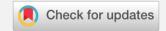
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# Navigating Legal Boundaries: Academic Freedom and Content Restrictions in Turkish Publication

Siska Katalin¹ <sup>□</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Department of European and International Law Faculty of Law, University of Debrecen, Hungary

<sup>™</sup> siska.katalin@law.unideb.hu

#### **ABSTRACT**

In a MetroPOLL survey conducted in July 2020, 62 percent of Turkish respondents asserted that the media in Turkey lacks freedom, while 50 percent felt inhibited in freely expressing their thoughts on social media due to perceived monitoring and the potential ramifications of their actions. In response to criticism, the government often resorts to accusing critics of terrorist affiliations, posing a threat to the state, or engaging in activities jeopardizing national security. Publicly criticizing the state or government in Turkey carries inherent risks, including facing civil lawsuits, criminal charges, or investigations. Individuals who opt to publish or speak on sensitive subjects or criticize the government may undergo scrutiny, punishment, and legal prosecution, with potential consequences such as job loss and imprisonment. Legal proceedings against those expressing critical opinions have multifaceted negative implications for society, influencing perceptions of freedom of expression and serving as a means to intimidate civil society and stifle dissent. This study focuses on elucidating the primary reasons behind these restrictions and examining prevalent instances of legal action. Moreover, precision in language, avoidance of redundancy, cohesive transitions, quantifying information with specific examples, and the use of neutral language have been employed to enhance the academic tone and clarity of the paragraph.

**Keywords:** Freedom of Expression, Content Restrictions, Publication



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#### INTRODUCTION

In Turkey, the government and political leaders exercise both direct and indirect control over media outlets and book publications through various forms of censorship. In the year 2020, a number of individuals involved in the field of writing and publishing were subject to legal action by the governing bodies on charges related to defamation, obscenity, separatism, terrorism, subversion, fundamentalism, or infringement upon religious principles.<sup>1</sup>

A measure to amend Law Number 5651 on "Regulating Internet Publication and Combating Crimes Committed by Means of Such Publication" was passed by the Turkish Parliament on July 29, 2020. Comparing the law to some legislation in Germany and France aimed at countering fake news, the major goal of the bill is to battle phony accounts, fake news, and misinformation on social networks. <sup>2</sup> But this law allows government sanctions regime for noncompliance, which sees as a restriction on freedom of expression. This paper's purpose is to see how the government's action on censorship toward media and book publishing.

The writer using the type of research used is legal doctrinal. Furthermore, the legal doctrinal methodology is a legal research method that examines laws and regulations that have several consequences. Moreover, the data sources used come from library materials or secondary data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 2020 Country Report on Human Rights Practice: Turkey https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-country-reports-on-human-rightspractices/turkey/ assess August 5, 2023

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cantekin, Kayahan. *Turkey: Parliament Passes Law Imposing New Obligations on Social Media Companies*. 2020. Web Page. https://www.loc.gov/item/global-legal-monitor/2020-08-06/turkey-parliament-passes-law-imposing-new-obligations-on-social-media-companies/ access in August 7, 2023

# DIRECT AND INDIRECT CENSORSHIP OF THE TURKISH MEDIA

In Turkey, the media and book publishing are subject to both direct and indirect censorship by the government and political figures. A number of authors and publishers were charged by the authorities in 2020 with defamation, obscenity, separatism, terrorism, subversion, fundamentalism, or violating religious principles. Human rights organizations have expressed grave concern that the social media law (Law No.5651), which went into effect on October 1, 2020, will result in increased censorship of social media and indiscriminate execution of content removal requests ordered by authorities, courts, or social media companies.

The new rule jeopardizes Twitter and Facebook's presence in the country if they do not cooperate with requests to remove problematic information. More than one million content producers must have a representative in Turkey, according to the regulation. Furthermore, platforms must comply with Turkish court decisions and remove objectionable content considered offensive by people or the government within 48 hours. Failure to execute may result in fines of up to €4.3 million or bandwidth limitations that preclude platform access.<sup>3</sup>

Publishers are required by law to send books and periodicals to the appropriate prosecutor's office at the time of publication. According to the Turkish Publishers Association, retailers do not stock books by some opposition figures due to intimidation and the fear of criminal and civil processes - as part of self-censorship.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Turkish law tightening rules on social media comes into effect Euronews.com 2020.01.10. https://www.euronews.com/my-europe/2020/10/01/turkish-law-tightening-rules-on-social-media-comes-into-effect (Access: March 10, 2022.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ahmet Külsoy: Censorship spreads to Turkey's publishing houses. January 25, 2019. https://ahvalnews.com/censorship/censorship-spreads-turkeys-publishing-houses (Access: March 10, 2022)

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom<sup>5</sup> also reports that publishers frequently self-censor and avoid publishing works containing potentially illegal content (such as criticism of the government or pornographic or pro-Kurdish content). According to the group, publishers that fail to comply with court-ordered revisions of the illegal content might face publication bans and severe fines. The authorities also imposed restrictions on book promotion on publishers. Prosecutors deemed the ownership of some books in Kurdish, pro-Kurdish, or related to the Gülen movement to be solid proof of affiliation with and membership in the terrorist group in some cases. In other situations, officials declined to print books due to inappropriate material.<sup>6</sup>

An Istanbul court barred access to articles and claims by major publications and broadcasters that claimed a large public procurement concession had been granted to a friend of the president's son in August 2020. In line with the previous prohibition on access, an Istanbul court issued an additional ban on access to the news in September. In October 2020, police searched the offices of the Mezopotamya Ajansi Van news agency as well as the homes of some

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Freedom is the Foundation of liberal politics in the Federal Republic of Germany. It aims to promote the principle of freedom and dignity for all people in all areas of society, both in Germany and abroad. The Friedrich Naumann Foundation contributes to the liberal shaping of the future with civic education and dialogue programs, sponsorship of talents, research and political consultation, and archival work. In Germany, the Foundation offers a variety of forums, especially for young people, to exchange information and experience and to discuss current and future political and social developments. Its main purpose is to promote a better understanding of politics and encourage citizens to participate in the political process. Abroad, the support of human rights, the rule of law, and democracy form the core of their work in more than 60 countries. The Foundation supports the sustainable development of democratic and constitutional structures by supporting liberal parties and groups. A strong network of alliances of democratic parties, human rights organizations, and academic institutions offers a solid foundation for their activities abroad. The Foundation's central idea is to promote freedom and responsibility both in Germany and abroad.

https://liberalforum.eu/member/friedrich-naumann-foundation-for-freedom-fnf/ (Access: May 07, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Friedrich Neumann Foundation. Censorship and Self-Censorship in Turkey, May 12, 2020. https://www.freiheit.org/censorship-and-self-censorship-turkey (Access: March 10, 2022.)

of the news organization's journalists. During the raid, four journalists were seized and their cameras and technical equipment were confiscated.<sup>7</sup>

Cemil Ugur, one of the journalists, originally reported in September on two Turkish citizens who were allegedly detained, tortured, and then thrown from a helicopter by military in Van in connection with the case. Courts have issued a non-disclosure order requested by the Attorney General's Office regarding news of the incident. On October 01, a criminal judge in Ankara ordered blocking access to Mezopotamya Ajansi's online content at the request of the Information and Communication Technology Authority.<sup>8</sup>

Ugur was held in custody for three days. He was accused of reporting social incidents in order to undermine the state. Refer to Article 314/2 of the Turkish Penal Code in the 14-page indictment. The journalists were charged with "membership in a terrorist organization" based on their reporting and conversations with their sources. According to the indictment, the journalists worked for news organizations and periodicals that broadcast anti-state information. The indictment was accepted by Van's 5th Criminal Court of Appeal.

On January 6, 2022, the procedure's fourth and last hearing was held. The prosecutor delivered his final opinion, in which he asked for the acquittal of all five journalists on the charge of membership in a terrorist organization, but demanded the conviction of one of them, Nazan Sala, on the charge of terrorist propaganda, which he spread in his social media posts. At the conclusion of the trial, the court found all five journalists not guilty of "membership in a terrorist organization." Sala, on the other hand, was sentenced to one year and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Turkish police arrest Mezopotamya News Agency journalist Mehmet Aslan. January 05, 2021. https://cpj.org/2021/01/turkish-police-arrest-mezopotamya-news-agency-journalist-mehmet-aslan/ (Access: March 10, 2022.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Turkey: Freedom on the Net. 2019.06.01. https://freedomhouse.org/country/turkey/freedom-net/2020 (Access: March 10, 2022.)

three months in prison for "terrorist propaganda," which he reportedly spread on social media. 9

Some journalists have reported being ordered to modify their reporting if it appears unfavorable of the government, or being fired if they refuse. The government also charged Cumhuriyet journalists Alican Uludag and Duygu Guvenc with "publicly humiliating the judiciary" and "insulting the Turkish nation" over their coverage of Andrew Brunson's imprisonment in 2018. The court concluded on October 22 that the defendants would be acquitted because "the act in question is not defined as a crime by law".

Some journalists have reported being ordered to modify their reporting if it appears unfavorable of the government, or being fired if they refuse. Alican Uludag, a Cumhuriyet journalist, was also charged by the government<sup>10</sup> and Duygu Guvenc<sup>11</sup> For allegedly openly humiliating the courts and insulting the Turkish people in connection with their report and coverage of Andrew Brunson's imprisonment in 2018.<sup>12</sup> On October 22, the court ruled that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cemil Uğur. Who is on Trial? Expression Interrupted! https://www.expressioninterrupted.com/cemil-ugur/ (Access: May 07, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Alican Uludag. Who is on Trial? Expression Interrupted! https://www.expressioninterrupted.com/alican-uludag/ (Access: May 07, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Turkey: Duygu Güvenç Trial For "Public Defamation Of Judicial Organs" Adjourned To October.2020.07.02. https://www.womeninjournalism.org/threats-all/turkey-duygu-guvenc-trial-for-public-defamation-of-judicial-organs-adjourned-to-october (Access: May 10, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Andrew Brunson (1968) is an American Presbyterian minister. The pastor from North Carolina settled in Turkey with his family in the mid-nineties and was the leader of the Resurrection church in Izmir for twenty years. He was detained by the Turkish authorities in October 2016 and formally charged in December - accused of being a member of the banned Gülen movement, suspected of being behind the 2016 military coup attempt, and of being associated with the also banned Kurdish separatist organization Kurdistan Workers' Party. He spent nearly two years in prison and was released under pressure from the Trump administration.

In: Aki miatt Trump megbüntette Törökországot. Andrew Brunson a Mandinernek. December 05, 2019. https://mandiner.hu/cikk/20191205\_aki\_miatt\_trump\_megbuntette\_torokorszagot\_andrew\_brunson\_a\_mandinernek (Access: May 07, 2023.)

defendants would be acquitted since the act is not defined as a crime by law.<sup>13</sup>

Radio and television stations did not allow equitable access to the campaigns of the country's major political parties. The mainstream media has been accused by critics of mainly favoring the ruling AKP (Justice and Development Party). The owner of the private media channel Olay TV declared in December that it will close the channel after only one month of operation because its editorial team favored content supporting the HDP (People's Democratic Party) while simultaneously being excessively critical of the government. The Editor-in-Chief of Olay TV said in his farewell broadcast that the government had persuaded the channel's executives to shut down the channel because it had come under government control, particularly owing to its content on suspected corruption and human rights violations by government officials.<sup>14</sup>

According to Ilhan Tasci, a member of the Supreme Council of Radio and Television (Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu, RTÜK), who represents the CHP (Republican People's Party), RTÜK punished or suspended independent broadcasters in 54 cases up until December. During this time, government-affiliated broadcasters received only two warnings and one fine. Independent broadcasters were fined 25 times as much as government-affiliated broadcasters.<sup>15</sup>

RTÜK has continued to fine broadcasters whose content appears to be harmful to Turkey's national and moral values. Providers of online streaming services must obtain a license or risk having their content withdrawn. The RTÜK has the authority to reject

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Reporter from Cumhuriyet Daily, Duygu Güvenc, is being tried for Art 301 of the Turkish Criminal Code. 2020.04.16. https://mediamonitoringdatabase.org/the-reporter-from-cumhuriyet-daily-duygu-guvenc-is-being-tried-for-publicly-degrading-the-government/ (Access: March 10, 2022.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Critical Olay TV Shut Down Due to the Gov't Pressure After 26 Days. September 16, 2020. https://ahvalnews.com/turkey-press-freedom/critical-olay-tv-shut-down-due-govt-pressure-after-26-days (Access: March 10, 2022.)

Opinion: Unprecedented Media Censorship. Press Freedom in Turkey. July 13, 2020. https://www.empowordjournalism.com/all-articles/opinion-unprecedented-media-censorship-press-freedom-in-turkey/ (Access: March 10, 2022.)

applications for national security concerns and subject the content to prior censorship. In July 2020, RTÜK declared that it would suspend pro-opposition Halk TV and TELE1 for five days, threatening that the two networks' broadcasting licenses would be revoked outright if they got another punishment.

TELE1 incited animosity foment two news programs criticizing the country's Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) and President Erdogan, according to RTÜK, while Halk TV questioned Turkey's foreign policy. The NGO that protects journalists cautioned that the two channels were the final opposition channels in a primarily progovernment media environment, and that their presence was critical for the country's media plurality. Following the rejection of the broadcasters' court appeals, RTÜK banned TELE1 and Halk TV broadcasting for five days in September 2020. <sup>16</sup>

RTÜK also met in February 2023 to decide on imposing fines on 4 TV stations for broadcasting the earthquake.<sup>17</sup> The Tele 1, Halk TV, FOX TV, and Habertürk networks have been investigated for their coverage of the Government's poor disaster response. A 7.8-magnitude earthquake struck Southern Turkey on February 06, followed by dozens of aftershocks, including a 7.5-magnitude quake that shook the region, killing more than 45,000 people, according to the latest official figures in the area and some parts of Syria.

Following the earthquakes, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP) were accused of performing poorly in coordinating search and rescue efforts, mainly failing to mobilize enough people, lack of proper coordination between troops, and civilians involved in the rescue, in some regions the residents themselves tried to pull their loved ones

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> International Public Service Broadcasters Face Potential Ban in Turkey. Public Media Alliance.2022.03.04. https://www.publicmediaalliance.org/international-public-service-broadcasters-face-potential-ban-in-turkey/ (Access: March 10, 2022.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Stockholm Center for Freedom. Turkey's broadcasting watchdog imposes fines on 3 TV stations due to earthquake coverage. February 22, 2023. https://stockholmcf.org/turkeys-broadcasting-watchdog-imposes-fines-on-3-tv-stations-due-to-earthquake-coverage/ (Access: May 07, 2023.)

out from under the ruins. According to the media authority, the TV broadcasters face fines because they reported on the "incompetence and negligence" shown by the authorities during the disaster response, which, according to the RTÜK, reaches the limit of criminality.

However, there was no consensus among RTÜK members regarding the case either. "However, the death of tens of thousands of our citizens was caused not only by the earthquake but also by incompetence and arrogance. Furthermore, they think that with possible fines, they can hide the truth for which they are responsible," wrote Okan Konuralp, an RTÜK member, on Twitter. "No punishment can forget the despair of those waiting for rescue or their relatives. No amount of punishment can hide the truth of our citizens who lost their lives, the destroyed cities, the children left without parents, the millions who became homeless," he added.<sup>18</sup>

RTÜK has been accused of contributing to the country's increased censorship by unfairly punishing independent television and radio stations who criticize the Turkish government. According to Reporters Without Borders (RSF), 90 percent of Turkey's national media, which ranks 149th out of 180 nations in RSF's 2022 World Press Freedom Index, is controlled by the Turkish government<sup>19</sup>, is controlled by government supporters and represents official government support.

During the state of emergency implemented following the failed coup in July 2016, the AKP government shutdown 60 TV and radio stations by decree. Since 2007, the government has also taken an active role in ensuring that enterprises owned by sympathetic entrepreneurs receive extensive media prominence. The media altered their profile and approach under new ownership to avoid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Arzu Geybullyeva: In Turkey, the State Resorts to Censorship Majeure. 2023.02.13. globalvoices.org, https://globalvoices.org/2023/02/13/in-turkey-the-state-resorts-to-censorship-majeure/ (Access: May 07, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> RSF's 2022 World Press Freedom Index: A New Era of Polarisation. https://rsf.org/en/rsf-s-2022-world-press-freedom-index-new-era-polarisation (Access: May 07, 2023)

criticism of the government and, in certain circumstances, to operate as a direct mouthpiece of the presidency.<sup>20</sup>

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND CULTURAL **EVENTS**

In the 2020s, the Government has imposed several restrictions on academic freedom and freedom of expression in academic institutions and censored cultural events. Because the appointment of the rector of both public and foundation universities is a presidential obligation, system critics believe that these appointments jeopardize the institutions' academic and political independence. Some professors have also been charged for publicly criticizing government policy. Academics and other public figures have openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the situation at public universities<sup>21</sup>, stating that the removal of over 7,000 instructors during the state of emergency from 2016 to 2018 has limited the pool of skilled

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> RTÜK will Convene to Decide on Fines for 4 TV Stations Over their Earthquake Turkish Minute. 2023.02.21. https://www.turkishminute.com/2023/02/21/rtuk-will-convene-decide-on-fines-for-4tv-stations-over-their-earthquake-coverage/(Access: April 08, 2023.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In Turkey, the state of emergency was first ordered for three months after the military coup attempt on July 15, 2016, but it was extended for another three months every time until July 19, 2018 - a total of 7 times. Ankara blames the international network of Fethullah Gülen, a Muslim preacher of Turkish origin who lives in America, for the incident and is particularly retaliatory against members of the movement. The lifting of the measure took place shortly after the executive presidential system came into effect in the Asia Minor country on July 09 this year.

In the last two years, the leadership in Ankara dismissed about 125,800 state employees from their jobs. About 6,750 of those fired were later reinstated. There are currently 33,308 people in prison because of so-called Gülenism, including soldiers, teachers, police officers, judges and prosecutors, doctors, lawyers, journalists, and even two members of the Constitutional Court. In: Elfogadta a terrorizmus elleni harcot szabályozó új törvénycsomagot a török parlament. 2023.04.10. Magyar Hírlap

https://www.magyarhirlap.hu/kulfold/Elfogadta\_a\_terrorizmus\_elleni\_harcot\_s zabalyozo\_uj\_torvenycsomagot\_a\_torok\_parlament (A letöltés ideje: 2023. 04. 09.)

professionals in numerous departments and institutions at the price of educational quality. <sup>22</sup>

In July 2019, the Constitutional Court decided that the prosecution of over 2,000 academics known as "Academics for Peace" violated fundamental freedoms. The academics were charged with terrorist propaganda after signing a petition decrying state violence in the country's south-east in 2016. By September, 622 of the Academics for Peace group's 822 cases had resulted in acquittals. The majority of academics who were fired in 2019 were not reinstated. <sup>23</sup>

Turkey, as a member of the Council of Europe and a signatory to the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, must safeguard academic freedom, which is founded on freedom of thought, expression, and assembly. Turkey is also a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the OSCE Final Act, all of which protect the right to free expression, which is essential to academic freedom. Articles 25-27 of the Turkish Constitution give these rights. Also documented in his papers. We request that the government no longer employ the guise of terrorist propaganda to penalize academics' legitimate and protected activity."<sup>24</sup>

Academics and university event organizers have indicated that their work is continually scrutinized, and they suffer criticism from their employers if they talk or write about themes that academic leadership or the government do not approve of. Many people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Inan O'zdemir Tastan-Aydın O'rdek A Report on Academic Freedoms in Turkey in the Period of the State of Emergency. www.ohcr.org https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Opinion/Submissions/Academics/INSAN\_HAKLARI\_OKULU1.pdf (Access: March 10, 2022.)

Academics for Peace. www.frontlinedefenders.org. https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/profile/academics-peace (Access: March 10, 2022), Three Years of Rights Violations Faced by Academics for Peace. June 01, 2020 https://afp.hypotheses.org/1482 (Access: May 23, 2023)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Committee on Academic Freedom. Recent Amendments made to Turkey's Higher Education Law. 2020. 06.08. https://mesana.org/advocacy/committee-on-academic-freedom/2020/06/08/recent-amendments-made-to-turkeys-higher-education-law (Access: March 10, 2022)

reported using self-censorship to keep their employment. Human rights organizations and student organizations have protested the restrictions established by the courts and the Council of Higher Education, which limit universities' autonomy in personnel, teaching, and research policies.<sup>25</sup> The Higher Education Council terminated the operational license of Istanbul Sehir University, founded by former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu, in December 2019. The Council seized the assets of the Science and Arts Foundation, which operates the institution, and appointed trustees in January 2020, citing mismanagement and a lack of cash as justifications for the involvement. Academic freedom campaigners said the actions were in revenge for Davutoglu's new opposition party's formation. On June 30, 2020, the university officially closed its doors. <sup>26</sup>

Anti-terrorist efforts have an impact on art and culture as well. More than 200 Turkish and Kurdish songs have been prohibited by the government because their content promotes smoking or drinking or conveys terrorist propaganda. In 2016, police arrested members of Grup Yorum, a prominent folk band collective, on terrorism charges and barred them from performing, claiming the group was affiliated to the terrorist group Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front. Two group members, Helin Bolek and Ibrahim Gokcek, died as a result of hunger strikes protesting the group's treatment in April and May 2020. Two other members stayed incarcerated. Ten people were detained and two were arrested in August for attending the group's unlawful concert in Istanbul without a permission.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Davutoğlu-linked Şehir University shut down by presidential decree. 2020.07.01. https://www.duvarenglish.com/politics/2020/07/01/davutoglu-linked-sehiruniversity-shut-down-by-presidential-decree (Access: May 10, 2023)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Protecting Scholars and the Freedom to Think, Question and Share Ideas. Scholars at Risk. https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/about/ (Access: March 10, 2022.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Grup Yorum: the Jailed Band Turkey cannot Silence. April 04, 2018. https://www.theguardian.com/music/2018/apr/04/grup-yorum-the-jailed-bandturkey-cant-silence (Access: March 10, 2023)

#### CONCLUSION

The regulatory body in Turkey responsible for censorship exercises substantial influence over the nation's political landscape. This paper expounds that persistent instances of freedom of expression violations are discernible. This is evident in the presented case, where journalists encounter impediments in articulating their perspectives on the state of affairs in Turkey. Some face accusations of engaging in propagandistic activities. Furthermore, within the Turkish context, journalists confront various forms of mistreatment, including harassment, threats, surveillance, and violations of their rights to freedom of expression, association, and assembly. Judicial harassment, in the form of criminal prosecution, is also prevalent. Additionally, they endure physical assaults, prolonged periods of arbitrary imprisonment, and instances of ill-treatment. Quantifiable data underpins these claims, emphasizing the severity of the challenges faced by journalists in Turkey.

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#### **Author Biography**

#### Siska Katalin

Siska Katalin, PhD is an Associate Professor on Department of European and International Law, Faculty of Law, University of Debrecen. You can read her full bio here