

Well-Being Conditions Of The Citizens In Turkey

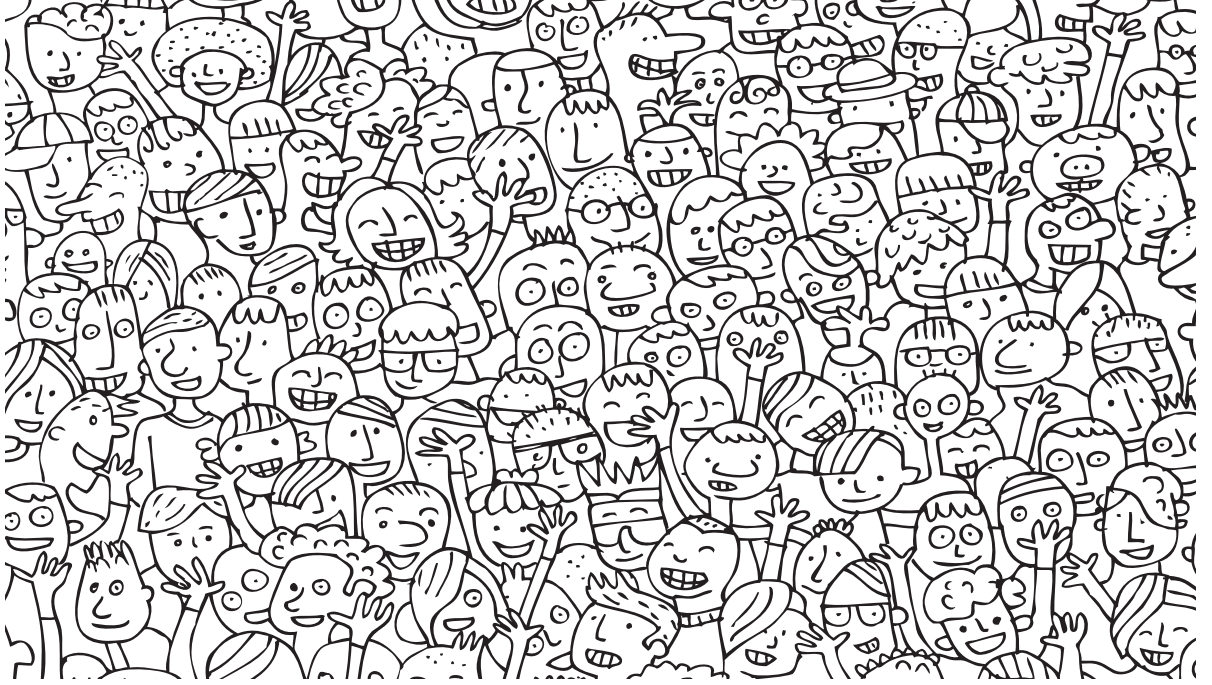
**Towards a
Healthy, Happy,
Fair, Safe,
Hopeful and
Strong Society**



politikada iyilik hali

Well-being of Citizens in Turkey

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WRITER

Ali Yalçın Göymen

EDITOR

Gölnur Elçik

TRANSLATION

Esin Umut Kaçmaz

CONTACT US

+90 546 905 25 19

[https://politikadaivilikhali.org/tr tr/](https://politikadaivilikhali.org/tr_tr/)

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Canan Kahraman

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No: 10-AH111

Esenler 34235 İstanbul

Tel: 0212 629 0610 - 0212 629 0385

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Table of Contents

| | |
|--|-----------|
| <i>Table List</i> | 3 |
| <i>Chart List</i> | 3 |
| <i>Research Summary</i> | 5 |
| <i>Methodology and Demographic Characteristics</i> | 7 |
| Demographic Structure | 9 |
| Household..... | 9 |
| Life | 10 |
| Political Affiliation..... | 12 |
| <i>Political Conditions and Well-Being</i> | 14 |
| Polarization Problem | 16 |
| Politics and Social Ties | 18 |
| Social Ties..... | 18 |
| Political Participation..... | 20 |
| <i>Economy and Well-being</i> | 24 |
| Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of the Economy on Them | 24 |
| Working Life | 26 |
| Indebtedness | 28 |
| <i>Social Relations and Well-Being</i> | 31 |
| Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Social Relations on Them | 31 |
| Social Violence and Discrimination | 32 |
| The Effect of Religion on Community Life | 34 |
| Social Relations and Citizens' Mood | 35 |
| <i>Future Expectations and Well-Being</i> | 39 |
| <i>Conclusion</i> | 44 |

Table List:

| | |
|--|----|
| Figure 1: Number Of People Working In The Household..... | 10 |
| Figure 2: Physical Health Problems Experienced in Recent Years..... | 11 |
| Figure 3: Last Time of Participation in a Cultural Event..... | 12 |
| Figure 4: Primary Political Affiliation | 13 |
| Figure 5: Secondary Political Affiliation | 14 |
| Figure 6 : Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the General Political Situation in Turkey | 15 |
| Figure 7: Citizens' Trust in the Political Parties They Support or Feel Close to | 16 |
| Figure 8:Those Responsible for Polarization | 17 |
| Figure 9: Polarization and Communication..... | 18 |
| Figure 10: Increase in Violence in Turkey in Recent Years | 18 |
| Figure 11: The Relation between Political Activities and Social Ties | 19 |
| Figure 12: Rate of Discussion About Political Issues Among People with Different Political Views | 19 |
| Figure 13: Participation through Membership in Political Associations, Platforms and Parties | 20 |
| Figure 14: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches..... | 23 |
| Figure 15: Opinions on Turkey's Political Future..... | 24 |
| Figure 16: Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the Economy on Their Well-Being..... | 25 |
| Figure 17: Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the Turkish Economy on Their Well-Being .. | 25 |
| Figure 18: Income and Expenditure Balance of Households..... | 27 |
| Figure 19: Changes in Working Conditions..... | 27 |
| Figure 20: Citizens' Indebtedness Status | 29 |
| Figure 21: Impact of Indebtedness on Citizens' Lives | 29 |
| Figure 22: Citizens' Methods of Meeting Their Urgent Money Needs | 30 |
| Figure 23: Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Social Relations on Them | 31 |
| Figure 24: Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Current Social Relations in Turkey on Them | 31 |
| Figure 25: Impact of Family Relations on Citizens..... | 32 |
| Figure 26: Citizens' Opinions on the Causes of Violence against Women in Turkey..... | 33 |
| Figure 27: The Effect of Religion on Community Life | 35 |
| Figure 28: Changes in Citizens' Mood in the Last 10 Years | 36 |
| Figure 29: Rate of Citizens Who Feel Lonely in Society..... | 37 |
| Figure 30: Rate of Citizens Who Feel Excluded from Society | 37 |
| Figure 31: Anxiety/Depression Problems | 38 |
| Figure 32: Psychological Support Methods..... | 39 |
| Figure 33: Citizens' Assessment of Their Lives in Turkey | 40 |
| Figure 34: Those Responsible for Turkey's Deterioration According to Citizens | 41 |
| Figure 35: Social Trust Index of Citizens of the Republic of Turkey | 41 |
| Figure 36: Rates of Satisfaction with Life..... | 42 |
| Figure 37: Citizens' Hope for the Future | 42 |

Chart List

Breakdown Chart 1: Age Breakdown: Participation through Membership in Political Associations, Platforms and Parties 21

Breakdown Chart 2: Gender Breakdown: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns 22

Breakdown Chart 3: Regional Breakdown: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns 22

Breakdown Chart 4: Regional Breakdown: Anxiety and Depression Problems 38

Breakdown Chart 5: Age Breakdown: Future Expectations 43

Breakdown Chart 6: Gender Breakdown: Future Expectations 43

Breakdown Chart 7: Regional Breakdown: Future Expectations 44

Research Summary

Within the framework of the project, *Strengthening the State of Well-Being in Politics in Turkey with a Queer Feminist Perspective*, a field research was conducted on the topic of “The Well-Being of Citizens in Turkey”. Within the framework of the study, the term well-being is used as the equivalent of the concept of “well-being” in the international literature in order to express the physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment of citizens. By conducting a nationwide research, it was primarily aimed to analyze the well-being of citizens in general. In the study conducted on a sample of 1,000 people; age group, gender, geographical region and socio-economic status breakdowns were included. The margin of error of the study was determined as 3.10 percent and the confidence interval was determined as 95 percent.

This report is based on a study conducted by researchers who adopt an approach that discusses the state of well-being on the basis of individuals and social relations. In measuring well-being, we determined the activities that designate the lives of individuals including education, health, work, political participation and governance, social ties and relationships, citizens' relationship with the environment and the political, economical, and physical safety as the fundamental indicators of well-being. In addition to these, we also evaluated justice (especially income justice), the existence of institutions that serve the common good, and a dignified life in which citizens are valued and respected as the components of well-being.

Two grounds were taken as the starting point of the research carried out in order to measure the well-being of citizens: 1. Information on demographic structure, 2. Information on ideological tendencies. In terms of demographical structure; the rate of households where no one works is 10.9 percent, and the rate of households where a single person works is 50.6 percent¹. The rate of being a tenant has been one of the remarkable results that has been high again.

At the end of this first part aimed at understanding the profile of the participants, in order to identify the similarities and differences between ideological tendency and well-being, individuals were asked how they defined their political affiliation. Nationalism is the most preferred affiliation. Although the rate of those who call themselves democrats ranks second on the list, it still remains below the overall rate of left-wingers (28 percent) and the rate of right-wingers (about 54 percent) who consider themselves as nationalist, religious and conservative. Despite this, it has been observed that right-wing citizens, like left-wing citizens, also have problems in terms of their quality of life and expectations. The difference here should be acknowledged as the failure of right-wing citizens to establish a link between the deterioration in their well-being and the government.

In the next part of our study, within the context of authoritarianism in Turkey, questions aiming to measure the direct effects of distrust to political institutions and people, political polarization, political violence on the physical, mental and emotional well-being of citizens were posed. As a result, it has been seen that even though politics is a big part of the agenda for Turkish society, the participation rate in politics remains quite low. Citizens were asked

¹ In this study, we used the expression “employee” to refer to the people who earn income in exchange of labor -such as those who work on their own account or work for wages.

how they defined the impact of participation in politics on their social ties and it has been found that the majority did not think that engaging in such activities had no significant effect, and 16.3 percent, on the contrary, thought that it would weaken their social ties and bring along loneliness. Despite the fact that the general approach to politics is negative, findings have been obtained that indicate that the participation rate is likely to increase in the near future conjointly.

In the following part, through the data obtained on economic well-being, the relationship between the economic well-being of citizens and the economic course, working conditions and the phenomenon of indebtedness has been evaluated. It has been revealed that those who say that the Turkish economy has left a negative impact on them are the majority, and that the idea of universal basic income is widely supported. It has been observed that the deterioration in their income has been accompanied by a worsening of their working conditions and that most of the respondents have to accept their working conditions regardless of whether they are satisfied or not. The picture that emerges when the issue of indebtedness is examined reveals that it has negative effects on the well-being of citizens economically as well as having negative effects on social ties.

When it came to the well-being of citizens in terms of social relations; the participants were asked questions about the relationship between social violence, discrimination, the effects of religiousization and the relationship between the social relations of citizens and their spiritual status. Most of the participants stated that they believed violence against women had been increasing and they cited developments outside the field of social relations as the reason for this. Remarkable data have been obtained in the study on how the policy of antagonizing and targeting LGBTIQ+ individuals, which is frequently used in the construction of the social dimension of the authoritarian regime, was perceived by citizens. In addition, it has been found that a significant segment of society acknowledged the influence of religion in politics and the social sphere as a development. When asked about the psychological effects of social relations on well-being, the rate of participants who stated that their mood deteriorated is quite high. These people expressed that they were struggling with problems such as loneliness, exclusion from society and anxiety/depression.

In the last part, the topic of happiness and future expectations, which we consider as the components of the well-being of citizens, were discussed. This point is important in terms of performing a dynamic analysis of the future, rather than defining a passive state of well-being based on the effect that political, economical and social conditions have created in the past. It is concluded that close to two-thirds of the society lives with a sense of hopelessness and helplessness.

All these results and the details of the picture showing that the authoritarian transformation in Turkey in the last decade has affected the well-being of citizens not only in terms of economic collapse but also in economic and social aspects are presented in the relevant sections, and a holistic evaluation of the data obtained from a well-being perspective is made in the conclusion section.

Methodology and Demographic Characteristics

This report is based on the field research on "The Well-being of Citizens in Turkey" conducted within the framework of the project *Strengthening the State of Well-Being in Politics in Turkey with a Queer Feminist Perspective*.

Within the framework of the field research we have been conducting since April 2022, we conducted our study on a sample of 1,000 people. Measurements in terms of age group, gender, geographical region and socioeconomic status are included. We set the margin of error at 3.10 percent and the confidence interval at 95 percent.

Within the framework of the study, we have used the concept of well-being as the equivalent of the concept of well-being in the international literature in order to express the physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment of citizens². Well-being is an important issue that is not given much space in the sociopolitical debates in Turkey, is often postponed to be discussed within the organizations that are the actors of politics, and also does not receive enough attention in the academic literature. For this reason, it was deemed necessary to go beyond the working definition of the content of the concept given above and around which the study was shaped - physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment - and examine the concept.

Although the discussion of the concept of well-being in its current form began in the 1990s, the concept of well-being as a political value is as old as the history of thought. This is because it is closely related to one of the main issues in the history of political thought, which dates back more than 2000 years, namely the questions of what the good life is and how to reveal the common good in a way that leads people to happiness. The period that started with the 1990s, which is important for our work, was marked by the personal/subjective well-being that emerged with the rise of environmental issues. During this period, the level of individual happiness achieved by individuals in proportion to their share of gross domestic product (GDP) was considered the main indicator of well-being studies. In the aftermath of the 2008 crisis, a well-being approach has emerged that proposes to examine well-being from a holistic perspective that addresses human flourishing by including future generations in the equation.

As it can be seen, what is defined as well-being depends on the political framework the world is viewed from. Whether physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment is defined in terms of which groups, methods or goals, and whether well-being is addressed at the individual, social and organizational levels determines political preferences for the development of well-being, and vice versa.

A review of the literature on this subject shows that the two approaches compete with each other in terms of defining the level of happiness that citizens should have for their physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment, in other words, the character of the common good to be attained by society. While both schools see the construction of the common good as the sine

² Within the scope of the research, measurements were made on the defined territory unit according to the Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) Level-1.

qua non of social peace and development, they agree that the emergence of the common good is possible through the happiness of people. However, while the first one explains happiness in a hedonic way, the other makes sense of happiness on the basis of human flourishing.

The hedonic approach to well-being, as mentioned earlier, is based on economic growth, the share of GDP and the income of citizens. According to this school, the basis of an individual's happiness lies in maximizing the amount of pleasure achieved through income. This understanding reflects the view that is influential from the understanding of consumption in welfare state societies to the understanding of the individual as a self-entrepreneur in neoliberal societies. In particular, the economic man (*homo economicus*), which is called the credo of the neoliberal era, the individual who is responsible for maximizing his income in order to achieve happiness by satisfying his privatized needs, constitutes the pinnacle of this approach.

On the other hand, according to the approach that views well-being from a human flourishing perspective, citizens' expectations from life depend on their lifelong experiences. The projection of this idea in terms of interpreting well-being is that economic, social, psychological and cultural factors determine individual preferences. Instead of a subjective approach that focuses on how individuals perceive the world, there is a need for both an objective and a subjective approach that focuses on how the world is and how it shapes individuals' preferences. Therefore, the impact of socio-economic conditions on quality of life should be part of well-being studies. It would not be possible to understand the well-being of individuals especially without including the effects of the precariousization conditions that became evident after 2008. Likewise, it would be equally misleading to try to explain the well-being of citizens only through consumption patterns without identifying the effects of the phenomenon of authoritarianism that has marked the last decade in Turkey.

This report adopts a human flourishing-based understanding of well-being; it goes beyond a hedonistic and subjective approach and challenges the limitation of well-being to material living conditions. Many elements of the human flourishing approach were included in the study. In measuring well-being, the activities that people carry out to shape their lives, including education, health, work, political participation and governance, social ties and relations, citizens' relationship with the environment, and safety in both economic and physical terms were acknowledged as fundamental indicators of well-being. In addition to these, justice (especially income justice), the existence of institutions that serve the common good, and a dignified life in which citizens are valued and respected were also considered as components of well-being.

Our research aims to reveal the impact of the current political and economic conditions in Turkey on people's individual and social well-being, to underline the importance of well-being in terms of voting behavior as we move towards elections, and to draw a restorative roadmap for the opposition's agenda and the well-being of political workers in Turkey. Although narrower in scope, in another study; we focused on the well-being of activists and political workers in political struggles in Turkey, and we also created a framework on the continuities and discontinuities between the well-being of citizens and politicians.

While conducting our research, we determined a methodology that is in line with the objectives of the project summarized above. The methodology we applied has certain unique aspects when compared to international well-being studies. The search for this kind of authenticity is motivated by the fact that mainstream well-being studies have largely limited their analysis of well-being to economic living conditions and focused on individual life satisfaction. Variables indicating well-being such as education, health, knowledge and skills, environmental conditions, gender equality, work life and social ties are evaluated on the basis of material gain and economic sustainability. And while making this assessment, the main determinant is the amount of GDP per household among the economic structural elements.

In contrast, our study starts from the idea that it is insufficient to look only at income per household in terms of structural conditions to measure citizens' well-being. It also takes into account that social and political conditions are as decisive as economic conditions in measuring well-being, especially in an authoritarian regime. Therefore, for example; it also tries to measure the impact of politics in general, political institutions, political parties, polarization, political language, violence and political activities. Likewise, in terms of social relations; it measures the effects of family relations, violence against women, discrimination against LGBTIQ+ community members, and the place of religion in society on the mental and physical conditions of individuals.

Another distinctive feature of our study is that citizens were directly asked to assess the impact of politics, economy and social relations on their physical, mental and spiritual self-empowerment, both in general and in terms of the current conditions in Turkey. In this sense, the study provides an opportunity to compare citizens' perceptions of the impact of political, economic and social conditions on their well-being with the concrete details of this impact.

Demographic Structure

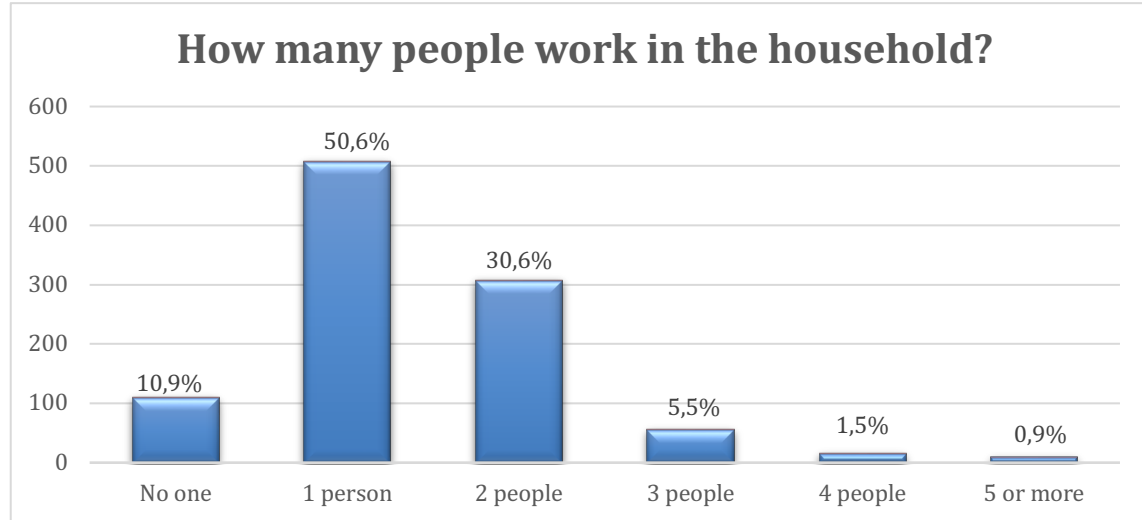
Household

Household information was selected as the starting point of the survey conducted to measure the well-being of citizens. In this context, the first question asked to the citizens was how many people lived in their households. When we compare the results obtained with the results of the Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) 2011, conducted by the Ministry of Family and Social Policies in 2011, the effects of authoritarianization that has marked the last 10 years of Turkey become visible³. Looking at current data, the rate of 4-person families is 26.4 percent. However, it can be observed that after the 4-person family, the weight has shifted from the extended family (5-person family rate is 17.5 percent, 6-person family rate is 11.9 percent) to the 2-person and 3-person family structure (2-person family rate is 13.6 percent, 3-person family rate is 23.8 percent). The rate of those living alone is 3.7 percent. In the 2011 study, the sum of 1-person households and 2-person households is 30.7 percent, while this rate is 17.3 percent in our study. Out of the 13.4 percent difference, the share of 3-person households is 3.2 percent. The remaining 10.2 percent has shifted towards 4-person households or more. This

³ See. Ministry of Family and Social Policies, Research on Family Structure in Türkiye (TAYA) 2011 <https://ekutuphane.aile.gov.tr/media/boupifwc/research-on-family-structure-in-turkiye-taya-2011.pdf>. Date of access: 26.05.2022

shows that the regime's project to create cheap labor force, which is disguised by the regime's call for 3 children, which is embellished with a religious discourse, is partially effective, but nevertheless, family forms that fall outside this conservatization remain diverse.

Figure 1: Number Of People Working In The Household



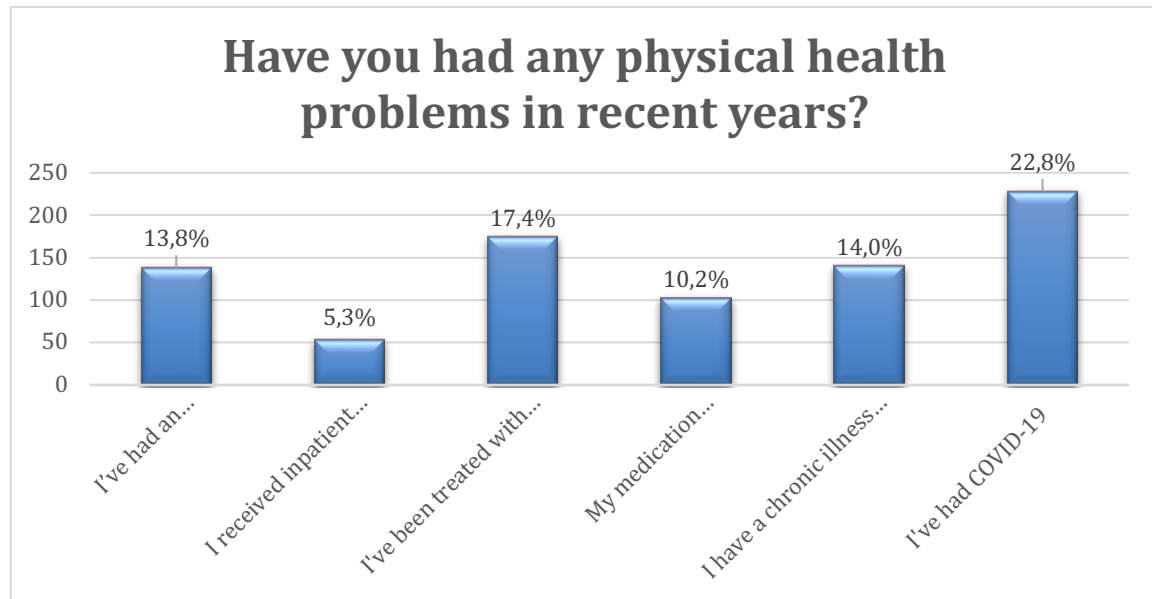
We continued the measurement of households with the issue of housing. When we look at the ownership status of the houses where families live, we observe that there is a 40-60 percent balance between tenancy and home ownership. This result is in line with the increasing trend in the rate of being a tenant, as determined by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TurkStat) within the framework of the results of the Income and Living Conditions Survey for 2020⁴. In addition, 15.4 percent of the respondents to the question "Do you live in a house that meets your (and your family's, if any) needs?" stated that the house they lived in was not suitable for their needs, while 15.5 percent stated that it was partially suitable.

Life

Following the household structure, we asked citizens questions about their living conditions in order to determine their physical well-being. When asked whether they had experienced health problems in recent years, 50.7 percent of the respondents reported various problems. The distribution of these is presented in Figure 2. The rate of citizens who say they have access to healthy food is 41.4 percent. This shows that the physical well-being of almost 60 percent of the society is in danger. 64.5 percent of citizens state that there are areas near their homes where they can engage in regular physical activity. The rate of those who can go to a gym is limited to 13.9 percent. From these rates, we understand that the rate of those who can strengthen themselves physically with a conscious physical activity program and a possible diet accompanying it is quite low.

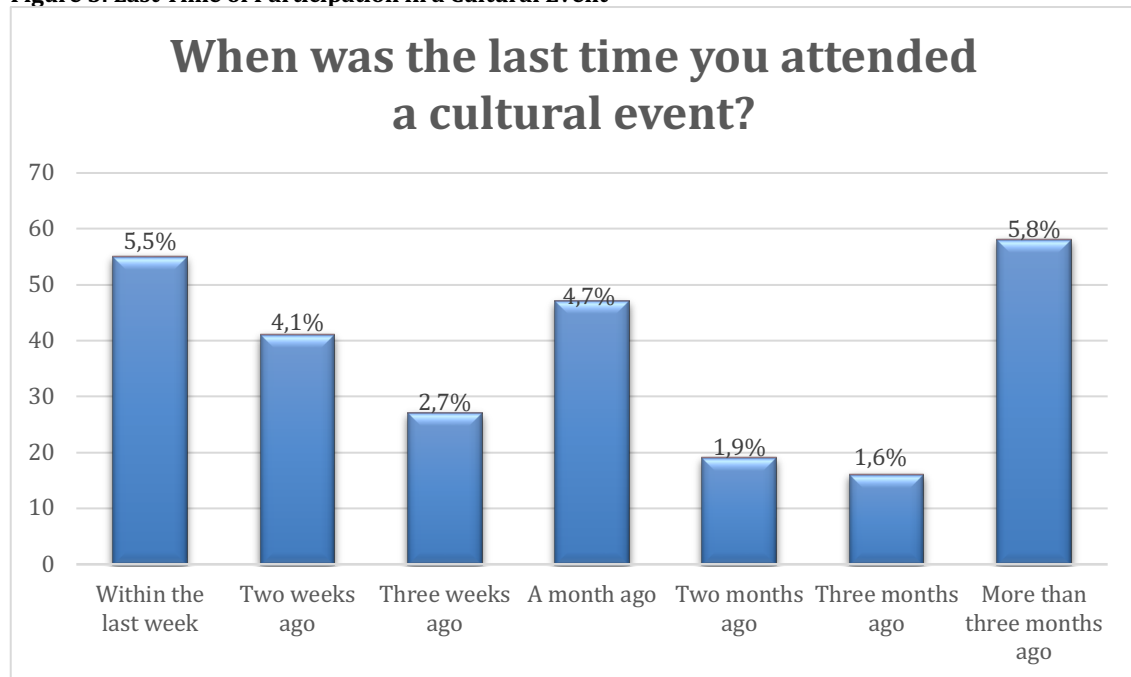
⁴ See TurkStat, *Income and Living Conditions Survey*, 2020, <https://data.tuik.gov.tr/Bulten/Index?p=Income-and-Living-Conditions-Survey-2020-37404&dil=2>, Date of access: 12.05.2022.

Figure 2: Physical Health Problems Experienced in Recent Years



Data on the lives of citizens clearly reveal the impact of authoritarianism on their well-being when it comes to culture and education. The authoritarianization process, which participated in the establishment of an export-oriented development model by turning Turkey into a "paradise" for cheap labor, also manifests itself in the field of education from the early stages. In terms of education, according to the response to the question on daycare centers, only 11.9 percent of those with children of daycare age send their children to daycare centers. This, at the same time, has the effect of limiting women's participation in the labor process and increasing the exploitation of women's invisible domestic care labor. The rate of those who can participate in cultural activities such as concerts, theater and panels is limited to 26.2 percent. As shown in Figure 3, the frequency of these people's participation in these activities is quite low. When the rates of social media usage are analyzed, it can be said that citizens try to fill the cultural deficiency they experience through means such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube. The fact that 82.6 percent of the citizens stated that they used social media every day and 8.2 percent stated that they used social media 4-5 days a week was determinative in making this inference. Social media platforms have also become a space of escapism due to the authoritarian regime's policies of limiting public space and the channeling of young people's energies in particular to this space. The consecutive bans on university festivals and public concerts planned to be held after the pandemic can be seen as a move to weaken the social ties of young people who can only participate in such events if they are free of charge. Many young people attend government-organized events because these events are free of charge and include food and concerts. In fact, 3 young people died on May 22, 2022 as a result of an accident on an intercity road on their way back from such an event.

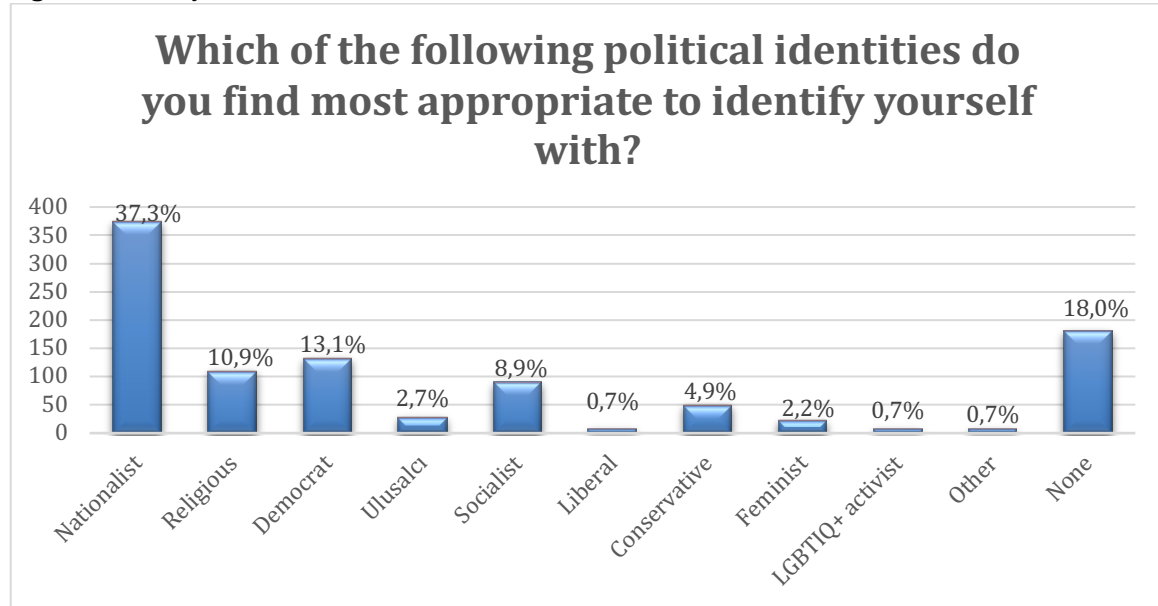
Figure 3: Last Time of Participation in a Cultural Event



Political Affiliation

The last question group of our study on citizens' well-being, which aims to understand the demographic structure, consists of questions measuring the political affiliation of citizens. The purpose of asking this question was to determine whether well-being changes depending on ideological preferences or whether one is a supporter of the government or not. The question was posed to the participants in two layers. In the first, we first asked which political identity they identified themselves with; in the second, we asked which other identity they identified themselves with. The responses to the questions confirm the nationalist tendency that has recently manifested itself in issues such as the increasing anti-immigrant sentiment and the rise of the Victory Party. The intensification of this tendency can be attributed to the fact that citizens have lost their social status and have been pushed into a lower class, and that their nationalist orientation provides them with an object of hatred to which they can refer their problems as a result of their irrational but effective discourse. The shaking of social status, the polarization in economic inequality and the intensification of ideological tendencies that trigger social tensions pose a decisive risk to social well-being.

Figure 4: Primary Political Affiliation⁵

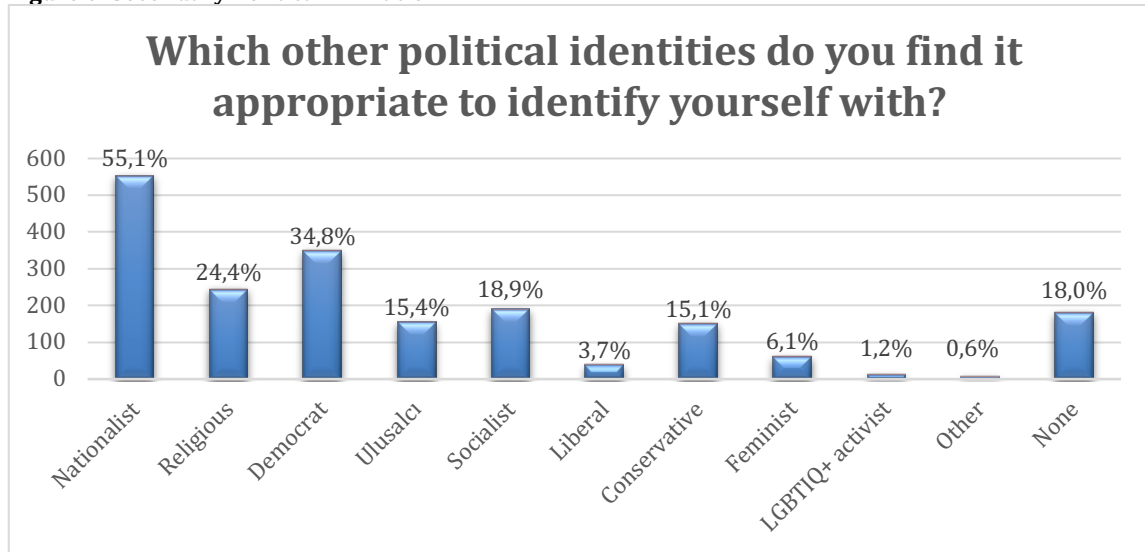


The rate of those who identify themselves primarily as nationalist is 37.3 percent. This rate is followed by the group of 15.8 percent who identify themselves as religious and conservative. The total rate of democrats, socialists, liberals, feminists and LGBTIQ+ activists at the opposite end of the political ideological scale is 27.8 percent. On the other hand, 18 percent of citizens do not identify themselves with any political identity.

The difference between the left and the right of the political scale remains constant when citizens are asked which political identity they identify themselves with. At this point, nationalism is the most preferred political identity with a rate of 37.3 percent, while the rate of those who identify themselves as democrats is 13.1 percent. This rate is again below the 39.5 percent who consider themselves religious and conservative. Another striking point is that people tend to turn towards democratic identity and ulusalci when they are not limited to a single option. The fact that ulusalci, which can be defined as a neo-nationalist ideology influenced by Kemalism, attracts interest is a factor that emphasizes the interest in nationalist discourses and claims.

⁵ Translator's Note: *Ulusalci* is a neo-nationalist ideology that is influenced by Kemalism. It is a nationalist view that takes both right-wing and left-wing positions.

Figure 5: Secondary Political Affiliation



However, the emerging picture shows that there is a gap forming in the authoritarian regime's relationship with its social base. The right-wing segment of the citizens who call themselves nationalist-religious-conservative constitutes 53 percent. As will be seen in the following parts of the study, when the well-being of citizens in terms of political, economic and social aspects is evaluated, it is evident that a significant portion of those from this segment also have concerns about their well-being in political, economic and social terms. A similar situation also emerges when it comes to expectations for the future. Just like left-wing citizens, right-wing citizens also have problems with their quality of life and expectations. The difference here is that right-wing citizens do not associate the deterioration in their well-being with the government.

Political Conditions and Well-Being

Citizens' Interest in Politics and Their Perceptions of the Impact of Politics on Them

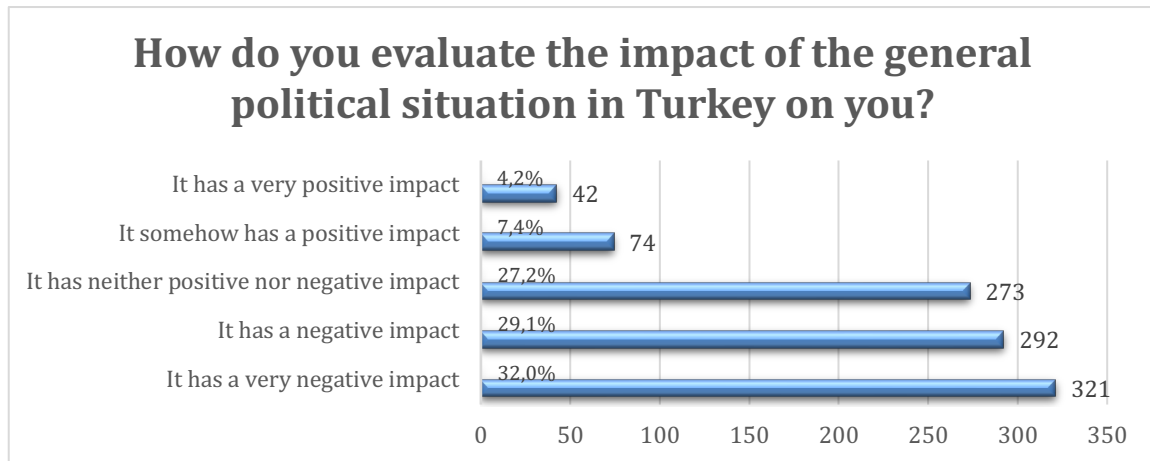
As mentioned in the methodology part, in analyzing citizens' political well-being, we also measured their interest in politics and their perceptions of the impact of politics on them.

In this context, we first asked the respondents whether they follow political news in order to see whether they associate the conditions affecting their well-being with political persons and institutions, to understand where they position political will in solving these problems, and to examine how economic and political conditions affect their interest in politics. Accordingly, 68.2 percent of citizens stated that they followed political news. This rate is remarkable in terms of "exposure to political news" when considered together with the data that 86 percent follow social media every day. The rate of those who stated that they did not have time to follow political developments is limited to 5.4 percent, while the rate of those who stated that politics did not interest them or that they were disenchanted with politics is 12.1 percent.

In contrast to the high level of interest in politics, citizens have little faith that politics can provide solutions to the economic and psychological problems they have experienced in recent years. Only 12.9 percent of citizens believe that politics can find solutions to their economic problems, while 31 percent answered the question "partially". These percentages drop to 9.9 percent and 27.7 percent when it comes to psychological problems. This chart shows that citizens in Turkey follow politics closely due to the tense politicization tendency brought about by polarization, but they do not have a collective expectation from politics, and they do not expect politics as a medium that will institutionalize the common good. This is not a question of subjectivity or fundamental participation in politics, but of being subjected to its effects. The conflict between citizens' expectations for the future and their lack of options reduces their engagement with politics to the individual level. This manifests itself in various forms, ranging from in-kind assistance to finding a job or participating in certain networks.

In response to the questions we asked to understand the impact of the general political situation in Turkey on individual well-being, the rate of those who stated that the impact was positive was limited to 11.6 percent in total. The fact that this percentage is well below the total vote share of the ruling parties shows that despite all the means available to the government, it has led to a gradual shrinking of the segments of society whose needs the government is able to satisfy individually and of those who feel ideologically loyal to the government even if they do not benefit from these means of support. This also leads to the perception of the ruling parties, especially the AK Party (Justice and Development Party), as a party of the rich/privileged when the recent inflationary economic practices are taken into account. In addition, when those who think that politics has no positive or negative impact on them are excluded, the rate of those who think that it has a negative impact in any way reaches 61.1 percent.

Figure 6 : Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the General Political Situation in Turkey



When we analyze this result in depth, it is possible to say that citizens' distrust in politicians is significant. When we asked the participants "How do you evaluate the impact of politicians on you?", the positive response was limited to 11.4 percent, similar to the impact of politics. When it comes to public institutions such as the judiciary, the army, the Turkish Statistical Institute (TURKSTAT) and the Central Bank, rather than politicians, citizens' trust in these institutions is slightly higher. However, this rate is still limited to 32.2 percent. When

participants were asked whether the political parties they support or feel close to gave them trust, the percentage of those who said that they did was limited to 37.7 percent.

Figure 7: Citizens' Trust in the Political Parties They Support or Feel Close to



When the numbers above are evaluated together, it is seen that citizens' trust in political institutions has weakened in Turkey. The erosion of trust caused by the collapse of institutions in parallel with increasing authoritarianism is crucial in terms of individuals' sense of belonging to society and, in a sense, their political well-being. Therefore, in an environment where trust and a sense of belonging have weakened, it should not be surprising that a significant number of citizens seek remedy abroad. It has become a common occurrence that the interest in politics, rather than improving the well-being of citizens, wears them down psychologically and leads them to a state of anxiety.

Polarization Problem

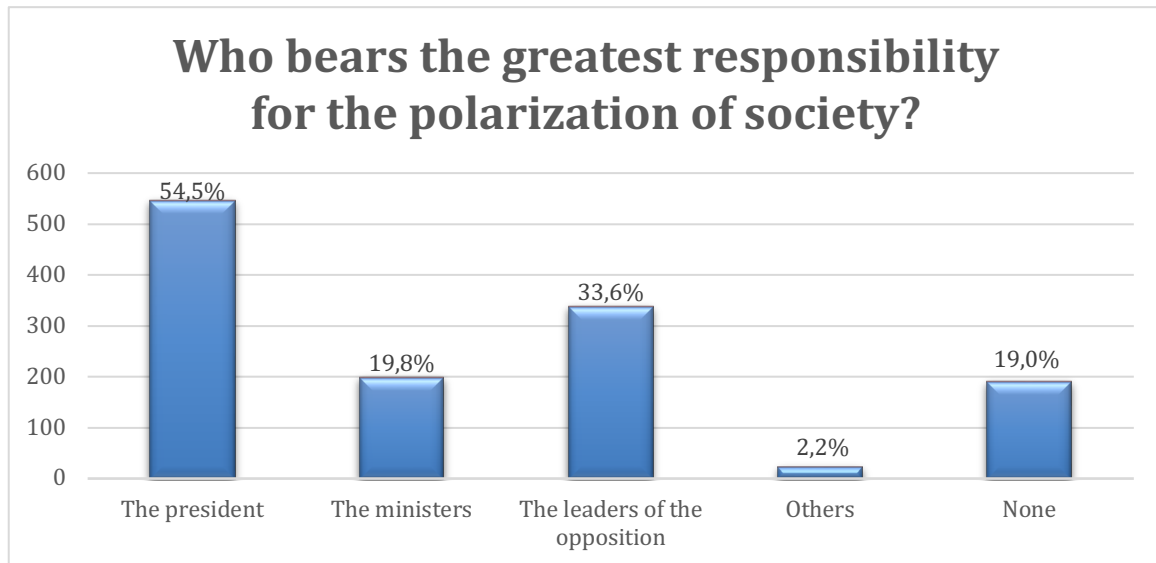
One of the important consequences of authoritarianism is polarization. When all the right-populist authoritarian regimes that have risen in the world in recent years are examined, it can be said that this is not just a simple result and that polarization has become a governance strategy for these regimes. Such regimes subjugate the society based on the claim of being the "true representatives of the true and real nation". In Turkey, the discourse of "local and national" has become widespread in this context, and in this way, the politics of polarization is implemented by coding those who do not give their consent to the regime as seeds of discord planted in the "real Turkish nation" on the axis of ethnic origin, gender, religious sect or cultural difference. According to the data obtained, 84.5 percent of citizens think that there is polarization among citizens in Turkey. While 41.9 percent of the participants state that they believe polarization is a natural outcome of politics and that their perception of politics is shaped by polarization, 44.6 percent of the participants state that they are highly affected by polarization.

When citizens are asked who caused the phenomenon of polarization, 79.8 percent of them held politicians' provocative discourses responsible for this phenomenon. The reason for this is that 48.4 percent of the citizens thought that the government responded too harshly to the

question "How do you find the government's response to criticism against it?", while the rate of those who think that it responded less than necessary is half of this rate with 20.5 percent. Keeping in mind that polarization is based on a political understanding that is the exact opposite of the notions of happiness and common good, which are at the basis of the approach to politics that focuses on well-being, it can be said that the political climate created by this phenomenon has started to make polarizing variables such as violence etc. determinative for citizens instead of well-being.

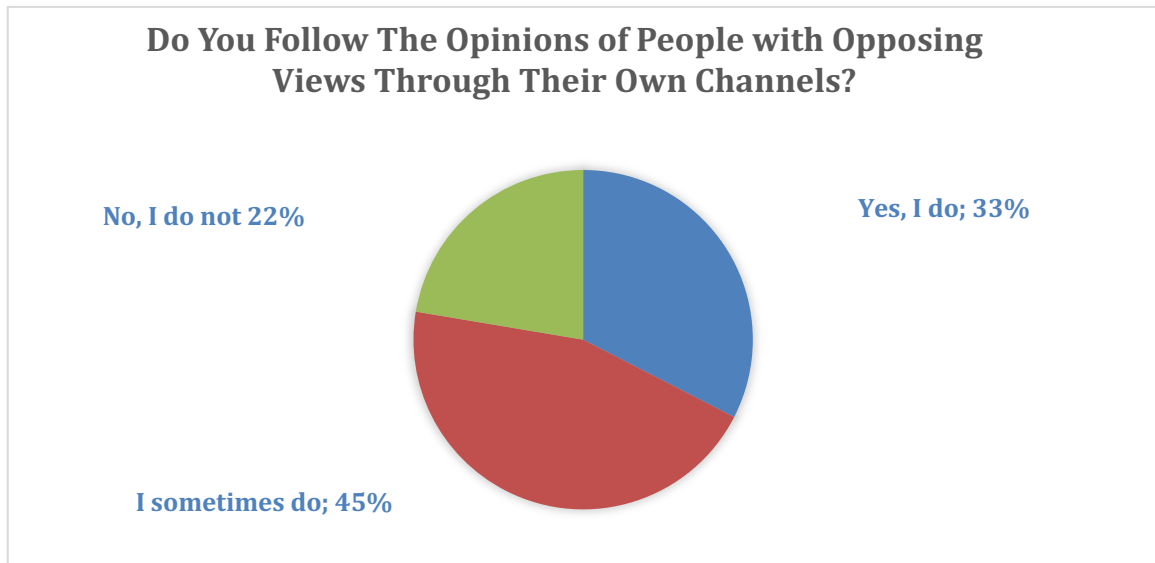
When asked "Who bears the greatest responsibility for the emergence of polarization?", the picture becomes even clearer. When those who find the ministers responsible are added to those who find the President responsible, it is seen that the rate of citizens who think that the government is responsible for polarization is 74.3 percent. This finding is interesting in a country where 53.1 percent of respondents identify themselves as nationalist-religious-conservative, because it shows that the authoritarian regime is seen as responsible for the polarization by almost half of its own base. This confirms the findings of many opinion polls in recent months, which have reported that the ruling party's share of the vote has fallen below 30 percent. This means that a large part of the population does not consider the continuation of the interim regime, or "extraordinary form of state", that has prevailed in recent years to be beneficial for their political well-being.

Figure 8: Those Responsible for Polarization



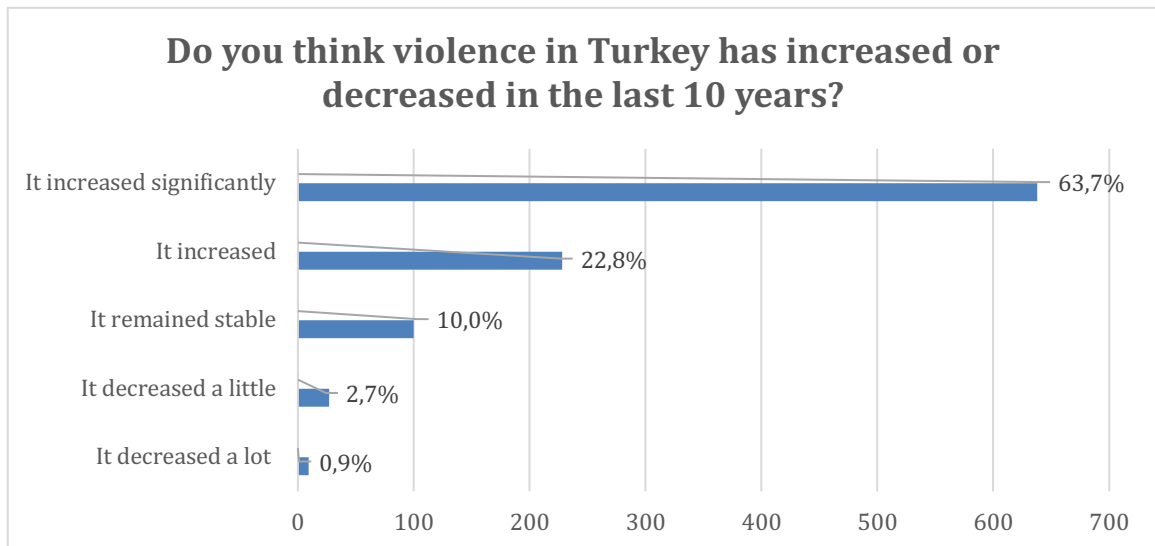
It is observed that the confinement of the communication channels that the sides are ideologically close to have an effect on the increase in political polarization. When asked whether they followed the opinions of people with opposing views through their own channels, 22.4 percent of the respondents said that they followed channels close to their own, while 32.5 percent said that they followed different channels. Another 45.1 percent stated that they followed different channels from time to time. It can be argued that the fact that only one third of the society follows opposing views through their own channels is due to the fanatical language used by mainstream pro-government and opposition media organizations.

Figure 9: Polarization and Communication



Despite the fact that more than three quarters of citizens in Turkey follow opposing views from time to time from their own channels, a very large percentage of them state that violence has increased along with social polarization. We observe that 86.5 percent of the society think that violence has increased in recent years.

Figure 10: Increase in Violence in Turkey in Recent Years



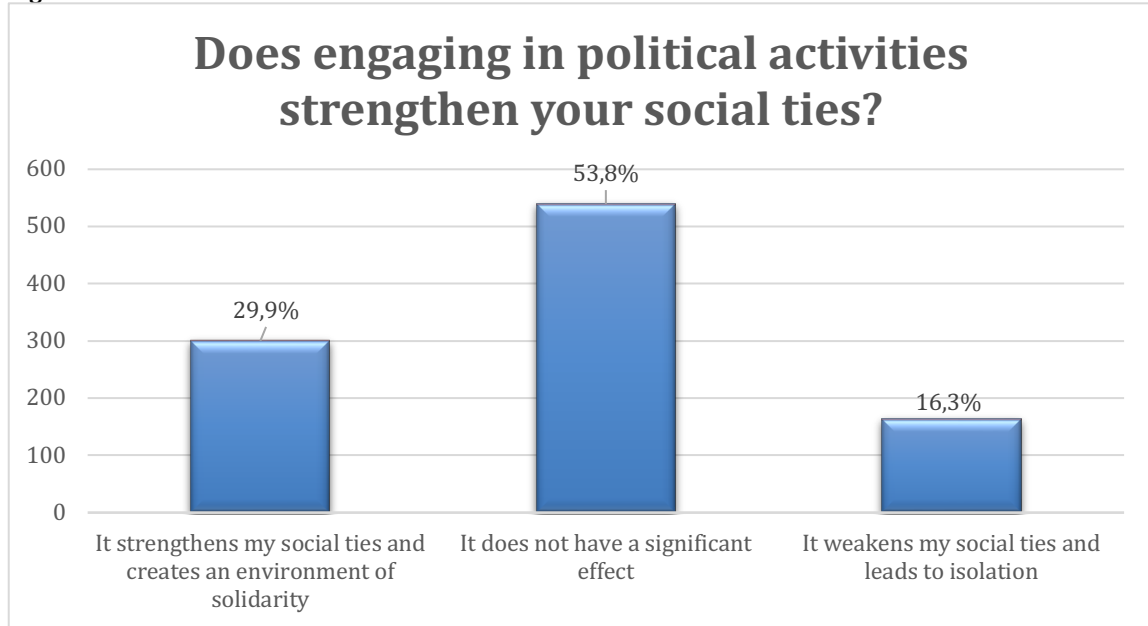
Politics and Social Ties

Social Ties

Within the framework of our study, we asked citizens in Turkey how they define the impact of engaging in political activities on their social ties. 29.9 percent of the citizens stated that engaging in political activities strengthens their social ties and creates an environment of

solidarity. Despite this, 53.8 percent think that engaging in such activities has no significant effect, while 16.3 percent think that it would weaken social ties and lead to isolation.

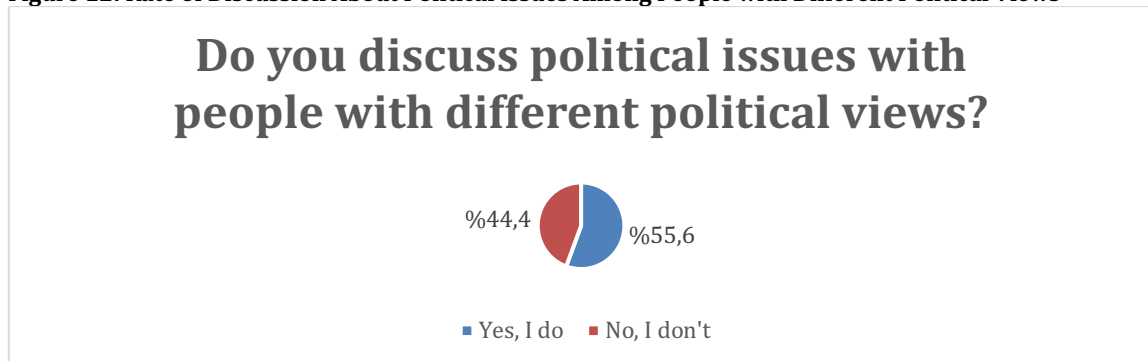
Figure 11: The Relation between Political Activities and Social Ties



Although there is not a strong belief that political activities will strengthen social ties, it is possible to say that the society keeps politics on its agenda. 60.2 percent of our respondents stated that they discussed politics when they got together with their friends, spouses or neighbors. This rate continued to reach 55.6 percent even among people with different views. Despite all the polarization and increasing violence, which can also be expressed as an increase in authoritarianism, the fact that politics is being discussed even among people with different views can provide an important opportunity for people in social struggles to get involved. Although politics is something to be exposed to, rather than participated in, in authoritarian regimes, the fact that politics is on the agenda of citizens in times of weakened legitimacy of the government can also be considered as an expectation for change.

It is observed that women attribute a more negative meaning to politics in its current form. While 26 percent of women think that politics has a positive impact on social ties, this rate exceeds 33 percent when it comes to men. It can be said that the perception of politics as a "network between men" based on conflict, competition and accumulation has an impact here.

Figure 12: Rate of Discussion About Political Issues Among People with Different Political Views

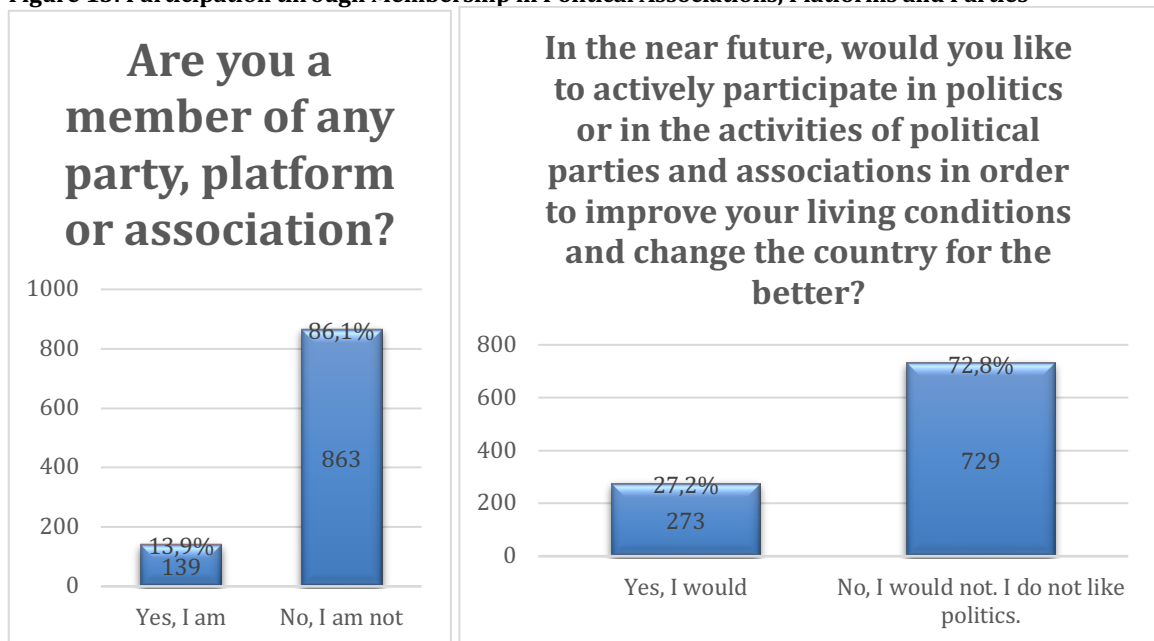


Political Participation

Although politics constitutes a large part of the agenda for the society in Turkey, the rate of participation in politics is quite low. It is possible to say that this is due to low trust in the power of politics to solve problems, low trust in political actors and institutions, and the negative impact of the polarizing effects of politics on them. Undoubtedly, the spread of political violence also has a discouraging effect, especially on the political participation of the opposition.

Only 27.3 percent of the participants responded positively to the question "Would you consider actively participating in politics or in the activities of political parties and associations in the near future to improve your living conditions and for the betterment of the country?". The rate of those who are members of an association, political platform or party is 13.9 percent. It can be said that both rates are low, but the fact that the rate of those who intend to participate in political activities is almost twice the rate of those who are already members of an association or party shows that a significant demand and potential for political participation has not found a ground for participation. The transformation in the conditions of politics and mobilization can be considered to carry the potential for a rapid rise in terms of mobilization of people.

Figure 13: Participation through Membership in Political Associations, Platforms and Parties



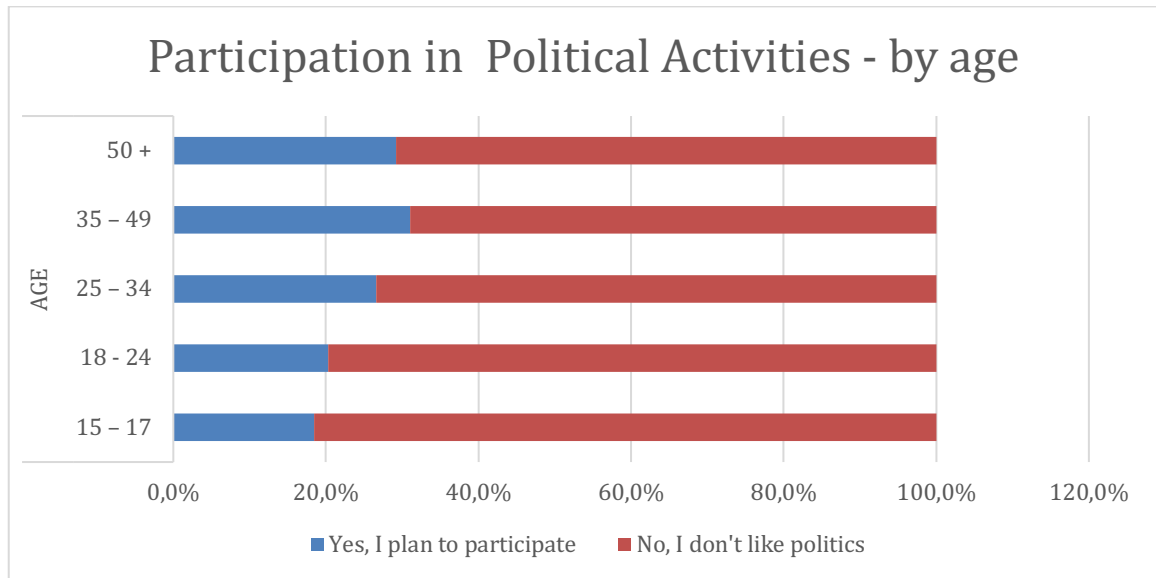
Given the importance of political participation in terms of well-being, from social justice to living a life with dignity, we wanted to share the age, gender and regional breakdown of the respondents' political participation.

When we analyzed the tendency of respondents to participate in politics according to their age distribution, we saw that citizens under the age of 25 are behind the national average in terms of their tendency to participate in politics. This situation becomes even more striking when we consider the Generation Z debates and the fact that young people in this age group are more determined to express themselves freely. We understand that young people's

willingness to think and act independently is inversely proportional to their expectations from politics, and that they still prioritize pursuing their ideals through more individualistic means.

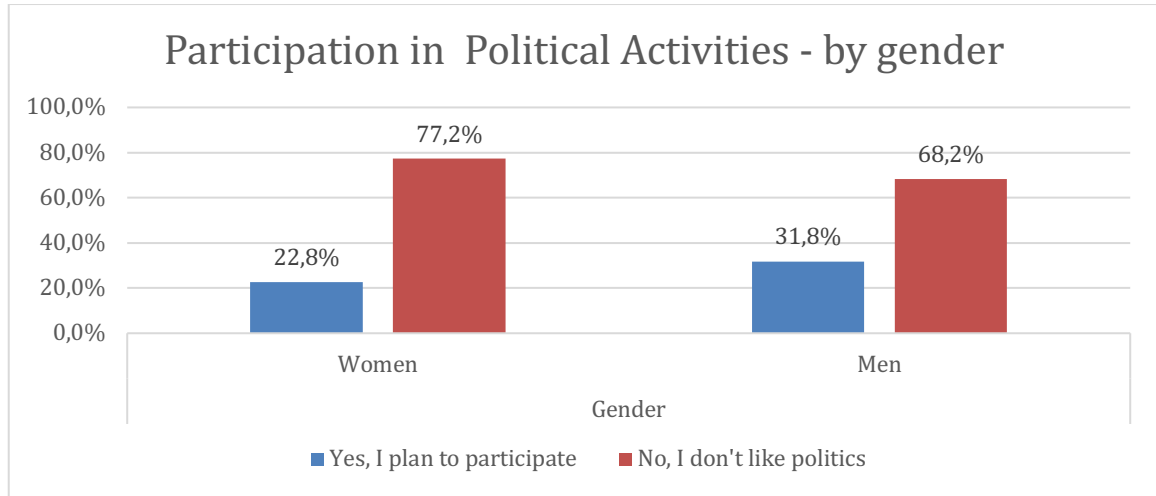
Additionally, we think that it is important to note that citizens between the ages of 35 and 49 are the most open to participating in politics. The fact that one of the most socioeconomically active age groups has the highest tendency to participate in politics shows that the social vein that feeds politics is alive. This reveals that the authoritarian regime's dream of absolute domination of society has the potential to fail.

Breakdown Chart 1: Age Breakdown: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns



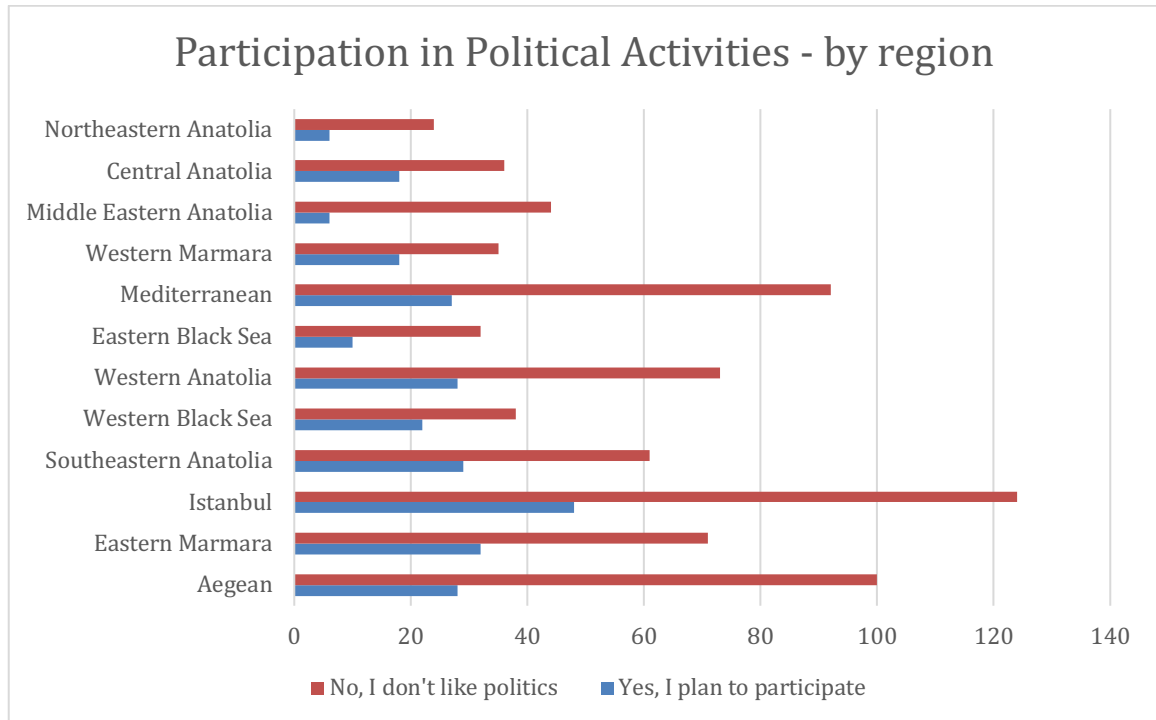
In terms of gender breakdown, we see that men tend to participate more than women. Considering that the women's movement has been the most important social movement in Turkey in recent years, it is possible to say that this result is surprising. Yet, it should not be forgotten that one of the most important social issues that authoritarianism has risen above by using various moralistic excuses is the suppression of women's bodies and their place in social life. The fact that women had to face pressure in this respect as well as the shock of the economic crisis on care work may have played an important role in the emergence of this result.

Breakdown Chart 2: Gender Breakdown: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns



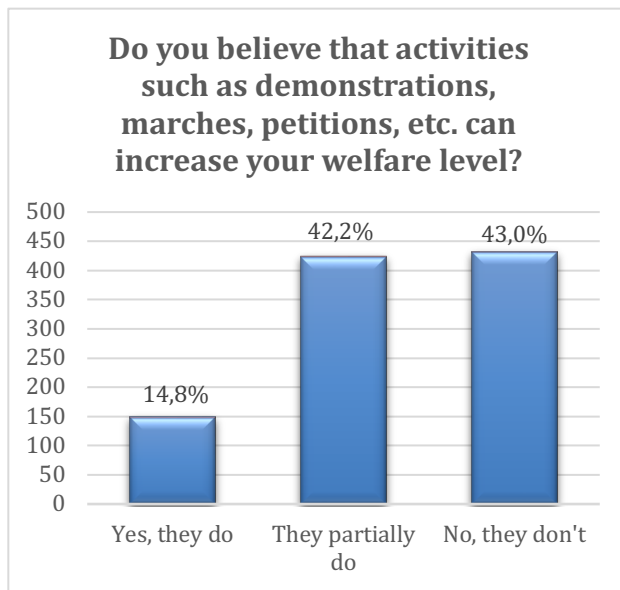
When we analyze the picture that emerges in terms of intention to participate in politics with the criterion of regional distribution, we observe that generally close to a quarter of the citizens state their intention to participate. The regions that exceed this level are Eastern and Central Anatolia and Southeastern Anatolia. For Southeastern Anatolia, we can state that the political dynamism created by the Kurdish Movement is significant. In the other two regions, the effect of rising nationalism and the increase in the number of political parties addressing these orientations can be the possible cause of this situation.

Breakdown Chart 3: Regional Breakdown: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns



It is observed that the distant attitude of citizens in Turkey towards political participation is not limited to the issue of being a member of associations or parties. When asked "Do you believe that activities such as demonstrations, marches, petitions, etc. can increase your welfare level?" 64 percent of the respondents answered in the affirmative. However, when asked the following question, "Do you participate in activities such as demonstrations, marches, signature campaigns, etc.?" 14.1 percent answered yes and 69.2 percent answered no. It was observed that 16.8 percent of the respondents refrained from answering the question. It can be said that people living under an authoritarian regime have developed such an attitude to a large extent because they avoid saying yes to the question, but there is still a hesitation in the rate of participation in activities such as demonstrations, marches and signature campaigns.

Figure 14: Opinions on and Participation in Activities such as Demonstrations, Marches and Signature Campaigns



Finally, it should be noted that the response we received when we asked the citizens who participated in the survey how they saw Turkey's future politics-wise reveals the reason for the reluctance to participate in politics. Respondents who think that Turkey's future is quite bright or has a significant potential are limited to 16.2 percent. While 18.8 percent think that social developments in the upcoming period will have a decisive impact on the future, 53 percent are pessimistic about the future. And a percentage of 12.1 refrained from expressing an opinion on this issue.

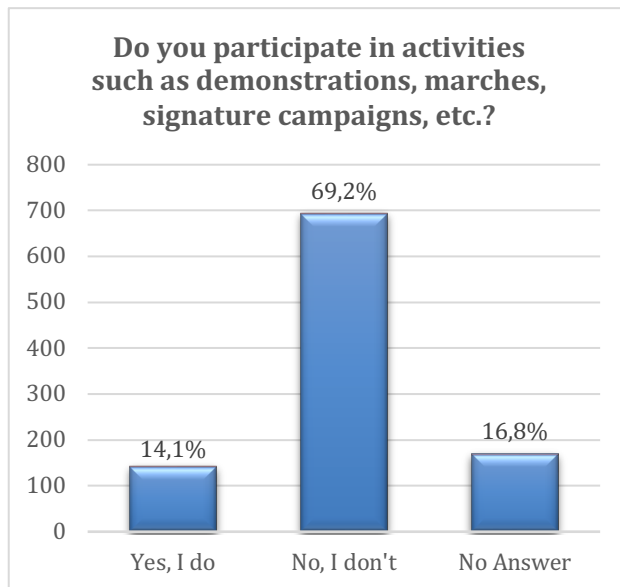
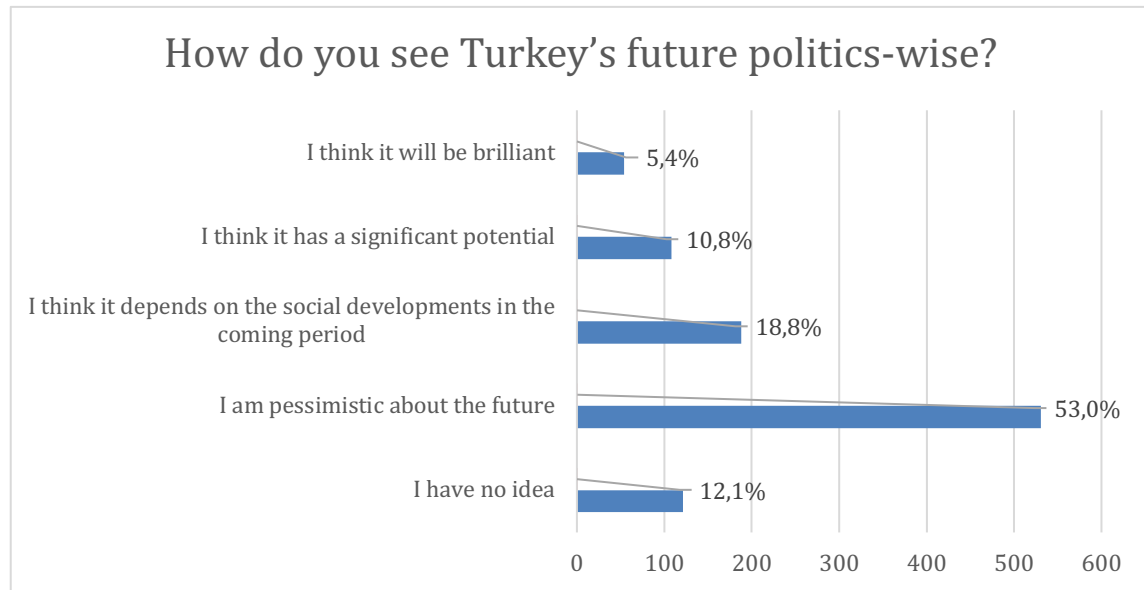


Figure 15: Opinions on Turkey's Political Future



Economy and Well-being

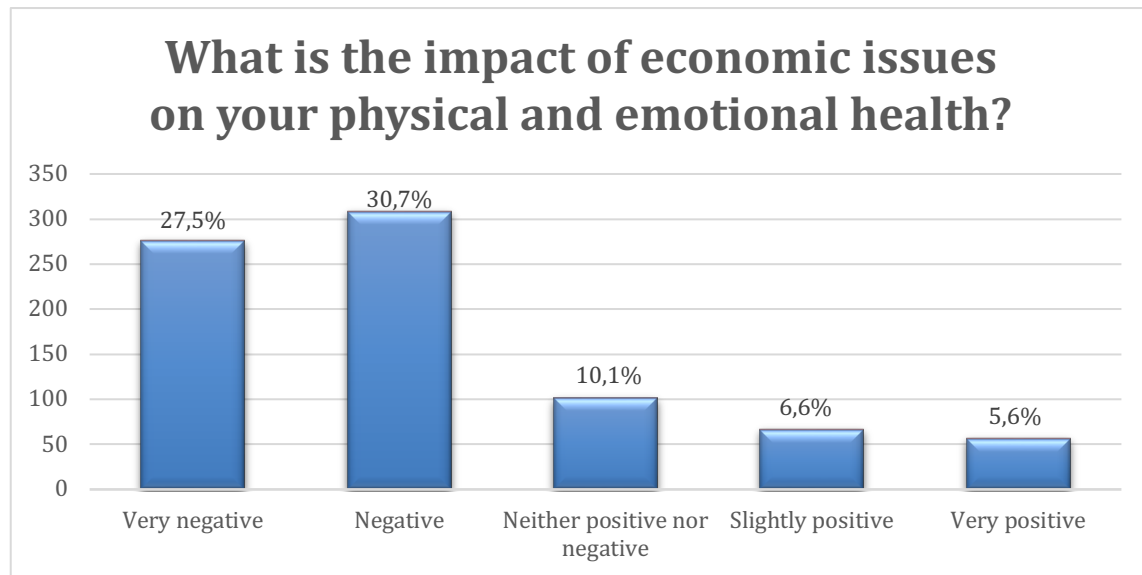
Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of the Economy on Them

As in the part of the study focusing on the relationship between politics and citizens' well-being, we first asked participants about the impact of economic issues on their mental and emotional well-being in the section on the economy and well-being.

80.4 percent of the citizens stated that economic issues had an impact on their mental and emotional state. While 58.2 percent of the citizens stated that this impact was negative, the share of those who reported that the economy had a positive impact on their mental and emotional state remained at 12.2 percent.

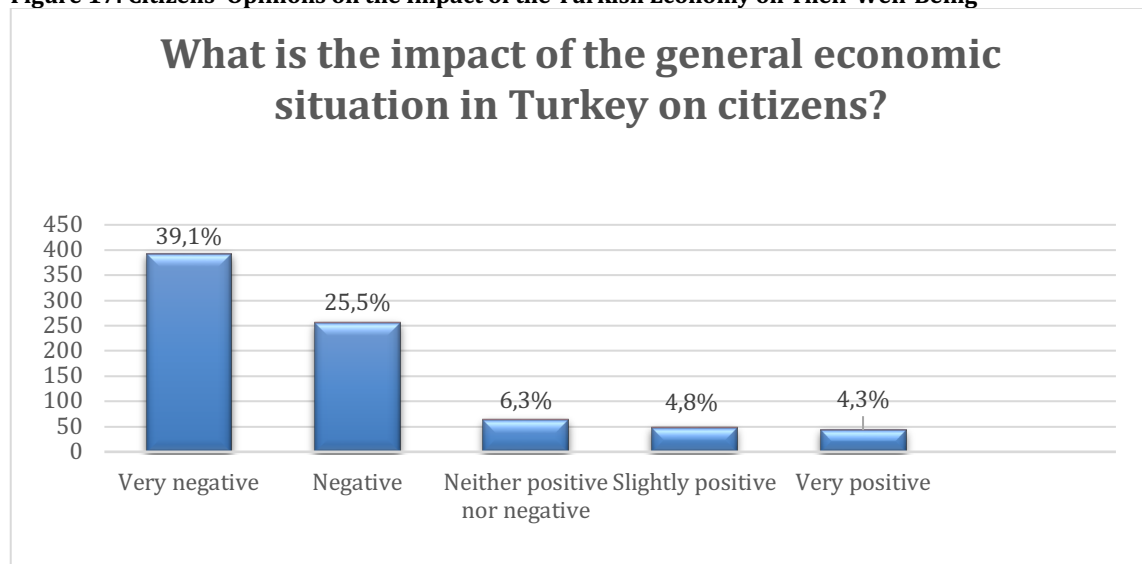
At this point, just like in the case of politics, it is seen that a macro-level issue is extremely important for citizens in their daily lives. However, it is understood that this important issue, the economy, does not hold a promising quality for the future for the vast majority of the society. Except for a very small circle of people with whom the government sees fit to share the country's wealth, the rest are increasingly excluded from democracy in the economic sense and from the distribution of social wealth in general.

Figure 16: Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the Economy on Their Well-Being



When citizens are asked about the impact of economic issues on their physical and emotional health in the context of the current Turkish economy, we find rates parallel to the first question. Among those who state that the economic situation in Turkey has had an impact on them, 64.6 percent state that the impact has been negative. Women express that they have been negatively affected more than men with a 10-point difference, and they evaluate the severity of the impact to be harsher than men. Indicators that directly determine the well-being of citizens such as their income, working life and social security are not only related to market conditions. It is also crucial to link the problem with the attitude of the government in inter-class or intra-bourgeoisie competition and the growth strategy it adopts accordingly.

Figure 17: Citizens' Opinions on the Impact of the Turkish Economy on Their Well-Being



We asked respondents whether they thought that the Republic of Turkey needed to provide its citizens with a minimum monthly income as a way to counteract the negative impact of the economy on their well-being. 86.5 percent of respondents agreed with this idea. The fact that the idea of universal income is adopted at this rate indicates that there is a demand from the

society in terms of both imposing responsibility on the state and sharing the income. This situation also shows that Turkey has a common view on universal basic income with Europe, with which it has recently diverged on many issues. In this context, this also reveals the universality of the idea of universal income. When analyzed in terms of well-being, the understanding of equality among citizens forms the basis of a well-being-based policy that advocates the idea that the state should assume responsibility towards individual and universal citizenship.

Working Life

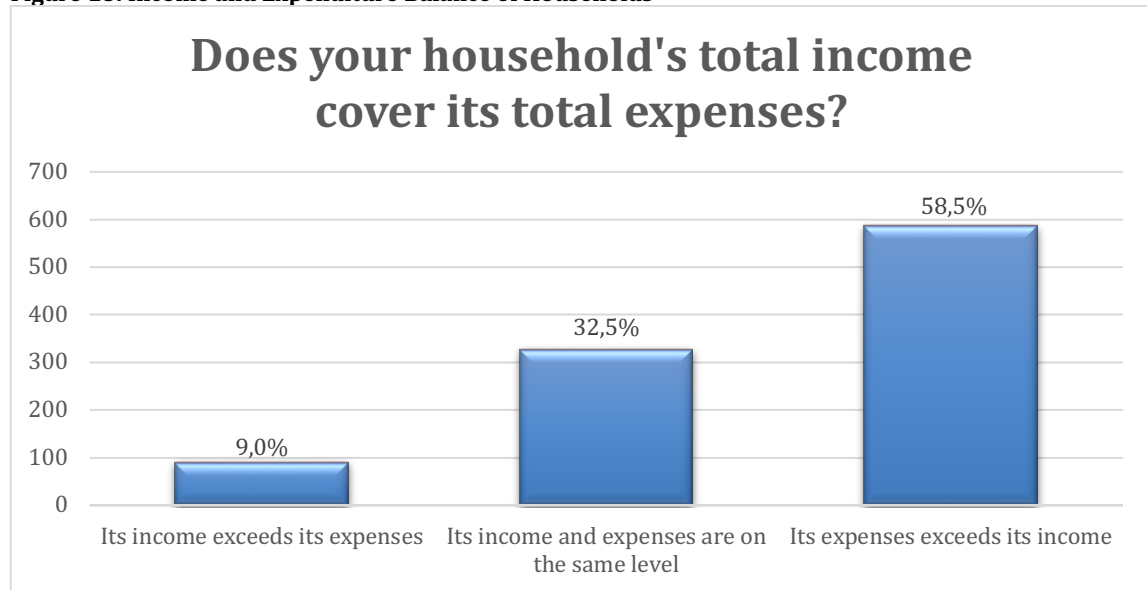
Among the respondents, 47.8 percent are employed and 52.2 percent are not employed⁶. Moreover, 19.5 percent of the employed 47.8 percent stated that they had been unemployed within the last 3 years. Among the periods of unemployment, being unemployed for more than 1 year is the most common period with 7.7 percent, followed by 6 months of unemployment with 4.2 percent. Among the unemployed, the rate of job seekers is 56 percent. Among the employed, 86 percent state that they have a full-time job.

In terms of measuring the impact of working life on well-being, particularly household income, we asked citizens whether their total household income covered their total expenses. Accordingly, we have seen a very negative picture in economic terms. While 58.5 percent of citizens stated that their expenses exceeded their income, 32.5 percent stated that their income and expenses were in balance. When evaluated together with the information in the previous paragraph, we see that 86 percent of citizens over the age of 17 and 44 percent of the society have full-time jobs. Despite that, only 9 percent of the population has more income than expenditure, indicating the existence of a phenomenon of working poverty in the country. People who work, performing a basic life activity, find it difficult to obtain a basic level of living comfort and meet their standard expenses. This picture will reappear in the discussion of indebtedness.

As shown by the responses to a question posed in parallel to this, the rate of those who state that they are able to save is limited to only 11 percent. This shows that only 2 percent of the 32.5 percent whose income and expenses are at the same level are able to save. Consequently, the income inequality between only 11 percent of the society and the rest is striking in terms of showing how much the capacity of society to come together around the common good has eroded. The reason for this is that, unlike the 11 percent, the overwhelming majority of the society has lost their potential to take actions that improve their well-being and the well-being of those around them, such as getting rid of paying rent, living a debt-free life, and being able to solidarize with their relatives, without any future security. We have already mentioned the disadvantages of considering income maximization as the only indicator of well-being. However, it is also clear that it is not acceptable for this income to be so low that it hurts the dignity of citizens. Therefore, income should be necessarily seen as an indicator, but it should be recognized that it is far from being a sufficient indicator on its own.

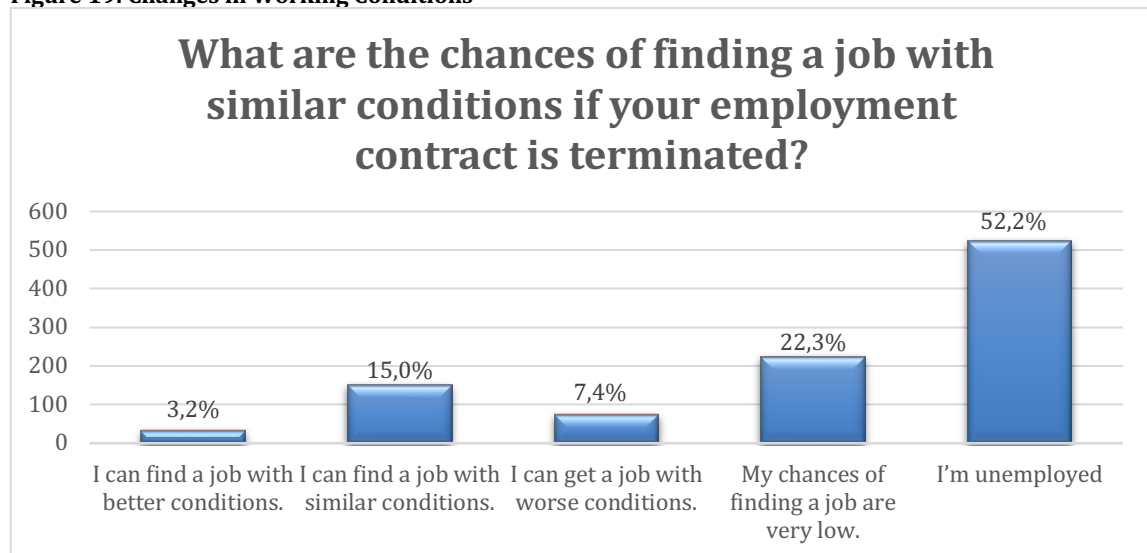
⁶ The fact that the 15-17 age group is included in the sample has an impact on these rates. When this group is excluded from the sample, the rate of respondents who are not working drops to 49.3 percent and the rate of respondents who are working increases to 50.7 percent.

Figure 18: Income and Expenditure Balance of Households



Considering that working conditions are as important as income level in terms of their impact on economic well-being as variables, we asked respondents whether their working conditions have changed in recent years. 62 percent of citizens stated that their working conditions had worsened. This rate is about twice as high as the rate of those who stated that there had been no change (31 percent) and nine times as high as the rate of those who thought that their working conditions had improved (7 percent).

Figure 19: Changes in Working Conditions



Among the same group, the number of respondents who think that they can find a job under similar or better conditions is 18.2 percent, while the rate of those who think that they can find a job under worse conditions or that their chances of finding a job are very low is 29.7 percent. This striking data shows that almost one third of the population has to accept working conditions regardless of their satisfaction or dissatisfaction. The fact that only 18.2 percent of citizens think that they can find a job with similar or better conditions is an important data in terms of the authoritarian regime's long-standing war on severance pay against the laboring part of society. The government, which has set its sights on severance pay that constitutes an

important element of security in the lives of workers, in favor of employers, aims to legitimize this transformation by arguing that it will replace work security with employment security. However, it is important to note that the security of employment offered will only be available for 18.2 percent of the population, while the rest will suffer significant losses in their employee personal rights.

Indebtedness

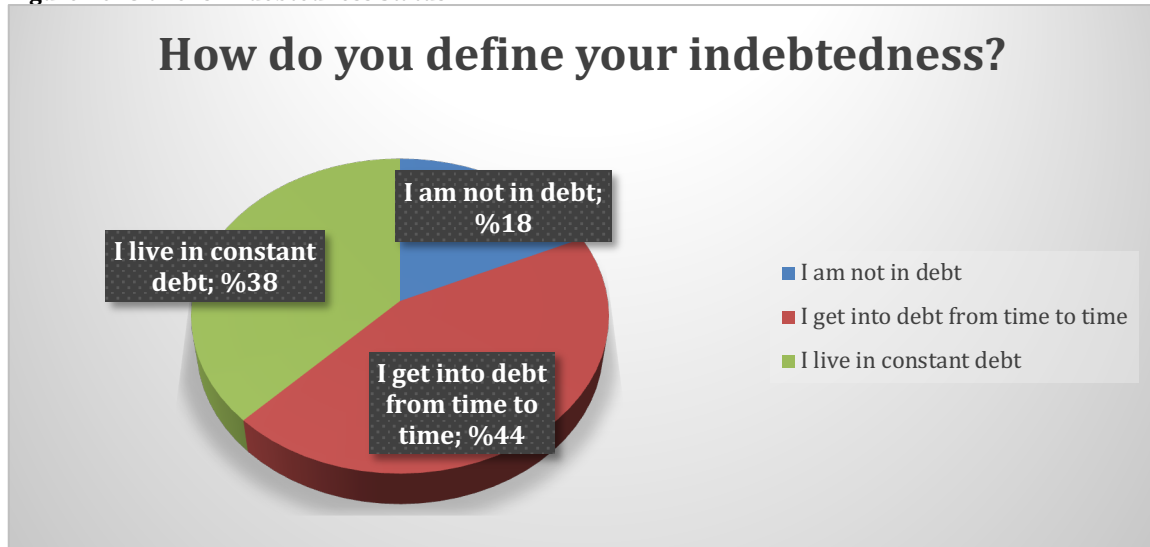
One of the most important features of the neoliberal era is the transformation called financialization. The transformation of the composition of capital accumulation on a global scale in favor of finance has directly affected the lives of individuals. Alongside financial inclusion instruments such as micro-loans, another common practice that has emerged is indebtedness. The crisis of neoliberalism, on which today's authoritarian regimes are based, has left behind masses of indebted people. For this reason, we have devoted a separate chapter to indebtedness, which is an important instrument both in economic terms and in terms of maintaining social subordination, in this study examining the well-being of citizens.

The following tweet shows that the issue of indebtedness goes beyond being an economic phenomenon, and that determining who will be indebted is important for the authoritarian regime.

“The €1.2 billion rent debt of Cengiz Holding and Kalyon Holding, which operate Istanbul Airport, has been postponed to 2042 and 2043. Come on, don't pay your electricity bill for a month and see what happens!”

We first asked citizens to describe their indebtedness status, and the results showed that only 18 percent of the respondents were not indebted. The proportion of those who were permanently indebted is more than double this rate. The rate of those who stated that they were indebted from time to time is 44 percent. This shows that even though a large proportion of those in the labor regime work full-time, the proportion of those who are not in debt (18 percent) is slightly higher than the proportion of those who can save (11 percent). Among those who are indebted, there may be some people who have used low-interest loans provided by state-owned banks and turned them into investments, but this proportion is unlikely to change the balance in question. Looking at the overall picture, it can be said that the definition of the balance between income and expenditures is heavily restricted in the part defined as expenditures. Many things that could improve well-being are no longer seen by citizens as legitimate basic expenses. However, the occasional fulfillment of these needs, or the bills incurred in the event of health problems and expenses such as education costs, seem to be pushing people rapidly into a spiral of indebtedness and poverty.

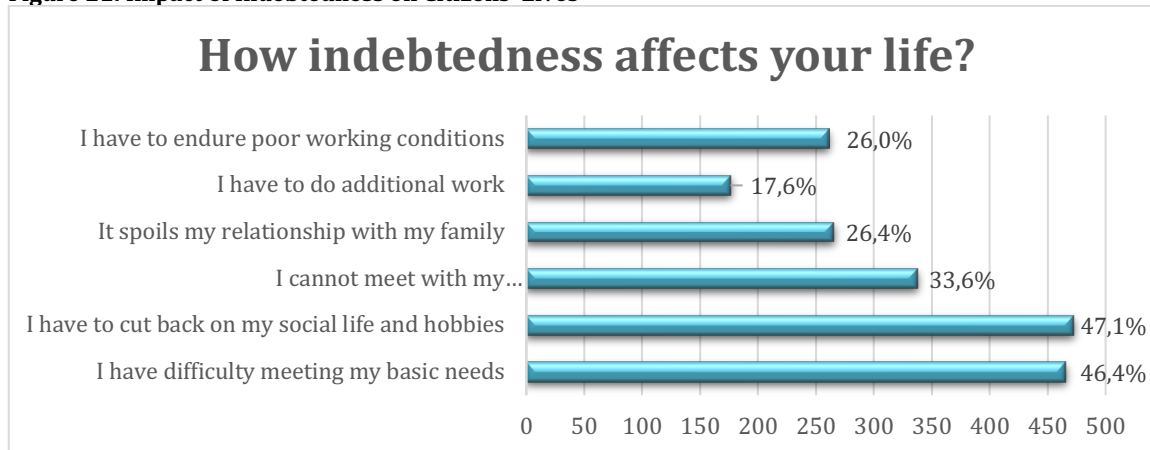
Figure 20: Citizens' Indebtedness Status



When we question the impact of indebtedness on individuals' lives, the relationship between this phenomenon and citizens' well-being becomes even more visible. Almost half of the citizens have difficulty in meeting their basic needs, while at the same time they have to stay away from their social lives and hobbies. The rate of those who cannot meet their friends outside constitutes one third of the participants. Moreover, within the "new normal" that the post-pandemic authoritarian regime dreams of creating, the genderization and classization of such socializing has become an issue that negatively affects the well-being of citizens by weakening their social ties. Examples to this situation include the opening of city centers and similar common areas to corporate investment, and the remaining common areas turning into spaces for inter-male and family-based socialization.

An even more negative result is that more than a quarter of the population reported that their relationships with their families have deteriorated. Having to endure poor working conditions due to indebtedness and trying to cope with this situation by doing additional work are also coping strategies developed by citizens.

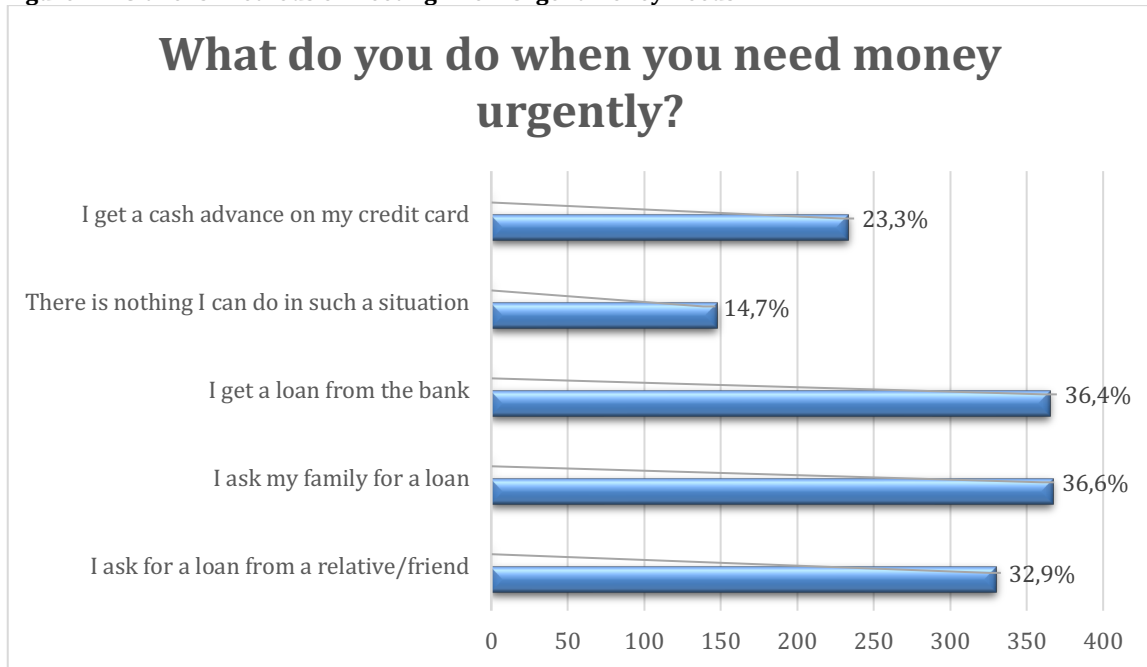
Figure 21: Impact of Indebtedness on Citizens' Lives



When measures such as enduring poor working conditions and doing additional work are not enough, i.e. when money is urgently needed, citizens were asked what measures they put in place. The responses to this question are striking in terms of the place that the debt spiral occupies in the lives of citizens. In a society where the ability to save is only available to a very small minority, the solutions that come to mind are borrowing from banks or relatives. According to the TBA (Unions of Turkish Bar Associations) data, the number of people who have not paid their personal loan debts and whose debts are still ongoing was 3 million 22 thousand 133 people in January 2022, while the number of people with ongoing personal credit card debts was 2 million 664 thousand 419. While the increase in the number of foreclosures on personal credit cards was 161 percent in January 2022 compared to last year, the number of those who fell into non-performing loans due to personal loan debt increased by 245 percent. And 14.7 percent of the respondents stated that there was nothing they could do in such a situation.

It can be said that these people are those who have been victimized in the process of financial inclusion, who have been cut off from their informal social ties or who do not have anyone within these ties who has the savings to support them. And because of this vulnerability, it can be said that they are an important source of potential to support reactionary political movements.

Figure 22: Citizens' Methods of Meeting Their Urgent Money Needs



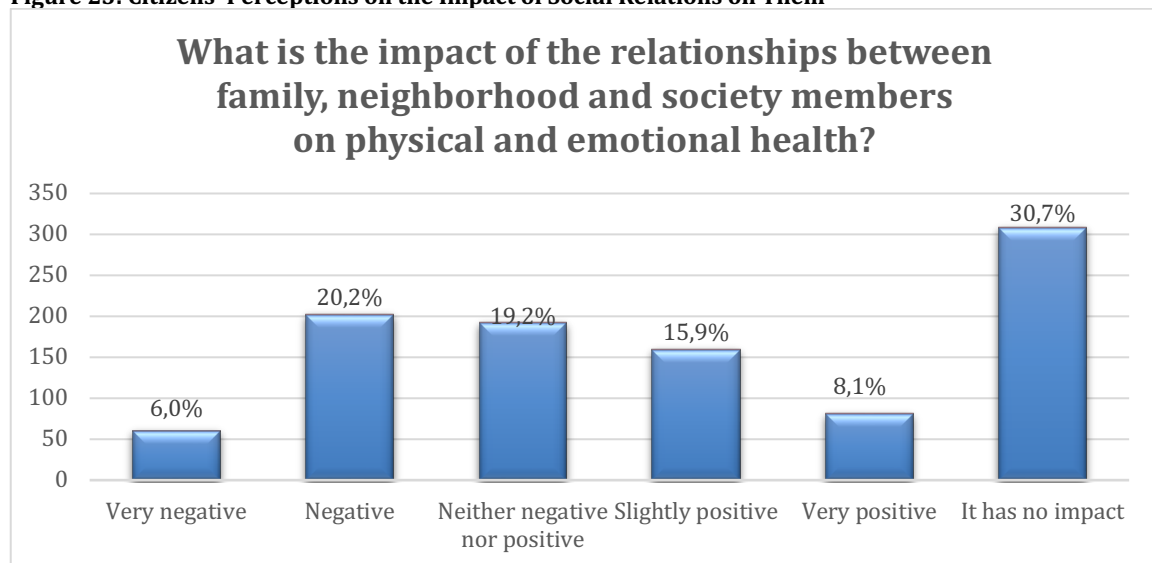
The fact that indebtedness creates a relationship of subordination is not only valid at the macro policy level. It also creates spaces of power in the field of micro politics. As demonstrated by The Mor Çatı Women's Shelter Foundation's studies, making women indebted - confiscating their bank cards, using their credit cards and taking out loans in their names - are among the common forms of violence used by men against women.

Social Relations and Well-Being

Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Social Relations on Them

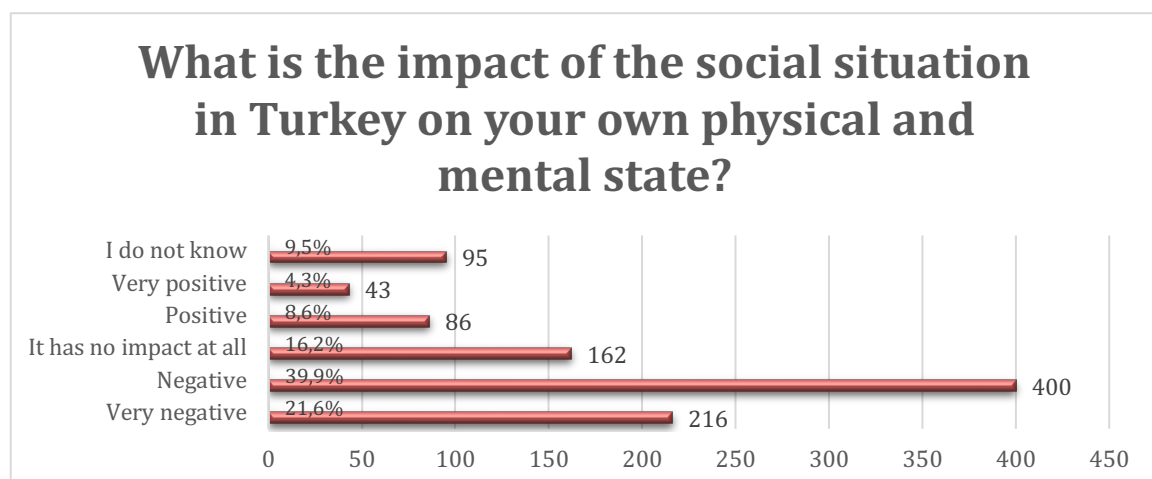
Within the study, we asked citizens how they defined the effects of social relations in general - relations with family, relatives, friends, neighborhood, etc. - on their physical, mental and spiritual states. 68.6 percent of the respondents stated that social relations had a direct impact on them, yet it is possible to say that they thought that there was a balanced distribution about the nature of this impact.

Figure 23: Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Social Relations on Them



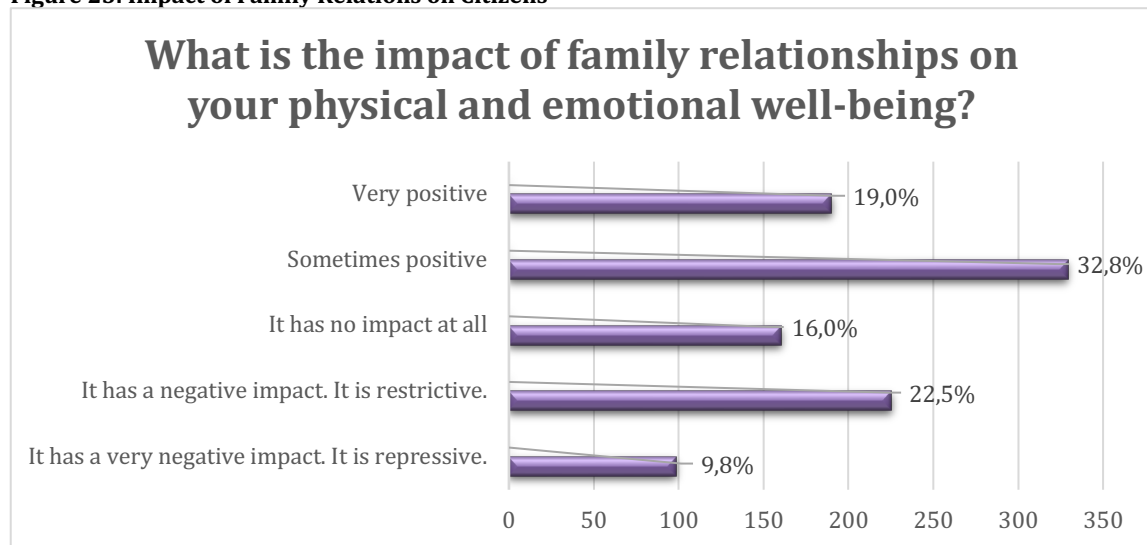
An important difference in this matter emerges when the question is asked in terms of social relations in Turkey instead of social relations in general. This question shows a noticeable shift in the balance towards the negative. 61.5 percent of the society think that the current social relations in the country they live in affect them negatively. A striking finding here is that there is no significant difference between women and men in terms of whether they think the impact is positive or negative.

Figure 24: Citizens' Perceptions on the Impact of Current Social Relations in Turkey on Them



When we asked the participants how they thought their family relationships affected their physical and mental state, it is possible to say that the situation stabilized again and even turned positive to a certain extent. This shows that people see the family as a shelter in an environment where social institutions have collapsed, polarization has increased and the notion of the common good has disappeared. Although there are a considerable number of citizens who think that the family has a negative impact on their well-being, the family appears as a coping space at times when authoritarianism tears the collectivity apart.

Figure 25: Impact of Family Relations on Citizens



Social Violence and Discrimination

One of the most important reasons for the negative impact of social relations on the relationships between citizens is the polarization that develops simultaneously with authoritarianism and especially the spiral of violence that this polarization gives rise to. In recent years, the first thing that comes to mind when violence is mentioned in Turkey is the issue of violence against women. Both the awareness raised on social media about these incidents of violence and the wave of protests following Turkey's decision to denunciate the Istanbul Convention can be seen as the success of the women's movement, which is the strongest social movement fighting against authoritarianism.

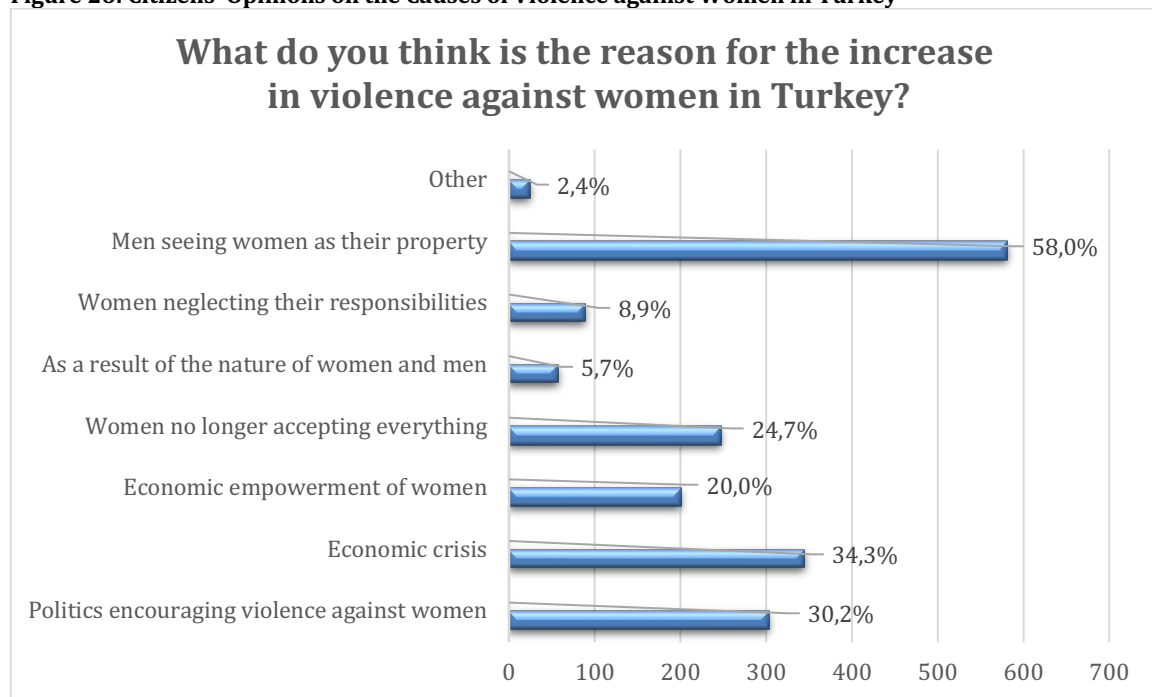
However, our study reveals that we are still far from a solution to the problem of violence against women. When asked "What is your general opinion on violence against women in Turkey?" 82.2 percent of the respondents answered that violence against women had increased in recent years. The rate of those who thought that the rate of violence had not increased or had decreased is 14.2 percent. The fact that violence against women is not put an end to despite such a high number of respondents acknowledging the increase in violence against women shows how indispensable the gender regime is for the government to maintain its authoritarian character. Just as this regime decides for women, from the way women dress to the way they participate in social life, it also applies to LGBTIQ+s and men who adopt forms of relationships outside of the norms that are desired to be established. Pride parades and LGBTIQ+ visibility

itself are tried to be criminalized. In a way, the survival of this regime is based on the tacit support of oppressive and disciplinary practices against these groups and the denial of the existence of LGBTIQ+ people to the extent of threatening their lives, which has been increasing especially in the recent period.

When we asked what the causes of violence against women are, we received different answers. Some responded that politics encouraged violence against women and that men saw women as their property, while others said that violence arose due to the nature of men and women or that women neglected their responsibilities. Among the citizens who chose the "Other" option, there were some who mentioned the poor penalties for perpetrators of violence against women, as well as some who expressed the moral problems caused by TV series.

64.5 percent of the society think that the economic crisis is responsible for the increase in violence against women and that politics encourages violence against women. This data shows that violence against women is one of the social problems most strongly linked to politics. It is also an indicator that demonstrates the direct impact of political and economic issues on social life, proving the validity of the human flourishing-based approach to well-being adopted in this report.

Figure 26: Citizens' Opinions on the Causes of Violence against Women in Turkey



As is publicly known, the issue of violence and discrimination is not limited to women. Especially with the increasing wave of authoritarianism, LGBTIQ+ individuals are also negatively affected by this spiral. Table 1 shows the views of the respondents on this issue.

Table 1: Discrimination against LGBTIQ+s in Turkey

| | I agree | I disagree | No opinion |
|---|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| LGBT people are treated unfairly in Turkey | %30.6 | %28.4 | %40.9 |
| LGBT people are subjected to violence in Turkey | %31.5 | %25.4 | %43 |
| Legal regulations in Turkey are not sufficient to ensure that LGBT people have equal rights with other citizens | %30.1 | %19.3 | %50.6 |
| LGBT people's freedoms are restricted by society in Turkey | %36.9 | %25 | %8.1 |
| Attitudes of politicians in Turkey negatively affect the rights of LGBT people | %29.6 | %22 | %48.4 |
| LGBT people are given equal opportunities at the labor market | %10.9 | %40 | %49.1 |

There is a relatively high level of awareness that homosexuals' social freedoms are restricted and that they are not granted equal rights in the labor market. Strikingly, 90 percent of the respondents admit that interventions against homosexuals or their experiences in daily life constitute discrimination. This data becomes more striking when we consider that a significant portion of the participants are close to right-wing ideology. This data shows us that the anti-LGBTIQ+ discourse on which the government has built its ideological discourse lacks the social ground claimed and implied. However, the authoritarian regime considers its oppression of LGBTIQ+ people very legitimate, and as in the case of the Istanbul Convention, it even tries to legitimize violence against women through violence against LGBTIQ+ people. This division between the regime and its base, especially the emotional one, which can be assumed to have a moral dimension, is an area where it is possible for opposition forces to produce politics and to open the partially weakened legitimacy of authoritarianism to further discussion. When discrimination against LGBTIQ+ people reaches the level of visible violence, it reveals another social tendency.

The Effect of Religion on Community Life

One of the biggest changes in the context of authoritarianism within the framework of social relations is the increasing activity of religiousization, a series of developments ranging from the increase in religious references to the active role played by organizations based on religious ties.

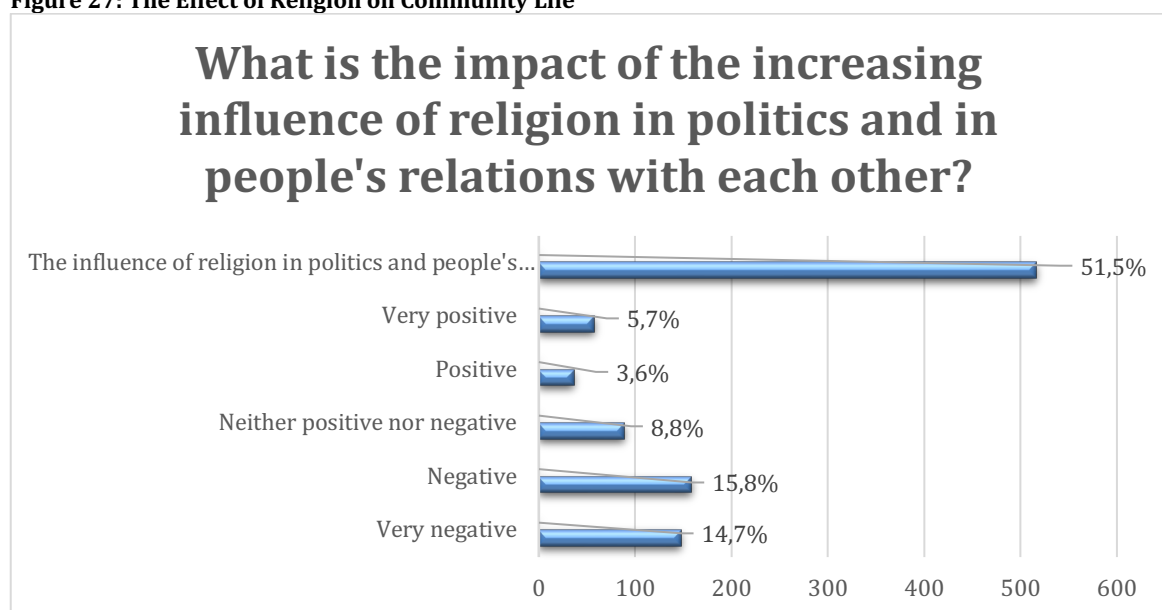
Religionization, just like the gender regime, can also be seen as a project to establish a total domination over the subjectivities of the individuals who make up society. First of all, we witness the transformation of social relations through institutionalized transformation of social relations by the Presidency of Religious Affairs, and where its institutional limits are reached, we witness that it is carried out through various collaborations with religious communities. A process that starts from the institutional structure of the state and spreads to social relations is thus being carried out.

In terms of well-being, it is seen that the common interest of society, the principles of the good life and the happiness of individuals are re-coded through the state and local religious

organizations. Thus, the picture that emerges reveals a "conditional well-being" shaped within the framework of unconditional consent to a project of authoritarian domination in which Islam is turned into a tool of profit. Well-being is destroyed by the authority in the form of which citizens and which behaviors are beneficial for its own continuity.

Because of this reason, we asked the respondents to what extent this transformation has affected their lives and how they perceived it. First of all, when asked what they think about the influence of religion in politics and social life in Turkey, we observe that 48.5 percent of the respondents think that the relationship of religion in politics and social life has increased. A significant 63 percent of this rate, which represents almost half of the society, perceives this increase as a negative development.

Figure 27: The Effect of Religion on Community Life



These data are important in terms of showing how the politicization of religion has become a threat to well-being and the destruction of social religion through political religion. As religion becomes a political element, it begins to be associated with political issues such as polarization, enrichment and violence, making secularism a necessity for ensuring social well-being.

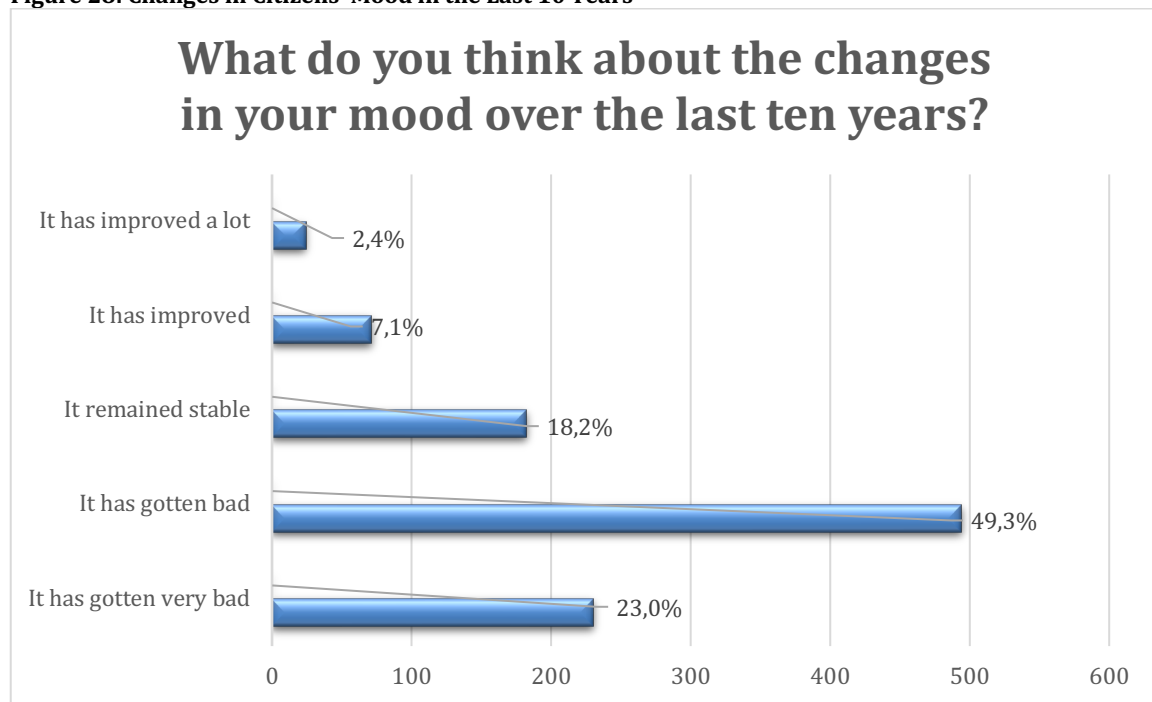
Social Relations and Citizens' Mood

As an area where the intersections of political and economic development and relations can be most clearly observed, the effects of social relations on the mood of individuals constitute a key point for understanding the well-being of citizens in Turkey. Spiritual self-empowerment can be seen not only as one of the building blocks of direct well-being, but also as a way of experiencing the physical and mental impact of political, economic and social relations on a different level. The negativities in all these other spheres of influence and in the constituent elements of well-being show their effects in the opposite direction of self-empowerment.

The questions we asked to the participants within the scope of our study also support the thesis above. We first asked the participants about the changes in their moods in the last year. According to the responses, 72.2 percent of the respondents stated that their mood had worsened. Again, when the respondents were asked about the change in the mood of their relatives, 65.9 percent indicated a deterioration. In other words, almost 7 out of every 10 citizens stated that they had mental problems as a result of their current social relations. This means that to the extent that the totality of social relations is at stake, people feel undervalued, emotionally insecure and in a state where they consequently lose their social ties. These findings also show that the decline in the well-being of citizens in the context of social relations has been intensified by the combined impact of political and economic developments.

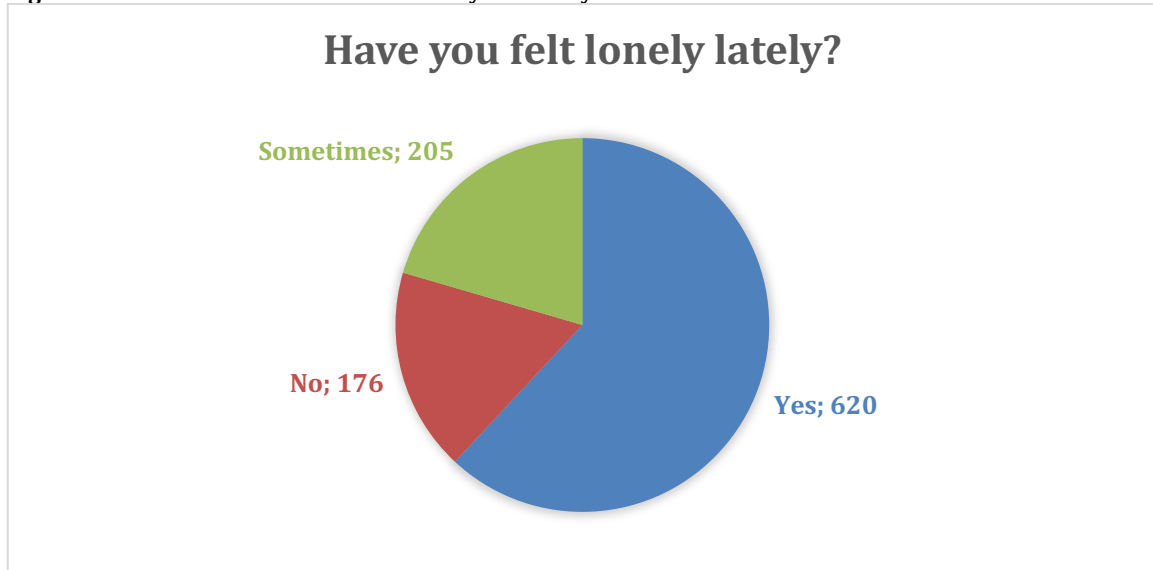
In summary, the majority of respondents are negatively affected by authoritarianism. The regime is unable to satisfy even a significant part of its own base mentally.

Figure 28: Changes in Citizens' Mood in the Last 10 Years



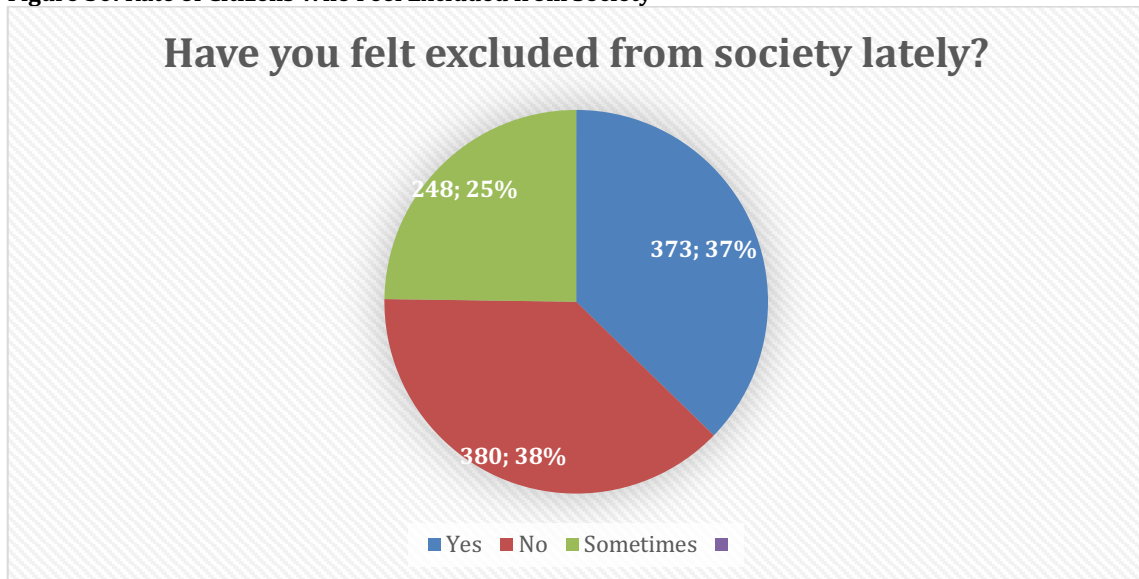
In order to elaborate on the deterioration in mental state, we asked the respondents whether they had been feeling lonely lately. 61.9 percent of the society stated that they felt lonely, while 20.5 percent stated that they felt this way from time to time, although not all the time.

Figure 29: Rate of Citizens Who Feel Lonely in Society



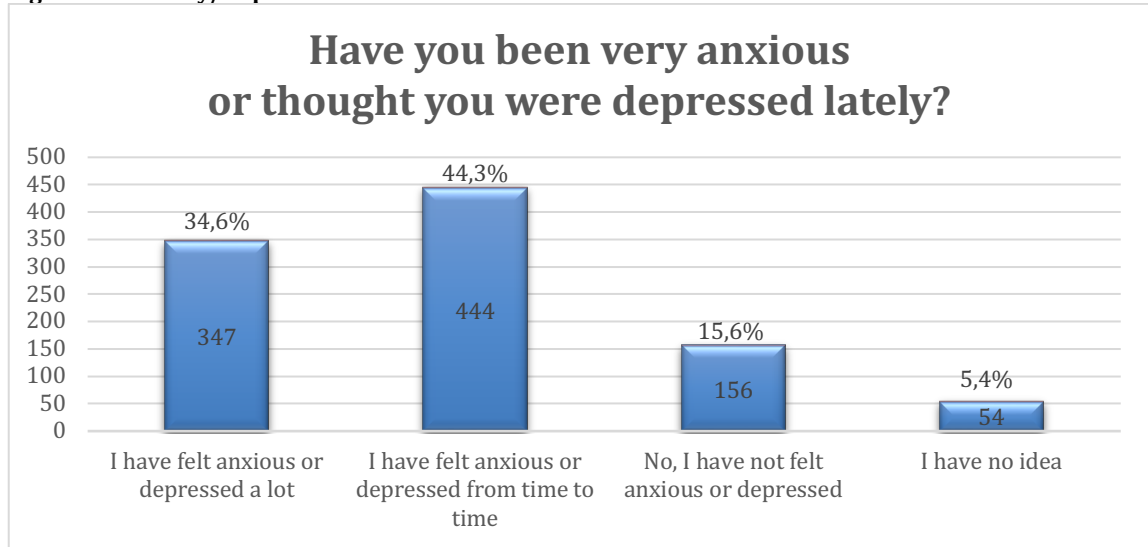
Another question we asked citizens in this regard was whether they felt excluded from society. Again, we observed that the number of those who felt excluded from society in general or at certain times reached a significant rate.

Figure 30: Rate of Citizens Who Feel Excluded from Society



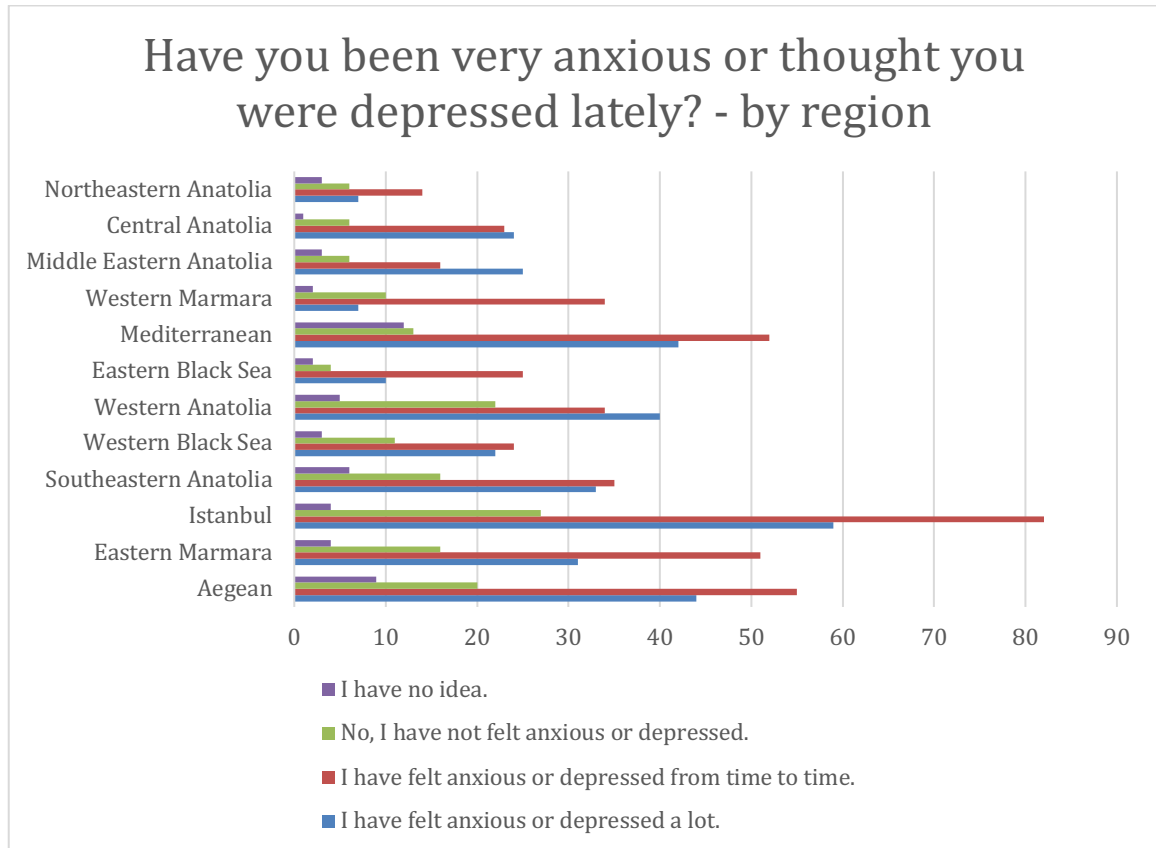
In order to assess the cumulative impact of the general deterioration in mental self-empowerment, loneliness and feelings of social exclusion in recent years on the well-being of citizens, we asked about their experiences of anxiety/depression. It is worth noting that the answers received to this question also confirmed previous findings.

Figure 31: Anxiety/Depression Problems



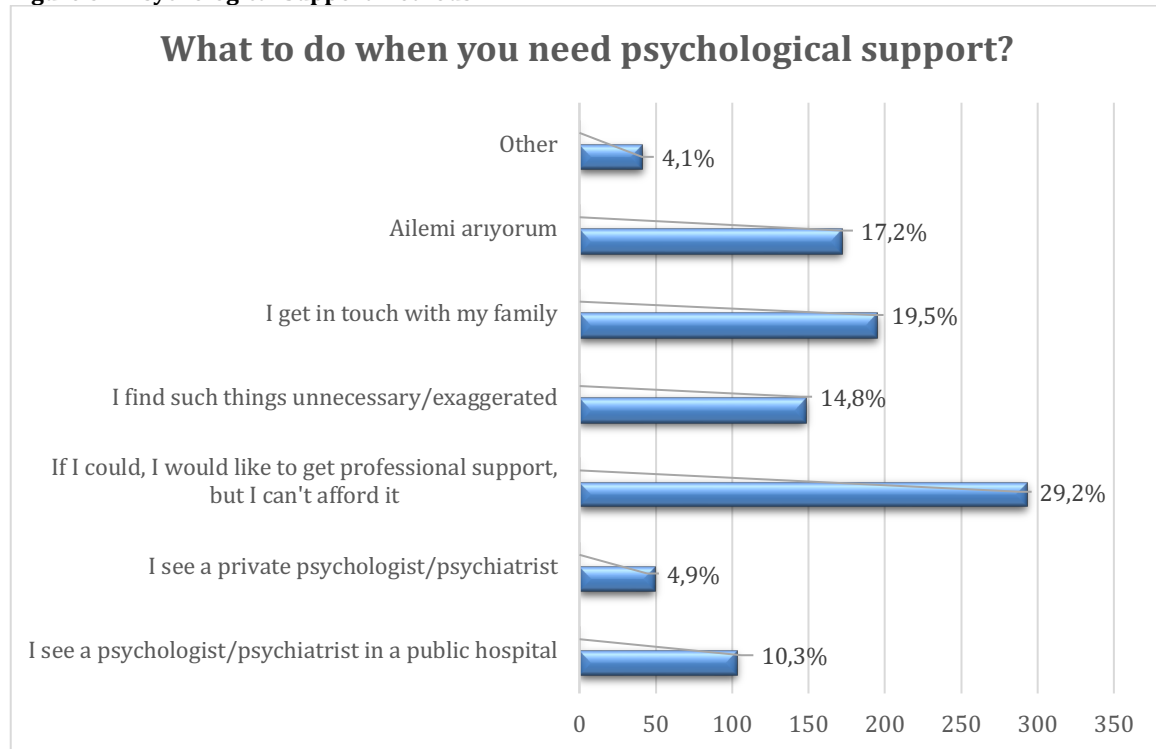
When we examine the regional picture of the problems experienced in terms of anxiety and depression, a striking result emerges. As can be seen in the chart below, the lowest ratios of those who state that they do not feel anxious or depressed to those who state that they are partially or constantly anxious or depressed are in Middle Eastern Anatolia, Central Anatolia and Eastern Black Sea regions. The anxious and depressed mood in these regions, which constitute significant parts of the regime's social base, reveals that the post-fascist regime's loss of legitimacy and socioeconomic competence has had a significant impact on its own base as well.

Breakdown Chart 4: Regional Breakdown: Anxiety and Depression Problems



The strategies citizens develop to cope with their mental problems should also be seen in relation to their well-being. In this sense, we asked the question "What do you do when you need psychological support?" Among those who responded to this question, the rate of those who can go to a private psychologist or psychiatrist is 4.9 percent, while those who can go to a public hospital is limited to 10.3 percent. The rest of the respondents state that they seek answers to their problems through their social relations.

Figure 32: Psychological Support Methods



Considering the government's role in the effects of polarization, violence and religiousization, it seems useless to expect a public solution to these problems. As a matter of fact, only 9 percent of the respondents think that the government can produce a solution to these problems. Again, as mentioned earlier, when the low opportunities to participate in social activities and the low opportunities for people to spend time with their friends and relatives in a social environment are added to the equation, it also becomes questionable to what extent social relations can be effective.

Future Expectations and Well-Being

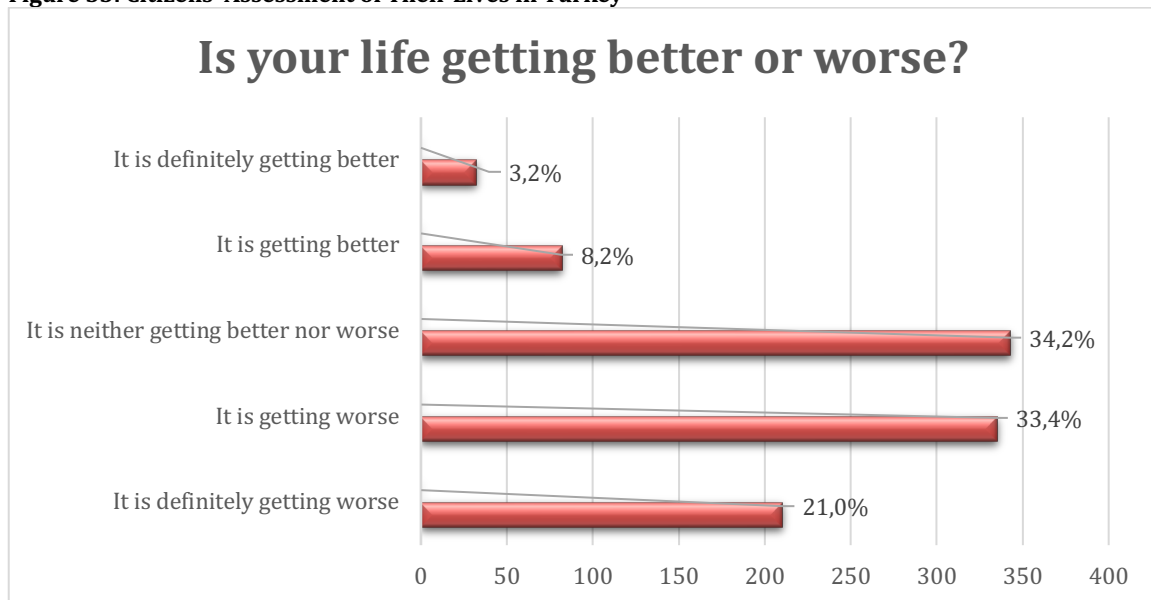
In terms of the methodology of the study, we have already mentioned that we tried to understand the well-being of citizens within the framework of political, economic and social relations. To complement this methodology, it is not enough to describe the negative impact of these three elements on well-being in recent years. The aim here is not only to identify the structural limitations of these political, economic and social elements. Rather, it is to understand the interrelationship of these elements with people's physical, mental and spiritual practices of self-empowerment, and to explore the opportunities for citizens to become politically subjective and to create organizational forms that consolidate this subjectivity.

At this point, it is necessary to include in the equation citizens' expectations for the future of the society they live in as a whole and of themselves as a part of it. This is important in order to conduct a dynamic analysis of the future, rather than defining a passive well-being based solely on the impact of political, economic and social conditions on the past.

In the study, we asked the respondents to evaluate their expectations for the future primarily in terms of the future of the country. In this sense, we asked the question whether Turkey was going in a good or a bad direction. 72.4 percent of the society thought that things were going in a bad direction, while the rate of those who thought that things were going in a good direction remained at 9.6 percent. Despite the hopelessness that these rates convey, the fact that 27 percent of the society, about twice as many as the already mobilized segment, have the potential to participate in politics is a point that should be emphasized again in terms of citizens' willingness to determine the fate of their own lives and to do so in a participatory manner, that is, in a way that takes care of their well-being, among the results we have reached within the scope of this study.

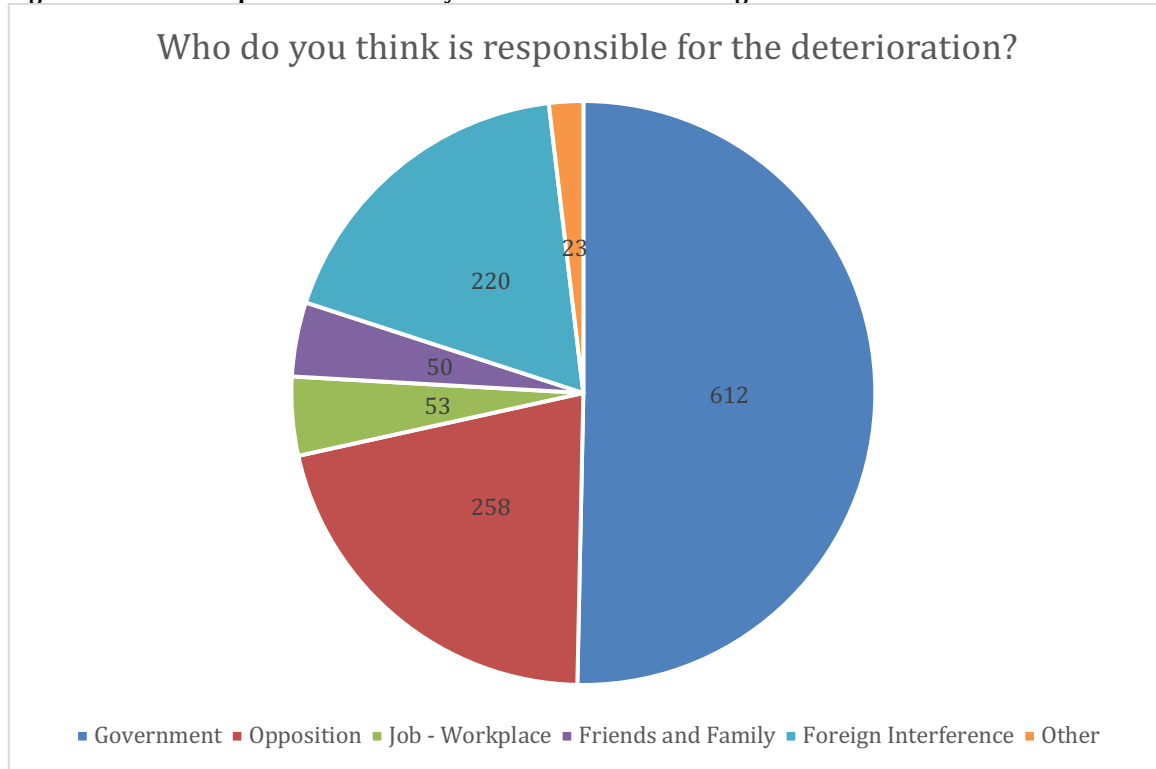
When we asked the respondents whether their lives were getting better or worse, 54.4 percent said that their lives were getting worse and 11.4 percent said that their lives were getting better. In the responses to this question, there is a clustering in the "neither getting better nor worse" option. This can be explained by the fact that citizens have developed certain strategies to protect themselves from the general deterioration of the society, but it can also be explained by the fact that they may fall behind in making sense of the change in their own lives.

Figure 33: Citizens' Assessment of Their Lives in Turkey



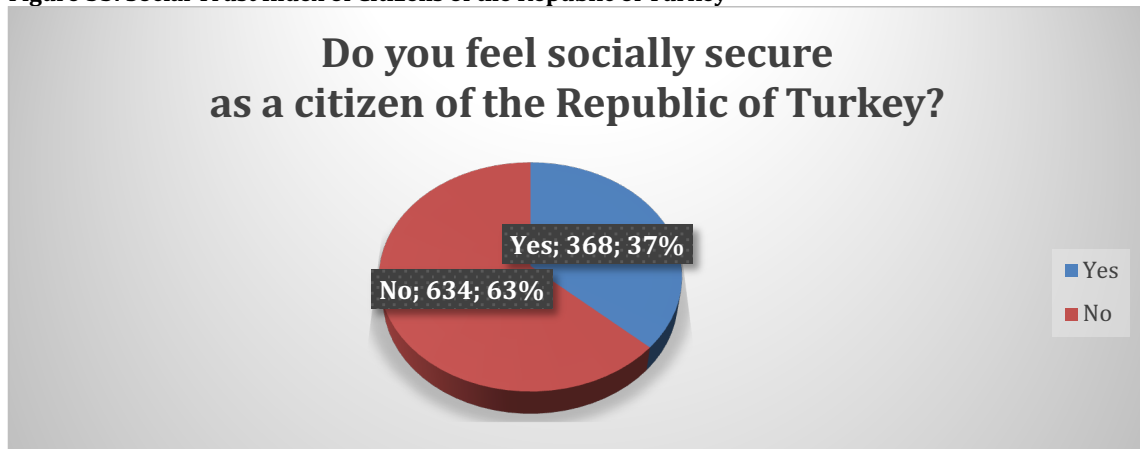
In order to understand who they saw as responsible for the emergence of this pessimistic picture, we asked citizens the question "Who or whom do you think is responsible for the deterioration?" We observed that although the opposition (25.7 percent) and foreign interference (22 percent) were seen as important factors, the government was seen as the main responsible factor. The rate of those who held the government responsible for the bad course of events was 61.1 percent.

Figure 34: Those Responsible for Turkey's Deterioration According to Citizens



In order to understand the impact of the deterioration in the future on the present, we asked citizens questions to understand how secure they felt. First of all, we asked the respondents "Do you feel more secure this year compared to last year?" 66.8 percent of the respondents stated that they felt less secure compared to last year, while the rate of those who felt more secure was 10.5 percent. When asked to what extent they felt economically secure, a similar rate of 68.5 percent said they felt economically insecure, while the rate of those who felt secure remained at 11.4 percent. When we asked the question "Do you feel socially secure as a citizen of the Republic of Turkey?" from a socio-political perspective, a similar picture emerged. While 63.3 percent of the citizens did not feel safe, 36.7 percent stated that they felt safe.

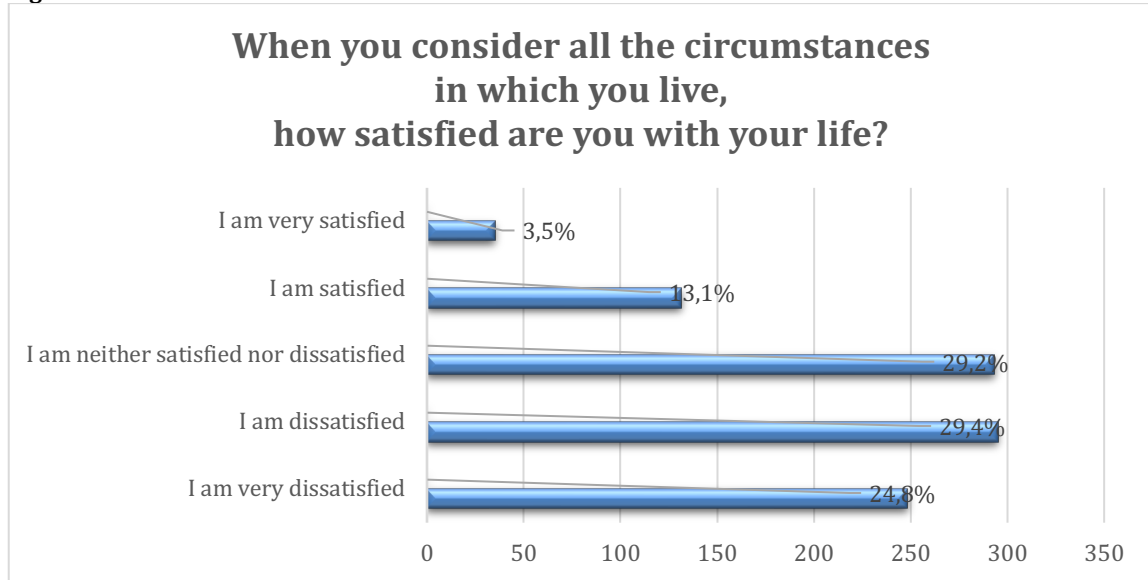
Figure 35: Social Trust Index of Citizens of the Republic of Turkey



After having assessed the future of Turkey, the course of their lives in this context, and their security in political, economic and social terms, we finally asked citizens to what extent they were satisfied with their lives and their expectations for the future.

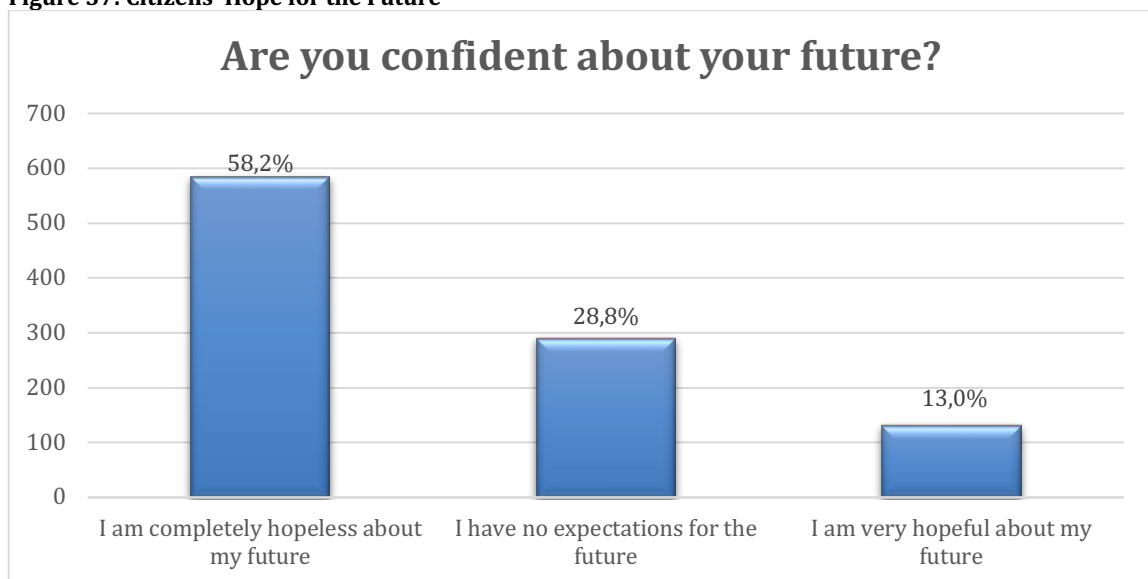
In line with the previous questions, the answers to the satisfaction question resulted in a percentage of 16.6 percent being satisfied as opposed to 54.2 percent being dissatisfied, while 29.2 percent of the respondents stated that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied.

Figure 36: Rates of Satisfaction with Life



Lastly, the negative response of citizens to the question about their hopefulness for the future was remarkable. When it came to expectations for the future, or in other words, looking to the future with hope, we found that citizens in Turkey had a more negative approach compared to their responses to the questions on the course of social life, trust and satisfaction. 58.2 percent of the respondents stated that they were completely hopeless about the future, while 28.8 percent stated that they had no expectations for the future. The rate of those who were hopeful about the future was only 13 percent.

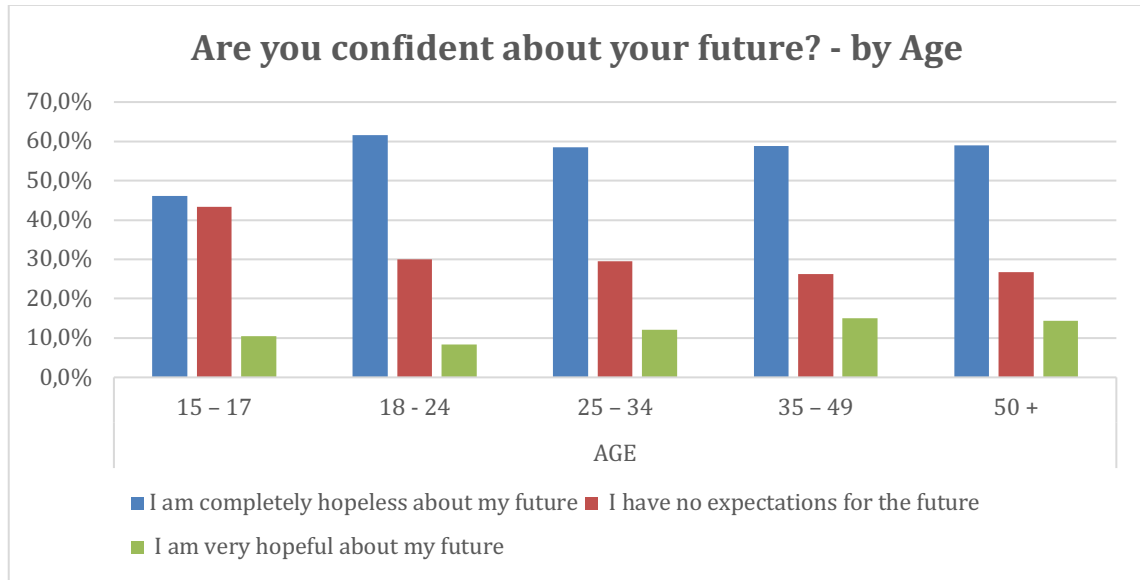
Figure 37: Citizens' Hope for the Future



When we analyze the hope that citizens in Turkey have for the future in terms of various breakdowns, some striking results emerge. In terms of age distribution, we observe that young

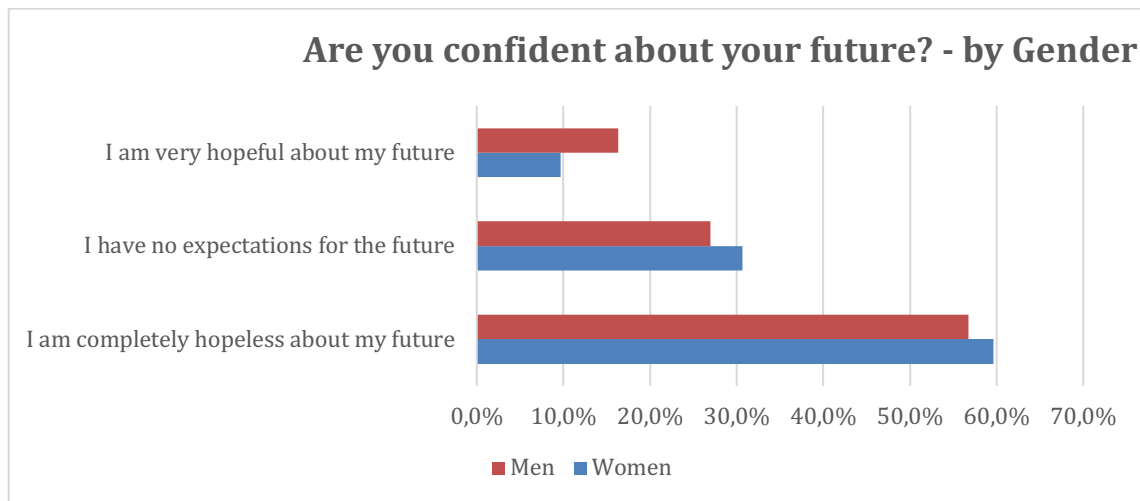
people between the ages of 18-24 are the segment of the society that expresses the lowest rate of hope for the future. We should keep in mind the reluctance of this group, who will vote for the first time in the upcoming general elections, to participate in politics. This situation makes us think that ensuring that these young people are oriented towards politics in the coming period and fighting for the transformation of the country's political structure and the way of making politics together means fighting for the well-being of citizens in Turkey.

Breakdown Chart 5: Age Breakdown: Future Expectations



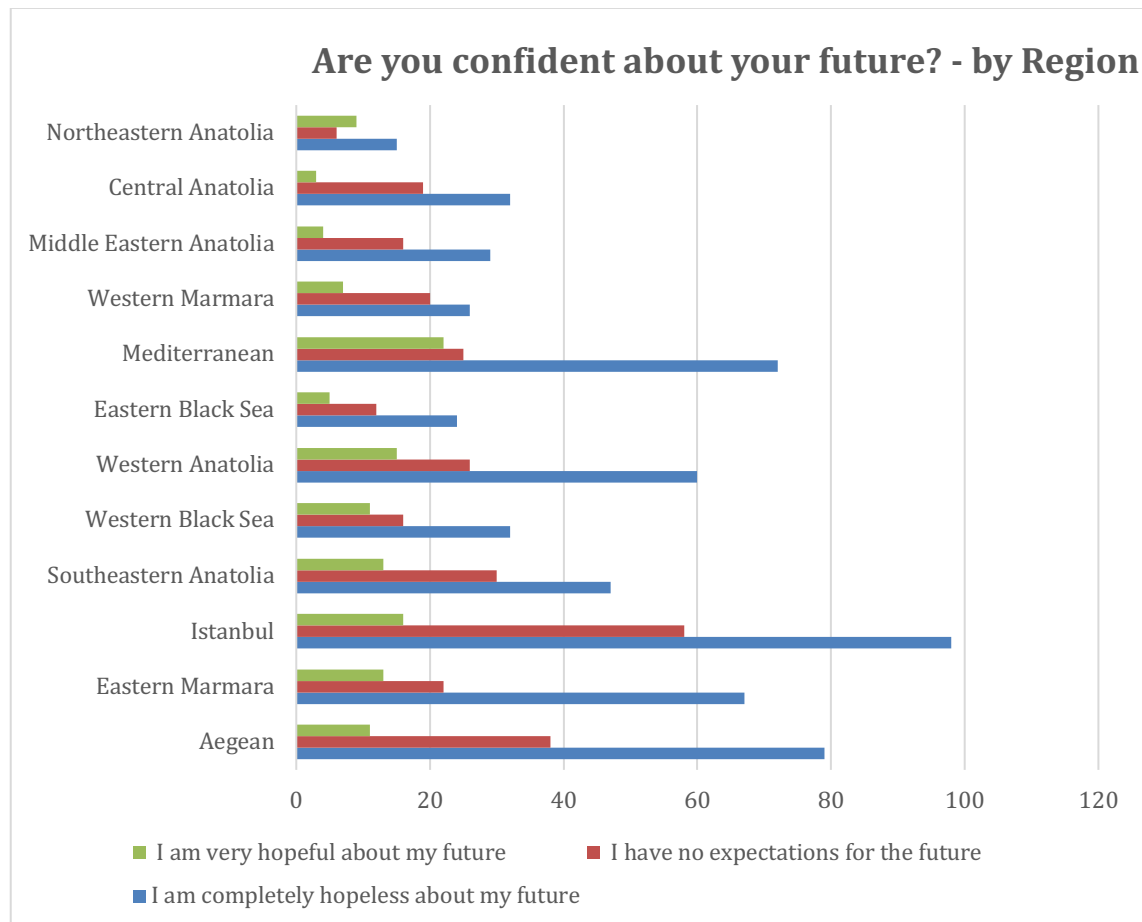
When we look at the issue in terms of gender distribution, we see that women have less hope for the future than men. Although there is not a big difference, as we have stated before, the authoritarianization of the regime should be taken into consideration together with the oppression and violence against women. This also shows that when it comes to removing the debris of authoritarianism, women's well-being should be treated as one of the main topics of discussion.

Breakdown Chart 6: Gender Breakdown: Future Expectations



When we look at the regional distribution, we observe that the future expectations of those living in Northeast Anatolia and the Mediterranean fall behind those in other regions. It is also noteworthy that hopelessness is also prevalent in regions with a high share of GDP such as İstanbul, Aegean and Eastern Marmara. Relatively high incomes or improved access to services such as education are not enough to have a hopeful outlook for the future due to political factors.

Breakdown Chart 7: Regional Breakdown: Future Expectations



Conclusion

We examined the well-being of citizens in Turkey on the basis of a human flourishing approach to well-being. In measuring well-being, we defined the activities that people carry out to shape their lives, including education, health and work, political participation and governance, social ties and relations, citizens' relationship with the environment, and security in both economic and physical terms as essential indicators of well-being. We also included justice (especially income justice), the existence of institutions that serve the common good, and a dignified life in which citizens are valued and respected as components of well-being.

In the study, we took into account that social and political conditions are as decisive as economic conditions in terms of measuring well-being, especially in an authoritarian regime.

Therefore, for example, we also measured the impact of politics in general, political institutions, political parties, polarization, political language, violence and political activities. Likewise, in terms of social relations, we evaluated the effects of family relations, violence against women, discrimination against LGBTIQ+ people, and the place of religion in society on people's mental and physical conditions. We also provided an opportunity to compare citizens' perceptions of the impact of political, economic and social conditions on their well-being and the concrete details of this impact.

Following this methodology, we made an assessment of the demographic structure. The data we obtained shows that the regime's project to create cheap labor force, which is hidden by the call for three children that is embellished with a religious discourse, is partially effective, but nevertheless, family forms that fall outside this conservatization continue to be diverse. Then, reminding that the minimum wage in terms of income is extremely common among working people in Turkey, we stated that the well-being of Turkish society faces a significant constraint from the very beginning. We came to this conclusion because we found that due to the deterioration in income levels and working conditions, social assistance mechanisms and the accompanying phenomenon of informal labor come into play to ensure access to a basic decent living.

We asked citizens questions to measure their well-being in health, education and culture. According to the feedback we received on health, 50.7 percent of the population has been experiencing various health problems in recent years. In terms of education, according to the response to the question on daycare centers, only 11.9 percent of those with daycare-age children are able to send their children to daycare centers. The fact that women's employment is low not only makes childcare the sole responsibility of mothers, but also has negative consequences for the socialization of children. The rate of those who can attend cultural activities such as concerts, theater and panels is limited to 26.2 percent. We are faced with an extremely depressing picture in terms of physical and mental development. When we look at the rates of social media usage, it becomes clear that citizens are trying to overcome their cultural deficiencies through platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and Youtube.

When we analyzed the demographic structure on the basis of political affiliation, the picture that emerged showed us that some gaps are opening in the authoritarian regime's relationship with its social base. We observed that 53 percent of the citizens feel that they belong to the right-wing ideology, which is defined as nationalist-religious-conservative. The rate of those who identify themselves as leftist is 28 percent, and the rate of those who do not declare their affiliation is 18 percent. Taken together with the information presented in the following sections of the study, we concluded that the political, economic and social well-being of citizens is deteriorating for all citizens, regardless of which side of the ideological scale they fall on. We can say that a similar situation emerged when it came to expectations for the future. Just like left-wing citizens, who can be assumed to be more affected by authoritarianism, we observed that right-wing citizens also experience problems in terms of their quality of life and expectations. We think that the difference here should be seen as the fact that right-wing citizens do not associate the deterioration in their well-being with the government.

We tried to make sense of citizens' political well-being through their interest in politics, the impact of political polarization on them and political participation. Although politics is a

Report on the Well-being of Citizens in Turkey

big part of the agenda for the society in Turkey, the rate of political participation remains quite low. We observe that citizens in Turkey follow politics closely due to the tense politicization tendency brought about by polarization, but they do not have collective expectations from politics as a medium to institutionalize the common good. For example, the data we obtained as a result of the research shows that citizens in Turkey have weakened their trust in political institutions.

We concluded that the citizens in Turkey, the majority of whom state that politics has a negative impact on them, are not interested in politics in the form of subjectivity or basic participation in the field of politics, but in the form of being exposed to the effects of politics. We have expressed the view that the conflict between citizens' expectations for the future and their lack of options reduces their engagement with politics to the individual level. Interest in politics does not translate into motivation to make policy, and the tendency towards totalitarianism has the effect of dissolving social collectivity and individualizing citizens.

According to the data obtained, 84.5 percent of citizens think that there is polarization among citizens in Turkey. Keeping in mind that polarization is based on a political understanding that is the exact opposite of the notions of happiness and common good, which are at the basis of the understanding of politics that focuses on well-being, it can be seen that the political climate created by the phenomenon of polarization has started to make polarizing factors such as violence instead of well-being determinative for citizens.

One of the striking findings is that 74.3 percent of the citizens think that the government is responsible for the polarization. This is extremely interesting for a country ruled by a right-wing government, where 53.1 percent of the citizens who primarily identify themselves as nationalist-religious-conservative. It should be underlined that the authoritarian regime is seen as responsible for polarization by almost half of its own base.

Lastly, in terms of political well-being, it should be noted that the response we received when we asked the citizens who participated in the survey how they see Turkey's future from a political perspective - the rate of those who think that Turkey's future is quite bright or has significant potential is limited to 16.2 percent - also explains the general reluctance to participate in politics. The individualized nature of the relationship between politics and citizens leads to an unorganized political structure, especially when individual expectations are low.

We tried to understand economic well-being by asking citizens about the impact of the economy on their lives, labor system and indebtedness. While 64.6 percent of citizens state that the impact of the Turkish economy on their lives is negative, the rate of those who state that the economy has a positive impact on their mental and emotional state remains at 12.2 percent. The result shows that those outside the very small circle of people with whom the government sees fit to share the country's wealth are increasingly excluded from democracy in the economic sense and from the distribution of social wealth in general.

Report on the Well-being of Citizens in Turkey

Given that the idea of universal income was adopted by 86.5%, it can be said that there is a demand from the society in terms of both imposing responsibility on the state as well as sharing the income. This demand creates an environment in which a well-being-based policy that defends the ideas of equality/social justice among citizens, the state's responsibility towards the individual and universal citizenship can form.

One of the striking findings in terms of economic well-being is the fact that although 86 percent of citizens over the age of 17 and 44 percent of the society have full-time jobs, only 9 percent of the population has more income than expenses. This situation points to the existence of the phenomenon of working poverty in Turkey. A similar ratio emerges in terms of savings. The fact that only 11 percent of the society is able to save is striking in terms of showing how income inequality between this group and others has eroded the capacity of society to come together around the common good. The reason for this is that, unlike the 11 percent, the overwhelming majority of the society has lost their potential to engage in actions that improve their well-being and the well-being of those around them, such as getting rid of paying rent, living a debt-free life, and being able to solidarize with their relatives, without any future security.

Another striking finding in terms of working conditions is that the rate of those who say that they would be able to find a job with similar or better conditions if they were unemployed is limited to 18.2%. For the rest of the citizens, this situation is very significant as it shows that they have to accept the working conditions regardless of whether they are satisfied or not.

The indebtedness rates show us that a very large proportion of those in the labor system are in debt even if they are working full-time. Only 18 percent of the respondents are able to protect themselves against indebtedness. For the remaining 72 percent, we see that the situation can reach a point where it jeopardizes social ties. Almost half of the citizens state that they have difficulty in meeting their basic needs due to indebtedness, while at the same time they have to stay away from their social lives and hobbies. The rate of those who cannot meet their friends and relatives outside constitutes one third of the respondents. An even more unfortunate result is that more than a quarter of the population states that their relations with their family have deteriorated due to their indebtedness. According to TBA's (Unions of Turkish Bar Associations) data, the number of people who have not paid their personal loan debts and whose debts are still ongoing was 3 million 22 thousand 133 people in January 2022, while the number of people with ongoing personal credit card debts was 2 million 664 thousand 419. While the number of foreclosures on personal credit cards increased by 161 percent in January 2022 compared to the previous year, the number of people who fell into non-performing loans due to personal loan debt increased by 245 percent. The fact that 14.7 percent of the society states that there is nothing they can do in a situation that requires them to incur debt shows that this situation has become a risk factor that threatens social security.

In order to understand well-being in terms of social relations, we asked citizens questions about the impact of these relations on their lives, discrimination, the position of religion in society and the mood of citizens. According to the results, 61.5 percent of the society thinks that the current social relations in the country they live in have a negative impact on them. During a period in which authoritarianism is tearing the collectivity apart, the family

Report on the Well-being of Citizens in Turkey

appears as a coping mechanism. Although there are a considerable number of citizens who think that it has a negative impact on their well-being, the rate of those who think that family relationships have a positive impact on their physical and mental well-being reaches 51.8 percent.

One of the important issues affecting well-being in terms of social relations is violence against women. The rate of those who accept the increase in violence against women is as high as 82.2 percent. 64.5 percent of the society think that the economic crisis is responsible for the increase in violence against women and that politics encourages violence against women. This response is quite striking as it shows the direct impact of political and economic issues on social life.

In terms of the growth of authoritarianism in Turkey, the moralist attack against women is as important a pillar as the antagonization and targeting of LGBTIQ+ people. Despite all the regime's attacks and religious and ideological justifications, it turns out that society has not completely lost its common sense on this issue. The number of those who think that LGBTIQ+ people are subjected to violence and injustice in Turkey is higher than those who disagree with this statement. Again, the rate of those who think that the freedoms of LGBTIQ+ people in Turkey are restricted by the society and that the attitudes of politicians have a negative impact in this sense remains above those who disagree with this idea.

There is a prevailing view among citizens that the increasing role of religion in social relations in recent years has had a negative impact on social relations. The fact that the politicization of religion has become a threat to well-being is important in terms of showing the destruction of social religion through political religion. As religion turns into a political element, it is associated with political developments such as polarization, enrichment and violence, thereby making secularism a necessity for ensuring social well-being.

When we asked the respondents about the change in their own and their close ones' moods, 72.2 percent of them pointed to a deterioration in their own moods and 65.9 percent pointed to a deterioration in the moods of their close ones. In order to elaborate on the deterioration in mental state, we asked the respondents whether they have been feeling lonely lately. 61.9 percent of the respondents said that they have been feeling lonely, and the number of respondents who think that they have been excluded from society in general or at some times has also reached a significant rate. The rate of those with anxiety and/or depression problems reaches 78.9 percent. Considering the role of the government in the impact of polarization, violence and religiousization, it is futile to expect a public solution to these problems; in fact, we observe that the vast majority of citizens seek answers to their psychological problems through their social relations.

In the last part of our study, we asked questions that went beyond the political, economic and social conditions and focused directly on the subjectivity of the citizens. We focused on the course of the country, security and expectations for the future. 72.4 percent of the society think that the course of the country is going in a bad direction, while the rate of those who think that it is going in a good direction remained at 9.6 percent. When asked who they see as responsible for the deterioration of the society, 61.1 percent of the citizens see the

Report on the Well-being of Citizens in Turkey

government as responsible. Despite the hopelessness of these rates, the fact that 27 percent of the society, about twice as many as the already mobilized segment, have the potential to participate in politics is a point that should be emphasized again in terms of citizens' willingness to determine the fate of their own lives and to do so in a participatory manner, i.e. in a way that takes care of their well-being, among the results we have reached within the scope of this study.

While 66.8 percent of citizens state that they feel more insecure compared to last year, the rate of those who feel more secure is limited to 10.5 percent. When asked to what extent they feel economically secure, a similar rate of 68.5 percent stated that they felt economically insecure, while the rate of those who felt secure remained at 11.4 percent, which reveals the prevalence of insecurity.

In line with the previous questions, the answers to the question "How satisfied are you with your life?" resulted in a percentage of 16.6 percent being satisfied as opposed to 54.2 percent being dissatisfied, while 29.2 percent of the respondents stated that they were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. Finally, 58.2 percent of the respondents stated that they were completely hopeless about their future, while 28.8 percent stated that they had no expectations for the future. The rate of those who were hopeful about the future was only 13 percent.

When all these findings are evaluated together, we see that the segment of society that is politically confident about today and tomorrow, economically secure and satisfied with the course of social relations is limited to a rate between 9 and 13 percent. Apart from the 16.6 percent who are satisfied with their lives, which is given by bracketing the impact of external issues to a certain extent, the segment of the society that is satisfied in terms of well-being is limited to the aforementioned range, while a segment that sometimes reaches 70 percent experiences serious problems. The negative effects of authoritarianism lead citizens to disorganized and individualized solutions. The interest in universal citizenship income, the relatively high number of people indicating that they are likely to participate in political activities in the near future, and the acknowledgement that discriminated groups such as women and LGBTIQ+ people have been treated unfairly have the potential to lay the groundwork for steps to be taken for a politics that focuses on well-being to build collectivism by re-constructing a common good.

