

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In this chapter, I will explain the background of the topic that followed by the research question. The writer also provides the theoretical framework that will help the writer to discuss the topic of Erdogan limit the freedom of press in Turkey. This chapter also explains the scope of research, method of writing and the system of writing that provide in the last part of this chapter.

#### **A. Background**

Turkey is one of the democratic countries in the world. The involvement of the mass media and journalists in Turkey is very important to the survival of democracy in Turkey. When press freedom is achieved then democracy in Turkey is considered good. However, the freedom that became the barometers of democracy in Turkey are hampered by the restrictions imposed by the Turkish government.

Turkey has experienced a change of power in several times and faced different problems. The emergence of Erdogan brought Turkey towards a brighter one. Turkish people hope the advent of a new leader will bring the new of Turkey, not least for journalists. Journalists and the media in Turkey expect protection and freedom of expression.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan is a charismatic Turkish leader. Erdogan has served as Turkey's prime minister for two terms because of the support of domestic and particularly Erdogan's party (AKP). Therefore the party won the 2002 and 2007

elections. Some leaders claimed that Erdogan's leadership will be the beginning of a new era between the east and west by using peace of Muslim identity and democratic principles. But others have expressed concern about the secularity of Turkey under Erdogan.

Before Erdogan served as Prime Minister, he was very active in various political activities. Erdogan's early political career began when he was elected president of Beyoglu Youth Branch of the National Salvation Party (MSP-Milli Selamet Partition), an Islamic political party in 1970 which was closed after the 1980 military coup. In 1985, Erdogan was appointed to the post for the region Istanbul Provincial Chairman of the Welfare Party. As chairman of the province, Erdogan urged all segments of society to show an interest in politics and the sounds of the country. Campaign was successful and secured a very high turnout for local elections in 1989. In the next local elections in 1994, he was elected mayor of Istanbul (Arda Baykal, 2009).

His journey as mayor of Istanbul was not running smoothly, due to his policy many people who do not agree with him. Therefore, Erdogan was expelled from the office of the mayor of Istanbul and he was sentenced to imprisonment for 10 months. Erdogan did not feel satisfied, so he founded the Justice and Development Party (AKP). This is a big step for Erdogan to become a very influential person in Turkey.

To support his career, Erdogan is inseparable from the support of the press media who helped him rise to the Prime Minister to become the President in Turkey. However Erdogan's attitude towards mass media was not constant, a significant change of attitude that makes Turkey increasingly constrained by

policies made by Erdogan. Freedom of the press in Turkey has undergone a change where Erdogan took tougher action to critics.

Media in Turkey also contributed for the sustainability of the democratic government of Turkey. However, the unique thing here is the role of the media which is very significant and provides considerable impact for democracy in Turkey. The media in Turkey have the limitations that are different from other democracies. They are all operating under the new political economy in which the sensor is big business and media conglomerates can only challenge governments and repressive tactics toward the news media when their economic interests are threatened.

Media are very popular in democracy during the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi / Justice and Development Party) in which the media have continued to fight against the AKP with a hot news story and sharp. However, after the victory of the AKP state media increasingly criticized the policies of the Turkish government. On the other hand, the media were in crisis where the government used power to press journalists through conglomerate, judicial oppression, defamation, etc. It is interesting for the writer to examine more deeply the Turkish government and the media are attacking each other (Murat Aksera & Banu Baybars-Hawks, 2002).

Press freedom in Turkey has been in crisis since Erdogan came to power in Turkey. Erdogan made several policies to limit press freedom in Turkey. The interesting thing is the dynamics of press freedom under Erdogan's power. Erdogan came to power in Turkey with two different positions. However, it brings the freedom of the press in Turkey increasingly crisis from time to time.



After Erdogan served as Prime Minister, Erdogan changed his attitude in the face of press freedom in Turkey. Erdogan began to show his anti-media attitude against him. Erdogan denounced and demanded some media that were considered to be detrimental to the state. Many journalists were arrested for defamation or insult against Erdogan.

The violence had been accompanied by restrictions on press freedom and civil rights such as the Zaman newspaper was taken over by the government, journalists were arrested and protests crushed by riot police with tear gas and water cannons (Shaheen, 2016).

In addition to some of the above policies, in this era of freedom of the press is also in control by the economic rulers in Turkey. They use the media to connect their interests to the government. On the other hand the media must submit to them and the government because of the internal economic condition of the media companies deeply overwhelmed by them.

Basically journalists used to criticize the government by media conglomerates that are protecting their economic interests. At this time the media increasingly form alliances to strengthen the economic power of the media, but resulted in the formation of various types of sensor mechanism editorial. Limited freedom in Turkey creates a media increasingly threatened.

Having succeeded in mastering Turkey for many years, Erdogan still wants to contribute to the Turkish state by running for President of Turkey. Erdogan followed the 2014 election which led him to become President of Turkey. His success in winning this election that greatly benefited him to remain in power in Turkey.

Press freedom in Turkey has declined further. They are experiencing an increasingly crisis situation. The increasingly restricted freedom made Turkey 151<sup>th</sup> in the freedom of the press (CPJ, 2016). It is also of concern to the world because of Turkey as a democracy.

The number of journalists who were arrested increased after Erdogan became president. The number of journalists who captured more than 250 people, according to CPJ (2016) is the highest number recorded since 1990.

In addition, Erdogan is increasingly tightening press freedom in Turkey by shutting down some media in Turkey. Many print media, TV, Radio, and online media are closed by Erdogan. This has further exacerbated the situation in Turkey and many Turkish societies are demanding freedom for journalists and the media in Turkey.

In this thesis, I interested to explain the reason why Erdogan made very strict regulations for journalists and media in Turkey, as the policies made by Erdogan is to limit the freedom of press in Turkey.

## **B. Research Question**

After analyzing the background of press freedom in Turkey the writer formulate the research question as follows,

Why The Freedom of Press in Turkey was limited by Recep Tayyip Erdogan (2014-2016)?

## **C. Theoretical Framework**

To discuss this topic writer takes the concept of political system, decision making and press and media relations. The following explanation of the concept:

## 1. Political System

A political scientist was inspired to discuss the concept of the political system. His ideas still hold the key to the country's politician, David Easton, a political science professor at the University of Chicago, USA. The concept of the famous political system in the late 19th century introduced the system approach as the best method of understanding politics.

Through his work, David Easton (1953) introduced the concept of political system divided into two stages: *First*, through a scientific paper entitled "*The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science*" in 1953. *Second*, in the scientific paper "*A Framework for Political Analysis* "and" *A system Analysis of political Life*" in 1965. From his scientific works, Easton formed the basis for the reform movement of the political system in the next period. With the approach of the political system it is expected to be used to explain the scientific nature of the phenomenon of politics or political life and can be applied universally.

In this thesis, the writer uses the political system approach to understand the political action running in Turkey, especially during Erdogan administration. Before that the writer will explain that the concept of the political system starts from understanding Gabriel Almond's opinion about political system.

### a. Definition of Political System

According to engineering, the system is seen as a process input to be transformed to make a specific output. Meanwhile, in the view of the layman, the system can be defined as a method or a way to achieve a goal. Scientists in deciphering systems have different ways to define it. System, etymologically



according to Webster's New Dictionary Collegiate consists of the words "syn" and "histania", which means to place together. However, according to Advanced learner's Dictionary in Sukarna (1977: 13) explains the meaning of system as follows: "System is a group of facts, ideas, beliefs arranged in an orderly ways; as a system of philosophy" (Maksudi, 2015, hal. 10).

Some understanding of previous system, Beddy Iriawan Maksudi in his book "Sistem Politik Indonesia" concluded that the understanding of the system is: *"The system is a set of objects (elements or parts) that diverse interrelated, mutually cooperate, and independently as well as related to the same plan to achieve specific objectives output in complex environments"* (Maksudi, 2015)

According to Miriam Budiardjo in his book explains the meaning of politics is: *"In general, it is said that politics is a variety of activities within a political system (or state) concerning the process of defining the objectives of the system and carry out those goals."* (Budiardjo, 2008)

By understanding the political and system above, we can conclude that the political system is a whole of components or institutions functioning in the areas of political activity which involves the determination of general policy and how the policy was implemented, the matters concerning the life of the state or government.

As we already know that the state is a community organization or organizational power. Therefore, in any organization called the state it is always encountered any organ or fittings that have the ability to impose their will on anyone who stays in residence within the remit. This is in accordance with the

characteristics of the state in the formal sense that the authority of the government carries out physical coercion legally.

Meanwhile Almond (1960) argues:

*“Political system typically perform the function of maintaining the integration of society, adapting and changing the elements of the kinship, religious and economic systems, protecting the integrity of political systems from outside treats, or expanding into and attacking in other societies.”*  
(Maksudi, 2015)

#### b. Characteristics of Political System

The political system is reform movements that arise in the decade of the fifties. This movement is to find an approach of political behavior as the main focus of research and especially emphasize the structure functions of behavior. Because it is the system of a country is a consistent pattern rather than relationships. In this case the system is related to human relations within a country. This is the characteristic of a country. In other words, the government authority carries out physical coercion legally.

Model of political system in principle is a cyclical process (circular) 'which is from input-process-output- there is feedback-policy impact to be absorbed by the input to the next process.

According to David Easton's political system, there are four characteristics:  
(Maksudi, 2015)

##### i. Units and Restrictions on political system

Within the framework of a political system which is composed of units that are interrelated to each other and work together to move the wheels of the political system works. The units in question are the institutions that are authoritative (legislative, executive, judiciary, political parties, civil society organizations, and



promoting the demand to become a political issue. Without support, the demand will not be able to satisfy or conflict in goals composed.

Meanwhile, the output is the result of a political system which is derived from the demand and community support. Output is divided into two, which is the decisions and actions that are usually done by the government. The decision is the selection of one or several courses of action according to the demands and supports of the entry. While government's action is the concrete implementation of the decision made.

iii. Differentiation in the system

According to Easton (1953) good system should have a working differentiation. He stated that in modern times it is impossible for one institution to solve all problems.

iv. Integration in the system

Although this is differentiation in the political system, a system still needs to have the integration, to keep their labor harmony in the political system. Integration is the integration work between different units in order to achieve the same goal. Here are the results of the first stage of thinking of Easton:

The simplest political system consists of inputs which are then changed into output through political process. As explained earlier, this model has an input in the form of support and demands from society that will produce decisions and actions that are called by the policy. In which is the support and the claim is processed by the political system through various decisions and public services provided by the government to be able to produce prosperity for the people.

the people and enabling them to make judgments on the issues of the time. Newspapermen and women who abuse the power of their professional role for selfish motives or unworthy purposes are faithless to that public trust. The American press was made free not just to inform or just to serve as a forum for debate but also to bring an independent scrutiny to bear on the forces of power in the society, including the conduct of official power at all levels of government.

2. ARTICLE II - Freedom of the Press. Freedom of the press belongs to the people. It must be defended against encroachment or assault from any quarter, public or private. Journalists must be constantly alert to see that the public's business is conducted in public. They must be vigilant against all who would exploit the press for selfish purposes.
3. ARTICLE III - Independence. Journalists must avoid impropriety and the appearance of impropriety as well as any conflict of interest or the appearance of conflict. They should neither accept anything nor pursue any activity that might compromise or seem to compromise their integrity.
4. ARTICLE IV - Truth and Accuracy. Good faith with the reader is the foundation of good journalism. Every effort must be made to assure that the news content is accurate, free from bias and in context, and that all sides are presented fairly. Editorials, analytical articles and commentary should be held to the same standards of accuracy with respect to facts as news reports. Significant errors of fact, as well as errors of omission, should be corrected promptly and prominently.

5. ARTICLE V - Impartiality. To be impartial does not require the press to be unquestioning or to refrain from editorial expression. Sound practice, however, demands a clear distinction for the reader between news reports and opinion. Articles that contain opinion or personal interpretation should be clearly identified.
6. ARTICLE VI - Fair Play. Journalists should respect the rights of people involved in the news, observe the common standards of decency and stand accountable to the public for the fairness and accuracy of their news reports. Persons publicly accused should be given the earliest opportunity to respond. Pledges of confidentiality to news sources must be honored at all costs, and therefore should not be given lightly. Unless there is clear and pressing need to maintain confidences, sources of information should be identified.

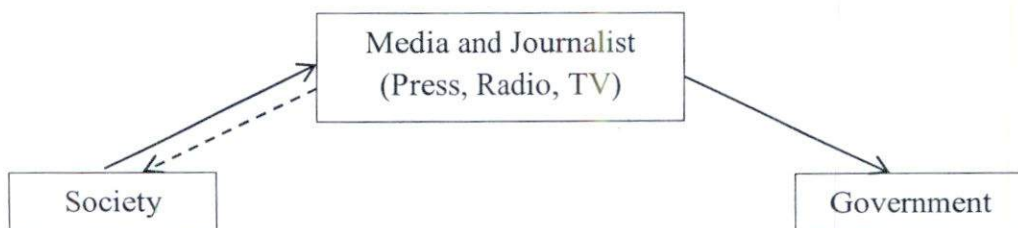
### **3. Government and Press Relations**

The relationship between government and the press will show how a pattern of relationship of mutual influence. To analyze the relationship of the writer takes the concept of the relationship between government and the press in view Ithel De Sola Pool. According to De Sola Pool relations between the government and the press have the relationship that faces each other.

De sola pool (1972) explained that the journalists are very confident that their position with the government is polar opposites. Journalists are described as the kind and willing to help people in seeking to clarify the information. Instead the government is described as ruler to be feared. Such forms of relationships such



as what is expressed like this have a very dominant trait, namely the nature Adversary. In terms of the Press Liberal attempt to place himself as if he would be in a position Fis a Fis with the government assuming that the press is like a hero who wanted to liberate the masses in fighting for the rights of its threatened deprived by the treatment of the politicians seen as the bad guys are always selfish then in this term we used to know the term “Bad News is Good News”. Where preaching the press are always filled with criticism of the government and politicians.



**Figure 2** Media and Government Relations

By the De Sola Pool theory, He tries to explain that the mass media have a very positive role towards the community. As explained by Nimmo (1999) on the functioning of media in society and establishing government, they are:

- a. Collection and presentation of objective information, media act of collecting facts from the events going on around them and present them to the public. In this case the reporter performs these functions with impartiality and less likely to be biased.
- b. To interpret the news, here media acted as interpreter to an event that it covers. He explained to the public causes and implications of the incident so that the public who are not familiar with the workings of the government to understand the relevance of the fact

that they read. Most experts accept the interpretation function similar to the concept of advocacy journalism. Advocacy is a form of interpretation in it is able to explain the meaning of a fact (interpretation) against a particular viewpoint.

- c. Responsibility of the press in a democracy, that is given the task to make it more representative of mass media or public to oppose the government represents
- d. Responsibility, here the media charged with the responsibility to determine public opinion and to inform the public and the government about a climate of information (the climate of opinion).  
The fourth function is regarded as a specific function of the mass media was able to create what is called a mass society.
- e. Participant, meaning how the reporter saw himself as a participant in the governing process.

#### **4. Decision Making**

In making decisions, a leader requiring advisor. According Maijke Breuning (2007) that there are several advisory system adopted by the leaders. Three approaches to organizing advisory system: formalistic, competitive, and collegial. From some of the advisory system would not be perfect if the system does not suit with their personality. The following explanation of each one of these three advisory systems:

- a. Formalistic Approach

Formalistic approach provides a clear path regarding the information that was made by leaders in making decisions. Executive provide information to the

leader, with a clear chain of command. Each advisory provides information of aspects of the problems that exist in their area of expertise and the jurisdiction of their department. Leaders want the advice of any of their institutions and leaders synthesizing information from advisors who then will be a decision.

The advisers gathered to express their opinions and ideas to synthesize information and advice from them. In the end they come together to make the best possibilities. The weakness of the formalistic approach to organizing the executive is the power of a competitive approach.

#### b. Competitive Approach

Competitive approach shows that there is little cooperation between leaders and advisors. Leaders used to getting information from the various heads of departments and other sources that create competition between advisers. The counselors compete to be the first leader's ear and in a hurry. This resulted in getting the information to be biased or vague.

When advisors convey ideas and information, the leader mediating to resolve conflicts that arise. It demands leader's attention and time. In this approach produces rich creative solutions for their many different ideas and different viewpoints.

#### c. Colligial Approach

Both approaches have their weaknesses in decision making. To avoid potential loss or distortion of information and avoid competition, alternative approaches emerge that collegial approach. This system makes the leader sits



centered comprehensive information which the adviser does not provide information individually but as a group. The leader held discussions to exchange ideas but without conflict. In this case the leader will deal directly with the adviser and to reach a subordinate of the head of the department for information.

On the other hand, there is a risk that if the team is too much similarity of ideas will turn out to be too much of an agreement together. In this system needed some balance to the diversity of opinion, mediating differences, and foster the spirit. To run this system needs leaders who are skilled to manage interpersonal relationships between advisors.

To more clearly and easy to understand, these three approaches are summarized in the table below:

**Table 1** Comparison of Executive Management Style

	<i>Formalistic</i>	<i>Competitive</i>	<i>Collegial</i>
1. Likelihood that information will be distorted	High No built-in checks on distortion of information	Low Multiple perspectives presented and openly debated	Low Multiple perspectives presented and debated
2. Degree to which leader is exposed to substantive and interpersonal conflict	Low for both	High for both	High for substantive conflict Low for interpersonal conflict
3. Overall responsiveness of decision process	Low Focus on best solution May react slow or inappropriate in crisis	High Focus on feasible solution Highly dependent on leader's skill and involvement	High Aims to identify solutions that are both optimal and feasible Highly dependent on leader's skill and involvement
4. Thoroughness of consideration of alternatives	When it works well: High Thorough, orderly, objectively	When it works well: High Cacophony of voices; leader exposed to partial and biased information	When it works well: High Debate and teamwork ensure multiple viewpoints are considered
	When it does not work well: Low Emphasis on objectivity may distort political pressures and public opinion	When it does not work well: Low Staff competition, self-interested action rather than service	When it does not work well: Low Closed system of mutual support, or groupthink

Adapted from Johnson 1974 and George 1980.

*Source: Maijke Breuning (2007)*

A government made a policy by using several models. According Maijke Breuning (2007) decision-making can be analyzed through three model decisions making. Among them are rational policy model, organizational process model, and bureaucratic politics models. By the model can explain how the policies made

by the government. The relationship between the actors in the government will determine the policies issued by a government.

a. Rational Policy Model

Single rational decision makers analyze strategic problems and, once the problem is defined, choose a policy response from among the choices available. This is a process where the policy response which have been started by outlining options, investigating their possible consequences, and lead to a promising option. In other words, the model is seeking a decision that has the greatest benefit with the lowest risk. This rational policy model does not account for the possibility that information could be distorted in a complex advisory system consists of many individuals, offices, and agencies.

b. Organizational Process Model

Governmental organization process model imagined as a collection organization, centrally coordinated at the top, each with their own specialization and expertise, but also their own priorities and perceptions. In this case the organization responds to the adaptation of the standard operating reinventing them. According to this model is easier to implement changes. In this model describes the government as a large conglomerate organization singly and collectively pursue a policy response that allows them to remain as close as possible to the old routine that they know to be worthy than fashion the best policy response respond to the problem.

c. Bureaucratic Politics Model



Bureaucratic politics model is focused on the role of individuals in government organizations. Advisory individuals in government occupies a certain role in it. First, they lead, or working within, a specific agency or department. Each agency and department has its own mandate. Policy expertise and specific interests of the institution that is bound to color the perceptions and opinions of individuals working in that agency. Second, Advisors also placed at specific locations within a hierarchical structure that agency or department. Individuals who serves as head of the body depending on his or her subordinates to provide information, analysis, and policy options. Institutions typically hierarchical structure and run the same risk of distortion of information that we discussed as part of the executive organizing formalistic style.

In addition, those who work in the institutions are not robots following orders, but individuals with their own interests and career aspirations. Some may be trying to help their superiors by highlighting the information that supports their point and discouraging the conflicting information.

**Table 2** Models of Decision Making

	<i>1. Rational Policy Model</i>	<i>2. Organizational Process Model</i>	<i>3. Bureaucratic Politics Model</i>
Policy is determined by:	national interest	organizational inertia and feasibility	complex bargaining among individuals and agencies
Key actor(s):	Government, acting as <i>if</i> it is a single, rational decision maker	Organizations, acting on the basis of standard operating procedures (SOP's)	Individuals, guided by role and self-interest
Decision Process:	1. Identify national interest  2. Identify options  3. Cost/Benefit analysis of options  4. Choose policy alternative that best serves national interest	1. Organizational expertise and interests determine preferences  2. Adapt SOP's  3. Feasibility determines policy choice	1. Horizontal: interests determined by role and employing agency  2. Vertical: interests determined by place in hierarchy  3. Bargaining and other political maneuvering determine policy choice

Adapted from Allison 1969, 1971, Allison and Zelikow 1999.

Source: *Maijke Breuning (2007)*

Application of Political System Concept on Erdogan Policy on Freedom of Press

in Turkey

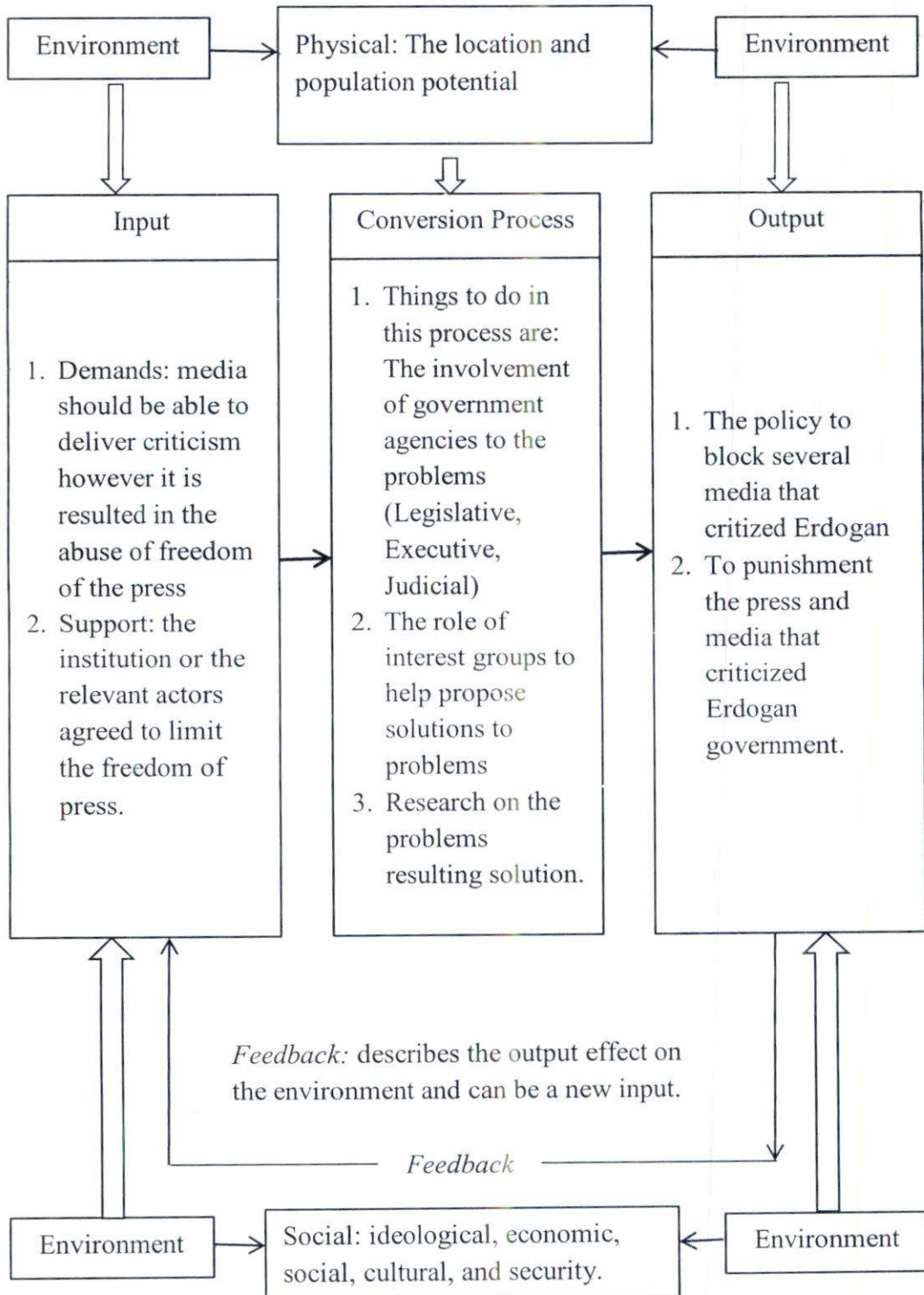


Figure 3 Application of Political System Concept



#### **D. Hypothesis**

From the implementation of the theories and concepts above the writer takes a hypothesis statement regarding Recep Tayyip Erdogan limited the freedom of press in Turkey as follows,

1. Erdogan limit the freedom of press because of the harsher criticisms by the press toward Erdogan.
2. Erdogan has the support from Erdogan's party, AKP, to limit the freedom of press.

#### **E. Method of Writing**

The method of writing in this thesis is using qualitative method. The writer uses several ways to collect the data in order to discuss the topic. The ways are as follows:

1. Media Research

Collecting the data from media such as on the internet websites as research material.

2. Library Research

Collecting books and journals to support the discussion topic in this thesis.

#### **F. Scope of Research**

In this thesis the writer limits the scope of the discussion starting from Erdogan after serving as President (2014) until Erdogan issued a policy to revoke the license of radio channels / TV and press card Journalists in 2016. The writer will focus on the reasons of Erdogan on limiting the freedom of press in Turkey. This limitation is aimed to avoid the complexity for further analysis.