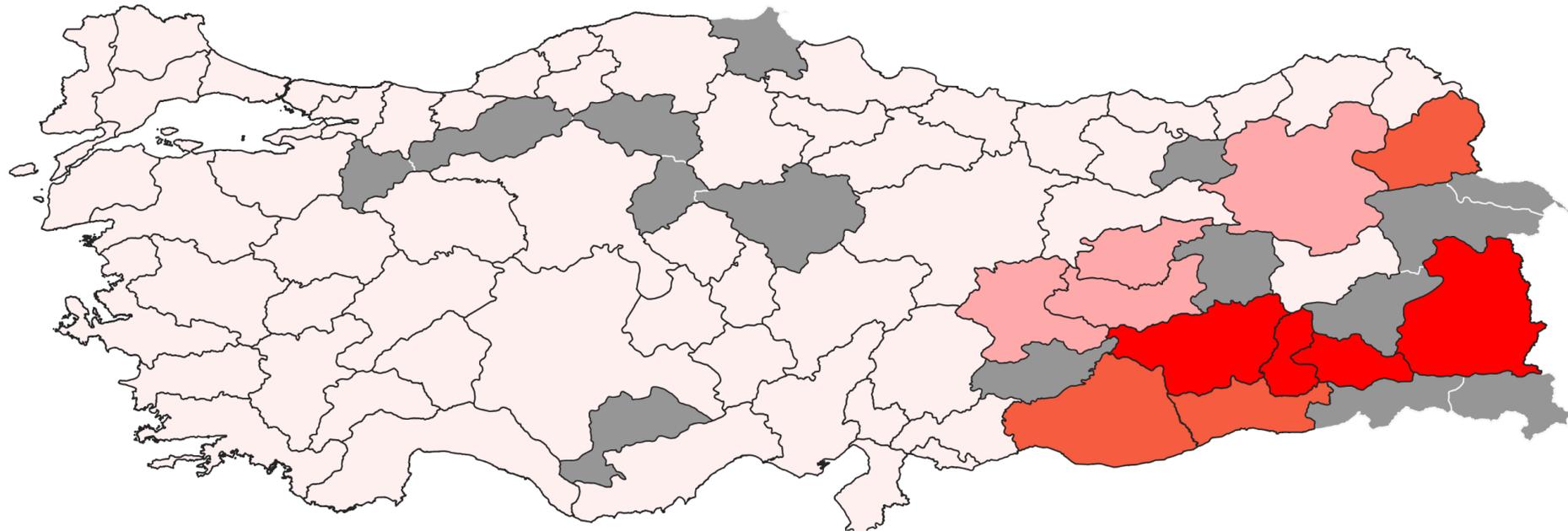
Figure AD4 - Abstention by age group



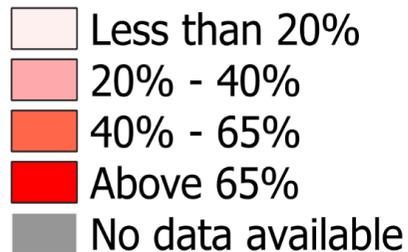
Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the figure shows the share of voters who declared having not voted in the last elections by age group and its evolution over time. No data available before 2011.

Map A1 - Geographical distribution of the Kurdish population in Turkey



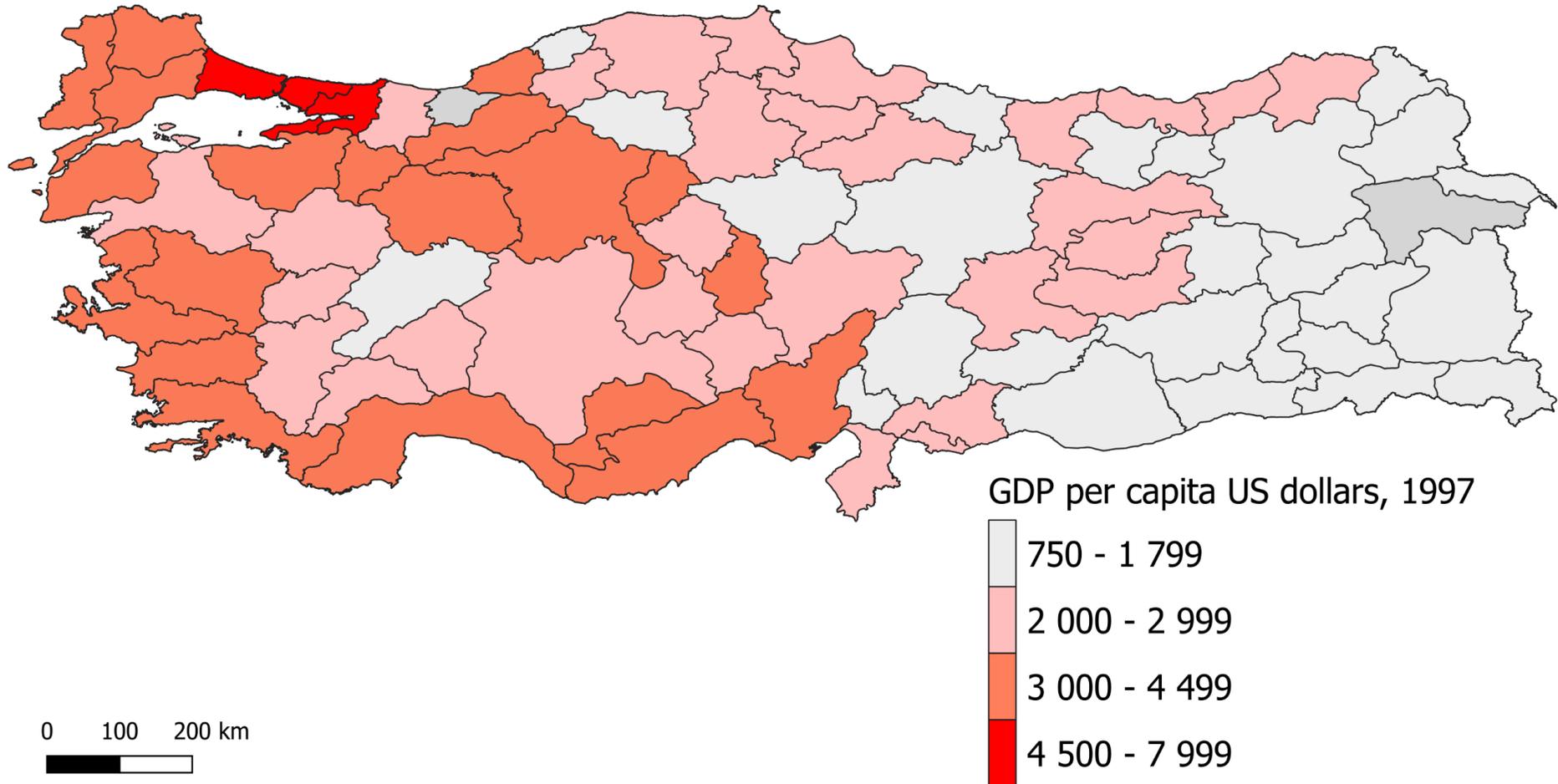
Share of the province population self-identifying as Kurdish



0 100 200 km

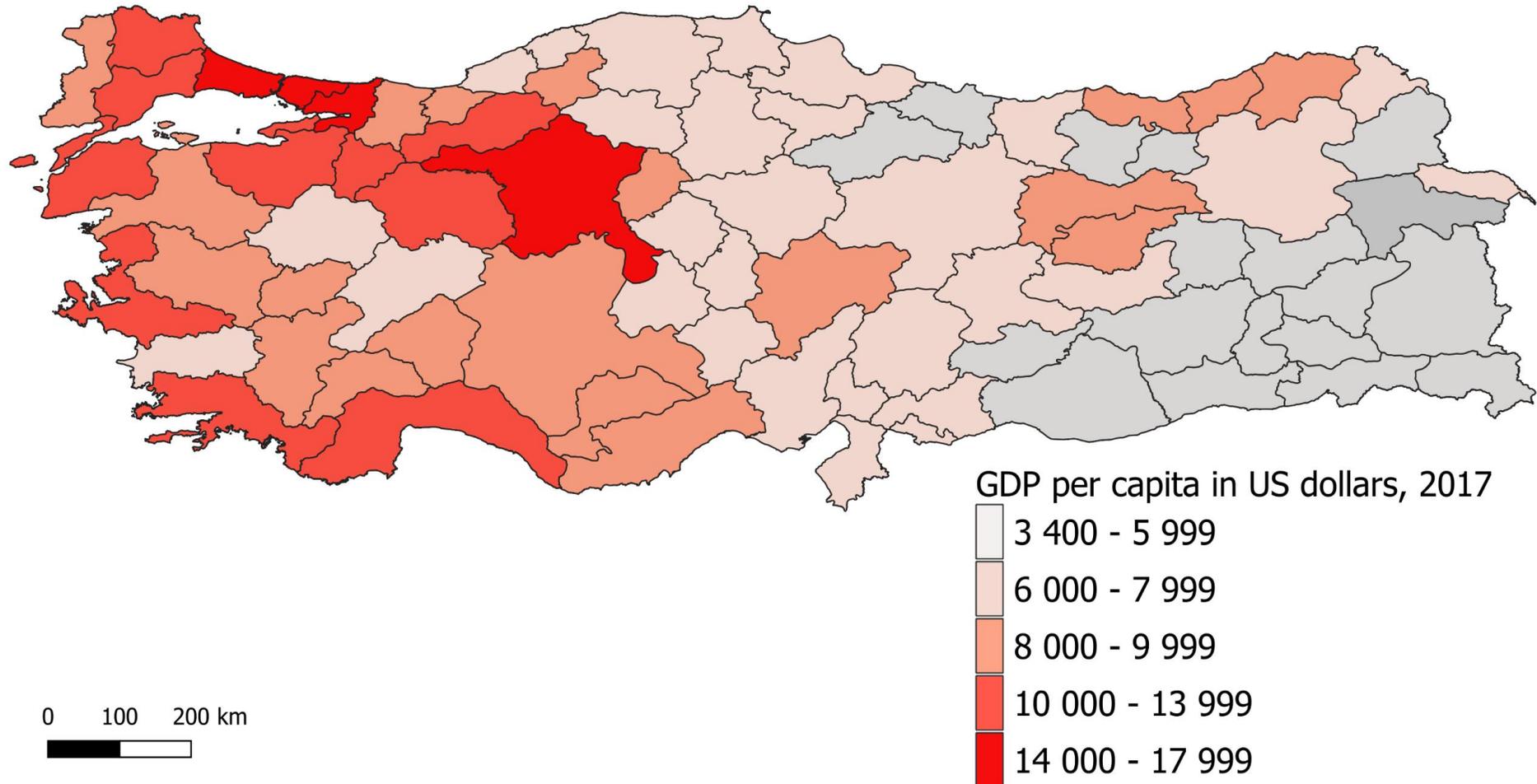
Source: authors' computation using ethnic self-identification reported in the KONDA's monthly Barometer series (2010-2015)

Map A2 - Geographical distribution of income per capita in Turkey, 1997



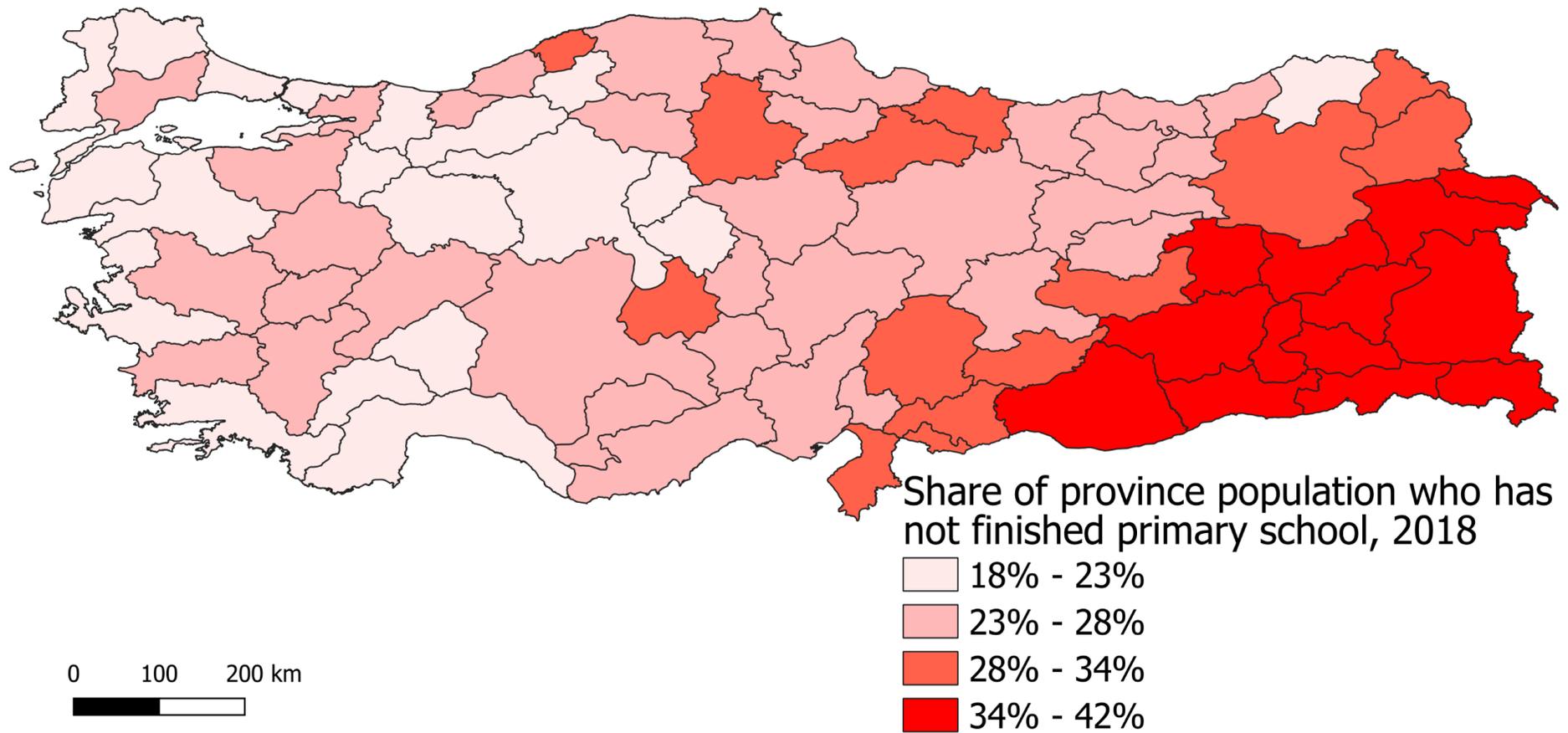
Source: authors' computation, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

Map A3 - Geographical distribution of income per capita in Turkey, 2017



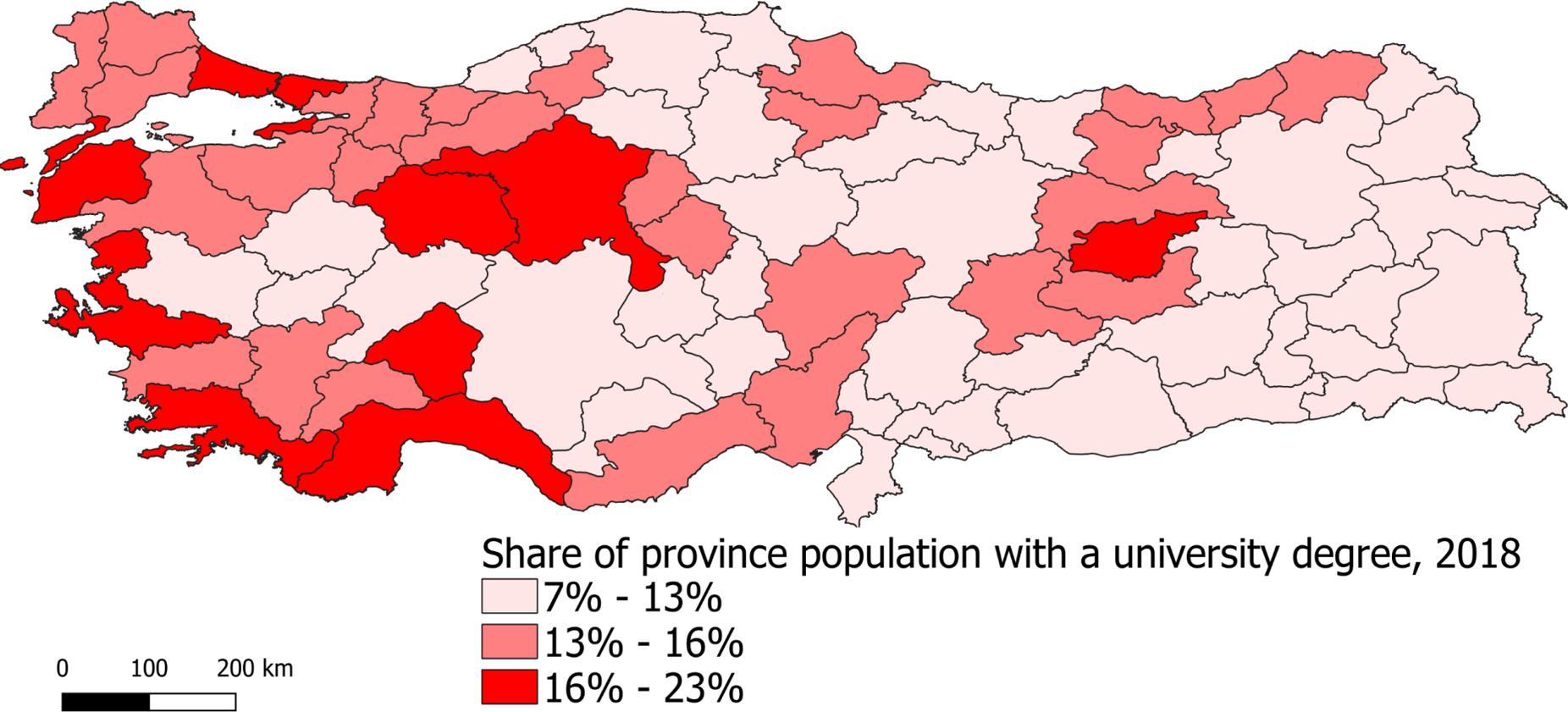
Source: authors' computation, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

Map A4 - Geographical distribution of lowest-educated population in Turkey, 2018



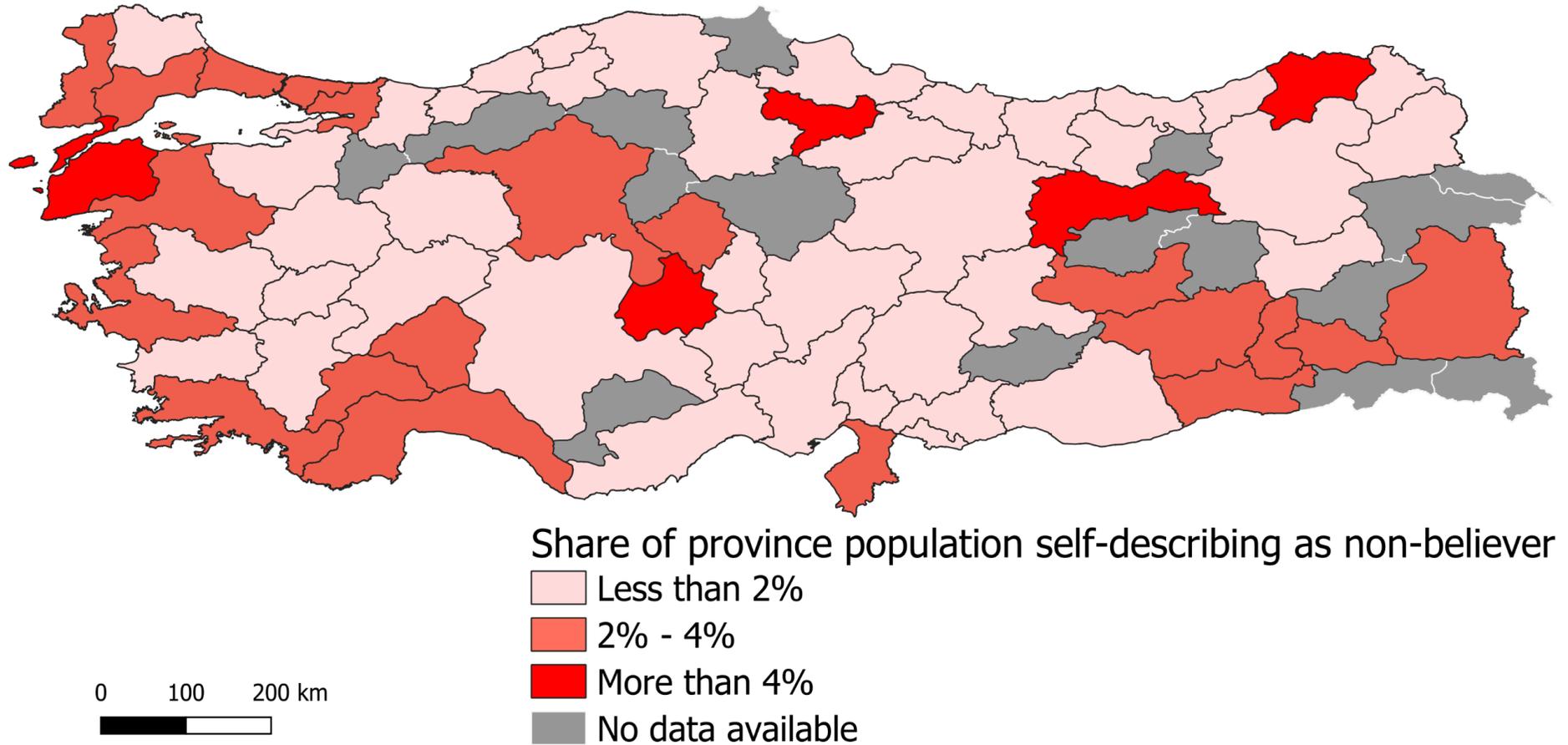
Source: authors' computation, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

Map A5 - Geographical distribution of the highest-educated population in Turkey, 2018



Source: authors' computation, Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK)

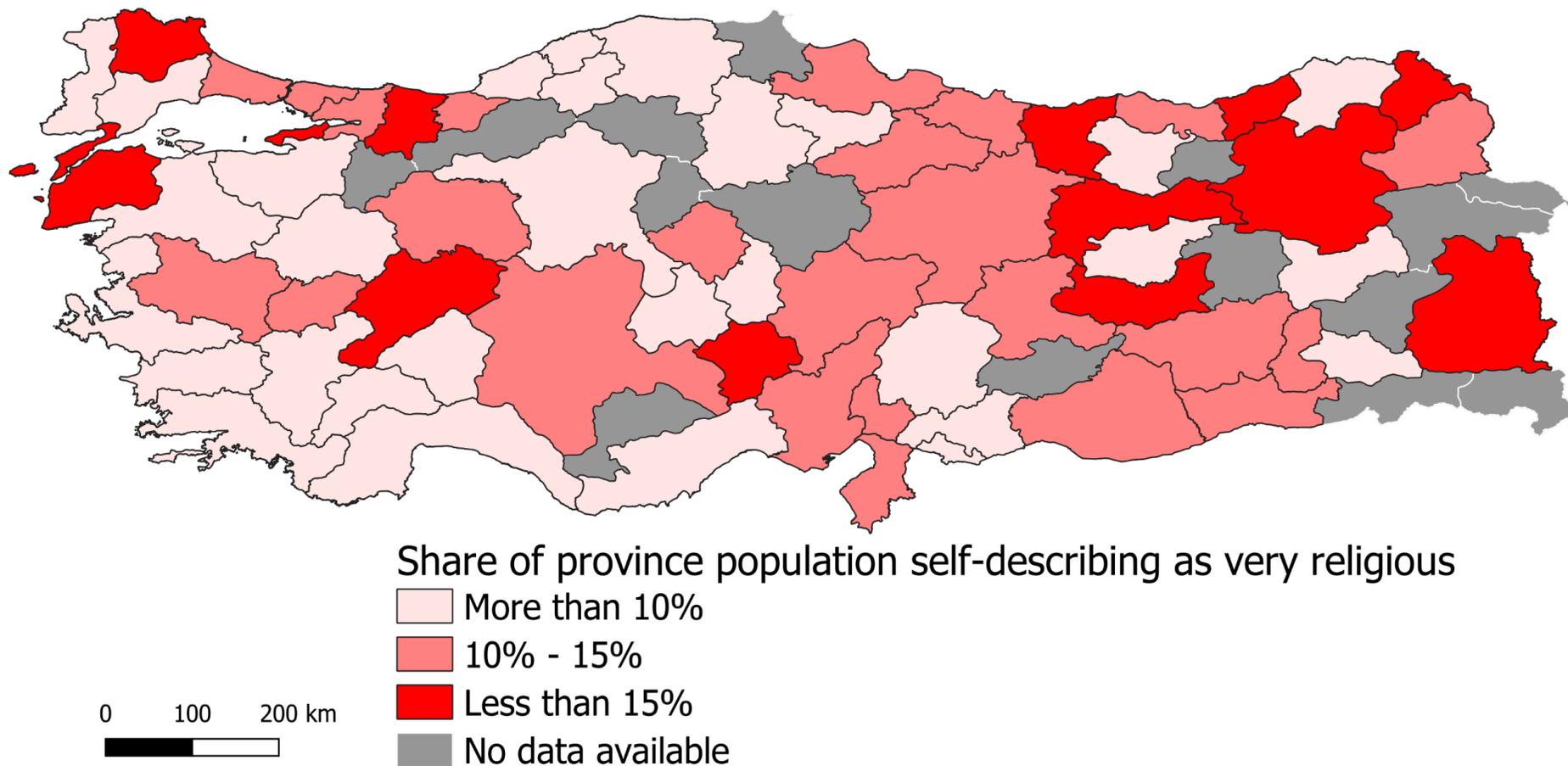
Map A6 - Geographical distribution of the non-religious population in Turkey



Source: authors' computation, self-reported religiosity from KONDA's monthly Barometer series (2010-2015).

Note: The religiosity variable is coded into four items: non-believer, believer, religious, devout.

Map A7 - Geographical distribution of the very religious population in Turkey



Source: authors' computation, self-reported religiosity from KONDA's monthly Barometer series (2010-2015).
Note: The religiosity variable is coded into four items: non-believer, believer, religious, devout

Table B1 - Survey data sources

Year	Survey	Source	Sample size
1990	World Values Survey	WVS	1 030
1996	World Values Survey	WVS	1 907
2001	World Values Survey	WVS	3 401
2007	World Values Survey	WVS	1 346
2011	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1 109
2015	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1 086
2018	Comparative Study of Electoral Systems	CSES	1 069

Source: authors' elaboration.

Table B2 - Complete descriptive statistics by year

	1991	1995	1999	2007	2011	2015	2018
Education: Primary	64%	65%	57%	49%	49%	42%	36%
Education: Secondary	27%	26%	34%	39%	38%	45%	44%
Education: Tertiary	9%	9%	9%	12%	12%	13%	20%
Age: 18-24	25%	22%	20%	21%	18%	18%	17%
Age: 25-34	27%	26%	29%	32%	27%	24%	23%
Age: 35-45	21%	24%	25%	22%	20%	21%	24%
Age: 45-60	19%	17%	18%	18%	22%	22%	24%
Age: 60+	9%	10%	8%	8%	14%	15%	12%
Gender: Man	50%	50%	51%	50%	45%	51%	44%
Employment status: Employed	42%	42%	42%	39%	27%	35%	39%
Employment status: Unemployed	9%	4%	10%	6%	10%	8%	6%
Employment status: Inactive	49%	54%	48%	55%	63%	57%	54%
Region: Aegean	24%	4%		13%	5%	13%	13%
Region: Black Sea	13%	12%		12%	8%	9%	10%
Region: Central Anatolia	13%	17%		16%	20%	17%	15%
Region: Eastern Anatolia	4%	18%		9%	4%	8%	7%
Region: Istanbul	22%	14%		14%	21%	18%	19%
Region: Marmara	8%	24%		13%	13%	14%	13%
Region: Mediterranean	10%	11%		13%	11%	11%	12%
Region: South Eastern Anatolia	6%	0%		10%	18%	11%	10%
Language: Kurdish		1%	0%	8%	14%	11%	8%
Language: Other		1%	0%	3%	2%	1%	1%
Language: Turkish		98%	100%	89%	84%	88%	91%
Perceived social class: Working class		21%	23%	31%		28%	
Perceived social class: Lower middle class		27%	36%	38%		45%	
Perceived social class: Upper middle class		43%	26%	26%		21%	
Perceived social class: Upper class		9%	14%	5%		6%	
Turnout: Did not vote				24%	7%	9%	7%
Turnout: Voted				76%	93%	91%	93%
Interest in politics: Not at all interested	29%	23%	34%	33%			24%
Interest in politics: Not very interested	23%	18%	26%	28%			23%
Interest in politics: Somewhat interested	38%	46%	32%	30%			39%
Interest in politics: Very interested	10%	13%	8%	8%			14%

Political activism: None	85%	85%	84%	87%		
Political activism; Having signed a petition and/or attended a demonstration	15%	15%	16%	13%		
Religiosity: Non-religious person	25%	22%	19%	17%	12%	12%
Religiosity: Religious person	75%	78%	81%	83%	88%	88%

Source: authors' computations using Turkish political attitudes surveys.

Note: the table shows descriptive statistics by year for selected available variables. The decline in the share of non-religious respondents is due to inconsistencies across data sources and should not be interpreted as an overall rise in religiosity in Turkey.