

**PRESS CENSORSHIP AND SELF-CENSORSHIP:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF 28TH FEBRUARY AND AKP
PERIODS**

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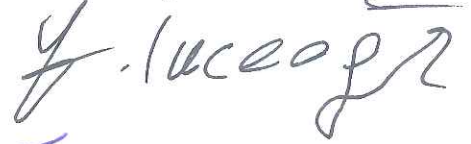
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Abstract

In this study, the recent history of censorship policies over mainstream media in Turkey is researched. Two contradictory periods in media- 28th February and AKP periods; provide vast amounts of examples on censorship that can be compared under a theoretical framework which discuss the relations of freedom of press, democracy, state and market. The study provides a structural analysis that would present “power relations” as a main determinant of censorship within the media industry. Despite there are several articles and books that present distinct narratives of censorship in Turkey, an academic paper that try to link those narratives with the terminology on power bloc would be meaningful to de-construct the discourse on the “independence” of media.

Keywords: censorship, self-censorship, power bloc, democracy, state, market, freedom of press, military

Özet

Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'nin yakın tarihinde ortaya konulan sansür politikalarının ana akım medyadaki etkileri tartışılmaktadır. 28 Şubat ve AKP iktidarı dönemleri, bu konuda barındırdığı sayısız örnek sebebiyle; basın özgürlüğü, demokrasi, devlet ve pazar gibi kavramlar temelinde teorik bir çerçeveye oturtularak karşılaştırılmıştır. Çalışma, yapısal bir analizle, sansürün ortaya çıkmasında başlıca belirleyenin “güç ilişkileri” olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Türkiye’de sansür kavramıyla ilgili çok sayıda örnek ve anlatı olmasına rağmen, konuyu “iktidar bloğu” terminolojisinde tartışan akademik bir çalışmanın, “medyanın bağımsızlığı” söylemini yapı sökümüne uğratma açısından fayda sağlayacağı düşünülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sansür, oto-sansür, iktidar bloğu, demokrasi, devlet, pazar, basın özgürlüğü, ordu

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Abbreviations

AA: Anatolian Agency (*Anadolu Ajansı*)

ANAP: The Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*)

AKP: Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*)

BDP: Peace and Democracy Party (*Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi*)

DYP: The True Path Party (*Doğru Yol Partisi*)

MGK: Secretariat-General of the National Security Council (*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu*)

PKK: Kurdistan Workers' Party (*Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan/ Kürdistan İşçi Partisi*)

PR: Personal Relations (*Halkla İlişkiler*)

RP: The Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*)

TGC: Turkish Journalists' Association (*Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti*)

TÜSİAD: Turkish Industry and Business Association (*Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği*)

UDP: Unity and Development Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Partisi*)

Dedicated to the ones, whose right to life is censored...

Musa Anter, Hrant Dink, Metin Göktepe, Nazım Babaoğlu

Berkin Elvan, Uğur Kaymaz, Ceylan Önkol

And to the ones who lost their lives for a better world...

1. Introduction

Censorship, within its own historical process, gradually became a more complex concept. In fact, it sparked from the arbitrary control of the state on art, press, books etc. to a more indirect practice of states and the market forces under blurry conditions, although being prohibited according to legal statuses (cf. Topuz, 2006: 34). Within that kind of a framework, a historical transformation in journalism of Turkey after 1980s opened a new path to being an industry where a small group of financial actors and the state intervention mostly intersect. The details of that transformation and implications of censorship policies would be discussed in the thesis through a comparative analysis.

It should be noted that the choice of the words “censorship” and “self-censorship” is a conscious attempt to broaden the meaning of it. Rather than naming the thesis as the relations between state and media or as the market and media; the provision to remove censorship from its basic meanings as “cutting” or “cropping” would be argued as a purpose. Instead, regarding censorship as a combination of prior restraints and post-publication prohibitions would be a broader point of view. Moreover, the subject of those practices would also be expanded since the process sparks from both direct state interventions, the complex relations of media owners with the state/ market, and the workflow/ ethical and ideological backgrounds of journalists- which are argued by several journalists¹ as a significant determinant of self-censorship.

According to a more comprehensive analysis, self-censorship could be a voluntary or unconscious practice that is directly related with a major claim of journalism; “reflecting truth”. In fact, at the very beginning of news production, the selections of journalists in order

¹ Faruk Bildirici, Doğan Tılıç, Zeynep Atikkan etc.

to contain or exclude facts in the article would prove that self-control exists- through interpretation; within the nature of journalism (cf. Dursun, 2005: 72). As Cox (1979: 314-315) argued; interpretation "...requires the emphasis of some matters and the suppression of others, the selection of some facts and the rejection of others, 'soft pedaling' here and 'desk pounding' there".

That narrative of the recent implications on censorship, frames a phase where complex relations within power bloc and the attitudes of journalists determine the suppressive practices. Then, it can be claimed that the separation of censorship as "state" and "market" can only be a functional distinction. Rather, the term "censorship" conceptually belongs to the praxis of the "power bloc" in which the state and the market censorship dynamically collide and coincide.

Speaking of the Turkish example, it could be argued that during 91 years of the republic, suppression "above" press has mostly been concentrated on the excluded groups such as socialist, Kurdish, Armenian traditions of journalism whom thought to abolish the "sake" of the state. That situation can be viewed as a struggle between the power bloc and the subaltern classes. On the other hand, that thesis is more directed on the struggle "within" the power bloc that can be summarized as the clash between Kemalist ideology and the "conservative right" politics. With a simple analogy, analysis of censorship in media is specified in the mainstream journalism, leaving alternative voices aside for another text.

Under that circumstances, the comparison of 28th February² and AKP periods would be explanatory to discuss the inner conflicts and/ or concurrence of the power bloc. Both military rule of 90s and AKP rule between 2002- 2014 has come to power after unstable political predecessors. Through a fast construction of power in their hands, both authorities presented

² Memorandum held by the armed forces of Turkey on 28th February 1997 against the coalition government of RP and DYP...

various examples on censoring media. Regarding that process, the thesis has a question on why a democratically elected government and a military rule concur under the same flag of censorship against the media. Founding the discussion over that question, it may be hypothesized that censorship should not be analyzed through an opposition between itself and democracy. On the contrary, it should be analyzed within an analogy between itself and “power”. The democratic implications of the authorities in that sense may be related to which period they stand on storing hegemony over other fractions of power bloc.

Lastly, the chapters of the thesis are fragmented according to the following descriptions:

In Chapter-1, the theoretical background of thesis would be mentioned with a literature review on several concepts namely; censorship, freedom of press, power bloc and democracy. That part mainly benefited from the concepts of John Keane (1998), Nicos Poulantzas (1973; 1975) and Daniel C. Hallin & Paolo Mancini (2004). A brief statement on how the grand schools of thought view freedom of press is also made. The main purpose of the chapter is to question the autonomy of the relation between democracy and power relations in order for a clear comparison of a military rule (28th February) and a democratically elected government’s policies (AKP) on censorship.

In Chapter-2, an in-depth analysis of the mainstream journalistic tradition in Turkey would be made. The periodization of the history here depends on the changes or thresholds of the political regimes in Turkey. It should be noted that the chapter is more concentrated on the policies of censorship rather than a broad analysis of media in Turkey.

Finally, Chapter-3 would be named as the analysis part where a comparative analysis of 28th February and AKP Periods would be made. The comparison would contain several levels of analysis as follows: the state and the press, censored issues, techniques of censorship, self-

censorship and the attitudes of journalists against censorship. The analysis would mostly be founded on the interviews and memoirs of several mainstream journalists.

2. Methodology

In order to present a smooth analysis of 28th February and AKP periods, the thesis adopts a method of in-depth interviews. 6 people are comprehensively questioned on their own experiences and the viewpoints about the periods. The selection of interviewees is made upon where they work(ed), and which title they have/ had. In consequence, there are 1 ombudsman (Faruk Bildirici), 1 non-mainstream reporter/ academician (Dođan Tılıç), 1 previously reporter/ columnist (Ali Akel), 1 previously reporter/ recently author (Zeynep Atikkan), 1 previously reporter/ recently academician (Ayşe Çavdar), 1 previously editor/ recently Ankara representative (Sedat Bozkurt).

Furthermore, memoirs and views of several journalists about both periods are scanned in detail; which mostly contain more detailed information than the interviews. Within that perspective; the books of Nuraydın Arıkan (2011), Ali Bayramođlu (2013) and Hamit Karalı (2005) are quoted for 28th February period. Also the books of Mustafa Alp Dađıstanlı (2014), Mustafa Hoş (2014), Ertuđrul Maviođlu (2012) and Derya Sazak (2014) are quoted for AKP period.

3. Chapter 1: Theoretical Background

3.1. Explaining Censorship & Self- Censorship

According to major dictionary explanations; “censor(ship)” means “Pre- regulation of each kind of publish, art works of cinema and theatre by the hands of governments; a strict regulation...” (TDK, 2006), also it is mentioned as “...An official who examines books, films, news, etc. that are about to be published and suppresses any parts that are considered obscene, politically unacceptable, or a threat to security” (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.).

Whether it is a person or an act, censorship is being put forward as being inherent to the governments or officials. Regarding the commercialization era within media, and the spark of new market mechanisms and regulations etc. can also be regarded as a reason for censorship. On the other hand; the time, style or the character of censorship should also be realized in order to deeply grasp the details of it. Moreover, the debates over the need to censor versus the removal of it would also be fruitful to understand the philosophy under the freedom of press.

Several academicians has worked on censorship and tried to shape a framework in order to determine the variations of censorship further. Those works are also directly related to the phenomena of “freedom of speech/press”. Censorship- as a historical definition- took its official roots from Roman Empire where the republican opposition against Ceasar was suppressed by the hands of the officials called “Cencor” which supervise the moral attitudes of citizens; several book-burning acts and the regulations of the state began in this period (cf. Cramer, 1945: 158-159). Gradually, European sphere of press faced with censorship for a

long time following the Absolutist Period (1550-1800) and after the spark of daily newspapers in England. In Germany, England- and also in Republican France- 19th century had passed through with the struggle over freedom of press (Jeanneney, 2009; Marx, 2012; Taş, 2012). United States has a more liberal tradition from the beginning that took its roots from the famous First Amendment to the Constitution which says “Congress shall make no law... abridging the freedom of speech or of the press...” (United States Congress, n.d.)

No matter how those processes emerge, the debate over freedom of press is triggered by the suppressive policies of governments; and even now, despite most democratic regimes deny the existence of censorship through their laws, many criticisms against the restrictive regulations of them are expressed within the field and the academy as well.

As it is mentioned above, the history of censorship is taken analogous with the very existence of governments. Accordingly, one of the classifications of censorship is made regarding the status of governmental regulations by John Wilson³. He mentions that if there are ones who are responsible of censorship in an institution of press, it is the official censorship; conversely if there is no one responsible of censorship; however, there is a body which criticizes or warns the institution- method of *foot in the door*; it is the unofficial censorship (cf. 2001: 51). Compensating the theoretical part of the argument; Le Bohec adds that the road from the official to unofficial censorship should not be seen as a developmental process in “Western” countries since the effect of the censorship is sometimes more than the well-known physical violence over press in 3rd World countries. He mentions that an authority which does not apply official censorship puts the unofficial one forward so that it may formally argue that it is for the freedom of thought and communication; and employs the mechanisms of suppression over press smoothly (Özen, 2008: 17). Özen defines that concept of censorship from the widest explanation of it. She mentions that censorship here, can be taken as “each

³ Previously Chief Editor at BBC

suppressive regulation”, which contains the regulations before and after publishing; and she refers that the literature- taking censorship as that broad; made the field find implications also in market mechanisms as an addition to the state regulations (cf. Özen: 18).

Another classification of censorship can be mentioned as a technical separation. Franklin Houn implements the separation- regarding the example of Chinese Communist Party censorship in 1950’s; as follows: the prior restraints and post- publication censorship (Mutlu, 2012: 265)... According to Houn’s definition, censorship can be implied by the laws and regulations with binding restrictions before publication, and it becomes apparent with the fines and physical violence after the publication.

Keeping those definitions in mind, the main ground of the work lies on two major typology of censorship. The first implements both technique and the form of censorship that is driven from John Keane’s work- *The Media and Democracy* (1998); and the second point of view takes its roots from Phillips & Harslof (1997) which clearly specifies the process of censorship.

Keane determines 5 types or instances of censorship- more broadly abuse of the freedom of press- in order to crystallize the practices of governments. Here, the comprising character of Keane’s arguments would be mentioned with a discussion over it. Those instances are;

1- **Powers at State of Emergency:** In the periods of “State of Emergency”, the existence of prior restraints and post-publication censorship collaborate. In these periods, medias collectivize the feeling of depression common among the public (even the depression is defined by the hands of media), and spread news of official sources which say the depression has to be overturned through binding measures in order to crystallize subconsciously moving tone of depression. In those very moments, the pre & post publication censorship finds its ways in the name of preserving stability. Moreover, the

prior interests can be disguised within several shapes such as; “friendly conversations between government officials and journalists in cocktails”, several desires, warning call of those officials, and anything that regardless of being official or not (cf. Keane, 1998: 96-97).

- 2- **Armed Secrecy:** The secrecy within the organizations of police and armed forces in the name of obligatory mono-bloc attitude and so called stance against cunningness... Those features of the organizations are common in democratic regimes, in a way they are normalized, and they hide information from media in order to endure through eliminating the risk of surveillance (cf. Keane: 98). Keane’s arguments may refer to the attitude of those organizations against the daily reporters that the newspapers appoint or it may be found in the news directly handled by the police or army (claimed to be a popular action in Turkish media)⁴.
- 3- **Lying:** Lying, according to Keane, mostly does not spark from direct speech, instead it can be found on common practices of officials. For instance, eliminating reporters before inviting to the meetings, blocking the way of additional questions that would come after the permitted question of a reporter (mostly trick ones), prioritizing supportive reporters during meetings can be ordered as common practices of governments which can be thought as a “paid service” of government to the media (cf. Keane: 101-102).
- 4- **State advertising:** An example of state advertising is about the briefings and popular techniques called *off the record*, *on background* and *deep background*. Those practices have no implications directly related to the freedom not to mention sources, rather they are the arguments that the officials wanted to put forward and create a mythical atmosphere (cf. Keane: 105).

⁴For instance, Dağıstanlı mentions that, the unique public broadcasting agency of Turkey - “TRT”, even hired several police officers that know Kurdish in order to supervise the news and cut the “undesirable” phrases (cf. 2014: 138). Dağıstanlı depends on the arguments of TRT personnel. Moreover, the pressure of army on media during 28th February Period will be mentioned in details.

That topic can also be related to the famous “Propaganda Model” of Chomsky and Herman. Analyzing the “flak” function of propaganda, they argue;

“The propaganda model... incorporates... the ability to complain about the media's treatment of news (that is, produce "flak"), to provide "experts" to confirm the official slant on the news, and to fix the basic principles and ideologies that are taken for granted by media personnel and the elite, but are often resisted by the general population. In our view, the same underlying power sources that own the media and fund them as advertisers, that serve as primary definers of the news, and that produce flak and proper-thinking experts, also, play a key role in fixing basic principles and the dominant ideologies. We believe that what journalists do, what they see as newsworthy, and what they take for granted as premises of their work are frequently well explained by the incentives, pressures, and constraints incorporated into such a structural analysis.” (2002: XU)

Chomsky and Herman’s arguments clears that the sources of mainstream media are the gatekeepers of power bloc. Gradually, censoring any kind of an article becomes less important compared to a rigid determinism where the source of the news gives no room for any oppositional argument within that article. Similarly, Keane mentions about an upper level of sourcing media in his words: Several packaged news that are used to understand and transform the public opinion (in US media literature it is called “trial balloon”), official bulletins, and the disinformation acts of the governments can also be counted under that topic (cf. 2010: 107). Finally, the disproportionate distribution of the hours or columns that the party leaders appear in TV’s and newspapers are seen as an active abuse by governments (cf. 2010: 105)

The arguments of Keane and Chomsky both refers to the uneven distribution of information by officials and market intervention which directly legitimize the governmental sources of power, arguments of the share-holders or the intellectuals staying loyal to them. That situation finds slight implications within the post-structuralism's arguments of knowledge and re-defines the meaning of censorship. Framing a simple formula; if the information in a newspaper is blocked, cut, framed, or put by an official or an organic intellectual, then the knowledge grasped by the subject has already been censored from very beginning; used as "the monopoly of knowledge" by Foucault and Innis- as the main creator of the concept; within the discipline of sociology (Foucault, 1999: 234-235; Innis, 2007: 44). Such as any form of information, the news are also cannot be taken as objective, regarding those arguments.

Then, one should specify the borders of information in terms of news-making, and the paradigm of journalism which stands over values of objectivity, reality mirroring, and accordingly the freedom of press. The forthcoming part after the classifications of censorship would discuss those phenomenal concepts.

5- **Corporatism:** Corporatism carries several strategically important and functional groups into the state- through that, it politicizes some spheres of civil society; and carries the orbit of state into the civil society in order to communalize the functions of state. (cf. Keane, 1998: 107)

Through corporatism, Keane's arguments actually crystallize the mechanisms of market censorship within the practice of neo-liberal era after 1980s, where one may see several conglomerates that are directly or indirectly linked to governments- Berlusconi's Italy, Erdoğan's Turkey etc.

Moreover, that process not only simplifies the transformation of capital with the hands of state but also limits the freedom of the rest of journalists where both formal and monetary pressures are concentrated in lesser hands. Moreover, as Keane mentioned; the pressures in terms of income arise from state advertisements and several independent media institutions begin to be dependent or even go bankrupt (cf. Keane, 1998: 106).

Lastly, Phillips & Harslof's classification on censorship would be beneficial to generalize the instances of Keane, and the arguments of other academicians.

“Phillips and Harslof mention two dichotomies of censorship: ‘manifest-defensive/manifest-offensive’ and ‘latent-defensive/latent-offensive.’ In ‘manifest-defensive’ censorship, media content is cut, banned, deleted, or censored for the lofty interests of the state. This type of censorship can be performed before or after the content is broadcasted. In ‘manifest-offensive’ censorship, the attempts of the ruling class or government to reproduce and spread a false reality through public relations strategies and spin doctoring are very common. There exists a conscious and willing attempt to strictly control and reproduce what is presented to the public in this form of censorship. What is denoted by ‘latent-defensive’ censorship is the seizure and complete control of media channels that meet the informational needs of a society. The term ‘latent-offensive’ describes the silencing of the values and beliefs of people by the cultural hegemony of dominant groups” (Arsan, 2013: 448)

The dichotomies of Phillips & Harslof move the definition of censorship to a broader existence where state control, editorial pressures over journalists in workplace, and the market regulations melt in one pot. Those classifications of censorship; in fact, includes a historical process in itself which is parallel with the development of free market capitalism. Regarding the Turkish example- historical background of which would be mentioned in the following

part; the commercialization period after 1980s also shows how the binding juridical decisions, state control and market mechanisms triggered censorship. That situation completely resembles with the commercialization of British press in 19th century that founds its words in James Curran's analysis:

“The period around the middle of the nineteenth century, it will be argued, did not inaugurate a new era of press freedom: rather, it introduced a new system of press censorship more effective than anything that had gone before. Market forces succeeded where legal repression had failed in establishing the press as an instrument of social control, with lasting consequences for the development of modern British society.” (2003: 81)

3.2. “State”, “Freedom of Press” and “Censorship” in Grand School of Thoughts

As mentioned in the previous chapter; the meaning and scope of “censorship” would be taken within a broader image through that work. Indeed, its relations and similarities with the concept of “freedom of press” will be argued. Analyses of 3 major schools of thought- conservatism, liberalism, Marxism- over freedom of press would be put forward here in order to crystallize how censorship is applied and how the consent of media against it is stored. Furthermore, creating a framework for the state and media relations is necessary, which would ground the basis of ideological structure in the history of Turkish media. In order to give a pre-judgment, one may claim that conservatism founded the basis of state's role in the field, and liberalism determines ethical and professional values of journalism. Against the founding character of those schools, Marxism has a claim to de-construct several pre-settled arguments about the relations of media and states. Lastly, it should be noted that the

contemporary successors of grand theories which both develops and criticizes the basic forms of those theories would be mentioned in particular, to deepen the discussion about censorship.

3.2.1. Conservatism in Question

First of all, the arguments of conservatism should be ordered especially to know how censorship is legitimized in the field. The legitimization process can be researched in a two-fold problematic: the issue of “state” and the issue of “people”⁵... According to the conservative narrative, any authoritarian practice of the state- censorship within the major case, should be borne since the sake of the state comes first and its very existence is actually the sake of people (Bora & Erdoğan, 2003: 633). Moreover- mentioned in the footnote, “the pure essence” of the public should not be contaminated by the “enemies” of the state and gradually, the people (cf. Bora & Erdoğan: 639). That kind of a narrative brings consent with itself, and renders any “antagonistic” act against the “authority” into a matter to be eliminated or suppressed. The oppositional voices in Turkish media can be named as the ones whom are appointed as the intellectual side of the camp of “enemies”.

Directly related to media studies, Kahraman also mentions that the problem of censorship is a problem of power itself. He claims that conservative ideologies present their power as an undebatable one through using censorship. He claims that the ideological construction of censorship does not even “contain” the ones who remain as a threat to the structure. The only struggle passes between whom prone to share or grasp the power and the ruling fraction (cf. Kahraman, 2005: 228). Analyzing that discursive structure of the ruling classes, Özen (2008: 16) mentions that the main aim of censorship is to preserve the society and proceed the

⁵ “People”-regarding the Turkish translations, and the emphasis in literature, does not refer to “citizen” or “public” here. In the structure of conservatism- especially for Turkey; people is interpellated in two ways: the passive part of the body politics, and as the sacred subject (in discursive level) through accommodating the pure essence of tradition and good faith (see. Bora & Erdoğan, 2003: 637-640)

function of it through the path of those censoring governments- a situation which can be/ is summarized as “public interest” by conservatism.

Finally, Edmund Burke- one of the founding fathers of contemporary conservatism, mentions about the very existence of the state as a ”father” in modern capitalist societies; which acts like a ruler in several cases, having a carrot and a stick in its hands. He tells that; “Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains on their own appetites... Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there is without.” (as cited in Kimball, 2002: 18). Those mentioned perspectives have a common point, however different are they; that is the aim to preserve the status-quo. Then, determining the borders of discussion through censorship can be named as one of the main tools of conservative administrations.

3.2.2. Liberal Ideals of “Freedom of Press” and Debate on Censorship

Differentiating from other grand theories, liberalism has a special role to define and determine the framework of freedom of press in also practical implications; rather than analyzing the components of the field. Especially within the Anglo-Saxon geography, the construction of ethical basics of press depends on the theoretical framework of liberal theory. As mentioned within the definitions of censorship, Keane also draws a 4 branched approach of liberalism on freedom of press. Benefiting from that classification, the core points of liberal theory will be put forward within the chapter.

Before explaining the classification, the definitions of freedom of press can be mentioned through looking into the arguments of Turkish mainstream media conglomerates. Doğan

Media Group- the biggest media company of Turkey- defined the purpose of their company as follows: “The fundamental purpose of our publications is to relay facts to the public at large in an objective manner, without distorting, exaggerating or censoring said facts, and without being influenced by any external pressure or special interest groups along the way.” (Doğan Media Group, n.d.). Also their document on the principles of publishing contains those topics: Truthfulness, independence, trust, impartiality... Those values and responsibilities that are mentioned by Doğan Media show the hypothesis that the press is found on the grounds of liberal theory, which would be analyzed below.

Keane defines 4 philosophical bases on how the press freedom is implemented and censorship is denied:

- 1- **Theological Approach:** That approach “... criticized state censorship in the name of the God-given faculty of reason enjoyed by individuals.” (p. 11). John Milton’s famous speech, “Aeropagitica”, can be the founding figure of that approach. It briefly tells that the human reason is capable with the separation of “Good” and “Evil”, and censoring press is one of the main obstacles to reach the knowledge that public opinion would decide on the good of it (cf. Milton, 2006). Despite Milton has the traces of Enlightenment Thought, he also draws a border where censorship can be applied with Keane’s words: “He insisted that the books of popish bigots should be expurgated, and that in the fight for virtue toleration of the intolerant would be self-defeating” (1998: 12). That normative approach of liberalism, at the end of the day, claims that ethics and virtue should be the borders of freedom of press.
- 2- **Natural Rights Approach:** It can be mentioned that John Locke’s arguments on natural rights also inspired the field of media in the same direction. The philosophy behind Locke was the public debate rationale for press freedom (Ahmed, 2006). In fact, the watchdog role of press is emphasized through that approach since the

guarantee of the debate and the pursuance of knowledge comes from the free flow of information according Locke. Matthew Tindal also directly emphasized that; “Like a faithful centinel, a free press prevents all surprize, and gives timely warning of any approaching danger. Press freedom is a guarantee of freedom from political coxcombs, Parliamentary hoodwinking and governmental slavery” (as cited in Keane, 1998: 15).

- 3- **Utilitarianism Approach:** That approach, taking its roots from Jeremy Bentham and James Mill, “viewed state censorship of public opinion as a license for despotism and as contrary to the principle of maximizing the happiness of the governed” (Keane: 15). Utilitarianism approach, resembling the natural rights approach, seeks the maximization of happiness through the protection of public against the ruling elite. Since according to Keane, that approach simply states that a free press would restrain the greed of governments and makes them respect to the governed. (cf: 16)
- 4- **“Truth” Approach:** The last approach of liberalism can be named as the most mature phase of the arguments over censorship and press freedom. Most eminent concepts of liberalism, “commonwealth” and “public agreement” can be found in that approach since it seeks pluralism regarding the path to the truth. Again depending on Keane’s arguments the approach implies firstly;

“... any opinion which is silenced by government or civil society because it is allegedly false may prove to be true, in the sense that it may conform to the facts and survive vigorous counter-arguments about those facts. Those who seek to censor potentially true opinion naturally deny its truth”
(Keane: 18).

That summary of John Stuart Mill’s arguments would contain the “pluralist” part of the approach. Moreover, the part of “commonwealth” and “public agreement” comes

from the words; “In public affairs, truth necessitates combining and reconciling opposites.”

So that liberalism’s motion against censorship derives its basis from the quest of “rational judgment” that is attributed to the human nature. For those reasons, liberal theory framed a media field where the state and the free market- that enables media companies, are distinct from themselves with a watchdog objective of press over the state. Lastly, as it is claimed, Turkish mainstream media also took its root from the liberal “ideal” of press. Doğan Media principles, and similarly the practices of other media institutions are said to have whole discourse of liberal press theory. However, the conflict between the discourse and practice would be mentioned through the analysis chapter of the thesis.

3.2.3. Marxism and Post-Marxist Implications on State and Freedom of Press

Marxist theory mostly views the media issue as if it analyzes any other field; namely from the materialist approach. Further before concentrating on why and how censorship occurs and why states implement it; materialist approach concentrates on the capitalization process of “media industry”. Still, Marx himself and various Marxist authors defined an “ideal” press, especially concentrating on British and German press traditions in 18th century. That instance simply points an early capitalist period where; the press has been “of people”.

Ward, researching on the British example, mentions that the press has been independent with a strict opposition to licensing codes, censorship laws etc. On the contrary, there has been a pre-capitalist interpretation of “popular” in Wards’s terms, in which a “thing” is popularized through the possibility to reach the knowledge, and organizing around it (2004: 190). Marx

also makes a comprehensive definition for the freedom of press viewing the North American example of 19th century. He argues that,

“The free press is the ubiquitous vigilant eye of a people's soul, the embodiment of a people's faith in itself, the eloquent link that connects the individual with the state and the world, the embodied culture that transforms material struggles into intellectual struggles and idealizes their crude material form. It is a people's frank confession to itself... It is the spiritual mirror in which a people can see itself, and self-examination is the first condition of wisdom” (Marx, 2012: 84)

Through the spark of “mass media”, in Marxian terms, mentioned popularization gives the way to specialization process and the commoditization of news as an industrial product. Recalling Ward, one may state that the concepts like “impartiality” and “neutrality” become the ethical mythos of journalism since newspapers tried to call masses which have distinct political and class backgrounds (cf. 2004: 190-192).

That characterization of the mass media creates a capitalization process reciprocally. Here, the pre-capitalist development of press would be taken as a struggle between the state and journalists over repression; however, according to Williams (1965: 198), the new basis for censorship is the market mechanism from the very beginning for giving the control of the “penny” newspapers that working class read to the hands of ruling class.

Moreover, the new popularization mentioned by Ward can also be mentioned through the specialization process where the editorial impartiality can hardly be guaranteed as Taş mentioned (2012: 50) since the normative claim that journalism has- to tell people what they shall know, is at the hands of neither the elites nor the press but of market mechanisms. Here one may argue that the independence of journalism and freedom of press so forth cannot be measured through looking whether the journalist tells the truth or s/he has an ideological

domination by the pen, but long before through the ownership status of her/ his work-place, office. For the contemporary media industry Bourdieu also claims that the level of autonomy of a media company depends on the ads it has, the share of state-subsidies and the concentration level of the advertisers (Alver, 2011: 226).

Lastly, Keane mentioned a similar objection to the free market ideal of liberal thesis which is as follows: “The market liberal fetish of ‘the market’ not only plays down its monopolistic tendencies. It is also contradicted by evidence that high risks and high entry costs sometimes discourage all potential producers wanting to enter communication markets” (1998: 74). That reference of Keane not only motions a criticism to the “ideal” but also crystallize a factual reality of media after 1980’s. Indeed, the concentration and conglomeration within media sector, “by nature” blocks alternative voices that try to stay independent from market mechanisms.

Those direct objections of Marxism to the “ideal” of press in liberal theory create an atmosphere where the freedom of press seems to be a self-destructive phenomenon. Then how a Marxist “ideal” would defines the relation between journalism and censorship? That question could summarily be answered through the words of Doğan Tılıç:

“I do not define journalism as the gate keeper of truth; rather a journalist should be on the way towards being critical in order to deconstruct the words that are presented as truth. So censorship is not a ‘next’ level for a journalist. It has to be the first and the most important aim of a journalist to stand against the suppression of her/his critical words. Since if you have a word to criticize, then the authority would have a word to challenge your arguments.” (Tılıç, 2014)

Those arguments of Tılıç clarify a critical approach against the liberal approach of journalism. If a frame of journalism is drawn according to Marxist theory, it would be usual as “change

the status-quo” rather than reflecting the “truth”. However, an analysis of the state is also necessary in order to fulfill the blank in the arguments about market mechanisms and the construction of journalism ethics. Since the issue of censorship cannot only be analyzed through viewing the infrastructural part of the media industry.

A last view on the “ideals” of press may constitute a more radical view on truth- also questioning the Marxist structuralism; which directly asks “Is the truth of journalism independent of subjectivity?”... Çiler Dursun reminds journalism’s character of personal selections here. Dursun (2005: 72) states;

“The reporter constitutes news as a distinct text, with the ability to catch a part of the events or the facts. The selection of the reporter on which parts of the truth she/he would choose to contain or exclude with her/his concerns is a significant selection... Also the settled language of news cannot be seen as independent from the existing reproduction of power and hegemony relations that consists class, sexist and racist implications in itself.”

The complementing part of those arguments is still can be found in post- Marxist turn of the analysis on super-structure by several authors such as Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas. Before the discussion of state-media relations, a model which would help to analyze the media of 28th February and AKP (Justice and Development Party) periods should be framed in order to make the comparison with a smoother analysis. That model will also contain a brief comparison of two books; Siebert et al. book of “Four Theories of the Press”, and Hallin and Mancini’s book of “Comparing Media Systems”, also regarding the contributions of Denis McQuail as a transitory theory between two models.

3.3. Comprehensive Models on Analyzing Turkish Media

3.3.1. Siebert, Peterson and Schramm: “Four Theories of the Press” and Applicability to Turkish Media

Siebert et al. defines four concepts of press which are the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility and soviet communist ones. Within the broad chart of their arguments, Siebert et al. clearly defines the main points of four concepts in the book (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm, 1963: 8). In order to briefly discuss the trenches of those concepts, we would determine a four-fold variable that is inspired from the work of the authors which are: Aim, right to use media, control of media and the prohibitions.

According to the book, the authoritarian concept’s aim is to support the stance of government and serve to the state. Its right to use the media is determined depending on the permission of royal or counterpart powers. The control of media depends on the permission of government, licensing and censorship. Lastly, the prohibition within the authoritarian concept is directly as follows: “the criticism of the political authority”.

On the other hand, libertarian concept’s aim is clearly defined by the authors as to inform, entertain and advertise. However, as a focal aim it is said to be seeking of truth and inspect the government. The right to use the media belongs to the ones who have the sufficient economic resources. The control of media is planned to depend on the free market of information where the “truth” would institute its own way, and the guarantee of that control are the courts. Lastly, the prohibitions of libertarian model are against the humiliating broadcasts, and the manipulation for the war.

Thirdly, social responsibility model that takes its roots from USA media tradition is mentioned to have an aim mostly similar to the libertarian concept: to inform, entertain and advertise; and most importantly create a pluralist atmosphere through public debate. Right to use the media is attributed to “everyone” within the model. Moreover, the control of media depended upon commonsense, consumer choices and professional ethic. Lastly, the prohibitions are drawn against the violation of private rights and vital common interests (Siebert et al., 1963: 8).

The last concept derived from the book is the Soviet-communist one. Siebert et al. framed that concept as a total monopoly of power. An aim of supporting the “dictatorship” of communist party with a dependent control of media, equipped with the prohibitions of criticism to the party and its members... Within that kind of a framework, they defined the Soviet model as a developed version of authoritarian model (Siebert et al.: 106).

If one directly applies that conceptual analysis to the media of Turkey, it can be thought that the 28th February Period can be seen as a mixture of libertarian and authoritarian models where the media has begun to be bounded by the large enterprises within a phase of commercialization. On the other hand, the strict censorship of the army officers that will be mentioned through following chapter, created an area of domination of the authority over the media. However, Siebert et al’s theory may be criticized through different perspectives. For instance, media that is analyzed by them is seen to be either directly controlled by the market rule or completely dependent on the state control. However, complex relations within the power bloc are itself a reproduction of the relations between state and the market.

The designers of the second model also criticized the former concepts from a similar perspective. They argued that;

“Note that Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm seem to assume that the media will always be the ‘dependent variable’ in relation to the ‘system of social control’, which it ‘reflects’. In this sense, their formulation is ironically similar to a traditional Marxist base and superstructure theory... In many cases it may be reasonable to assume that the media system essentially ‘reflects’ other aspects of social structure – the party system, for example. But there is good evidence that media institutions have an impact of their own on other social structures.” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004: 8)

That reference to Hallin and Mancini could be tested over the period of 28th February in Turkey. For instance, if one takes the media as being directly dependent on state or army in that period it would have shortcomings. Since media itself- whether name it as a “watchdog” role or “infrastructural determinism”, had been thought to bring down the governments or make them come into power. Gürsoy argues that, “A side of media made Tansu Çiller⁶ came into power, with the captions of ‘lady’s heel steps’. Shortly after Çiller cut the subsidies and covert deposits⁷, the media similarly pulled her down, and the government could not endure against the media’s lynch campaign” (2013: 3). After those arguments, one may ask the questions such as “With whom the media made agreements against Çiller?” or “Did the market mechanisms clash with political parties of that period?”... Directly asking “Did the state control the media in that period?” may be a reductionist point which would lack to explain the complex relations of that period.

⁶ Former Prime Minister and the leader of DYP in 1990s...

⁷ Those claims of deposits that were covertly given to the media owners in that period are confessed to be true by several journalists and also been judged in the courts.

3.3.2. Contribution of McQuail: “Developmental Media Theory”

Such as the criticism of Hallin and Mancini, Denis McQuail also revised the model that Siebert and his friends created, according to the transformation after the dissolution of Soviet Union. McQuail’s (2010) provision for the literature can be thought around the concept of “developmental” media practice. McQuail states how authoritarian practices among the “Social Responsibility Model” and “Libertarian Model” countries came into existence, and argues that “... states usually adopt the authoritarian perspective when they think they need to and can get away with it.” (McQuail: 176).

Further, he analyzes the “modernization” process of under-developed countries around the structure of media. He states media is/ should be a sphere which supports the development of those post-colonial countries; within a process of cooperation with the states. Regarding that “responsibility”, McQuail founds the modelling of Siebert et al. as having a “negative” freedom view that only creates a duality where media clashes the state in order to gain its freedom. He mentions;

“...societies undergoing a transition from underdevelopment and colonialism to independence often lack the money, infrastructure, skills and audience to sustain an extensive free-market media system. A more positive version of media theory is needed which focuses on national and developmental goals as well as the need for autonomy and solidarity with other nations in a similar situation. In the circumstances, it may be legitimate for government to allocate resources selectively and to restrict journalistic freedom in some ways. Social responsibility comes before media rights and freedoms.”

(McQuail: 176)

That quotation from McQuail can be applied to both discursive attitude of journalism in the history of Turkish Republic and to the practical implications where the agreement with the state on the way to “modernization” is provided by Turkish mainstream media. That process

clearly shows that “national interests” comes before media rights and freedoms for journalists in the history of Turkey, as would be mentioned in the following chapter.

3.3.3. Hallin and Mancini: “Comparing Media Systems” and Applicability to Turkish Media

As being the last modelling of media after Siebert et al. and McQuail; Hallin and Mancini created a more complex conception of media models in their book “Comparing Media Systems” (2004). Through those complex relations, authors also avoid to claim “universality” over their arguments. Rather they classify 3 models which also have geographical implications: The Mediterranean or Pluralized Pluralist Model, The North Central European or Democratic Corporatist Model, The North American or Liberal Model... Regardless of the inner comparison of those models, it can be claimed that Turkish media industry and the structure of state-media relations are clearly related with the first model. Then, the similarities between the Mediterranean/ Pluralized Pluralist Model and the practices in Turkey will be mentioned within that part.

The arguments of Hallin and Mancini focus on two main headings which are the political system characteristics and media system characteristics. A comparative analysis of those topics would be fruitful to analyze the media in Turkey.

In the media system of Mediterranean Model, authors mentions that the industry is bound of a low circulation of newspapers and an elite reader profile compared to the rest of the region (cf. Hallin & Mancini: 67). Moreover, they argue- in relation to the former assignment- that; “Freedom of the press and the development of commercial media industries generally came late; newspapers have often been economically marginal and in need of subsidy” (cf. Hallin &

Mancini: 73). Through the historical analysis part of Turkish media, the solid applicability of that argument will be mentioned⁸.

What is significant for the analysis of media system in Turkey can also be found in the authors' arguments when they order the political engagement of media: "Political parallelism tends to be high; the press is marked by a strong focus on political life, external pluralism, and a tradition of commentary-oriented or advocacy journalism" (cf. Hallin & Mancini: 73) is coordinated amongst. Turkish media tends to be shaped around the columnists that are for or against the political actors and institutions, especially in the period of AKP. In the period, the organic relation between the columnists/ newspaper owners and the government is openly declared by several practices and also by academicians. Sönmez summarizes the media relations in AKP period as follows:

"AKP and the Gülen movement... have begun to found their own mediums in the spark of 2000s. In addition to that potential, they followed a path to restrain the activities of the biggest media conglomerates (Doğan and Çukurova Groups). Lastly, several media companies- such as ATV and Sabah group that bankrupted after the economic crisis of 2001, is subsidized and made agreements with foreign partners- whose auctions are determined in a monopolized way, and became the advocate mediums of the government." (2013)

Hallin and Mancini add another feature of Mediterranean countries which may support these arguments in relation: There is "... instrumentalization of the media by the government, by political parties, and by industrialists with political ties is common" (Hallin & Mancini: 73). The restraints over media are critically discusses through the arguments of the authors. As if the frame of censorship's meaning is drawn in the first chapter, the problem of neoliberal era

⁸ For a detailed infrastructural analysis of media industry in Turkey, see Kaya (2009)

on censorship cannot only be thought as a pressure and cutting/cropping system of governments. Rather it can be thought as a systemic and structural process where the ideological construction of a state somehow reflects into the media arena; on the other hand, several times it clashes with the motions of media.

Still, specifically speaking of Turkey, political system's characteristics are similar to what Hallin and Mancini mentions⁹:

“... high degree of ideological diversity and conflict that characterizes these Southern European countries, and which in turn is rooted in delayed development of liberal institutions. The delayed development of liberalism is connected with a strong role of the state in society (often in an authoritarian form), a strong role of political parties once the transition to democracy is achieved, a continuing importance of clientelism, and a weaker development of rational-legal authority.” (74)

Linking those two branches of the authors' analysis, journalists' arguments in Turkey would also be provisional. According to Arsan's survey that is conducted by the participation of 67 representing journalists¹⁰, the importance of the actors in terms of how influential they are on news content in Turkey is ordered by journalists as follows: 81% of journalists mentioned that the pressure of government is very important. 59.6% of journalists pointed the media owners, and 44% of journalists pointed religious communities/ institutions to be very important in influencing media. Lastly, the effects of NGOs are chosen as “not important at all” by 32% of journalists which clearly gives clues about the role of public sphere in the field of media (2013: 453).

⁹ See Arsan (2007) for the detailed analysis of the similarities between the Mediterranean Model and Turkey.

¹⁰ 25.4 percent of participants were reporters, 41.8 percent introduced themselves as editors, and 22.5 percent were news directors, editors, department directors, and executive editors. (cf. Arsan, 2013: 452)

The applicability of Hallin and Mancini's theory over Mediterranean countries can be thought to clearly represent the reality of media in Turkey, comparing to the current analysis of Arsan (2006). At that point, another question should be asked in order to complete the analysis of state- media relations in Turkey, regarding the two periods that are the core of the thesis: "What is different between a military rule and a democratically elected government on the issue of censorship and the re-construction of media?" That question drives the paper to analyze briefly the relation between democracy and censorship on the ground which answers whether it is a regime of power or it is a regime of law. In fact, a binary opposition that means democracy and censorship are by nature cannot be brought together, should be deconstructed since the democratically elected governments' practices of censorship are also common in the media model of Turkey.

3.4. Applying Post-Marxist Literature on Democracy & Censorship Relation in Turkey

Despite, the analysis of Turkish media-state relations would deeply be investigated through the last chapter, an analysis of the post-Marxist turn on the theory of "state"- especially the provisions of Nicos Poulantzas, creates a basis in order to separate the related periods.

In previous chapters, censorship is taken as a broader concept with a distinction of market and state censorship in various cases. Poulantzas and his concepts, "type-form-regime of state" and "power bloc" would be mentioned here in order to discuss that distinction. The questions here has to be ask is "Do the interests of state and market clash?", "Does the market has a

unique purpose or interest?”, and “How censorship is shaped according to that discussion?”...¹¹

Poulantzas; first of all, defines the state in a three-fold structure. The “type” of state explains whole relations of production; those relations determine the type of state. For instance, capitalism is a type of state. A “form” of state implies how the infrastructure and the dynamic political struggle between/within classes shape the rule of state. Indeed, it is the form of the accumulation process. For instance, fascism and state monopoly capitalism are the examples of a form. Each accumulation process; according to Poulantzas, defines the form of a “power bloc”; in which different classes and fractions of those classes have a dynamic relation in both contradicting and compromising ways. Lastly, “regime” of a state explains the scale of the power bloc which is defined by the form of it. For instance, parliamentary democracy, presidential democracy, and authoritarianism are regimes of a state (cf. Poulantzas, 1973: 147-156).

In a more practical narrative, regardless of a rule of army or democratically elected governments, the type of the state in Turkey can be named as a “capitalist” one since the class interests- speaking of Poulantzian terminology, are framed around a capitalist type of an accumulation process, parallel with a bourgeoisie structure. However, as Paul Thomas argued;

“... no power bloc being based on a social formation... is irreducible to the more encrusted, traditional Marxist notion of a ‘mode of production’, is going to be unitary or monolithic by definition of fiat, but is, to the contrary, by its very nature going to be a ‘contradictory unity’ that is likely to be a much more open and flexible political site of construction”. (2002: 75)

¹¹ That discussion over power bloc seems relevant since the comparability of two periods- 28th February and AKP, can only be legitimized where censorship is handled under two similar authorities. On the contrary, comparing two distinct forms of power bloc (Let’s say a fascist and a radical democratic one) would have been irrelevant for crystallizing the change in censorship policies.

As one may claim, the variable that determines the regime cannot only be the holders of the mode of production. Rather it can be taken as a process, which Gramsci called “praxis” within which there is a political struggle over hegemonic domination (2011: 239). In that instance, what is important comes from the forms of domination of classes and/or fractions over the others. The form of a state then, consists of not only the rule of governments where they bargain their power with the monopoly of violence- through the repressive state apparatuses, “against” organized bourgeoisie, working class etc. Rather, there are actors within the form of a state that determines the policies against themselves and the excluded groups from the bloc. Within the power bloc, the hegemonic actor tries to legitimize its authority over the others with several apparatuses. In terms of Poulantzas;

“The dominant ideology is not the only ideology in a social formation: there are several contradictory ideologies or ideological sub-systems, related to the various classes in struggle. The dominant ideology itself is only formed by its successful domination of these other ideologies and ideological sub-systems: it does so through the ideological State apparatuses.” (1975: 306)

Poulantzas argues- inspiring from Antonio Gramsci’s works, that media is one of those ideological state apparatuses, which can be thought as a field of domination on where the ruling fractions try to store their authority (cf. Poulantzas, 1975: 299). Then one can state that the field of media is constructed and re-produced by the struggle between the fractions within the “power bloc”¹², the market forces and the government in our example. Through those arguments, the tools that maintain that struggle are the “policy scales” of those fractions which determines the “regime” of states. From those arguments queued, the first hypothesis of the thesis can be put forward.

¹² The struggle between the actors of power bloc and the excluded classes also creates an area of domination, speaking of media. However, as the main subject of that thesis is the mainstream media, mostly the inner conflicts of power bloc would be mentioned.

Hypothesis-1: The separation of censorship as “state” and “market” can only be a functional distinction. Rather, the term “censorship” conceptually belongs to the praxis of the “power bloc” in which the state and the market censorship dynamically collide and coincide.

To sum up, it can be claimed that one of the most significant variables that affect the structure of media is the power relations within the power bloc. So that, several normative principles of the press that were mentioned in previous chapter (objectivity, freedom, impartiality etc.) are subordinately framed according to the regimes of the governments and market forces.

The last discussion that has to be made here is the question of democracy and freedom. Similarly, for the Poulantzian terminology, “democracy” is a component of regimes of state, neither the type nor the form of it. For instance, there cannot be a phenomenon called “democratic capitalism” as a relation of production or a fascist form of state cannot have democratic institutions.

From that point of view, censorship cannot be interpreted through a comprehensive analysis of democracy since no democratic authority may be able to form censorship policies through a rationalist perspective. However, regarding the “democratically” elected governments in the practices of politics, anyone can see censorship policies or more deeply self-censorship recently. Then an argument called “Democratic regimes do not handle censorship” became a tautology since there is a determining relation between democracy and power according to Poulantzian terminology.

From that point of view, democracy can be told as a “discourse” of power bloc, rather than a massive form of a state that is “of” people. Regarding also the historical implications of democracy in 20th century of Greece and France, Poulantzas points that there is “... the erosion of democratic sentiment and spirit within the emergent ‘authoritarian statist’ system of bourgeoisie political domination.” (Thomas, 2002: 77) Turkish politics can also be

regarded from the same perspective here. So that the media of 28th February and AKP periods cannot be compared according to the arguments such as the former one is a non-democratic authority's- the army, and the latter is a democratically elected government's rule.

In order to get through that chapter, the discursive function of democracy would briefly be stated inspiring from the contemporary theoreticians of it. It is the core element of the discussion that democracy can be taken as a form of legitimization of the actors in power. Wendy Brown says: "Democracy as concept and practice has always been limned by a nondemocratic periphery and unincorporated substrata that at once materially sustain the democracy and against which it defines itself." (2011: 49). What Brown mentioned about the Western democracies and the "non-democratic" colonies resembles the relation between democracy and censorship. Democracy as discourse labels censorship within its monopoly of "saying" over several phrases. For instance, the army in 28th period mentions that the government is against the secular democratic values (which can be censored). Also AKP mentions that the ones who "burn the streets" are against a democratically elected power (whom can be censored).

Here Giorgio Agamben also states that democracy has two implications- the former is what it is, and the latter as an *a priori* phenomenon:

"... a way of constituting the body politic (in which case we are talking about public law) or a technique of governing (in which case our horizon is that of administrative practice. To put it another way, democracy designates both the form through which power is legitimated and the manner in which it is exercised." (2011: 1)

What one may argue is that censorship as a nondemocratic act is being handled by the discourse of democracy itself. Democracy within the praxis; has a symbolic meaning near its own reality through; a meaning about what Badiou argues: "There is no doubt that this word

(democracy) remains the dominant emblem of contemporary political society. An emblem is the ‘untouchable’ in a symbolic system, a third rail.” (2011: 5).

In consequence, the fractions that hold the power in their hands seem not to be important on whether to be democratic or not about censorship since they had the power to “define” censorship’s borders such as “What can be censored?”, and “What cannot?”. So that; the comparison between the army of 28th February and AKP would be founded over that perspective. Then our second hypothesis can be taken as follows:

Hypothesis-2: Censorship should not be analyzed through an opposition between itself and democracy. On the contrary, it should be analyzed within an analogy between itself and “power”.

4. Chapter 2: The History of Censorship in Turkish Media

4.1. Introduction

Media sector in Turkey has always had complex relations between state authorities and capital owners. That situation emerges in both relations of production and super-structural relations. In order to analyze those relations; one has to briefly discuss the historical process of “media” or “press” in Turkey. Apart from the broad historical narrative, main instances of censorship within the 150 years old media tradition in Turkey would shape the framework of the thesis more properly. In order to do that framework, there would be two main variables: The first one is how the state, market and laws affect the regulations and censorship; and the second one is how the media itself organize the inner ethics, principles and theory... Both variables will be mentioned following the periodical division of the history of Turkish journalism. Through that research, continuities and discontinuities which bring the history of censorship in Turkey to 21st century would be analyzed.

4.2. 1828- 1908: Journalism in Late Ottoman Period

The spark of newspapers in Ottoman Empire was in 1828 with the publishing of *Vakayi-i Misriye* in Egyptian provinces. However, the first long-term newspaper is *Takvim-i Vakayi* that had been published by the order of Sultan II. Mahmud(1808- 1839). That example itself shows that the first attempts to journalism had been conducted by the state itself in the region. *Takvim-i Vakayi*'s first issue clearly defines its objective- to make people know the events on their time since late and incomplete news may harm the interests of state (as cited in Topuz,

2003: 16). Moreover, one of the comments of the Sultan about the newspaper follows as: “That newspaper will reinforce my power, if it stays within the borders of holy Sharia and the order of state” (Çakır, 2001). Most of other newspapers within the era are conducted by the foreign elite in Ottoman land for diplomatic reasons (such as the first private newspaper, Ceride-i Havadis which was owned by William Churchill).

In addition to those attempts on the way of Turkish journalism; the state began to regulate the area of media by the laws and codes. The first attempt to regulate media can be mentioned as the foundation “General Directorate of Press” in 1862. Afterwards in 1864, the Directorate issued its first code- “Regulations of Press”. That document can be taken as the first institutionalized implementation of Turkish journalism. It has several prohibitions; some of them can be mentioned as the prohibitions on publishing unlicensed newspaper, not sending the signed copy of next day’s newspapers, not publishing the official documents that are sent by the state, provoking the criminals whom are grasped as the enemies of national security by the state (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 10)... Those articles and institutions can be grasped as the examples of pre-audit censorship and regulatory mechanisms of journalism. Also the non-existence of the articles about subjects that have to be censored and further shows that the media practice has not been popularized yet.

Following Mahmud II period; Abulhamid II era (1876- 1909) has been mentioned as the dark side of media by several journalists that worked in those years. A systematic censorship practice has been conducted in that period; on the other hand, a few newspapers have been equipped by some privileges among who stayed loyal to the dynasty (Taş, 2012: 142). Despite the first constitution of Ottoman Empire was issued in 1876, and the 12. Article of it states that “The press is free within the limits of law”; the Sultan censored several journalists or exiled them to other provinces in that period.

On the other hand, concentrating on several famous journalists of that period, the basics of Turkish journalism and the reasons of state censorship would crystallize. For Namık Kemal- the founder of newspaper *İbret* in 1870- the press should be/ is autonomous from state unless it acts against the interests of state. On the other hand, for Şinasi- the founder of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* in 1862- the press is the instructor of the society, it makes people think of themselves and the political existence of the power (cf. İnuğur, 2005: 192-195).

Those core arguments of both sides clarify the path which mainstream newspapers follow in Turkey. Several important newspapers of Ottoman period establish their principles according to sake of nationalist ideas which made Young Ottomans trigger a nation- building process in early 20th century. On the contrary, the acts of Ottoman state tell that it tries to preserve the status-quo, where the dynasty endures with the help of loyal journalists.

On the other hand, most controversial ideological backgrounds of media- in general- can also be grasped from the arguments of those journalists. Despite the arguments of them would be seen as a progressive element of media in 1876; when it comes to the ethical structure of press in Turkey; “the sake of nation”, and “instructing character of press” has been put forward as the most important principles before several common liberal narratives of universal media processes- objectivity, independency etc. Those particular characteristics of Turkish journalism reverberated during the early Republican period 1908-1946, and today as well.

4.3. 1908-1923: Second Constitutional Period- Unity and Development Party (*İttihat ve Terakki Partisi*) in Power

In 1908, one of the biggest uprisings in Turkish history came into existence and UDP attempted to hold the power. According to several media researchers, the beginning of that period has been an era of freedom (Kabacalı, 1990; Topuz, 2003). 1 day after the

proclamation of II. Constitution- on July 24th - most of the newspaper owners (owners of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat, İkdam, Sabah, Saadet*) declared that they deny sending their newspapers to the pre-publishing supervision of state, unlike they have done commonly until that day (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 20). Even today, that day is being celebrated as the “Feast of Journalists”. In 1909, “The Code of Press” was also changed by the efforts of journalists and the ruling power. Within the new code, the obligatory article about taking license from the state in order to publish a newspaper was removed. Instead, the only obligatory mechanism had been “the publishing notification to state for newspapers”... Moreover, the only reason that the government may close a newspaper indifferent to any objection was “openly insulting any national or religious minority group” (Kayış & Hürkan: 21)... Those amendments to the code show that the possibility of censorship was minimalized depending on the official statuses.

However, different from the previous periods, II Constitutional Period, had faced with a clearly formed two-sided ideological polarization- on one side, unionists; in the other side, monarchists. According to Adaklı (2006: 99), within that period; being a “journalist”, and being “member of a political party” do not create a clear separation or they do not constitute any ethical conflict, since Turkish media had not owned any ideal of objectivity or independency until that period. Accordingly, the tradition of press in Turkey has several different roots from European liberal narrative of media.

That brief framework about the period shows also how the borders of regulations are drawn. Within that borders, the challenge of media labors in the name of independency against the state did not seem to be existing. Instead, the newspapers chose a way either to serve as the ideologues of the nation-building process or to preserve the status-quo of the Ottoman dynasty. One may see the sake of that rivalry through looking up to the numbers of newspapers in that period. In 1908, there were 353 published newspapers with a huge

increase. However, when the UDP began to consolidate its power and became an oppressing mechanism; in 1910, the number was 130. Finally with the First World War began, the number declined to 8 in 1916 (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 22).

4.4. 1923- 1938 The Republican Period

The Independence War period (1918-1923), does not show meaningful data about censorship in media since there is a total decline in media institutions. A strict censorship and partisan journalism within that nation-building process seem to be the only features of that period. After the war and the declaration of the 1924 Constitution, the freedom of press was guaranteed through the Article 77, which says, “The press is free within the limits of the law, and shall not be submitted to any censorship previous to publication” (Earle, 1925). However, shortly after that period, The Uprising of Sheikh Said began in the eastern part of Turkey.

The Republican People’s Party- RPP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*) government and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as the president treated that uprising as the most significant threat to the Kemalist modernization and nation-building process. Through the implementation of “Courts of Independence” and the “Law on the Maintenance Order”, which serve as the main cornerstones of the martial law order; government not only suppressed the uprising but also promulgated strict codes about each oppositional movement against itself. On 3rd March 1925, the parliament approved the “Ordinance of Censorship” counterpart to the martial law. That ordinance mostly eliminated the oppositional journalists. The owners of newspapers *Tanin*, *İkdam* and *Tasvir-i Efkâr* are detained with the reason that they published an international letter that was sent by the government officials. Moreover, most oppositional journalists are judged within the Courts of Independence, and most of them are exiled to different parts of world (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 41).

Another instance of censorship could be mentioned as the implementation of Latin alphabet. That act as a “reformist” part of the Kemalist movement, reversely interrupted the literacy of the society. Within the media sector, the act found its implementations as a prohibition on publishing newspapers in Arabic alphabet, 5 months after (1st December 1928), which made a strict decrease in circulations. Despite those consequences, the state had subsidized several newspapers in those years in order to compensate the financial losses of them (Kayış & Hürkan: 49). On the other hand, The Republican Period cannot be analyzed through market mechanisms and since the state had a monopoly on the imports of paper, press machines and publishing advertisements- official bulletins (Kayış & Hürkan: 50).

Those structural elements of the period clearly show that censorship had been applied to the press in the name of nation-building process. Even most newspapers editors in chief were members of RPP in that period (Koloğlu, 2013: 118). Strictly related to the position of government and official ideology, the arguments of Yunus Nadi (the founder of the newspaper Cumhuriyet- 1924) which draws the framework of independency and neutrality for his newspaper can be put forward:

“The republic was an aim won with continuous struggle. We are the people that personally worked for that aim. We are the representatives and holders of it. Keeping that situation in mind, now we concretely argue that our newspaper is neither governments’ nor any parties’. The reader wants to see neutral news that is exempt from prejudices.” (İnuğur, 1992: 88)

The pro-Kemalist media literature also states that the censorship in that period was obligatory since the pro-Halifax journalists of Istanbul stood to deny the republicanism of RPP, and attempted to preserve the status-quo of Ottoman Empire (Demir, 2012: 126) or they stated that “... the revolution of Atatürk had and should have denied the anti- secular journalism of

the period. Also the radical leftist journalists were accepted only if they did not act against Kemalism” (Kolođlu, 2013: 118).

Shortly after that single party period, in 1930, the Independent Party (*Serbest Fırka*) was founded. What is important for journalism here is the spark of a new opposing newspaper with the IP; namely “Yarın” (1930). The circulations of Yarın reached 80.000 in less than a year, and that condition is said to be a clear success for that days’ newspapers. However, the newspaper was closed by the order of government after a year passed. The reason for closure was a cartoon that drew a fight between a governor and a navy officer. After all the manager of the newspaper- Arif Oruç- was arrested (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 51).

Those repressive acts against the oppositional front in the Republican Period reached its extremes with a new “Code of Press” in 1931. Until that time, despite the censorship practices had been commonly seen, they were not officially supported by the codes. However, with the new code, it was clearly stated that “... Newspapers act against the common political attitude of the nation would be banned by the state without the necessity of juridical decision.” (TBMM, 1931: 375) Moreover, the code clearly states that publishing for 4 issues- sultans of Ottoman Empire, Halifax, anarchism, communism- are restricted. (TBMM: 372). Following those changes in the law, 1935 First Press Congress, also clarified the “national press tradition” of Turkey with its keynote speech that was made by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Şükrü Kaya:

“End of the sleek and defeatist press that serves to the traitor and vulgar men has come in the eyes of the nation’s rightful disgust. The press of today, thankfully, does not stand at the same side with those kinds of people. Also they will and should not stand at the same side too.” (as cited in Taş, 2012: 152)

Furthermore, through the amendment to the code in 1938, the newspaper owners became obliged to show a deposit for their investments on a foundation of newspaper depending on the region their enterprise operates (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 53). That article also blocked the way of alternative or independent newspapers that were being published with smaller budgets in the period, and presented one of the first instances of private censorship in the period.

4.5. 1938- 1946: Second World War Period

The following period after the death of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, faced with a short liberal view of state over the media. However, the spark of Second World War, and officially neutral position of Turkish republic caused a different struggle within media institutions. That struggle can be named as the positioning of journalists due to their support to either Allied or Axis nations (Koloğlu, 2013: 120). Those conditions- added to the nation-building journalism; pushed journalists publish for the sake of their sides.

Moreover, the state; indifferent to its neutrality in the war, began to censor newspapers starting from 1940 for the reasons of “war conditions”, “distortion of foreign news”, “harming the morale of the society” etc. Despite there had not been an official censorship article in law, the state monopolized the authority within that period through temporary decisions, some of which are:

- Martial law officers can close the newspapers without a juridical decision (24th May 1940)
- Foreign news will be written and distributed by the Anatolian Agency (AA)
- Publishing news about the famine of flour, and complaints about bread, wood, meat and coal stocks are prohibited (31st May 1940) (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 69).

2 major journalists of different sides in that period, Zekeriya Sertel and Ziyad Ebüzziya have two significant arguments about the period that may foster the analysis. Sertel defines the period as a police-state era and inserts: “Even the press was in the hands of the police in that period. There were no official censorship; however, every day ministers were calling the newspapers. The ones who do not obey these warnings were being closed immediately.” (as cited in Kabacalı, 1990: 136).

On the other hand, Ebüzziya argues:

“Even the news in several newspapers about the closure of other ones are censored by the government... At the night of the non-aggression pact was signed with Germans, they closed us for 6 weeks only for the possibility of our newspaper to write: ‘We’ve said it before!’ Once we were closed for 10 days only for mentioning that in Antep, there is a lack of gasoline for houses.” (Kabacalı: 137)

On the contrary, journalists that had close relationship with the government were sent to meetings, conferences abroad in order to contact with different sides of war as if they were the official delegates of state (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 80).

The period of Second World War, again, was not faced with a private censorship through market capitalism; however, the monopoly of the state on paper imports and distribution became a significant obstacle. Within the period of famine, the government warned the newspapers about cutting the pages down unanimously. When the newspapers denied that warning, the government cut the 40% of pages with an official order.

To sum the period 1828-1946 up in general, one may say that the economic determinants for journalism were not strictly binding, rather for Alver; the new political order of Kemalist modernization and newspapers’ aim to manufacture consent for it are the major determinants when creating the agenda of Turkish journalism (Kayış & Hürkan: 433). Through both

political and financial monopoly of the state can be taken as the power either stimulated or censored the mediums which it decided to do.

4.6. 1946- 1960: Democrat Party (DP) Period

Despite DP did not held the power between 1946 and 1950, its effects as the oppositional front cannot be underestimated. So that the period may be named containing DP. After the war, RPP began to soften the policies over press in general. The right to close newspapers was given back to the courts, and the previous deposit regime for publishing newspapers was removed (Koloğlu, 2013: 123). On the other hand, DP is said to be the most successful political actor that utilize the relations with media until that period (İnuğur M. N., 2005).

According to Topuz, a notable portion of newspapers either supported them or stayed neutral during the election campaign, and the first years of DP era. Reciprocally, DP fostered journalists to organize around institutions. Moreover, shortly after DP came to power, it issued a liberal code of press which removed the obligation of getting permission from governments on the publishing process, eliminated the possible punishments on newspaper owners caused from news inside the newspaper etc. (cf. Topuz, 2003: 192-194). Furthermore, the first institutionalized social rights that are given to journalists were issued in 1952. The only major attempt of DP within first years of its administration was the closure of newspaper Ulus- which has organic relation with RPP. The newspaper was closed after the government's decision to confiscate RPP's properties (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 107).

Another important phenomenon within the period is the transition from opinion journalism to mass or commercialized journalism (Adaklı, 2006: 114). The spark of newspapers Hürriyet (1948) and Milliyet(1950), can be pointed as a crucial step to the capitalist type of

accumulation within the media sector. Through direct subsidies from DP, and investments in techniques of mass production; the owners of both newspapers- Simavi and Karacan families- created an environment of industrialization in the sector (Adaklı: 115).

Following that process, censorship through controlling means and relations of production began to be seen in DP period. A group called “*besleme basın*” was born, who are compensated through official advertisements indifferent of their circulations. The distribution of those advertisements to the newspapers was under the command of governments since RPP period. That practice had been common in RPP period also; however, it was mentioned to be popularized in DP period. For instance, in RPP period, newspaper Ulus had the most part of the incomes despite it was the least circulated newspaper. DP brought those practices one step further and;

- In whole period, financed loyal journalists by the means of discretionary allocation
- In 1957, it monopolized the distribution of paper to newspapers
- In 1951 and 1958, it monopolized the distribution of official and public advertisements¹³ (Topuz, 2003: 202).

On the other hand, DP period can be described as an analogy between the consolidation of power and the censorship of journalists in political and juridical matrix. Especially after the second elections in 1954 when DP restored its power; it posed several restricting acts over media: acting against the “reputation” of state, “malicious intention and privately harming news” are bounded with rigid charges. Those inexplicit words were used against the oppositional front (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 117; Topuz, 2003: 200).

Moreover, after the turmoil in 6-7 September 1955¹⁴, another martial law was issued, which then completely eliminate the rights and liberty of journalists. For instance, the trade union of

¹³ Previously, the half of advertisements was distributed equally to newspapers. The other half was distributed depending on the circulations.

journalists was closed; a commission in the parliament was given the initiative to close any newspaper it decides to do (cf. Topuz: 200-208).

To sum up, DP period seems to reflect several common features of the power-media relations in Turkey not only for the period before it but also for the period after 1990's. Since whole bases of the structure- economic, juridical and political; were utilized over censorship and regulation policies; it reflects today's power relations. Moreover, as mentioned before, a typical periodization of democratically elected governments in Turkey- from extensive democracy to suppressive rule- found its implications during DP period.

4.7. 1960- 1983: The Period of Coups

The reason behind the periodization of 23 years as the period of coups is that the main determinants of that era are the coups and customization of power bloc around the rule of army. As Poulantzas argued, the contradictory unity of the power bloc finds its implications within the level of political regimes. Those regimes either eliminate the actors in the bloc or try to manufacture their consent through the political agenda. However, the unique feature of both practices is the suppression over classes excluded from the bloc- which refers to the level of forms of state (Poulantzas, 1973).

Due to that fact, the censorship policies and regulations of media sector within the period will be investigated through discussing the inner conflict of the power bloc, not the class struggle between the social class of excluded and hegemonic ones. As the comparison between 28 February and AKP has been defined within the power bloc before, the historical background of it should also be concentrated on the bloc. So that, the assassinations, tortures, and imprisonments over journalists and organic intellectuals of excluded classes will not be

¹⁴ Several people in 6-7 September attacked to the properties of non-Muslim minorities in Istanbul after the news telling that in Thessaloniki, Atatürk's memorial house was bombed by the militants. After years, it was understood that the government and state officials themselves organized the mass in Istanbul in order to protest minorities.

concentrated within that period, despite those were the primary oppressed class of whole coup d'états.

1960 coup had several implications from the political history literature in Turkey. The discourse of conservative right and several liberal intellectuals pointed the coup as a military rule which disrupted democratic path of Turkey (Belge, 2012; Kısakürek, 2009); on the other hand, the Kemalist and social democratic literature defines it as a progressive movement which eliminates the suppressive regime of DP (Avcıoğlu, 1968; Koloğlu, 2013). Regardless of those implications, 1960 coup will be analyzed in that thesis with its relations to media. For other 2 coups, there is a restored agreement about the suppressive characters of them in Turkey.

1960 coup and the first year of it may be thought as a period of détente between journalists and the state. Many imprisoned journalists were released and the codes were transformed for the sake of press in Turkey (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 134). Also new constitution specified several debatable articles of previous decades where it provided the juridical ways in spite of direct governmental or attorney decisions; it carried the debate on “private life” to the secret judgmental process, dismantled the obligation of license-taking for publishing newspapers (Kabacalı, 1990: 192- 193).

On the other hand, in 1962, the first collective struggle over the social rights of journalist occurred between the capital holders and workers. After the issuance of “Code of Intellectual Labor” in 1961 which provides the media labor seniority, workplace security (Uçak, 2011: 389), compensation rights; the newspaper owners decided not to publish their newspapers for 3 days between 11 and 13 January 1962. Against that act, journalists of 3 newspapers decided to publish a collective newspaper within the printing house of another newspaper, *Son Havadis* (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 137). That instance was ended with the acquisitions of

journalists which then sparked to the foundation of trade unions. That process can be pointed as a pre-industrial censorship through market mechanisms.

After the détente period of 60's, the military administration began to censor media through the discourse of "protecting the 1960 revolution". With the issuance of 1962 "Code of Precautions", the state blocked the way of any criticisms against 1960 coup (Topuz, 2003: 236). For instance, a major journalist, Ahmet Emin Yalman was judged in the court only for making interview with previously imprisoned DP parliamentarians (Kabacalı, 1990: 194). The rest of 60s was passed through the struggle of universal movement of left, and the gate keepers of status-quo in Turkey until 12th March 1971 memorandum¹⁵.

1971 memorandum and 1980 coup can be mentioned as two mostly similar practices, when one thinks about the relations of state and media. Those similarities will be mentioned through legal statuses, the positioning of journalists against military administrations, and the transforming consequences of the coups over media. On the other hand, the imprisonment practices and assassinations against journalists cannot be taken as a determinant of censorship through that period since journalists within the power bloc were suppressed regardless of their ideological positions as if they stand as the actors of excluded classes.

First of all, both regimes designed the legal status of closures and punishments with giving vast authority to attorneys and governments rather than the courts (Çayır, 2008: 42). Moreover, the codes related to press regulations are agreed to be equivocal by institutions of journalism. For 1971; national security, public order, protection of common morality (Kabacalı, 1990: 197), and for 1980; national security, indivisible unity, guaranteed freedom of thought without intervention to official institutions (cf. Topuz, 2003: 260- 263) are several

¹⁵ Here, a significant turn in Turkish journalism came over- foundation of first public broadcasting channel, TRT; and the first broadcast in 1969. However, the duty and main principle of TRT- public interest- has always been contradictory within Turkey and the thesis found no interest in a research over the channel as a tradition of public-broadcasting.

examples that defines the framework of legislations. Here, 1980 coup has more direct orders in addition to the complex arguments which make the criticism of military rule impossible within a temporary period.

Second instance that makes the periods similar is the positions of journalists immediately after the coups. Within the history of Turkish journalism, the most crystallized examples of self-censorship are seen in these periods. In addition to continuous orders of army officers that are directed to newspapers, several major journalists stood for the coups or indirectly meant that the army restored the stability within the country¹⁶. Regardless of the broad analysis of those columns or news, two examples can be given to clarify that positioning. For instance, Çetin Altan on 14th March 1971 mentioned that the government of Demirel was full of corruption and lies so that they've been abandoned by the army (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 174). Ironically, shortly after the 1971 memorandum, Çetin Altan was also arrested among other journalist by the army. Similarly, Ahmet Kabaklı from *Tercüman* is a noticeable example among others since he shows how journalists position themselves against the coups (whether ideological or ethical). Kabaklı took 1971 memorandum as a rigid damage to democratic values (Kayış & Hürkan: 175). However, Kabaklı wrote that the army ended the fight of fellows; restore the constitutional necessities etc (Kayış & Hürkan: 237)

The last instance about the sameness of two periods is the related consequences of them. Due to the fact that both coups eliminated the freedom of press within their periods, mainstream media had to choose either being imprisoned- struggle or find some new solutions to stay long which then named as “soft issues”. For late 70s, the latter found its implications on the foundation of erotic films sector that created circulations staying away from the political agenda (cf. Kayış & Hürkan: 192-195). For late 80s, a new press practice concentrates on sensational, magazine news which can be called as “yellow journalism” (Kayış & Hürkan:

¹⁶ For detailed examples, see (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 172-174, 237-241)

228-229) began to crystallize. Lastly, those instances cannot only be discussed through state censorship over the freedom of speech within the media institutions, but also should be analyzed through the aim of capital holders within media industry to sustain the surplus under economic crisis and heavy burdens over means of production.

5. Chapter 3: Analyzing Censorship in Turkey: The Comparison of 28th February and AKP Periods

5.1. What Brought 28th February Period Media?

Before analyzing the path to the censorship within the 28th period, the political economy of 1990s should be reviewed since the relations within power bloc would be provisional to understand the dynamics of that time. After the elections in 1983, ANAP came to power with a party program directly links itself to the neo-liberal principles. The transformation in media industry is said to begin within Özal period through a path of concentration, and also privatization in visual media (Kaya, 1994). The market censorship within that period can be mentioned as being handled by the state itself. As Adaklı mentioned (2006: 148-149);

“The main area of challenge between the press and Özal is of the subsidies over the purchases of paper... Between 1980-1988, Özal also made raises on paper 19 times, coming from 10.750 Liras to 859.000... That practice of Özal was the main tool of pressure that is switched on in several moments newspapers criticized the government”.

Moreover, Özal is also known for personally breaking the record of the history of Turkish Republic about filing lawsuits against the press. One of his famous words tell; “I became rich and took about 1 billion Turkish liras, thanks to the press.” (as cited in Topuz, 2003: 279). Within the period, the socialist press tradition of Turkey was the leading victim- similar with the rest of 20th century. In addition to countless confiscations of newspapers; total imprisonment sentences to the socialist press exceeded 5000 years within Özal period (Kayış & Hürkan, 2012: 250).

Lastly, Özal is famous of his “Princes” in 80’s Turkey. During implementing neo-liberal policies, the personnel of ministries and governmental officials are recruited directly from the conglomerates of leading industries in Turkey. Ahmad (2003: 193) defines those princes as follows: “These were the ‘bright young men’ who brought with them ideas and schemes from Reagan’s America on how to make quick and easy money”. The press- recalling Ahmad, can be mentioned as a sphere that became dependent upon these policies, which are called as neo-liberal or “New Right”. In consequence, these processes can be taken as the main contributor of 1990s’ market-state relations, with a ground of corporatism (as it is analyzed in Chapter 1: 7). So that the power bloc after Özal period has been mostly compound of coinciding relations between state and market; a market began to monopolize the area of press and creates today’s mainstream newspapers.

5.2. Correlation of 28th February and AKP Periods

In Chapter-2, the historical characteristics of Turkish media; and more broadly the features of state tradition are mentioned. In order to finalize the analysis of power-bloc in Turkey, a major disruption has to be briefly investigated. Indeed, the transformation of the regime from Kemalist modernization tradition to the conservative neo-liberalism (New Right) of AKP would be analyzed.

Kemalism can be summarized as a statist development model where a capitalist class is formed in a relatively dependent position on the state (Avcioğlu, 1968; Heyd, 1984). That process can be summarized as an alliance of bureaucracy (especially the army) - bourgeoisie; with the aim of structuring a hegemony over vast rural population beginning from 1930’s until 1950s (Doğan, 2010: 91). On the other hand, the centralization of the capital in Istanbul

and the aim of the imposition of secularism are two other commonalities of the official ideology (Bora & Erdoğan, 2003).

Here, 3 major parties of Turkey (DP, ANAP, AKP) can be told to form a different class alliance against the traditional path. Doğan states that both parties' rise against Kemalist tradition can be researched in a similar periodization:

- 1- Menderes and DP tried to form an alliance of landlords of Anatolia and petty bourgeoisie of whole Turkey...
- 2- Özal and ANAP tried to form an alliance of Anatolian bourgeoisie and the monopolistic capitalist of Istanbul- under the command of the latter, following a political alliance of liberals and religious conservatives...
- 3- Erdoğan and AKP tries to form similar alliances with an exception: 2 former projects tried to integrate the religious conservatives into the system; however, AKP made the position of those as a central one within the system (cf. Doğan: 91-93).

RP of 1990's also resembles the project of AKP¹⁷ within the political programme; however, the economical level separates two parties in several cases. As the rise of those hegemonic claims of both parties; the army was said to form a regime of tutelage around the Kemalist political implications in order to preserve the status-quo, with a stance of state as the "father", that would protect citizens from the enemies of secularism- as the leading officers of military rule in 28th period, Erol Özkasnak (Çevikcan, 2001). Regarding that clash of interests in 28th Period, army has utilized its inherited authority against RP and the government.

Despite the military rule (without an official determinism) smashed RP out of the political sphere, AKP came to power only 5 years after the post-modern coup in 28th February 1997.

That process can be named as a failure of the army to foresee the neo-liberal era, and also as a

¹⁷ It should be noted that the active parliamentarians of AKP (including Erdoğan) mostly began their political life within the cadres of RP.

consequence of 2001 economic and political crisis in Turkey. Yalman (2011: 11) interprets that process as a “by nature” process when he says: “... the post-1980 transition to neoliberalism differed from the étatiste experience since it had no aspirations to function as an ‘ethical state’ in the sense of urging individuals to transcend their economic-corporative interests”. Also Doğan (2010: 101) mentions that the 28th February coup could not be reproduced as an ideology of the ruling class and capital-holders, rather it created a short-term environment where the financial crisis could not be solved on behalf of bourgeoisie.

A last difference between two authoritative regimes- army and AKP; can be found in their discursive functions. In other words, a question that asks “How AKP stands as a hegemonic power against the 100 years Kemalist rule?” should be answered. Despite it does not include each factors in itself, “authoritarian populism” (Jessop, Bonnett, Bromley, & Ling, 1984) of AKP should be mentioned as a “successfully” framed policy which could not be utilized by the army of 28th February. Near the class alliances that were mentioned before, a populist discourse that disables the class conflict and creates an image of “unity” of people around the words of “being a global power”; which characteristics are attained to whole New Right regimes by Jessop et al. At the end of that process, the rule of AKP began to be called as “Second Republic”, replacing the first one as a hegemonic project. After the analysis of the power bloc in both periods, one may state that 28th February period is one of the reasons itself that made AKP settle as the hegemonic power of the 21st century Turkey.

Regarding those correlating process of 28th February and AKP periods, the role of media should be mentioned with its similarities and differences. It seems obvious that in both periods, media has been vastly censored under the rule of authoritarian regimes. However, at the same time it is controlled by the state and mostly affected by the ownership status after Özal period. More tragically, the media became the tool of consent as Poulantzas argued, within dependency; either voluntarily or under compulsion. “During the 28th February period,

mass media- under the struggle of hegemony; mostly framed news with a “statist” perspective and played its role on restoring the “unarmed consent” of the post-modern coup” (Arsan, 2014: 226). Also Mavioglu (2012: 82) mentions that “Tyranny is the creed of all hegemonies; however, no other power (different from AKP) had that much of a talent to make people see tyranny as freedom, where the author of that situation is those fake liberals in media”. Under those alliances of media moguls and the hegemonic powers; it seems that censorship is massified within mainstream media.

5.3. Comparison of Censorship between 28th February and AKP Periods

5.3.1. The State and the Press (As the market or against the market?)

The topic of that chapter is consciously modified since the theoretical background and the practical examples of the thesis commands that the ownership status of the mainstream media defines itself as the market. On the other hand; the press labor is faced with the censorship policies as being against the market and also the state. As mentioned in the previous part, both 28th February and AKP periods have corporatist implications over the state-media relations. Then, the structural analysis of censorship would be made without a distinction of state-market relations.

The period of 28th February- as mentioned before, has a path from unstable coalition governments to the army in power. Within the first part of the period, the media was told to have direct financial relations with the parties. Especially concentrating on the “subsidies”- which were used similarly in Özal period; state’s role in the capitalization of media can be crystallized. The elections of 1993 were the most famous period when the rumors about parties’ subsidization of media sparked. As a proof of that period in 1993 April, a document

showed that the government of Çiller subsidized 3 major newspapers (Sabah, Hürriyet, Milliyet) from the funds of the party before elections with an amount of 1.458 trillion liras. Shortly after the elections in 1993 October, the Under-secretariat of Treasury's funds to the newspapers changed in favor of Milliyet and Sabah. Hürriyet's funds declined nearly half of its portion (as cited in Topuz, 2003: 355-356).

The reason for that situation can be found in the words of Ertuğrul Özkök- the Chief Editor of Hürriyet: "We were massively politicized and engaged in that period. We were divided into two groups: The supporters of Çiller and the enemies of her" (as cited in Karalı, 2005: 156). Also Zafer Mutlu- the chief editor of Sabah; mentioned that they supported Çiller in that period for the sake of a "Westernized modern" Turkey (Sağnak, n.d.). Karalı analyzes (2005: 159) that period with its "distorted" similarities to the USA Model. According to him; in North America, the newspapers declare which candidate they support first, before the elections, then make their news according to that position. However, in Turkey it seems that even the media executives are fed up with the ill examples of media ethics. Rather, that process seems what Hallin& Mancini called "political parallelism" (see Chapter-1: 21).

Another characteristic of the period is the spark of the various investments made by newspaper owners out of the media industry. That process is directly related with the state as the leading "economic" actor who determines the consequences of tenders etc. (Kaya, 2009). What is important for that process is a simple analogy between state-market and the press. One may ask "how can a newspaper be independent when the owner of it is a leading actor of the market who should be loyal to the state in order to make further investments"? The only possibility within that kind of a situation seems to be the positioning of newspapers according to the clashes or cooperation of parties and governments. In that period each mainstream media owner began to invest in at least a bank. For instance, Dinç Bilgin himself- the owner of Sabah, mentions that "After the purchase of banks, the period to make balanced news

started and the seeking of balance killed journalism, I may say. Because owners began to fear from the Treasury bureaucracy, the Minister of Finance (Güneş Taner); and shortly after from the politicians...” (Arikan, 2011). That intricate structure of media in that period (and also in today’s industry) can be seen as a prior restraint over the media labor.

That brief presentation of the period can be taken as one of the determinants of 28th February Memorandum for many journalists. For instance, as it was mentioned, Lira was devaluated and the interest rates were radically changed in that period; however, “... before 28th February Memorandum, it was one of the biggest stagnations of the history in Turkey. It is obvious that banks had enormous profits thanks to the coup.” (Akar, 2012). Here, an important face of media industry sparks: it can clearly be claimed that the media after Özal period “is” the market itself; rather than an objectively composed sphere that dynamically resists against the market mechanisms. On the other hand, the press from a perspective of labor stands as a dependent fraction, borders of which are framed by the relations of market and the state.

In order to analyze the AKP period as the second instance, one may come up with a similar structural hypotheses that states, the media monopolies stood further and the dependency of media to the authoritarian hegemony of ruling fractions. However, AKP period should be divided into 2 periods, which would be mentioned further: 2002-2007, 2007-... Most of the journalists that were interviewed for the thesis clearly mentioned that the censorship within AKP period should be divided into two parts; the first is the *détente* period where AKP tried to gain popularity among the mainstream media, and the second is the part of full control over media (Atikkan, 2014; Bildirici, 2014; Tılıç, 2014;...). Also the first part between 2002 and 2007 is described as AKP’s formation of its loyal mainstream newspapers through new investments and subsidies such as Star, Yeni Şafak, Zaman etc. (Arsan & Çoban, 2014: 13).

During the first period, Tılıç (2014) says:

“Whenever I tried to make an interview with an official of AKP, the door was always open. They seemed to be open to any kind of criticisms in a tolerating way... along with limited censorship in mainstream media. However, when I look back to these days, I saw that the situation of AKP was coming from being powerless, there is an inverse ratio between the freedom of press and AKP government.”

Atikkan (2014) also gives an impressive example about that détente period: “When I was fired from my newspaper by the pressure of that time’s authorities; a day after, Abdullah Gül called me to indicate his worries about the situation, and he said it will be a more just world in future.”

How that process emerged is a critical question that has to be asked here. As far it was mentioned through thesis, the state- media (as the market) relations began to coincide in the period of 2002-2007. More importantly, the subsidies of AKP to new entrances in media with new investments of those in cross-industries created a new phase in censorship policies. For instance, Çalık Group now has one of the biggest newspapers of Turkey- Habertürk; with the subsidies that are provided by a public bank- Halk Bankası; created risks on ethical face of them and made their interests questionable (Erdoğan, 2013). In order to make a clearer analysis, words of an associate of newspaper “Star”¹⁸; Ethem Sancak: “The prime minister needed media. I undertook that mission for myself. There are newspapers of those leftists, then why the rest 50% not have a newspaper of its own?” (Bildirici, 2014). Also Mehmet Altan, the leading author of Star who quitted in 2013; mentions that such newspapers he previously worked for “... forcibly take advertisements by the authority that they gained through the government, from the companies that normally do/could not afford to pay for those advertisements.” (Özvarış, 2012).

¹⁸ “Star” is newspaper that is known as a loyal one to the AKP government.

After those kinds of direct financial and ideological relations between the media and state, the period beginning from 2007 framed a new era different from 28th February period where newspaper which have organic relations with governments emerged. Moreover, the leader companies of mainstream media, such as Doğan Group; began to be disturbed by the state as a direct intervention to the sphere. Lastly in 2011, the group was financially punished by tax officers, which can be analyzed as a clash between the political authority and monopolies of media (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012: 29).

In addition to those financial relations between state and the media, the AKP government is said to become an authoritarian power after 2007, with direct intervention through the juridical area. Bildirici (2014) mentions;

“Whenever AKP began to grasp the power in juridical arena, at that time they drew the sword off against the media. In my opinion, they tried to hide the suppressive side of their government. Leave the indictments aside; we began to be restricted to see even the temporary files of the trials.”¹⁹

Those kinds of blackouts within media sphere began to be a main characteristic of the second era of AKP. For the main intent of the thesis, that era of AKP and the period during 28th February can be taken as the primary spheres to be compared, with many similarities among them. There are two critical examples which clearly show what Poulantzian terminology says; indeed, democracy is a dependent variable which is modified by the relations within power bloc. Thoroughly, one may state that two periods to be compared are the times where the hegemonic fraction within the power bloc stored its consent and authority over the social classes.

¹⁹ The question of juridical processes in AKP period is analyzed in the part- Subjects Censored.

The first example that shows the similarity is the “accreditation” issue. Both the army and AKP seem to have utilized the tool of accreditation for a direct control of news sources; at the very beginning. For instance, on 20th March 1998; the army prohibited 3 mainstream journalists for their critical articles; Mehmet Ali Birand, Muharrem Sarıkaya and Yalçın Doğan. The reason that was officially stated is as follows: “Those 3 journalists are prohibited to enter the headquarters of the army since they are not seen as honorably doing their jobs.” (Karalı, 2005: 234-235).

Similarly, on 29th September 2012; AKP prohibited 6 newspapers to enter the grand congress of them (Sertel, 2012). Moreover, within that congress, the words of Tayyip Erdoğan can be seen as both historically and ideologically related with the prohibitions in 28th February Period: “Until yesterday, army officers have been scolding you about your articles, sayings. We freed those from their chains. But the chains on them were national yesterday, and today they are international. They promoted to a new level.” (Dağıstanlı, 2014: 17-18). Bildirici (2014) also states a more general attitude of AKP: “They use the accreditation principle very well. Now any reporter that asks a tricky question to the government officials in a meeting would never be accepted to the following meetings of those officials again.”

Those practices of both authorities can be shown as an example of “Manifest-Offensive” and “Manifest-Defensive” censorship, as Phillips & Harslof says; with a direct cut on the sources of news, and a clear insult of a group of journalists; namely “condemning” them as a common technique of authoritarian regimes as Cox (1979: 316) states.

A second practice that would be briefly mentioned is the similarity on having officials as the “censors” of Roman Empire. Despite that kind of a practice is officially passed away in many of the republican countries; it is always claimed that still there are “unofficial” officers that work for the sake of authorities. In the thesis’ example; that censors are Erol Özkasnak(army

officer) in 28th Period and Yalçın Akdoğan (A counsellor of the Prime Minister) in AKP Period. Despite there are countless examples that show those actors directly censors journalist with different techniques, two significant ones would be ordered.

Nazlı Ilıcak- one of the most famous journalists in mainstream media; states that “After the takeover of my newspaper Akşam into the hands of a media conglomerate that has direct relations with the army, me and my son are fired in a day by the directive of Erol Özkasnak, as I learned after all.” (Uğur, 2011) Also Ayşegül Arslan (2013) states: “In AKP rule, the Ankara representatives of the media always launch into the day with the phone calls from him (Yalçın Akdoğan) or calling him in order to check the news at their mediums.” Regarding those examples, it can be claimed that the periods when authority’s power reaches its peak; censorship began to be exercised with a complete control of media as if Phillips& Harslof called; a “Latent-Defensive” censorship.

Apart from similar practices, there is also an example of the relations of power bloc, regarding a difference between AKP’s second period and the period before 28th February. It is claimed by Atikkan (2014) that the unstable coalitions of 90s before 28th February pushed media (as the market) to a more leading role that became a determinant of the political arena. However, for the last term of AKP; the one-party power ruled the media into a directly subordinate position where even the biggest media companies are suppressed by the government- namely Doğan Group. Mustafa Hoş mentioned in his book Abluka (2014: 183) that even the owner of the Group- Aydın Doğan, himself met with a “journalist” couple (Rasim Ozan Kütahyalı- Nagehan Alçı) in January 2012 in order to transfer Alçı to his group. That couple is known as the primary supporters of AKP, and previously insulted and criticized by the chief editor of Doğan Group- Ertuğrul Özkök (Hoş: 184-185).

Also Dağıstanlı (2014: 15) mentions;

“In 1990s, you might be able to reach the truth by looking up 3-4 mainstream newspapers since their captions were arranged according to the parties they support. Today it is impossible since whole newspapers are published with similar headlines and content.”

He also places another example about the Anatolian Agency (AA) (main public news agency of Turkey), and states that AA was more independent in 1990s since the clash of coalition parties opened a space to AA with plural administrations that manage the institution. However, now AA is under full control of AKP with the help of fired personnel, state-led trade unions, and editors having organic relations with the government (Dağistanlı: 79-81).

Those practical arguments point out a conclusion that media is always on the path of governments. However, a more detailed end to the discussion can be argued that is; the media is subordinate to the collision of market-state, where in 90s; the governments and the army mostly agreed by the market forces in the media; however, in AKP period, the media is divided into two where old mainstream newspapers are censored through direct cuts and warnings, and the loyal newspapers to the government (the new mainstreams) are controlled, and applied voluntary self-censorship.

A last example to be drawn here is the Yeni Şafak newspaper itself. During 1990’s Yeni Şafak was representing the conservative side, with a pluralist cadre where liberals and also left wing journalists work; criticize the coup and mainstream media (Bozkurt, 2014). After AKP came to power, it began to be a mainstream newspaper and as Akyüz says: “Those conservatives began to resemble the mainstream media of 28th February. Now, they do not take down governments; however, they denigrate the opposing columnists’ journalism with the power they extracted from AKP through a revanchist attitude.” Finally, Ali Akel²⁰ (2014) states:

²⁰ A journalist and columnist that was fired from Yeni Şafak in 2012...

“I had been working for Yeni Şafak since 1996. The excitement of journalism was always high although strict circumstances at that time were forcing us. However, now Yeni Şafak is a place that no one can write any words against the government; even cannot write anything different from praises to AKP.”

Those examples from Yeni Şafak also argue that the one-party rule over the media clearly blocks each space for speaking out of the system, and they derive that democracy is what power relations made of it.

5.3.2. Comparison of Censored Issues

In Turkey, there has always been common issues that are censored through the history such as the Kurdish question, non-Muslim citizens etc. However, 28th February and AKP periods have a few popular issues that are gradually being censored which would be presented in that part in order to understand how censorship concentrates on those.

In order to explain why a group of subjects are censored, and why the rest are not; one may look up into the “target population” of those governments. Cox (1979: 317) states; “Target population of governments and/or newspapers is a main determinant of censorship. Those risk to be condemned by a group of people in order to prevent their audience from getting out of their paradigm or doctrine.” Regarding Cox’ words, it may be claimed that the population that is not interpellated actually creates no importance for the authorities that determine censorship. Rather, the subjects are chosen according to the aim either of making the “target population” see the news or of making them not learn the details of an event.

Then, another question comes to mind that is, “Who arranges the subjects to be censored?” A research that is made by 287 reporters and executives in USA can be taken as a reason for the

question (Pew Research Center for The People & The Press, 2000). Despite being made 14 years ago, the findings of the research can be related to the common situation in Turkey. According to the survey;

“Journalists say that, typically, they do not decide on their own to avoid newsworthy stories. More than half of those who think stories are sometimes ignored (54%) say they either get signals from their bosses to avoid such stories (30%) or ignore them based on how they think their bosses would react (24%).” (Pew Research Center for The People & The Press: 3)

Despite the issue of self-censorship would be analyzed in another part; the example here shows that the “bosses” blocks the way of subjects and news stories in order to be published through. Thinking of 28th February and AKP periods, those subjects that are blocked by “bosses” can be ordered as work-life and labor news, news of macro-economy, juridical issues, governments and corruption... In order to briefly analyze the subjects-censored, that part will focus on the arguments made by interviewed journalists, and known instances from the media in both periods.

For the news of work-life in both periods, it can openly be claimed that in mainstream newspapers; there are not much stories with a few exceptional cases. Bozkurt (2014) complains about the issue and states:

“No news was made either in 28th February Period or in AKP period. Until the end of 1980’s, there were the reporters of “work-life” in each newspaper. Now even that position does not exist. For now, the reporters know very well that if their news clash with the boss, it won’t be able to publish. Then they start not doing any news about those issues.”

Bildirici also mentions that after 1980’s, Turkish journalism entered in a path not to make any news of labor in the headlines; even the 1st of May is not handled as a significant issue; and he

further argues that there is no difference between two periods regarding that area of news (2014).

As mentioned in previous part, the juridical news and news from important trials are also not been handled by the mainstream newspapers. For 28th February period, the trial news were a common example especially about the state officials and famous business people such as Ergun Göknel, Tansu Çiller etc. (Birand, 2012). However, in AKP period, especially after Ergenekon trials, "...two articles of Penal Code namely the violation of the secrecy of criminal investigations (art. 285), and intervention into juridical proceedings (art. 288) were utilized against the journalists who tried to make news about trials." (Kurban & Sözeri, 2012: 44).

Another instance that has to be mentioned here is the process of "the investigation of Corruption-17th December". Gulen movement- that is said to be the most prominent supporter of AKP for about 15 years; is labeled as the enemy of democracy by the AKP government after the 17th December investigations (Hürriyet, 2014). Whole media was prohibited to make news about the investigation process after 17th December 2013 with a juridical decision (T24, 2014). On the other hand, Sazak (2014: 25) mentions that 17th December is a disruption in the authority of AKP since "... they made a theory of conspiracy before concentrating on enlightening the corruption claims, as if they made in Gezi period. The pressure against media in both periods turned back as a pressure to the government in both events." Also Bildirici mentions: "The clash between Gülen movement and AKP would probably lead to a more independent media, where they can broadcast neutrally".

It seems obvious that the blackout of juridical news made journalists question the pressure of AKP in that period; however, as mentioned in the beginning of that part, the actors in power choose a target population in order not to view certain news; and in the process of 17th

December, no medias that are loyal to AKP made news about the process, they even tried to create a war against the Gulen Movement uniting around the arguments such as it was a conspiracy and there are foreign powers that want to dismantle Turkey (Atik, 2014; Yanık, 2014).

Lastly, the Kurdish question remains as a similarity between two periods. However, 1990s can be seen as having a harsh impact on Kurdish journalists. In 11 years between 1988 and 1999, 41 journalists- most of whom are Kurds; were killed and hundreds of them were imprisoned (Özgür Gündem, 2011). Also in the period between 2010 and 2014, 101 journalists- most of whom are Kurds; were imprisoned (CPJ, 2014). Disregarding that threatening statistics and speaking of mainstream media; Kurdish question had always been framed around the national interests in 1990s. A subject that state, army and the media unanimously agreed on... However, that subject seems to be utilized by the army in order to censor and fire several journalists also in mainstream media (Karalı, 2005: 235).

Conversely, in AKP period a process of “peace” and “ceasefire” came to the political agenda. That process led to a more liberal sphere where mainstream journalists began to soften the tone of national identity (Bildirici, 2014). However, as it was mentioned, shortly after the process began to stuck, many journalists are imprisoned; and also several mainstream journalists are fired with a reason of “damaging peace process”. Derya Sazak is one of the leading figures of that time who was fired for publishing the notes of the meetings between Abdullah Öcalan- the imprisoned leader of Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK); and Sirri Süreyya Önder- a parliamentarian of Peace and Democracy Party (BDP) which is the leading political actor for the Kurdish side (Sazak, 2014).

The subjects that are analyzed regarding the differences and commonalities between two periods show how the target population of the hegemonic powers is determined through

media. Shortly, regarding the differences in conjuncture; both powers try to limit the audience they want to preserve; and dismantled the journalists that stand against the partial framing of news.

5.3.3. Comparison of Techniques of Censorship

After the review of both periods and the instances of censorship; it can be claimed that the periods resemble each other regarding the techniques of censorship. For that part; several examples with brief explanations would present 5 techniques of censorship which are clearly viewed in both periods²¹:

- 1- **Manipulation- Misinformation:** Changing the content of news by partially telling the story or directly lying...
- 2- **Leakage:** Censorship or the propaganda on the sources of news such as governmental, juridical documents; which are consciously served or hidden by the hegemonic powers...
- 3- **Personal relations (PR) Censorship:** The softened propaganda of the state either praising the leaders or actors of the bloc or insulting a rival power...
- 4- **Condemnation (Press against Press):** A technique that emerges within the media sphere (by the effect of power bloc) where a group of journalists are denigrated by another group of journalist.
- 5- **Direct Control (Crisis Times):** A full blackout of media which has a dual effect; suppressing the oppositions in press and framing borders around the knowledge of target population.

²¹ That part benefited from the classifications of Benjamin Cox (1979: 313) such as: 1- Interpretation 2- Redaction 3- Expurgation 4- Interpolations 5- Preclusion 6- Criticism 7- Suppression 8- Condemnation

Further, it should be noted that these techniques are not fully distinct categories; rather they could be taken as concurring practices. The examples that are queued below are representative ones chosen randomly.

5.3.3.1. Examples of Manipulation and Misinformation

28th February Period: The headlines that are framed directly against RP from the beginning of its government until 28th February can be given as the main instances of that technique. For instance, an event where the “Sheikh” of a religious community, Müslüm Gündüz; is told to abuse a woman called Fadime Şahin. The woman had been framed under the headlines of whole mainstream newspapers about a year with the statements such as “The rule of Sharia”, “The Face of New Turkey (!)” (Haber 7, 2013; Milli Gazete, 2013). Those figures were clearly manipulated with a vast appearance through media in order to insult the ideological formation of RP.

Bayramoğlu (2013: 176-177) also states:

“... the formation of the press at the period against the existence of RP is founded on the thesis which says: ‘If RP doesn’t leave the power voluntarily, the military would come over with an armed coup which would disrupt democracy. The so-called danger of ‘political reactionism’ is a conclusion of that discourse”

AKP Period: Two main arrangements during Gezi Revolts can be seen as impressive examples. The first is the publishing of 7 newspapers that are known as loyal to the government with totally same headlines on 7th June 2013. That attitude of newspapers is told to be manipulated by AKP government. The headline states: “Superb with the Democratic Requests” (Bianet, 2013)...

Another instance is the news about a turbaned woman told to be beaten by the protesters of Gezi in Istanbul (Zaman, 2013). Despite all mainstream newspapers published that news as truth, on 13th February 2014, the videos that prove the woman was not beaten are broadcasted through several newspapers (Milliyet, 2014).

5.3.3.2. *Examples of Leakage*

28th February Period: The example of leakage in that period is one of the most significant documents of the time; namely the “Notes of Şemdin Sakık”²²... That document is leaked to several mainstream newspapers by the army, and many journalists confessed that they were obliged to publish that document at that time. The content of the notes were also changed by the army. For instance, Dinç Bilgin- the owner of newspaper “Sabah”; states: “Someone sends that news to you and wants you to publish it. ‘The Notes’ had come to us through that kind of a way, and we published them.” (as cited in Mavioğlu, 2012: 132). The consequences of those documents are mentioned in the part of “Condemnation”

Ataklı also mentions how the process of leakage passes until publishing. He states:

“Those things are not driven openly; they are mostly passing within the news meetings in the morning. The Ankara representative comes and says to the boss, ‘We talked to the general these things’ or ‘They wrote me these things’. Then you understand that ‘thing’ has to be exaggerated. Also everybody knows who send it but they write as ‘an unnamed general’.” (Zaman, 1999)

AKP Period: Leakage of the famous trials “Ergenekon” and “Balyoz”²³ can be given as examples of the period. The newspaper “Taraf” had been the leading actor that published

²² Sakık was one of the senior leaders of PKK at that time.

²³ In both trials, defendants were judged for the claims of attempting a coup against AKP.

many documents of those trials and the “documents” of coup before any claims that were spoken. Many journalists claimed that the news of the trials was leaked by the hands of Gulen Movement as a plan to deteriorate the power of army, and “Taraf” was accused of being an organ of state rather than being a newspaper (Duran, 2012).

Another instance can be drawn by a journalist that works for “Sabah” whom was interviewed by Dağistanlı (2013: 108-109):

“At a common day in our newspaper, I saw a document in the hands of my colleague. Its topic was ‘Press Note’. Do you know what is a press note for them (the police), it is a pre-written news with even sub-topics on it. I couldn’t believe it... In the newspaper Zaman, the same document was published a day after with totally same words. Now the journalist is who take the note and transmit it to the newspaper, nothing else. Then the newspaper Birgün made that scandals’ news by the way.”

It seems obvious that both periods, the newspapers are censored with the news directly driven from the hegemonic powers of the power bloc.

5.3.3.3. Examples of PR Censorship

That topic is chosen in order to show how perception management is handled by the authorities utilizing media in both periods either praising themselves or insulting rivals.

28th February Period: The most famous “General” of 28th February period- Çevik Bir; had his portrait written in a newspaper with legendary memoirs that are learned to be lies as Bildirici (2014) mentioned. Bildirici also stated that the memoirs are published in the newspaper “Sabah” after a week his feuilleton about Çevik Bir was cut by his newspaper Hürriyet. The dates of that news are significant since the column of Bildirici was cut a day

before the coup, and the mythical memoirs of Çevik Bir was published for the reproduction of the discourse on the “trustfulness” of army.

AKP Period: A brief example that is known by each citizen of Turkey is the change of the name of the Syrian president, Bashar al-Assad by the hands of media. After the deterioration of the relations between Assad and Erdoğan during the civil war in Syria; loyal newspapers of AKP suddenly began to call Assad as “Eset”. Before, it had been written as “Esad” in Turkish (Dağıstanlı, 2014: 175). That symbolic shift which implies “the unbreakable change of the relations of Syria and Turkey” created many debates of how media manages the perception of the target population.

5.3.3.4. Examples of Condemnation (Press against Press)

28th February Period: Process after “The Notes of Şemdin Sakık” can clearly be put as an example of condemnation. As the army manipulated the content of “The Notes”, several journalists are claimed to be supporters of PKK such as Mehmet Ali Birand, Cengiz Çandar and Mahir Kaynak. Whole journalists were fired from their newspapers. Further they were condemned in every newspaper’s headlines and their colleague’s columns (Karalı, 2005:235; Kayış & Hürkan, 2012:274). Mahir Kaynak- as a previous soldier and agent of National Intelligence Organization (MİT); worked as a journalist in 28th February Period and accused of being an agent in PKK by “The Notes”. Kaynak states:

“The media and army reciprocally manage themselves. One day, news with a headline ‘42 Years Secret: Mahir Kaynak was fired from the army because of immorality’ sparked. They even mentioned where I was appointed 42 years ago. So the source is obvious: The Army. This is not journalism.” (Uğur, 2011)

Regarding whole examples, it can be claimed that in 28th February, a group of press is condemned by another group gradually. That utilization of “press against press” had been a common rule of the army.

AKP Period: In AKP period, condemnation is mostly held by the Prime Minister himself, and the newspapers made the news of him; however, the press loyal to the government again has several implications on insulting their colleagues- speaking regardless of ideological positions. For instance, Mahir Zeynalov (a foreign journalist in Turkey) had been working for newspaper “Zaman” until that year. Before the clash started between AKP and Gulen Movement, he was a permanent writer in the newspaper. Then shortly after his messages against Erdoğan in Twitter, he was deported from Turkey. Moreover, whole press loyal to the government wrote against Zeynalov for being “a provocative agent” (Ramoğlu, 2014). Also Mehmet Baransu who published most of the notes on Ergenekon and Balyoz trials, is condemned after clash of two groups. He is condemned for being “provocator of foreign powers” (Yeni Şafak, 2014).

These two examples are significant for directly reflecting the clash in the power bloc. Whenever the actors of power bloc end the agreement, previously “corporate” journalists begin to be separated, and the act of condemnation starts.

5.3.3.5. Examples of Direct Control (Crisis Times)

The last level of analysis through censorship policies in Turkey, defines the most common meaning of it, as simply cutting & controlling. However, a main difference crystallizes here between 28th February and AKP periods. As far as mentioned before, within the 28th February period, the mainstream media stood along with the army with a few exceptions of journalists.

On the other hand, AKP and several mainstream newspapers- such as the ones of Doğan and Çukurova Groups; stand in a colliding position within the first period of the government. Still, after 2007; it seems that those mainstream newspapers are either deteriorated in fiscal means and changed hands (Çukurova) or conformed to AKP's position (Doğan). Regardless of however the structure of media changed in the periods, both AKP government and the army tried to directly silence journalists of mainstream media in crisis times.

28th February Period: Despite most journalists stood along with the army in the period, a few of mainstream ones tried to criticize the policies of the 28th February period. Mehmet Altan²⁴; after writing on a comparison of army officers' and teachers' salaries, directly fired from his position at newspaper "Sabah". The importance of that common practice is its clear "unethical" character since he was fired after general Özkasnak told "I'll make him walk through with a bayonet in his ass..." to the owner of Sabah- Dinç Bilgin (Uğur, 2011). Many examples similar to that one was common in the period.

AKP Period: A significant example during AKP period is the subject of a trial named "*Deniz Feneri Derneği Trials*"²⁵. With the words of a compiler worked in AA during the period of trials,

"Everything was censored. After the spark of Deniz Feneri corruption trials in Germany, each one of us were warned to mention that Deniz Feneri Derneği in Germany does not have direct partnership with the one in Turkey. After a few months, it was understood by the decision of lawyers that two institutions are directly related. Then, nobody made the news of Deniz Feneri in AA again." (Dağıstanlı, 2014: 89)

²⁴ Altan presents a fruitful discussion for both periods since he was deeply censored in 28th February; after AKP, he gradually became an organic intellectual of the party; however, lastly he is suppressed again after criticizing AKP policies.

²⁵ Deniz Feneri Derneği is an NGO that is known by its loyalty to the AKP government, and has several branches in all around Europe.

In addition to that example which tells AA directly became a part of government policies, several examples from the Gezi period in 2013 can be put forward which shows how each nucleus of mainstream media stood silently with a direct control above them. Beyond remaining silent in those kinds of crisis times, as İnceoğlu (2009: 18) mentions; "... media presents ex-ante situation as an inevitable one, and it absorbs the hope of masses through creating a framework where the hegemonic discourse has no alternatives." A direct control of media, through that process, not only cuts the right to know but also become an ideological apparatus of the hegemonic power.

5.3.4. Comparison of Self- Censorship

The descriptions of two authors- Cox and Mavioğlu; clearly states how self-censorship emerges. Cox (1979: 319) describes the intent of the concept as follows: "The intent is to avoid temptation by protecting one's eyes and ears from material that might change an attitude or belief or cause one to look at something from a different point of view." Regarding the Turkish example, Mavioğlu (2012: 116) resembles self-censorship to "learned helplessness"- a concept derives from psychological terminology. He emphasizes the determinant factor of self-censorship on the "selection of news"; indeed, a learning process of which news "can" be made and which cannot...

The words of both authors frame the process of self-censorship on "how" it emerges. Also Çavdar (2014) emphasizes Mavioğlu's arguments regarding it as a process where she says: "A journalist first fears of censorship, then she/he gets used to it, and lastly she/he begins to defend censorship". Coming to the question of self-censorship in Turkey, it seems that the views of journalists would be more "to the point" rather than mentioning about examples from both periods. It should be noted that both interviewees and several other journalists

approved that self-censorship is not a new concept that is sparked by AKP; on the contrary, it is a permanent character of journalism in Turkey after 1980s (Atikkan, 2014; Akel, 2014; Bozkurt, 2014; Çavdar, 2014; Kurban & Sözeri, 2012; Tılıç, 2014).

Then, one may ask why the period after 80s shows that much of similarities in Turkey. Sparking from political economy perspective; Tılıç (2014) mentions:

“...the main reason is the unequal incomes within the sector. A journalist or reporter that works under flexible work conditions and takes really low salaries cannot stand against losing her/his job. This is a transition from state-led censorship into a patronage-led censorship. It is sometimes obvious that even risking being imprisoned by a state is better than losing job and being unable to earn your child’s lives.”

Looking from the other side of the issue- the mogul’s side; Alper Görmüş (as cited in Kurban & Sözeri, 2012: 56) and Zeynep Atikkan (2014) also mentions that the main reason for the journalists in administrative levels to apply self-censorship is to preserve the “pre-gained social and economic privileges”. As an exception, Bildirici (2014) states that, two periods of comparison have a difference between them. Namely it is the “... ideological level that AKP brought together in addition to the economic reasons that are inherited.”

Akel (2014) mentions that within the theoretical level and according to his personal experiences “... self-censorship can only be a subject of journalism ethics. For instance, leaving a brutal image aside under the circumstances of common catastrophes is a kind of ‘necessary’ self-censorship as I’ve also applied in 1999 Earthquake of Marmara.” Dağıstanlı (2014: 251), reminding a counter-argument on journalism ethics, states:

“The ill-minded and settled view of journalism in Turkey is that: ‘There is no problem of I make this news, sooner or later somebody will make it...’ This is clearly an acknowledgement of decay. If we would say it then we must also say; for example, ‘We are

not stealing since anyway someone would steal'... On that phenomenon nothing is changed with AKP government. Only the chain of orders became more concrete."

Many journalists from different points of view clearly mention that AKP and 28th February periods are mostly similar to one another. As a more general agreement, the state and market-led censorship collides after 80s in Turkish mainstream journalism. Lastly, another consequence that can be derived from the arguments is a more settled attitude of self-censorship, comparing to the censorship policies of the hegemonic powers. Censorship shows differentiating examples within crisis times or routine periods, as mentioned before; however, self-censorship stays stronger in the viewpoints of journalists. Bildirici (2014) regards that process with a metaphorical analysis:

"Self-censorship is far more dangerous than censorship. Since it resembles to the life of a bird that is imprisoned in a glass made cage. She sees outside the cage and tries to get out; however, she gradually grasps that her head always stuck with the walls. And continuously the borders narrow down since she tries not to hit walls with gradually staying out of courage."

5.3.5. Comparison of the Attitude of Journalists against Censorship

Speaking of the "unliberated birds" of Bildirici, one may ask if the efforts of journalists for standing against censorship are useless. Or another question may be asked: "Do the journalists stand against the censorship in Turkey?" In order to discuss the question, an inner separation of media should be recalled which is the class positions of reporters, chief editors/ CEOs and owners of the newspapers. In fact, the question can be directed as "Who is the media?"... Although an actor-based analysis would not represent the common attitude of whole media,

that chapter tries to discuss the similarities of two periods, and to infer the attitude of mainstream newspapers against censorship.

The relation between media conglomerates and governments were deeply analyzed below each chapter. A brief example on the sameness of two periods would be argued in order to end the discussion. In most simple terms, the headlines of both periods are under the same structure between whole mainstream newspapers with a confirmation of hegemonic discourse as the main reflection of ownership status.

In order to see the representative examples of both periods, see Table-1 below:

Table-1: Headlines of 28th February and AKP Periods²⁶

28th February Period	AKP Period
“Either Obey or Leave” (<i>For RP</i>)	“Superb with the Democratic Requests” (<i>Headline of 7 distinct newspapers on the same day</i>)
“70 years Image of Turkey Flops” (<i>For RP</i>)	“Disguised Terror” (<i>For Gezi Protests</i>)
“On the Verge of End” (<i>For RP</i>)	“From Slaughtering to Festival” (<i>For Gezi Protests</i>)
“The Name of Threat: Political Reactionism”	“Deep State Operation” (<i>For 17th December Corruption Investigations</i>)
“What a Disgrace” (<i>For RP</i>)	“Gulen Movement: The Enemy of Kurds”
“A Serious Provocation from RP”	“The Real Actor of 28 th February: Gulen”

²⁶ The headlines are taken from search engine browsing with the words “Same Headlines in 28th February” and “AKP Headlines” (Google, 2014a) (Google, 2014b).

Secondly, the chief editors/CEOs as the main administrator of news centers would be significant to analyze through brief examples. As a common view among journalists in Turkey, the chief editors are seen as the shadows of newspaper owners (Çavdar, 2014). Also after 80s neoliberal transformation, the ownership status of newspapers are changed from journalist- owners to media conglomerates (Kaya, 2009). That process seems to transform also the journalists in administrative positions into CEO's of those conglomerates. For instance, Atikkan (2014) reminds that Ertuğrul Özkök is a member of Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD)- the largest business NGO of Turkey; and became a CEO rather than a public servant. Moreover, Özkök writes about his membership in TÜSİAD and the rightfulness of it with arguing: "Our history proved that only the media institutions that make profits could be able to stand against the pressure of governments and other powerful groups" (2001).

In order to further analyze the attitudes of mainstream media chief editors/CEOs, two quotations from 28th February and AKP periods would be fruitful:

Zafer Mutlu- "Sabah" in 28th February Period: Talking to a journalist's arguments about principles and freedom of press- Can Ataklı:

"All those are dull words. That job does not have principles. Today, big games are being played in Turkey, and everybody has a role in the game; if you stay on the wrong side, then you get out." (Karalı, 2005: 155)

Mahmet Fatih Saraç- "Habertürk" in AKP Period: After a meeting in news center when he was appointed as the CEO of Ciner Media Group; stated:

"I have 3 priorities: Religion, motherland and Mr. Ciner's money..." (Dağıstanlı, 2014: 104)

“We won’t ask disturbing, criticizing questions the interviewees. We rather try to understand and explain what they say.” (Dağıstanlı: 69)

It seems obvious that the attitude of CEOs against censorship is determined by the situation of their business within the industry. Then, one may state that a main variable of the journalistic practice is the power relations rather than democratic principles of journalism.

Lastly, the attitude of mainstream reporters against censorship would be analyzed. However, it should be noted that the representativeness of the analysis would be questioned since reporters are the largest population within the media sector with distinctive class positions, social backgrounds etc. Moreover, as being the main victim of censorship; the words over the attitudes of reporters would not be distinct from the arguments in the chapter of self-censorship (for being a common practice).

Summarily, the reporters of two periods show similarities over the working conditions at first. According to the data of Turkish Journalists’ Association (TGC); only the 1% of journalists is a member of any trade union (2014). Beyond social rights, the salaries of reporters are known as being at the lowest level of *white-collar* workers. As Maviöğlü (2012: 77) mentioned; “a journalist’s main contradiction is as follows: She/he has a claim of making news for ‘people’; however, gets the salary from her/his boss whom she/ he knows to live not as ‘people’.” That point; furthermore, mentions the uneven distribution of surplus within the media industry.

That threat of risking economic interests for reporters stand as a main obstacle over challenging censorship. Furthermore, the oligopolistic structure of media industry also risks finding new jobs in the similar media groups’ newspapers for reporter, as Atikkan (2014) mentioned. Atikkan also argues- reminding her personal experience; “Shortly after being fired from Hürriyet in 2001, there was an important organization that I participated in. Then

Hürriyet made the news for it, and there is also one name that does not appear in that news a day after; it was mine.” That brief story also states the harsh practice of the industry for reporters.

Keeping those pre-determinants in mind, one may state that the practice of a reporter or columnist is a story of self-censorship in both periods. Furthermore, another common thought can be counted as an obstacle over challenging censorship in both periods according to Çavdar (2014); namely the ideological positioning of a reporter or columnist. Çavdar states that reporters and columnists are mostly hired among the ones who would not erode the status-quo remains in the newspaper. That process is common in both periods, and especially news related with the official sources is given to the reporters that would confirm the view of those sources.

That last point to be drawn would shortly be reinforced by a brief dialogue passed between an army officer and a reporter in the 28th February period:

“The reporter: Officer, how do you like the news in the newspaper about MGK; any shortcomings or mistakes?”

The officer: No, I really like the news. No shortcomings or mistakes...” (Karalı, 2005: 227)

A final indication that is drawn about the reporters of both periods is what Tılıç (2014) mentions as the long-lasting tradition of mainstream journalism in the name of “national interests”:

“There is no change on the language of reporters in both periods. See the reporters of international news. They always speak ‘in the name of Turkey’, not as a journalist. The simplest proof of it is that they ask whole questions with a subject ‘us’. It is not as follows: ‘What is Turkey’s stance on that event’... Rather it is a change of word Turkey to ‘us’... The columnists are even worse as the spokesmen of Turkey”

In order to summarize; in both 28th February and AKP periods, reporters and columnists seem to drift into a path of self-censorship with reasons of economic interests, ideological positioning and journalistic tradition in Turkey.

6. Conclusion

That study which sparks with the aim of comparing two periods within the history of Turkish mainstream journalism, reaches into a more general end where censorship is an unchanged practice within whole history of Turkish republic. Most of the components which trigger that situation are found both through the literature review that discuss the arguments of grand theories and media models. Moreover, the tradition of press in Turkey- which is analyzed in Chapter-2; seems to construct the bases for contemporary censorship policies that can be seen in both 28th February Period and in AKP regimes.

Speaking of censorship, conservatism is analyzed through its arguments on the “obligatory responsibilities” that the society “owes” to the state. The thesis of conservatism on the utilization of media for the sake of states would be thought as a legitimization process by itself. On the other hand, liberal theories’ implications over the idealization of media- concentrating on the British example; opened a new front against the organic relations between state and the press. That challenge is framed around the ethical values of press such as “neutrality”, “independency”, “objectivity” etc. Rather than analyzing the relations between state and the press, liberal theory functioned as a founding figure of the practice of journalism in many Western European countries.

Lastly, Marxism is narrated as a deconstructing theory over both conservatism’s legitimization of state and the liberals’ idealization of the press. Marxist theory on censorship sparked from the analysis of structural disabilities of media industries. Through a historical view on the spark of mass media, Marxist literature criticized the commodification of newspapers as consumer products which it states to be the reason of media’s dependency to

the market mechanisms. That kind of a dependency brings also censorship of market and state which re-design the ownership status of media industry.

A broader analysis of media is handled by the dissertation, reaching the post-Marxist turn on the description of state and democracy that takes its root from theoreticians such as Poulantzas and Badiou. A relative autonomy of the state and market- being named as “power bloc”; founded the bases of the work when concentrating on the Turkish example. Moreover, 3 media models (Siebert et al, McQuail, Hallin & Mancini) are compared in order to synthesize the theoretical approaches and the dialectic of journalistic practice in Turkey. Siebert and his friends’ modelling of media seemed to be outdated in a sense where Cold-war hard powers leave their way to another process called globalization. On the other hand, the concrete analogy between political arena and media that is framed under the modelling lacks several autonomous features of media side.

McQuail and Hallin & Mancini’s theories; on the contrary, fits with the practice in Turkey in several means. The “modernizing” role that is attributed to media by McQuail seems to be the founding discourse of journalism in Turkey, with the spark of nationalist media in the very beginning of 20th century. On the other hand, Hallin & Mancini’s Mediterranean Model clarifies the organic relations between the authoritarian state and the positioning of mainstream journalism in Turkey.

Keeping the theoretical background in mind, it is comprehensively mentioned that the periodization about state censorship can be made according to the level of hegemony that ruling fractions stored within the history of Turkey. In fact, the military administrations of last 50 years applied direct censorship, shortly after they grasp the power, for having the monopoly of repressive state apparatuses. On the other hand, democratically elected governments mostly preserved smooth relations with media on the way to gaining consent;

however, when they began to store hegemony over masses, both legal prohibitions and unofficial censorship practices came to agenda.

Further, it can be stated that censorship for Turkish journalism is produced and re-produced from the very beginning without a settled tradition on the “freedom” of press. On the contrary, instead of the ideals on neutrality, independence and so on, Turkish journalism started its narrative with being partisan, a tool of propaganda, and finally became a sphere where industrial production techniques with the command of market forces rather than a reflection of public-service. Thus, state subsidies, utilization of repressive apparatuses by the governments, propaganda newspapers of political parties can be named as most of the reasons that determine the early development of journalistic practice in Turkey. On the other hand, the period after 1980s can be seen as the concentration of media institutions in several conglomerates that began to rule the sphere both economically and ideologically.

That end of the journalistic practice in Turkey seems to be a “by nature” process that is not changed according to the political views of governments. Rather, the tone of censorship is determined through the concentration of hegemony- which has been different under whole authorities. Recalling the comparison of the thesis, both 28th February and AKP periods seem to be the times where the hegemony of both powers –the army and AKP; reached an upper level that reflects authoritarianism. As if those powers restore their hegemony in various ways, whole types of censorship that Phillips and Harslof mentioned- latent defensive/ offensive, manifest defensive/ offensive; are seen under the practical implication of the hegemony. Direct cuts in crisis times, manipulation techniques, condemnation, and finally the cultural hegemony provided through silencing oppositional beliefs became common within both periods.

On the other hand, the effects of the market censorship over the labors of press seem to have created borders that are hard to transcend beyond since self-censorship practices are massively internalized by those. Viewing the other side of the market forces, it can be claimed that the relations between the media conglomerates and political authorities show differences between two periods. On one hand, a concrete compromise of mainstream media and the army crystallizes within 28th February period. On the contrary, the period after 2007 in AKP rule, it seems that the mainstream media of 90s began to clash with the government and mostly censored (with few exceptions); whereas, a new mainstream media that is founded under organic relations with the government began to be a part of media moguls. From that periodization, one can see the dynamic relations within the power bloc consist of both collision and coincidence between state and capitalist class, as Poulantzas mentions (1975).

Speaking of the comparison of censored issues in both periods, it is viewed that the army and AKP government chose the issues to be censored regarding the target populations of them to be interpellated. For instance, Kurdish question is framed as a complete antagonism through the media in 28th February period; on the other hand, AKP tried to attribute each reform to itself by the help of mainstream press in the process of “peace” with Kurds. Those claims can be clarified through mentioning that the target population in 90s is the “Kemalist” groups, and it is the 50% of voters that elected AKP during its reign. In fact, the issues that are analyzed regarding the differences and commonalities between two periods show how the target population of the hegemonic powers is determined through media. Shortly, regarding the differences in conjuncture; both powers tried to limit the audience they want to preserve; and dismantled the journalists that stand against the partial framing of news.

Techniques of censorship that are handled under both authorities seem to be similar in several ways. Manipulation/ misinformation, leakage, PR censorship, condemnation and direct control are mentioned as common techniques that are utilized under both regimes. Those

kinds of techniques are either primitively applied- with direct phone calls or prohibitions to mainstream newspapers; or indirectly managed- such as the examples of fiscal pressures or praising news-making for the authorities.

Moreover, self-censorship in both periods is analyzed mostly depending on the arguments of interviewees and memoirs of journalists. Many journalists from different points of view clearly mentioned that AKP and 28th February periods are mostly similar to one another. A major consequence that can be derived from the arguments is a more settled attitude of self-censorship, comparing to the censorship policies of the hegemonic powers. Censorship shows differentiating examples within crisis times or routine periods; however, self-censorship stays stronger in the viewpoints of journalists. It is grasped that self-censorship even ascends what hegemonic powers expect from the media since it is applied under more blurry conditions than censorship. That process pushed journalists acknowledge self-censorship in a gradually increasing attitude.

Lastly, the attitudes of journalists against censorship remained same in 28th February and AKP periods. Reporters and columnists seem to drift into a path of self-censorship with reasons of economic interests, ideological positioning and journalistic tradition in Turkey. On the other hand, newspaper owners and CEOs of those institutions seem to found both organic and indirect monetary relations with the authorities that pushed them into a voluntary censorship with a gradual furthering away from the ethics of journalism.

However the complex relations come into existence, it seems obvious that a tutelage regime under both military rule and civil authority dominates Turkish politics. The reflections of that situation into the media industry of Turkey are how Dağistanlı mentions (2014: 65):

“A regime of tutelage not only describes the army, also media reproduces that situation.

Under harsh conditions of the authority, the society is viewed as a child to be prevented

away from malignity. Thus, the society is misguided as being around the narratives of success and wellbeing, rather than being around harshness.”

That kind of a suppression of truth and manipulation of the facts can clearly be viewed especially under the crisis times of both authorities; either in the briefings of the army in 90s or in Gezi protests of 2013... Consequently, mainstream media of Turkey became one of the most powerful ideological apparatuses of the power bloc that both preserves the status-quo of the form of state and adopts itself to the clashes of regime of that state.

However censorship emerges under the authorities, the future of traditional journalistic practice of Turkey seems not to exit the systemic contradictions. Still, new means of media-internet broadcasting, citizen journalism and so on; can be able to create an area of challenge with a relative independence to the authoritative regimes and market forces. The decreasing costs of news production distinct from editorial pressures would create an area where the freedom of press may be preserved.

Despite that optimist predictions have practical implications in the digital space of Turkey, it should also be noted that both governmental and market censorship began to be applied in that space through several ways. The only difference between the traditional and new media around censorship seems to be the attitude of producers of news. The aim of internet media labor to stand against censorship opposes the lacking challenge of traditional mainstream journalists on the way of gaining the “right to know”.

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