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**JUSTGM**  
Sivil Toplum Geliřtirme Merkezi

# **CIVIL SOCIETY PERCEPTION IN TÜRKİYE**



## **Civil Society Perception in Türkiye**

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# Abbreviations

**EU:** European Union

**AÇEV:** Anne Çocuk Eğitim Vakfı (Mother Child Education Foundation)

**AFAD:** Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency)

**AKOM:** Afet Koordinasyon Merkezi (Disaster Coordination Centre)

**AKUT:** Arama Kurtarma Derneği (Search and Rescue Association)

**ÇEVKO:** Çevre Koruma ve Ambalaj Atıkları Değerlendirme Vakfı (Environmental Protection and Packaging Waste Recovery and Recycling Foundation)

**CSO:** Civil Society Organization

**ÇYDD:** Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği (Association for Supporting Contemporary Life)

**İHH:** İnsan Hak ve Hürriyetleri İnsani Yardım Vakfı (Humanitarian Relief Foundation)

**İNGEV:** İnsani Gelişme Vakfı (Human Development Foundation)

**LGBTİ+:** Lezbiyen, Gey, Biseksüel, Transgender, İnterseks+ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex+)

**LÖSEV:** Lösemili Çocuklar Vakfı (Foundation for Children with Leukaemia)

**NGO:** Non-Governmental Organization

**NUTS:** Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics

**PPS:** Sampling with Probability Proportional to Size

**SEGE:** Sosyo Ekonomik Gelişmişlik Sıralaması Araştırması (Socio-Economic Development Ranking Survey)

**SES:** Sosyo Ekonomik Statü (Socio-Economic Status)

**STGM:** Sivil Toplum Geliştirme Merkezi Derneği (Association of Civil Society Development Centre)

**TBMM:** Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (Grand National Assembly of Türkiye)

**TEMA:** Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ağaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı (The Turkish Foundation for Combating Soil Erosion, for Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats)

**TÜRGEV:** Türkiye Gençlik ve Eğitime Hizmet Vakfı (Youth and Education Service Foundation of Türkiye)

**TÜSEV:** Türkiye Üçüncü Sektör Vakfı (Third Sector Foundation of Türkiye)

**YADA:** Yaşama Dair Vakıf (YADA Foundation)

**T**he “Civil Society Perception in Türkiye” report, which was produced as part of our “Monitoring Freedom of Association” project funded by the European Union and carried out jointly with TÜSEV, is based on the results of extensive field research.

As part of the field research, personal interviews were conducted with around 3,000 people, whereby a representative selection was made from Türkiye. In these interviews, we tried to understand how much citizens trust civil society organisations, whether they know them and how they build relationships with civil society organisations. We also oughted to find out how the 6 February earthquakes have affected civil society in Türkiye and how society is dealing with this issue. In designing the study, we also took into account studies on how civil society organisations are perceived by citizens in the world, in Europe and in our country.

We try to perceive and understand civil society as a field of struggle, as a field in which ideas and different approaches coexist, in which different tendencies coexist and not uniform approaches. Despite all the disappointments, multiple crises and wars in recent years, civil society has managed to keep hope alive in Türkiye and in the world. However, we also see that the public’s expectations of civil society organisations are increasing. In order for civil society organisations to reach a position where they can meet these expectations, even if only a little, it is of great importance to understand how they are perceived by the public and whether they can build a relationship of trust with the people in order to generate human and financial resources.

We define the mission of STGM as the creation of knowledge, skills, experience and resources to strengthen autonomy and participation within civil society, to spread the culture of communication and co-operation and to shape public opinion. In this context, we hope that the Civil Society Perception in Türkiye Report will be useful for civil society organisations, civil society professionals, press workers covering civil society and anyone whose paths somehow cross with civil society. We hope that this report will initiate new discussions in the field of civil society in our country and make a modest contribution to freedom of association.

I would like to thank the EU Delegation to Türkiye, our project team, NOVASAM Research and Consultancy Company, which conducted the field research, Assoc. Prof. Dr Didem Çabuk and Assoc. Prof. Dr Mustafa Kemal Coşkun who supported us in the preparation and implementation phases, and all our stakeholders dedicated to the field of civil society for their contributions to the preparation of this report.

**Dr. Yakup Levent Korkut**  
**Head of Board**

# Foreword

1

**Public Perception  
of Civil Society  
Organisations:  
Expectations  
and Findings:**

**Before attempting to understand the public perception of civil society, perhaps we can start with a few questions.**

**Do you trust civil society organisations (CSOs)?**

**Do you know what civil society organisations do?**

**Is there a CSO that you know and whose activities you follow, even on social media?**

**How do you interact with civil society organisations?**

**Have you ever donated to a civil society organisation?**

**Maybe you donated only after the earthquake via SMS.**

**Speaking of the earthquake, what did civil society organisations do after the earthquake? Did you hear about their activities in the earthquake region?**

**Maybe the earthquake changed your perspective on civil society organisations and what you have seen there has changed your perception completely, we don't know.**



However, there is one thing we do know. That is that the level of engagement with civil society organisations in our country is relatively limited when we compare it with examples from around the world. In our previous studies, we have shown that the number of those who are members of CSOs or those who try to contribute to CSOs voluntarily is limited.<sup>1</sup> We have stated that the most important reason for this is the prohibitive role of the legislation on CSOs and the difficulties of CSOs in generating resources. As a result, many CSOs that do not have enough members and volunteers find it difficult to carry out their work, make themselves heard in public and thus reach more people.

We often hear that our country has a deep foundation culture. Moreover, solidarity is very important in our society and everyone extends a helping hand to those in need.

In fact, it can be said that there are basically two opposite axes of opinion in the debates revolving around civil society. One side claims that civil society is the most important actor in solving the democratic problems in Türkiye. There are also those who take this argument one step further and claim that the way for Türkiye to become a member of the EU is through the strengthening of civil society. Civil society is the first actor that comes to mind for solving problems in the field of human rights, combating all kinds of discrimination, and overcoming difficulties in important rights areas such as the environment, animal rights, women's rights, and LGBTQI+ rights. It is possible to extend similar arguments to the need for civil society to overcome problems in many areas such as earthquake readiness, economic development, combating deep poverty, education, employment, youth, children and health. To this, we can also add approaches that refer to the necessity of including CSOs in decision-making processes in order for public decisions to be taken correctly and effectively. We can call those who favour this approach to governance "absolute believers".

On the other side of the governance approach is one that sees civil society as a lobbying sphere in which interest-orientated structures attempt to influence politics or bureaucracy. According to those who advocate this approach, civil society is used to create a sphere of power, is an instrument to penetrate politics and is instrumentalised by foreign countries to divide our country. Civil society organisations are only looking for money and their contributions are actually very limited. These views are usually accompanied by the claim that CSOs are of little use, that they have insufficient capacity, that they oppose for the sake of opposing and that they criticise everything. This approach can also be referred to as "absolute scepticism".

**But is that really the case?**

**To what extent does this charitable foundation culture include civil society organisations?**

**How much space is given to these organisations?**

**Can these organisations create trust among people or how high is their social acceptance and reputation?**

<sup>1</sup> Civil Society Organisations in Türkiye: Freedom of Association and Right to Participation (Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum Örgütleri: Örgütlenme Özgürlüğü ve Katılım Hakkı) <https://www.stgm.org.tr/en/publications/civil-society-organizations-turkiye-freedom-association-and-right-participation>



## So, who is right?

Giving absolute answers to such questions often entails a number of difficulties. Therefore, a black-and-white presentation does not help to understand the problem. Trying to perceive and understand civil society as a field of struggle, as a field in which different ideas and approaches exist simultaneously, may be the first path we can take to find answers to the questions on our agenda.

In many parts of the world, there are numerous studies on how civil society organisations are perceived by citizens. One of these is the "Trust Barometer"<sup>2</sup> study, which has been conducted regularly for almost 20 years by Edelman, a global communications company. The "Trust Barometer" analyses public trust in the government, the media, the business world and CSOs. The Edelman Trust Survey shows that trust in institutions, especially in CSOs, varies from country to country. The Edelman Trust Survey shows that trust in CSOs, as in other institutions, increases with the level of education and income of the participants.

Another survey on trust in organisations, the "Standart Eurobarometer"<sup>3</sup>, is conducted regularly in the member states and candidate countries of the European Union (EU). The "Standard Eurobarometer", which is repeated every year, measures the level of trust in institutions such as the government, judiciary and media, but does not examine trust in CSOs. However, the EU regularly monitors trust in CSOs in surveys known as the "Flash Barometer".

The latest report on participation in CSOs dates back to 2020. This report contains important findings on EU citizens' expectations of CSOs and their perceptions of CSOs.<sup>4</sup> The research focuses on the information provided by CSOs on issues of interest to EU citizens, the priority areas of work perceived by citizens, the level of interaction between EU citizens and CSOs, and the consultations on public issues carried out by CSOs. According to the study, EU citizens are split on the information provided by CSOs on issues of interest to them and the communication activities they carry out. While half of the citizens consider the information provided to be sufficient, the other half are critical of it. Another important finding of the study is that donations are the most common form of interaction between EU citizens and CSOs. This is followed by encouraging others to participate in events, taking part in activities and providing regular voluntary support. Although EU citizens are critical of CSOs when it comes to consultation on public issues, their participation is extremely high.

The research also aims to understand society's expectations of CSOs. For more than 50% of EU citizens, public health and food safety are the top priority areas for CSOs to focus on (57%). This is followed by environment, climate change, protection of green spaces and animal rights (53%). Other issues are education, skills development (33%), sustainable development, humanitarian aid (30%), fundamental rights and freedoms (24%), youth (20%), social protection (19%) and science, technology and research (16%).

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2 Edelman Trust Barometer, <https://www.edelman.com/trust/trust-barometer>

3 Standart Eurobarometer, <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/browse/all/series/4961>

4 Civic Engagement, Flash Barometer (FL4023), <https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2293>

**The Civil Society Perception Survey in Türkiye, as with similar trust surveys conducted worldwide and the EU Flash Barometer survey, was designed to ask about participation in CSOs and the areas of activity to which CSOs should contribute.**

Although there are some examples in Türkiye, we found that no comprehensive research has been conducted to measure the public's perception of and trust in civil society. It is worth mentioning the limited number of studies that have been conducted so far.

The study titled "Perceptions and Approaches towards Civil Society Organisations"<sup>5</sup> which was aimed to understand the public's perception of civil society, was published by Yaşama Dair Vakıf (YADA) in 2014. Although the study mainly focused on the perception of civil society, it revealed important findings about CSO membership, donations, public administrators' membership in CSOs and the relations between public administration and CSOs. We can note that a similar study with a narrower approach was conducted by the General Directorate for Relations with Civil Society of the Ministry of Interior to measure the perception of civil society by public employees and as a result a study entitled "CSO Perception Report"<sup>6</sup> was published.

In addition to these studies, it is also known that the Human Development Foundation (İNGEV) conducted a Civil Society Organisations (CSO) Image Study in 2019. According to this study, the proportion of those who do not trust CSOs is 55%, while the main reason for mistrust is the problem of transparency at 41%.<sup>7</sup>

Even in the academic world, there are only a few studies on the perception of civil society. The doctoral thesis entitled "Reputation of Civil Society Organisations: A Scale Development Study for Türkiye"<sup>8</sup> by Assoc. Prof. Didem Çabuk from the Faculty of Communication at Süleyman Demirel University from 2015 is one of the few studies on the perception of civil society in Türkiye. The main question of the study, which was conducted with an interdisciplinary approach, is: "Why and how do some organisations stand out compared to others?" As Assoc. Prof. Didem Çabuk points out, CSOs differ from companies and public institutions in terms of their structures, functions and missions. Therefore, the criteria that characterise their stakeholders' perception of CSOs also differ from companies and public institutions. In her study, Assoc. Prof. Didem Çabuk determined the indicators by which the reputation of CSOs operating in Türkiye is perceived by stakeholders and developed a scale for the reputation of CSOs. According to this scale, the reputation of CSOs operating in Türkiye can be measured using a four-dimensional structure consisting of 26 indicators. We would like to emphasise that the study conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr. Didem Çabuk was also used in the design phase of the Civil Society Perception Research in Türkiye and that her advice was sought.

5 Perceptions and Approaches towards Civil Society Organisations (Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarına Yönelik Algı ve Yaklaşımlar), <https://www.yada.org.tr/sivil-toplum-kuruluslarina-yonelik-almi-ve-yaklasimlar/>

6 CSO Perception Report (STK Algı Raporu), <https://www.yereldeab.org.tr/Tabld/240/ArtMID/1810/ArticleID/5072/STK-Alg%C4%B1-Raporu.aspx>

7 [https://ingev.org/basin-bultenleri/INGEV\\_TAM\\_STK\\_ALGI\\_ARASITMASI.pdf](https://ingev.org/basin-bultenleri/INGEV_TAM_STK_ALGI_ARASITMASI.pdf)

8 Narmanlı Didem, The Reputation of Civil Society Organisations Operating in Turkey (Türkiye'de faaliyet Gösteren Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarında İtibar), İstanbul, Kriter Yayınevi, 2022

The study "Individual Giving and Philanthropy in Türkiye"<sup>9</sup> published by TÜSEV since 2004 and the report "Türkiye Civil Society Development Index"<sup>10</sup> published by YADA in October 2023 were among the sources used in the preparation of this study.

It is certain that all these reports and studies are important efforts to understand the perception of civil society in Türkiye. However, more publications on this topic are needed to analyse the current situation based on data and to observe long-term changes and trends. For this reason, we have tried to prepare the "Civil Society Perception in Türkiye Research" with a complementary approach without ignoring the contributions of institutions that have been working in this field for many years.

**A total of 3040 face-to-face surveys were completed in 42 provinces, 138 districts and 299 neighbourhoods between 8 December 2023 and 15 January 2024 for The Perception of Civil Society in Türkiye research.**



**We mainly tried to find answers to the following questions through field research:**

- **What is the level of trust in civil society organisations in Türkiye compared to other institutions?**
- **What is the level of knowledge about civil society organisations and how well does society know civil society organisations?**
- **How do people engage with civil society organisations?**
- **How does the public perception of civil society take shape in society?**
- **How was the public perception of civil society affected by the 6 February Earthquakes?**
- **How is trust and attributed reputation towards civil society organizations formed?**

While seeking answers to these questions, variations in income level, age, gender and political orientation were also taken into consideration.

We hope that the results of the field research will be useful for civil society organisations, decision makers, public institutions, experts and researchers working in the field. At this point, we would like to emphasise that conducting such surveys regularly is of great importance for understanding trends.

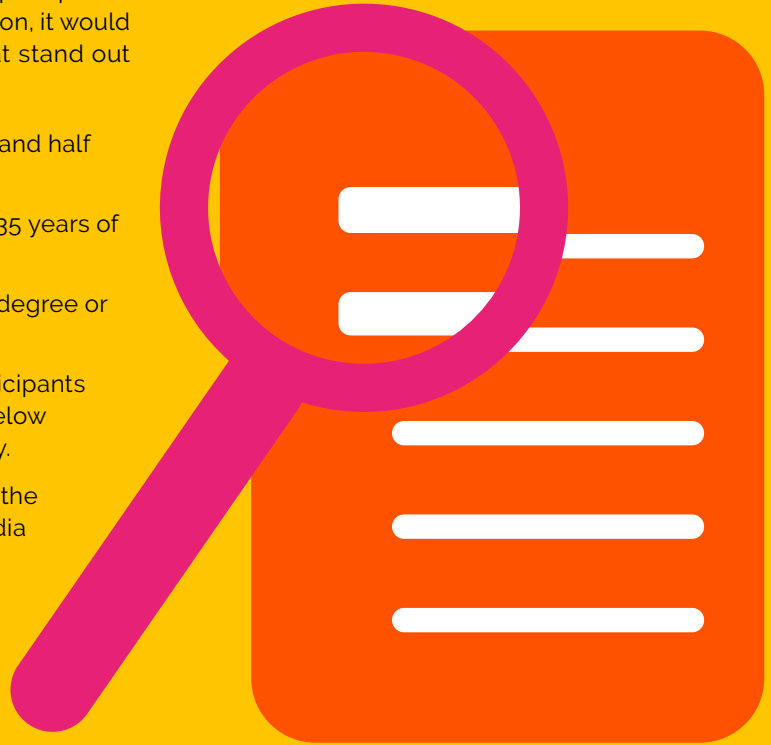
9 <https://www.tusev.org.tr/tr/haberler/turkiyede-bireysel-bagiscilik-ve-hayirseverlik-2021-raporu-yayimlandi>

10 [https://www.yada.org.tr/s/2626/1/Turkiye\\_Sivil\\_Toplum\\_Gelisim\\_Endeksi\\_2023-2.pdf](https://www.yada.org.tr/s/2626/1/Turkiye_Sivil_Toplum_Gelisim_Endeksi_2023-2.pdf)

# Key Findings

Although detailed analyses of the participant profile are included in the research findings section, it would be useful to emphasise a few issues that stand out regarding the general profile here:

- Half of the participants were women and half were men
- 40 % of the respondents were under 35 years of age and about 30% were single
- The rate of those with an associate's degree or higher is 21%.
- Approximately 70 percent of the participants have a monthly household income below 30.000 TL as of the date of the survey.
- The most important news sources of the participants are television, social media and news websites
- The respondents' expectations from the future are largely neutral, hence there is neither an extremely positive nor an extremely negative tendency.



At this point, based on the research findings, it can be claimed that the participant profile corresponds to the widespread political and social profile in Türkiye.

Therefore, the key research findings that we have tried to summarise in the following pages can be read as a general reflection of society.

## Most trusted institution is the army, most untrustworthy are religious sects

When the respondents were asked to what extent they trust institutions, it was found that the army is the institution they trust the most. This result is in line with similar studies conducted in Türkiye. The least trusted institutions are religious sects. It can be said that this data is an important indicator for respondents who define themselves as nationalist-conservative in their political orientation and largely position themselves in the centre of the political spectrum. With regard to civil society organisations, trust in civil society organisations is one of the remarkable results of the field research, right after public institutions or the state.

When analysed by age, it is observed that respondents under the age of 35 trust clergy, ruling parties, municipalities and religious sects less than respondents over the age of 35. However, respondents under the age of 35 trust social media more.

## Recognition of civil society is limited to a few institutions

When the participants were asked what comes to mind when they think of a civil society organisation, the majority of them mentioned the name of an organisation. In this context, the most common answer was Kızılay (40%), followed by AHBAP (19%), LÖSEV (19%) and Yeşilay (17%).

Among the above results, it is not surprising that Kızılay ranks first and Yeşilay fourth, considering the history and mission of the organisations. The fact that AHBAP is in second place can be attributed to the fact that its visibility in the mass media has increased significantly following the disasters of recent years. It should be emphasised that organisations such as LÖSEV, TEMA and Darüştüfaka, which have always found a place in the mainstream media, are also among the best-known organisations. In contrast, organisations such as TÜRGEV, Deniz Feneri and İHH, which have relatively closer ties to politics, have only found a place in the lower ranks. At this point, we think it makes sense to emphasise that TÜRGEV is mentioned more by participants who define themselves as "non-religious".

## Civil society is most associated with volunteerism and solidarity

When respondents were asked what they associate with the concept of civil society organisation, volunteerism (33%), solidarity (32%), donation (29.5%) and aid (26%) came to the fore. Advocacy (6%), democracy (6%) and action (4%) were among the least frequently mentioned. The notions of "missionary activity" and "foreign powers", which have negative connotations, were at the bottom of the list with 1 percent. Respondents below 35 years of age used the notions of action/activism

more frequently, while respondents above 35 years of age used the notions of aid, philanthropy and poverty more frequently.

In terms of income, participants in the lower income group (below 30,000 TL) use the notions of poverty and donation more. The higher income group on the other hand emphasises the notions of democracy, public interest, solidarity, opposition, advocacy and volunteerism. When we look at the level of education, participants with less than an associate's degree use the notion of poverty more.

## Young people are more familiar with civil society

We should highlight that when asked about their level of knowledge about CSOs, 60% of the participants responded "I have no knowledge" or "I have little knowledge". Young people declare more knowledge about CSOs as 57.2 percent of the respondents below 35 years of age said "I have no/little information" this rate rises to 63.4 percent among the 35+ group. The biggest variation occurs according to educational level. While the rate of respondents answering "I have no/little knowledge" is 49.6% among respondents with an associate's degree or higher, this rate rises to 64.2% among respondents with lower degrees.

Participants who have more contact with civil society, with a more positive perception and who attribute more trust and respect, naturally feel more knowledgeable about CSOs. However, it should be emphasised that the differences are not very large.

## About 80% of the society does not have any contact with CSOs

We asked participants if they had any relationship with CSOs and what kind, by showing them different forms of relationships.

Only 7.7% of the participants stated that they were members/volunteers, and the rate of membership was 4.1%. While 15% of the participants had some kind of relationship with CSOs (participating in their activities, receiving aid/services/scholarships, benefiting from dormitory facilities, making donations), the rate of those who donated to civil society organisations without being a member/volunteer was 8.4%. The rate of those who do not have any relationship or do not cross paths with CSOs is 77.2%.

## Engagement increases with education and income level

Education and income level were the most determining factors in terms of the level of engagement with civil society. While 80% of respondents with a household income below 30,000 TL have no relationship with civil society, this rate drops to 62% when the household income is above 30,000 TL. Similarly, while 81% of the respondents with an education level below an associate's degree have no relationship with civil society, this rate drops to 63.2% among the respondents with an education level equal or higher than associate's degree. While the rate of CSO membership and volunteering is 19.4% among respondents with an associate's degree and above, this rate drops to 4.6% among respondents with less than an associate's degree.

According to the latest figures published by the General Directorate of Relations with Civil Society of the Ministry of Interior, the number of members of associations in Türkiye is approximately 8 million, and according to the data of the General Directorate of Foundations, foundations have approximately 1 million real individual members. However, it can be said that the total number of members includes people who are members of more than one association or foundation, and based on field experiences, it can be said that being a member of more than one CSO is a common situation.

**For this reason, it is not possible to determine how many people in Türkiye are members of at least one association or foundation based on official data.**

## Interaction with CSOs is largely limited to SMS donations

Participants reporting any involvement with civil society organisations (e.g., membership, volunteering, receiving aid, donating, participating in activities) were asked additional questions to better understand the nature of their engagement. The results revealed that the participants mostly donate via SMS (46.5%). This was followed by interacting on social media (34.8%), purchasing products (29.2%), supporting fundraising (26.3%) and participating in a march or petition (15.2%). The widespread use of SMS donations can be attributed to the aid campaigns organised in the aftermath of the Kahramanmaraş Earthquakes in 2023. We also observe that social media is the most effective communication channel, especially in reaching young people.

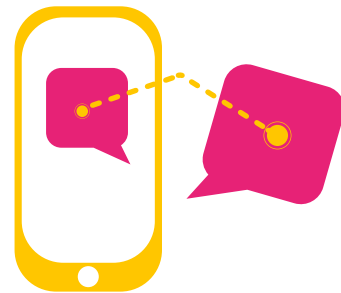
Among the activities carried out by CSOs with which respondents reported involvement, philanthropy and volunteering stand out significantly. This is understandable considering that engagement is primarily realized through donations or receiving aid.

When 2814 respondents who stated that they were not members or volunteers (regardless if they had a relationship with civil society or not), were asked about the reasons for this, the most common reason given was "I do not have the time to devote to such activities" (50 %). This was followed by "I do not have the financial means to devote to such activities" (16%). In this respect, the fact that 12.5% of the participants chose the option "I am afraid of participating in such activities" is a finding that should be emphasised. This rate rises to 15.3% among participants under 35 years old, and it can be said that this hesitation is an indication that the obligation to report members for associations creates a reluctance especially among young people.

According to the results of the survey, the rate of CSO members is 4.1 %, and when this rate is applied to the population over the age of 18 (approximately 60 million in 2023 figures), we come to the conclusion that approximately **2.5 million people are members of one or more CSOs.** It can be said that this approximate number is a largely realistic estimate of the level of organisation in civil society in Türkiye

In order to understand what can be done for the public to be more willing to engage with civil society organisations, the participants were asked under which conditions they would be more likely to take part in the activities of those organisations. The most common answer to this question was "knowing that my donation will actually be used by that organisation" (20%).

"Knowing/thinking that my contribution will have a tangible result" and "receiving detailed information about what has been done so far" ranked second (18%). Other responses pointed to the conditions for CSOs to involve their target groups more and establish direct relations.





## Civil society is expected to improve the areas where the state falls short

When respondents were asked in which areas Türkiye needs more CSOs, the most common answers were fighting poverty (36%), education (32.5%) and health services (22%), followed by empowerment of women (18.9%) and youth (18.6%). "Fundamental rights and freedoms" was highlighted by 17% of the respondents, while the environment was highlighted by 16.1%. It was noteworthy that the issue of "fellow citizenship", which has a very dense organizational structure in Türkiye, was chosen by only 2.9% of the participants.

The fact that fighting poverty is at the top of the list can be attributed to the fact that 70% of the respondents have a monthly household income below 30,000 TL. Likewise, while 35.6 percent of the respondents above 30,000 TL stated poverty, this decreases to 28.2 percent in the higher income group. Among participants with lower education, poverty was selected the most (38%), while "education" was selected the most (38.6%) by participants with at least an associate's degree.

The four most commonly mentioned CSO field of work categories in the study titled "Civil Society Organisations in Türkiye" published by STGM in 2023 were: "Culture, communication and recreational activities (26.2%)", "Education Services (19.6%)", "Business, professional organisations, trade unions (12.2%)" and "Philanthropy and Volunteering (11.1%)". In this context, it can be said that the main divergence between social expectations and the fields of work of civil society organisations is in the areas of fighting poverty and health services. It can also be said that this result is largely due to the difficult economic conditions that still prevailed at the time of the study.

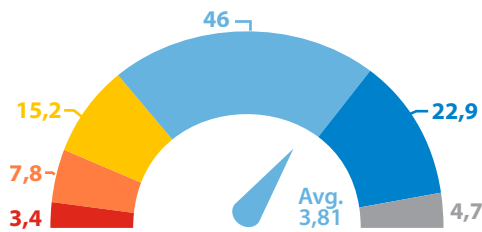
## Confidence increases with CSO recognition

To understand how the impact of civil society organizations is perceived, participants were asked two separate questions. The first question was asked to understand the effect at the local level: "Rate the effectiveness of CSOs on solving the problems in your environment/neighbourhood". Approximately 70% of the participants answered completely ineffective or somewhat effective. The rate of those who answered completely ineffective or somewhat effective to the second question "Rate the impact of CSOs on

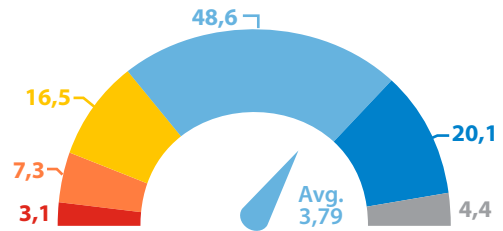
determining government policies in our country" was approximately 73%. However, this rate was lower, as expected, among participants who had a more active relationship with CSOs, had a more positive perception, and had a higher level of trust-reputation.

We provide detailed findings on the scale developed to understand the public perception of civil society within the report, but you can also find answers to the general questions in the graphs below. In the meantime, we can say that the perception of civil society organisations in society is positive, but this positive image does not paint a rosy picture.

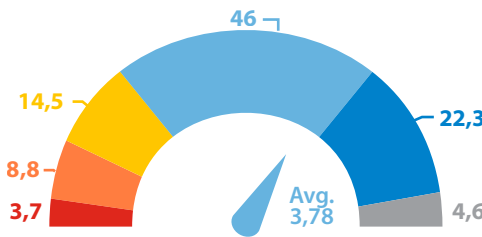




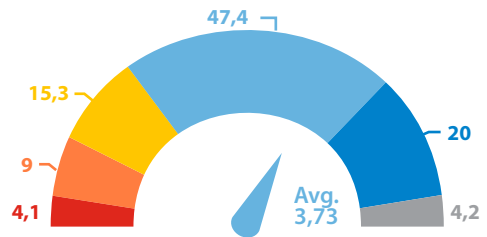
They are organisations acting on a voluntary basis.



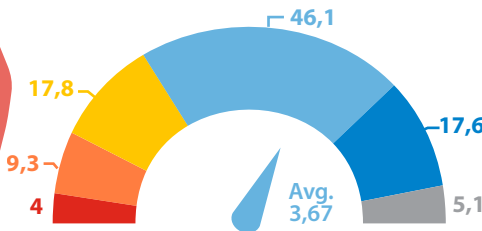
They are organisations established to help those in need.



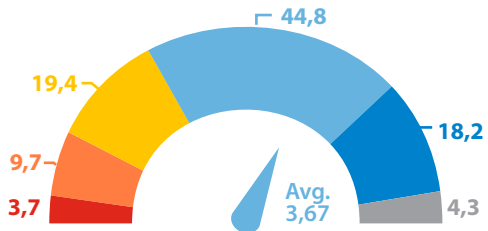
They are organisations that serve to increase solidarity.



They are organisations that bring together people who want to help others.



They are organisations that work to generate solutions to the problems experienced in the society.

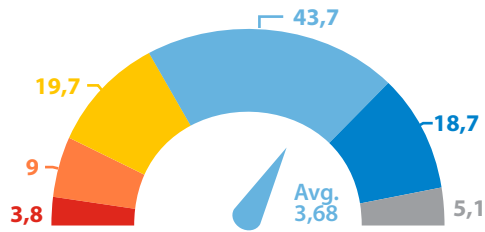


They are organisations that raise public awareness on the issues they work on.

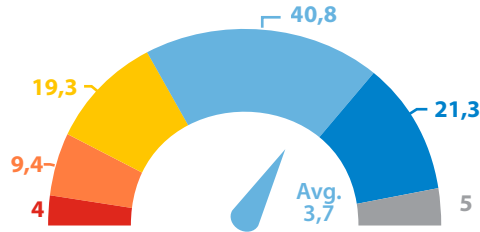
- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Agree (4)
- Disagree (2)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- No Answer

Figure 1-a. Perception of civil society<sup>11</sup>

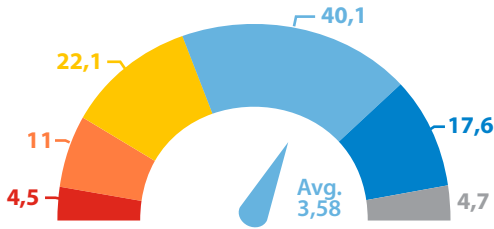
<sup>11</sup> A series of statements were read to the participants in two different questions and the ratings they gave to the statements ('1 I do not participate at all, 5 'I completely agree') were totalled. This sum was then divided by the number of statements to obtain an average value for each participant



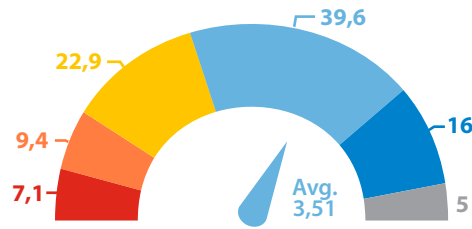
They are organisations that play an important role in social development through their activities.



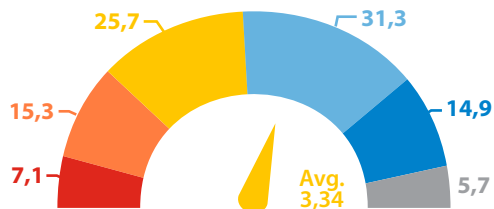
They are organisations that benefit society by reaching places that the state cannot reach.



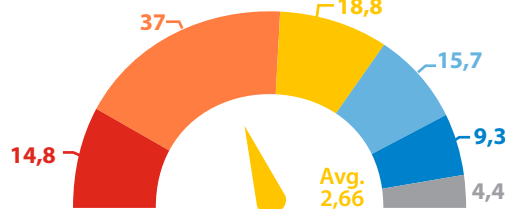
They are organisations that strengthen democracy and rise on the foundations of democracy.



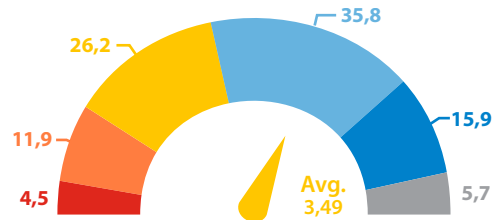
They are organisations where individuals come together to express and defend their opinions.



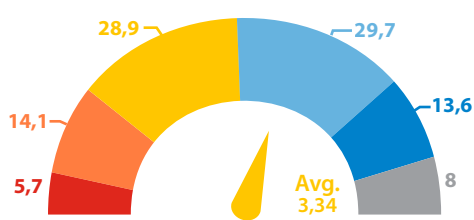
They are organisations that influence and control government policies by forming public opinion.



They are organisations where humanitarian feelings are exploited and abused.



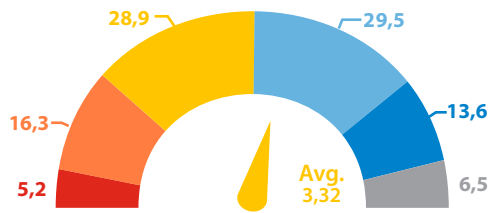
CSOs explain their aims and activities to the society well.



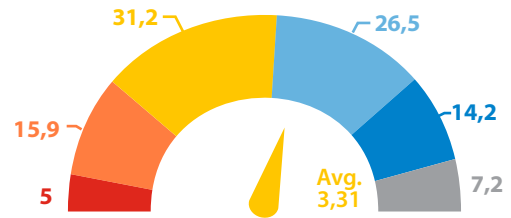
CSOs are independent from religious orders.

Strongly Disagree (1)      Disagree (2)      Neutral/Undecided (3)

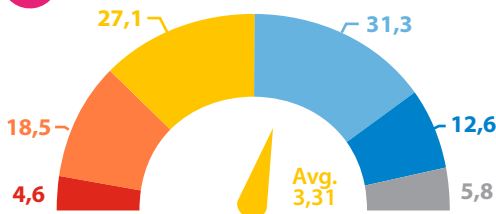
Figure 1-b. Perception of civil society



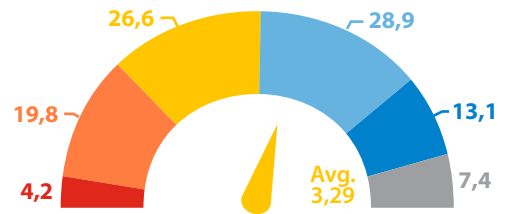
CSOs are independent of all political parties and governments.



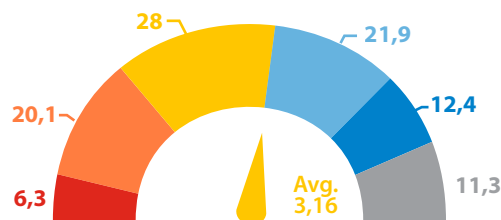
CSOs in Türkiye are transparent organisations.



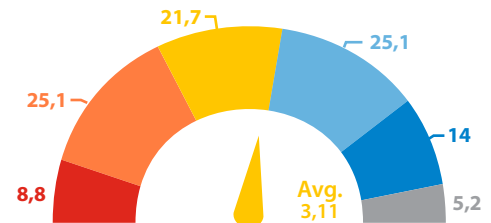
CSOs carry their activities with their own resources without receiving any money from any organisation or country.



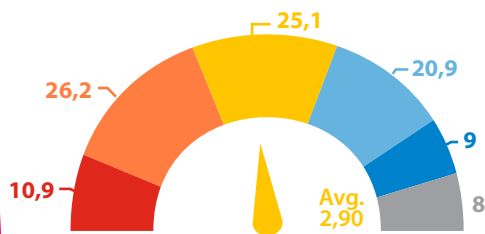
Most of the members of CSOs are economically well off.



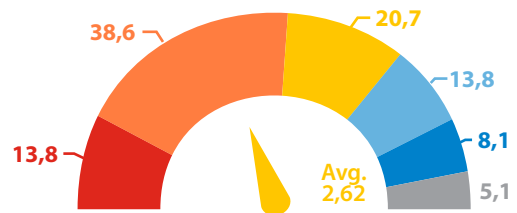
Most of the CSOs work on migrants.



There will be no need for CSOs if the state works properly.



CSOs do not engage sufficiently with basic human rights.



We can do without CSOs.

■ Agree (4)     
 ■ Strongly Agree (5)     
 ■ No Answer

Figure 1-c. Perception of civil society



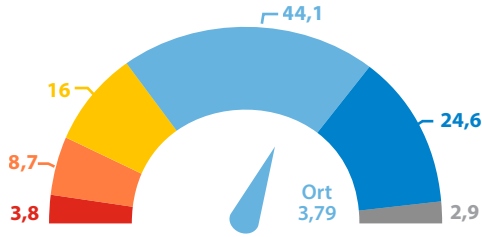
# Kahramanmaraş Earthquakes changed the perception

In the field research, in order to understand whether the earthquakes that took place on 6 February 2023 affected the perception of civil society, a series of propositions were read to the participants and they were asked to answer to what extent they agreed with them on a 5-point scale.

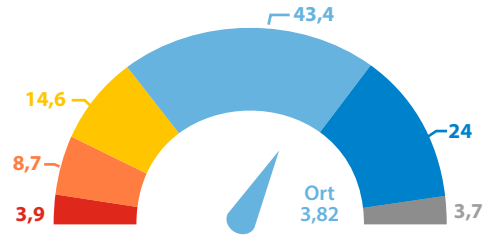
**Based on the answers, it can be said that the responsibility assumed by civil society organisations after the earthquake has had a very positive effect on the perception of civil society**

Other questions in the survey also showed the impact of CSOs' work after the earthquake. For example, when we asked about concepts associated with CSOs, earthquake/disaster came out on top. And when participants were asked open-ended questions about what comes to mind when they hear the word CSO, the third most common response was "disaster/earthquake/search and rescue". As a side note, participants most frequently responded to this question with the name of a specific institution/organisation. Among these institutions, Kızılay and AHBAP were in the top two places. This ranking is particularly due to the impact that AHBAP's work had on the public during the forest fires and the earthquake. We can clearly see the positive impact of the work of CSOs after the earthquake on the perception of civil society in the survey results.

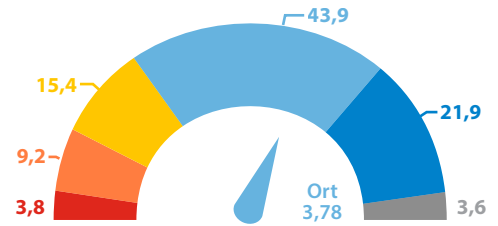




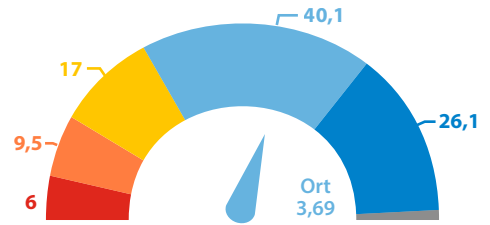
After seeing their work in the post-earthquake period, I started to look at civil society organizations more positively.



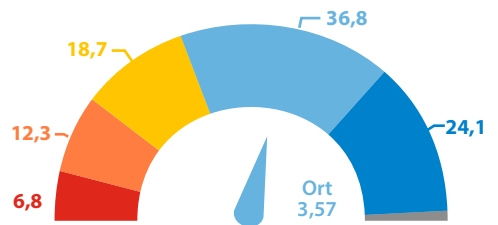
The earthquake made me realise how important civil society organisations are.



The earthquake positively affected my opinions on becoming a member of a CSO, volunteering or making donations.



CSOs worked more effectively than state institutions after the earthquake.



CSOs could have worked more effectively in the earthquake relief efforts if there was no need to get

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral / Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

Figure 2. Public perception of CSOs after the earthquakes in Kahramanmaraş in February 2023



### **As income and education levels rise, so does engagement in civil society**

In this study, we tried to understand the level of trust in civil society organisations in Türkiye by making use of the “Trust Reputation Scale” prepared by Assoc. Prof. Didem Çabuk. Accordingly:

- **36.5 per cent of the respondents trust CSOs.** (Trusts + Trusts very much)
- **58% of participants have a high perception of the management capacity of CSOs.** (High + Very high)
- **57% of participants have a high perception of the communication capacity of CSOs.** (High + Very high)
- **64% of participants have a high perception of the competence of CSOs.** (High + Very high)
- **50% of participants have a high perception of the trust and reputation of CSOs.** (High + Very high)

When the perception, trust, reputation and the way of engaging with civil society are evaluated together, we see that the common factor is “socio-economic status”. The forms of interaction with civil society and the level of trust in civil society is directly correlated with the level of education. As income and education levels rise, so do the methods of engagement in civil society and trust in civil society. Groups with lower education and lower economic status have a more pragmatic relationship with CSOs and issues such as poverty, health and education come to the fore. As income and education levels rise, the relationship becomes more complex. However, given the low level of organisation and knowledge, it goes without saying that CSOs do not even reach the middle and upper classes sufficiently or that these segments are relatively reluctant to engage with civil society organisations. It can be argued that this situation is an important parameter for the development of civil society in Türkiye and the course of the social contradictions and areas of struggle that we have tried to discuss above.

2

**Methodology**



For the “Perception of Civil Society in Türkiye” survey, a total of 3040 households interviews (CAPI) were conducted in 42 provinces, 138 districts, 299 neighbourhoods between 8 December 2023 and 15 January 2024.

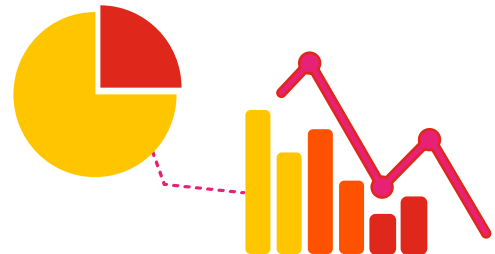
## Sample

In the preliminary planning for the research, the target sample size for the questionnaire was set as 3000. Thus the theoretical maximum for margin of error for the research in the worst case (maximum variance of the main population), is  $\pm 1.8$  percent with a probability of 95 percent.

A nation-wide, multi-stage, stratified random sampling method was used for the sample. For this purpose, a sampling plan was developed to ensure that the sample represents the main population in terms of regions and socio-economic development. The survey was mainly conducted in urban areas.

The regional distribution of the main population was based on the results of the 2023 General Elections published by the Supreme Board of Elections.

The first level of Classification of Statistical Territorial Units of TURKSTAT, which consists of 12 regions, was used for the regional representation.





## Sampling Method

In the sampling, "region" was used as the stratification criterion (NUTS Level 1), "district" as the primary sampling unit and "neighbourhood" as the secondary sampling unit.

The districts to be covered in the sample population were selected by the Sampling with Probability Proportional to Size (PPS) method.

In this sampling method, the probability of selection of districts increases or decreases in proportion to their population size. This feature of the method prevents a representativeness bias in favour of small settlements.

The PPS method also allows districts with particularly large populations to be selected more than once. This is determined by the number used as the sampling interval in the PPS method. This number is obtained by dividing the main population total in the relevant cell of the stratification (region) matrix by the number of surveys to be conducted in that cell. If the main population of a district is more than twice the sampling interval, there is a chance that this district will be selected more than once in the sampling conducted in that cell.

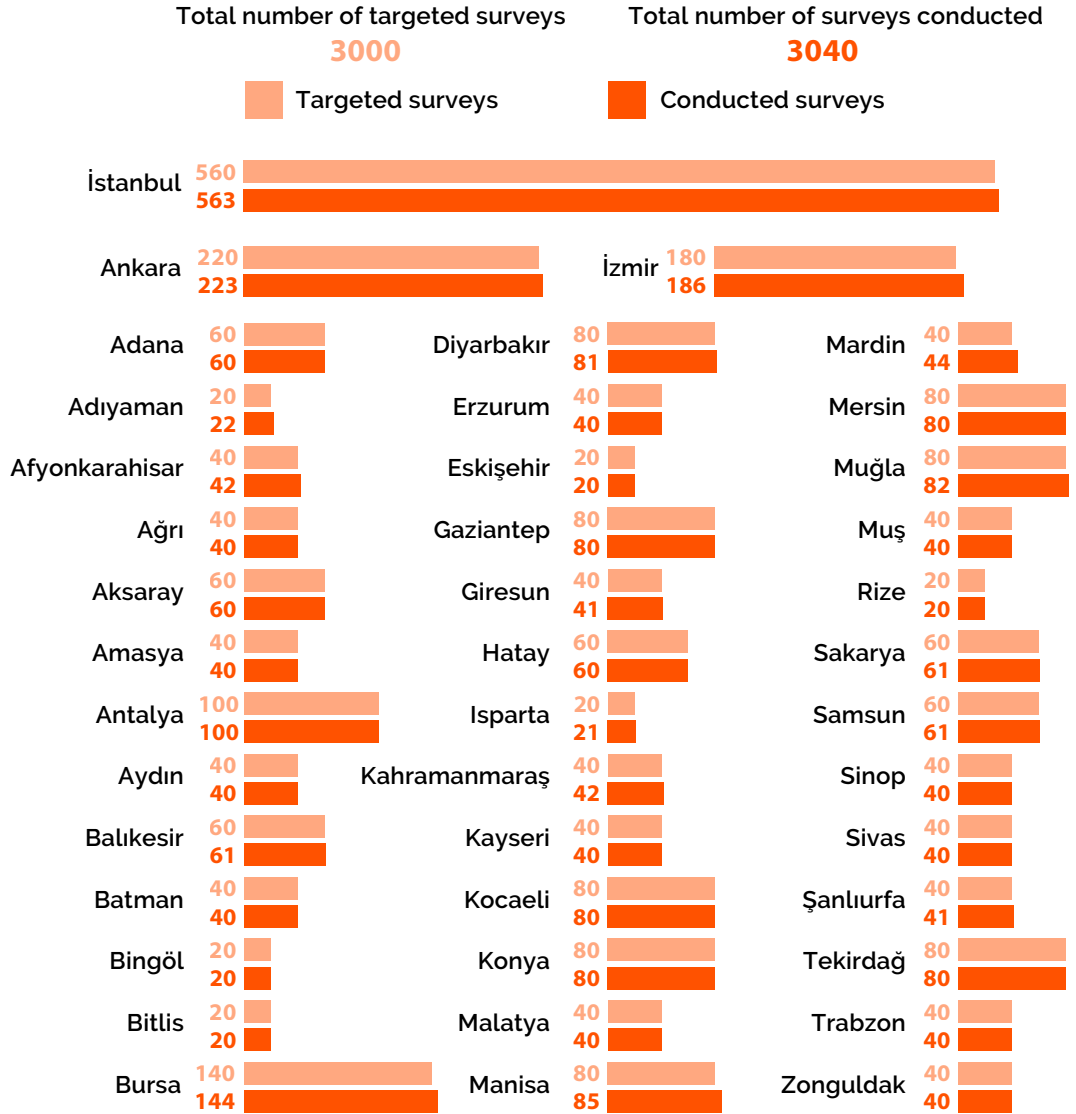
According to the second basic principle of the PPS sampling method, after the selection process is completed, an equal number of interviews should be conducted in each of the selected districts. (Otherwise, the population weights of the districts will be taken into account twice and more interviews in larger settlements will lead to a significant bias in favour of these settlements).

These two basic elements of the PPS require an a priori decision on the number of interviews to be conducted in districts, which are the primary sampling units. For this purpose, it is first necessary to determine the number of interviews that would be "reasonable" to conduct in each secondary sampling unit (neighbourhoods). Taking into account the experience to date and the sample size of the research, these numbers were determined as follows:

- 10 interviews in each secondary sampling unit
- Selecting 2 secondary sampling units (neighbourhood) in each district.

**Accordingly, the number of interviews to be conducted in each selected district was calculated as 20, and the share of each district in the sample was rounded downwards (upwards or downwards) to a multiple of 20. In districts that were selected more than once due to their large population size, it was envisaged to conduct as many interviews as 20 times the number of times the district was selected.**

## Targeted and Actual Sampling



## Questionnaire

In preparation for the research, a literature study was conducted with the Association of Civil Society Development Centre (STGM), Third Sector Foundation of Türkiye (TUSEV) and project consultants in which similar studies were examined and a draft questionnaire was prepared.

## Pilot Study

As part of the pilot study of the prepared draft questionnaire, a total of 52 surveys were conducted between 26 and 28 November 2023 in five neighbourhoods with different socio-cultural structures, 31 in Istanbul and 21 in Ankara. Based on the data from the pilot study and feedback from the field, the questionnaire was finalised with the necessary changes.

## Script Preparation

The questionnaire was digitalised using Sawtooth Software's Lighthouse Studio. Throughout the fieldwork the questionnaires were filled in online via this platform.

## Reporting Process

A comprehensive and technical field research report was produced after the research was completed. However, a version of the report with reduced technical details was also produced to make the report easier to read.

## Interviewer Training

The interviewer training of the study was given online on 24 November 2023. Project advisors, interviewers and supervisors attended the training. The subheadings of the training content are:

- Project goals and objectives
- Research topics
- Concepts covered in the questionnaire
- Question study
- Script training
- General principles and policies
- In-class application

An Interviewer Guideline was also prepared to assist the supervisors and interviewers in the application of the questionnaire to be used in the study. The guideline covered all issues included in the training as well as answers to frequently asked questions.

With the completion of the interviewer training, the field process began.

## Applied Tests

The normality assumption of the variables to be considered and evaluated within the scope of the research was tested and it was determined that they did not meet the normality assumption.

Thereupon, Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis tests were used to see whether there were statistically significant differences between various groups.

## Analysis Method and Variables

Specific variables were used for each question asked in the analysis part of the study. When creating these variables, the propositions of the same set of propositions that went in different directions (if there was a proposition with a negative judgement among the set of propositions with a positive judgement) were recoded and included in the analyses. Statistically significant propositions were included in the cross analyses. The following variables were used in this context:

- Age (Participants were divided into two groups: under 35 and over 35)
- Gender
- Education level (Participants were divided into two groups: less than an associate degree and associate degree and above)
- Income level (Participants were divided into two groups: Participants with an income of 30,000 TL and below and participants with an income of 30,000 TL and above)
- Perception of civil society (A series of statements were read to the participants in two different questions and the ratings they gave to the statements ("1 I do not participate at all, 5 "I completely agree") were totalled. This sum was then divided by the number of statements to obtain an average value for each participant. A "Civil Society Perception" variable was then created, consisting of two separate categories defining participants who scored below and above the average score of the general sample (3.42). Accordingly, one group was labelled as "participants with below average perception" and the other group as "participants with above average perception")

- Level of engagement with CSOs (Participants' relationship with civil society organisations was examined in three categories. These were labelled as "Member or volunteer", "Affiliated with CSOs" and "No relationship at all")
- Trust/Reputation (The Trust/Reputation Scale prepared by Didem Çabuk, one of the project consultants, was also used for the research. This scale shows 4 main factor areas. These are trust, communication, management and competence)
- Level of knowledge about civil society (In the study, participants rated their own level of knowledge of civil society organisations on a scale from 1 (I have no knowledge) to 5 (I am fairly well informed)
- Active citizenship (First, the participants were subjected to a certain classification according to the various citizenship responsibilities they were involved in. As a result of this classification, the participants were then divided into four groups: those who used political methods to participate, those who used social tools, those whose participation was limited to digital tools, and those who did not participate at all.)

Since research in this area is very limited in Türkiye, variables that measure trust/reputation and perception of civil society with similar parameters have been developed. We hope that these different approaches to understanding the perception of civil society in Türkiye will pave the way for future studies.

The political orientations and future prospects of the participants are given in the annexes of the report.

3

**Profile**

# Demographics

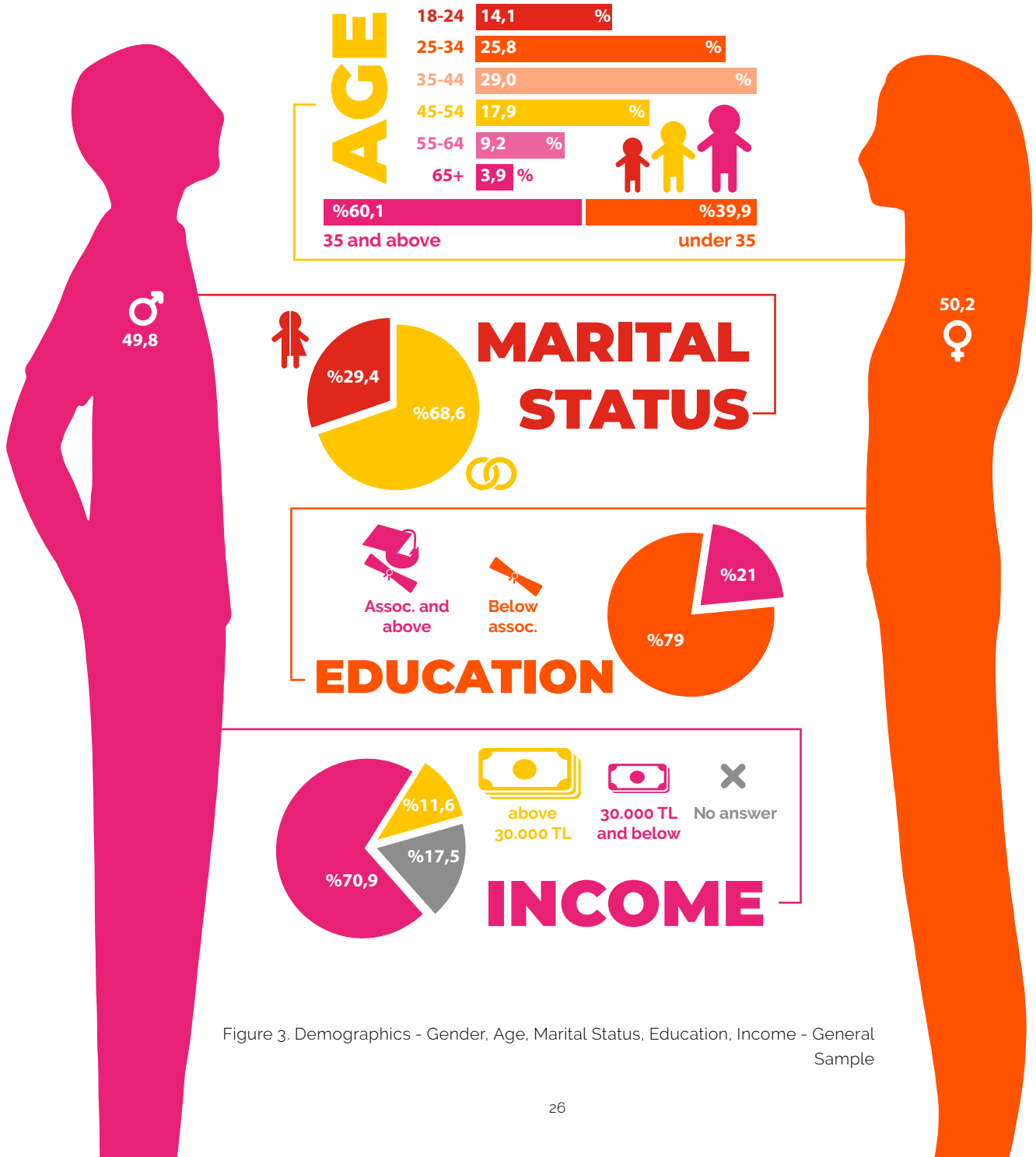


Figure 3. Demographics - Gender, Age, Marital Status, Education, Income - General Sample

Half of the participants are women and half are men. Average age is 38,7. Sixty percent are 35 years old and above. Majority are married (70 %).

Those who cannot read and write or have not graduated from any school are very few (2%). Those with less than high school education constitute 38% of the sample, while high school graduates constitute 40%. Those with two-year associate's degree or higher have a share of 21%.

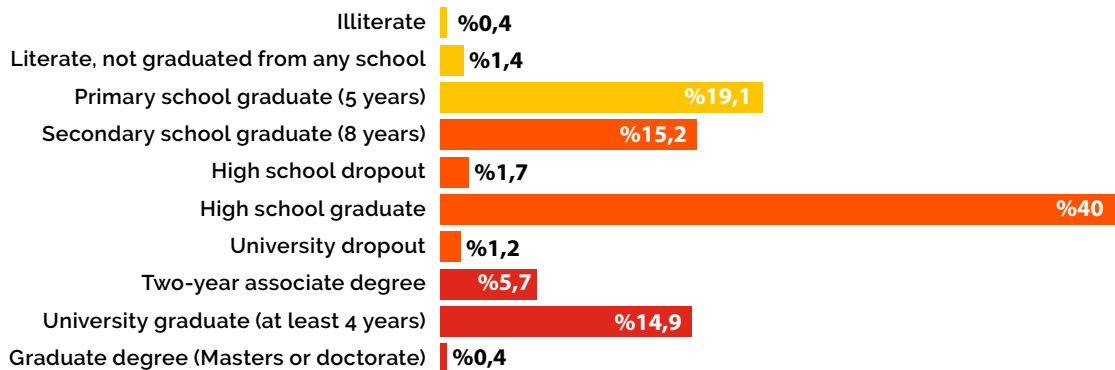


Figure 4. Education Level - General Sample

45% of participants are unemployed. Within this 45%, the highest share belongs to housewives (24%), which corresponds to 48% of the female respondents. The second largest group within the unemployed group is are retirees (10%). Wage earners constitute 44 % of the sample.

The largest share in this group belongs to blue-collar workers (29%), followed by white-collar workers with 14%. 85% of the wage earners work in the private sector. 10% of the respondents are self-employed. Merchants, qualified professionals and company owners are included in this group.

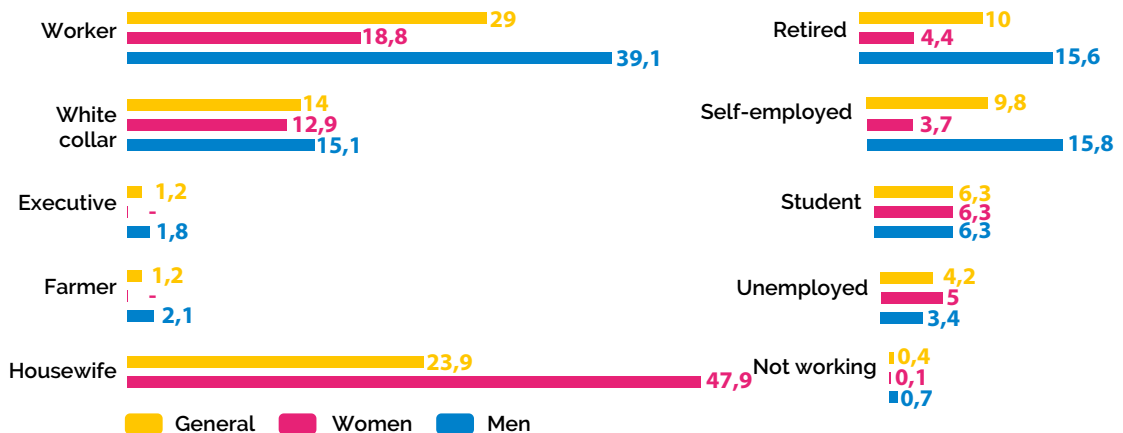
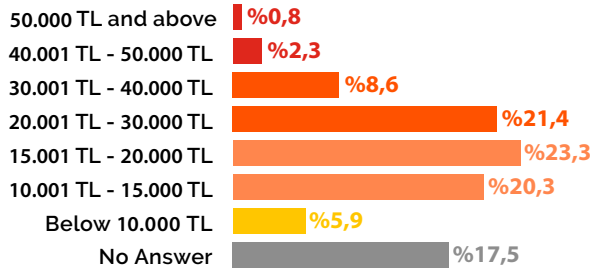


Figure 5. Occupation - General Sample



71% of the participants have a monthly household income of 30,000 TL or less. 17.5% did not want to answer this question.

Figure 6. Income - General Sample

Participants were asked to rate their ability to meet their expenses and save on a scale of 1 to 10. In this scale where 1 means "Our family's income does not meet our expenses and we face great difficulties" and 10 means "Our family's income meets all our expenses and we can save", those who indicate between 1 and 4 represent those who have financial difficulties and those who indicate between 7-10 represent those who can save.

Accordingly, 55.5% of the participants stated that they had financial difficulties, while 20% stated that they could save more or less. This was then analysed according to income groups. As expected, households' ability to meet their expenses

improves with higher income. 97 percent of those earning less than 10,000 TL have financial difficulties and none are able to save. Those experiencing financial difficulties decreases to 75% in the 10,000-15,000 TL income group and to 52% in the 15,001-20,000 TL income group. Those who are able to save money appear for the first time, albeit to a lesser extent, in the 10,000-15,000 TL income group (10%). Respondents earning below and above 30,000 TL were also analysed separately. Accordingly, 30 percent of those earning above 30,000 TL stated that they were able to save more or less. This rate is 16 percent for those earning 30,000 TL and below.

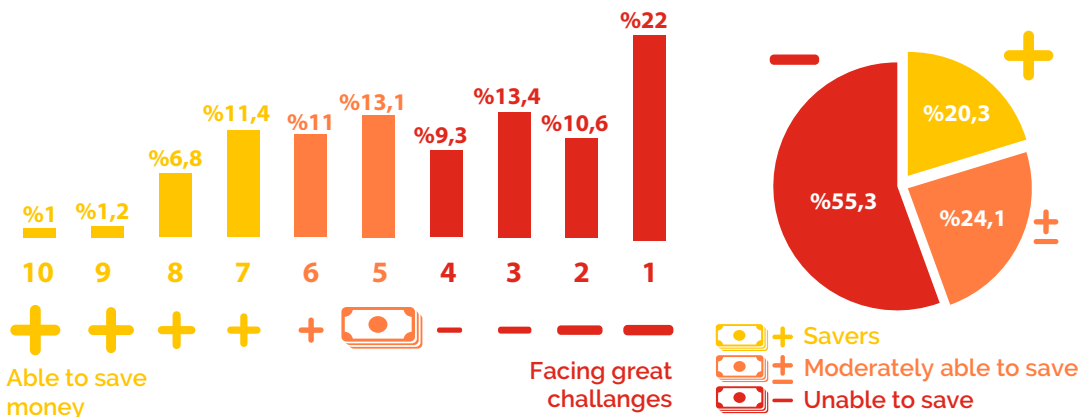


Figure 7. Savings-General Sample



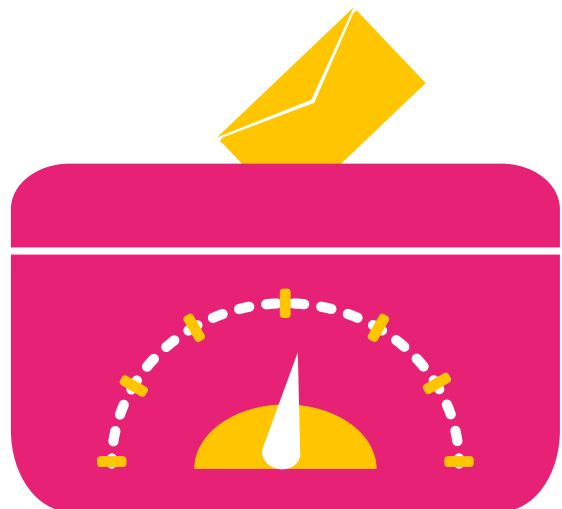
# Political Orientation

As part of the survey, respondents were also asked questions about their political orientation that are traditionally used in public opinion surveys. The participants were asked to position themselves between 1 and 10 on the scale of "Political orientation (1: Far left-10: Far right)", "Nationalism (1: Not at all Nationalist-10: Completely Nationalist)", "Religiosity (1: Not at all Religious-10: Very Religious)" and "Responsibility of the State (1: Welfare State-10: Liberalism)"

In Türkiye, political tendencies also seem to have an impact on the connotations of civil society organisations. For example, in its simplest form, the CSO associations of right-leaning participants are 30.5% in the field of "aid/philanthropy", while this is 21.5% for left-leaning participants and 24.9% for participants that are positioned in the middle. However, the situation is different when it comes to "fundamental rights and freedoms". While this rate is 5.7% for right-leaning respondents, it is 13.2% for left-leaning respondents and 11% for centre-leaning respondents.

Since this research on public perception of civil society organisations in Türkiye is not primarily designed to measure the perception of civil society according to political leanings, the data on political leanings can be found in **Annex 1**.

More than 50% of the participants put themselves in the middle in right-left, nationalism and religion scales. The exception was the "Responsibility of the State" scale. When it comes to the responsibility of the state, 48.8% of the participants stated that "the state is obliged to meet all needs", while 40.3% of the participants identified themselves in the middle. Based on this, it is possible to say that a significant portion of the respondents are in favour of a "welfare state".



# Use of Communication Tools

%77 of the participants use WhatsApp regularly. When we look at the average usage of social media platforms as “1 Never, 2 Occasionally and 3 Regularly”, Instagram (mean 2.48) and YouTube (mean 2.46) are in the first place. The least used platform is LinkedIn.

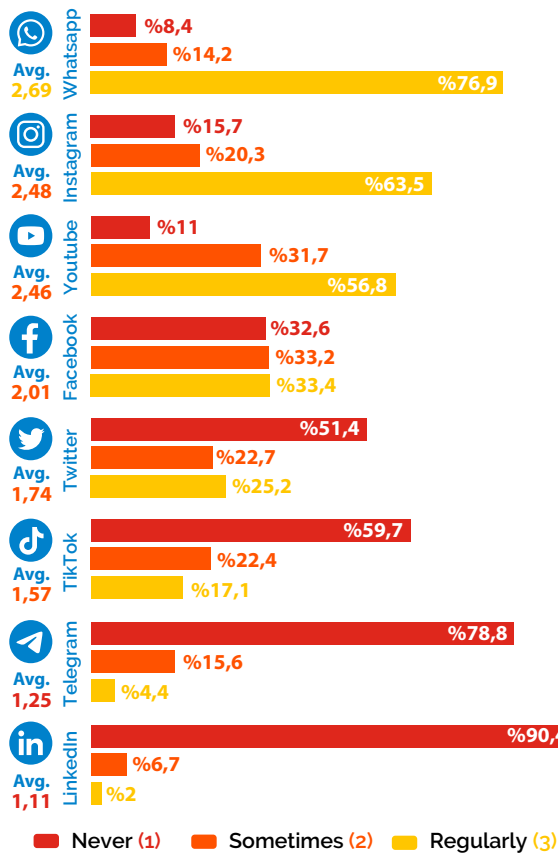


Figure 8. Frequency of Media Use-General Sample

## Key Findings

- **By gender:** Men use Twitter and women use Instagram more regularly.
- **By age:** 18-34 age group uses social media platforms (except Facebook) more frequently than 35 years and above group.
- **By income:** Above 30.000 TL income group uses Telegram, Twitter, Facebook, LinkedIn and Instagram more than the lower income group. However, there is no difference in WhatsApp, Youtube or TikTok usage.
- **By education:** Those with associate degree or higher education use social media platforms more. However, this difference does not apply to TikTok.

# News Sources

When we look at how people are informed about events in Türkiye and the world, we see that television is still the most frequently used source (mentioned by 86%). However, social media/news sites are not far behind television (75%). The printed newspaper was only mentioned by 12%.

## Key Findings

- **By gender:** Only the rate of newspaper reading differed between men and women in terms of the use of news sources. Men stated that they read newspapers more than women.
- **By age:** Respondents under 35 years of age stated that they follow news from social media more, while respondents over 35 years of age stated that they follow news from television and printed newspapers more. There was no difference regarding radio.
- **By income:** Above 30,000 TL income group follows news more from printed newspapers, radio and social media. There is no difference in television.
- **By education:** Respondents with an associate's degree and above follow the news more from social media, printed newspapers and radio, respectively. Those with less than an associate's degree stated that they follow the news more on television.



Television %86,1



Printed Newspaper %11,7



Social Media / News Sites %74,9



Radio %6,3

Figure 9. News Sources Followed-General Sample

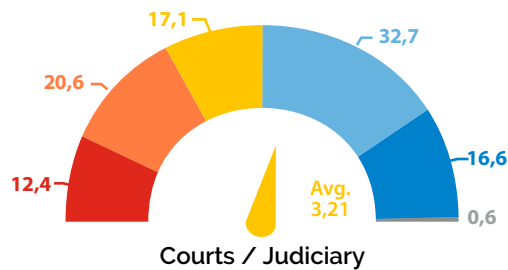
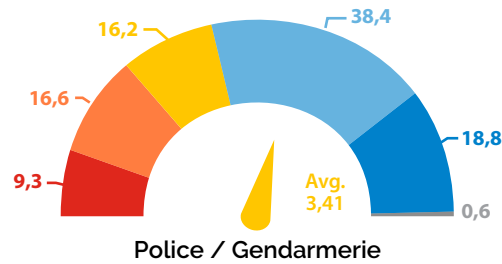
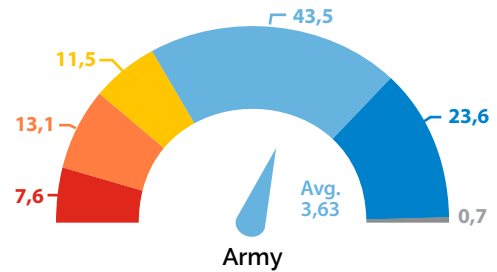
## Future Prospects

In the survey, a series of questions were also asked about future prospects of the respondents in order to obtain information about their general profile. When the answers about future prospects are considered together with the undecided respondents, a rather pessimistic picture is drawn. Future prospects also vary according to political orientations. However, the relationship between future prospects and the perception of civil society requires a separate analysis as in the case of political orientations and goes beyond the scope of this study. For this reason, we have not included the responses on future prospects in the main flow of the report, but have presented them in the annex. **(Annex-2)**

# 4

# Trust in Institutions and Political Figures

We also asked the respondents to what extent they trusted certain institutions and public figures. The respondents rated their level of trust on a scale of "1 - I do not trust at all - 5 - I trust a lot". When we look at the averages of the answers given, the army, police/gendarmerie, courts/judiciary and public institutions and organisations ranked higher, respectively.



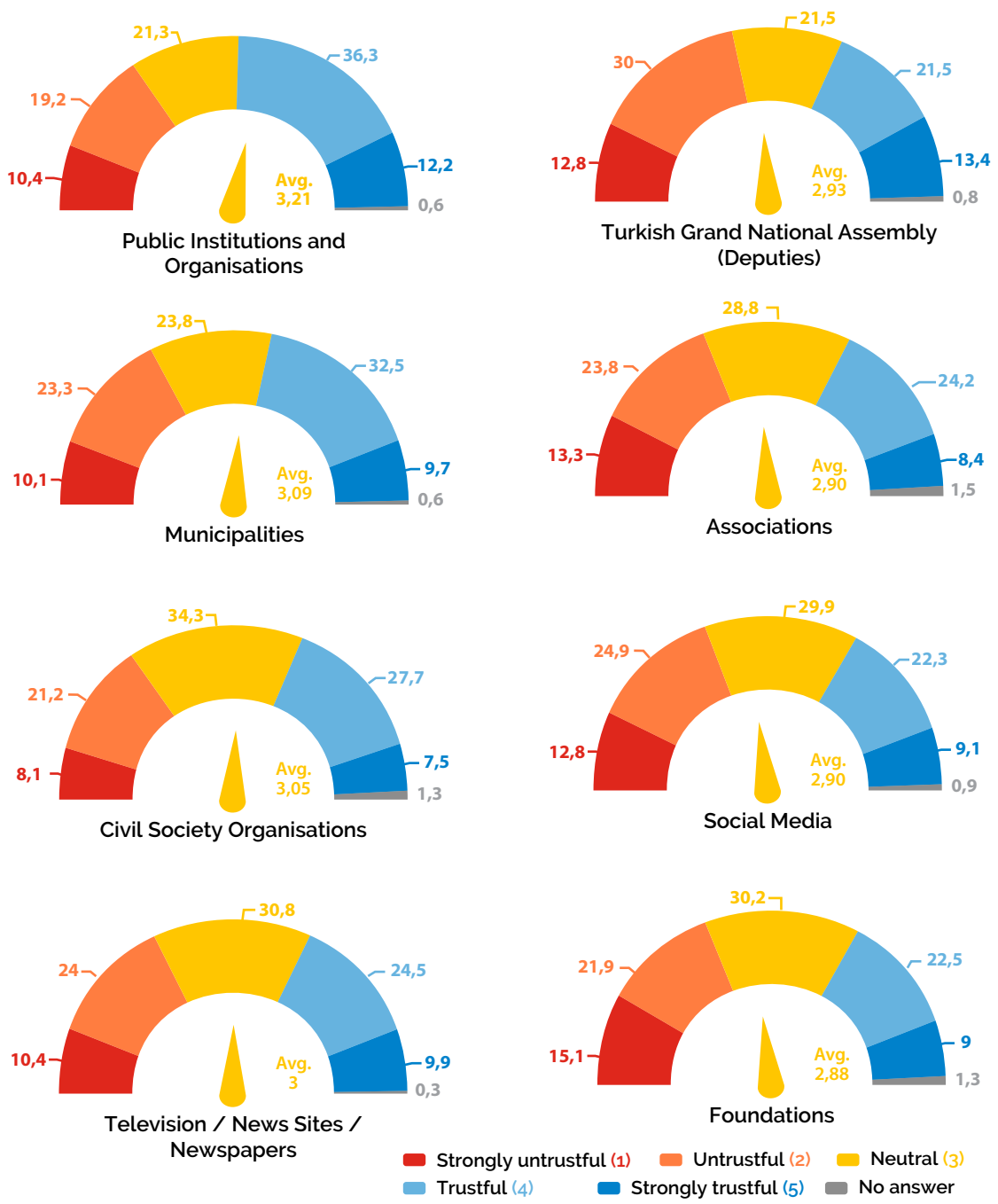
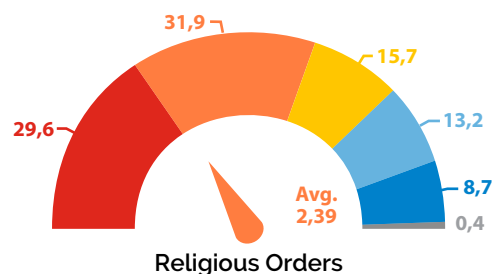
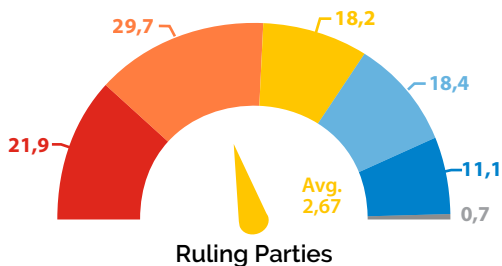
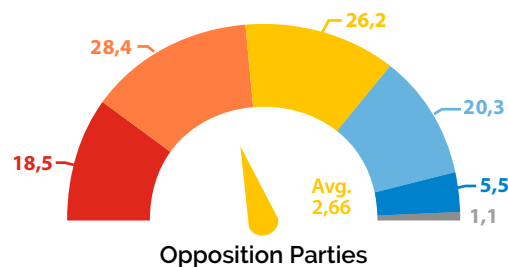
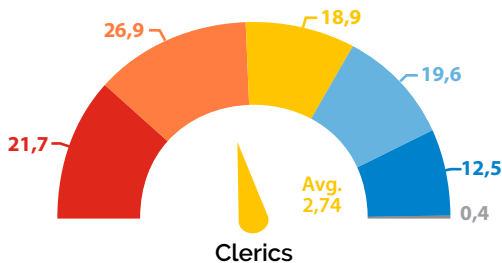


Figure 10-a. Trust in Institutions - General Sample



- Strongly untrustful (1)
- Untrustful (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Trustful (4)
- Strongly trustful (5)
- No answer

Figure 10-b. Trust in Institutions - General Sample

The least trusted organisations were religious sects, opposition parties and ruling parties.

In order to see whether the respondents' perceptions of associations, foundations and civil society organisations in general differed in terms of trust in institutions, we asked about all these institutions separately. As can be seen in the chart above, civil society organisations received a higher score than both associations and foundations; foundations received the lowest score among them. In the analysis phase, we also aimed to find a general 'trust score/ratio for civil society organisations' based on the idea that all these institutions essentially represent civil society. For this purpose, we took the average of the scores given by each participant to these three options and converted them into a percentage value, taking into account the range between the minimum score and the maximum score. We created a new representative variable with the transformed values. The variable was divided into the following sub categories: 0-19.99 as "strongly untrustful"; 20-39.99 as "untrustful"; 40-59.99 as "neutral"; 60-79.99 as "trustful" and 80-100 as "strongly trustful". **According to this new combined variable, the average trust score of civil society organisations was 2.95 out of 5.**

**Based on this, the rate of those who stated that they trust CSOs (strongly trustful+ trustful) was 32 percent, while the rate of those who stated that they do not trust CSOs (strongly untrustful + untrustful) was 33 percent.**

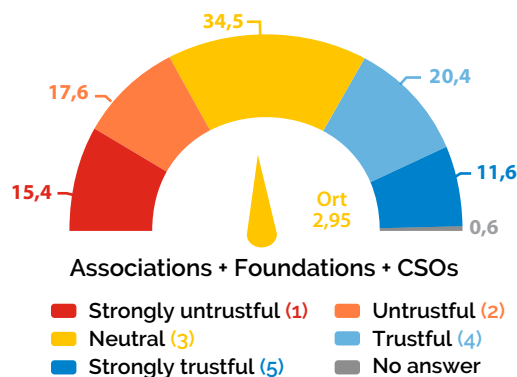


Figure 11. Trust in civil society organisations according to average scores of civil society organisations, associations and foundations.



## Key Findings

- **By gender:** Women trust opposition parties relatively more than men.
- **By age:** Respondents under 35 trust clergy, ruling parties, municipalities and religious sects less. Respondents above the age of 35 trust social media platforms less.
- **By income:** There is a statistically significant difference between income groups in terms of trust in 8 institutions/public figures. Respondents with an income of 30.001 TL and above trust the police/gendarmerie, television, courts/judiciary, army, social media, civil society organisations, municipalities and public institutions and organisations more. There is no difference in trust in other institutions or public figures.
- **By education:** Those with education below associate's degree trust clergy, religious sects, ruling parties and the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye more.
- **By active citizenship:** Trust in institutions and organisations varies considerably depending on the degree and/or type of "active citizenship", which is discussed in detail in the next section. One of the prominent findings is that participants who are politically active express greater trust in CSOs. On the other hand, individuals whose participation is limited to the 3rd degree (also known as social participation) reported the lowest trust in civil society compared to the other three groups.
- **Based on CSO engagement:** When the level of trust of the respondents was examined by separating participants into three groups according to their relationship with civil society organisations ("Member or volunteer", "Has relationship with CSOs" and "Has no relationship with CSOs"), a significant difference was found for 9 institutions. These are associations, television/news websites/newspapers, foundations, army, social media, civil society organisations, municipalities, public institutions and organisations and police/gendarmerie. Those who are members/volunteers of CSOs and those who have relations with CSOs trust these nine institutions more than those who have no relations with CSOs. Especially in the case of civil society organisations, the level of trust of members/volunteers is significantly higher than the other groups.
- **By perception of civil society:** Regarding trust in institutions and organizations based on the perception of civil society, there is a difference between the two groups in all aspects except for religious communities, and the group with a more positive perception than average trusts all institutions and organizations more than the other group.
- **Trust/Reputation:** The group with a trust-reputation score above the average trusts all institutions and organizations more than the other group except religious communities.

# 5

# Active Citizenship



## Participation in Social and Political Events

In the field research, respondents were asked to list political and social participation-oriented events and whether they had participated in them in the past two years. In general, it is observed that the rate of participation in such events was low. The most popular activity was "attending a rally" (17%), followed by "commenting on political issues on social media", "applying to an official institution about the problems of the neighbourhood" and "getting together with the people of the neighbourhood to try to solve a problem".

It can be said that writing comments on social media is more passive and the others are more local efforts. Apart from these, the rates of participation in more broadly focused activities such as "participating in a legal demonstration" (7%), "petitioning an official institution" (5%) or "participating in a press statement" (3%) were much lower.





## Key Findings

- **By gender:** Men stated that they performed the actions of "submitting a petition to an official institution", "participating in a rally", "applying to an official institution about the problems of the neighbourhood", "trying to solve a problem by getting together with the locals" and "being a poll clerk/witness in elections" more than women. In this context, there was a statistically significant difference between men and women.
- **By age:** There was a statistically significant difference between age groups regarding "participating in a rally": participants aged 35 and above stated that they performed the action of "attending a rally" more frequently. The group below 35 years of age, on the other hand, stated that they commented on political issues on social media and participated in petition campaigns more.
- **By income:** There is a statistically significant difference between income groups in terms of participation in all actions. Participants with an income above 30.000 TL stated that they took action (making a comment about political issues on social media, submitting a petition to an official institution etc.) more than the lower income group.
- **By education:** A statistically significant difference emerged between different educational levels in terms of participation in all actions except "attending a rally". Participants with associate's degree and higher education stated that they took part in all actions more.
- **Based on CSO engagement:** People who have relationships with CSOs stated that they took part in all activities more than the other two groups.

Bir siyasi partinin / liderin mitingine katıldınız mı?

%17,2

Sosyal medyada siyasi konular hakkında bir yorumda bulundunuz mu?

%14,7

Mahallenizdeki sorunlar nedeniyle belediyeye ya da başka bir devlet kurumuna başvurduunuz mu?

%12,7

Herhangi bir konuyu çözmek veya birine destek olmak amacıyla komşularınızla (mahalle sakinleriyle) bir araya geldiniz mi?

%12,3

Yasal bir gösteri ya da yürüyüşe katıldınız mı?

%7,1

Bir imza kampanyasına katıldınız mı?

%5,6

TBMM ya da belediye gibi resmi kurumlara yazı ya da dilekçe yazdınız mı?

%5,4

Seçimlerde sandık görevlisi ya da müşahit olarak görev aldınız mı?

%4,4

Herhangi bir konuda basın açıklamasına katıldınız mı?

%3,2

Figure 12. Participation in Social/Political Events-General Sample

# Active Citizenship Variable

Participants were categorised according to the various civic responsibilities they were involved in.

During the classification process, the propositions were evaluated and grouped according to various criteria. The first of these elements is the level of difficulty of the activity performed. The two factors that determine the level of difficulty are the effort required to participate and the risk associated with participation. For example, participating in a press release and participating in an online petition were not categorised as equally difficult. In addition to the level of difficulty, the classification also took into account whether the participation took place at a local or societal level, as well as the topic of the participation (political or social).

When determining the group of active citizenship of participants who applied for more than one participation pathway, the difficulty levels of these different pathways were taken into account. The participant was included in the group of the activity with the highest level of difficulty. In other words, citizens who participated in both the second and fourth level of difficulty were included in the fourth group and analysed.

Accordingly;

- **4-Political participants**

This category, which indicates a high level of difficulty, represents participants who take part directly in political processes. Participants in this category participate directly in political processes by taking part in political demonstrations and press releases, playing an active role in elections or participating in the activities of political parties/leaders.

- **3-Social participants**

This category, which groups together activities with a medium level of difficulty, reflects the interaction of the participants with their environment and the local authorities. Participants in this category write petitions, apply to official institutions for problems in their neighbourhoods or engage in social interaction to solve a problem. Therefore, this category represents local participation in social issues.

- **2-Digital participants**

This category was defined as a low level of difficulty. It largely reflects interactions on political and social issues on digital platforms. Respondents in this category participate in petitions or comment on political issues on social media. Therefore, they are interested in the agenda but participate remotely.

- **0-Non-participants**

This category is defined as zero level of difficulty. Participants in this category do not engage in any political, social and digital participation.



## Political

Level  
**4**

Have you participated in a legal demonstration or march?

Have you participated in a press statement on any issue?

Have you taken part in elections as a poll clerk or observer?

Have you attended a rally of a political party/leader?



## Social

Level  
**3**

Have you written a letter or petition to official institutions such as the GNAT or the municipality?

Have you submitted an application to the municipality or any other state institution for problems in your neighbourhood?

Have you gathered with your neighbours (residents) to solve a problem or to support someone?



## Digital

Level  
**2**

Have you participated in a petition campaign?

Have you commented on political issues on social media?

## None

Level  
**0**

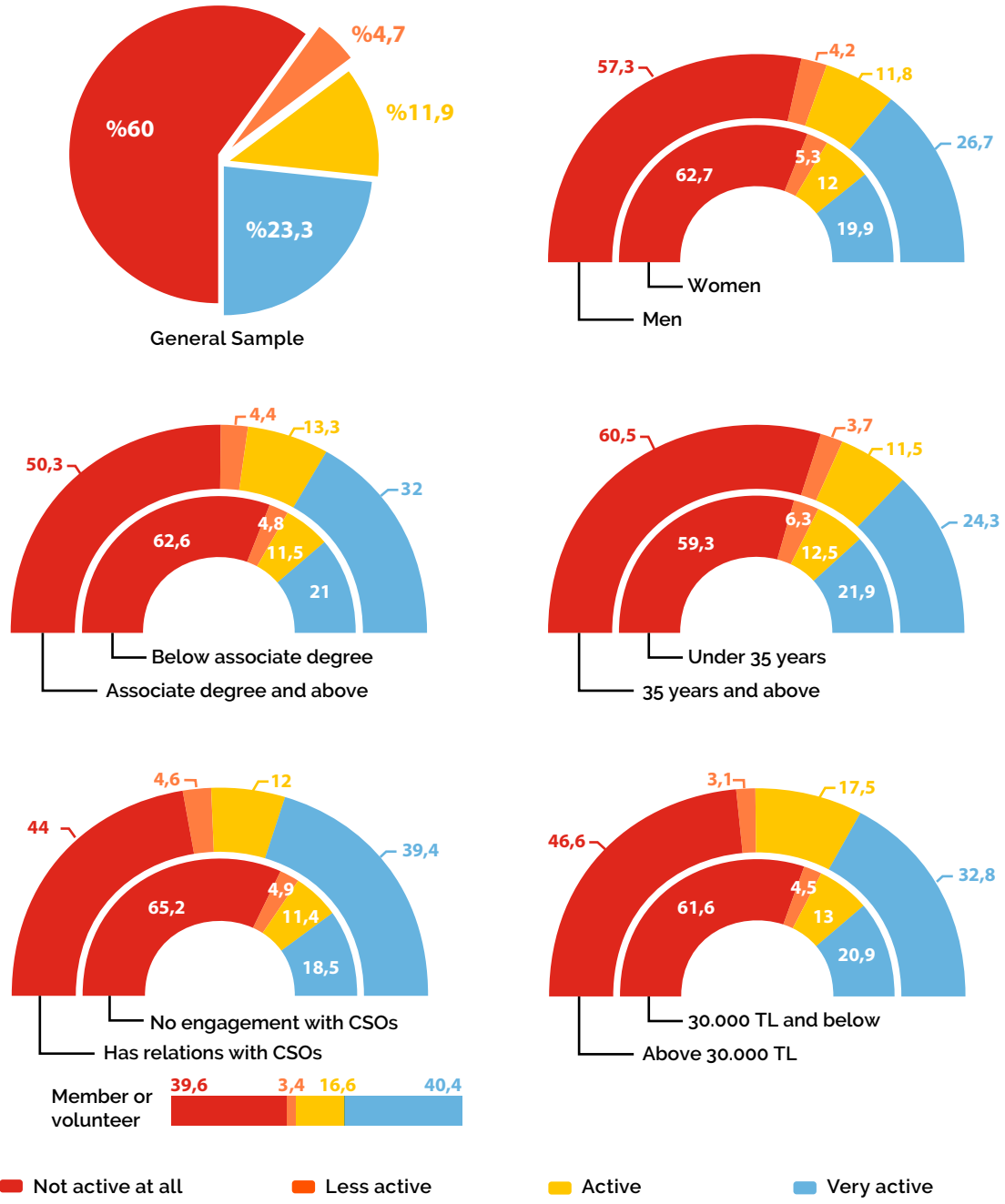


Figure 13-a. Active Citizenship - General Sample, Various Breakdowns



## Key Findings

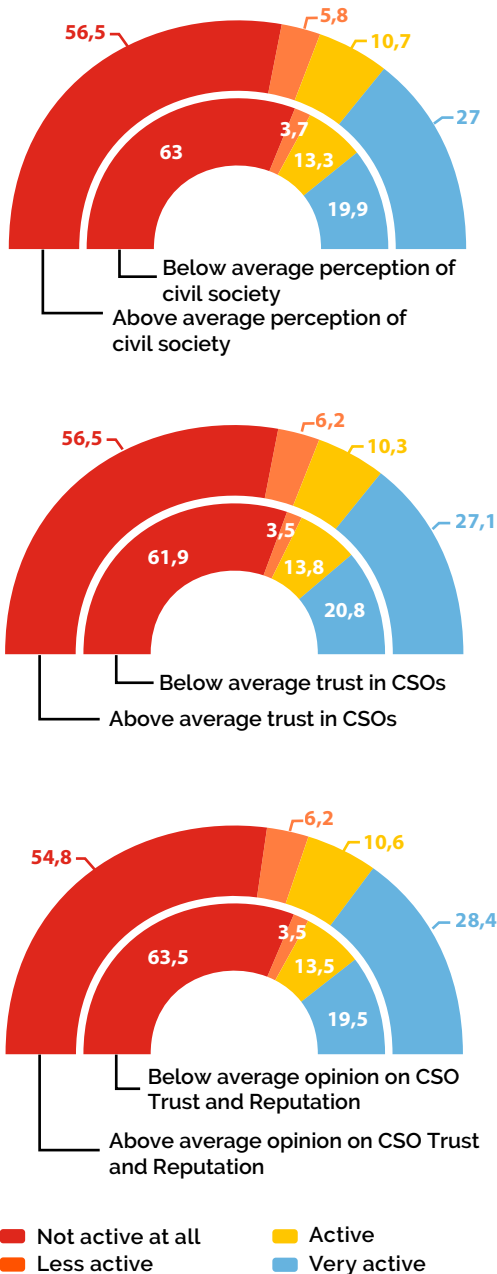


Figure 13-b. Active Citizenship - Various Breakdowns

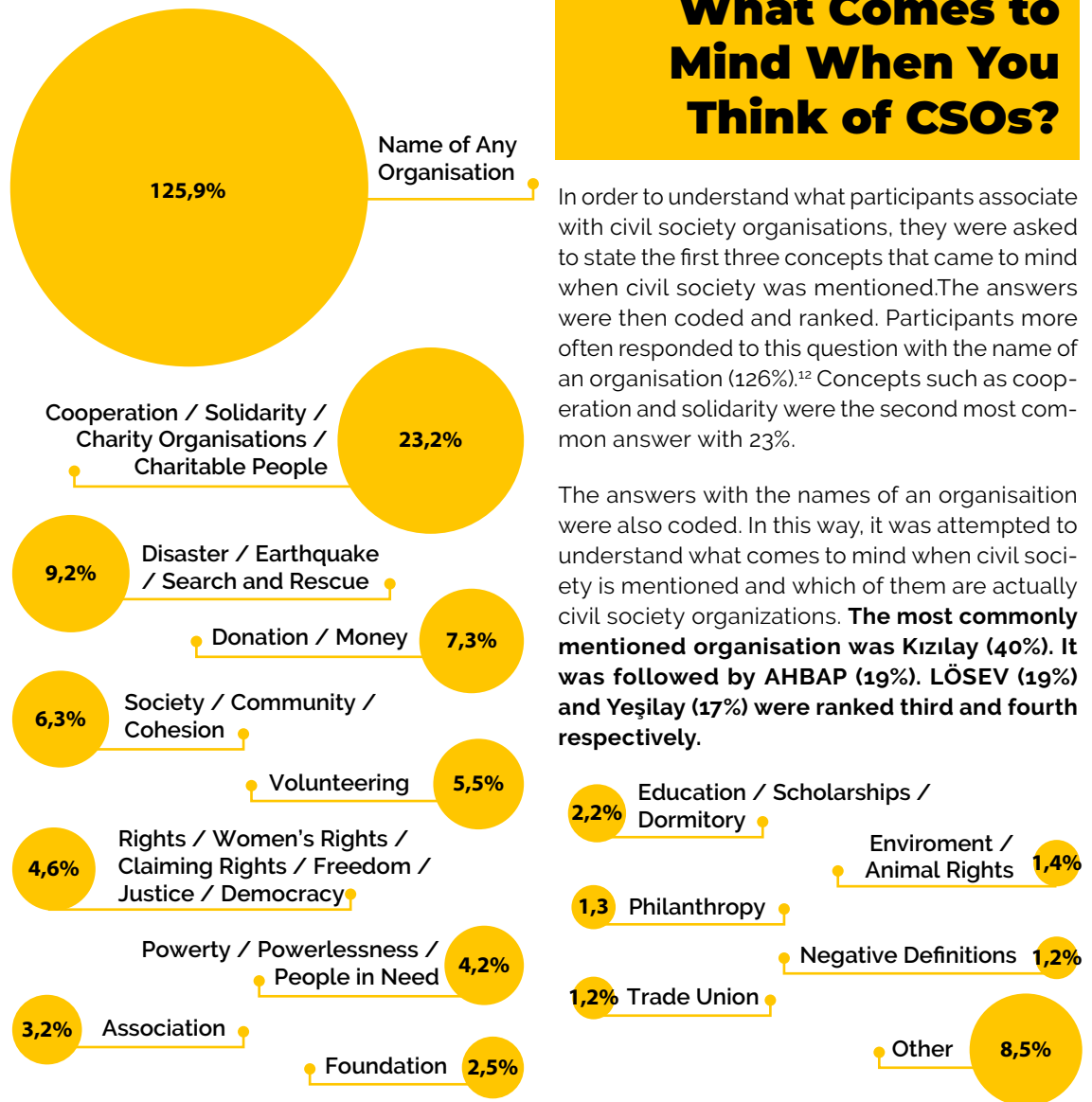
- By gender:** The proportion of men with active citizenship level 4 (also political participation) is significantly higher than the other groups. The proportion of women increase as the level of active citizenship decreases and/or the nature of participation changes.
- By age:** In terms of age, level 2 participants (including those who only participate digitally) are the group with the highest proportion of people under 35 compared to other groups. Although the level of participation increases with age, there is no statistically significant difference between non-participants and the "oldest" group, level 4 active citizens.
- By education:** In terms of education, there are significantly more level 4 participants with an associate's degree or higher than in the other groups. As the level of education decreases, so does participation.
- By income:** The rate of respondents with an income above 30.000 TL increases with the level of active citizenship. However, the main difference is between level 2 (i.e. only digital participation) and levels 3 and 4, and the income of level 2 participants is lower than these other two groups. There is a smaller income difference between 3rd and 4th level participants.
- Based on CSO engagement:** The rate of participants who have no relationship with civil society is significantly lower among the highest level of active citizenship. In general, the rate of CSO engagement decreases as the level of active citizenship decreases.
- By perception of civil society:** The group with above average perception of civil society tends to have higher levels of active citizenship.
- Trust/Reputation:** The group with higher opinion of CSO trust and reputation also includes more active citizens.

6



# Level of Knowledge

## What Comes to Mind When You Think of CSOs?



In order to understand what participants associate with civil society organisations, they were asked to state the first three concepts that came to mind when civil society was mentioned. The answers were then coded and ranked. Participants more often responded to this question with the name of an organisation (126%).<sup>12</sup> Concepts such as cooperation and solidarity were the second most common answer with 23%.

The answers with the names of an organisation were also coded. In this way, it was attempted to understand what comes to mind when civil society is mentioned and which of them are actually civil society organizations. **The most commonly mentioned organisation was Kızılay (40%). It was followed by AHBAP (19%). LÖSEV (19%) and Yeşilay (17%) were ranked third and fourth respectively.**

Figure 14. What comes to mind when you think of civil society organisations?-General Sample

<sup>12</sup> It is the rate of those who answered the question with the name of the organisation. When coding in open-ended questions with multiple answers, the person can exceed 100 per cent.

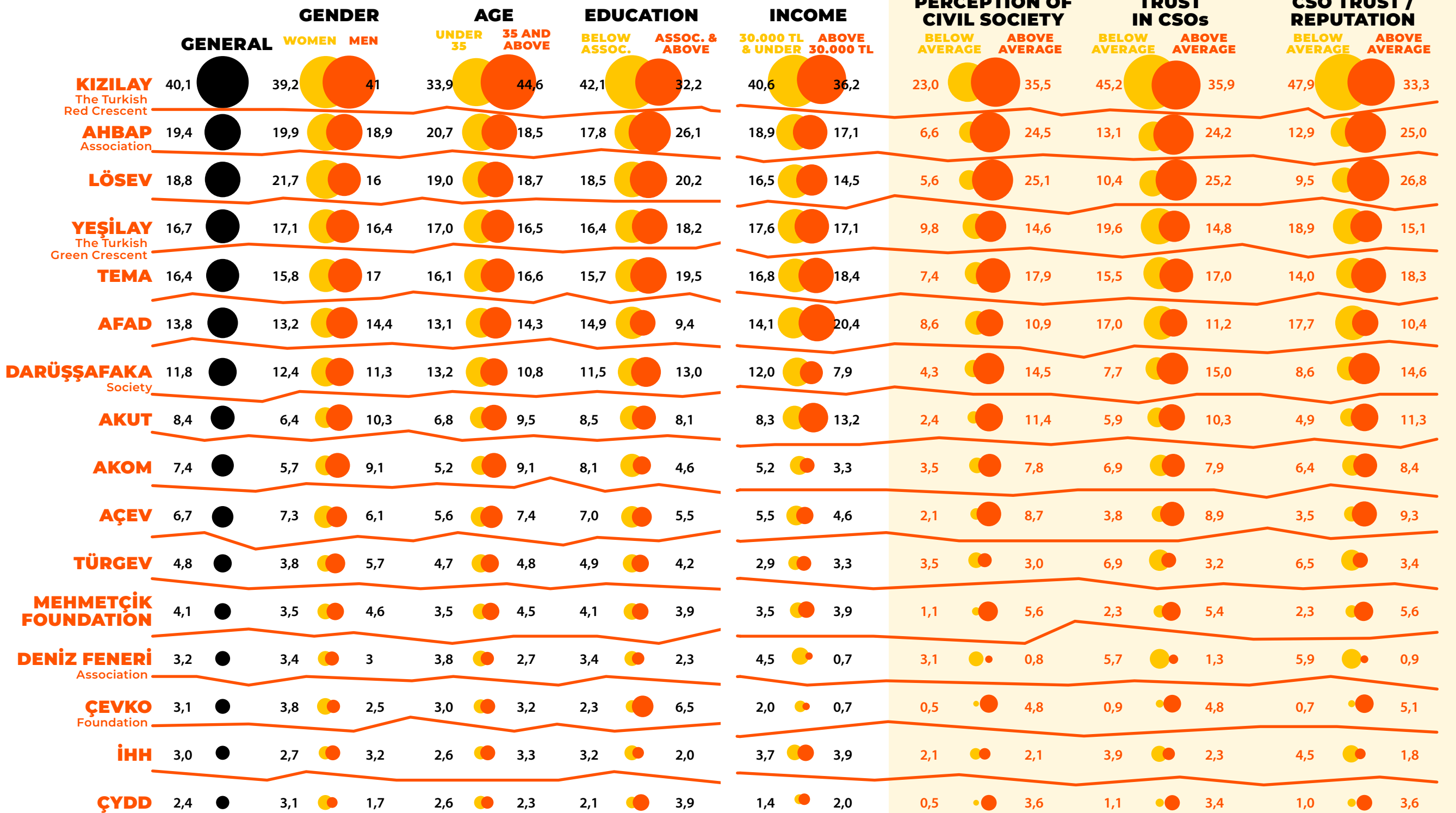


Figure 15. Mentioning Frequency of Organisations by Gender, Age, Education and Income Groups (percent of cases)

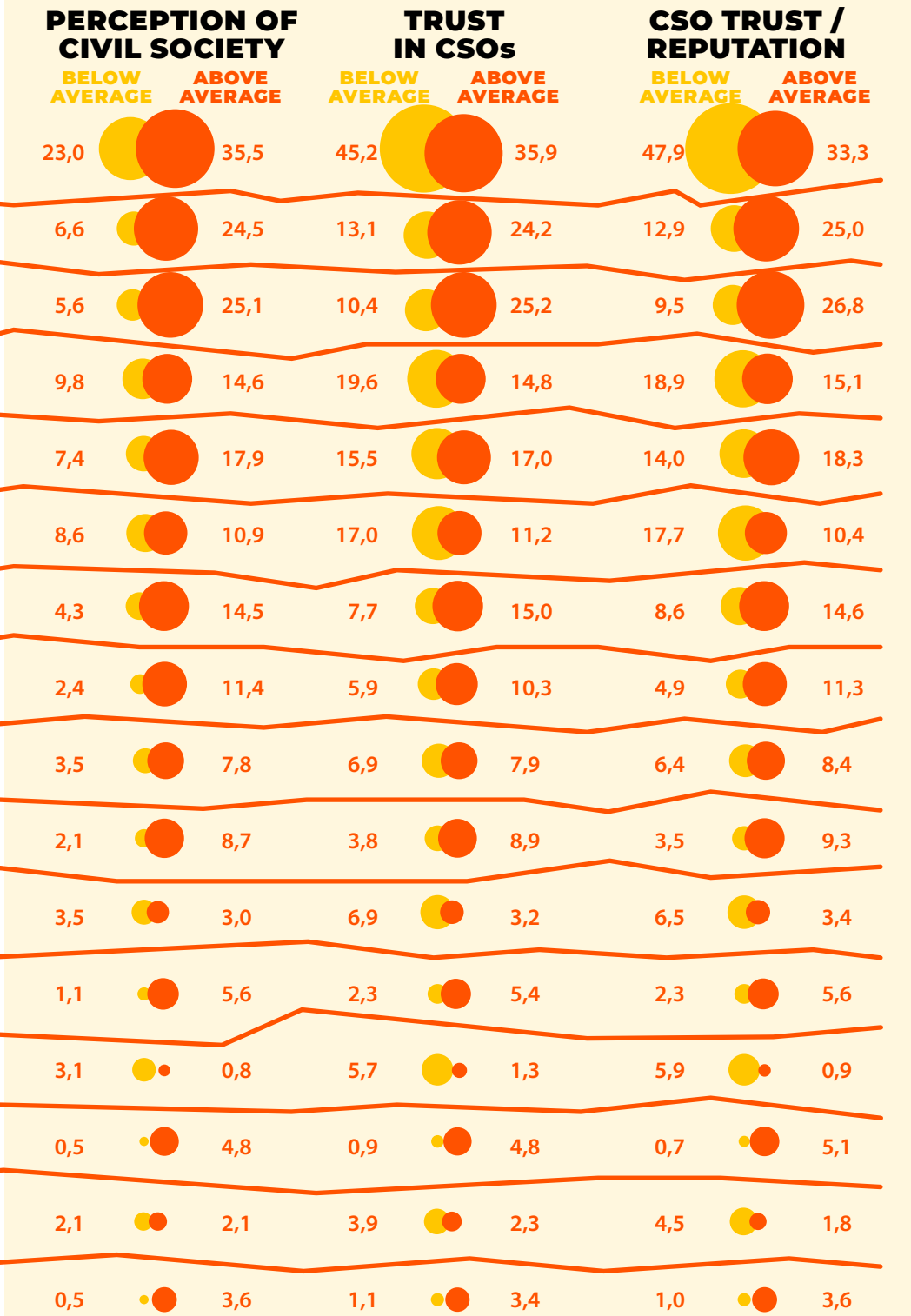


Figure 16. Mentioning Frequency of Organisations by Perception of Civil Society, Trust in CSOs and Trust/Reputation Groups (percent of cases)

\* Due to the structure of the data, it does not indicate any statistical significance.



## LEVEL OF ENGAGEMENT WITH CIVIL SOCIETY

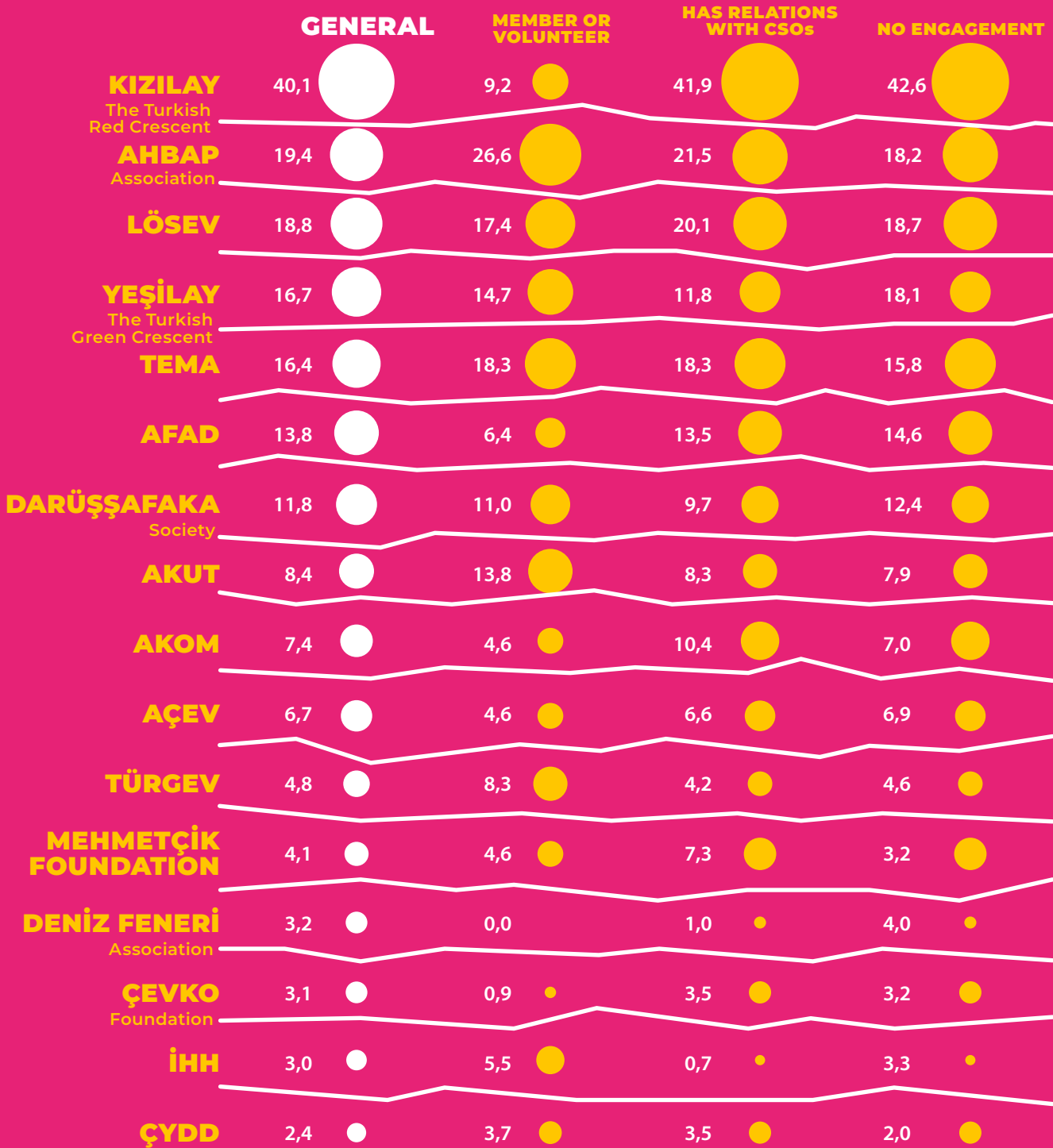
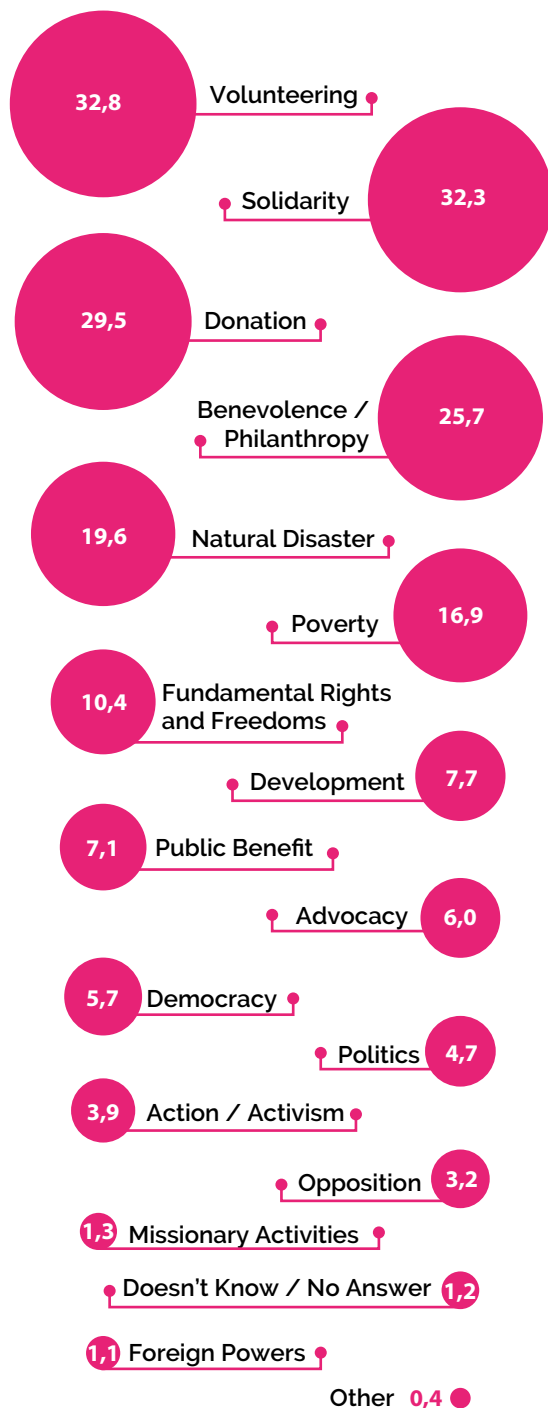


Figure 17. Mentioning Frequency of Organisations by Level of Relationship with Civil Society (percent of cases)

\* Due to the structure of the data, it does not indicate any statistical significance.



## Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation"

Following the open-ended question, the participants were shown a list of various concepts and asked to indicate which of the concepts in the list they associate with civil society.

Based on this list, the most common answers were closely related concepts such as volunteerism (33%), solidarity (32%), donation (29.5%) and aid (26%). The concepts of advocacy (6%), democracy (6%) and action (4%) were the least frequently mentioned. In addition, the concepts of missionary and foreign powers, which have negative connotations, were at the bottom of the list with 1%.

Figure 18. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" - General Sample (percent of cases)



## Key Findings

- By age:** There is a statistically significant difference in the three concepts that come to mind according to age groups. Participants under 35 years of age were more likely to think of action/activism, while participants over 35 years of age were more likely to think of aid/philanthropy and poverty.
- By income:** According to income groups, there is a statistically significant difference in terms of 8 concepts. Participants earning above 30.000 TL mentioned the concepts of democracy, public interest, solidarity, opposition, advocacy and volunteerism more than the lower income group, while those earning 30.000 TL and below mentioned the concepts of poverty and donation more.
- By education:** There is a statistically significant difference in six concepts according to education groups. Participants with an education level below associate's degree stated the concept of poverty more than the higher education group. Those with associate's degree and above mentioned the concepts of volunteering, solidarity, benevolence/philanthropy, advocacy and public interest more, respectively.

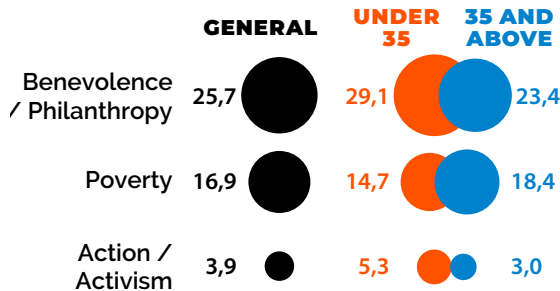


Figure 19. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Age Groups (percent of cases)

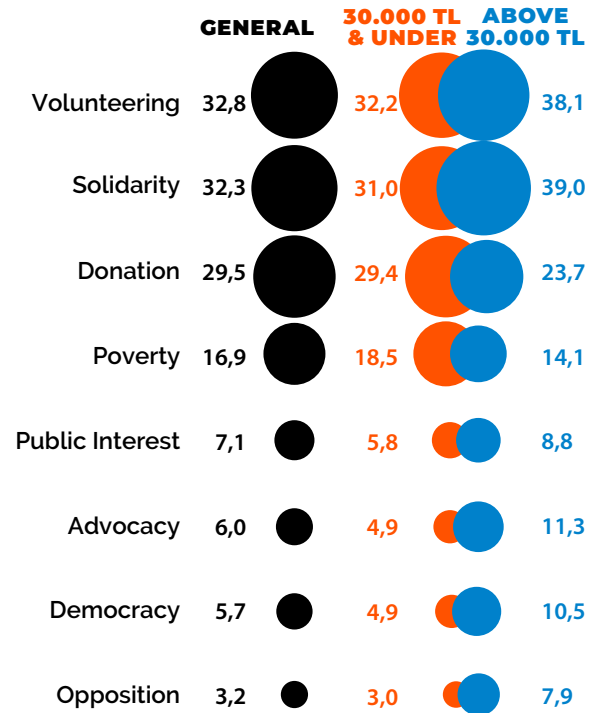


Figure 20. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Income Groups (percent of cases)

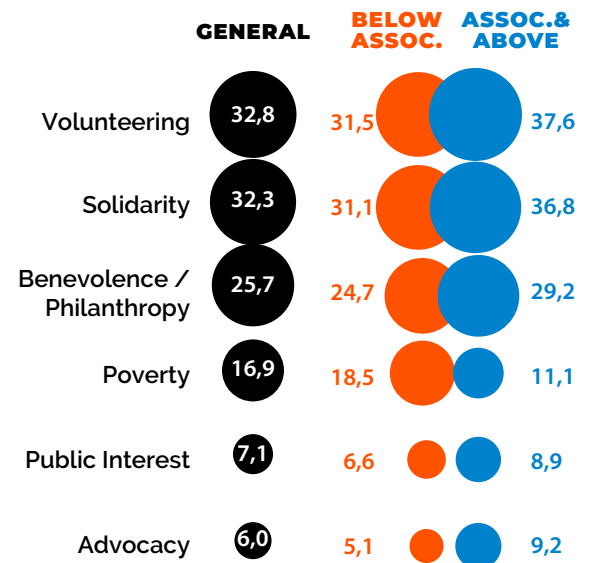


Figure 21. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Education Groups (percent of cases)



## Key Findings

- Based on CSO engagement:** There is a statistically significant difference in the frequency of mentioning 8 concepts according to the dimensions of the relationship with civil society. As the type of relationship strengthened, the frequency of the response of aid/philanthropy increased. An opposite trend was observed in the answer of poverty. Members and volunteers mentioned the concepts of public interest and opposition more frequently than other groups. Solidarity, advocacy, fundamental rights and freedoms and volunteerism were mentioned less frequently by those who have no relationship with civil society than the others.
- By active citizenship:** Democracy, action/activism, public interest, fundamental rights and freedoms were most frequently mentioned by level 4 active citizens (i.e. those who are politically engaged). Participants who were not active at all mentioned advocacy significantly less than the other three groups, and natural disasters and donations significantly more than the other three groups.
- By perception of civil society:** There are significant differences between those whose perception is below and those above the average on various issues. Those whose perception was more negative than the sample average emphasised development, public interest, missionary activity, opposition, foreign powers and politics more than the other group, while the group with more positive perception mentioned benevolence, solidarity, volunteerism and donation more frequently.

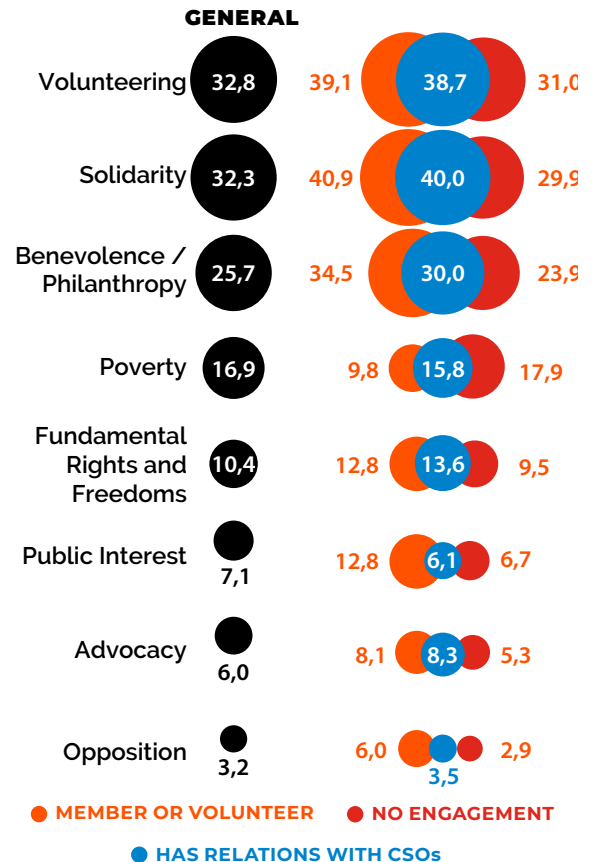
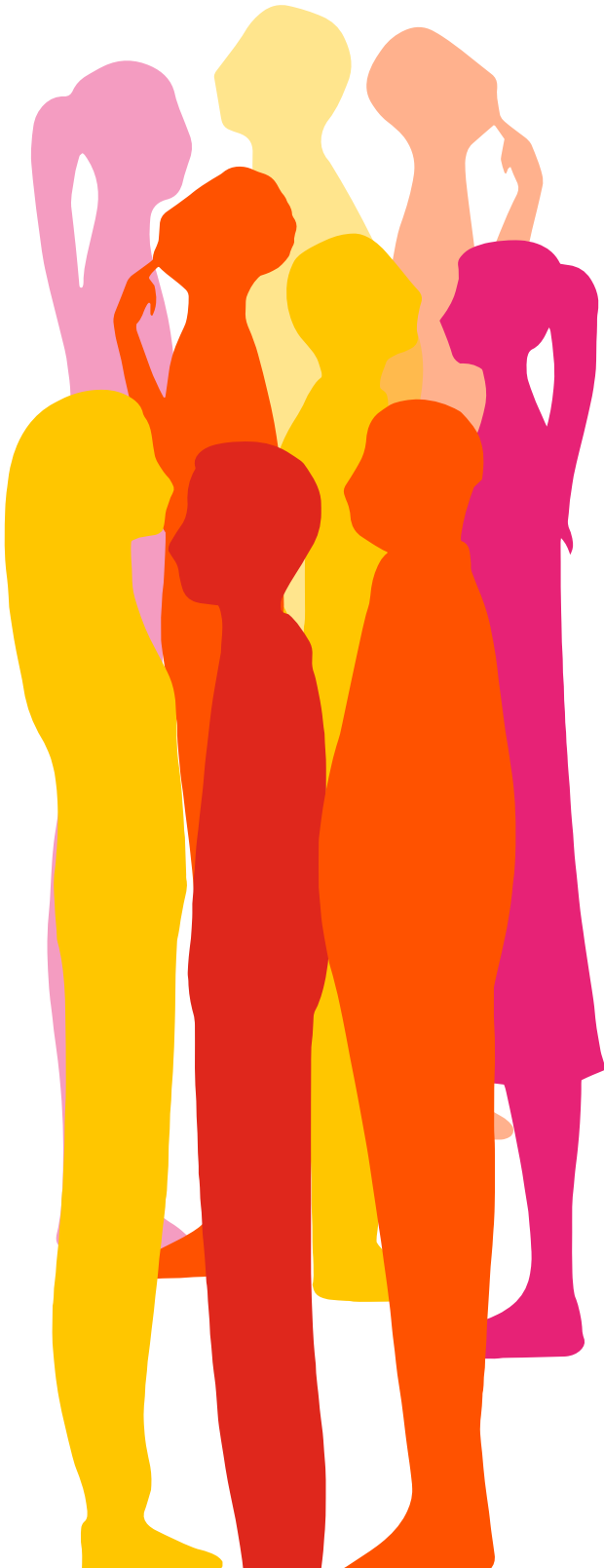


Figure 22. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Level of Relationship with CSOs (per cent of cases)



## Key Findings

- **Trust/Reputation:** When we consider the overall trust-reputation score, those below average mentioned public interest, missionary activity, opposition, foreign powers and politics more frequently, while those with above average scores mentioned benevolence, solidarity, volunteerism and donations more frequently.

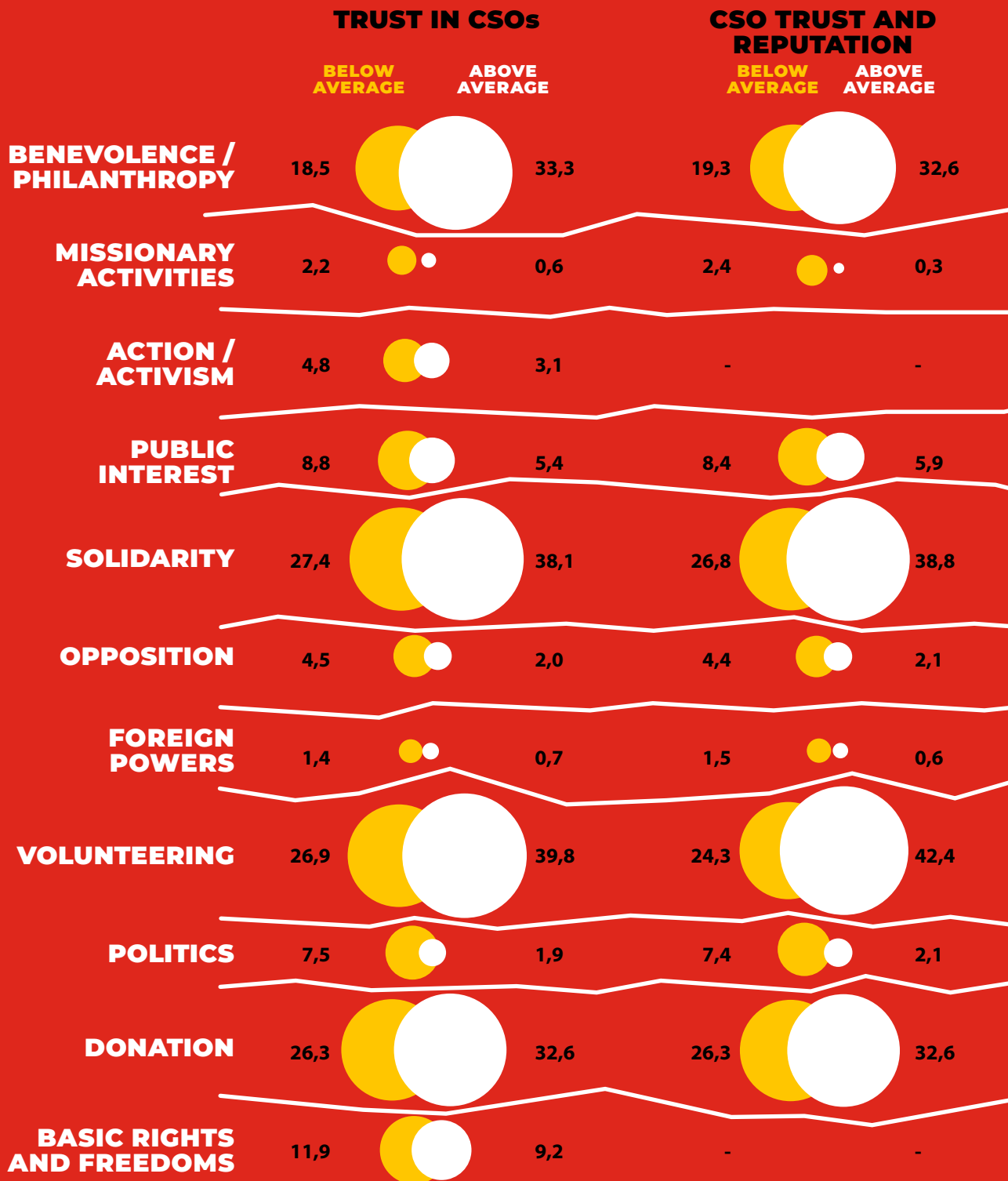


Figure 23. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Trust in CSOs and Trust/Reputation Groups

## Level of Knowledge on CSOs

In the research, the participants evaluated their level of knowledge about civil society organisations between 1 and 5. Considering the general average (2.35), it can be said that they positioned themselves close to the level of "I have little knowledge". When interpreting this and the following results, it should be kept in mind that the answer given to this question is a self-assessment. For example, a person who objectively has more knowledge than another person may also rate himself/herself as if he/she knows less than that person.



## Key Findings

- **By age:** There was a statistically significant difference between the age groups below 35 and above 35. Participants under 35 years of age stated that they had more knowledge about civil society organisations.
- **By education:** There was a statistically significant difference between groups. Those with associate's degree and higher education stated that they had more knowledge about civil society organisations.
- **Based on CSO engagement:** There was a statistically significant difference between different engagement levels and their level of knowledge. As the participants' relationship with civil society increases, their level of knowledge also increases. In other words, the group with the lowest level of knowledge is "those who have no relationship at all" (mean: 2.22), while those with the highest level of knowledge are members/volunteers (mean: 3.14).
- **By active citizenship:** Among the four levels of active citizenship, the group that evaluated themselves as the most knowledgeable about CSOs was the 4th group (those who are politically engaged).
- **By perception of civil society:** Participants whose perception of civil society was below average declared that they were less knowledgeable than the other group.
- **Trust/Reputation:** Participants with below average trust-reputation score for CSOs declared that they were less knowledgeable than the other group.

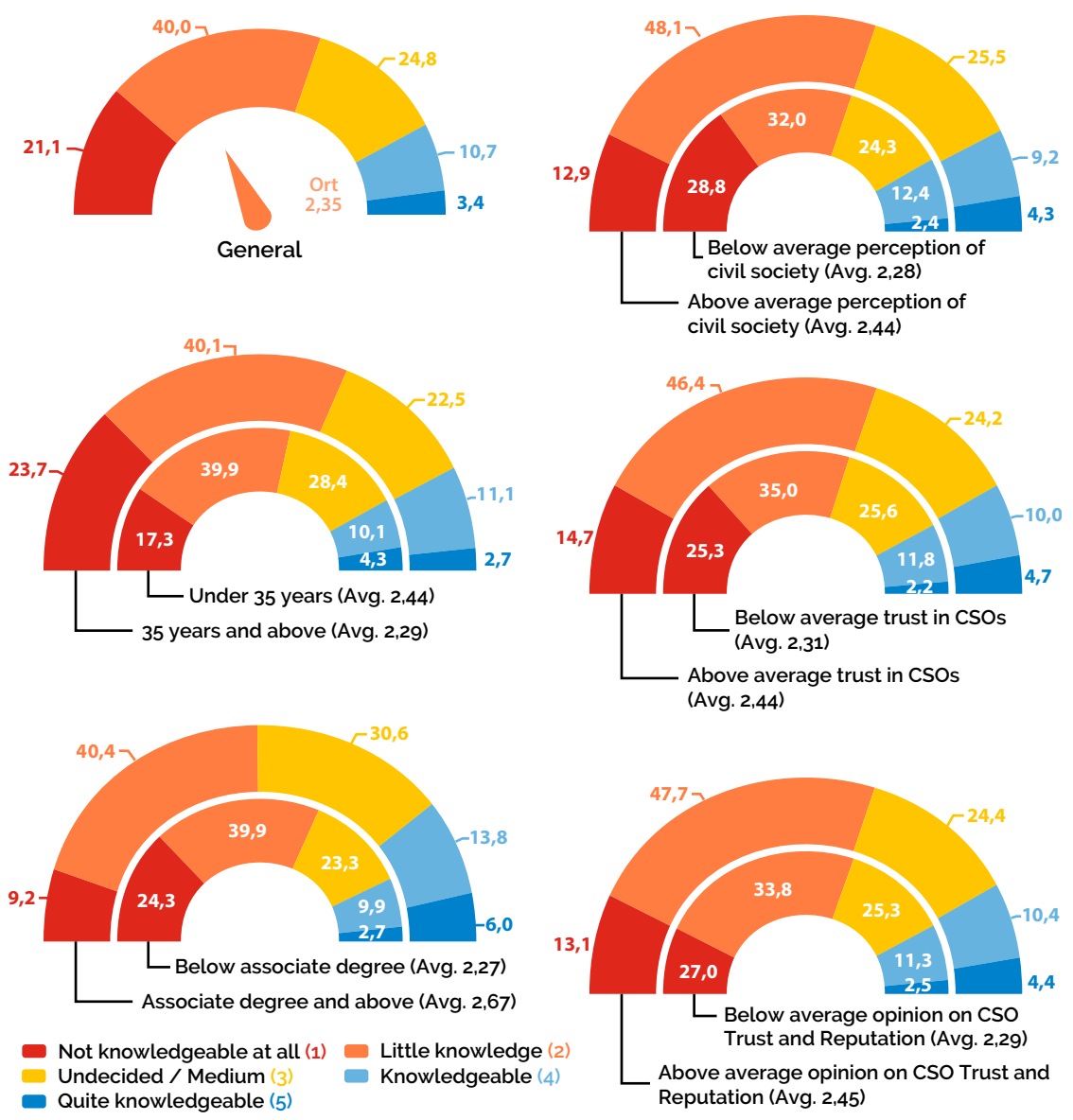


Figure 24. Level of Knowledge about Civil Society Organisations - General Sample, Age, Education, CSO Perception, Trust in CSOs and Trust/Reputation Groups



7

**Relations  
with  
Civil Society**

# Level of Engagement with Civil Society

The participants were asked whether they had any relationship with civil society organisations and if so, what kind. Then, they were grouped under the three categories: "member or volunteer", "has a relationship with CSOs" and "has no engagement".

The category "has a relationship with CSOs" included the options "I am not a member or volunteer, I only participate in their activities from time to time", "I am not a member or volunteer, I receive aid/service", "I am not a member or volunteer, I receive scholarships", "I am not a member or volunteer, I stay/stayed in its dormitories",

"I am not a member or volunteer, I only donate/made donations". The "no engagement at all" category included those who said "I have never been a member, I volunteered in the past, I have no engagement anymore" and "no, I have no engagement at all".

By this groupng, only 8% of the participants are members or volunteers, 15% have a relationship with CSOs and 77% have no relationship with civil society at all.

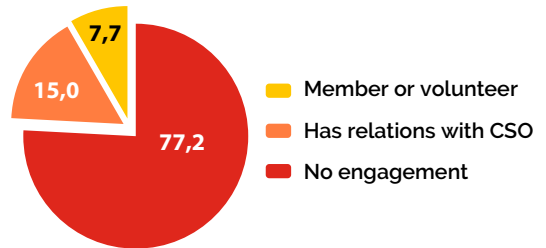


Figure 25-a. Level of Engagement with Civil Society Organisations-General Sample

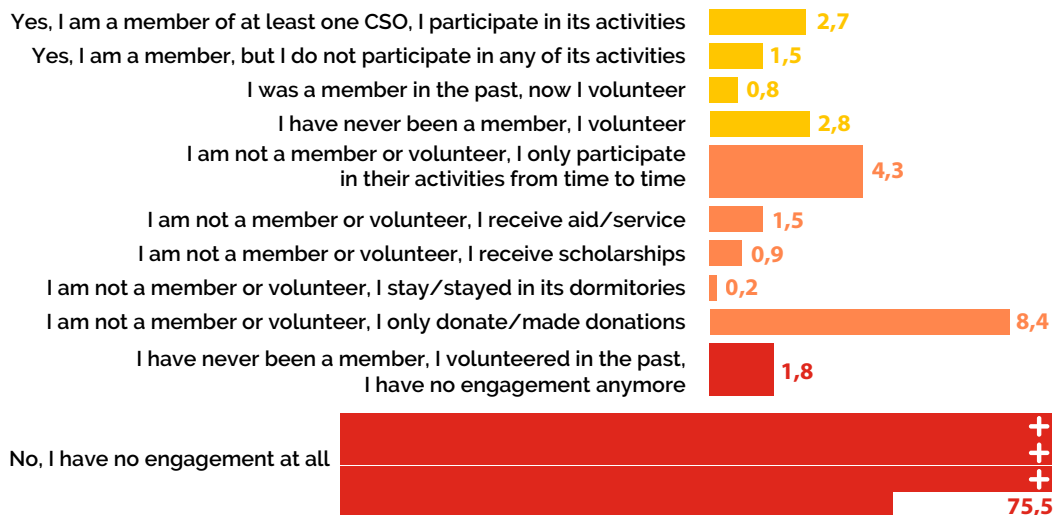


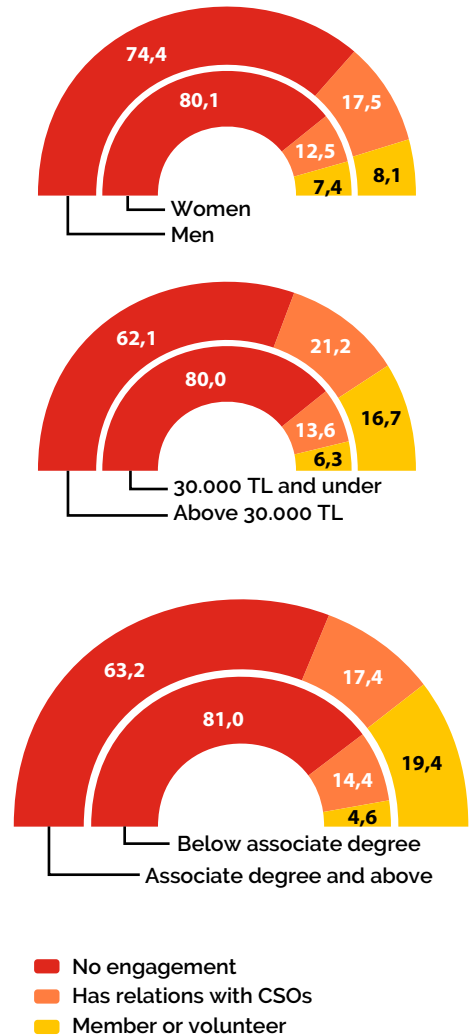
Figure 25-b. Level of Engagement with Civil Society Organisations-General Sample



## Key Findings

- **By gender:** There is no difference between men and women in terms of membership or volunteering, but women who have a relationship with CSOs are statistically significantly less than men.
- **By income:** The proportion of members/volunteers in CSOs and the proportion of people who have a relationship with CSOs in some way was significantly higher among people with an income of over 30,000 TL than in the lower income group.
- **By education:** Educational status also runs parallel to income. Those with at least an associate's degree have a higher rate of direct and indirect relationships with CSOs compared to the other group.

Figure 26. Level of Relationship with Civil Society Organisations by Gender and Income ►

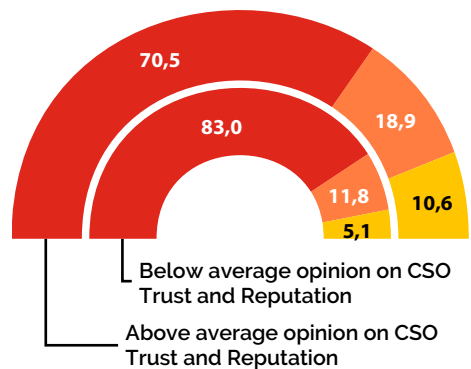
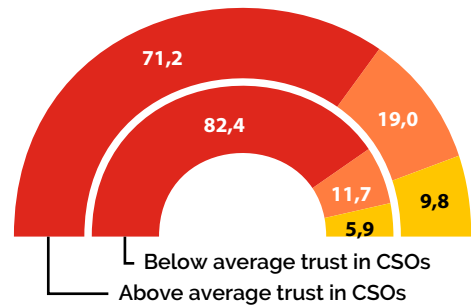
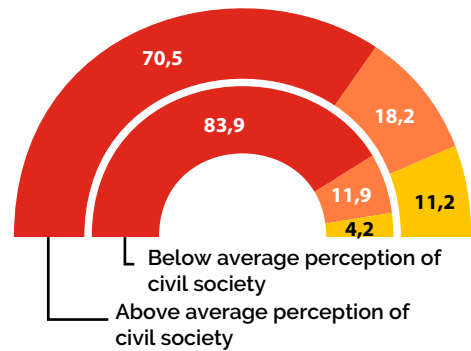




## Key Findings

- **By active citizenship:** Those who have no relationship with civil society organisations are also less active in citizenship than other groups.
- **By perception of civil society:** Those whose perception of civil society is more positive than that of the other group have stronger relationships with civil society organisations.
- **Trust/Reputation:** Among those who have lower trust-reputation scores for CSOs, there are more people who have no relationship with CSOs compared to the other group.

Figure 27. Level of Engagement with Civil Society Organisations by Education, Perception of civil society, Trust in CSOs and Trust/Reputation Groups ▶



- No engagement
- Has relations with CSOs
- Member or volunteer

# Types of Interactions with CSOs

The participants identified as having a relationship with civil society (692 people) were also asked about the nature of their relationship with the CSO to better understand the specific nature of their engagement.

In the responses to this question, the most frequently mentioned type of engagement was 'donating to a civil society organisation's campaign via SMS', followed by 'sharing the CSO's social media posts', 'buying their products' and 'supporting their fundraising activities'. 'Participating in a march/signature campaign' was the least frequently mentioned form of engagement.

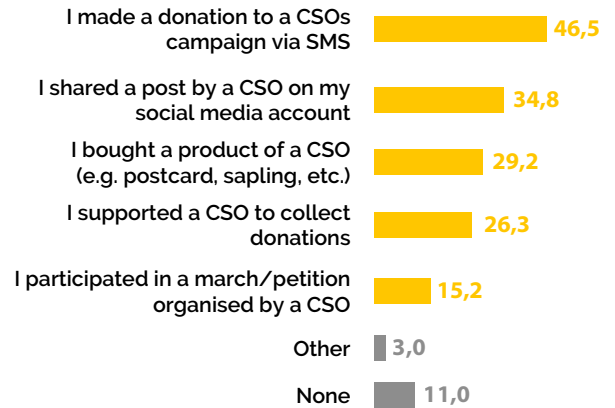
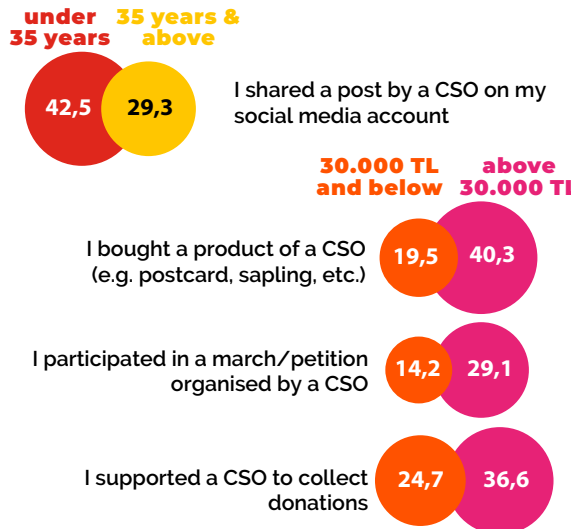


Figure 28. Types of Interactions with Civil Society by Members/Volunteers and Those in Contact with CSOs



## Key Findings

- **By age:** It was observed that people under the age of 35 shared social media content more than older people.
- **By income:** People with an income of 30,000 TL and above stated that they purchased more products, supported fundraisers and participated in marches/signature campaigns more than the other group.

Figure 29-a. Types of Interactions with Civil Society by Members/Volunteers and Associates - Demographics



## Key Findings

- **By education:** More educated group stated that they did all activities (buying products, supporting for donations, sharing on social media and sending SMS) more frequently except for participating in the march/signature campaign.

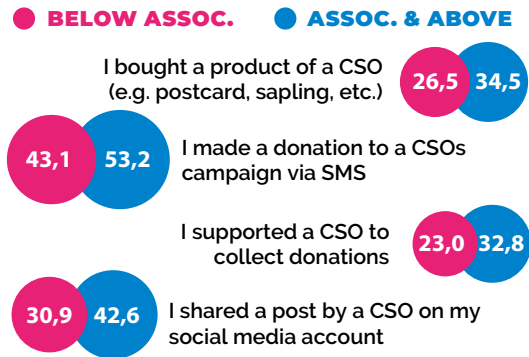


Figure 29-b. Types of Interactions with Civil Society by Members/Volunteers and Associates - Demographics

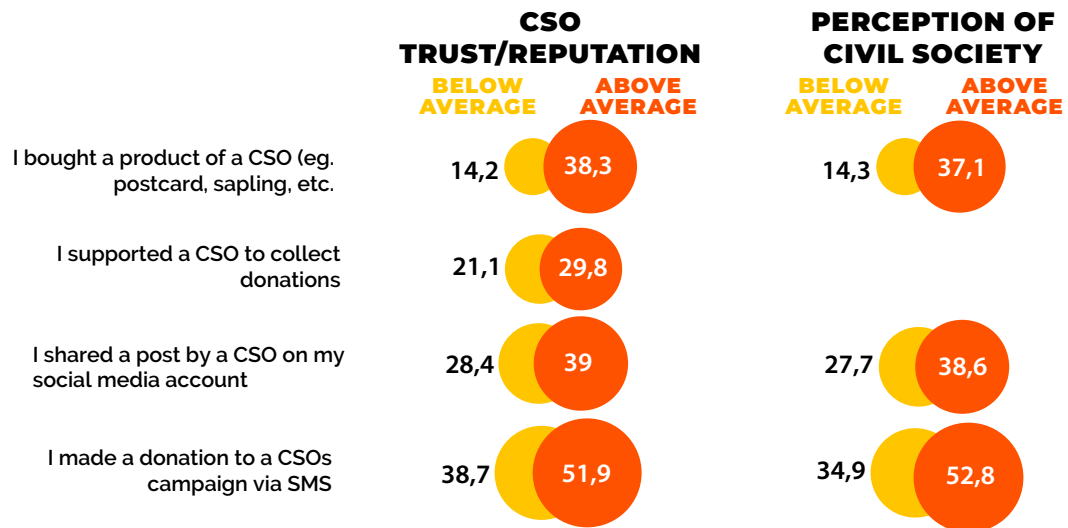


Figure 30. Types of Interactions with Civil Society by Members/Volunteers and Associates- Various Breakdowns

- **By perception of civil society:** The group with a 'more negative' perception of civil society mentioned buying products, sharing on social media and participating in the campaign via SMS significantly less frequently than the other group.
- **Trust/Reputation:** Similarly, the group with above average trust/reputation score stated that they performed all activities (buying products, supporting for donation, sharing on social media, SMS donation) more frequently except one. There is no significant difference only in terms of participating in the march/signature campaign.

## Field of Activity of the CSO of Which the Respondent is a Member

When asked in which areas the civil society organisation/initiative/platform of which they are a member, volunteer or in which they participate, was active, top three answers given by the participants were 'philanthropy and volunteering', 'environmental protection and animal welfare' and 'education services'. When detailed fields of activity of CSOs were analyzed, the most common answers were 'giving, collecting and distributing in-kind and cash donations', "environmental protection" and "emergency and rescue".



Figure 31. Fields of Activity of CSOs of which the Respondent is a Member/Volunteer or Participate in Their Activities (Main fields of activity)



Figure 32. Fields of Activity of CSOs of Which the Respondent is a Member/Volunteer or Participate in Their Activities (Detailed fields of activity)

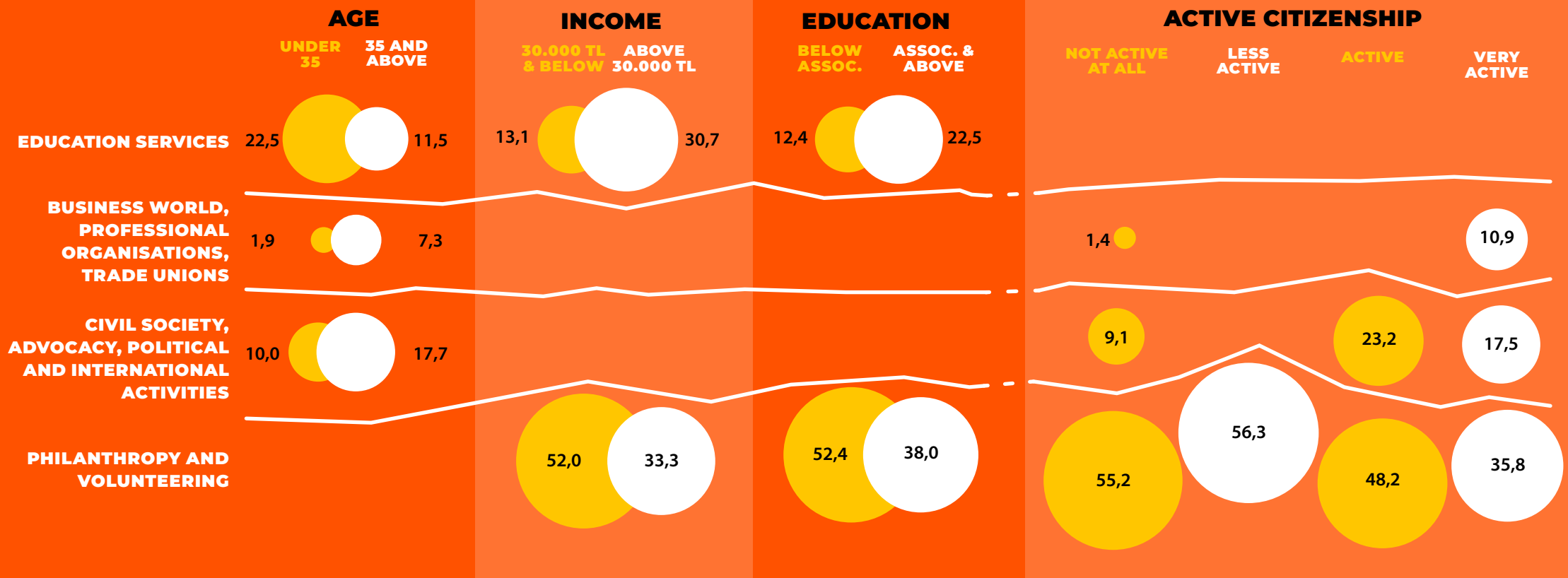


Figure 33. Fields of Activity of CSOs of which the Respondent is a Member/Volunteer or participates in their activities by various breakdowns



- **By age:** Below 35 years of age, education services were mentioned more frequently, while above 35 years of age 'civil society/advocacy/political and international activities' and 'business, professional organisations, trade unions' were mentioned more frequently than the other group.
- **By income:** The group with an income of 30,000 TL and below interacts more with CSOs operating in the field of philanthropy, while participants in higher income groups have closer relations with CSOs operating in the field of education services.

- **By education:** Respondents with less than an associate's degree have more interaction with CSOs operating in the field of philanthropy, while respondents with higher education have more relations with CSOs operating in the field of education services than the other group.
- **By active citizenship:** As the level of active citizenship increased, some areas came to the fore. These were "business world, professional organisations, trade unions" and "Civil Society, Advocacy, Political and International Activities", while less active citizens mentioned "Philanthropy and Volunteering" more frequently.



## Non-member Volunteers

The reasons for volunteering rather than being a member were asked to 107 people who stated that they were currently volunteering, whether they had been a member of a CSO in the past or not. The first reason was 'I don't want to commit myself that much' (frequency of mention 50.5%), the second reason was 'financial reasons' (frequency 21.5%), and the third reason was 'I was afraid of getting into trouble' with 12 percent.

There is no statistically significant difference in terms of different breakdowns.

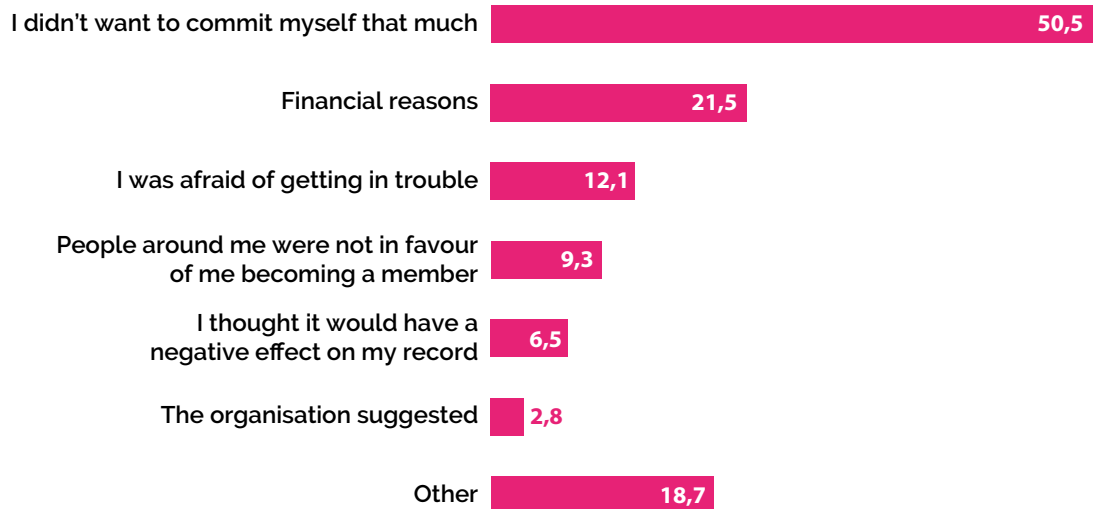


Figure 34. Reasons for Volunteering Instead of Becoming a Member

# Reasons for Not Being a Member or Volunteer

All participants (2814 people) who stated that they were not members or volunteers, whether they had relations with civil society organisations or not, were asked why they were not members or volunteers. The most frequently cited reasons were 'I do not have the time for such activities' (50%) and 'I do not have the financial means for such activities' (16%).

I don't have time for such activities.

50,0

I don't have the financial means for such activities.

15,9

I'm hesitant/afraid to participate in these kind of activities.

12,5

I am not interested in these kind of activities.

10,0

I don't trust such organisations.

9,6

No one around me participates in such activities.

8,4

These kind of activities are not beneficial to me.

7,8

I don't find such organisations impartial.

7,3

There are no CSOs in line with my thoughts/opinions.

5,8

I don't think these organisations carry out their activities transparently.

5,5

Other

0,8

Figure 35. Reasons for Not Becoming a Member or Volunteer



## Key Findings

- **By age:** Statistically significant differences according to age were observed in only one aspect. People under 35 years of age stated more often that they were afraid and hesitant to participate in such activities.



- **By active citizenship:** The reason "I don't have time" was given by those with active citizenship level 3 (also social participation). This group also stated more frequently than other groups that they did not trust these organisations and were not interested in them.
- **By perception of civil society:** Significant differences emerged between those with scores below and above average in terms of their perception of civil society. Those with a more positive perception stated that they lacked financial means and time more frequently than the other group. All other reasons except fear were mentioned more frequently by those with a below average perception of civil society.
- **Trust/Reputation:** The issues that differed according to whether the score on the trust/reputation scale was above or below the average were very parallel to the above. While the group with higher scores mentioned financial means and lack of time more frequently, the group with below average scores mentioned all other issues except fear significantly more frequently.

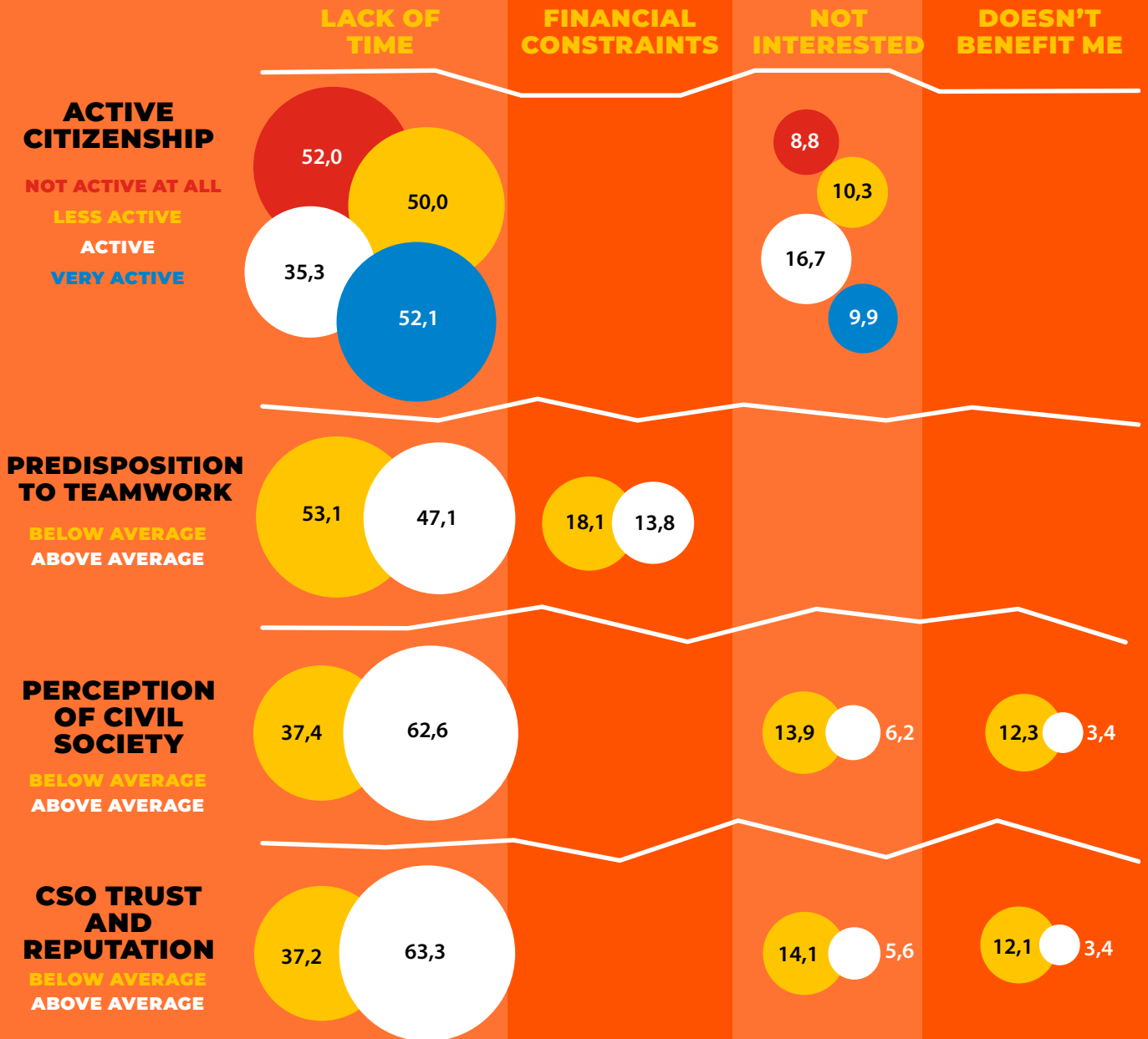


Figure 36. Reasons for Not Being a Member or Volunteer by Various Breakdowns-1

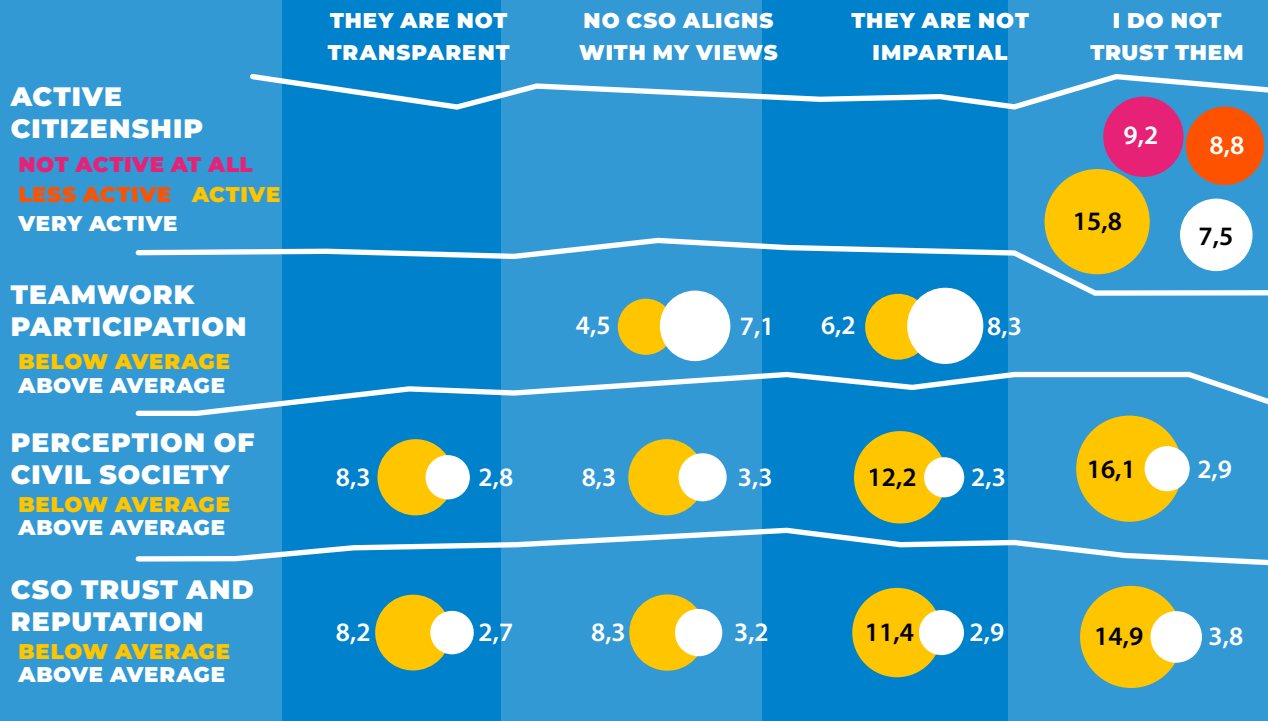


Figure 37. Reasons for Not Being a Member or Volunteer by Various Breakdowns-2

## Participants' Social Circles and Civil Society

All participants were asked whether they had any members or volunteers of civil society organisations in their social circle. 90% of the participants did not have a CSO member or volunteer in their family. 14% stated that they had friends who were members/volunteers. When it comes to neighbours and neighbourhood acquaintances, three quarters of the participants stated that there is no CSO member or volunteer in their social environment. However, those who stated that they have no idea about their neighbours and neighbourhood are not few (Neighbours: 11%; Neighbourhood: 16%).

### In the family

8,0

### Among friends

14,0

### Among neighbors

9,4

### In the neighborhood

8,3

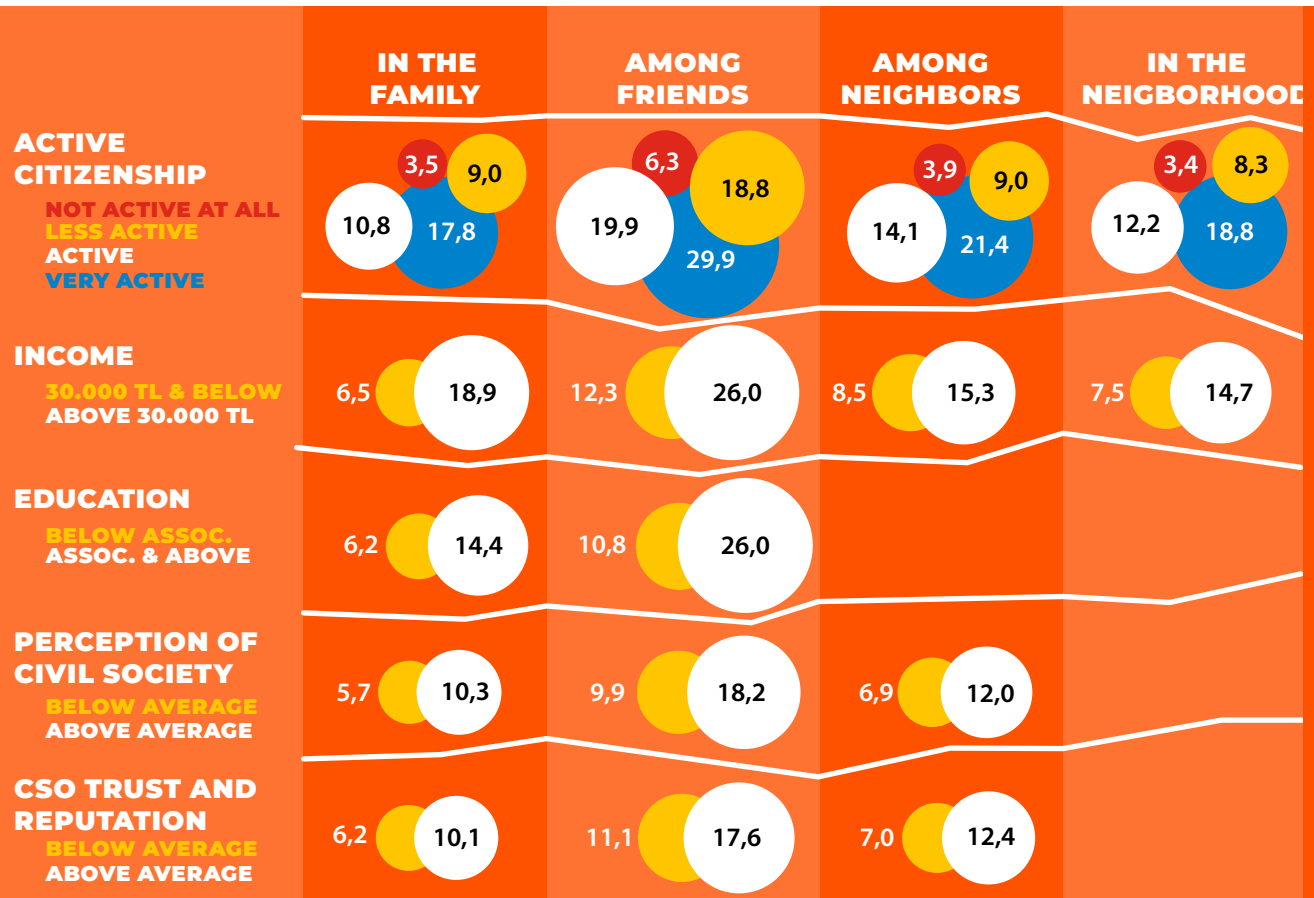
Figure 38. Relations of Participants' Social Circles with Civil Society



## Key Findings

- **By age:** People under 35 years of age have more members of civil society organisations among their friends than people over 35 years of age.
- **By education:** People with at least an associate's degree have statistically significantly more members of civil society organisations both in their families and in their circle of friends than people with lower educational level.
- **By income:** More people in the higher income group have CSO members among their family members, friends, neighbours and in the neighbourhood.
- **By active citizenship:** In terms of family, friends, neighbours and neighbourhood residents, the least active citizens have the fewest acquaintances, while the most active citizens have the most acquaintances.
- **By perception of civil society:** Among individuals with a below-average perception of CSOs, those who have family members, friends, or neighbours who are CSO members/volunteers are in the minority compared to the other group.
- **Trust/reputation:** The group with a higher trust/reputation score for CSOs has more people in their social circle who are CSO members or volunteers compared to the other group.

Figure 39. Relations of Participants' Social Circles with Civil Society by Various Breakdowns



## Conditions for Participation in CSOs' Activities

Participants were presented with various options and asked under which conditions they would be more likely to take part in the activities of civil society organisations. The most frequently mentioned condition was 'knowing that my donation will actually be used by that organisation' (20%). 'Knowing/thinking that my contribution will bring about a tangible result' and 'receiving detailed information about what has been done to date' were mentioned at the same rates and ranked second (18%).



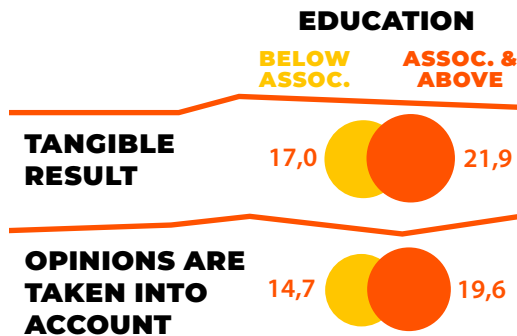
Figure 40. Conditions for Participating in CSO Activities-General Sample

Therefore, it can be said that the participants want to be sure that their efforts or financial contribution will actually create a change and expect to see proof of this.

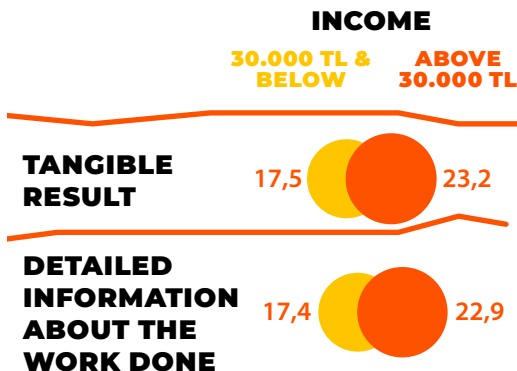


## Key Findings

- **By education:** People with at least an associate's degree more often than those with less education stated that they would like to know that their contribution would bring about a tangible result, that their views would be taken into account and that they would be direct beneficiaries of the organisation.



- **By income:** People with an income above 30.000 TL stated that they would like to know that their contribution would have a tangible result and to receive detailed information about what has been done to date more often than the other group.



- **By perception of civil society:** The group with a better-than-average perception of civil society mentioned all topics more frequently, except for being a beneficiary and flexible contribution opportunities.

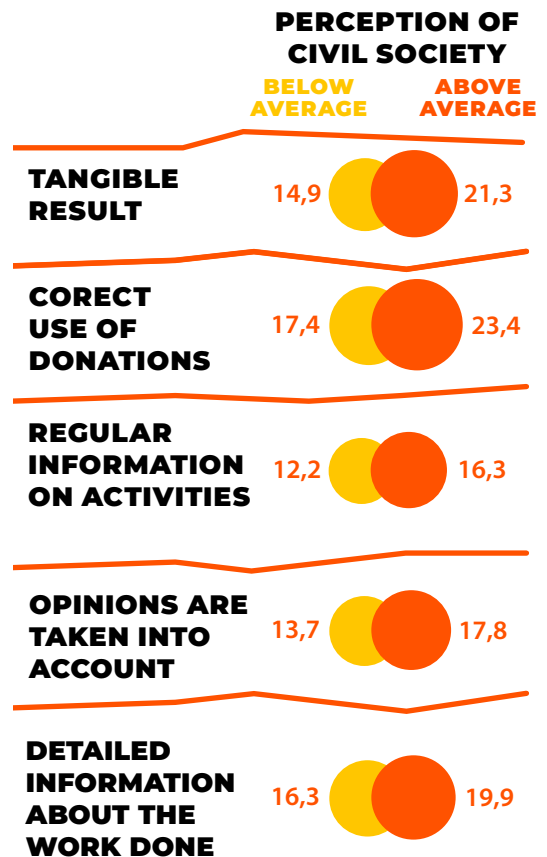


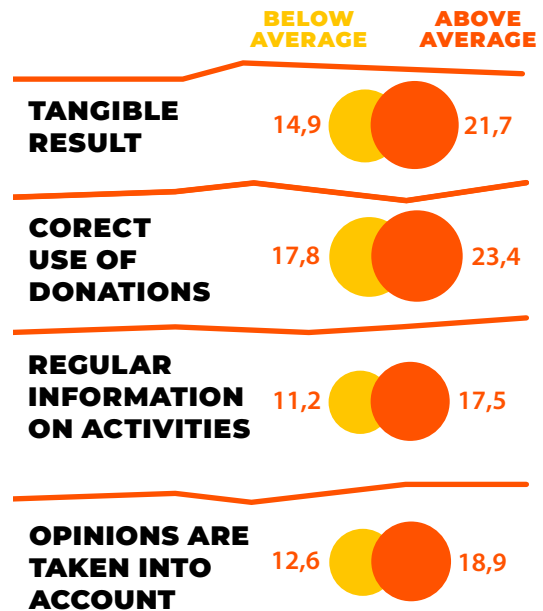
Figure 41-a. Conditions for Participating in CSO Activities by Income, Education, Perception of Civil Society



## Key Findings

- **Trust/Reputation:** Except for being able to participate in the activities in person and receiving detailed information about what has been done so far, all other issues were mentioned more frequently by the group with above-average Trust/Reputation scores.
- **By active citizenship:** The group with the highest level of active citizenship mentioned the options 'getting detailed information about what has been done to date', 'being able to personally participate in the activities organised by the civil society organisation' and 'knowing/thinking that your contribution will bring about a tangible result' more frequently than the other three groups.

### CSO TRUST AND REPUTATION



### ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

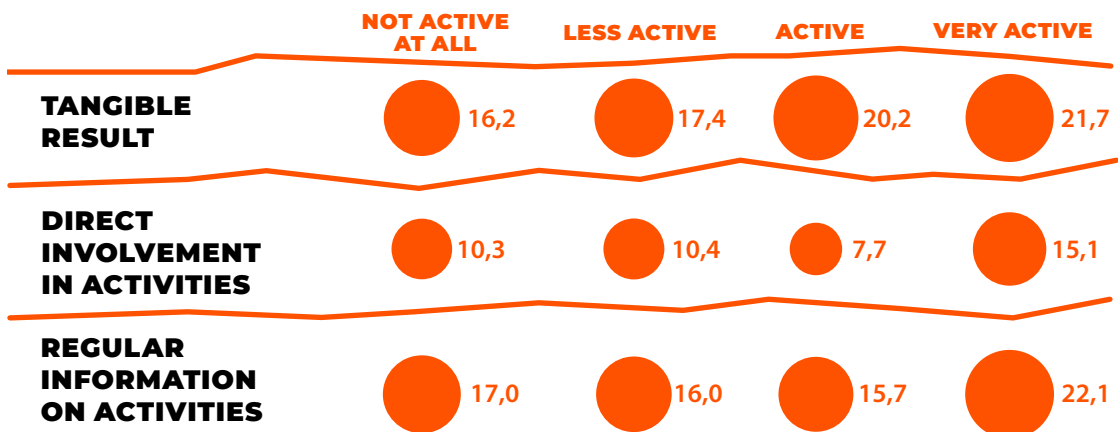


Figure 41-b. Conditions for Participating in CSO Activities by Activism and Trust/Reputation Groups



# Public Perception of Civil Society

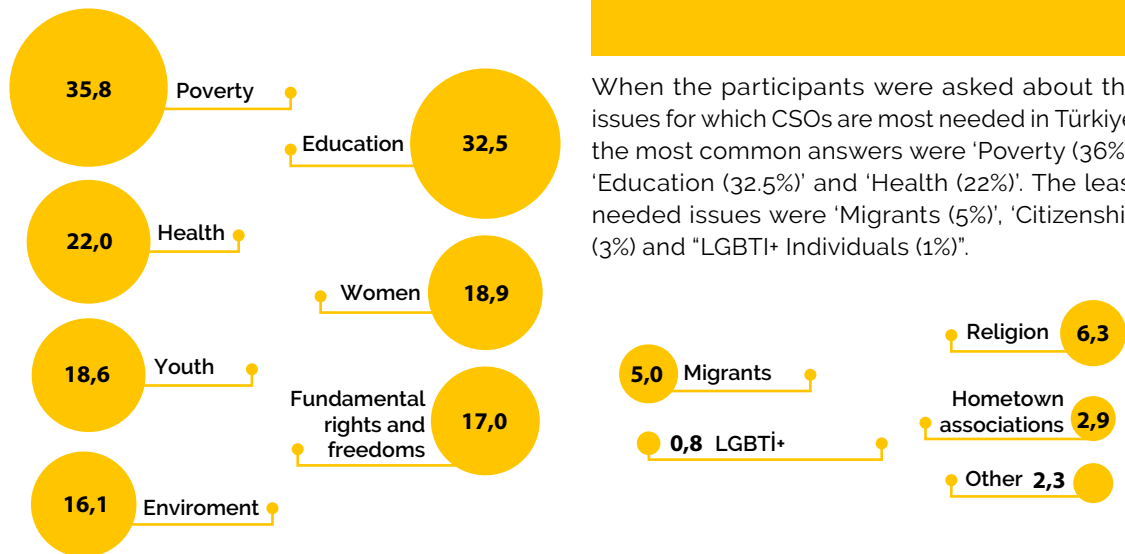


Figure 42. Areas Where CSOs Are Needed Most - General Sample



## Key Findings

- **By gender:** CSOs working on environment and health as a need were mentioned statistically significantly more frequently by men than women.
- **By age:** While the need for CSOs working on environment, education and youth were mentioned more frequently by participants under 35 years of age than the other group, the opposite was true for CSOs working on poverty.
- **By education:** Respondents with associate's degree and higher education expressed the need for CSOs working on education and fundamental rights and freedoms more frequently, while respondents with lower education emphasised CSOs working on poverty more than the other group.
- **By income:** When analysed by income, the only significant difference was observed in the need for CSOs working on poverty. Those with an income of 30.000 TL and below expressed this need more than those with higher incomes.

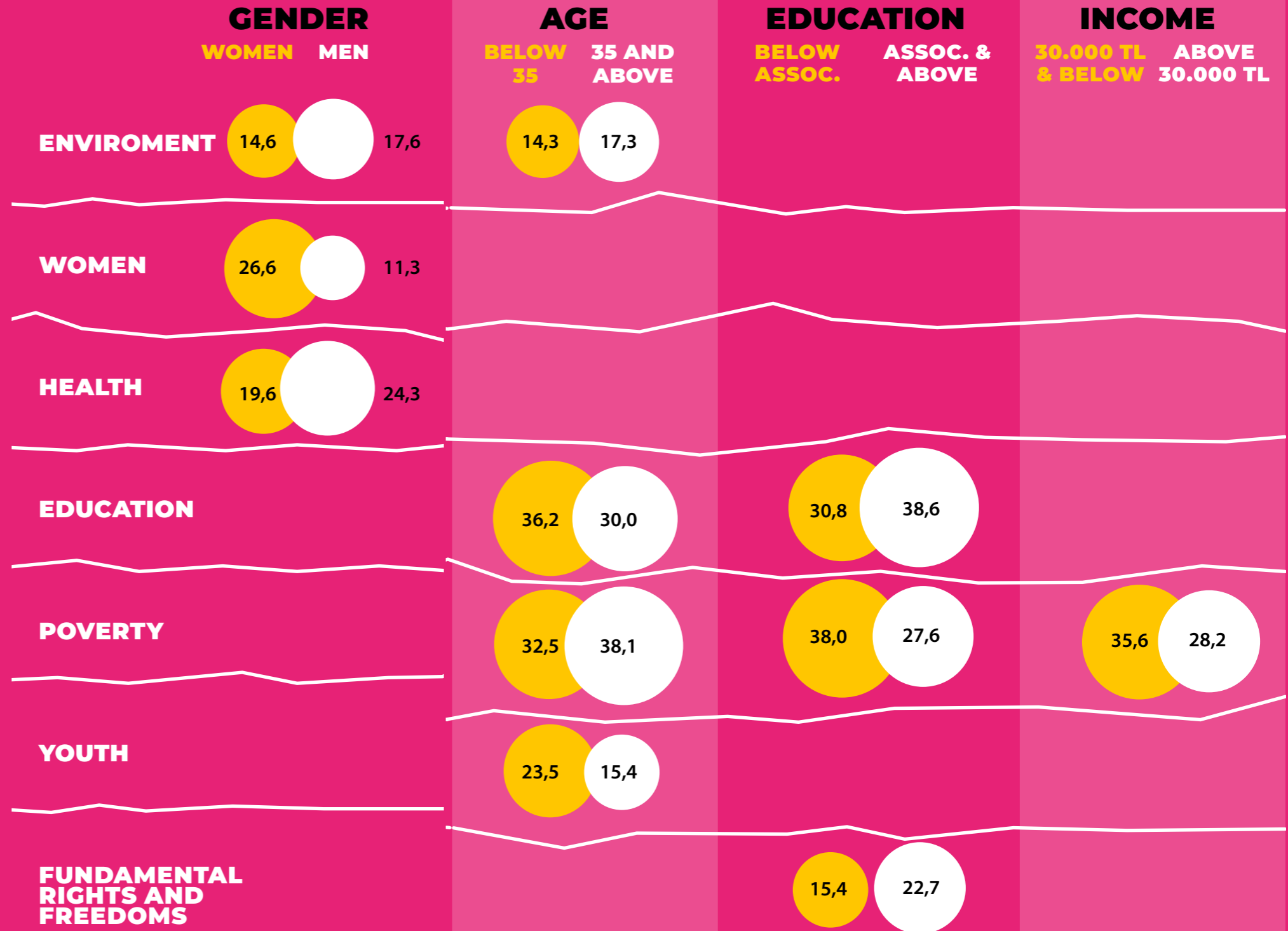
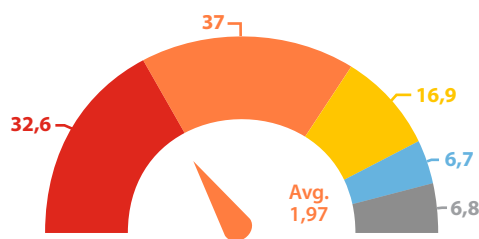


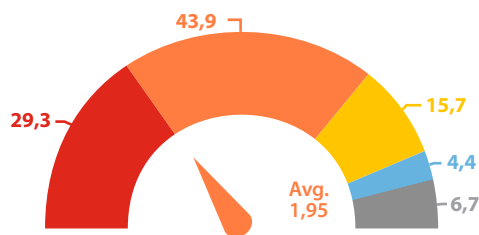
Figure 43. Areas Where CSOs Are Needed Most by Gender, Age, Income and Education Groups

# Effectiveness of Civil Society Organisations

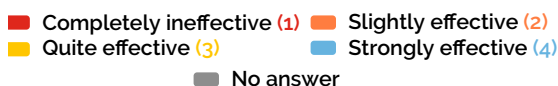
Participants were asked about the level of effectiveness of civil society organisations in solving the problems in their social environment/neighbourhood using a scale where '1 means completely ineffective and 4 means very effective'. The general sample mean for this question was 1.97. The impact of civil society organisations in determining government policies was also asked using the same scale, and the average of the answers to this question was 1.95.



The effectiveness of civil society organisations on solving the problems in the environment/neighborhood you live in



The effectiveness of civil society organisations in determining government policies in our country



## Key Findings

- By on CSO involvement:** Respondents with no relationship with CSOs rated the impact of CSOs on solving problems at the local level and their ability to influence government policies on a broader scale as the lowest.
- By active citizenship:** Those in the 4th group at the active citizenship level (those who are politically engaged) find civil society organisations most effective in solving the problems in their social environment/neighbourhood. Those who find these organisations the least effective are the participants in the 3rd group, i.e. those who focus on social participation. When it comes to the impact of CSOs on government policies, the group that finds CSOs most effective is the digital participation group, which is also the group with the lowest level of active citizenship.
- By perception of civil society:** Those whose perception of civil society is above average are the ones who find CSOs more effective than the other group both at the local level and in influencing government policies.
- Trust/Reputation:** The group of participants with higher scores on the trust/reputation scale are those who find CSOs more effective both at the local level and in influencing government policies.

Figure 44. Effectiveness of Civil Society Organisations on the Solution of Problems in Participants' Social Environments and Determination of Policies in the Country-General Sample

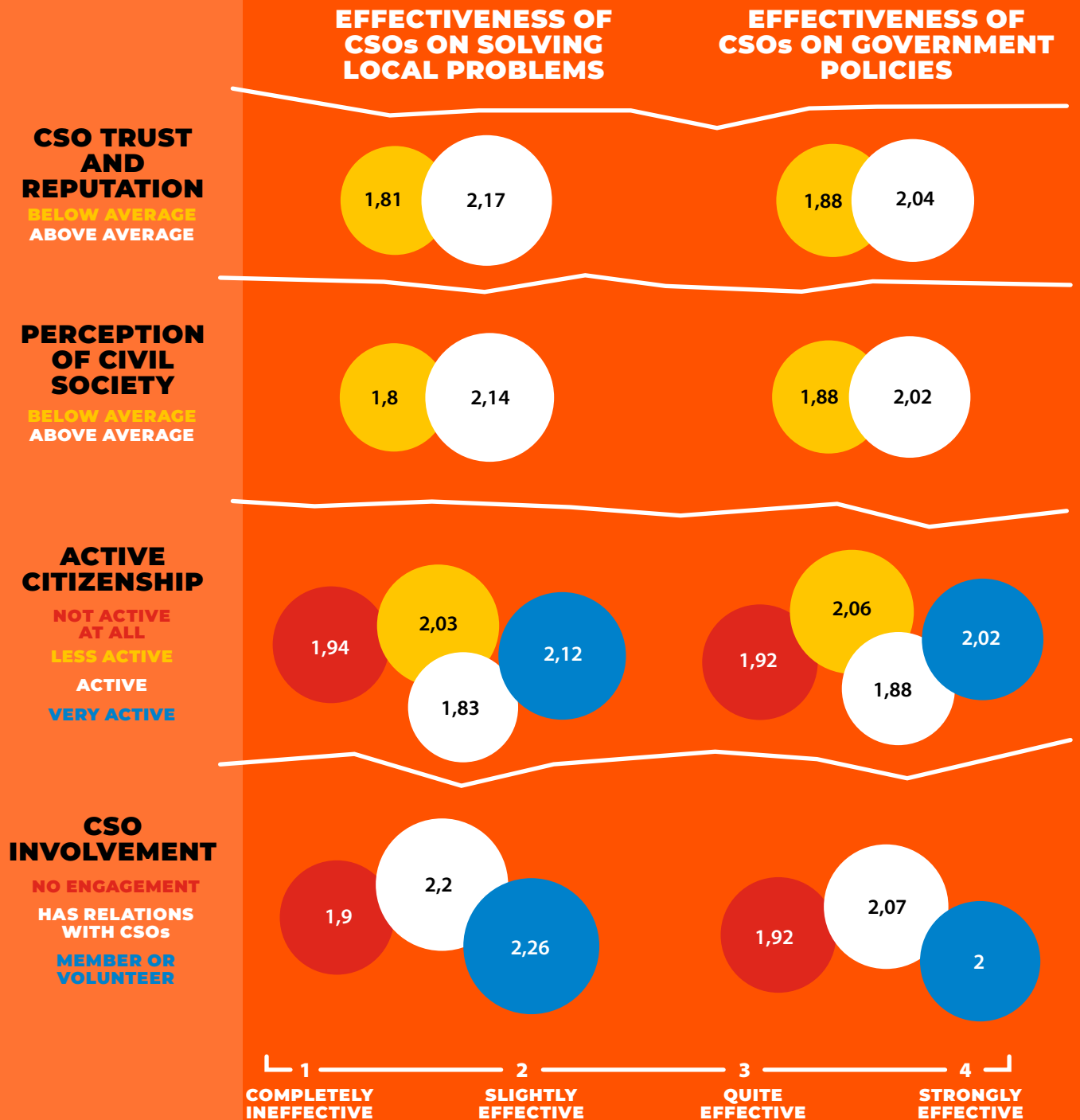


Figure 45. Effectiveness of Civil Society Organisations on the Solution of Problems in the Respondents' Social Environments/Neighbourhoods and on Government Policies - By Various Breakdowns

# Organisation of Marches by CSOs

Participants were asked to evaluate the organisation of a march or a press statement by civil society organisations to draw attention to or criticise an issue on a scale where 1 is 'It is a legitimate and democratic right' and 10 is 'It is wrong and harms the integrity of the state'. The overall average of the responses was 3.55, close to the view that 'it is a legitimate and democratic right'.



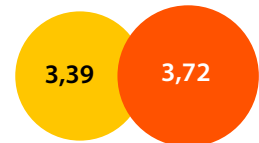
## Key Findings

- **By education:** Those with at least an associate's degree are statistically significantly more likely than those with less education to consider it legitimate for civil society organisations to organise marches or make press statements.
- **By CSO engagement:** Those who are members or volunteers of CSOs find such actions statistically significantly more legitimate than the other two groups.
- **By active citizenship:** Citizens with the highest level of active citizenship (political participation) were the group that perceived such actions as legitimate, while the group that was not active at all included the respondents who perceived such actions as the least legitimate.



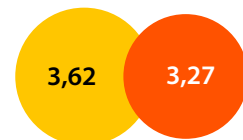
### TRUST IN CSOs

BELOW AVERAGE  
ABOVE AVERAGE



### EDUCATION

BELOW ASSOC.  
ASSOC. & ABOVE



### ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP

NOT ACTIVE AT ALL  
LESS ACTIVE  
ACTIVE  
VERY ACTIVE

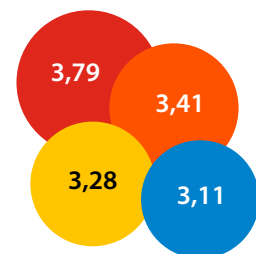


Figure 46. Opinion on CSOs' Organising Marches - Various Breakdowns.

# Perception of Civil Society

Participants were read a series of propositions in two different questions about their perception of civil society and asked to give a score ranging from 1 'strongly disagree' to 5 'strongly agree'. These scores were then summed and divided by the number of propositions to arrive at an average score (3.42) for each participant.

A variable **"perception of civil society"** was created, which defines the participants with scores below and above this average and consists of two separate categories as "those whose perception is below average"/"those whose perception is above average".

The perception of CSOs and civil society of those whose 'perception is above average' was considered to be 'more positive', while the perception of those whose 'perception is below average' was considered to be 'more negative'. While the average scores of these groups were 2.97 and 3.85 respectively, the score of the group with below average perception in this variable is very close to the ruler average of 3. (For detailed percentage distributions of the answers, see Figure 1)

The proposition that the respondents mostly agreed with was "They are organisations that act on the basis of volunteerism" (mean: 3.81). This was followed by aid and philanthropy-oriented propositions such as "They are organisations created to help those in need (mean: 3.79)" and "They are organisations that serve to increase solidarity (mean: 3.78)". The least agreed proposition, which fell below the average scale score of 3, was "They are organisations where humanitarian feelings are exploited and abused".

Figure 47-a. Propositions on Perception of Civil Society

## Question 1 Avg. Score

They are organisations that play an important role in social development with their activities.

3,68

They are organisations that bring together people who want to help others.

3,73

They are organisations that raise public awareness on the issues they work on.

3,67

They are organisations that help promote solidarity.

3,78

They are organisations where people come together to make their own opinions heard and advocated.

3,51

They are organizations that work to find solutions to the problems that arise in society.

3,67

They are organizations that benefit society by reaching the areas that the government cannot.

3,70

They are organisations that strengthen democracy and rise on the basis of democracy.

3,58

They are organisations that act on the basis of volunteerism.

3,81

They are organisations created to help those in need.

3,79

They are organisations where humanitarian feelings are exploited and abused.

2,66

They are organisations that influence and control state policies by forming public opinion.

3,34

**Avg. Score**

**Question 2**

3,11

If the state functions properly, there is no need for CSOs.

3,31

CSOs carry out their activities with their own resources without receiving any money from any institution or country.

3,16

Most of the CSOs work on migrants.

3,29

Most members of CSOs are economically well-off.

2,62

We can do without CSOs.

2,90

CSOs do not sufficiently address basic human rights.

3,49

CSOs explain their objectives and activities well to the society.

3,32

CSOs are independent from all political parties and governments.

3,31

CSOs in Türkiye are transparent organisations.

3,34

CSOs are independent from religious sects.

Figure 47-b. Propositions on Perception of Civil Society

In the second question, the statement 'CSOs explain their aims and activities to the society well (mean=3,49)' was the one that the participants agreed with the most, while "We can do without CSOs (mean=2,62)" was the one that received the least support.

The two sets of questions in the questionnaire and were taken together and an average perception score was calculated for each participant. In this way, it was aimed to simplify the analyses to be made on a large number of individual propositions.

The following are various charts regarding the profiles prepared using this variable. Cross-analyses were also made using this variable throughout the report.

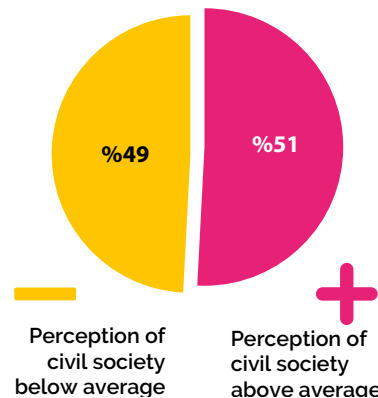


Figure 48. Public perception of CSOs-General Sample



## Key Findings

There was no significant difference between the two groups in terms of gender and age, however the two groups differed statistically in terms of education, income, and trust/reputation.

- **By education:** The group with above average perception has a higher proportion of people with associate's degree and higher education compared to the other group.
- **By Trust/Reputation:** The perception of CSOs of those whose trust/reputation score for CSOs is above the average is quite positive compared to the other group.

## PERCEPTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

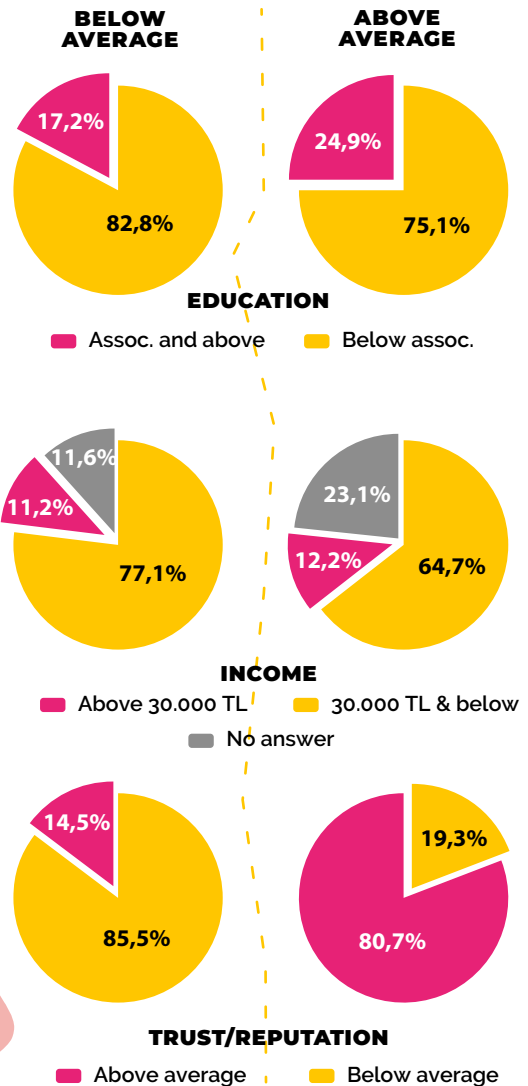


Figure 49. Public perception of CSOs by Education, Income and Trust/Reputation Groups

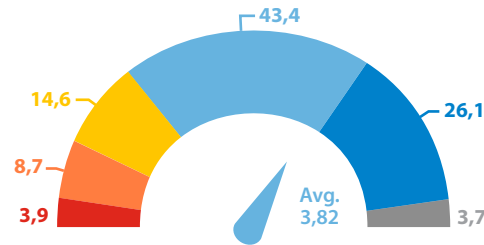


# 9

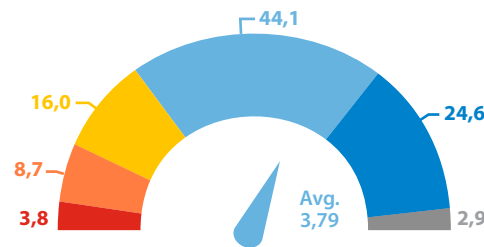
# Impact of the Earthquakes On Civil Society

To understand whether the Kahramanmaraş Earthquakes that took place on 6 February 2023 had an impact on the perception of civil society, participants were read a series of propositions and asked to what extent they agreed with them using a 5-point scale.

**We can say that the responsibility assumed by civil society organisations after the earthquake had a very positive impact on the perception of civil society.**

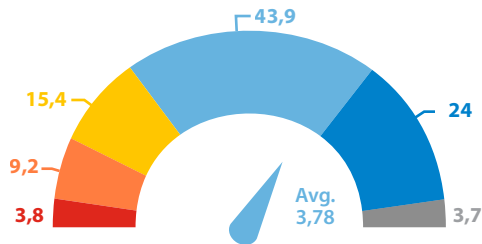


The earthquake made me realise how important civil society organisations are.

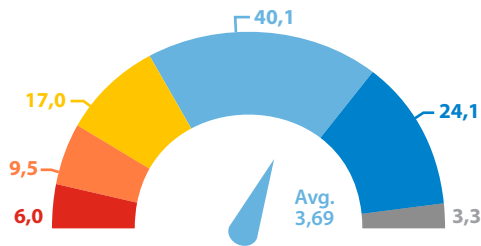


After seeing their work in the post-earthquake period, I started to look at civil society organisations more positively.

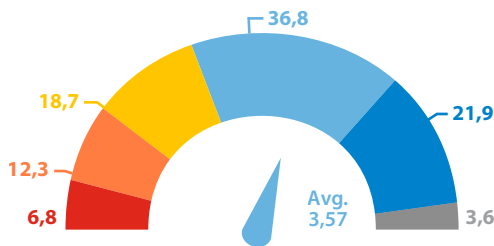
Figure 50-a. Perception of Civil Society After the Earthquake-General Sample



The earthquake positively affected my opinion on becoming a member of civil society organisations, volunteering or making donations.



Civil society organisations worked more effectively than state institutions after the earthquake.



Civil society organisations could have worked more effectively in the earthquake if there was no need to get permission from the state.

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

Figure 50-b. Perception of Civil Society After the Earthquake-General Sample

The impact of the earthquake was also observed in different questions in the survey. The first of these was that the earthquake/disaster issue ranked first among the concepts associated with CSOs. When the participants were asked in an open-ended question what comes to mind when they think of CSOs, the third most common answer to this question was 'Disaster/Earthquake/Search and Rescue' (frequency of mention 9%).

The participants responded to the same question by naming one institution/organisation most frequently. When these names were analysed, the Red Crescent (Kızılay) and AHBAP were in the top two places. This was related to the fact that the organisation was on the agenda during the earthquakes and forest fires, especially for AHBAP.

Participants were also asked in which areas the civil society organization / initiative / platform they are a member of, volunteer for, or participate in operates. In order to better understand the impact of the earthquakes that took place on 6 February 2023 in terms of participation in civil society, this question was regrouped under two categories: 'has earthquake-related activities' and 'no earthquake related activities stated'. According to the new grouping, the frequency of directly mentioning the earthquake as a field of activity was 17%.

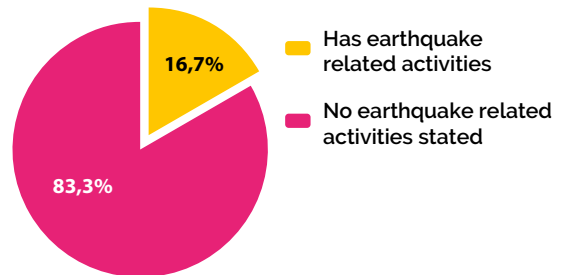
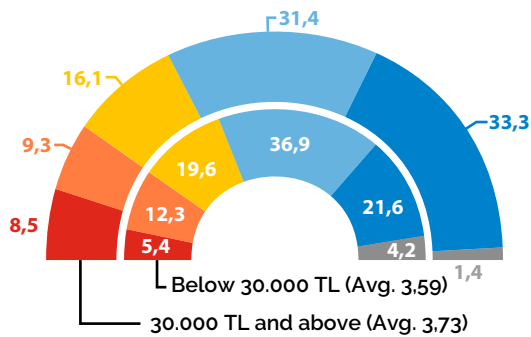
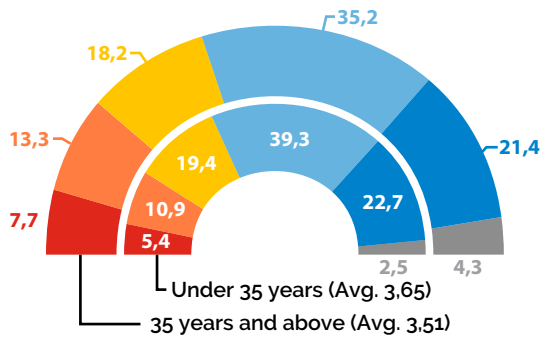
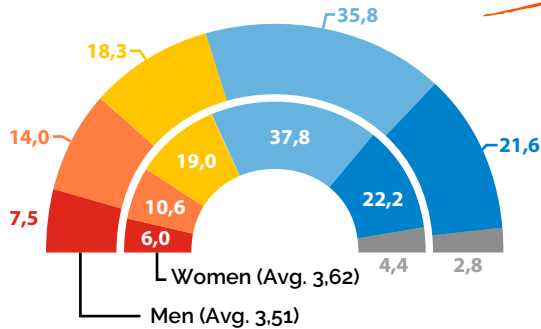


Figure 51. Earthquake Activity Status of CSOs of which The Respondent is a Member/Volunteer or Participates in Their Activities



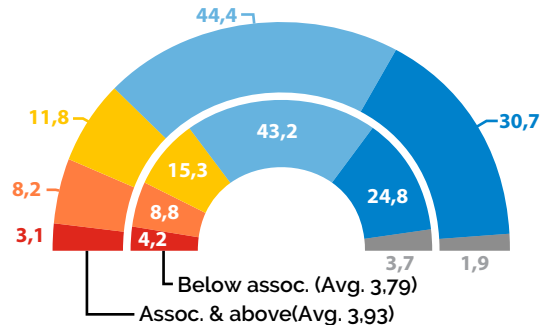
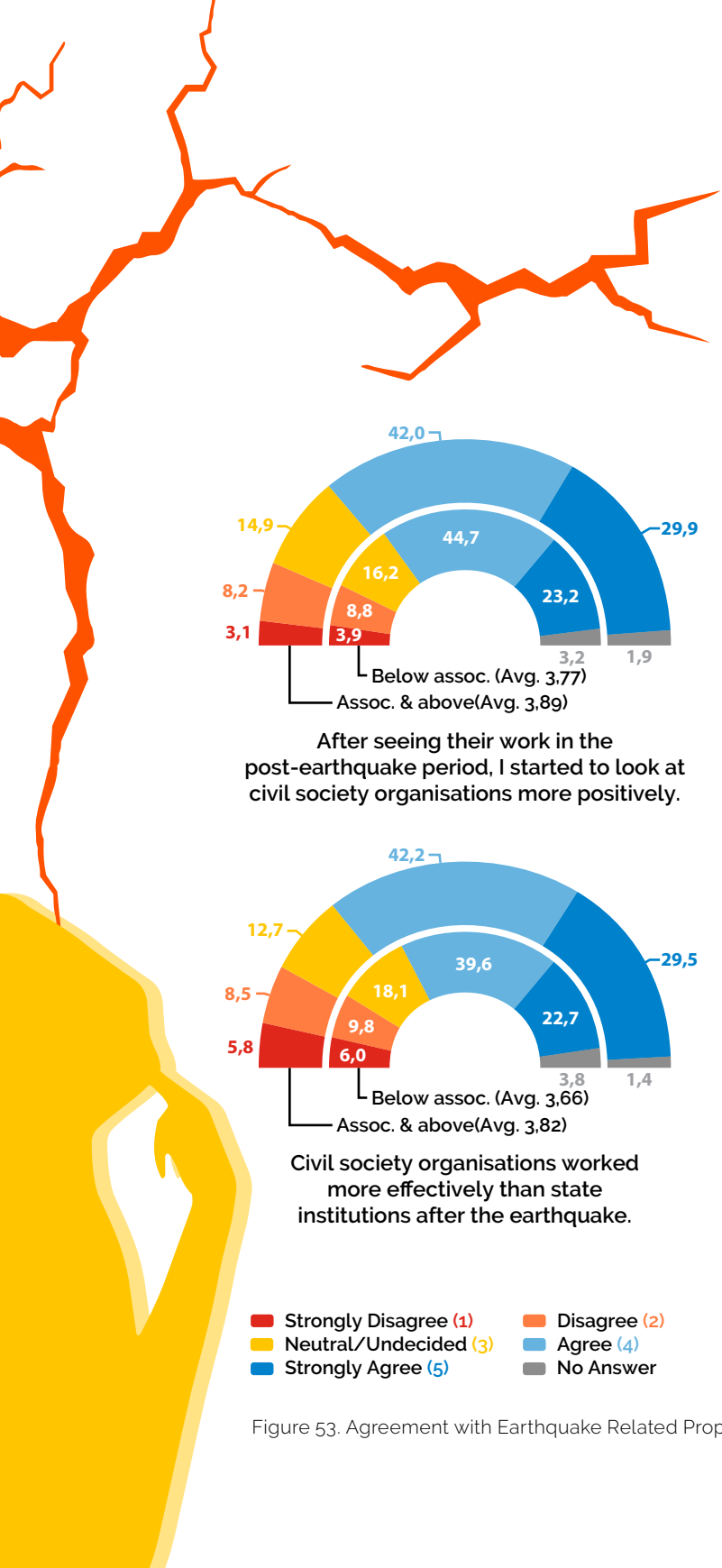
“Civil society organisations could have worked more effectively in the earthquake if there was no need to get permission from the state.”

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

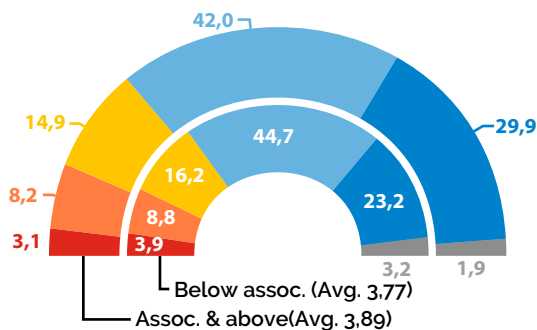
## Key Findings

- **By gender:** Women are more likely than men to agree with the statement 'civil society organisations would have worked more effectively if permission from the state was not required'.
- **By age:** People under the age of 35 are more likely than older people to agree that organisations would work more effectively if they did not receive permission from the state.
- **By income:** People with an income above 30.000 TL are statistically significantly more likely than those with a lower income to state that organisations would work more efficiently if they did not need to take permission.
- **By education:** Those with an associate's degree and above agree with all propositions more than those with lower education levels. Therefore, it can be said that the perception of this group is generally more positive on this issue.

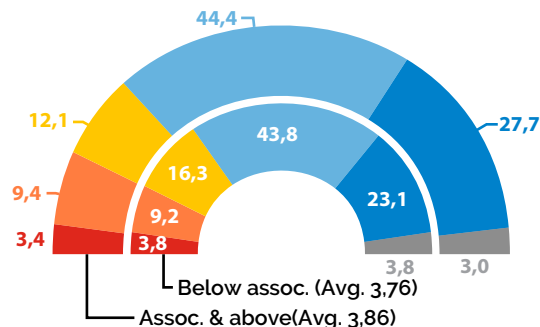
◀ Figure 52. Level of Agreement with the Statement "Civil society organisations could have worked more effectively -during the earthquake if there was no need to get permission from the state" by Gender, Age and Income Groups



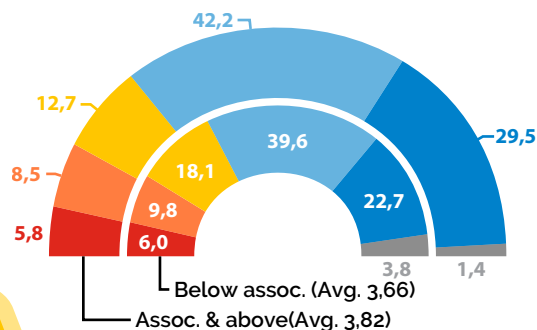
The earthquake made me realise how important civil society organisations are.



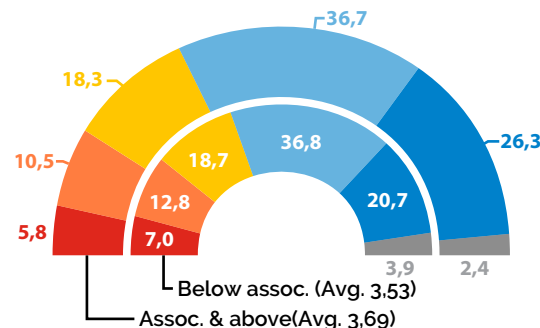
After seeing their work in the post-earthquake period, I started to look at civil society organisations more positively.



The earthquake positively affected my opinion on becoming a member of civil society organisations, volunteering or making donations.



Civil society organisations worked more effectively than state institutions after the earthquake.



Civil society organisations could have worked more effectively in the earthquake if there was no need to get permission from the state.

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

Figure 53. Agreement with Earthquake Related Propositions by Education Groups

# Post-Earthquake Perception

Participants were presented with above mentioned statements and asked to rate their agreement on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The total of score was then divided by the number of statements to obtain an average score for each participant. Then, a "Post-Earthquake Perception" variable consisting of two separate categories defining the participants who scored above and below the average score of the general sample (3,72) was created. Accordingly, one group was labelled as 'below average positive post-earthquake effect on perception' and the other group was labelled as 'above average positive post-earthquake effect on perception'. The average scores of these groups are 3.14 and 4.35, respectively.

As a result, it is seen that the perception of the participants who scored above the sample average in this variable towards CSOs was positively affected by what CSOs did/said immediately after the earthquake and in the following period.

Although it cannot be said that the perception of the participants below the average was directly negatively affected, it can be said that they have a more negative view than the other group. It should be noted that this group positions itself quite close to the scale average of 3 (3,14).

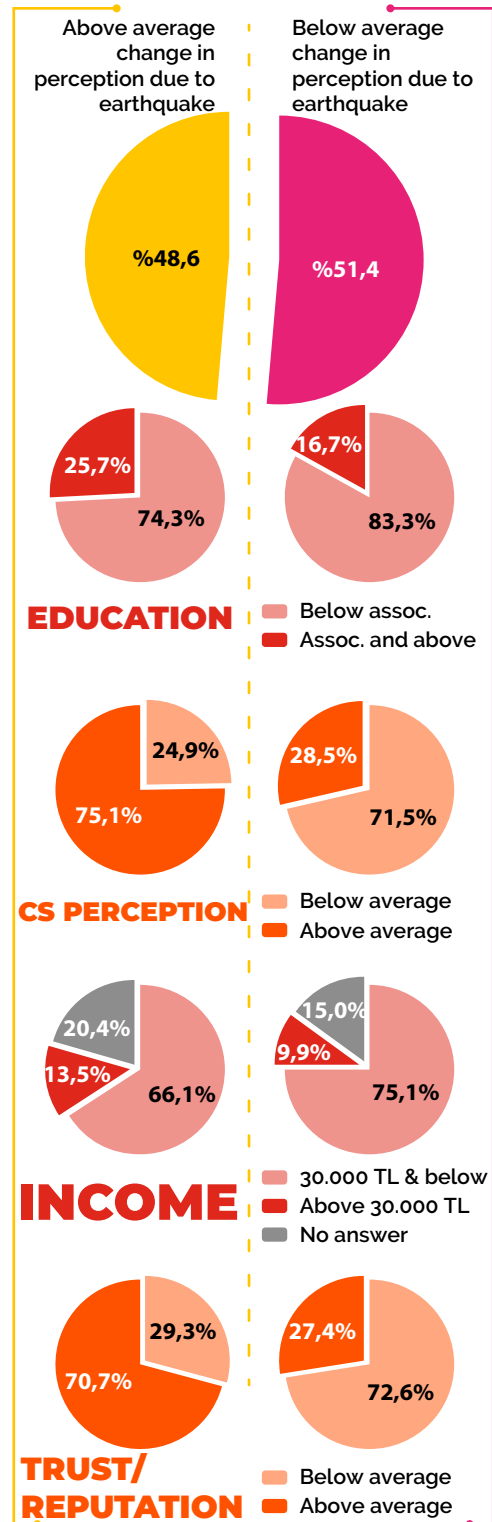


Figure 54. Post-Earthquake Perception-General Sample, Education, Income, Perception of civil society and Trust/Reputation Groups ▶



**Key Findings**

- **By education:** In the group whose perception is positively affected above average, the proportion of people with associate's degree and higher education is greater.
- **By perception of civil society:** In the aftermath of the earthquake, those whose perception of civil society was above average were more positively affected than the other group in terms of their perception of CSOs.
- **By trust/reputation:** The perception of those whose trust/reputation score towards CSOs is above average has been more positively affected after the earthquake compared to the other group.
- **Trust in institutions:** There is a statistically significant difference in the perception of all organizations except police/gendarmerie between those with a below-average change in perception and those with an above-average change. The organisations trusted more by those with above average positive perception change are: Associations, opposition, TV/internet/newspaper, courts, foundations, army, social media, clergy, CSOs, municipalities and public institutions. Those with below average change trust the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, the government and religious sects more.
- **Active citizenship:** Those whose perceptions were above average affected are more active than the other group.
- **Level of knowledge on civil society:** Participants whose perception was affected less positively stated that they were less knowledgeable.
- **Level of engagement with civil society:** Those whose post-earthquake perception was positively affected above the average are less engaged with civil society.
- **Associations with civil society:** The group whose perception has been positively affected below the average more frequently mentions development, public benefit, missionary activities, opposition, politics and natural disasters. The other group mentions democracy, philanthropy, solidarity and volunteerism more often than the other group.
- **Types of interactions with civil society:** Those with above average change in perception more frequently state that they support an organisation to collect donations.
- **Areas of work of affiliated organisations:** Those with above average change stated 'Civil Society, Advocacy, Political and International Activities' and 'Education services' more frequently, while the below average group stated 'Philanthropy and Volunteering' more frequently.
- **People around the participants and civil society:** Those whose perception was more positively affected by what they saw and experienced after the earthquake than the average group have more CSO members/volunteers around them at all four levels (in the family, among friends, among neighbours, in the neighbourhood).
- **Impact of civil society organisations:** The group whose perceptions towards CSOs were more positively affected after the earthquake finds CSOs more effective in solving the problems in their social environment/neighbourhood and in determining government policies than the other group.
- **Perception of civil society:** Those whose perception of CSOs improved more than average post-earthquake also hold a significantly more positive perception of civil society in general, compared to the other group.
- **Trust/Reputation:** The trust/reputation score of those whose perception has turned more positive than average after the earthquake is higher than the other group.

# 10

# Trust and Reputation

In the research, the “trust-reputation scale” prepared by project consultant Assoc. Prof. Dr. Didem Çabuk was used to understand the issues of trust in CSOs and the reputation attributed to CSOs. This scale utilises 4 main factor areas: **trust, communication, management and competence.**

Due to the focus of this research, a variable created from the overall scale score was used in the analyses.

Then, those who scored above the average of the general sample on both variables and those who scored below the average were assigned to separate categories. It can be said that those who scored above the average (3,83) on the trust variable (3,17) generally trust CSOs more than the other group (2,53), and those with a Trust/ Reputation score (3,97) above the average (3,43) put the reputation of CSOs higher than the other group (2,93) when all of the 4 areas mentioned above are taken into consideration. It is worth noting that even the group below the average in the trust-reputation scale positions itself quite close to the scale average of 3. Since ‘trust’ and ‘trust-reputation’ dimensions act together in most cases and statistically indicate very similar results, the more inclusive ‘trust-reputation’ scale score was used in the analyses. In the few cases where the two differed, the ‘trust’ dimension was addressed separately.

The propositions used in the trust-reputation scale, grouped according to the factors they explain are listed in the following page.

# TRUST

CSOs often work as an extension of a political party.  
CSOs exclude some people and groups in society.  
I think CSOs waste their resources.  
CSOs are a disappointment for me.  
I have doubts about where CSOs spend their income.  
I prefer to donate to other organisations instead of CSOs.  
CSOs do not care what people think or expect.  
There are some facts that CSOs hide from the society.

# COMMUNICATION CAPACITY

CSOs communicate effectively with the society.

CSOs are featured in the media with positive news.

CSOs' websites are satisfactory.

CSOs use social media effectively.

Campaigns organised by CSOs are covered in the media.

Communication activities of CSOs are weak.

# MANAGEMENT CAPACITY

CSOs are successfully managed.

CSOs have a dynamic management structure.

CSOs pay attention to their donors.

CSOs are successful in generating financial resources.

CSOs are financially stable.

CSOs are innovative organisations.

# COMPETENCE

The areas in which CSOs work are important for Türkiye.

CSOs operating in Türkiye are the best.

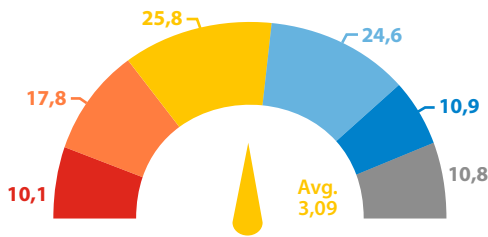
CSOs operating in Türkiye are experienced.

CSOs in Türkiye are specialised in their fields of activity.

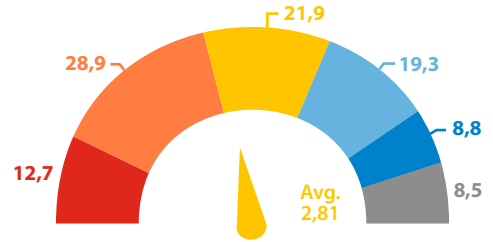
CSOs work with experts in their field of activity.



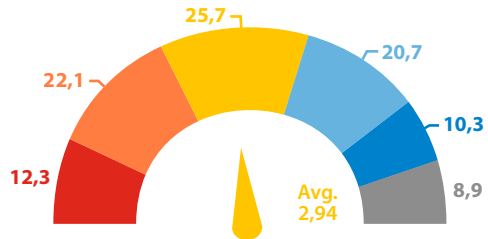
# TRUST



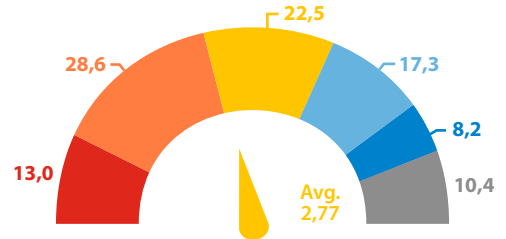
"There are some facts that CSOs hide from the society."



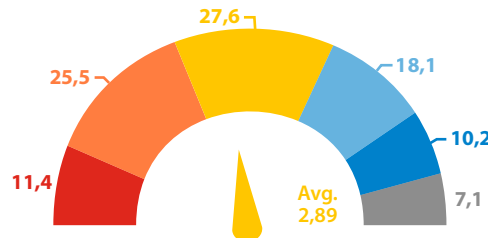
"CSOs do not care what people think or expect."



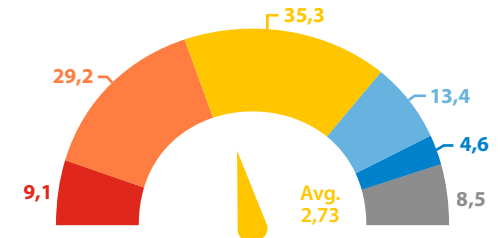
"I have doubts about where CSOs spend their income."



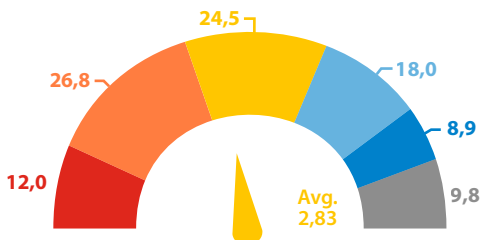
"CSOs exclude some people and groups in society."



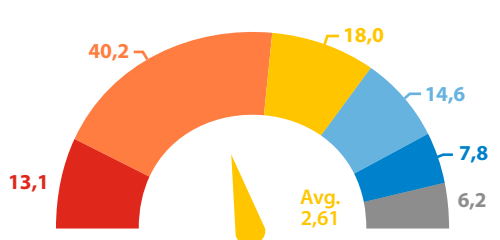
"I prefer to donate to other organisations instead of CSOs."



"CSOs often work as an extension of a political party."



"I think CSOs waste their resources."



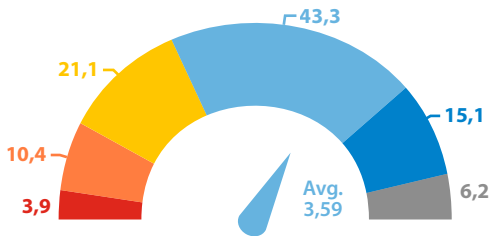
"CSOs are a disappointment for me."

■ Strongly Disagree (1)    
 ■ Disagree (2)    
 ■ Neutral/Undecided (3)

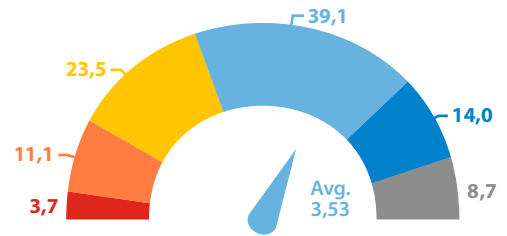
■ Agree (4)    
 ■ Strongly Agree (5)    
 ■ No Answer

Figure 55-a. Trust/Reputation Scale Propositions - Trust (General Sample)

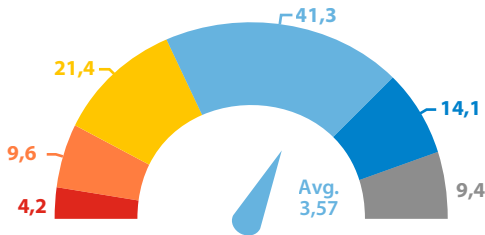
# COMMUNICATION CAPACITY



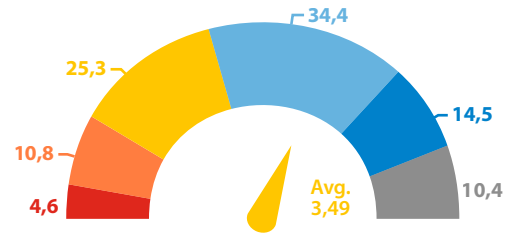
"Campaigns organised by CSOs are covered in the media."



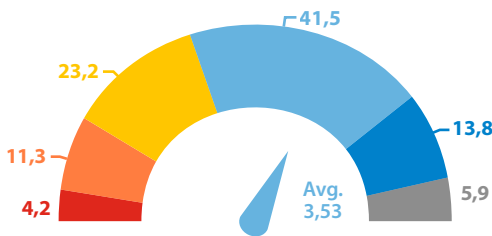
"CSOs communicate effectively with the society."



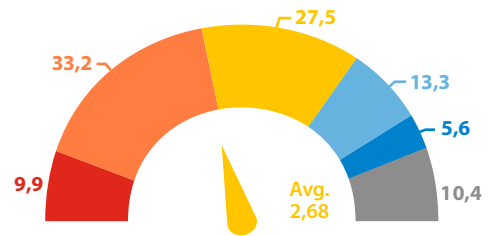
"CSOs use social media effectively."



"CSOs' websites are satisfactory."



"CSOs are featured in the media with positive news."



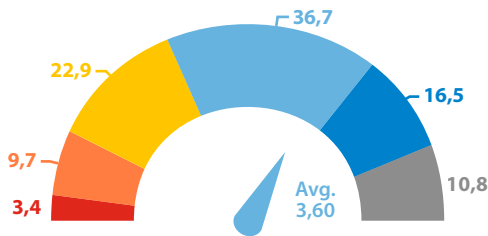
"Communication activities of CSOs are weak."

■ Strongly Disagree (1)    
 ■ Disagree (2)    
 ■ Neutral/Undecided (3)

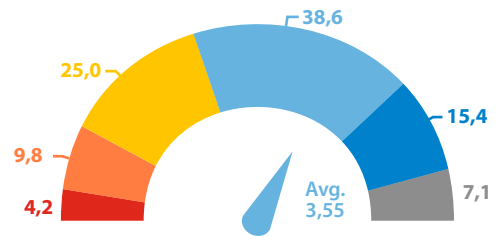
■ Agree (4)    
 ■ Strongly Agree (5)    
 ■ No Answer

Figure 55-b. Trust/Reputation Scale Propositions - Communication Capacity (General Sample)

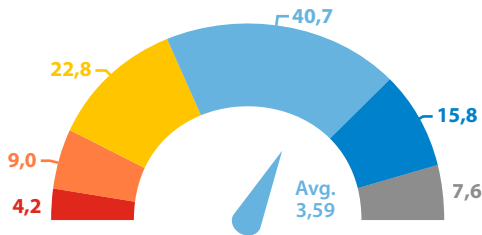
# MANAGEMENT CAPACITY



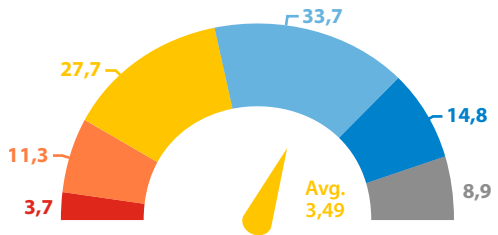
"CSOs pay attention to their donors."



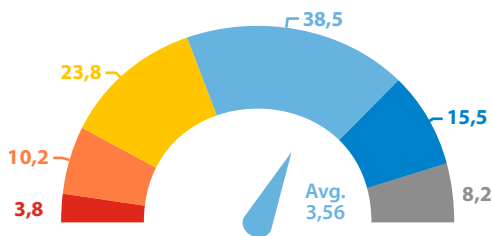
"CSOs are successful in generating financial resources."



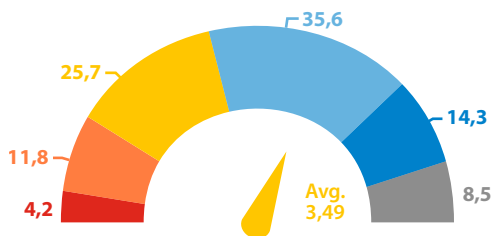
"CSOs are innovative organisations."



"CSOs are financially stable."



"CSOs have a dynamic management structure."



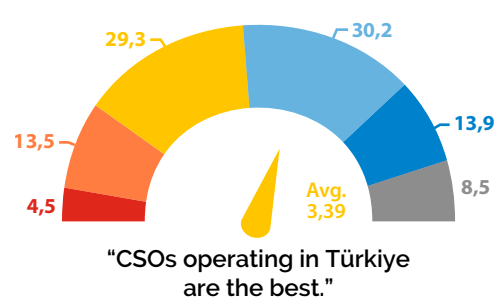
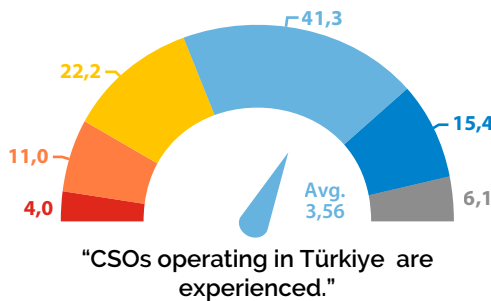
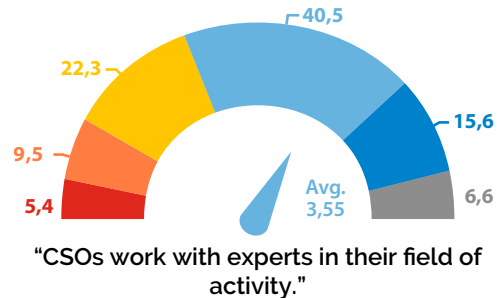
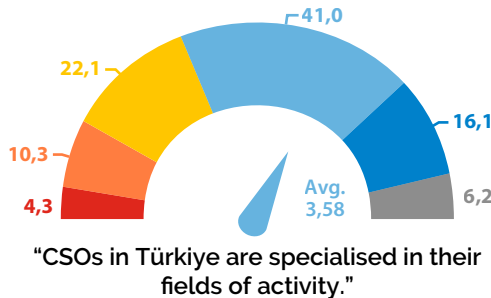
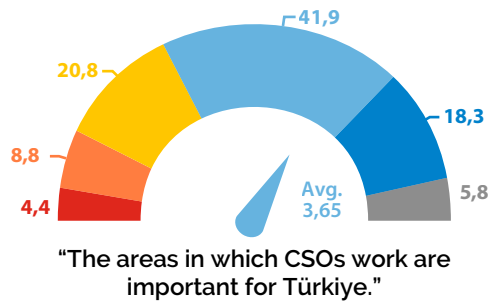
"CSOs are successfully managed."

- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

Figure 55-c. Trust/Reputation Scale Propositions - Management Capacity (General Sample)

# COMPETENCE

When all the propositions are considered as a whole, it can be said that the trust and reputation of CSOs are relatively positive in the eyes of the participants. When the dimensions of the scale are analysed separately, it is seen that the participants gave an average of 3.17 points for the dimension of 'trust', 3.54 points for 'management capacity', 3.50 points for 'communication capacity' and 3.54 points for 'competence'. The overall trust/reputation average is 3.43 points.



- Strongly Disagree (1)
- Disagree (2)
- Neutral/Undecided (3)
- Agree (4)
- Strongly Agree (5)
- No Answer

Figure 55-d. Trust/Reputation Scale Propositions - Competence (General Sample)

In addition to the average scores determined for both the subheadings and the whole scale, the trust and perceptions of the participants were also expressed in percentages by converting the average scores into percentage values. While making this calculation, the minimum and maximum scores were taken into consideration. Therefore, the average score of the participant was calculated not by dividing by the maximum score (5), but by dividing by the value after subtracting the lowest score (1) in the range. Thus, it was possible to express in percentage terms where the participant was positioned in the score range.<sup>13</sup> After the percentage calculation, each 20-point segment was recorded. Thus, 0-19.99 was categorised as 'very low'; 20-39.99 as 'low'; 40-59.99 as 'moderate/undecided'; 60-79.99 as 'high' and 80-100 as 'very high'.

Accordingly:

- **36.5 per cent of the participants trust CSOs (Trustful + Strongly trustful).**
- **58 per cent of the participants have a high perception of the management capacity of CSOs (High + Very high).**
- **57 per cent of the participants have a high perception of the communication capacity of CSOs (High + Very high).**
- **64 per cent of the respondents have a high perception of the competence of CSOs (High + Very high).**
- **50 per cent of the respondents have a high perception of the trust and reputation of CSOs (High + Very high).**

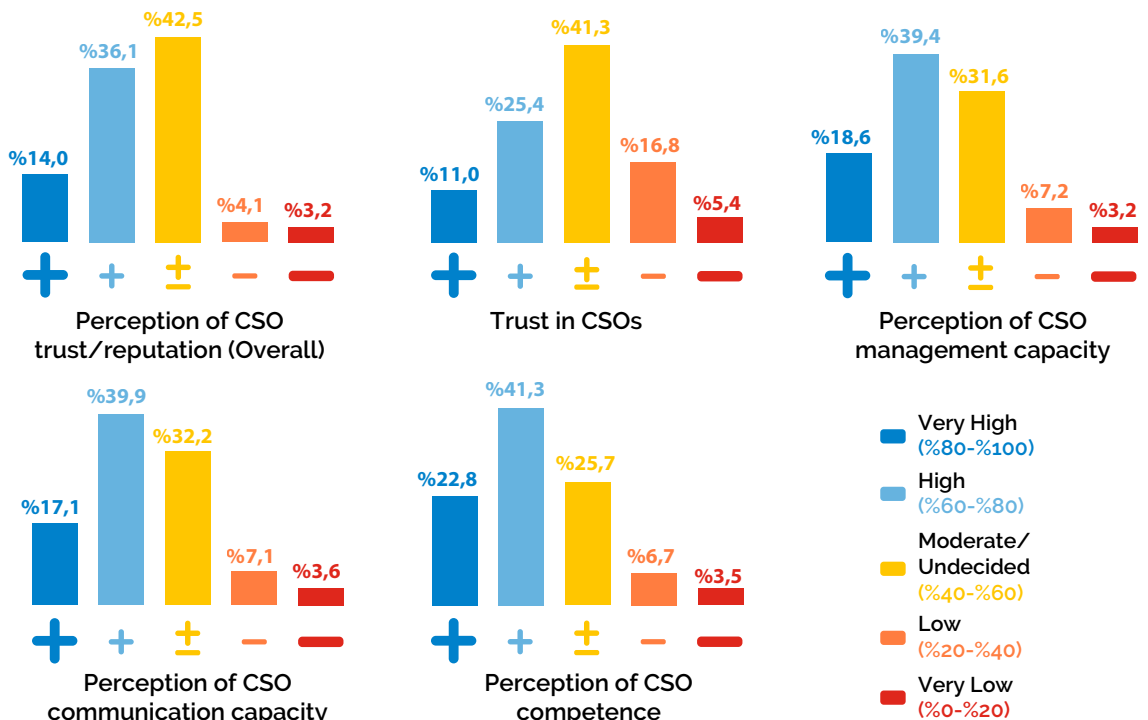


Figure 56. Trust/Reputation Scale - Trust, Management, Communication, Competence Dimensions and Overall Scale (percentage breakdown in general sample)

13 Formula: ((Participant's mean score - minimum score) / (maximum score - minimum score)) \* 100.

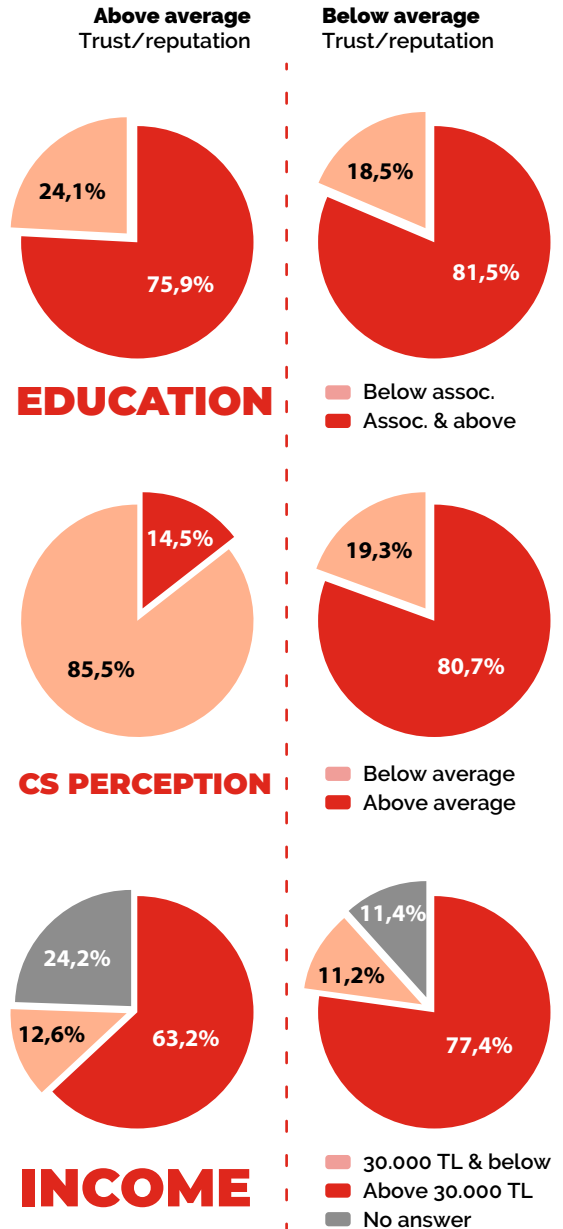


## Key Findings

The trust and trust-reputation variables, whose distributions and averages are given on the right side, were also analysed in terms of demographic characteristics and perception variables. Accordingly, there is no significant difference in the two variables among the groups based on gender and age. Other significant findings are as follows:

- **By income:** There is a significant difference between those who score above and below average on the trust-reputation scale, depending on their income. In the group with below-average trust, those with an income below 30,000 TL are in the majority compared to the other group.
- **By education:** The proportion of those with associate's degree and higher education is higher in the groups with high scores in both variables.
- **By perception of civil society:** The trust and reputation attributed to CSOs by those whose perception of civil society is above average is much higher than the other group.

Figure 57. Trust/Reputation Groups by Education, Income, Perception of civil society ►



# 11

## **Evaluation by Provinces and Development Level**

**Although the development degree of the provinces was not used as a stratum in the sampling process, we wanted to analyse whether aspects such as the relationship with civil society, perception and trust in CSOs differ according to provinces and level of development. For analysis of the findings in this context, the 'Socio-Economic Development Index of Provinces and Regions - SEGE-2017' conducted and published by the General Directorate of Development Agencies of the Ministry of Industry and Technology was used.**

In SEGE studies, variables measuring socioeconomic development are used to conduct analyses and the development levels of provinces/districts are revealed in line with the data obtained. The most recent Provincial-SEGE studies, which have been conducted 9 times since 1969, date from 2017. Using 52 variables, provinces are grouped into 6 development levels according to natural breakdowns in index scores.

The province where each participant lived was coded according to the SEGE-2017 development level in the analysis phase of the report. Following the coding of provinces, analyses were made to see whether there were statistically significant differences between the development levels with various questions in line with the aims and objectives of the research. However, no significant results that would contribute to the report could be obtained.

Subsequent to this analysis, development levels were divided into three groups. The aim here is to increase the number of observations per category by combining similar levels of development. For this purpose, level 1 and level 2, level 3 and level 4, and level 5 and level 6 were combined. Significance tests were performed after the groups were formed.



## Distribution of Sample Participants According to the Development Levels of the Province of Residence

(Provinces are ranked according to their index values)

### Level 1

İstanbul  
Ankara  
İzmir  
Kocaeli  
Antalya  
Bursa  
Eskişehir  
Muğla  
Tekirdağ

### Level 2

Sakarya  
Konya  
Aydın  
Isparta  
Kayseri  
Manisa  
Balıkesir

### Level 3

Mersin  
Trabzon  
Adana  
Zonguldak  
Gaziantep  
Samsun  
Rize

### Level 4

Amasya  
Hatay  
Afyon  
Malatya  
Sivas  
Aksaray

### Level 5

Sinop  
Giresun  
K.Maraş  
Erzurum

### Level 6

Adıyaman  
Diyarbakır  
Bingöl  
Batman  
Şanlıurfa  
Mardin  
Bitlis  
Muş  
Ağrı

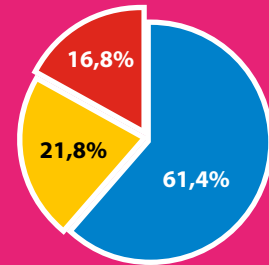
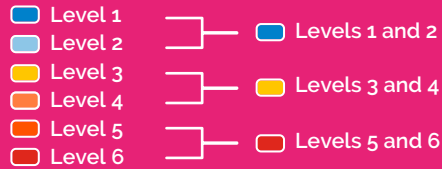
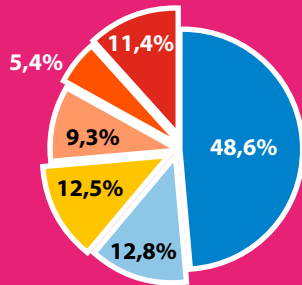
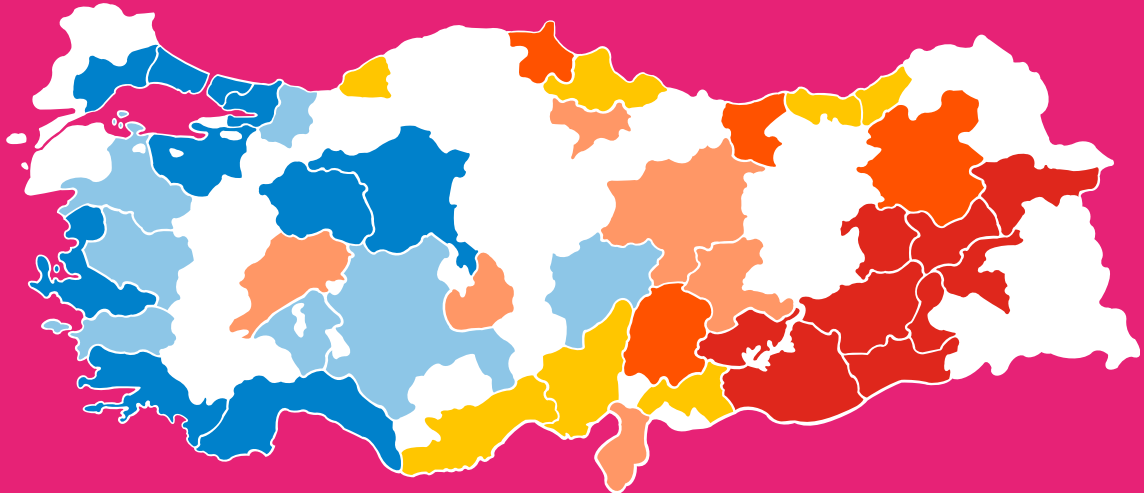


Figure 58. Distribution of the Provinces in the Sample by Development Level - 6 categories and 3 categories

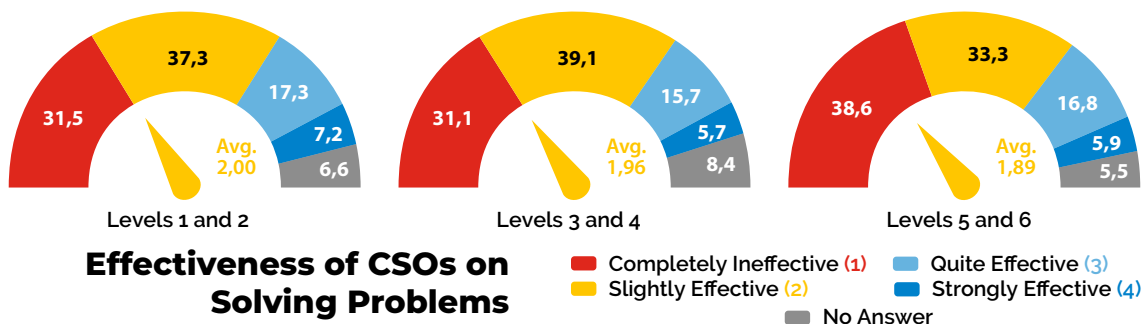


Figure 59-a. Development Levels (three categories) - Effectiveness of CSOs on solving problems

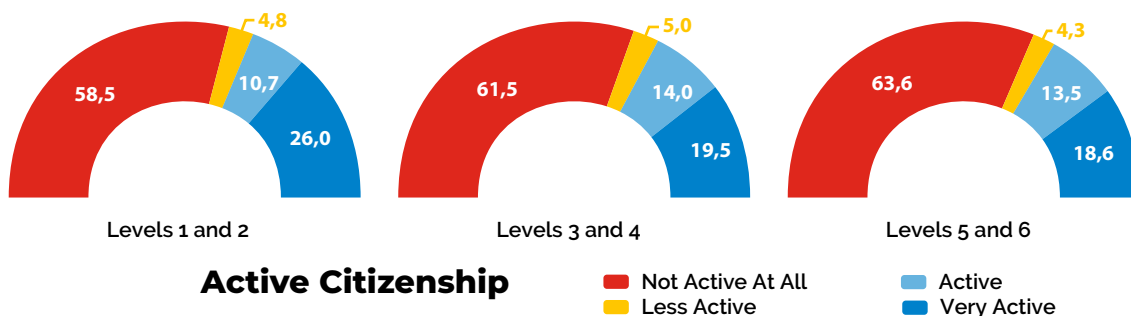


Figure 59-b. Development Levels (three categories) - Active Citizenship

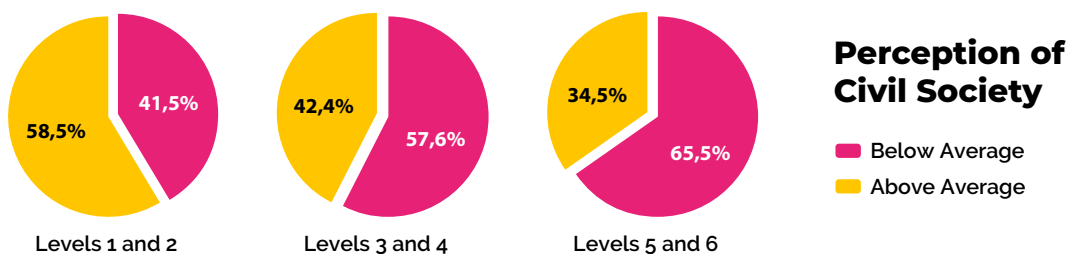
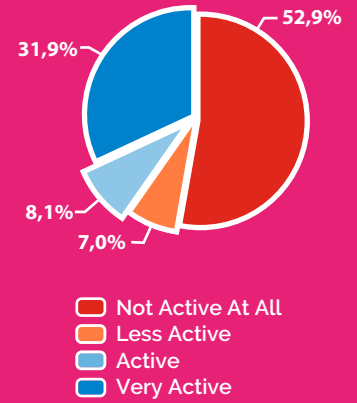
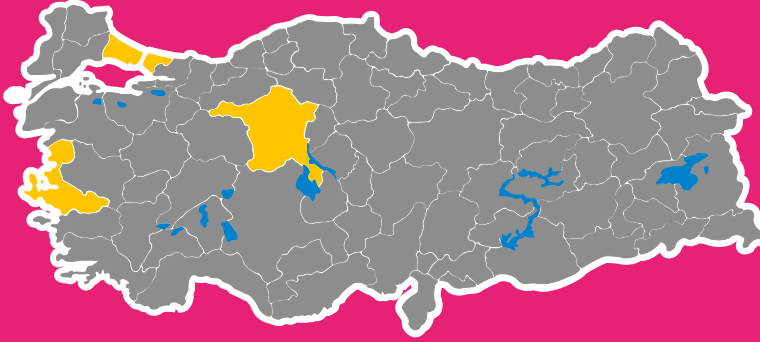


Figure 59-c. Development Levels (three categories) - Perception of civil society

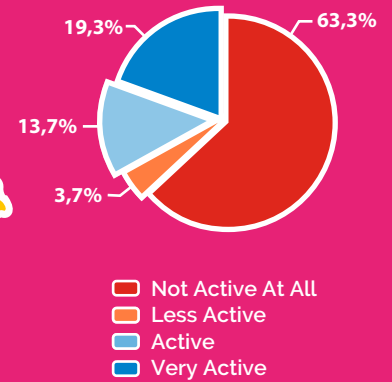
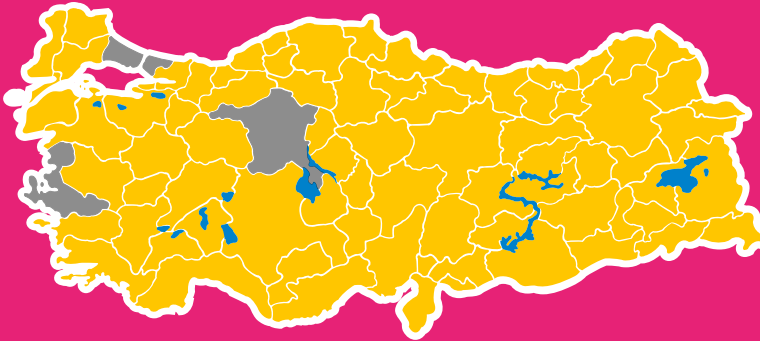
As a result of the tests performed:

- **As the degree of development increases, the tendency to find CSOs effective increases.** Levels 5 and 6 think that CSOs are completely ineffective more than any other group.
- **As the level of development increases, active citizenship also increases.**
- **As the level of development increases, the rate of those whose perception of civil society is above average increases.**

## Ankara - İstanbul - İzmir



## Other Provinces



After analyses based on development levels, we also examined how three big cities (Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir) differ from other cities. For this purpose, these cities were coded as one group and the other cities in the sample as a second group. Significance tests were conducted for these two groups. The results show that the proportion of very active participants in the three big cities is higher than in other cities.

Figure 60. Big Three Provinces and Other Provinces - Active citizenship

# 12

# Socioeconomic Status

The report also examined whether different demographic characteristics could be combined to create new participant profiles and whether these profiles differed in various ways.

Considering that it would be easier to both name and interpret the groups from the models created and more meaningful results could be obtained, the participants were handled in three groups according to their socioeconomic status (SES). In this model, a comparative method in which three SES groups (AB, C, DE) were compared with each other according to two age groups (under 35 and over 35) was followed. Any significant differences obtained by this method were considered to be interpretable and usable in the report outputs. Significance test results, analyses and cross tabulations are presented in the following sections. The groups<sup>14</sup> are as follows:



**Under 35, AB SES**  
(Relatively Upper Socioeconomic Status)



**Under 35, C SES**  
(Relatively Middle Socioeconomic Status)



**Under 35, DE SES**  
(Relatively Lower Socioeconomic Status)



**35 and above, AB SES**  
(Relatively Upper Socioeconomic Status)

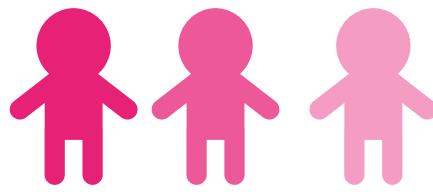


**35 and above, C SES**  
(Relatively Middle Socioeconomic Status)

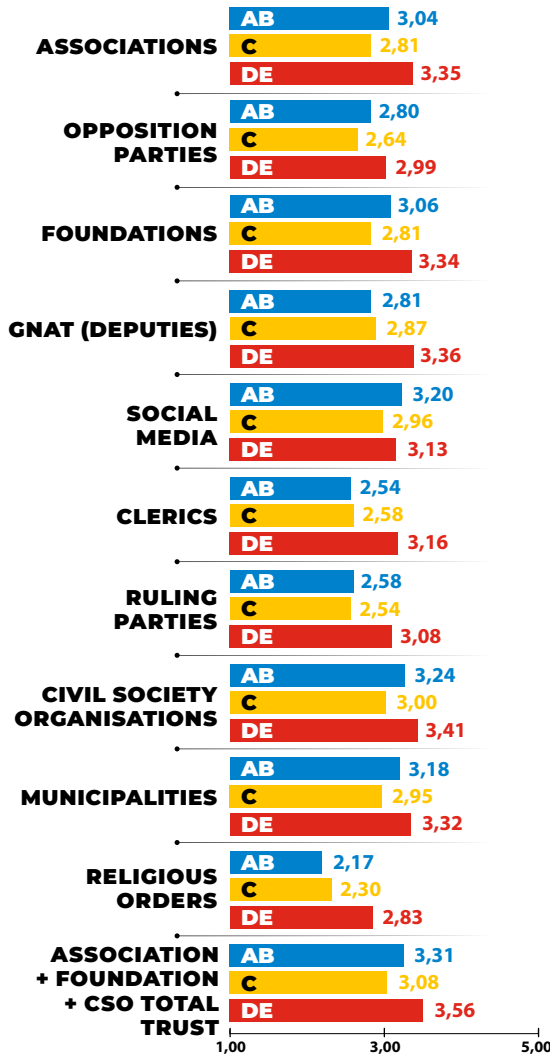


**35 and above, DE SES**  
(Relatively Lower Socioeconomic Status)

<sup>14</sup> These socioeconomic statuses are 'relative'. This rating refers to the relative distribution of the groups in the sample. The SES groups in the sample are not real SES groups representing Türkiye. They only represent the distribution within the sample.



## Under 35 Socioeconomic Status (SES) Groups



### Key Findings

- Trust in institutions:** For the under 35 age group, the DE SES group trusts all institutions/persons listed below more than other SES groups except social media ( $p=0.026$ ). The AB group trusts social media the most. Group C trusts associations, opposition parties, foundations, social media, ruling parties, CSOs and municipalities the least. The AB group trusts the GNAT, clergy and religious communities the least.

A single civil society variable was also created by combining the responses for associations, foundations and civil society (see Trust in Institutions and Individuals). Accordingly, while the DE group trusted civil society the most, the C group trusted it the least for those under the age of 35.

◀ Figure 61. SES groups under 35 years of age - Trust in institutions, Trust in Association + Foundation + CSO (5-point scale)

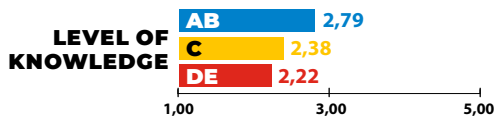


Figure 62. SES groups under 35 years of age - Level of Knowledge (5-point scale)

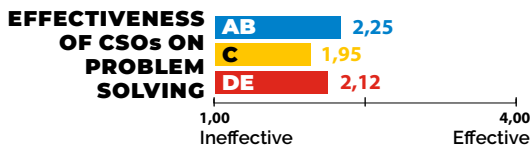


Figure 63. SES groups under 35 years of age - Effectiveness of CSOs on problem solving (4-point scale)



Figure 64. SES groups under 35 years of age - CSOs' organisation of marches (10-point scale)

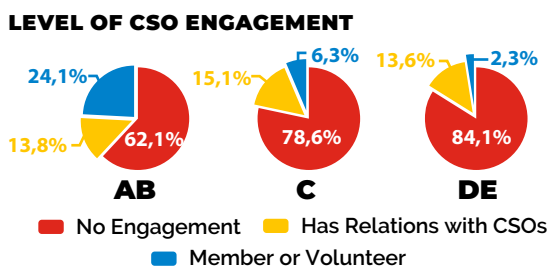


Figure 65. SES groups under 35 years of age - Engagement with CSOs

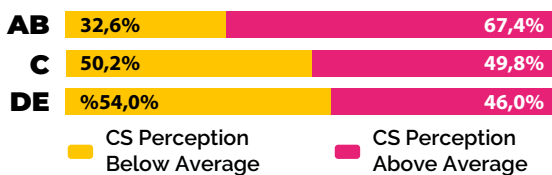


Figure 66. SES groups under 35 years of age - Perception of civil society

- **Level of knowledge:** As the SES decreases, the level of knowledge declared by the participants also decreases.
- **Impact of CSOs on solving problems:** The AB group is the group that considers CSO to be the most effective, while the C group is the group that considers CSOs to be the least effective.
- **Opinion on CSOs' organising marches:** With increasing socio-economic status, the rate of those who consider it legitimate for civil society organisations to hold a march/press statement to draw attention to an issue increases.
- **By level of engagement with CSOs:** The group with the highest number of CSO members/volunteers is AB, while the group with the majority of participants with no relationship is DE.
- **By Perception of CS:** In the AB group, those with above-average perception of civil society are the majority; in the DE SES group, those with below-average perception of civil society are more than half.
- **Active Citizenship:** Active citizenship (active + very active) increases with increasing socioeconomic status.

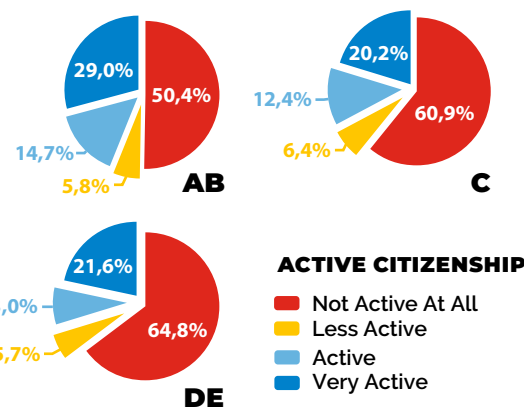


Figure 67. SES groups under 35 years of age - Active citizenship

- **Trust/Reputation scale:** The rate of those whose trust in CSOs is above average is 61% in the AB, while this rate falls below 50 in the other groups. Since the distribution of these two groups is similar there is no significant difference between C and DE.

Those whose perception about the management of CSOs is above average are the majority in the AB SES group; the group with the highest share of those whose perception about the management of CSOs is below average is C.

More than half of the participants in all groups have above average perceptions about CSOs' communication. However, this rate is quite high in the AB SES group (71%). The group with below average perception on CSOs' communication is the C group.

A similar situation is observed in the competence aspect. The perception of 70% of the AB SES group on this issue is above average. The group with the highest number of participants with below average perception is C (54%).

As in other aspects, the proportion of those whose trust and reputation scores towards CSOs are above the average is highest in the AB group. The group with the highest proportion of those with trust/reputation scores below the average is group C.

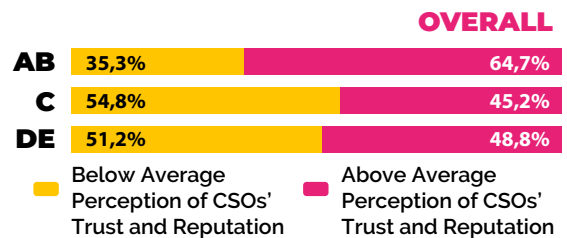
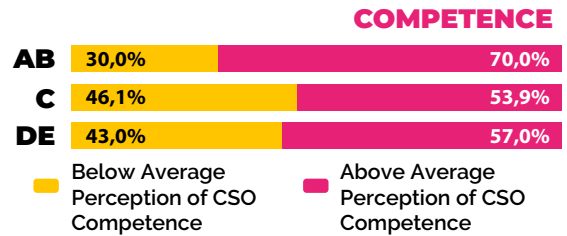
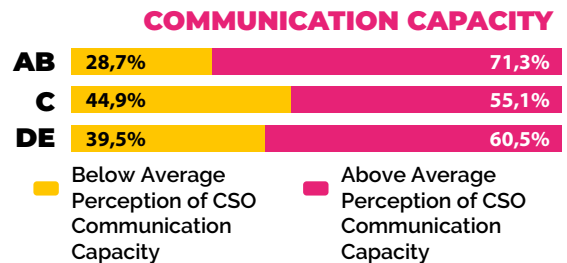
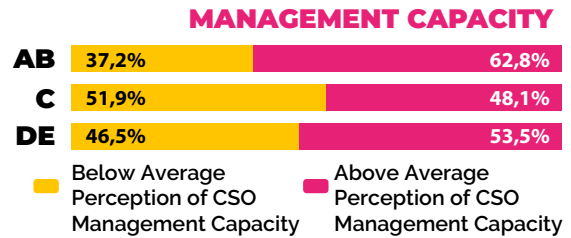
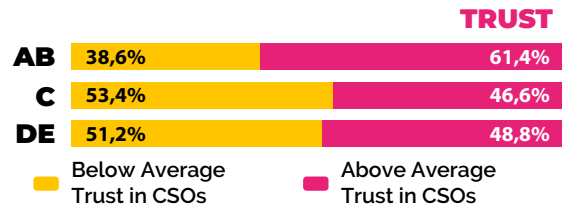
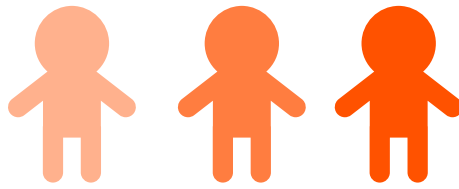


Figure 68. SES groups under 35 years of age - Trust/Reputation scale: Trust, Management Capacity, Communication Capacity, Competence, Overall



## 35 years and above Socioeconomic Status (SES)

## Key Findings

- **Level of knowledge:** As the socio-economic status decreases, the level of knowledge declared by the participants decreases.
- **By level of engagement with CSOs:** Among SES groups above 35 years of age, the AB SES group has the highest number of CSO members/volunteers. The group with the highest number of participants who have no relationship with CSOs is DE.
- **Perception of civil society:** As the socio-economic status increases, the share of those whose perception of civil society is above average increases.
- **Active citizenship:** In all groups, the largest share is among those who are not active at all. However, this rate increases as socio-economic status decreases. Among SES groups, the group with the highest proportion of 'very active' participants is AB (40%). It is followed by C (25%). In summary, active citizenship increases as socio-economic status increases.

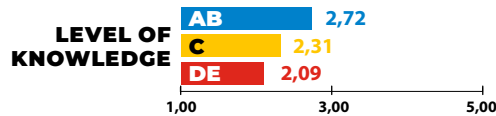


Figure 69. SES groups aged 35 and over - Level of Knowledge (5-point scale)

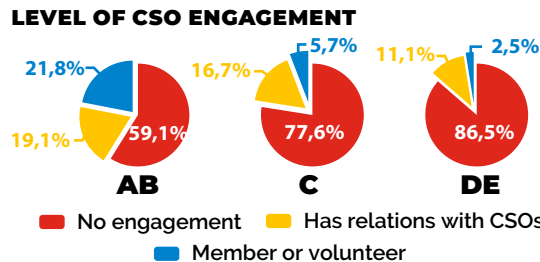


Figure 70. SES groups aged 35 and over - level of engagement with CSOs

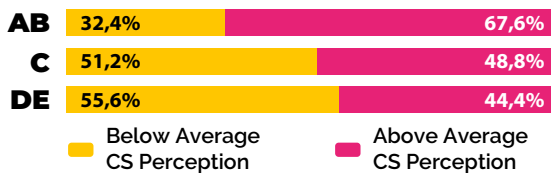


Figure 71. SES groups aged 35 and over - Perception of civil society

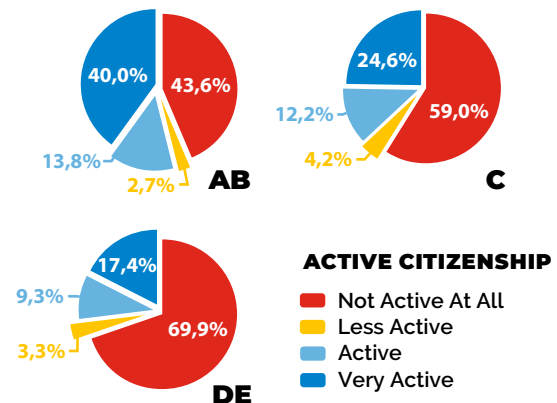


Figure 72. SES groups aged 35 and over - Active citizenship



- **Trust in institutions:** The DE SES group trusts the ruling parties and clergy the most, while the AB group trusts them the least. While DE trusts social media the least, C trusts it the most.

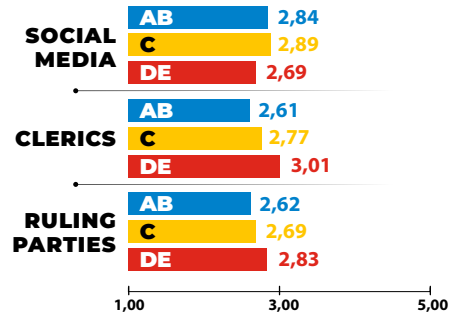


Figure 73. SES groups aged 35 and over - Trust in Institutions (5-point scale)

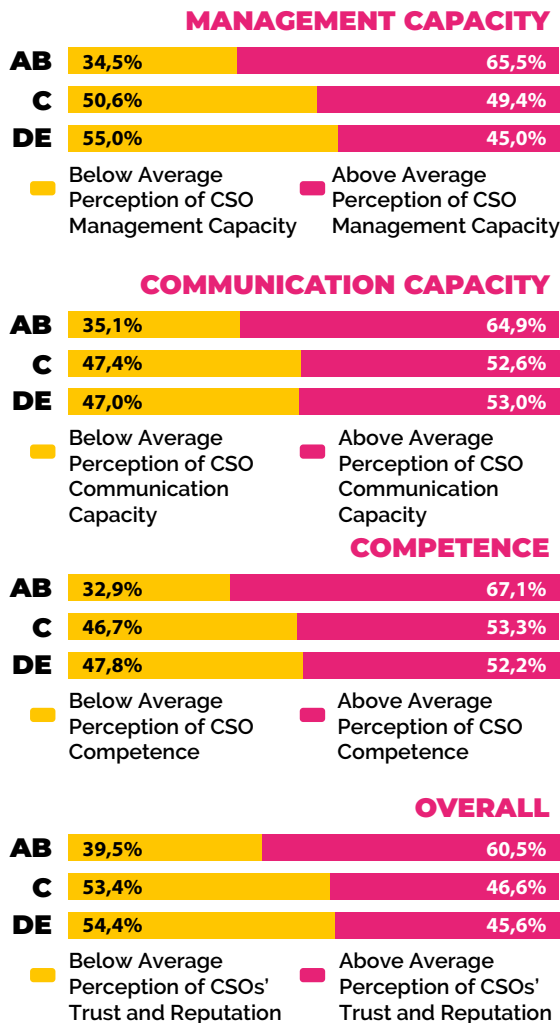


Figure 74. SES groups aged 35 and over - Trust/Reputation scale: Management capacity, Communication Capacity, Competence, Overall

- **Trust/reputation scale:** Regarding the management capacity of CSOs, the AB group has the majority of those whose perception of CSO management is above average. The share of those with below average perception is highest in the DE group.

Regarding the communication of CSOs, while the proportion of participants in the AB group is higher than in the other groups, those with above average perception in all groups are more than half. Within the C and DE groups, the distribution of below and above average participants is quite similar; therefore, these groups do not differ in terms of communication.

In terms of the perception of the competence of CSOs, the share of those whose perception is above average is the highest in the AB group; the proportions of the other groups are quite close to each other, therefore they do not differ.

When the trust/reputation scale is analysed as a whole, a similar picture is observed. While the rate of those whose trust and reputation scores towards CSOs are above average is 60.5 percent in the AB SES group, the same rate is 47 for C and 46 for DE. In this respect, there is no significant difference between C and DE.

# Summary

Below, the common findings with a significant difference in the two age groups are shown side by side. As can be seen in the table, the socio-economic status (SES) variable is the determining factor rather than the age variable. In many cases, as the socio-economic status increases/decreases, the tendencies of the participants move in the same direction in the upper and lower age groups. The most differentiated socio-economic status group in both age groups is AB.



## Under 35

- Religiosity increases as SES decreases.
- As SES decreases, the level of knowledge declared by the participants decreases.
- AB has the highest number of CSO members/volunteers among the groups. The group with the majority of participants who have no relationship is DE.
- There is a significant difference in trust in 10 organisations/public figure.
- AB trusts social media the most and C trusts it the least.
- The DE SES group trusts religious leaders and ruling parties the most.
- Those who trust the clergy the least are in AB and those who trust the ruling parties the least are C

## 35 and above

- Religiosity increases as SES decreases.
- As SES decreases, the level of knowledge declared by the participants decreases.
- AB has the highest number of CSO members/volunteers among the groups. The group with the majority of participants who have no relationship is DE.
- There is a significant difference in trust in 3 organisations/public figure.
- C trusts social media the most, while DE trusts it the least.
- The DE SES group trusts clergy and ruling parties the most.
- The AB SES group trusts clergy and ruling parties the least.

## 35 yaş altı

Active citizenship increases as SES increases.

While those whose perception of civil society is above average are the majority in the AB group, those whose perception of civil society is below average are higher in the DE SES group.

Those whose perception about the management of CSOs is above average are the majority in the AB SES group, while those whose perception about the management of CSOs is below average are more in the C SES group.

The rate of those whose perception on CSOs' communication is above average is quite high in the AB SES group (71%). Those whose perception of CSOs' communication is below average are the most common in the C SES group.

The perception of 70 percent of the AB SES group on the competencies of CSOs is above average. The highest proportion of those whose perception of competence is below average is in the C SES group.

The group with the highest share of those with above-average trust/reputation scores towards CSOs is AB. The group with the highest proportion of those with trust / reputation scores below the average is C.

## 35 yaş ve üstü

Active citizenship increases as SES increases.

While those whose perception of civil society is above average are the majority in the AB group, those whose perception of civil society is below average are higher in the DE SES group.

Those whose perception about the management of CSOs is above average are the majority in the AB SES group, while those whose perception about the management of CSOs is below average are more in the DE SES group.

The rate of those whose perception on CSOs' communication is above average is higher in the AB group than in the other groups. In the other groups, the distribution of below and above average participants is quite similar; therefore, C and DE groups do not differ from each other in terms of communication.

While the proportion of those whose perception about the competencies of CSOs is above average is higher in the AB group, the proportions of the other groups are similar to each other, so C and DE groups do not differ from each other in terms of competence.

While the rate of those whose trust/reputation score for CSOs is above average is 60.5 percent in the AB, the same rate is 47 for C and 46 for DE, and C and DE groups do not differ from each other.

# Appx. 1

# Political Orientations

In the survey, the participants were asked to rate themselves on the scale of 'Political orientation (1: Far left-10: Far right)', 'Nationalism (1: Not at all Nationalist-10: Strongly Nationalist)', 'Religiosity (1: Not at all Religious-10: Very Religious)' and 'Responsibility of the State (1: Welfare state-10: Liberalism)'.

In addition, the scores on the scales were re-coded as 'left', 'not at all nationalist', 'not at all religious', and 'welfare state approach' for 1-3; 'middle' for 4-7; and 'right', 'strongly nationalist', 'strongly religious', and 'liberal approach' for 8-10, resulting in three groups. These three groups were used in the graphs and some analyses in order to make them easier to read. Averages were given on a 10-point scale. Significance tests were also conducted using the three groups.

When the general averages are analysed, left/right view received a score of 5.38; nationalism received a score of 6.48; religiosity received a score of 6.37, while the responsibility of the state received a score of 3.97, which is closer to the welfare state. Each of the scales were also analysed by various breakdowns. Statistically significant findings can be found below.

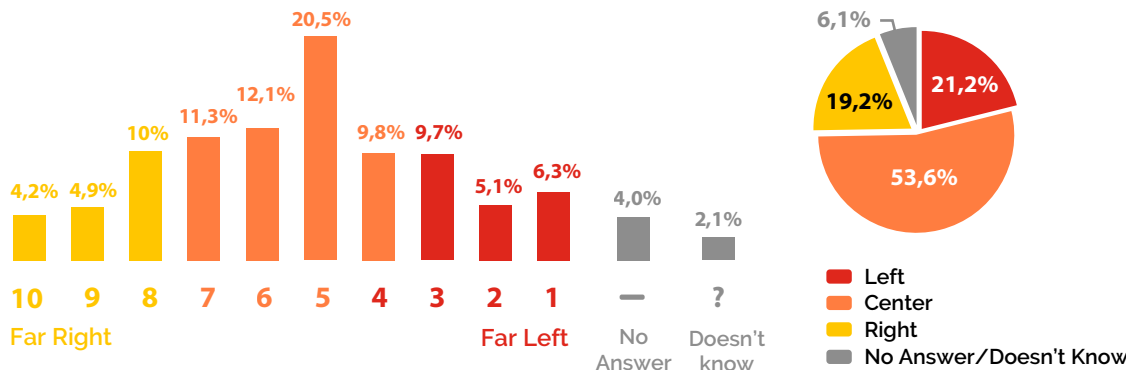


Figure 75. Left-Right Scale-General Sample

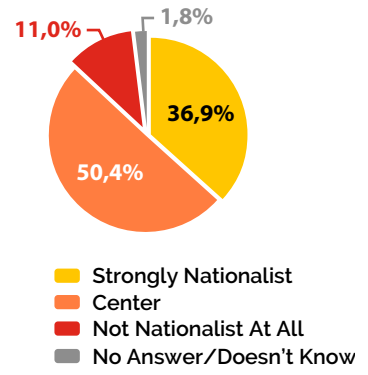
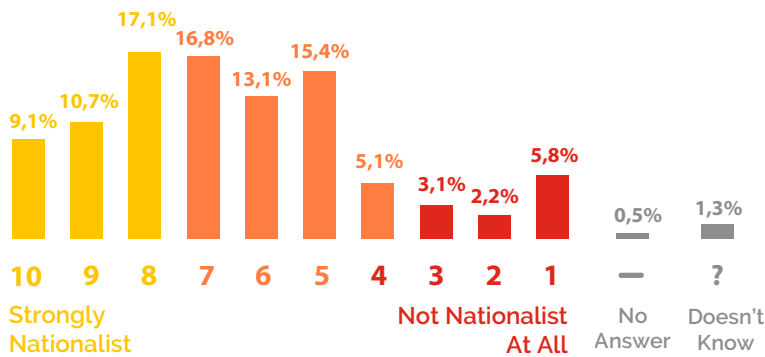


Figure 76. Nationalism Scale - General Sample

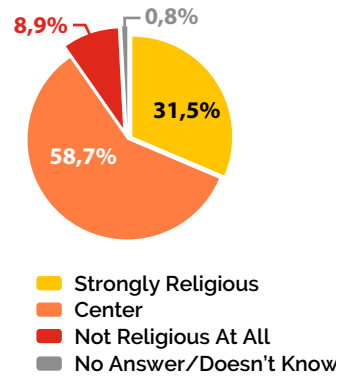
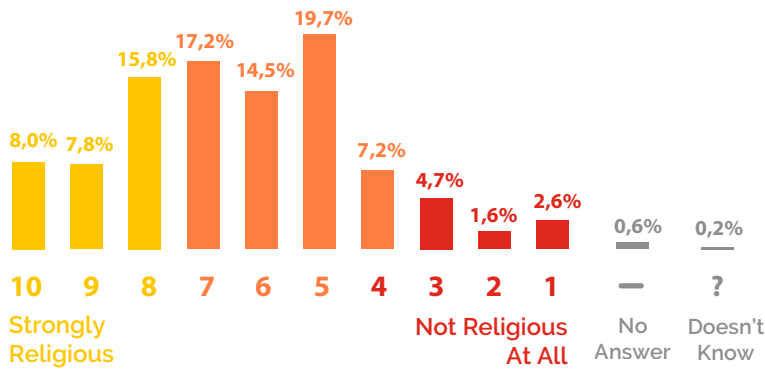


Figure 77. Religiosity Scale - General Sample

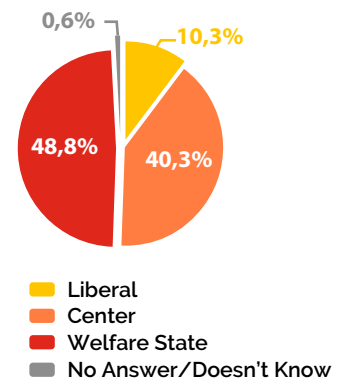
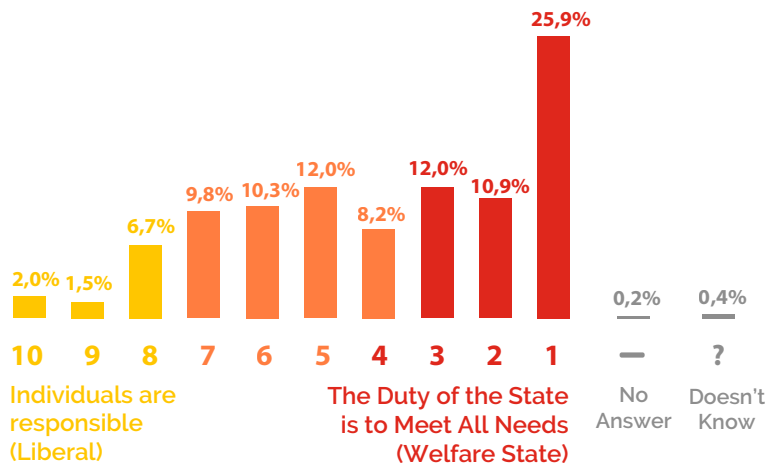


Figure 78. Scale of Responsibilities of the State-General Sample

# Right-Left Scale

- **By gender:** There was a statistically significant difference between men and women. Both have an average score above 5, but **women positioned themselves further to the left than men.**

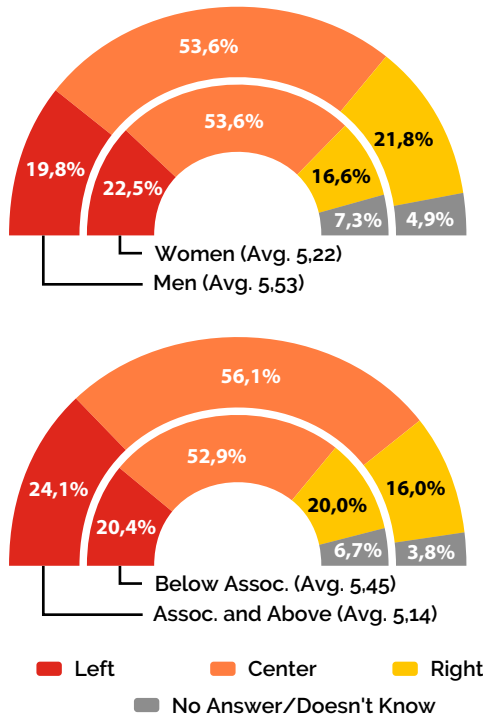


Figure 79. Left-Right Scale by Gender and Education Group

- **By education:** There was a statistically significant difference between education groups). **Participants with an associate degree or higher education positioned themselves further to the left.**
- **By political orientation:** There is a statistically significant difference between the position in which the participants define themselves on the left-right axis and their approaches to nationalism, religiosity and the responsibilities of the state. **As the tendency of the participants shifts towards the right, their tendencies towards nationalism, religiosity and liberalism also increase.**

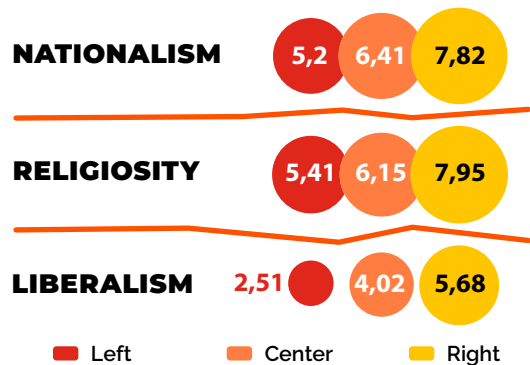


Figure 80. Left-Right Groups-Other Political Orientation Tables

# Nationalism Scale

- **By income:** There was a statistically significant difference between income groups, and although the average score of both groups was above 6, **those earning 30,000 TL and below defined themselves as less nationalist than the upper income group.**

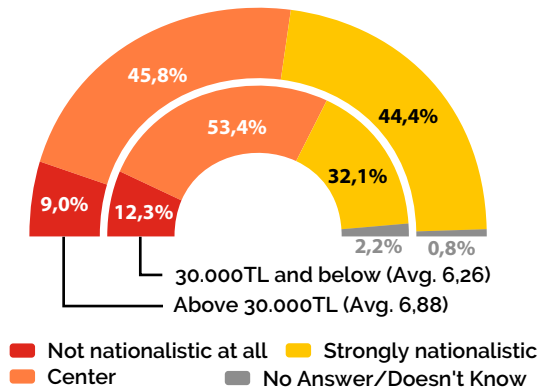
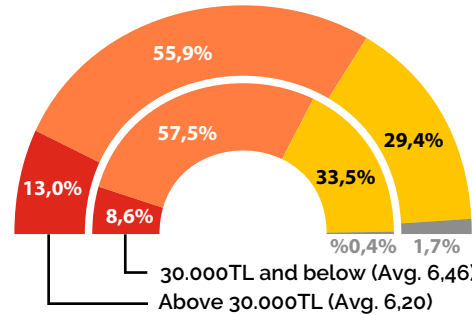
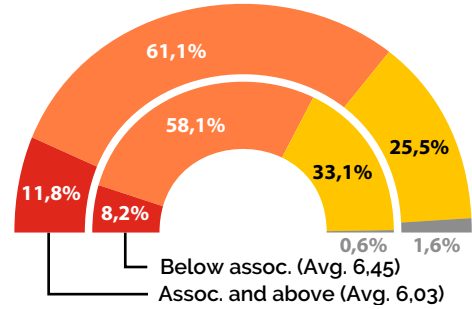
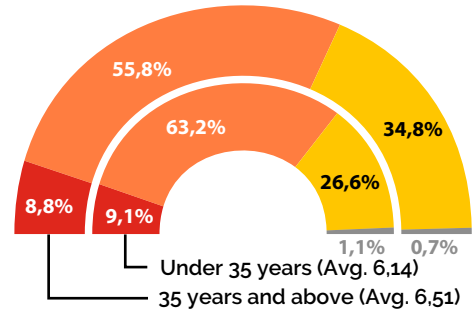


Figure 81. Nationalism Scale by Income Groups

# Religiosity Scale

- **By age:** There was a statistically significant difference between the age groups and although both groups positioned themselves above 6 on average, **respondents aged 35 and over identified themselves as more religious than the younger group.**
- **By education:** There is a statistically significant difference according to the education groups, and as with age, the averages of these two groups are above 6, **but those with associate's degree or higher defined themselves as less religious.**
- **By income:** A statistically significant difference also emerged according to income groups. As in the other groups, the averages of these two groups were above 6 and **those earning less than 30.001 TL defined themselves as relatively more religious.**
- **By political orientation:** As with the other scales, there was also a statistically significant difference between religiosity and the respondents' attitude towards other issues. **With increasing religiosity, the tendency towards right-wing views, nationalism and liberalism increases.**



■ Not religious at all     ■ Center  
■ Strongly religious     ■ No Answer/Doesn't Know

Figure 82. Religiosity Scale by Age, Education and Income Groups

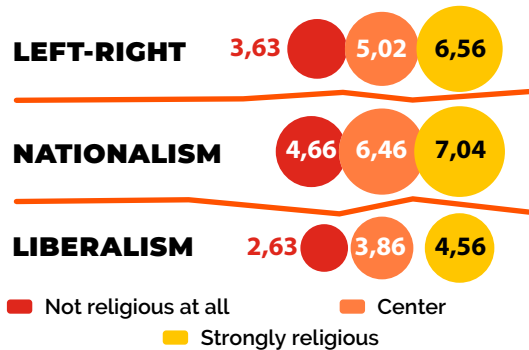
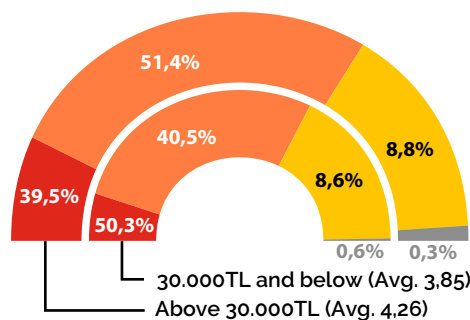
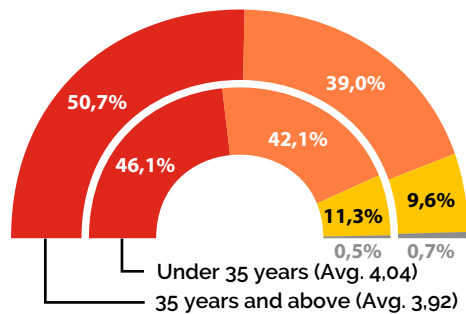


Figure 83. Religiosity groups - Other Political Orientation Scales



# State's Responsibilities Scale

- **By age:** There was a statistically significant difference between the age groups below 35 years and above in terms of liberal tendency. **Participants under 35 years defined themselves as more liberal than the older group.**



■ Welfare State   
 ■ Center   
 ■ Liberal   
 ■ No Answer/Doesn't Know

- **By income:** There was a statistically significant difference between income groups. **Participants earning 30.000 TL and below positioned themselves closer to the welfare state than the upper income group.**
- **By political orientations:** As in all scales, there was a statistically significant difference between the approach to the responsibilities of the state and the respondents' approaches to other issues. **As the level of liberalism increases, the tendency towards rightism, nationalism and religiosity increases.** Similarly, the opposite is the case.

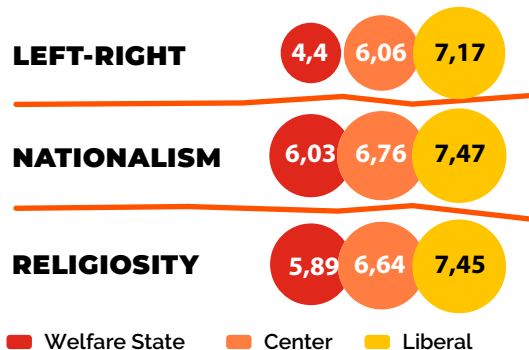


Figure 84. Scale of State Responsibilities by Income and Education Groups

Figure 85. State Responsibilities Groups-Other Political Orientation Scales

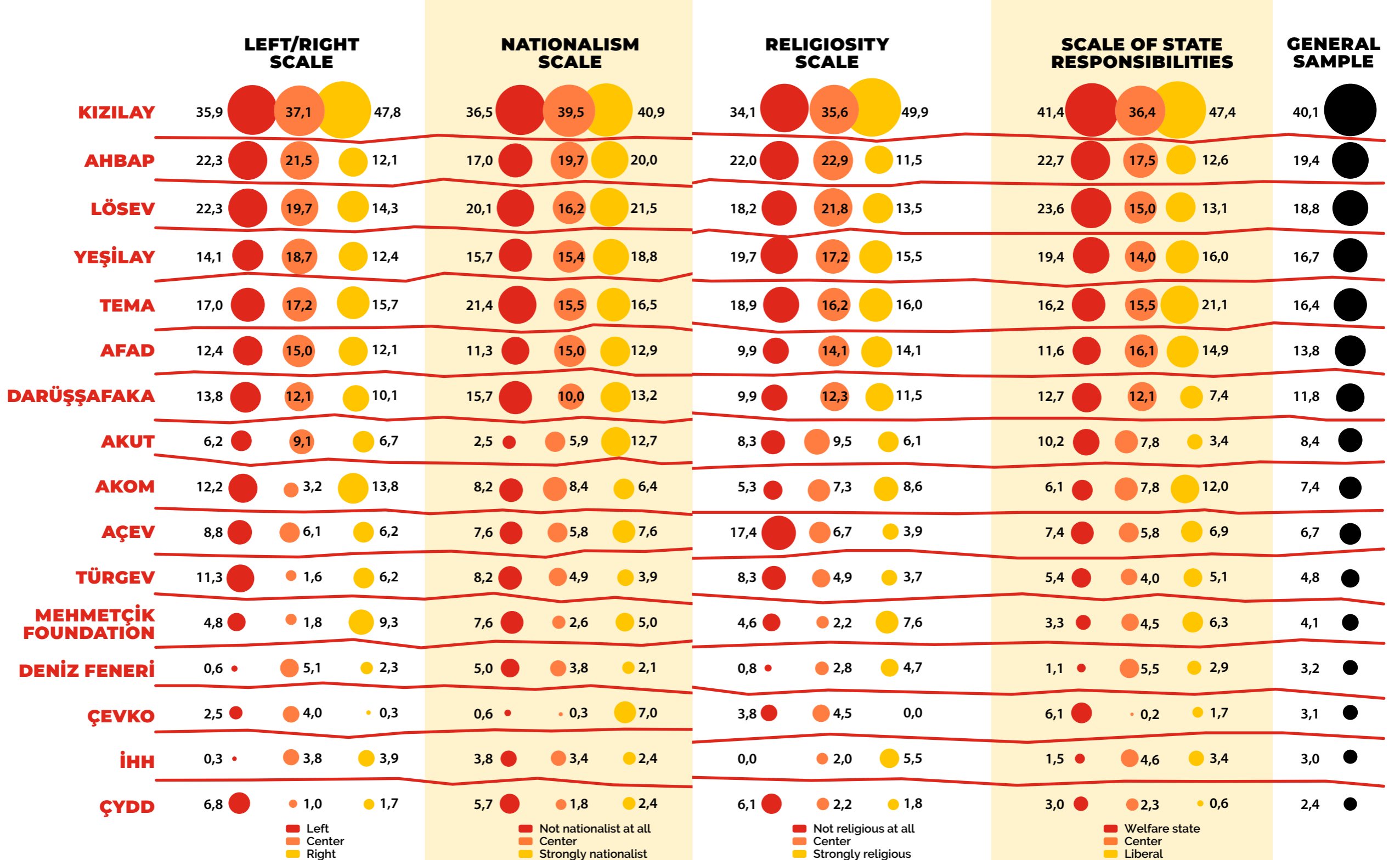


Figure 86. Mentioning Frequency of Institutions by Political Orientation (percent of cases)

\* Does not indicate any statistical significance due to the structure of the data

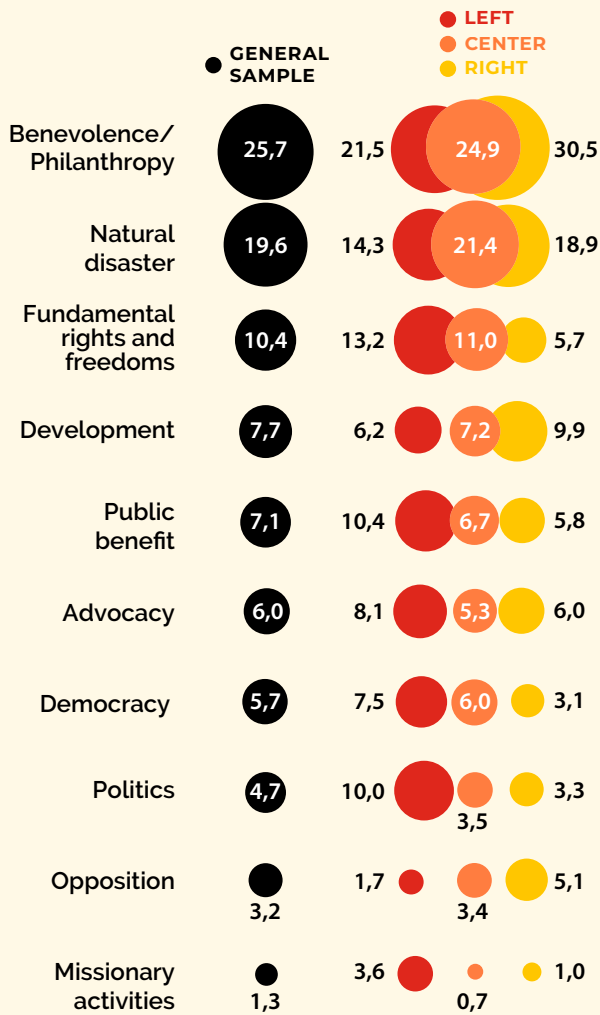


Figure 87. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Left-Right Groups

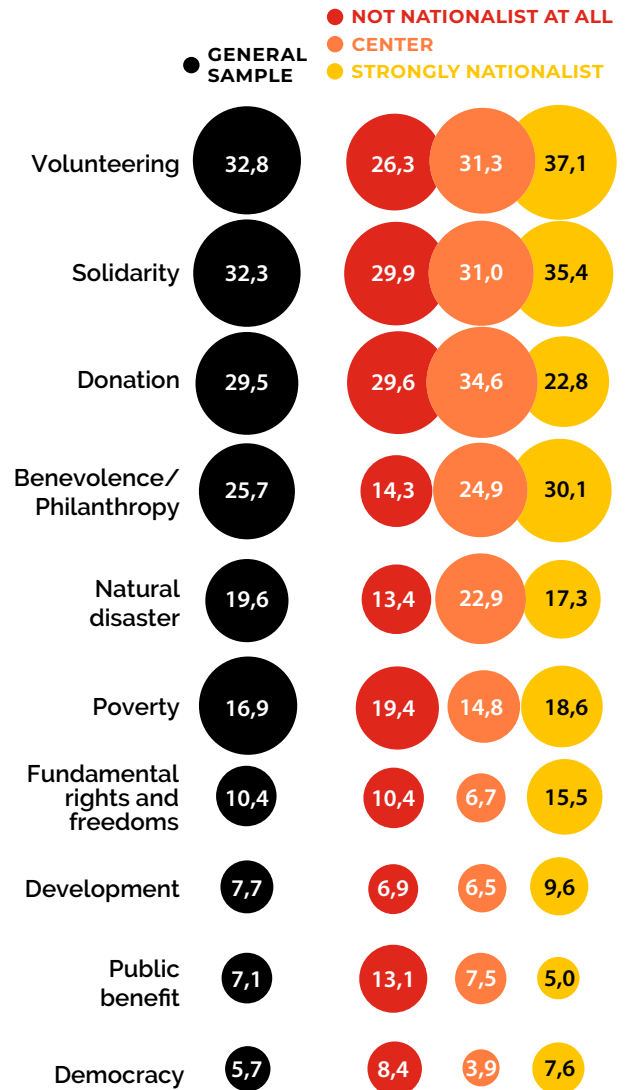


Figure 88. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Nationalism Groups

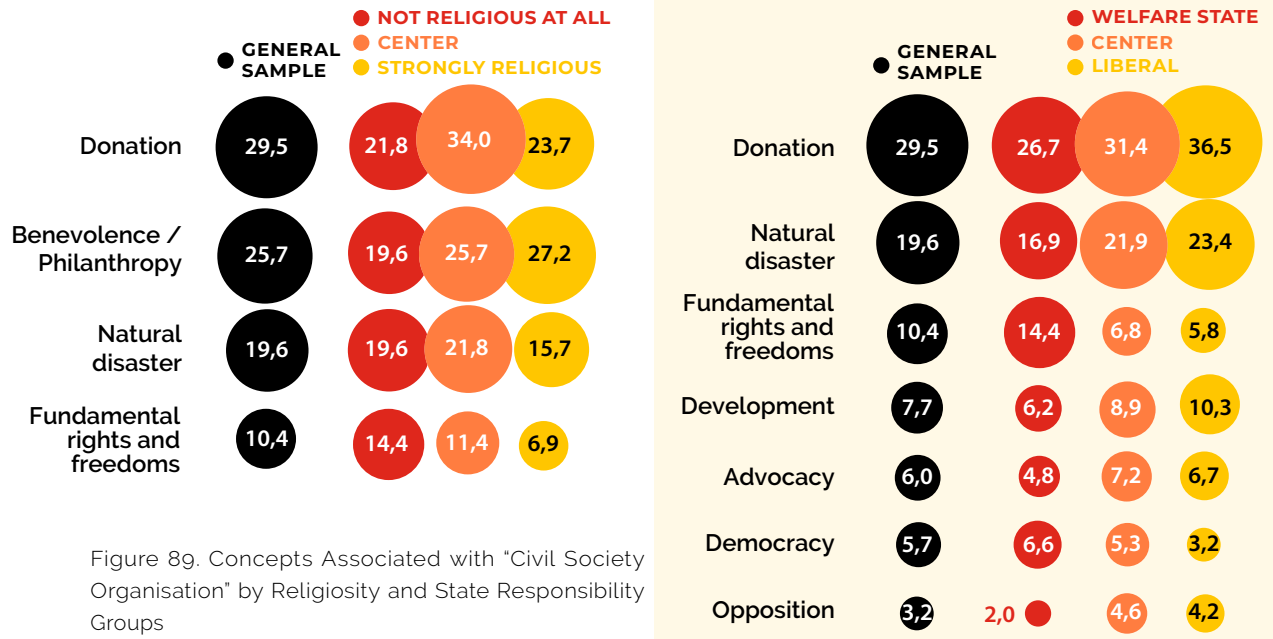


Figure 89. Concepts Associated with "Civil Society Organisation" by Religiosity and State Responsibility Groups

- Based on left-right groups:** Those who positioned themselves more to the left stated that they purchased products more frequently than the other group, while those who positioned themselves more to the right stated that they sent SMS messages more frequently than the other group.
- Based on nationalism:** Those who were not nationalist at all stated that they participated in the march/signature campaign more frequently than the other group, while those who were very nationalist stated that they sent SMS messages more frequently than the other group.

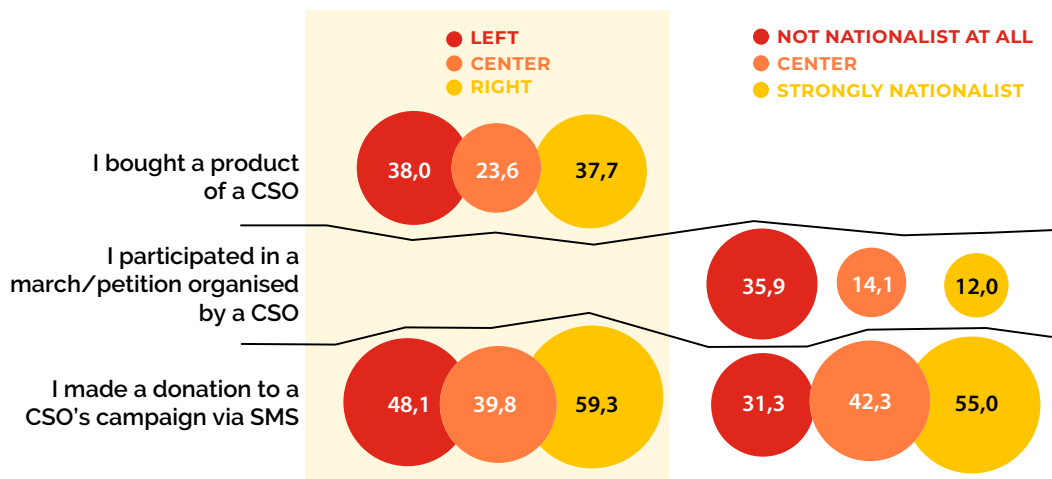


Figure 90. Types of Interactions with Civil Society by Members/Volunteers and Associates of CSOs - Political Orientation

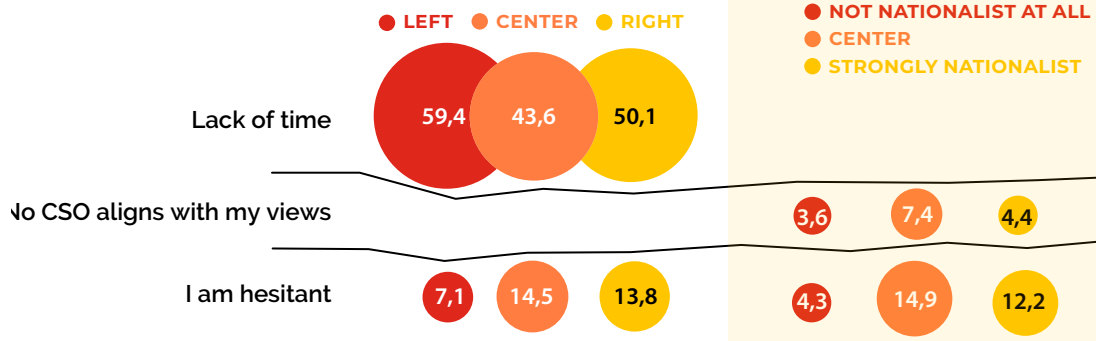


Figure 91. Reasons for Not Being a Member or Volunteer - Political Orientation

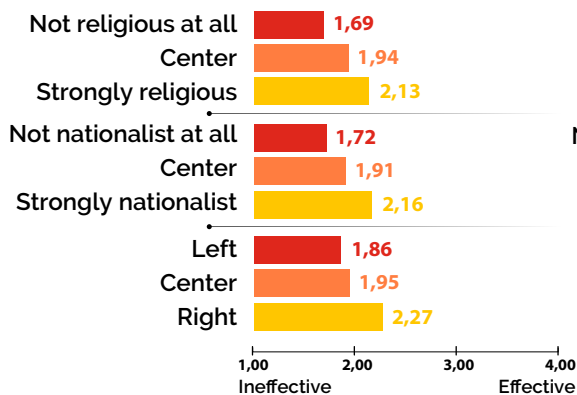


Figure 92. Effectiveness of Civil Society Organisations on the Solution of Problems in Participants' Social Environments/Neighbourhoods - By Political Orientation

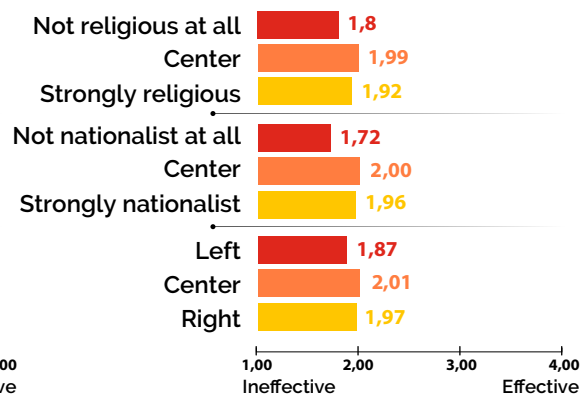


Figure 93. Effectiveness of Civil Society Organisations on Government Policies - By Political Orientation

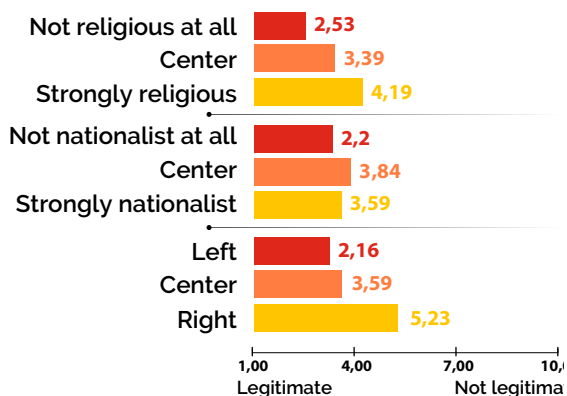
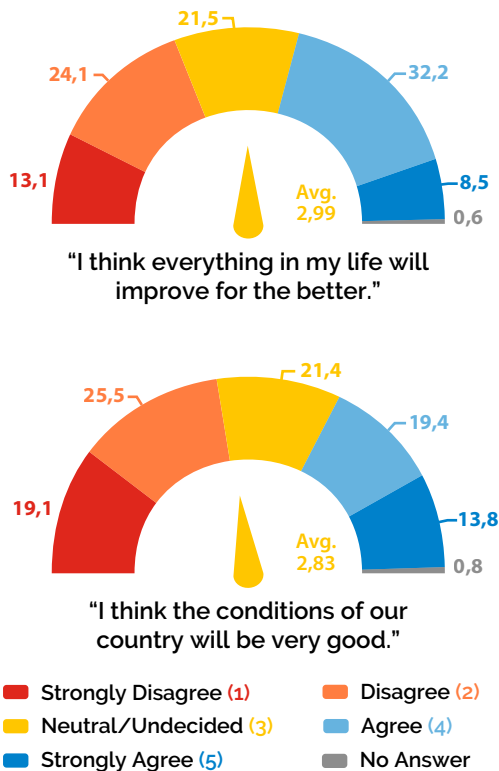


Figure 94. Opinion on CSOs' Organising Marches - by Political Orientation (General Sample mean: 3,55)

# Future Prospects



Participants were also asked to give their predictions for their own lives and for the future of the country. For this purpose, a scale was used where 1 means 'very unfavourable' and 5 means 'very favourable'.

Looking at the overall average of the answers given, it is seen that the participants take a position in the middle in terms of both their own lives (mean: 2.99) and the future of the country (mean: 2.83). Nevertheless, respondents have a more unfavourable view of the country's future than of their own lives.

◀ Figure 95. Participants' Predictions about Their Own Lives and the Future of the Country-General Sample

- **By income:** When income groups are compared, there is a statistically significant difference in agreeing with the statement 'I think that everything in my life will improve in a good way'. **Those earning above 30.000 TL are more hopeful about their future.**

- **By education:** When the education groups were compared, a statistically significant difference was found in agreeing with the statement 'I think that everything in my life will improve in a good way'. **Those with associate's degree and higher education think that their lives will improve more than those with lower education.**

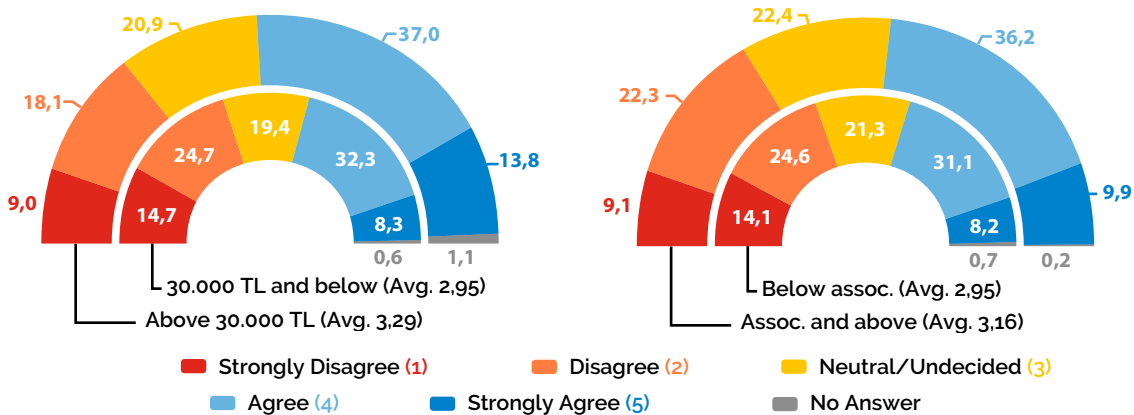


Figure 96. Level of Agreement with the Statement "I think everything in my life will improve for the better" by Income and Education Groups

- **By political orientation:** Participants' views on both their own lives and the future of the country differ statistically significantly according to their position on the right/left axis. **As the political tendencies of the participants shift towards the right, their views on their lives and the future of the country become more positive.** This is also valid for nationalism. There is no significant difference between the level of religiosity and the participants' views on their own lives.

However, there was a significant difference when it came to the future of the country. **As religiosity increases, the level of expectation for the future of the country increases positively.** A statistically significant difference was found between the tendency towards liberalism and the approach to these two issues. **As the level of liberalism increases, the respondents' views on their own lives and the future of the country become more positive.**

# “I think that everything in my life will improve for the better”

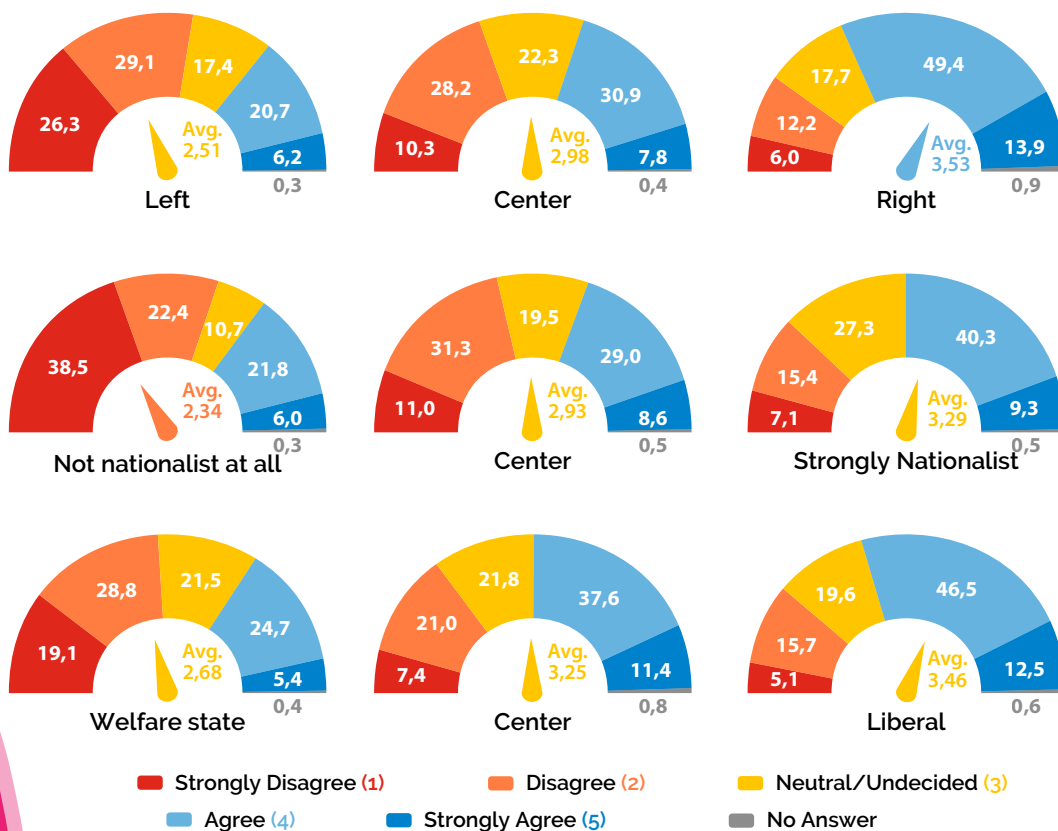


Figure 97. Agreement with the statement "I think that everything in my life will improve for the better" by Political Orientation



# “I think the situation in our country will be very good”

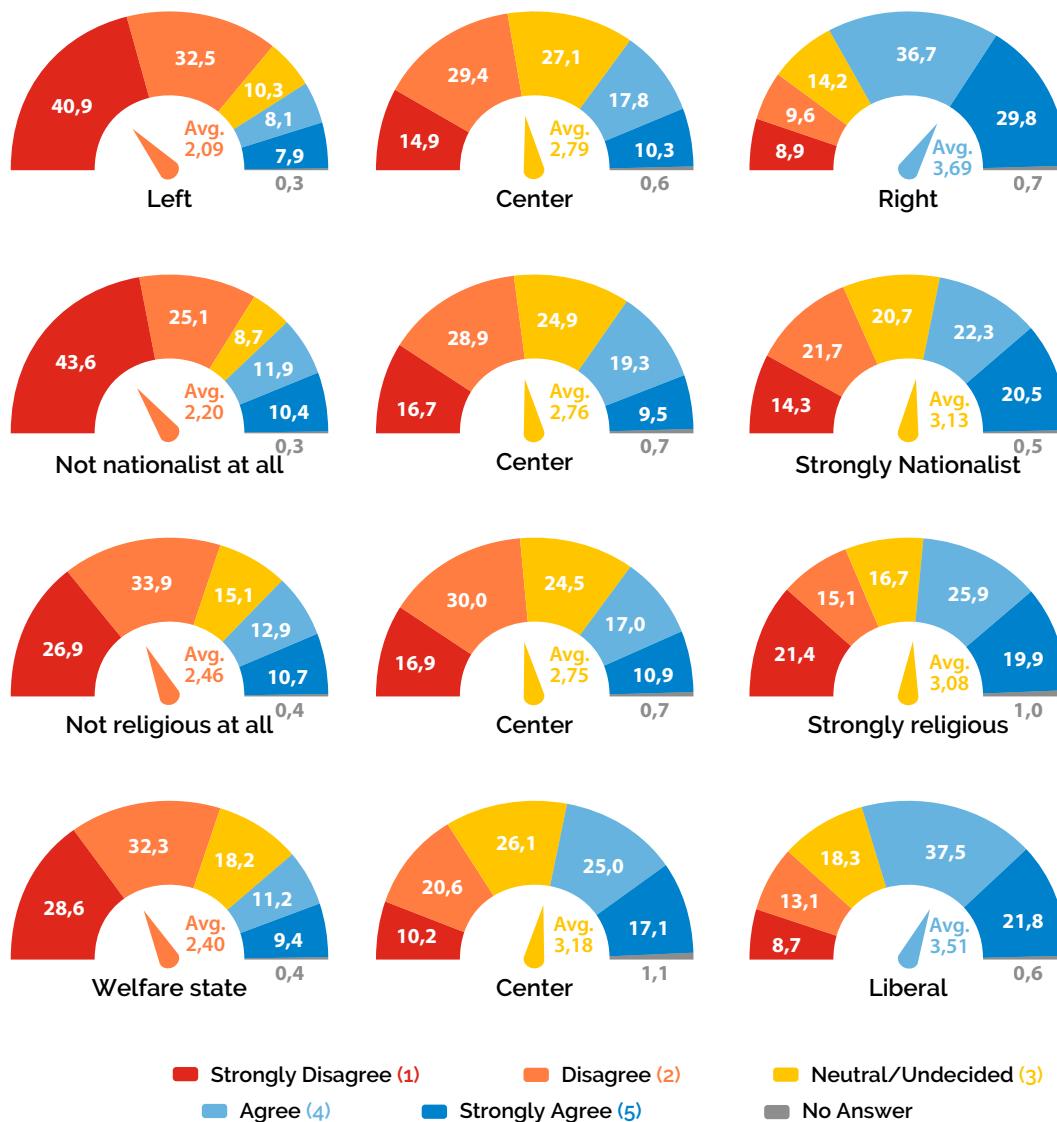


Figure 98. Agreement with the statement “I think the situation in our country will be very good” by Political Orientation

## SES Groups Over 35 Political Orientation

- **By political orientation:** Among SES groups above 35 years of age, right-wing tendency and religiosity increase as SES decreases, and liberal approach increases as SES increases.

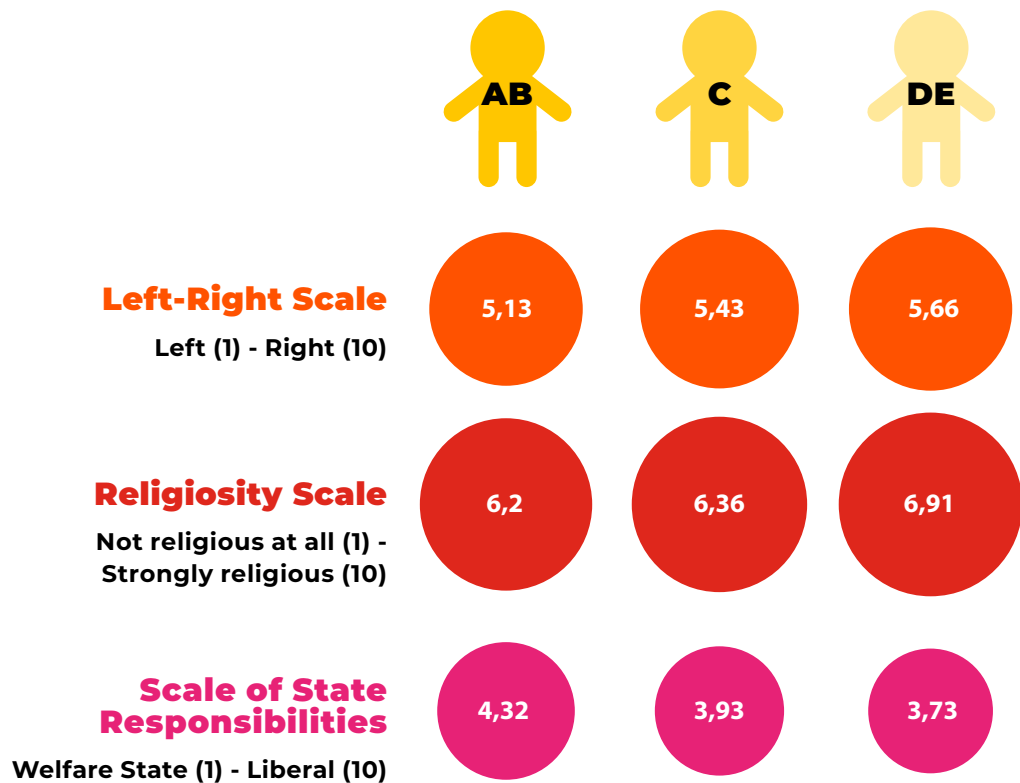


Figure 99. SES groups aged 35 and over - Left-Right, Religiosity, Responsibility of the State (10-point scale)

# Appx. 3

## A Brief Evaluation of the Research on the Public Perception of CSOs in Türkiye

**Assoc. Dr. Mustafa Kemal Coşkun**

The issue of democratisation in Türkiye has followed a long and highly controversial process. When it comes to democratisation, civil society debates inevitably come to the fore. However, in Türkiye, this debate has generally been built on the existence or non-existence of civil society. In this context, it has often been argued that there has never been a civil society in Türkiye in the Hegelian sense of the existence of independent associations and institutions (Dodd, 1992: 28).

Therefore, discussions on democracy in Türkiye are conducted within the framework of the possibilities of the development of democracy and civil society in non-Western societies, the dichotomy between Western and Eastern societies, the strong state-weak civil society structure, the impact of the relations between bureaucratic-elitist and traditionalist liberals, and the formation of a democratic political culture in Türkiye.

Differing discussions have arisen on this issue. Indeed, in response to the discourse on the ineffectiveness/non-existence of civil society in non-Western societies due to state despotism, Islamic circles generally argue that traditional structures (tariqas, madrasas, foundations, etc.) are proof of the existence of civil society (See Çaha, 2000: 162). Similarly, according to Dursun, the existence of a social sphere autonomous from and opposed to the state in Islamic societies in general and in the Ottoman Empire in particular should be accepted, and the question of whether a civil society specific to their own structure exists in these societies should not even be a matter of discussion. On the contrary, through the policies implemented in the Republican period, the state rose and civil society collapsed (Dursun, 1997:240).

On the other hand, others believe that the Middle East's mindset, state mentality and the pattern of social interaction constitute cultural obstacles to the formation of civil society (Bora and Çağlar, 2000: 337). According to Heper, the relations between Islam and the state prevented the development of the qualities of civil society. Free cities and markets were structures distant from the Muslim experience (Heper, 1991:45). Therefore, the current structure in Türkiye was described as a 'tutelary democracy' and it was argued that this could achieve neither development nor democratisation (Szyliowicz, 1966: 283; Ergil, 2000). The most obvious example of this approach is İdris Küçükömer, who based on the specific conditions of Türkiye, tries to find an answer to why civil society has not been formed in the country (See Küçükömer, 1994). Noting that there are fundamental differences between Eastern and Western societies at economic, political and cultural levels, Küçükömer tries to find an answer to why civil society has not been formed in Türkiye

by focusing on its specific conditions. According to him, in Western societies there is a division between law and power and the citizen has an effective role in the formation of politics. Citizens take their place in public assemblies and thus have a part of the power. In this sense, power has a divided/fragmented structure (Küçükömer, 1994: 124). In contrast, in Eastern societies, there is a unity in power and therefore there is no distinction between civil society and political society. According to Küçükömer, what is interesting in societies like ours is the narrowness of civil society parallel to the narrowness of political society. Therefore, the conscience and tradition of democratic citizenship has never been established (Küçükömer, 1994: 134). Sarıbay similarly argues that the main problem in Eastern societies is the lack of mechanisms and structures to protect the individual against state power, in short, the absence of civil society.

**That is, according to Sarıbay, 'Turkish culture has led the Turkish individual to be publicist/statist, and individualistic culture type has not developed. The individualistic type of culture, in fact, is more supportive in enabling democratic governance (Sarıbay, 2000:48 and 62).'" In short, an important obstacle to democratisation in Türkiye, according to this perspective, is the existence of a strong state and yet a weak structure of civil society (Barkey, 2000; Ergil, 2000).**

The common feature of the two different approaches summarised above is to equate the development of civil society with the development of democracy and to treat political society and civil society as if they were different structures. The real problem may lie here. Because both approaches act with a statist-institutionalist approach, they exclude social class relations and class struggles from their analyses and try to explain the state only in terms of political power relations. Such approaches see the intervention of the state in the economy as the cause of the economic problems and the bureaucracy as the reason for the failure to establish democratic relations between the state and society. Economic crises and legitimacy problems are not understood as a necessary stage of the capital accumulation process, and the political, social and cultural dimensions of these crises are evaluated independently of economic power relations. As a consequence, the issue is often analysed as a state-society or statist-liberal conflict.

However, the state in Türkiye does not have a supra-class structure, as it is often claimed, and it develops policies in line with the basic laws of the capital accumulation process and the rising/falling momentum of the class struggle. Analysing state-society relations within the framework of hegemony struggles rather than within the framework of a strong state tradition provides a more explanatory framework for understanding the changes and transformations in Türkiye. Hegemony involves the mobilisation and organisation of different 'class-related' forces under the political, intellectual and moral leadership of a particular class. The main point here is the development of a specific 'hegemonic project' that can resolve conflicts between particular interests and general interests (Jessop, 2004: 210).

**In this framework, looking for the failure of democracy and civil society to develop in Türkiye only at the political level in the state-society relations will prevent us from seeing some important points. This important point is none other than the class character of the state. In this study, we will try to analyse and evaluate only a few of the data obtained in the above-mentioned research within the framework of state and class relations.**

In general, for Hegel, civil society is a system of social relations that lies between the state and the family/individual and covers all relations in this area. Therefore, individuals participate in civil society as free and independent persons. However, the opposition between civil society and the state is evident here. However, for Marx, civil society is not a formation that can be considered separately from the state. More precisely, it can be said as follows: civil society is shaped according to who holds state power, and it is the capitalist system itself that is the creator of civil society.

This can be demonstrated by looking at how the perception of both civil society and civil society organisations is formed. One of the important data of this research is related to how the participants perceive civil society. According to the data of the study, the first concepts that come to mind when civil society is mentioned are concepts related to 'benevolence' such as cooperation / solidarity / charity organisations, disaster / earthquake / search and rescue, money /

donation. For example, concepts such as advocacy, claiming rights, etc. do not come to mind. This is not surprising and the reason behind is understandable. As a matter of fact, the most important result of neoliberal economic policies since the 1980s in terms of civil society organisations has been to leave the work that should be done by the state to civil society and to make civil society a kind of 'sidekick' of the state. Therefore, civil society organisations no longer have the function of democratising and defending rights against the state that Tocqueville mentioned, perhaps it did not exist anyway. Yet, with neoliberalism, civil society has delegated to civil society organisations what the state cannot or does not want to do, and for this reason, civil society and civil society organisation have begun to look like a kind of aid organisation. The participants of this study have obviously expressed what they see in their daily lives.

It goes without saying that this policy of the neoliberal state is in the name of the survival of the capital accumulation of the ruling bourgeois class. At this point, it is possible to say that civil society and its organisations are shaped according to the interests of the hegemonic class in state power, and that this is the transformation of civil society organisations into a kind of aid organisation today. Therefore, people now understand aid organisations when they think of civil society, which is natural. Hence, almost all of the organisations that participants think of when they think of civil society are aid organisations (Red Crescent, AHBAP, LÖSEV, AFAD, etc.). Moreover, some of these are not civil society organisations, but organisations established directly by the state.

The level of the participants' relationship with civil society organisations also seems to be a data that proves the point mentioned above

**Indeed, approximately 75% of the participants in this research are not engaged with any civil society organisation. The reason should not be very difficult to understand.**

Although half of the participants state that they do not have time to participate in such activities, another data reveals the main point. When asked about the impact of civil society organisations on the solution of problems in their neighbourhood and on the determination of policies in the country, the respondents mostly answered either not at all or somewhat effective (the sum of these two answers is 70% and above in both questions). In other words, people think that civil society organisations are either ineffective or somewhat effective in both local and national policies. Therefore, it would be wrong to expect people to participate in a civil society organisation that is/cannot be effective. However, it is necessary to think about why the participants do not see civil society organisations as effective. I think the reason for this is that although civil society organisations undertake to do the work that the state cannot do, they either fail in most of these works or they cannot be successful without state support/intervention. However, another important point is that the biggest factor may be that today, civil society organisations have been reduced to the status of organisations that try to earn more or less income through projects rather than organisations that carry out protests on the streets or object and try to change what they see as wrong.

In this case, it is understandable that trust in civil society organisations is also quite low. In fact, only approximately 36% of the respondents trust these organisations. First of all, it should be noted that

this is a very low rate. At this point, an important finding is that trust in civil society organisations increases as the level of income and education increases. At the same time, the trust score of the participants with a positive perception of these organisations is also higher.

In this case, the following question can be asked: why do those with lower income and education levels trust civil society organisations less? This kind of data is usually explained by the lack of knowledge, less social participation, etc. of those with lower levels of education and income. However, it may be more useful to look at the situation from the opposite perspective in order to understand the issue. That is, to what extent do civil society organisations reach out to uneducated and low-income people for reasons other than 'giving aid', for example, with political objectives, for example, for advocacy purposes? Do they have such programmes? It may be meaningful to evaluate this data from this perspective.

In connection with the data above, the last data I will mention here is which institutions the respondents trust more. As expected, the army, police/gendarmerie, judiciary, other public institutions and organisations come first. How can we explain this? First of all, all of the above-mentioned institutions are also state institutions, but almost all of these institutions have functions that cannot be fulfilled by civil society organisations. In other words, no civil society organisation can establish an army or a police force, create a judicial system, etc. The space left by the state to civil society organisations is certain and limited, and civil society organisations function within this defined space or limit. Therefore, civil society organisations cannot respond to problems such as security and justice that people face in their daily lives. All these are still expected from state institutions.

But the important point here is that civil society and its organisations function in relation to the role assigned to civil society by the state, in other words, by whoever the ruling class faction is, in line with its own interests.

Taking the data into consideration, let us conclude with a final assessment. Generally speaking, civil society is based on an understanding that citizens themselves make decisions about the problems that concern them. However, theorists from Habermas to Laclau and Mouffe and Hirst mostly idealise the bourgeois liberal public sphere. As far as we understand from the above data, civil society organisations have been 'tamed' within the framework of the main objectives of neoliberalism. However, being 'tamed' means the suicide of social movements in the sense that they are merely 'a side ornament of the system' (Bora, 1997: 32). As long as this process continues, the potential of new social movements to influence the system as a whole will disappear.

Based on these data, my suggestion is nothing other than conceptualising civil society not as an intermediate space between the state and the family/individual, but on the basis of material and social reproduction. This is because the distinction between economic society, political society and civil society can only be an analytical distinction; people do not live with such distinctions in social life or such distinctions do not exist in reality. As a matter of fact, the fact that the state has given up workers' rights in favour of capital in the neoliberal period shows that the relative autonomy between the state and the ruling classes has completely disappeared, to the detriment of civil society and its organisations. This in turn is an important obstacle to the class struggle, and therefore to the struggle in civil society.



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# Appx. 4

## Brief Evaluation of the Findings of the Field Research on Public Perception of CSOs in Türkiye

**Doç. Dr. Didem Çabuk**

The aim of the “Public Perception of CSOs” Field Survey conducted within the scope of the Monitoring Freedom of Association Project is to understand citizens’ perception of civil society in Türkiye, how well they know civil society organisations, how they interact with civil society organisations, what their positive and negative evaluations are, their expectations from civil society organisations and their level of trust in civil society.

This effort is valuable in terms of expanding the boundaries of freedom of association in Türkiye, creating a participatory political culture and bolstering the relations between civil society organisations and citizens. Thus, in order to meet the aim of the research accurately, a comprehensive literature study was conducted and the questionnaire was meticulously designed. While some questions in the questionnaire were designed in the light of the information in the literature, some questions were adapted from previous similar studies. Furthermore, in the last part of the questionnaire, the ‘Civil Society Organisations Reputation Scale’, which I developed as part of my doctoral thesis, was used to reveal how the participants perceive CSOs in Türkiye in the dimensions of trust, competence, communication capacity and management capacity.

Just like individuals, the main variable that forms our perceptions about organisations is the relationship we establish with them. How these relationships are defined, how they are established and how they are managed affect our perception of an organisation positively or negatively. The importance of whether this perception is positive or negative is determined by the competitive conditions of the sector in which organisations operate. In sectors where there is competition and organisations compete fiercely with each other to access different resources, the positive perception of an organisation in various aspects compared to others positively affects the reputation and therefore the success of the organisation. Therefore, in order to be perceived positively by their stakeholders and to manage their reputation, organisations must be successful in their communication processes as well as in the products and services they offer to their stakeholders.

Civil society organisations are basically voluntary organisations that operate on the basis of volunteerism, aim to create social benefit in line with their fields of activity independently from the state and the private sector without seeking profit through dues, donations and the financial resources they create, and therefore need social participation more than any other organisation. When we look at the active citizenship variable derived in this study based on the degree of participation in political life, the finding that 60% of the participants do not participate in political life and approximately 5% of the participants participate very little in political life reveals that the participatory culture in Türkiye has not developed sufficiently for civil society. Similarly, the fact that the rate of being in contact with civil society organisations decreases as the level of active citizenship decreases among the participants points to the connection between these two variables.

**Civil society organisations operating in countries like Türkiye, where participatory culture is weak, need to pay more attention to communication activities in order to increase the social support and participation they need.**

The low rate of participation in civil society organisations in Türkiye is highly related to citizens' time and money constraints as well as the political climate that prevents the development of a participatory culture. In terms of the development of the culture of democracy in Türkiye, two findings of the research are noteworthy. Namely, some of those who voluntarily participated in civil society organisations stated the reasons for not becoming a member as 'I was afraid of getting into trouble' (12.1%) and 'I thought it would have a negative effect on my record' (6.5%). Similarly, participants who were not members or volunteers in a civil society organisation stated that they did not participate in such activities because they were hesitant or afraid of participating in such activities (12.5%), after time and money constraints. Although these rates, which point to political pressure as a reason for citizens' non-participation in civil society organisations, may seem low, yet they are remarkably high when evaluated in terms of the fundamental constitutional rights to freedom of thought and expression and freedom of association.

Based on the findings obtained in the study, it is seen that civil society organisations in Türkiye are mostly perceived as organisations operating on the axis of cooperation and solidarity in various

fields. Those who perceive civil society organisations as organisations that carry out rights-oriented activities on the axis of democracy and advocacy are very few. Similarly, while citizens mostly participate in the activities of civil society organisations operating in the fields of philanthropy and volunteerism, the rate of participation in advocacy/political oriented civil society organisations is quite low. This situation should be evaluated in relation to the foundation tradition of the Ottoman Empire, the rituals of the Islamic religion such as zakat, fitrah and sacrifice, as well as the liberal economic policies that have been effective in re-establishing the state-society relationship in Türkiye since the 1980s and that followed the depoliticisation policies of 1980-1983.

**The fact that the Red Crescent, which has the legal status of a non-profit association but is also a public institution (as can be seen in Article 71 of the Law on Associations), comes to mind most when the term "civil society organisation" is mentioned is an indication of both the confusion about the concept and the fact that the public is not fully aware of what the term "civil society organisation" means.**

In this context, one of the important findings of the research is the names of the institutions that come to mind when the participants think of civil society organisations according to their level of relationship with civil society. Accordingly, those who mentioned the name of the Red Crescent the

most (42.6) were those who have never had any relationship with civil society organisations, while those who mentioned it the least (9.2) were members or volunteers. This situation reveals the importance of the relationship between citizens and civil society organisations. Similarly, the finding that the Kahramanmaraş-based earthquake that occurred on 6 February 2023 positively affected the participants' perception of the importance of civil society organisations and their perception of civil society organisations in general can also be evaluated in this context. The search and rescue and aid processes after the earthquake, just like the Gölcük Earthquake that occurred on 17 August 1999, increased the level of citizens' relationship with non-governmental organisations, and the fact that citizens evaluated the performance of non-governmental organisations as successful positively affected the perception towards them.

Underdevelopment of participatory and civil society culture has a negative impact on people's interest in and knowledge of civil society organisations. In this respect, 86% of the participants stating that they have average or below average knowledge about civil society organisations is not a surprising result. The surprising result in this context within the scope of the research is that in the study to determine the perception of civil society, approximately 55% of the participants agreed with the statement 'CSOs explain their aims and activities to the society well (mean=3.49)'. Similarly, the averages of the communication capacity dimension of the 'Reputation of Civil Society Organisations Scale' used in the research lie on the positive side of the scale. While the participants evaluate the communication activities of CSOs to be above average, participants' low level of knowledge about civil society organisations can be attributed to their low level of interest in civil society.

A similarly important finding is that approximately 75% of the participants have not had any engagement with any civil society organisation in their lifetime. Nevertheless, participants frequently stated that they would participate more if they knew that their donations will actually be used by that organisation, if they believe that their contributions will result in a tangible benefit, and if they have more detailed information about what civil society organisations have done so far. However, the most frequently emphasised first 5 of the 8 conditions that the participants considered would enable them to be more involved in the activities of civil society organisations ('Knowing that your donation will actually be used by that organisation' (20.4%), 'Getting detailed information about what has been done so far (18%), 'Knowing/thinking that your contribution will have a tangible return (18%), 'Having your opinions and contributions taken into account in the activities and projects of the organisation' (15.7%), 'Being regularly informed about the ongoing activities and projects of the organisation' (14.2%)) are conditions that can be fulfilled through communication activities. At this point, stakeholders' expectations from civil society organisations are to be transparently informed about the status and results of the activities and projects carried out so far and ongoing, what and how financial resources are used, and to be involved in decision-making processes through two-way communication activities. The participants' emphasis on obtaining information and being included in decision-making processes in order to participate more in civil society underlines the importance of corporate communication activities for civil society organisations.

Another striking finding of the research from the point of view of the communication discipline is the place of communication tools in the participation practices of the participants who have been in contact with civil society organisations

so far. The two most frequently mentioned forms of participation by the participants with low or high level of contact with civil society organisations were 'donating to a campaign of a civil society organisation via SMS' and 'sharing a post of a civil society organisation on social media'. Although traditional mass media, especially television, still maintains its importance as the primary means of receiving news in our daily lives in general, the use of digital media tools has increased considerably, especially among the young population under the age of 35. This finding also reveals the necessity for civil society organisations to focus on digital communication activities by using their social media accounts to transparently inform citizens about their activities, expenditures and campaigns. Ahbap, LÖSEV and TEMA, which were the first organisations that come to mind in this study when it comes to civil society organisations, are the organisations that use social media most effectively.

The fact that citizens' trust in civil society organisations in Türkiye is above average (3.16) and the results of the other dimensions of the reputation scale used in the research are similarly above average (3.54 points for "Management Capacity", 3.50 points for "Communication Capacity" and 3.54 points for "Competence") is a promising situation for CSOs operating in Türkiye. However, it should be noted that although the ratios are above average, they are not positive (4 and above). Accordingly, in order to increase citizens' trust in CSOs, they need to be inclusive towards all segments of the society and transparently explain to the public how they obtain their financial resources and how they spend these resources. For this purpose, they should use their social media accounts effectively, especially in line with the increasing use of digital media by citizens. ■

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