**Appendix**

**Table 1. Descriptive Statistics**

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|   | **Mean** | **Std. Dev.** | **Min** | **Max** |
|   | **2011** | **2013** | **2011** | **2013** | **2011 & 2013** |
|   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
| Support for the PKK | 0.27 | 0.45 | 0.44 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Discrimination | 0.47 | 0.54 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Inter-ethnic Inequality |  - | 0.57 |  - | 0.49 | 0 | 1 |
| Left | 0.30 | 0.32 | 0.46 | 0.47 | 0 | 1 |
| Center | 0.46 | 0.55 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Private Religiosity | 1.76 | 1.32 | 0.60 | 0.83 | 0 | 2 |
| Public Religiosity | 1.42 | 1.69 | 0.75 | 0.68 | 0 | 2 |
| Cultural Nationalism | 2.91 | 3.29 | 1.41 | 1.08 | 0 | 4 |
| Education | 2.61 | 3.51 | 1.25 | 1.55 | 1 | 5 |
| Alevi | 0.03 | 0.09 | 0.17 | 0.28 | 0 | 1 |
| Urban | 1.84 | 2.05 | 0.79 | 0.81 | 1 | 3 |
| Income | 2.18 | 2.32 | 1.25 | 1.38 | 1 | 5 |
| Female | 0.49 | 0.47 | 0.50 | 0.50 | 0 | 1 |
| Age | 36.62 | 37.64 | 13.51 | 13.43 | 18 | 86 (83) |
| Unemployed | 0.11 | 0.07 | 0.31 | 0.26 | 0 | 1 |
| Southeast | 0.33 | 0.31 | 0.47 | 0.46 | 0 | 1 |

 **Table 2. Factor analysis of religiosity**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Variables** | **Factor loadings** |
| Public Religiosity2011 2013 | Individual Religiosity2011 2013 |
| Daily Prayer (five times) | 0.15 0.30 | **0.75 0. 78** |
| Fasting during Ramadan | 0.21 0.30 | **0.75 0. 78** |
| Headscarves for Students | **0.57 0.65** | 0.24 0.22 |
| Headscarves for Public Employees | **058 0.66** | 0.23 0.30 |
| *% of variance* | *49 52* | *77 67* |
| **Notes:** Extraction method: principal component analysisRotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization |

**Table 3. Variables and measurement**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Variables**  | **Survey question (translated version)** | **Coding** | **Re-coding, transformation** |
| **Dependent variables** |
| *Support for the PKK* | Using the questions below, this variable captures those who do not label the PKK as a terrorist organization and who consider that the PKK represents KurdsQ22.8: Is the PKK a terrorist organization? Q12.1: I would like to ask you some questions about the PKK. Do you think that the PKK represents all Kurds?  |  | 0: No (Either or both answers are negative toward the PKK)1: Yes (both answers are positive toward the PKK) |
| **Independent variables** |
| *Income* | Q45: Including everyone’s income, what is your household’s total monthly income? |   |  | Recoded from 1 to 5 (5; higher income level) |
| *Education* | Q40: What level of schooling have you attained? | 1) Illiterate2) Literate without a diploma3) Primary4) Secondary5) High school6) Undergraduate7) Graduate | 1: Illiterate/Literature without a diploma2) Primary3) Secondary4) High school5) Undergraduate/ Graduate |
| *Ethnic Nationalism* | Would you tell me your opinions about the following topics? (1) Should there be public schools in which all courses are held in Kurdish? (2) Should the Kurdish language be offered as an optional course in public schools? (3) Should the names of cities, towns, and villages be in Kurdish? (4)Should sermons in mosques be conducted in Kurdish? | For each question1) Yes2) No | Each variable was recoded from 0 to 1. New index ranges from 0 to 4. |
| *State**Discrimination- Perception* | Q31: In your opinion, do you think that the state discriminates against Kurds? | 1: Yes2: No | 0: No1: Yes |
| *Interethnic Inequality- Perception* | Q31: In your opinion, do Kurds have social and economic equality with Turks?  | 1: Yes2: No | 1: No0: Yes |
| *Private Religiosity (index)* | Q28.1: Do you regularly pray, five times a day?Q28.3: Do you fast each day of Ramadan every year? | 1: Yes2: No | * First, variables were re-coded as: 1: No; 2: Yes.
* Then, an additive index was constructed out of these survey items.
 |
| *Public Religiosity (index)* | Q28.4: Should headscarves be allowed in schools, including primary and high schools?Q28.5: Should female civil servants and public employees such as judges, prosecutors, and teachers be allowed to wear headscarves during work time? | 1: Yes2: No | * First, variables were re-coded as: 1: No; 2: Yes.

Then, an additive index was constructed out of these survey items. |
|  |
| *Ideology (left-right placement)* | Q30: In terms of ideological orientation, there has been a tradition of right–left–center in Turkey. Ideologically, how would you define yourself on this scale? | 1. Left of left (extreme left)
2. Left
3. Center
4. Right
5. Right of right (extreme right)
 | Dummies: Left (1 and 2); Center (3); Right (4 and 5) |
| *Place of Residence (rural-urban)* | Where the respondent lives. | 1. Metropolis
2. City
3. Rural
 | 1. Rural
2. City
3. Metropolis
 |
|  |  |  |  |
| *Unemployed* | Q44: Are you employed? What is your current job? |  | 0: Employed1: Unemployed |
| *Religious Sect**(Alevis)* | Q29: How would you define yourself in terms of religion? | 1. Sunni-Hanefi
2. Sunni-Shafi
3. Alevi
4. Bektashi
5. Shia-Caferi
6. Other
 | 1. Other
2. Alevi
 |
| *Gender* | Q39: Respondent’s gender. | 1: Female2: Male |  | 0:Male1:Female |
| *Age* | Q41: How old are you? | From 18 to 92 |  |
| *Region (southeastern Anatolia)* | Q41: The region where the interviews took place. | 7 regions | 1 if it is in the southeast,otherwise 0. |