This project is co-funded by the Seventh Framework Programme for Research and Technological Development of the European Union

EU Grant Agreement number: 290529

Project acronym: ANTICORRP

Project title: Anti-Corruption Policies Revisited

Work Package: WP4, The anthropological study of corruption practices and ideas

Title of deliverable: D4.1) Report on institutional performance and corruption in the case studies.

INSTITUTIONAL PERFORMANCE AND SOCIAL VALUES IN TURKEY

Due date of deliverable: 30 June, 2014
Actual submission date: 30 June, 2014

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ANKARA, 2013

Project co-funded by the European Commission within the Seventh Framework Programme		
Dissemination Level		
PU	Public	X
PP	Restricted to other programme participants (including the Commission Services)	
RE	Restricted to a group specified by the consortium (including the Commission Services)	
Co	Confidential, only for members of the consortium (including the Commission Services)	

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1. INTRODUCTION

As part of agreed-upon research issues and methodologies developed within WP4, a survey has been conducted with a small sample in Ankara in 2012. It was meant as a supplement to the main ethnographic fieldwork. The current report is prepared to inform the reader about the data obtained and observations made through the survey.

The field research in its entirety aimed to gather data on the interactions between public institutions and citizens, definitions of corruption and its perception, types of corruption, effects of corruption, practices of anti-corruption, cultural and social norms in this field, national and local media, and local policies. In addition to the survey, participant observation and interviews have been main research methods in the ethnographic fieldwork. Interviews have been made with local government officers, politicians, entrepreneurs, anti-corruption activists, political civic organizations and citizens' groups... Participant observation has been made possible through involvement in various relevant meetings, workshops, and conferences. It must be noted, however, that only the findings and observations gathered through the survey will be reported in the current report.

Again, this survey study has been carried out as a supplement to the briefly explained ethnographic fieldwork. With this survey, it has been aimed to reach the views and perspectives of ordinary citizens. The main reason of including local people in such a survey is to provide a bottom-up perspective by focusing on the social and cultural values and norms underlying state-citizen interactions, including corruption. In this way, survey has been used as an additional mean to main ethnographic work conducted within the framework of WP4. This survey has focused on social-cultural norms (such as common behavioral patterns), social values, and performances of institutions as forms of expressions of socio-cultural practices.

2. METHODOLOGY, SAMPLING AND FIELD

As was in the entire ethnographic field research, the survey area has been Ankara Province. The survey has been conducted with a sample of 100 people over the age of 18 in the last two months of 2012. While designing questionnaire, which was entirely conducted face to face, a set of questions was prepared by the WP4 Coordinator was used. The questionnaire has been only slightly changed while translating it into Turkish and after pilot-testing it with 5 people. Given the smallness of the sample, we don't have bold claims about the representativeness of the views expressed by the participants: We have tried to put forward a proxy profile on the bases of the relationship of institutions and citizens in the country through the survey consist of questions related to local institutions and issues, social norms, and values.

The surveys have been conducted in Ankara province, a little more than half of them in Yenikent settlement and 3 villages located therein. Through a snowballing sampling method, a communication network occurred and we have reached demographic characteristics given in Table 1.

Main factors for choosing Yenikent settlement as starting point for survey research can be explained as the follows:

- As a settlement located in the periphery of Ankara, Yenikent has both rural and urban characteristics of the region: it is in a rapidly urbanization process of rural life based on agricultural production.
- On the other hand, the community still largely maintains the networks of kinship and fellow-countryman relationships.
- Increase in the value of agricultural land in the region as a result of the process of urbanization and emerging high rents.
- In the process of transition, there might be both continuities and changes in their expectations from local and central institutions.

Yenikent, which is one of the oldest settlements of Ankara and located on the Ayaş- Beypazarı Road that opens to western corridor of Ankara, has become a "first-tier municipality" in Sincan with an act promulgated in 2008.[1] Its distance to Ankara city center 35 km, while it is about 7 km far from Sincan district. According to results of Turkish Statistical Institute Address-Based Population Registration System, the total population of Yenikent Municipality in 13 neighborhoods is 20.770 including 11.554 men and 9.216 women[2]. There are five high schools, five elementary schools, one kindergarten, one

[1] http://web.tbmm.gov.tr/gelenkagitlar/metinler/144966.pdf

[2] Turkish Statistical Institute, Address-Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) Data Base (2007):

http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports/rwservlet?adnksdb2&ENVID=adnksdb2Env&report=belediye.RDF&p_il1=6&p_ilce1=62&p_kod=2&p_yil=2007&p_dil=1&desformat=html

health center, two outpatient clinics, agricultural credit cooperative, one post Office, one bank branch and automobile repair center.

One of our interviewees residing in the center of Yenikent district sums-up social, economic and demographic characteristics of settlement as follows:

> There are people in villages getting retirement pensions. Small farming continues too. In winter months, 8- 9 households remain in the village, rest of them spend the winter in the center of Yenikent. Because, there is not much work to do in the village during the winters. Furthermore, houses in the center are more comfortable and with natural gas. Nearly everybody has bought an apartment in Yenikent. Youngsters are in Ankara, some of them study, under-educated ones are working. Young people almost never stay in village. We have two students in the village. They are going to Yenikent by service vehicle. Actually all villages here make a living by selling lands. I don't know a person who does not sell land. He sells because his child will marry, he will buy a house etc... Lands are bought by those who want to make a long-term investment in urban rent (Participant I)

Economic production based on agriculture and animal husbandry is greatly weakened. The portion of the elderly population residing in villages compared to young population is an indicator that shows labor force has shifted to city center. It can be understood from the interest in these lands of investors especially coming from outside that on the one hand, while agricultural structure of the region as a small settlement with rural characteristics is spoiling, on the other hand, settlement is shifting into the urban development area. One another assessment that shows the situation of the settlement has come from our informant residing in the center of Yenikent but at the same time he is headman of one of the villages:

> We are very near to Ankara but we did not benefit from blessings of Ankara. We did not get sufficient aid from the state. Our neighborhood is underdeveloped. They have relied on its soil and land. One generation studied generally. People who study at university are very few though… Lands are worthy enough even if they are not that as much expensive as those in villages on Eskişehir Highway. Agriculture and animal husbandry are almost over. One could earn a living from apple, melon and pear, and wheat would be extra income source. Agriculture was much reduced. Peasants are still cultivating, fields are not empty but old order is over. Akdere dried out too. Brook dried out because of misapplication of Ministry of Forestry. They planted poplar tree at the stream side. Some people had nearly 2500 sheep when I was young. Now, almost none left. Dairy cattle used to owned by almost every household, it was also very much reduced. Wheat, barley and chickpeas are being planted now. There is no irrigated farming. The past 10 years, there are land sales. People from outside are buying land for investment by saying that "There can be land planning in the future, lands increase in value." They think of it as a long-term investment. Akıncı Airport put this region of its stride. Furthermore, prices of

> fertilizer, forage and fuel are very high in this country. It is no longer possible to make a living with agriculture. (Participant II)

As understood from these statements and from observations made in the field, while labor force basically turns into urban wage labor, agriculture and animal husbandry are being maintained especially by over middle-age population still living in the village as a supplement to income earned by wage labor. Land sales as a new form emerged from urbanization have been raised by this interviewee too. Another effect of urbanization as this interviewee stated just the beginning his speech is changing expectations from local and central governments.

Yenikent is the beginning point of snowball sampling method used in this study. After the end of five week study, sample has reached a certain volume. Then surveys have ground to a halt. At this point, the study has shifted from this demographic area with relatively rural characteristics towards an area with intensive urban characteristics. In this process of study, surveys have been conducted in Çankaya district.

After Ankara became the Capital City of Republic of Turkey, Çankaya has become a district in which administrative center of Turkey located. Besides its service sector, Çankaya district is an educational center in which there are eleven universities and over hundred thousand students[3]. With these features, it is the city of students, public servants, bureaucrats and commerce. According to Address-Based Population Registration System data of 2012, total population of Çankaya, the district with the highest gross domestic product in Ankara, is 832.075; 406.801 men and 425.274 women. Entire populations of Çankaya live in urbanized areas.[4]

Table 1 shows the demographic features our survey participants.

- In our sample, the percentage of men interviewee is 57 %, the percentage of women is 43 %.
- The proportion of participants that graduated from primary school is 13 %. 36 % of our survey participants were college graduates.
- In our sample, 22 % of participants are working for public organizations, 22 % of them are engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry, while 20 % of them are private sector employees. The percentage of professionals-experts such as doctor, engineers, and lawyers is 7 %. The ratio of self-employed occupations that do not require professional educations and expertise is 5 % and the ratio of those engaged in large-scale trading is 3 %.
- When we think together housewives, students and unemployed, 16 percent of those participated in the survey do not currently work in a revenue-generating job.

[3] Municipality of Çankaya's official web site: http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=77

[4] Turkish Statistical Institute, Address-Based Population Registration System (ABPRS) Data Base (2012):

http://rapor.tuik.gov.tr/reports/rwservlet?adnksdb2&ENVID=adnksdb2Env&report=wa_turkiye_ilce_koy_sehir.RDF&p_il1=6&p_ilce1=1231&p_kod=2&p_yil=2012&p_dil=1&desformat=html

- 60 % of surveys have been conducted in Yenikent settlement and in its villages, 40 % of surveys have been conducted in Çankaya settlement.

Table 1: Basic Characteristics of Survey Area

Gender	**%**
Male	57
Female	43
Age	
15-25	10
25-35	33
35-45	21
45-55	24
55-65	11
65 +	1
Education level	
Primary	13
Middle school	17
High school	27
College	36
Technical	7
Occupation	
Civil servants in the public sector	22
Engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry	22
Workers in the private sector	20
Housewife	8
Occupations that require expertise (doctors, engineers, lawyers and so on)	7
White collars employee in the private sector	5
Self-employed-occupations that do not require expertise (grocery, trades, real estate and so on)	5
Student	4
Unemployed	4
Business -- large scale commercial	3
Region (Ankara, Turkey)	
Yenikent and surroundings	60
Çankaya	40

After deciding on research location, we started working in Yenikent in November 2012. In the first visits to households in the regions, they directed us to village headman who (in a sense) will allow us to enter into the field, direct us and mediate. They gave us the address of headman's office which is

in the center of settlement. Although we went to his office during 4 days, we couldn't reach him. Village headman was in the city center or in land office as part of his job of real estate professional besides village headman. As a result of our persistence, we could get an appointment from him for the following week and we could meet him on the agreed-upon day. In this conversation, we asked for his help to reach out the people who need help of public institutions, who have a work in public institutions, who interact frequently with public organizations, in short people that would be most relevant for our study. However, we could only get the phone numbers and addresses of other headmen in the region. Almost two weeks passed by talking with these headmen and a limited number of people around them. At the end of third week, while we were walking around without reaching a sufficient number of informants, coming across an informant who already has been before completed the survey completely changed the course of field research. After asking "Are you still here?" he gave us some names who will be interested in the subject. After this point, our access to the field has significantly accelerated. Luckily, each new interview took us to new households and individuals.

The boundaries and trajectories of the field changed throughout the study since citizens in the region had interactions with so many places: the participant network has expanded rapidly from work places to coffeehouses, from village chamber to households, from villages to city center. At the end of the fifth week we traveled to Çankaya district where local people from Yenikent and surroundings used to go very often to sell their home-grown farm products, especially dairy products up until 10-15 years ago.

These data indicate another layer of the problem related with accessing to the field: only 17 of 60 surveys conducted with women. In the countryside, it is hard for a stranger, an outsider man to communicate with women without help or mediation of a local agent (again a man, which can be father, husband, brother or elderly relatives). It is thus not too much surprising that we faced difficulties in reaching women for our survey in Yenikent and its surroundings. Starting from the supposition that society is divided into different cultural groups, it can be said that rural life especially based on agriculture carries traditional patriarchal values more than the urban culture. The relations within family are predominantly patriarchal. Even the family becomes nuclear in terms of size and structure; men are still at the forefront. In the context of our study, access to women in rural areas has thus been required approval, mediation and monitoring of men.

In the framework of gender-based labor-division of women in rural areas, their living spaces and their occupation of production are in domestic sphere. These reinforce the situation of women. Women do not go to village chambers. They do not meet and chat at the village square. They do not usually deal with public bureaus, nor do they socialize as frequently as men do in restaurants and coffeehouses in the center. All of these explain (and may excuse us) why women are not represented equally with men in parts of our survey conducted in Yenikent and its surroundings. It is interesting to note, however, that when reached out, women were extremely interested in our survey. On the other hand, women in Çankaya, which is the urban part of survey study, are more visible in public sphere and they are freer. Here, 26 of 40 surveys have been conducted with women participants.

One somewhat interesting observation can be made here about the interest of informants to the study: Especially some male interviewees who can be called as supporters of particular political parties have paid much more attention to the study. Although their numbers are limited (8 persons), these interviewees have stated that their own ideas and preferences reflect ideas and preferences of a particular segment of society (voters of their parties). They have pointed that they interpreted questions with attention and responsibility derived from this representation: "We are not from X Party, we are from Y Party (referring to one another interviewee from same settlement), and we cannot reach an agreement with them on these issues. That is why we think in this way" or "I am known as a person from Z Party [one opposition party in the Turkish Parliament], I want to help you. I will tell you the things that no one easily tells". These kinds of statements, according to many observers, reflect the polarization of political context in Turkey in recent years. On the other hand, it should be noted that there is no significant differentiation in comments and responses besides two exceptions.

As it might have become clear so far from this brief description, in this study, unlike usual quantitative surveys, we have tried as much as possible to utilize the related field notes on relevant themes, issues and key subjects in survey, along with the evaluations of interviewees on the subjects not only conversations during survey implementations, but also after survey forms have been completed. There are several reasons in ethnographer's mind while finally deciding on the field notes that will be included in the text[5]. First, the statements, illustrating especially common, typical situations and repetitive behavioral patterns have been chosen. Then, the statements demonstrating an unusual, exceptional situation or pattern have been brought to the light. On the other hand, it has been paid attention to the expressions that reflect the concepts specific to subject, pointing and detailing how these concepts understood and used. Thus, field notes, which were written during the survey implementation and conversations, have been used to clarify the survey findings further. In this way, the insight gained during the survey was employed to explain and enrich the information and data obtained from the surveys and the participants.

For example, at the very beginning of the survey, one of the interviewees, with whom we met in the field, has highlighted during the survey that nepotism is not a correct behavior and especially managers and public officers providing public services should stand equal distance to citizens. However after the survey, while drinking tea and making conversation, his statements help us better understand a dimension of nepotism in Turkish society:

> We are unlucky. What we are greatly lacking is that those who represent us [refers to Ankara deputies in The Grand National Assembly of Turkey] do not serve us, they serve their own hometowns. They do not defend Ankara's rights, they pay attention to works of their own hometowns. Most neglected villages, which do not receive government aid, are Ankara villages. (…) There is no Ankara deputy who is originally from Ankara! This is my biggest complaint. The kids has gone [refers to local

[5] Robert M. Emerson, et. al. (1995) *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes.* University of Chicago Press.

> association in the region] to the man. He has put the kids off and he was interested in his own fellow countrymen, he has shouted to his secretary: “Let those came from X in, my daughter”. This is so-called Ankara deputy…. I told him this too… (Participant VII)

This mood is a kind of reflection referring to a special type of cronyism: The complaint of the interviewee is that Ankara cannot sufficiently get the services it deserves because Ankara deputies are originally not from Ankara but from other cities; The person, who comes from another city and becomes Ankara deputy, is not interested in people and problems Ankara, but those of cities they are originally come from. This field note, along with the emphasis of some survey participants on the importance of seeking for someone close for access to public services and institutions, might be interpreted as reflections of how things are understood and dealt with locally.

In the survey, five scenarios under the title of “Agreement/disagreement with different scenarios” have been the most discussed set of questions of the interviewees. Answers have been given by reminding them similar situations about themselves or about their relatives.

Finally, it should be noted that especially young people with high levels of formal training, who are in the 25-35 age range, show both willingness to participate in the survey and act more critically than other age groups.

3. LOCAL INSTITUTIONS

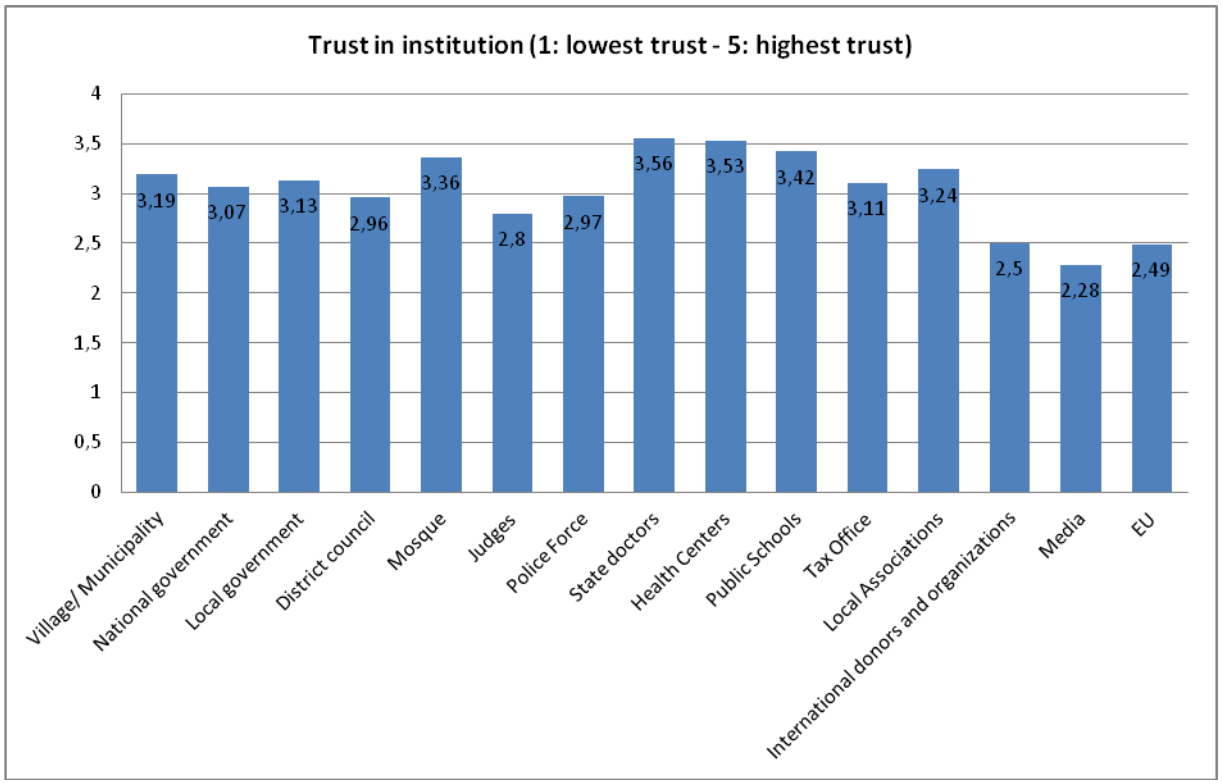
3.1 Trust in institution

Trust is one of the important indicators in evaluation of institutions. The first sets of questions are intended to question the institutions and the first question of this set is trust in institutions. It can be assumed that there is less corruption and nepotism in the institutions that have high rate of trust, while their quality of services they provide and community satisfaction from them would be high. Of course, main factors determining trust in specific institutions and causes of perceptions of institutions among ordinary citizens are debatable at best. Although this question has its own limitations, it is clear that it might give out important clues about societal institutions.

In order to measure trust in institutions, following question has been asked:

> "How much do you **trust** the following institutions" (from 1: lowest, to 5: highest trust).

Graphic 1: Trust in institution



As it is understood from the Graphic 1, interviewees' trust in institutions ranges from 2,28 to 3,56 on a scale of 1 to 5. "State Doctors" take the highest score of trust and "Health Centers" follow them.

The highness of these ratios might be related with the reforms in health sector and with citizens' satisfaction with reforms. An interviewee has stated the following: "State is not the old state. Formerly, we could not influence a nurse, a gendarme. But now, it is not like that." (Participant IV)

One another interviewee has said the followings with regard to his experience in health care services:

> "Formerly, we couldn't go anywhere. Even though we went, our turn has never come. We are comfortable with today's administration. I got medical check. A stent was placed in my body and I went out. I did not wait my turn for months as it used to be. What shall I say?" (Participant I)

Many interviewees pointed out that people can reach to health care services much more easily than they were in the past. This situation has increased significantly the trust in and satisfaction from in health-care services.

"Public schools" and "Mosque" follow the "State doctors" and "Health Centers" by a small margin. These were followed by the following local institutions, respectively "Local Associations", "Village/Municipality", "Local Government". Last institution, which is over "3" degree on the trust scale, is "National Government".

Respectively, "Police Force", "District Council", "Judges", "International Donors and Organizations", "EU" and "Media" are institutions whose points are below "3" and therefore, if the scale of 1 to 5 is taken into account, these institutions are seen as distrusted institutions. "District Council" has been the only institution below the average among local institutions.

The institution, which has the lowest trust score, is media. Typical responses about the media as followings: "Media exaggerates baseless news" (Participant IV), "Media stirs up trouble. We don't have any trust". (Participant V).

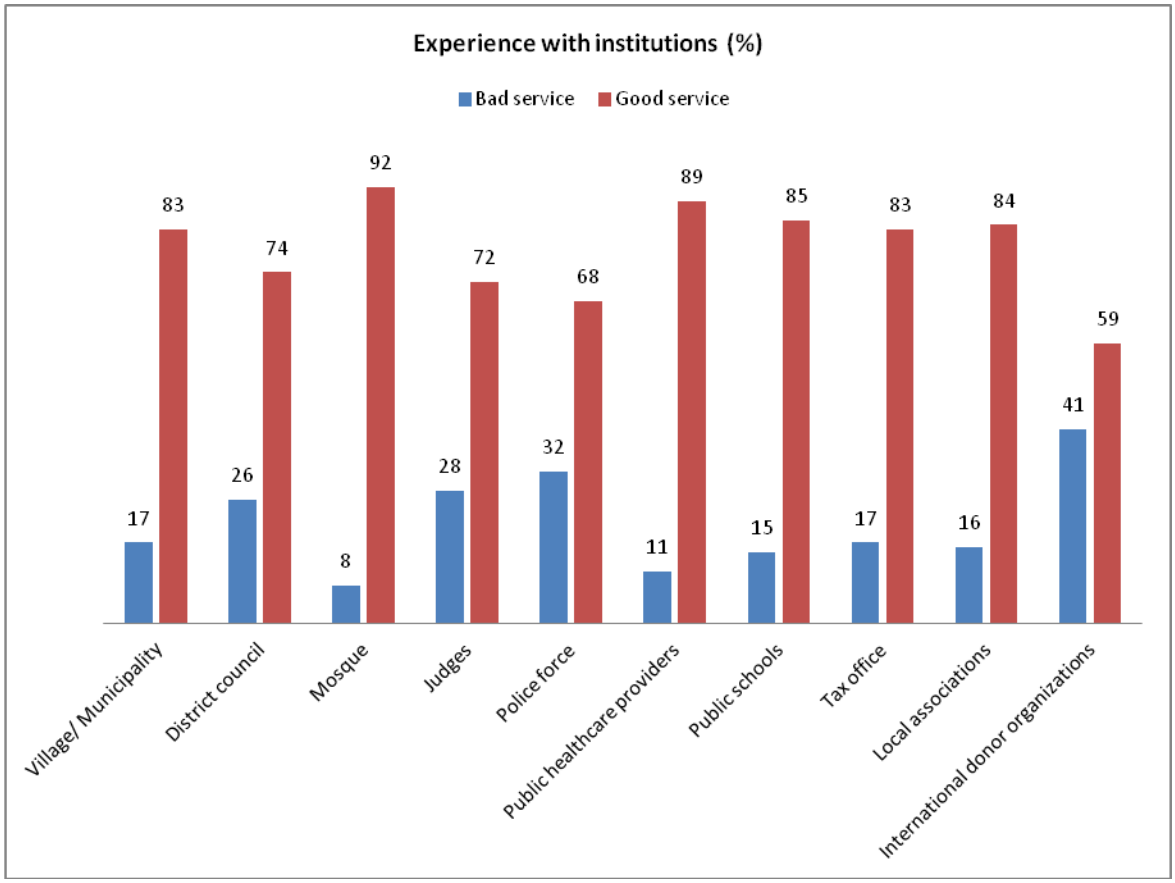
3.2 Experience with institutions

As we have mentioned before, directly questioning and measuring of trust in institutions may have some limitations. Thus, questions that directly dealing with the experiences with institutions might provide better information than direct question of trust in institutions.

To this end, following question has been asked in order to measure the experience with institutions.

> "With which of the following institutions have you or members of your family recently encountered cases of **good service** or of **bad service**":

Graphic 2: Experience with institutions



The data shown in this graphic and the data related with the previous question of trust in institutitons show striking similarities. Results show that "Mosque" has the highest score of "good service" and the lowest score of "bad service". "Public healthcare providers", in a way in line with the responses from previous question of trust, has a high rate of "good service" and a low rate of "bad service". This situation, beyond the abstract assesment of trust, provides information derived from experiences of people who know the day-to-day functioning of institutions in their close environment. When we kook at the graphic at the level of local authorities too, "Mosque", "Public

schools", "Local associations", "Village/municipality" are evaluated as local institutions providing good services in the light of experiences of interviewees and their families.

In the graphic, while "International donor organizations" has the highest rate of "bad service" and the lowest rate of "good service", "Police force" follows it with second lowest rate of "good service" and second highest rate of "bad service".

An example of response from the people participated in the survey is provided below and it refers to importance of reforms in institutions in most recent years.

> If you don't create difficulties to the Police, it is good. If you do, it is bad. The best citizen is the one who does not cause any difficulties for the Police. But today's cops are better than old ones. In the past, we couldn't draw near to man with the gun in his waist. But current cops are not like that. Young policmen are well-trained, and they know how to behave toward citizens. (Participant IV)

A typical response that indicates general perception about "International donor organizations" is as follows: "There are 4-5 countries that dominate these international institutions. Those big countries always get what they want. It is very hard to trust in these institutions. It is also difficult to get good service from them. (Participant IV)

On the other hand, initial clues about cronyism (more specially nepotism in this example) in institutions which is discussed in upcoming questions of survey (See discussions on Graphic 4 and Graphic 5) have begun emerge. A problem solving method about involving municipality was reported as follows:

> I will take "receipt of discharge" from X Municipality. Officers say frequently "I couldn't find your file." But, it seems, he was asking a bribe. My two days passed like this. I had a relative there, a principal. He called the officer and chewed him out. The document, which I have waited for 2 days, came just in 5 minutes… It won't be without acquaintance, you need a mediator… ıf you have pull with someone, your works are going well… (Participant VI)

Again, the emphasis on the importance of close face to face relations with people working in public institutions and copmlaint about bureaucracy which both will be handled in next questions of survey (see Graphic 11) have been stated as follows:

> Our mayor has good communication skills, his door is open. The old one was from X Party, that's my own party, but he was a poor communicator. The current one is from Y Party but his communication is fine. Party affiliation is of secondary importance, relations are most important. At least they are listening problems. If they can, they find a way. If they cannot, they show a way. Village headman gets his service. In the past, bureaucracy was hindering us. Now, it was changed. It is not like that. (Participant VIII)

In experiences with public institutions, another interesting emphasis on importance of “knowing the ropes” is as follows:

> Public institutions are overhelming us because we are people wearing cap on our heads [we are from rural areas, uneducated people] Educated people like you know the ropes but they [bureaucrats] overhelm us. Of course, if you have a pull with someone in these institutions, you can make him do your works. If you are a poor-fellow, you suffer. You’re screwed. (Participant IX)

4. LOCAL ISSUES

4.1 Serious problems in community

Following question has been asked in order to learnthe problems that are found important within society by participants of survey and to understand the importance atrributed to the local problems.

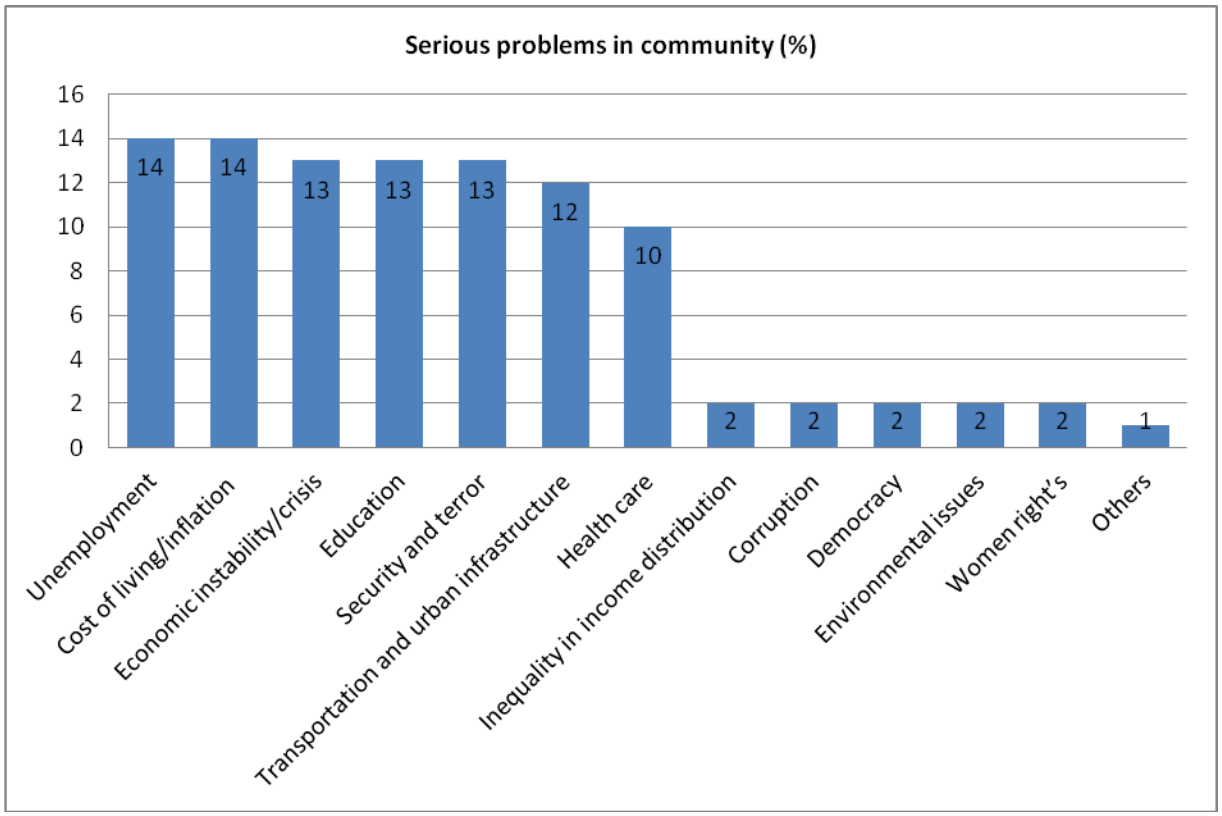
> "What in your view are the most serious **problems** in your community? List at least three starting from the most important."

The options have not been given to interviewees and the categories composed of their answers are listed below:

Unemployment, Cost of living/inflation, Economic instability/crisis; Education, Security and terror, Transportation and urban infrastructure, Health care, Inequality in income distribution, Corruption, Democracy, Environmental issues, Women right's, Others.

Responses given in this list are the topics which participants of survey specified most serious top three problems in the society in which they live. Their percentage in the total is shown in graphic below:

Graphic 3: Serious problems in community



According to interviewees, “Unemployment” and “Cost of living/inflation” with a rate of 14 % are in first group in the most serious, top three problems of the society.

“Economic instability/crisis”, “Education” and “Security and terror” are emerged with an equal rate of 13 %.

When the graphic is analyzed, it is seen that economic problems under the topic of “Unemployment” and “Cost of living/inflation” take the first two places, “Economic instability/ crisis”(13%) follows them and “Inequality in income distribution “ (2%) which can be related with economy and “Corruption” (2%) as economic problems are seen as most serious top three problems of society. Therefore, economic problems with the rate of 45% are the dominant pattern on the graphic. It is possible to explain this situation to some extent with ongoing economic crisis which affects whole world since 2008.

“Security and terror” (13%) as a problem specific to Turkey is another topic which takes part together with “Education” (13%) in the second group. “Transportation and urban infrastructure”, that stresses the quality of urban life, follows these topics with a rate of 12%.

As it is seen in graphic, each responses of “Inequality in income distribution”, “Corruption”, “Democracy”, “Environmental issues” and “Women right’s” are represented by a rate of 2% in the graphic. Because “the most serious top three problems” are asked in this study, answers are collected under main leading problems which can cause many other problems. Therefore, it cannot be concluded that issues of “Inequality in income distribution”, “Corruption”, “Democracy”, “Environmental issues” and “Women right’s” are not rated as important because they are represented by a rate of 2%. Graphic does not show that these topics are not taken into account but it just shows that these issues rank among nearly end in top three lists.

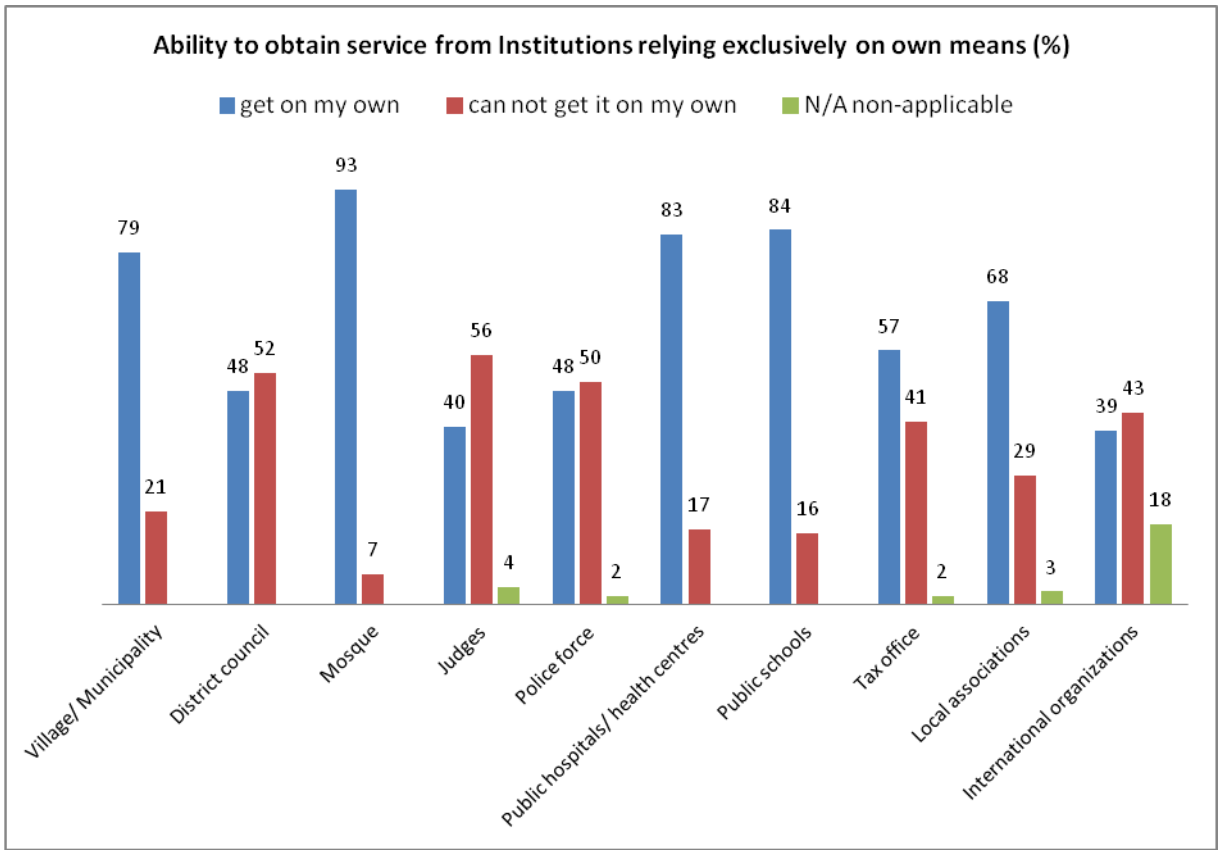
4.2 Ability to obtain service from Institutions relying exclusively on own means

Another question asked for the evaluation of relations with institutions below. With this question, it is expected people to present their ideas and experiences about whether they can get service on their own or not.

> "With which of the aforementioned institutions do you feel that you are not able to settle a matter/obtain a service with **your own resources**?" (Multiple choice possible).

Village/municipality	District council	Mosque
Judges	Police force	Public hospitals/health centers
Public schools	Tax Office	Local associations
International organizations	Others	

Graphic 4: Ability to obtain service from Institutions relying exclusively on own means



“Mosque” with a rate of 93% comes to the forefront as an institution in which “problems can be solved on its own”. In this institution, the ratio of person who says “I cannot solve problems on my own” is the lowest percentage with 7%.

“Mosque” is followed by “Public schools” with the rate of 84% of “I solve own my own”. Here, the response of “I cannot solve problems on my own” with the rate of 16% is second lowest ratio. Participants of survey assess frequently additional/exceptional payments, like “reenrollment deposit” (see Graphic 7) which is demanded in enrollment process, as a problem. However, they don’t see this as a problem that “cannot be solved on its own”.

In the graphic, third institution in which “problems can be solved on its own” is “Public hospitals/health centers” with the rate of 83% (this result is in line with Graphic 1). The response of “I cannot solve problems on my own” to this institution is third lowest rank with 17%.

After this three ranks, “Village/municipality”, “Local associations” and “Tax Office” have higher rate of “problems can be solved on its own” than the rate of “problems cannot be solved on its own”.

Institutions wherein rates of “problems can be solved on its own” is lower than rate of “problems cannot be solved on its own” are respectively “, “District council”, “Police force”, “Judges” and “International organizations” at the end. As it is seen in the graphic, “International organizations” are the institutions which have the highest rate of “I do not come cross to them/I have nothing to do with them, and therefore have no idea” option among participants of survey.

Two somewhat outlier responses might be examined closely. While one of the interviewees has said that “You cannot have access to anyone without pulling some strings.”, (Participant X) another interviewee has said “You can do everything on your own now. It will be a lie, if I say, you can’t. They are helping, I am pleased.” (Participant II). A somewhat reconciling opinion was provided by another interviewee: “If it is a difficult task, you need to take someone with you. However, if it is an ordinary task, they are doing it in any case, when you fulfill the procedures or give money for documents etc” (Participant V). The emphasis here is that citizens do not need exceptional methods to reach a service which they deserve already legally, however, when illegal or borderline issues are in involved, some out of ordinary methods are necessary. Thus, we can say that there has been made a distinction between two exceptional behaviors (between exceptional payments and a bit cronyism for services that people are legally deserved and exceptional payments or involvement of others for ‘illegal’, not-so-legal demands).

Apart from those somewhat ‘extreme’ cases, more typical responses for the focal point are reproduced below:

> My father has died, and inheritance transactions needed to be done. There were some problems. I went to the land registry office. I tried to cope with them for 4 days but I couldn’t. They did not do my work. On the fifth day I offered a bribe and then it is solved. But now, there is no that kind of thing, they are working well. (Participant IV)

> I tried to get an appointment from highway authority), they gave an appointment for months later. An acquaintance is needed to make your work done… (Participant XII)

Another interviewee gave a typical response related with the 'renewal' of human resources and reform in public institutions:

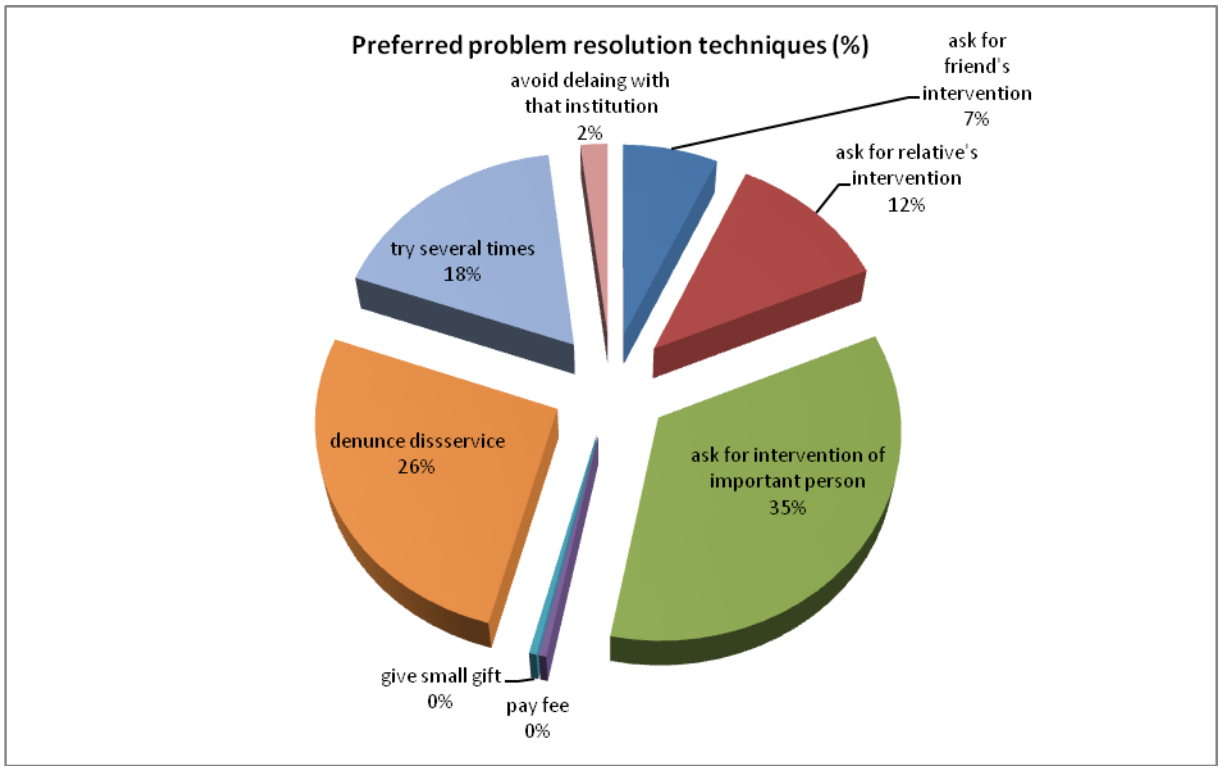
> Behaviors of new generation in public institutions are fine. Old ones were expecting bribe. New chief of police is like a friend of you, you couldn't have an answer from the previous one. The same is true for doctors, tax offices now. Services of new generation, newly appointed ones are better. Once in the past, I was asking my file, "Your file is with Mr. X" he says… three people were sitting around the table. I went to principal and I complained. It turned out that, Mr. X was sitting around next table but he would not say "It is me". Finally principal solved my issue. But my 300 Liras and three days were lost. Participant VI)

4.3 Preferred problem resolution techniques

Well, if we don't solve problems on our own, what are we doing? The tools that used to solve the problems emerge from the relations with institutions, have been tried to be evaluated by the question below:

> "How would you advice a person who can't successfully deal with institutions to **resolve** his problem?" (More than one answers possible):
>
> I would advice him to:
>
> - Ask for intervention from a friend
> - Ask for intervention from a relative
> - Ask for intervention from an important person
> - Pay a fee
> - Give a small gift
> - Denounce the disservice to the competent authorities
> - Try several times until I get a good result
> - Avoid in general dealing with that institution
> - Don't know

Graphic 5: Preferred problem resolution techniques



The most preferred option emerged from survey is “Ask for intervention from an important person” with a rate of 35 %. These important people are big guns who are effective and influential in institutions, will act as a mediator in solving problems. Relatedly, options of “Ask for intervention from a relative” and “Ask for intervention from a friend” are represented by the rates of 12% and 7% respectively. These results combined stress the importance of “personal solutions” in problem solving. In other words, personal solutions are seen as by and large the most significant option in problem solving.

“Pay a fee” and “give a small gift” options each preferred by only one participant. Thus, they have not been reflected in the graphic. This might said to be captured well in the following explanation:

> You need to have something for gift and bribe. In fact, even to give a bribe, you need a relative. But bribe is declining compared to the past. Bribe has been helved, declined fifty percent compared to the past. Both sides, who gave the bribe and who accepted the bribe, are afraid now. (Participant VI)

It can be said that petty corruption is related with both economic situation of citizens and that it has become harder as a result of the expansion of some measures such as increasing the capacity of public institutions, transition to computerized work places, and recording with security cameras and so on.

The answer in the second rank in the graphic is “Denounce the disservice to the competent authorities”. This response can be evaluated as a positive response in terms of administration of institutions. Option of “Try several times until I get a good result” is preferred by 18% of the people involved, while the statement “Avoid in general dealing with that institution” is was chosen only by 2% of the participants.

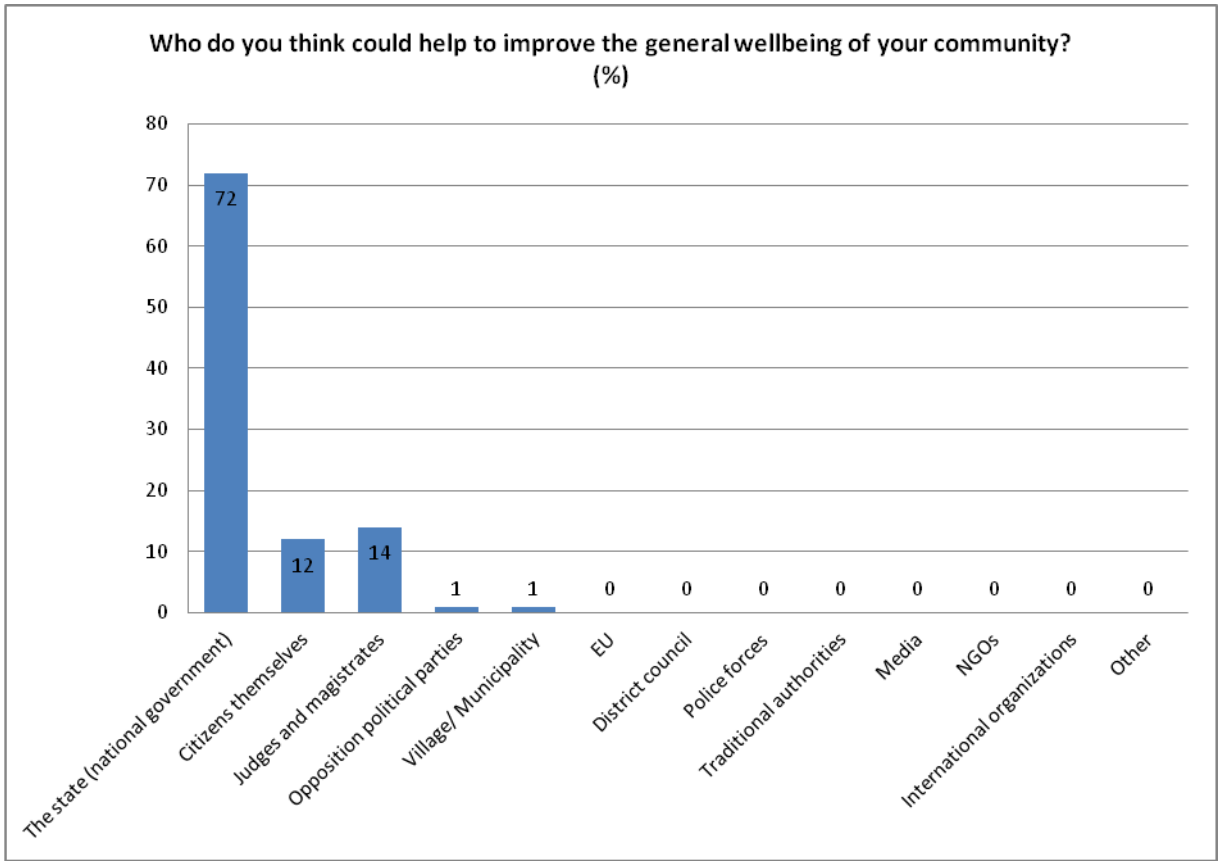
4.4 Institutions important for improving well being

The question, which aims at gathering the views of interviewees about the institutions that could help to improve general wellbeing of their society, is worded as follows:

"Who do you think could help to improve the general wellbeing of your community?"

EU (Europe only)	The state (national government)
Opposition political parties	District council
Village/municipal council	Police forces
Judges and magistrates	Traditional authorities
Citizens themselves	Media
NGOs	International organizations
Other (please specify)	

Graphic 6: Institutions important for improving well being



Participants of survey have preferred the option of “The state (national government)” with a rate of 72%. Beyond the assessments within the frame of trust in institutions and experiences with institutions, this finding indicates that, national government and its policies (positive or negative) are seen as playing significant role of improving or worsening of status quo, Typical response about this topic is as following:

> Only those in power can increase the public welfare. Because crops are being sold for five liras for five years. Diesel fuel price increases incrementally every year but crops are still being sold for five liras per kilo. Therefore, I cannot help the recovery, improvement of my life, it is in the hands of those in power.” (Participant I)

It seems that attitudes of interviewees reflected here are part of a feeling that central government is/should be responsible for the well being of society, rather than pointing out positive or negative tone towards government and its policies. Two other options emerged from the survey are “Judges and magistrates” and “Citizens themselves”. Yet, even the sum of all options cannot come closer to the “National government” option.

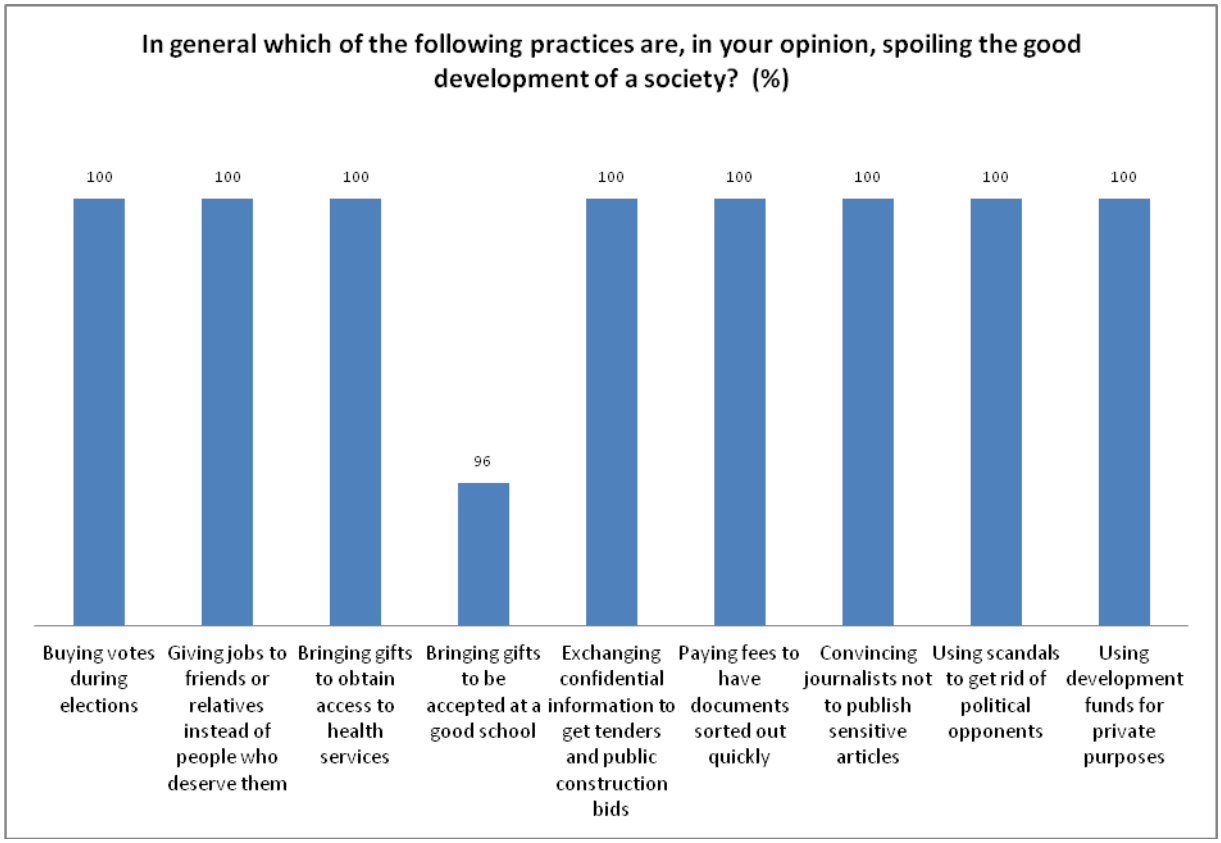
4.5 Practices against good society

A question has been asked to obtain the views of survey participants about the some hypothetic practices that are incompatible with the development of the society:

> "In general which of the following practices are, in your opinion, spoiling the good development of a society?" (Multiple choices possible).

- Buying votes during elections
- Giving jobs to friends or relatives instead of people who deserve them
- Bringing gifts to obtain access to health services
- Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school
- Exchanging confidential information to get tenders and public construction bids
- Paying fees to have documents sorted out quickly
- Convincing journalists not to publish sensitive articles
- Using scandals to get rid of political opponents
- Using development funds for private purposes

Graphic 7: Practices against good society



Except four participants who have not evaluated the option of “Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school” as an incompatible situation with the development of a society, all practices were regarded as incompatible situations with the development of society by all survey participants.

5. SOCIAL NORMS

5.1 Importance of customs

Participants of the survey have been asked to evaluate the importance of customs below on the scale of "Not important", "Fairly important" and "Very important".

"In your community, how important is to:"

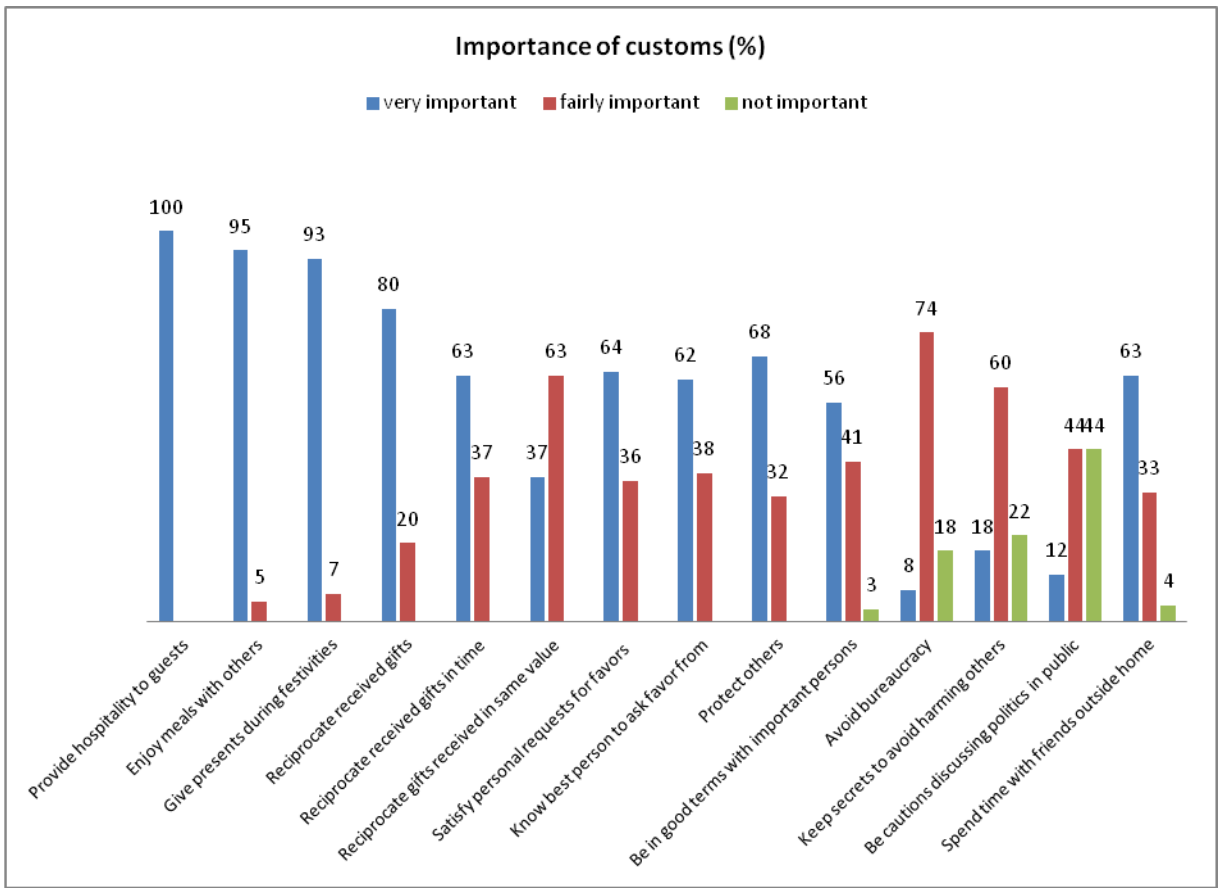
- Provide hospitality to guests
- Enjoy meals with other people
- Give presents during festive celebrations
- Reciprocate received gifts
- Reciprocate received gifts in time
- Reciprocate received gifts in same value
- Satisfy a personal request of favor
- Know who is the best person to ask a favor to
- Protect a person if I am in the position to do it
- Be in good terms with important persons
- Avoid bureaucracy because it is inefficient
- Keep a secret not to harm another person even if this is not legal
- Be cautious when talking of politics in public
- Spend time with friends outside the home

All participants of survey have chosen the option of "Provide hospitality to guests" as "Very important" without any hesitation. Hospitality is one of the most common and important values in Turkish Society.. The Turkish word "*misafirperver*" is composed of the words "m*isafir*" (guest) and "*perver*" (phil) suffix which creates word with the meanings of "care, feed, raise, defensive, affectionate"

Even if the changes experienced as consequences of modernization and in the meanings and practices of this concept, being not hospitable can be assumed (commonly) a serious personal shortcoming[6]. A typical expression about entertaining a guest is as follows: "Entertaining a guest, drinking a glass of tea with him/her increases abundance of that house" (Participant V). The option of "Enjoy meals with other people" has been evaluated substantially together with the option of "Provide hospitality to guests" and seen "Very important" with a rate of 95%.

[6] A short assessment on hospitality in society of Turkey can be found in this monography: Delaney, Carol, 1991. *The Seed and the Soil: Gender and Cosmology in Turkish Village Society*. University of California Press.

Graphic 8: Importance of customs



Third topic appeared in the graphic is "Give presents during festive celebrations" with a rate of 93%. Interviewees have assessed this situation largely in the context of marriages and weddings [7]. A typical

[7] It can be said that gift as a social/historical fact is a special mean of communication between the rulers and the ruled in society of Turkey. Reindl-Kiel, who expressed this idea in the context of Ottoman society, says that "Types of the selected gift were determined by the statue of accepter besides the giver. While the gift package of Governor and Governor of Sanjak generally included especially silver carafe, stoup, server and luxury fabrics; Gadi asker's and members of the financial department's package also included books." (Reindl-Kiel, Hedda, 2007. "The Gift in Ottoman", in *Gift Book*, Eds. Emine Gürsoy Naskali, Aylin Koç, İstanbul, Kitabevi Publications, ("Osmanlı'da Hediye", *Hediye Kitabı*, Editörler: Emine Gürsoy Naskali, Aylin Koç, İstanbul, Kitabevi Yayınları.)

On the other hand, the gifting process before marriage, which is the common types of gifts in Turkey is evaluated by Türkdoğan such as: "(…) it is aimed to symbolize the bride and groom's families' socia-economic statu." (Türkdoğan, Orhan. 1976. "Social Description of the Custom of *Başlık* in to the Marriage"*, I. International Turkish Folk Congress' Papers*, VI., p. 315. Ankara, Republic of Turkey Ministry of Culture Publications, ("Evlenmede Başlık Geleneğinin Sosyolojik Açıklaması*", I. Uluslararası Türk Folklor Kongresi Bildirileri*, VI. Cilt. S. 315. Ankara, Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.). Meanwhile, the gifting before the marriage is an important tool for social solidarity in Turkish culture.

expression of an interviewee is as follows: “It is needed to give something in return for his/her gift, for sure. We (refers to weddings) have resentments like ‘I had pinned gold coin on you, you did not pin’” (Participant IV). “Reciprocate received gifts” has been evaluated as “Very important” with a rate of 80% and as “Fairly important” with a rate of 20%. This situation is explained by these words: “If you are able to do it, you can reciprocate received gifts.” (Participant VIII). “Reciprocate received gifts in time” has been found “Very important” with a rate of 63% and “Fairly important” with a rate of 37%. Case of “Reciprocate received gifts in same value” has been found “Very important” with 37% and “Fairly important” with 63%. The sentence of “There is no such a thing as big gift or small gift. Gift is gift.” (Participant VII) reflect a common sentiment.

As shown in the graphic, “Satisfy a personal request of favor”, “Know who is the best person to ask a favor to”, “Protect a person if I am in the position to do it” and “Be in good terms with important persons”, exhibit a similar pattern. One interviewee has summarized ithe mportance of these situations as follows:

> “In order to be able to help people, one need to know the right person that can be asked for help and one needs to be in a situation which one can ask for help… When you help a person, you share his/her happiness.” (Participant IV).

Option of “Avoid bureaucracy because it is inefficient” has the most “Fairly important” rate of all with 74%. It has been found as “Very important” by 8% and as “Not important” by 18%.

“Keep a secret not to harm another person even if this is not legal” has been evaluated as “Fairly important” with a rate of 60%. When “Very important” rate with 18% is included, it seems that 78% of interviewees are in tendency to keep the secrets which can harm to another person, even this is not legal. Only 22% people stated the otherwise.

The case of “Be cautious when talking of politics in public” is seen “Fairly important” with a rate of 44% and is evaluated “Very important” with a rate of 12%. 44% of interviewees have given out the response of “Not important”.

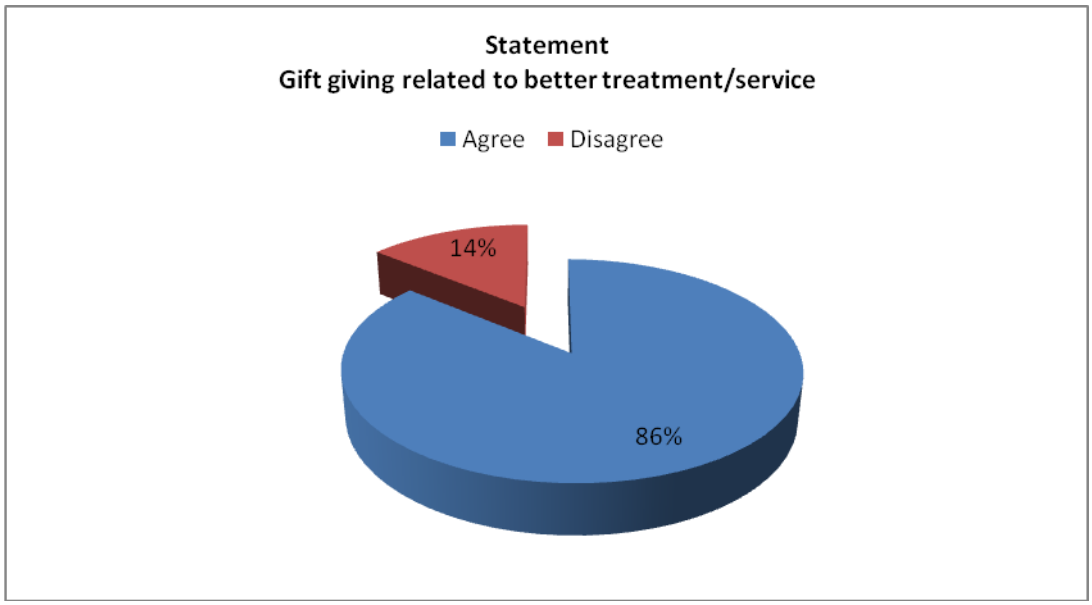
“Spend time with friends outside the home”, last situation in the rank, is represented by the responses of “Very important” with a high rate of 63%.

5.2 Statement: Gift giving related to better treatment/service

At this point of survey, two questions have been asked: First of them, is about the effect of gifts on service quality in institutions. Question has been asked as follows:

> Do you agree with the following statement: "gift giving creates a bond where people know they will receive better treatment/service next time they visit the clinic/office?"

Graphic 9: Gift giving related to better treatment/service



As it is seen on the graphic, while 86% of interviewees have thought that giving gift ensures getting a better treatment next time, 14% of interviewees have not agreed with the statement.

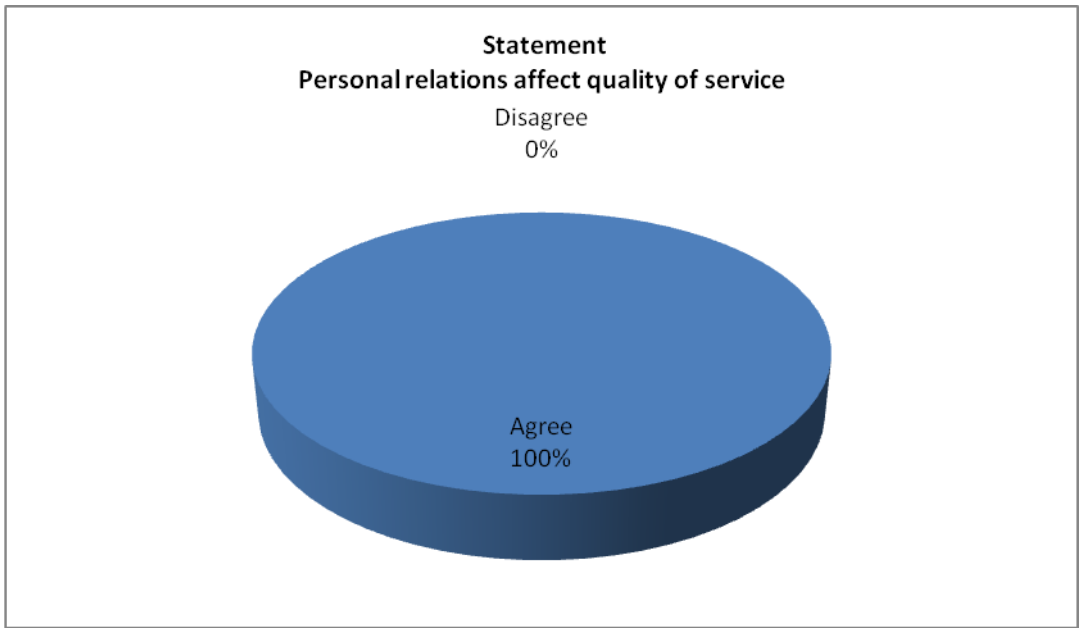
Assessments of two interviewees on this subject are as follows: "In here, among us, being acquaintance matters more than gift... being acquaintance helps you more. Gift is not very common." (Participant I) and "Yes, gift makes the things easier, but it is not proper, everyone should do his/her task." (Participant XII).

5.3 Statement: Personal relations affect quality of service

Another case question is not about gifts, but about the link between personal relations with the positions in institutions and service quality of institutions. Question has been stated in the survey as follows:

> Do you agree with the following statement: "the quality of the services obtained is associated to the patient's/citizen's personal relationship with the service provider?"

Graphic 10: Personal relations affect quality of service



All interviewees have agreed with the statement that quality of services of is associated with personal relations with the providers. Graphic 10 emphasizes one more time (as in Graphic 5) the importance of "personal relations" with (people in) institutions.

5.4 Agreement/disagreement with different scenarios

Under this subtitle, participants of survey have been given some hypothetic scenarios in order to understan behavioral patterns and social values. Thefocus of the cases was the question: “What are the tendencies of interviewees in various situations and how do they justify them?”. From this framework, there have been five scenarios in the survey.

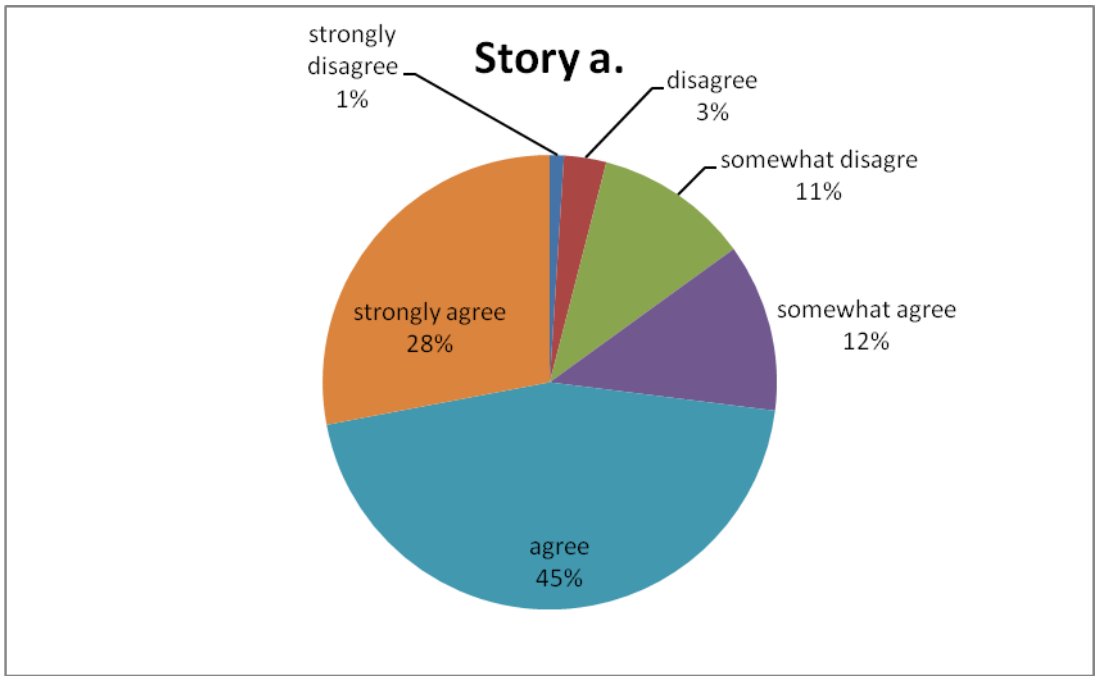
The question below has been asked at the beginning of these scenarios and participants of survey have been asked to prefer on the scale of “Strongly disagree”, “Disagree”, “Somewhat disagree”, “Somewhat agree”, “Agree”, “Strongly agree”:

> “The following stories have happened in other countries in the world. Please indicate if you would in principle agree with the behavior of the characters”

Story a.

In the district council a new person has been appointed recently. This person is very hard-working and loves to do things transparently. He would never accept any fee or gift from citizens to sort out problems. For doing this he avoids people and lives a lonely life all by himself, not to be put under pressure for demands of favors. For this, local people avoid him.

Graphic 11: Story a



As can beseen in Graphic 11, responses of “Strongly agree” with 28%, “Agree” with 45% and “Somewhat agree” with 12% have been given to hypothetic situation in Story a.

Explanations of interviewees who gave one of the “Agree” responses are as follows:

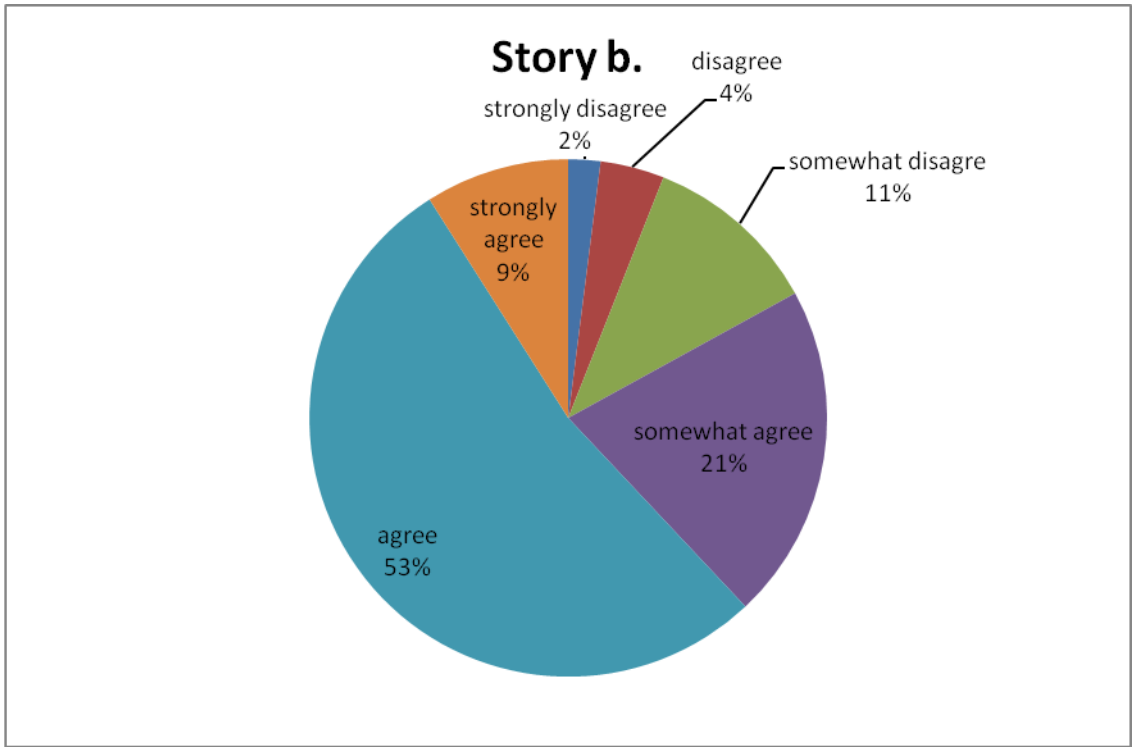
> There were 50 people around the former mayor, he would bestow a privilege on them. Those having acquainted with him used to get things done, while people that were outsider, disadvantaged couldn’t get things done. But current mayor is just like in this question. (Participant I)
>
> Answer of this question depends on the people. In fact, it is a right behavior. This behavior can be called as “being equal to everyone” too. Being equal to everyone is a right behavior too. (Participant VIII)
>
> It is a right behavior but it does not suit citizen’s interest… (Participant XII)

Interviewees, who choose “Disagree”, have evaluated the scenario as follows: “We love friendly people, we don’t love cold fishes” (Participant V) and “It is a right behavior but there is no validity for us. In current system, he can neither behave like this, nor people allow him to do so.” (Participant VI).

Story b.

He is a very resourceful person, he does what he can to help his friends and relatives and he knows a lot of people. When he needs a favor he always finds someone to turn to because he has always helped out. Unfortunately, last week he has been jailed for fraud and corruption. Most of the people who know him, however, still esteem and care for him for what he has done to them.

Graphic 12: Story b



As it is seen in Graphic 12, responses have been given to scenario in Story b. “Strongly agree” with 9%, “Agree” with 53% and “Somewhat agree” with 21%.

On the other hand, responses of “Somewhat disagree” with 11%, “Disagree” with 4%, and “Strongly disagree” with 2% have been given.

Exemplifying the responses clustered on “Agree” scale, one participant commented as “The accusations may be slander... If people trust him, they must know something” (Participant XIV)

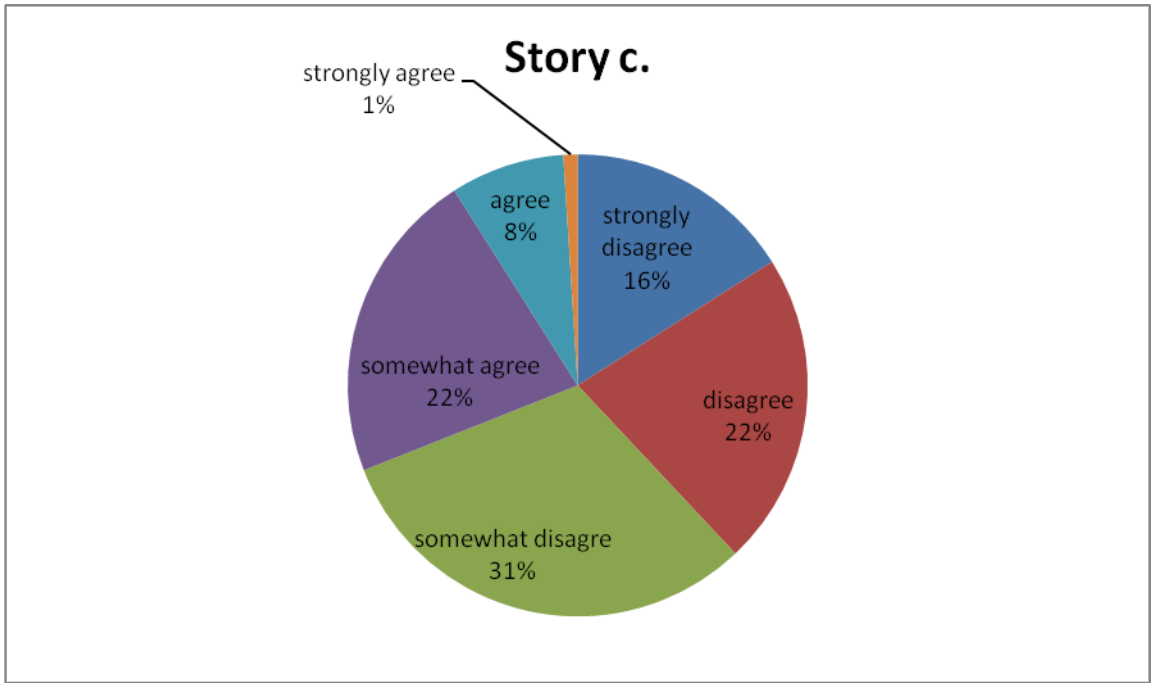
In addition, comments such as “If man had a fault, it is not needed to erase him immediately and completely. It is needed to win him. He will serve his sentence within the limits of the law but you can’t crush him totally.” have been made. (Participant VIII)

Another comment to this scenario is that allegations of corruption may be used as a mean of political pressure: “Some things can be done politically. They may do it as political pressure. They are not right.” (Participant VII).

Story c.

A family has plans to build a new house in a village. They have asked what the official procedure is and are ready to follow it carefully. After some months everything turns difficult and they realize they would not get ahead of it without paying some fee to the right person. They decide to leave the village and look for another where things are going according to the rules.

Graphic 13: Story c



As it is seen in Graphic 13, while the responses of “Strongly agree” with 1%, “Agree” with 8% and “Somewhat agree” with 22% have been given to the hypothetic case in Story c (the sum of responses on the “Agree” scale has come up to 31%); “Somewhat disagree” with 31%, “Disagree” with the rate of 22% and “Strongly disagree” with the rate of16% have been given as response.

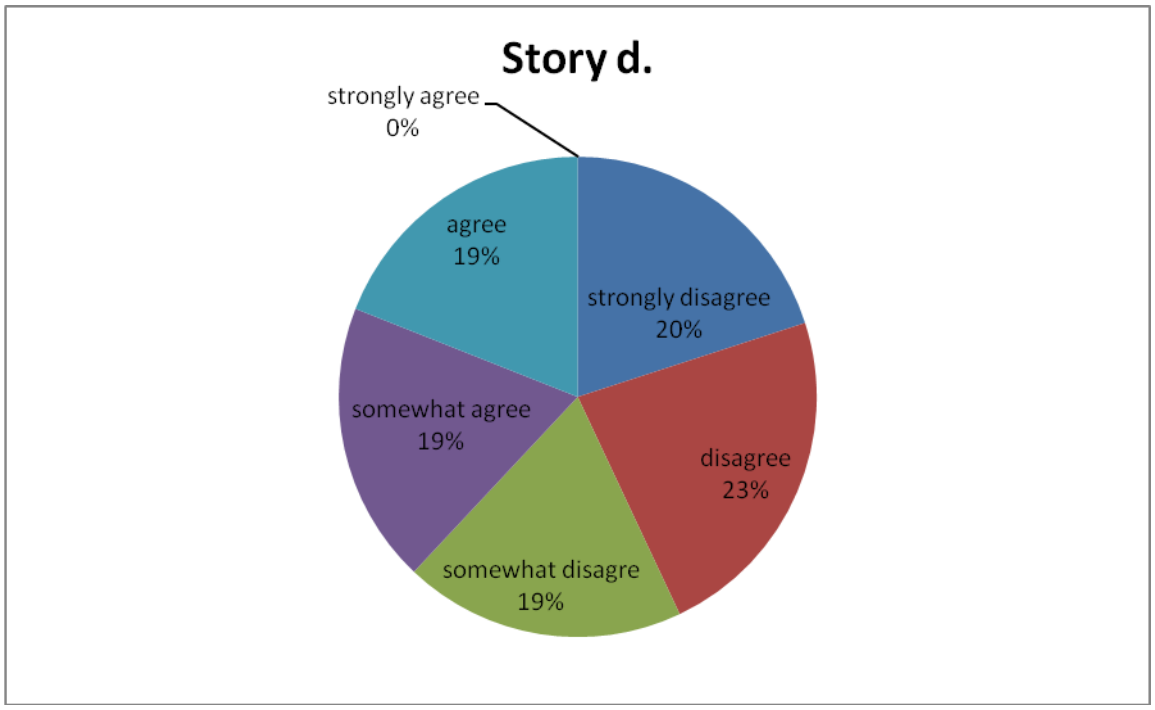
Illustrative comments of supporters of the idea to leave the village are as follows: “If they left to not give a bribe, it is a right behavior.” (Participant V) and “It is right in some cases. What is the value of a house in village! The game is not worth to the candle. And also giving bribe is not right either.” (Participant I)

On the other hand, those who opposed to the behavior of leaving the village have explained situation as follows: “Where is the brave fellow to do it… Sometimes you cannot do the right thing. You cannot take such a big risk.” (Participant IV), “Getting the job done by giving a bribe is not right, but being displaced is not right either. You have to continue to fight.” (Participant VIII), “They should pay, they have begun to build things after all.” (Participant XIII), “But you have already started, you have already put money… You will give some things to someone… If you went another place, you would meet the same situation again… They should not go...” (Participant XII), “It is a difficult question, their order will be damaged. Is it easy to move from one place to another ? Behavior is right, but they will face with the same situation in there, where they moved to.” (Participant XIV).

Story d.

He has a small business in preparing sandwiches which he sells to local schools. Last year he was successful to win a tender and gained a contract in one local primary school. Unfortunately the school head has changed this year and his contract has expired. Before applying for the next tender he looks for an influential person who will introduce him the new school head.

Graphic 14: Story d



As it is seen in Graphic 14, the response of “Strongly agree” has not been given to the hypothetic situaion in Story d. The responses of “Agree” with the rate of 19% and “Somewhat agree” with the rate of 19% have been given. (The sum of responses on “Agree” scale has come up to 38%). On the other hand, responses of “Somewhat disagree” with 19%, “Disagree” with 23% and “Strongly

disagree" with 20% have been given. (The sum of responses on "Disagree" scale has come up to 62%).

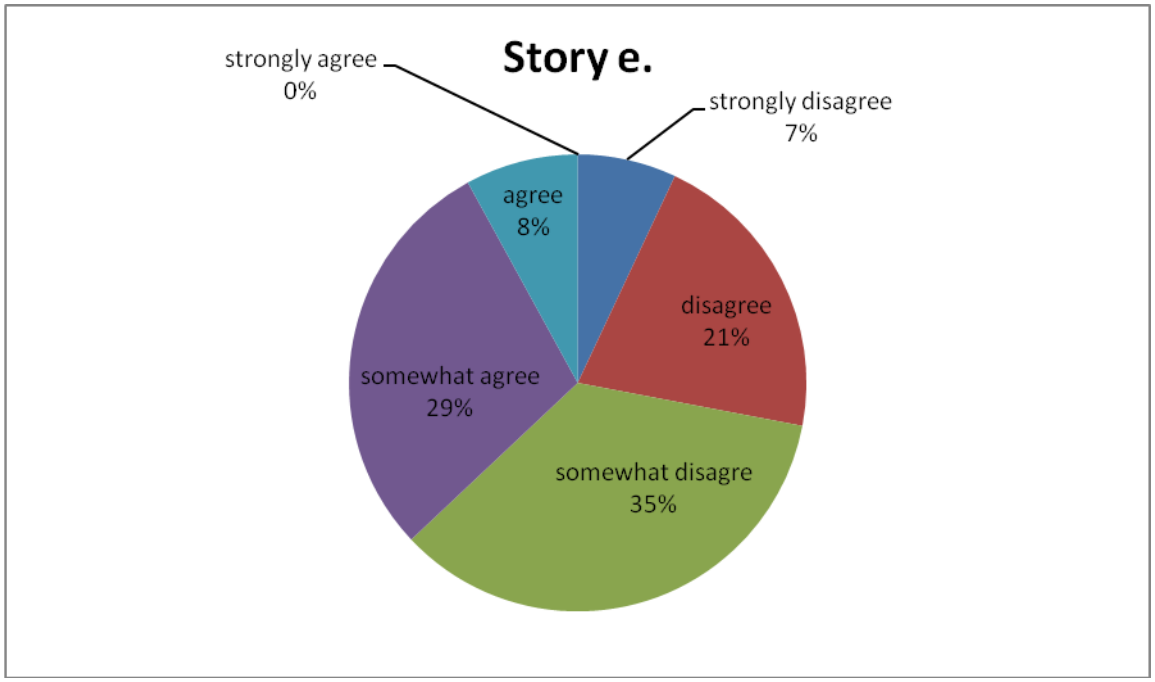
Some explanations for the responses on "Disagree" are as follows: " This work will be given to a person who does it well. 'Those kids are our kids. Let him do it properly. It should be given to a person who does the job properly." (Participant II), "There is no work without help in our country. You deserve, but you cannot get the job. You don't deserve, but you get it by finding the right person… That is not right." (Participant XV), "The school principal takes some money from canteens. He demands 5-10 thousand liras per annum. In fact, it is wrong from the start. If there isn't any problem, the canteen shouldn't be changed just because the school head has changed. Old one should continue to work." (Participant IV)

Some explanations for the responses on "Agree" scale are as follows: "He will earn money. What shall he do?.. Necessity…" (Participant IX), " Nobody says for no reason to anybody that "let's come here and manage it". What shall the man do?, He is right…" (Participant V)

Story e.

She runs a local Ngo for human rights protection. She is very active and well established in the region, but she also has a lot of competitors. There was a large bid by an international donor last year so she applied, being one of the most successful in that field. In the end she failed because she was not aware that some politicians wanted a share of the money to approve the projects. Next time she will secure the proper agreement with them first.

Graphic 15: Story e



There was no “Strongly agree” response to the hypothetic situation in Story d. Responses of “Agree” with a rate of 8% and “Somewhat agree” with a rate of have been given. (The sum of responses on “Agree” scale” were 37%) . On the other hand “Somewhat disagree” with a rate of 35%, “Disagree” with rate of 21% and “Strongly disagree” with a rate of 7% have been given as responses. (The sum of responses on “Disagree” scale has been 63%).

One example for responses on “Disagree” scale is: “We cannot do all our tasks by asking for intervention of some people, no…” (Participant IX). An example for responses on the “Agree” scale is as follows: “If a very necessary work is being done and if the money will be spent on a much necessary/needed task, it can be, I agree. Otherwise it is not right, I disagree.” (Participant VIII).

6. VALUES

6.1 Self-identification with character from "True of myself" to "Not at all true of myself"

In the survey, we have tried to understand how the participants are relate to themselves some values through gauging their association with some hypothetical characters.

A Five-scale tool involving the following options was used in evaluating portrayals of each hypothetical character: "True of Myself", "Mostly True of Myself", "About Halfway True of Myself", "Slightly True Of Myself", "Not at All True of Myself".

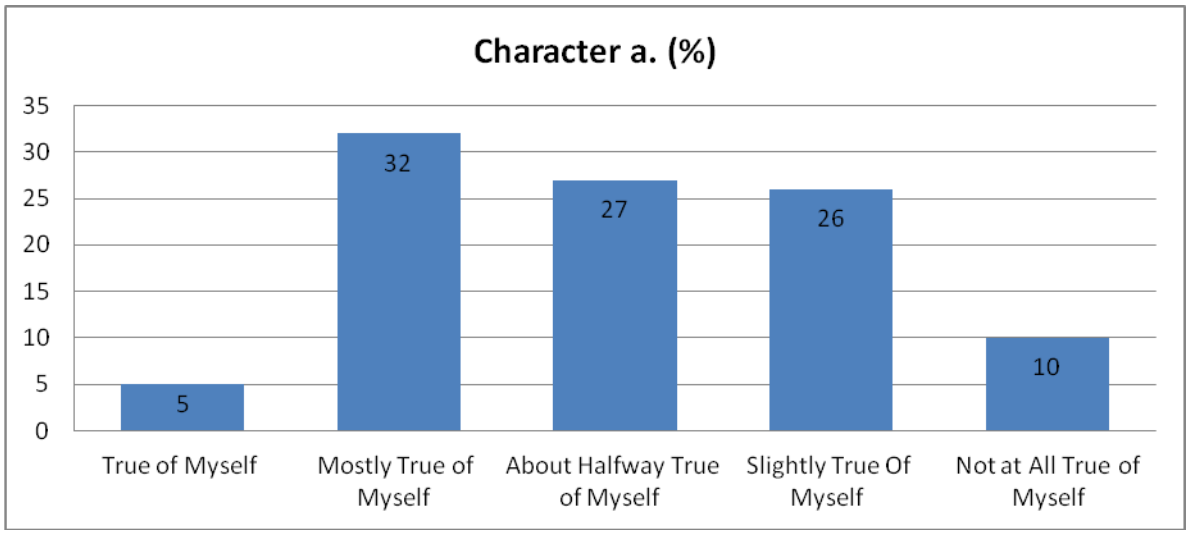
Portrayals of characters stated in this group begin with an explanatory sentence:

> From 1 (Not at All True of Myself) to 5 (True of Myself) can you tell me how similar you think this person is to you:

Character a.

He lives his life as a fully autonomous individual, trying to rely on other people's help as less as possible.

Graphic 16: Character a



As it can be seen in the graphic above, a great majority of the respondents have somewhat identified themselves with Character a, albeit with a varying degrees of association.

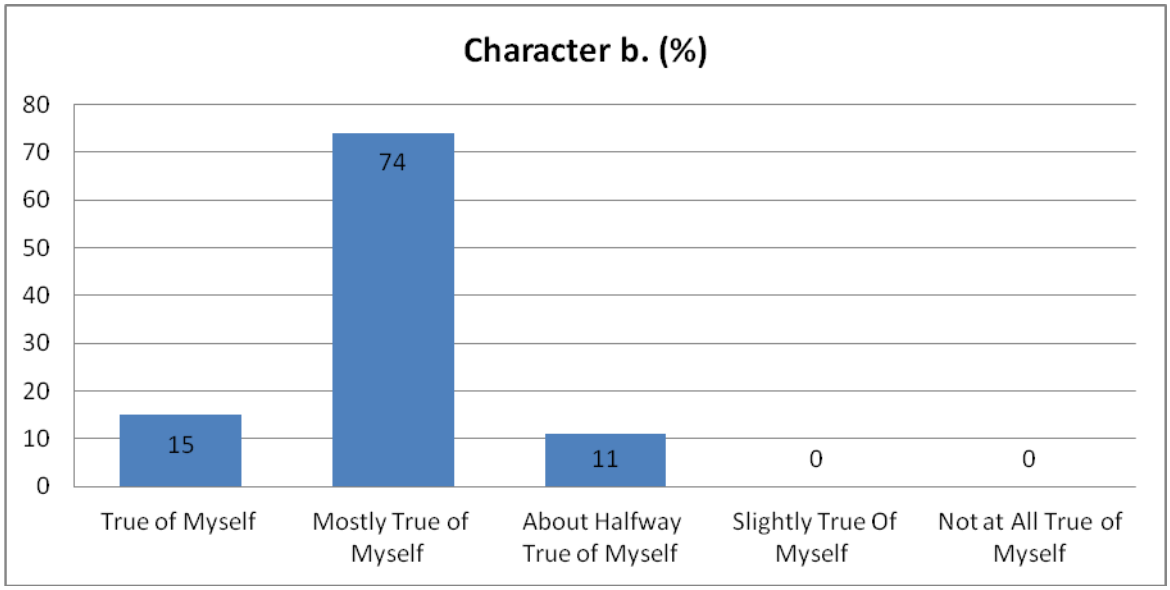
Some negative responses given related to Character a are as follows: “Here, everyone is in need of other. You live alone in big cities, but you can’t live alone especially in small places most particularly in villages.” (Participant VI). “Neighborhood and cooperation are common here, among us. Especially in small places, when the things were not done in time, everyone helps each other to get things done.” (Participant I)

It is interesting to note that “Slightly True Of Myself” with a rate of 26% and “Not at All True of Myself” with a rate of 10% are reflected in the preferences of urban participants.

Character b.

He would not break the rules because rules are what make order in a society.

Graphic 17: Character b

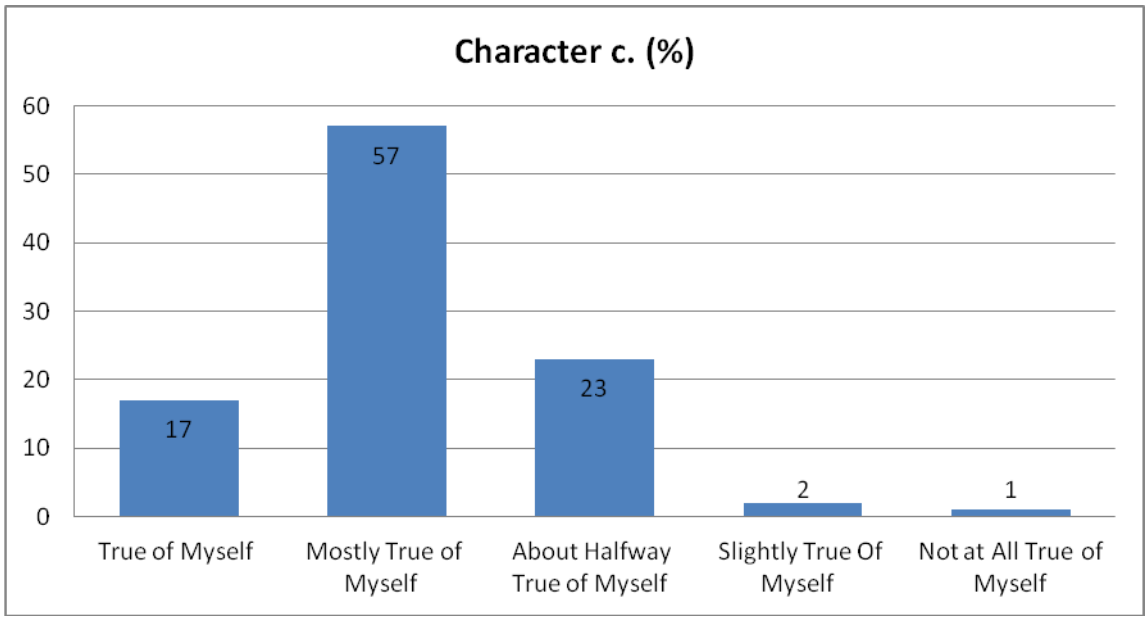


All of the respondents have somehow strongly identified themselves with Character b: It seems that this character is perceived by the participants as a socially accepted, a ‘rightful’ figure.

Character c.

He thinks that traditions must be respected because they make up one person's culture.

Graphic 18: Character c

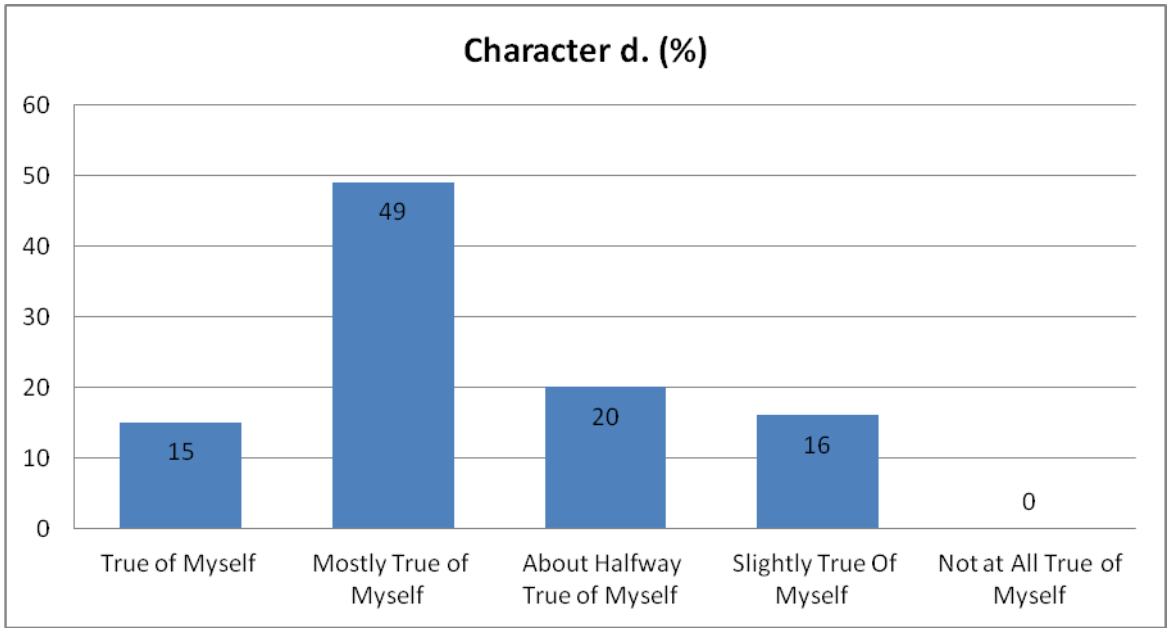


As it can be seen in the graphic above, the participants have identified themselves mostly with Character c. As in the case with Character b, this character, too, has been evaluated highly as having a socially acceptable, right person.

Character d.

He believes that young generations should learn more from listening to the advices from elderly people.

Graphic 19: Character d

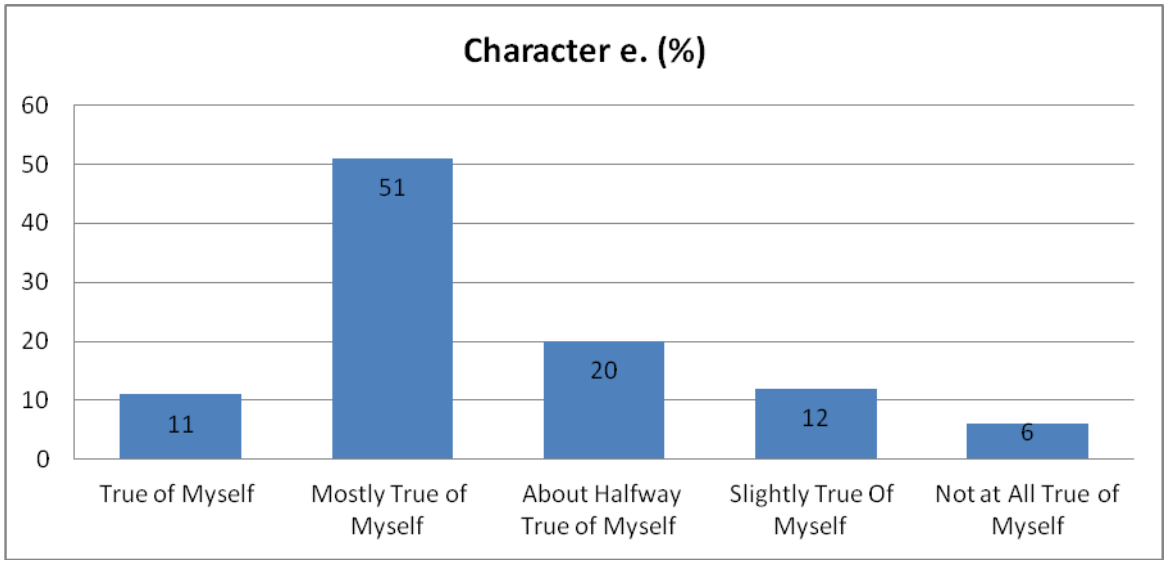


Almost half of the participants have emphasized mostly the importance of advices of elderly people.

Character e.

He is very religious because religion helps people to be part of a community and get together regularly.

Graphic 20: Character e

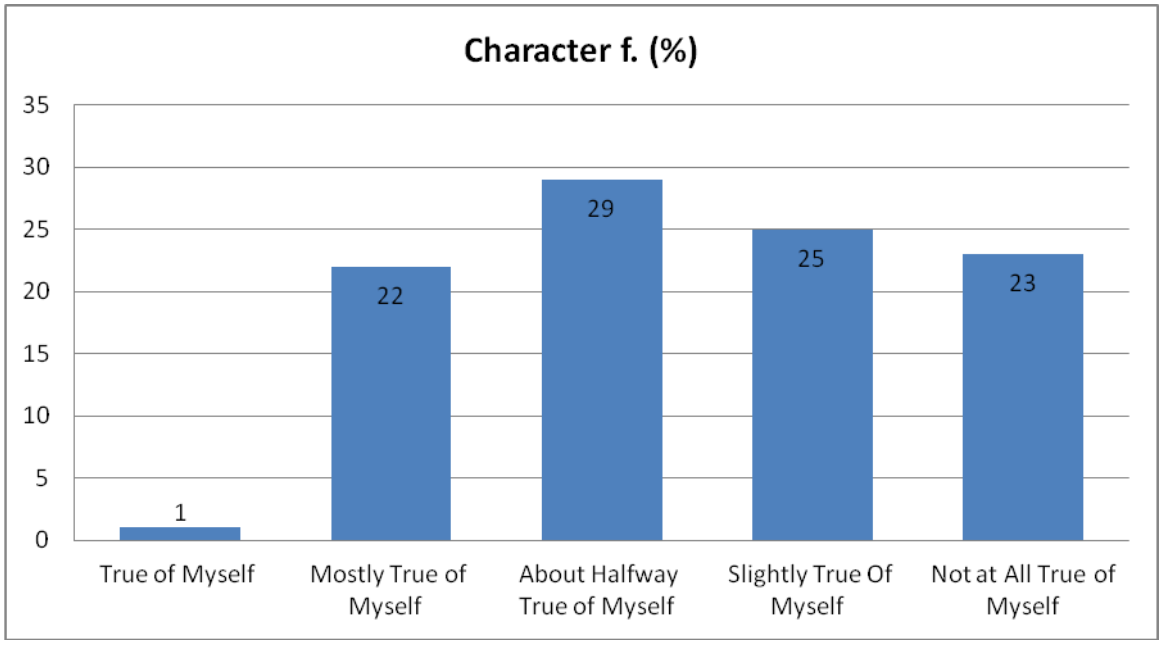


As it can be seen in the graphic 20, majority of the respondents have somewhat identified the person depicted in the statement. While there are some people explicitly disassociate themselves with this hypothetical character, it is important to note that some of those that akin themselves to the character have nevertheless felt a need to add such reservations as “I am religious, but not too much.” Their reasoning for such an addendum usually related to perception of associating the term of “religiosity” to “terrorism”, “fundamentalism” , “bigotry” and so on.

Character f.

He thinks that strangers should not be accepted in the community if most of the people don't want so.

Graphic 21: Character f



May be the most interesting response related to this character dwells on the acceptance of strangers into community:

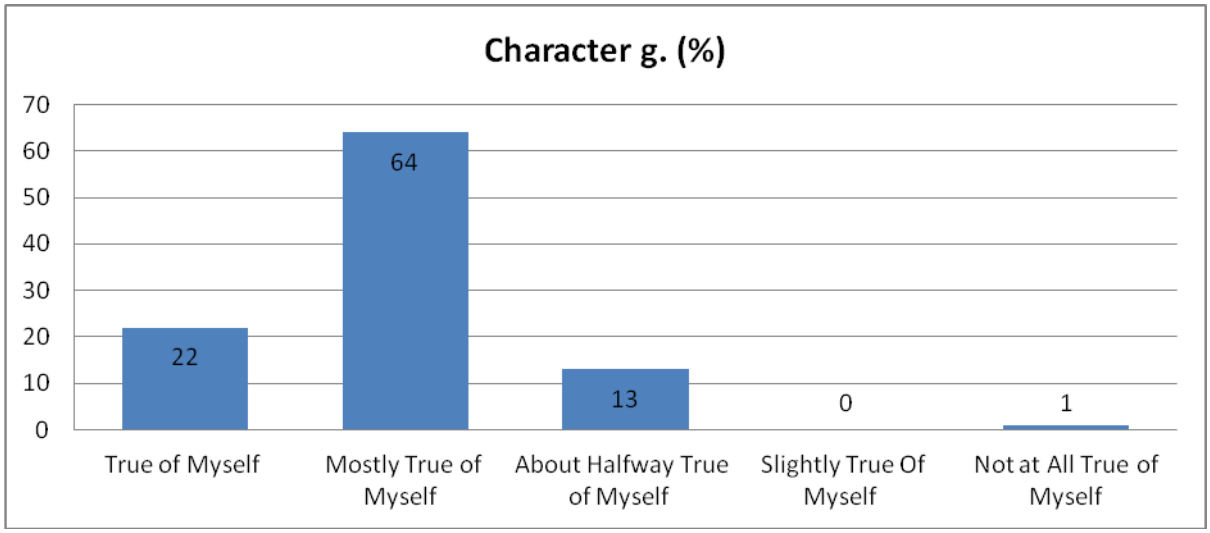
> "Some people are very adapting and conforming while others are not much so. If we know that you will not give any harm to us, we would embrace you... There is a dam near the pond. A worker who used to work in its construction was being loved in the village. Peasants have said to him "All right!" and they have sold him a house. But after a while, this worker who bought the house has sold it to drunkard. Drunkard has frequently clashed with the peasants. Now, as was in this case, an incompatible man damages the community. (…) The road separating two fields is called "*tonç*" (border stripe) in our local language. Before stranger came, those stripes were insomuch wide that cars could pass through between two fields. Now, since newcomers don't have such a custom, they redraw their boundaries so as to include these stripes into their own field. One cannot become rich from capturing that piece of land; it is an unethical thing to do. This is why strangers become problem." (Participant IV)

Another explanation has to with considering general idea of community in acceptance of strangers into the community: “We ask our neighbors when we are about to sell our land. We say that, ‘I am selling my field. A stranger will come. What are you saying?’ We ask definitely.” (Participant XI). Another response has made reference to a proverb: “There will always be a spoiled one in a sack of walnuts.” (Participant XII)

Character g.

His house is often visited by guests and he has an intense social life.

Graphic 22: Character g

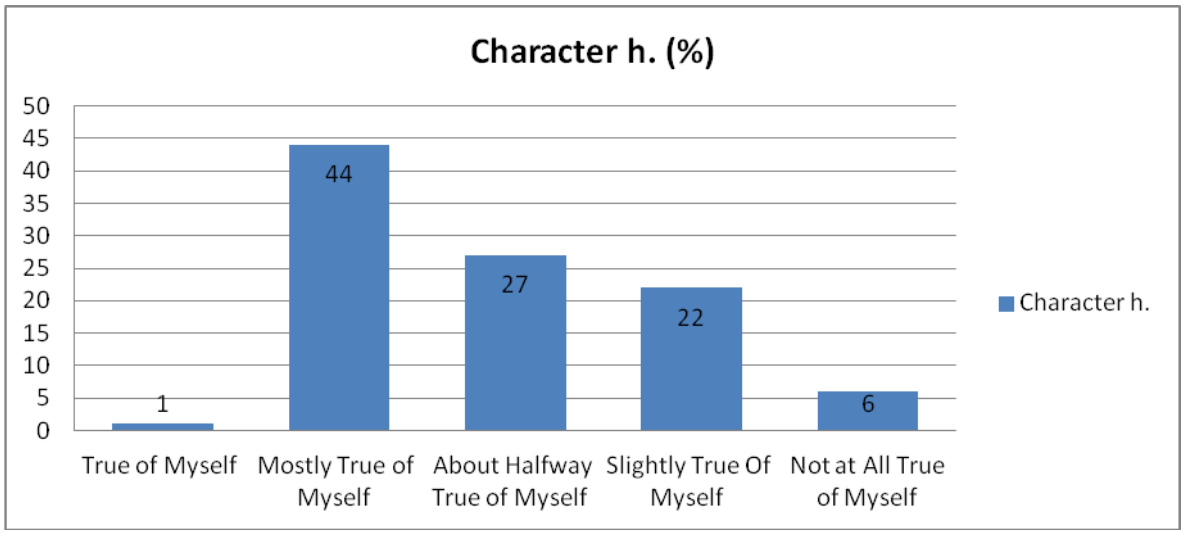


This character has some relations to the previously mentioned issue of posting and hospitability. (see Graphic 8) As such, it drew a high resonance with the participants. The main point of those do not completely identify with the character lays not with hospitality but with “maintaining an intensive social life.”: their interpretation is that spending too much time “outside” might mean socializing with people outside ones’ family, neighbors, and relatives, in which case these participants will not consider themselves associating with the character g.

Character h.

He thinks that being loyal to one's superior or boss is a very important virtue.

Graphic 23: Character h

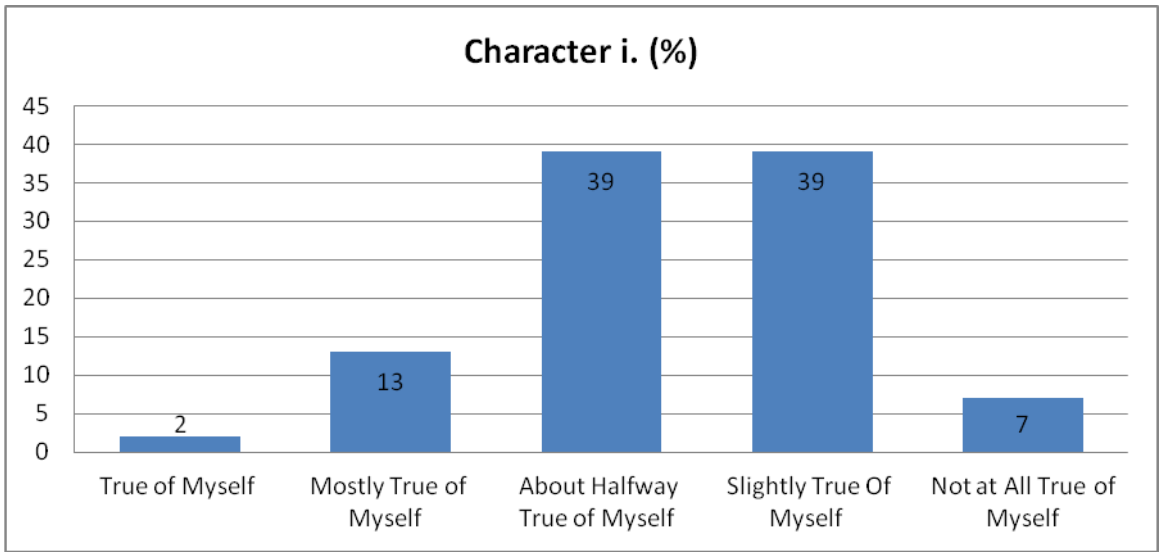


As can be seen in Graphic 23, responses of our informants are gathered in the middle. It must be noted that participants who preferred responses of "Slightly true of myself" and "Not at all true of myself" are mainly educated people living in urban areas.

Character i.

He will try not to show his true feelings in public in order not to appear selfish or egocentric.

Graphic 24: Character i

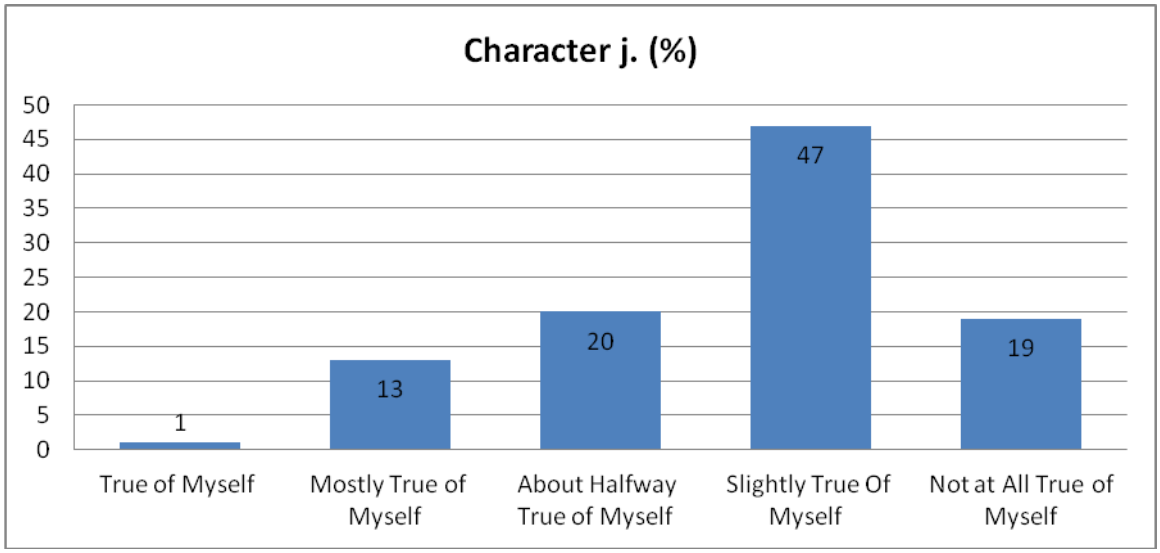


Although a typical explanation would read as “Selfishness is very shameful in our custom” (Participant I), majority of the responses related with this character would not show much identification with him/her: 39% percent of informants have chosen the option “about halfway true of myself”, an equal number of participants opted for “Slightly true of myself”, not to mention those 7 people opting selecting as an answer “Not at all true of myself”.

Character j.

He prefers not to show to others his economic standards of living to avoid jealousy.

Graphic 25: Character j



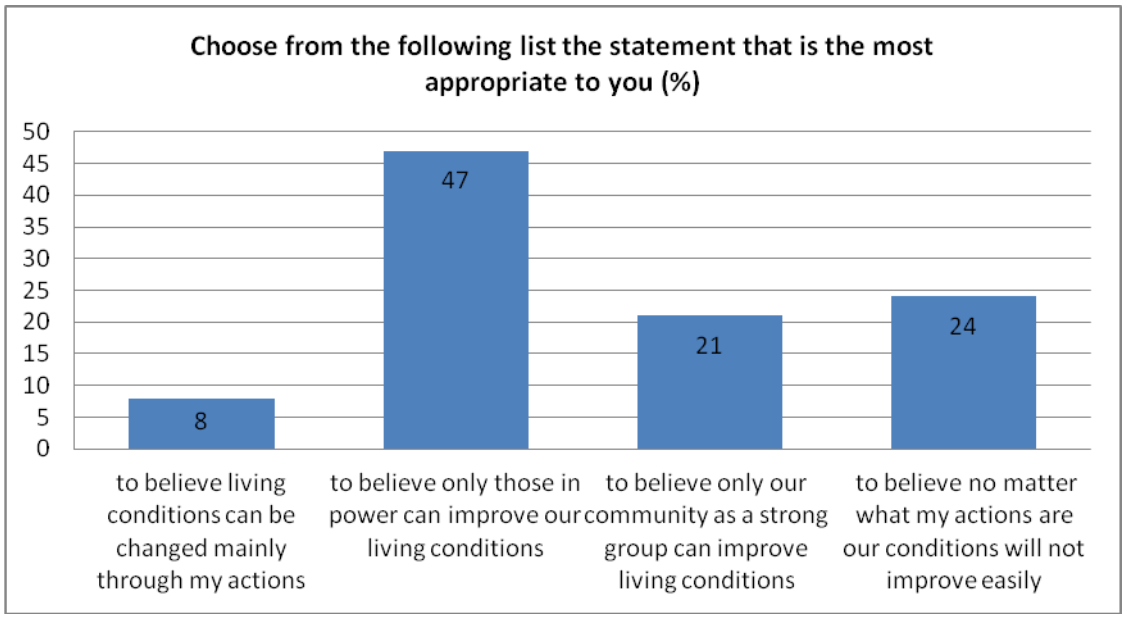
As it can be seen in graphic 25, many participants do not support hiding their living standards to avoid jealousy. The understanding here can be explained by this expression: “Be as you are. People should be as how they are”. A remark confirming this finding, a popular adage widely known and used in the country: “Either is seen as you are, or be as you seem”.

6.2 Choose from the following list the statement that is the most appropriate to you:

One of the last items in the survey has given the participants choose from the following statements they would deem most appropriate to them:

- to believe living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions
- to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions
- to believe only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions
- to believe no matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily

Graphic 26: "Most appropriate to you"



As it will be seen in the graphic 26, the highest percentage (47%) is on the option of "to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions." This response is very much in line with the response of "The state (national) government" given to the question "Institutions important for improving well being", depicted in the graphic 6.

The situation in Graphic 26 becomes clearer with explanations such as the one below:

> Like father being the richest person in a family, if the 'father state' (benevolent state) is not rich, nobody can get rich. It is not good that you don't leave pocket-money to your children while you are going out. The state is the same for us. Although now it does not meet the demands of all… (Participant II)

The term, which creates a metaphor by coming together with the "state", "political leaders" and "bosses", is "father". One of the ways to think about a model of social fact is thinking it with metaphors. Terms that are included in a metaphor take on a new meaning when they enter into connection. The terms did not have those meanings, when they were separate. Since the parts are in interaction with each other, a metaphor creates a broader meaning than the sum of these parts. Constituent parts of the metaphor can be different social classes or/and they may represent various roles in society. The whole gives special meanings to the parts.[8] In the last note compiled from the field, effort has been made in the direction of combining two quite different realms in a single image: Paternalism is this kind of metaphor. When father and state, father and prime minister, father and boss come together, their own meanings when they were alone changes. Father and state, "the father state". The way of marshaling the terms together transforms the meaning of each. At this point, power of the metaphor lies at the heart of the things gathered. This metaphor puts the facts of taking care of others and power together. We can define a person who is encumbered with the terms of family and has power as follows: a person who will use his power to take care of others. When the term of father becomes an active part of the metaphor, the term of state undergoes a transform. The term of "state" is kneaded with the meaning of dominating love of others. The state alone is not able to have such a meaning. The resulting image of authority has both strong and fragile character. As it is in the reproach: "Although now it does not meet the demands of all…"

Without a doubt, paternalism includes a fake love too to those who are subject to state. It is fake love, because the leader takes care of the people subjected to him as long as they serve his interests. The condition of mercy of the leader is to be subjected totally to his (own) control. Even though promise of caring of dependants in metaphoric family is given, basic nature of this caring is denied: Taking care of someone makes another powerful. Responsibilities of those who are cared will be assigned to the power.

The result of the world formed as a result of dominance of the option of "to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions" in the graphic is the option of "to believe no matter what my actions are our conditions will not improve easily" which is represented by the rate of 24 %.

Options that are in inverse relationship with "to believe only those in power can improve our living conditions" are "to believe only our community as a strong group can improve living conditions" with a rate of 21% and "to believe living conditions can be changed mainly through my actions" with a rate of 8%.

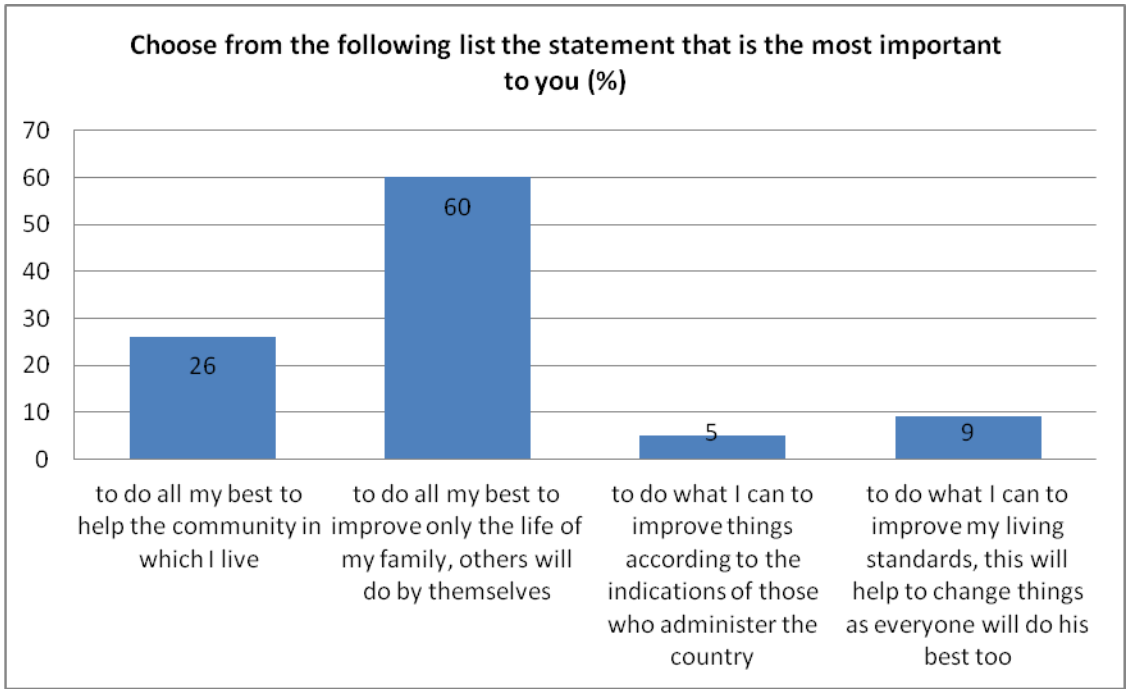
[8] Lakoff, George and Johnson, Mark (1980). *Metaphors: We Live By*. The University of Chicago Press.

6.3 Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you:

Participants have been asked to choose "the most important" statement for themselves. Question is as follows: "Choose from the following list the statement that is most important to you".

- to do all my best to help the community in which I live
- to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves
- to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of those who administer the country
- to do what I can to improve my living standards, this will help to change things as everyone will do his best too

Graphic 27: "Most important to you"



Option of "to do all my best to improve only the life of my family, others will do by themselves" with a rate of 60% is on the top.

However, perhaps the most remarkable option here is the option of "to do what I can to improve things according to the indications of those who administer the country" with the lowest rate 5%. As the graphic 26 shows, it looks like responsibilities entirely have been undertaken to the "power".

Option of "to do all my best to help the community in which I live" with the rate of 26% has been thought together with the terms of kinship as a small community which people live in and citizenship.

7. CONCLUSION

With the help of this survey conducted at the end of 2012, it has been tried to provide information about issues such as trust in institutions, experiences with institutions, serious problems of society, quality of services provided by institutions and access to these services, patters of behavior, and social values

According to survey results, “State doctors” and “Health centers” have taken the highest rank in trust. Interviewees are satisfied with health care services as a result of reforms in the last years, when they compared with the past. The institution which has the lowest trust credit is media.

When we look the results in perspective of experiences with institutions, “Mosque” becomes prominent as institution which people get the best service from. We see that in a way that proving the result of trust, “Public healthcare providers” have high rate of “good service”. In the results, the institution which has the highest rate of “bad service” and the lowest rate of “good service” is “Internationale donor organizations”. Although it is not specifically search information, with the questioning of experiences with institutions, ideas about “cronyism” have been stated in the context of experiences of interviewees.

When data are analyzed, it is seen that economic problems such as “Unemployment” and “Cost of living/inflation“, “Economic instability/crisis”, “Inequality in income distribution” dominate the most serious top three rank of society. It is possible to explain this situation to some extent with ongoing economic crisis which affects whole world since 2008.

Almost all participants of survey have described “Mosque” as an institution of “problems can be solved on its own” matching with previous questions. Institutions which have low rate of “problems can be solved on its own” are respectively “District council”, “Police force”, “Judges” and at the last rank “International organizations”. Interviewees have drawn attention to both applying an intervention of an acquaintances to get service in institutions and recoveries related with reforms and especially renewal of human resources in institutions in last years.

The most important tool used in solving problems about relations with institutions has been “Ask for intervention from an important person”. In addition, all participants have evaluated quality of services provided by service providers as connected with personal relations. These results highlight the importance of “personal solutions”. And “personal relations” are seen as a dominant tool. The things, that one of our interviewees has told us after the survey, include important experiences that show situation of development of personal relations. Public officers, who try to go out of the personal networks, will be criticized harshly:

> I took tea-sugar off to the police station, head of guardhouse got angry: “State buys tea and sugar for kids. They have everything, don’t worry” he said. He makes me regret deeply for this. Everybody knows me here, I am local governor. I am not hashish smuggler! He put me to shame. (Participant VII)

Types of petty corruption such as bribe or giving gift to get a better service in institutions have been explained in the context of situation that citizens have such a low-income to give a bribe. And it has been stated that petty corruption decreased with the expansion of methods such as increasing capacity in institutions, transition to computer, recording with the security cameras.

Participants of survey have preferred mainly the option of "The state (national government)" for the questioning of "to increase quality of service of institutions. Attitudes of participants to this question have derived from the idea that government should be responsible for wellbeing of society rather than having a positive or negative approach to the government and its policies implemented. In addition, they have preferred mostly the option of "to believe only those in power can improve or living conditions" for the question that is related with changes of life conditions.

All hypothetic practices given related with development of society have been evaluated as incompatible with this development. Only four participants have not evaluated the option of "Bringing gifts to be accepted at a good school" as incompatible with development of society. This situation has shown that even if it includes exceptional methods, ensuring their children to get a better education is seen as a right.

Under the topic of "Importance of customs", all participants of survey have evaluated the option of "Provide hospitality to guests" as "Very important" without any hesitation. The option of "Enjoy meals with other people" has been evaluated largely with the option of "Provide hospitality to guests" by participants. In the results, another custom highly adopted is "Give presents during festive celebrations".

The question was "What are the tendencies of interviewees in various situations and how do they justify them?" under the topic of "Agreement/disagreement with different scenarios" and participants have been given five scenarios. This set of question has been the most disscussed one. There have been presented potential different comments in this set of question.

As it is observed in many graphics, the relationship between the power and citizen (in this context, they are our participants) is a relationship in which responsibilities are assigned mostly to the power (state, government) and this feeling is at the forefront especially in participants of rural area. Citizens establish the relationship with the power in this way and they don't believe in their organized force. The state and the government generally represent the whole structure and they are held responsible for this structure. Public, politics and administration are seen as spheres in which citizens are out. Thus, relations with public, politics and administration have been established over kinship, networks of citizenship and clientelist interests.

This evaluation has found its tengible expression in the graphic 26: the state is being defined as father, in this context citizens become childs as are in the family. The state are evaluated in autonomous and sovereign framework besides political sphere. Thinking together citizens, cientelism that dominates the relationship of citizens with this autonomous state and bribe that is definer of these ralationships make the area totally problematic. It seems that the existence of citizens in political area is limited with job opportunuties in public sector, the base prices of their

products, access to various public services. Besides these, political participation is very limited. This situation reduces the relations established with the political sphere to expectations of job and service. Eventhough they complain, they try to benefit from this situation to do their own work.