

Human Rights and Freedom of Expression In Turkey

Assoc. Prof. Dr. İhsan Dağı
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Toprak

**Ankara
July 2003**

**This research, has been realized within the project titled
“Freedom of Expression in Turkey within the Context of Legal and Social Spheres”
conducted by Association for Liberal Thinking
with the contributions of the European Commission**



Contents

Introduction	1
The Sample of the Survey	4
Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression: The Present Situation	7
The Way of Perception of Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression	7
The Intensity of Violations of Human Rights and Freedom Expression.....	9
Those Who Suffered on Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression.....	17
Sources of Human Rights and Freedom of Expression Violations	19
The Effectiveness of the Judiciary against Violations	22
The Level of Recognition of Human Rights Organizations and Their Image	27
Attitudes on the Content and Limits of Freedom of Expression	29
The Freedom of Publishing and Distributing.....	29
Education, Publication and Broadcasting in Mother Tongue	33
Religious Freedoms.....	35
The State, Democracy and Freedoms.....	41
Violence and Freedom of Expression	47
Privacy of Private Life and Sexuality	48
Attitudes toward the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)	51
The European Union and the Process of Political Reform in Turkey	51
The Society's Attitude toward the European Court of Human Rights	54
The Attitudes of Judicial Personnel on Human Rights and Freedom of Expression	56
Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression: Present Situation.....	58
Attitudes on the Content and Limits of Freedom of Expression.....	70
Attitudes toward the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR).....	86
Conclusion and Comparison	89

Introduction

Human rights in general and freedom of expression in particular are among the main issues, which have come forefront recently in Turkey's domestic and foreign policy. It is a fact that some legal initiatives have been launched to eradicate Turkey's problems in these fields and some partial improvements have been achieved with the packages of 'democratization and human rights'. However, in spite of some positive legal arrangements and the expression of will in this direction, violation of human rights still constitutes a problem.

In finding out problems and in the implementation of reforms in the fields of human rights and freedom of expression, a process, in which outsider elements have come forefront, has been lived through in the context of the discussions on the European Union. On the one hand, some circles within the society state that the European Union raises and exaggerates the issues involving human rights and the freedom of expression unnecessarily in the process of the integration with the EU. On the other hand, there are some people who are of the opinion that political reforms in these fields cannot be carried out without the dynamics created by the EU process. Apart from these two attitudes, the social basis of the demands regarding human rights and the freedom of expression has not been dealt with and no empirical study has been made to analyze this issue.

While the last twenty years of the developments regarding Turkey have been shaped by discussions on human rights, it is strange that no empirical study has been made in this field. Consequently, the issue that to what extent the reforms on human rights and the freedom of expression have covered national/social demands has not been comprehended. This study is important in that it demonstrates whether human rights/freedom of expression have become the demand of the nation/the society.

How wide sections of the society perceive human rights and the freedom of expression as a concept and demand is important. The study tries to find out how the Turkish public opinion perceives human rights and the freedom of expression and to underline social attitudes, which have been created as a result of this perception. With this socio-empirical study,

- It is demonstrated how widespread the problems involving human rights/the freedom of expression are.
- It is clarified how human rights/the freedom of expression are perceived as concepts and as series of values and demands.
- With these aspects, the study has a practical function, which will guide the initiatives launched in the fields of human rights/the freedom of expression.
- By analyzing the problems, which the public opinion observe in the implementation of reforms, the study describes the different aspects of the problem in order to contribute to their implementation and adoption.
- By demonstrating how the problems and demands on human rights/the freedom of expression are perceived and to what extent they have been accepted by the public opinion, it is pointed to the existence of the social basis of the reform initiatives in this direction.

The study titled as *The Freedom of Expression* has been conducted in cooperation with the European Commission and the Association for Liberal Thinking (Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu).

In the stage of planning the study, it was planned that the field study would be carried out among the ordinary people and the personnel belonging to the judiciary and the police. It is clear that in addition to the public opinion, the judiciary and the police constitute the other two legs of the issues involving human rights/the freedom of expression. Although the gendarmerie, too, is considerably influential in serving as the police force in the rural areas, this section of the society was left out the plan of the field study because of potential difficulties.

There is an opinion to the effect that permission has to be taken from the State Institute of Statistics (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, DİE) for written and oral interviews and public surveys, which will be conducted throughout the country. In fact, public surveys, which are made without a written permission of DİE, are subjected to legal prosecution by the police forces from time to time and those who conduct the survey are put under custody. Therefore, the researchers submit their questionnaire to DİE before they start their study and DİE directly responds to the application on the basis of technical sufficiency and correctness or, if it sees it necessary, it consults with the opinion of the other state institutions such as the General Directorate of Police and the Ministry of Justice in accordance with the content of the questionnaire.

Apart from providing the service of sampling, DİE's presenting its opinion by examining the forms of questionnaire has no practical meaning. Moreover, it undertakes an indirect responsibility on ratifying the scientific character of the questions by deciding on the technical sufficiency of applications. As a matter of fact, many field study companies generally do not buy the service of providing samples from DİE, but they demand the ratification, if it is the right word, on the technical sufficiency of their questions. Whether the companies, which demand the ratification of the institution, interpret this ratification as comprising of sampling and field study in their dealings with their customers is up to their conscience to a great extent.

The Association for Liberal Thinking (ALT) applied at the end of 2002 simultaneously to the State Institute of Statistics, the General Directorate of Police and the Ministry of Justice on the interviews, which it would conduct throughout the country based on the questionnaire, regarding human rights and the freedom of expression in Turkey. With the exception of the Ministry of Justice, it did not become possible to obtain the opinion of the other two institutions. The State Institute of Statistics transferred the questionnaire to the Ministry of Internal Affairs because of some questions in it. It seems possible to conclude from this fact that DİE provides services having the character of security and intelligence in addition to its technical interpretation.

During the office of Aysel Çelikel as the minister of justice of the Ecevit government, the Ministry of Justice informed the Association for Liberal Thinking with a written notice that it gave permission for the conduct of the public survey with the personnel belonging to the judiciary. The field study involving the personnel belonging to the judiciary could not be made because of the budgetary planning of the ALT and the European Commission and it became possible to give a start to it during the office of the AKP government. However, unexpected difficulties were experienced during the survey, which was conducted with the personnel of the judiciary between April 7 and May 9, 2003. Some personnel of the judiciary did not cause any difficulty in filling the form of questionnaire, to which the written permission of the Ministry was attached, and in submitting it to the people conducting the survey. But some of them kept the questionnaire and refused to return it. It deserves to notify that this act of detaining the questionnaire was performed by 20-25 judges and public prosecutors, who work in the same building belonging to the ministry, in keeping touch with each other. In some offices of the Ministry of Justice in cities and towns, the photocopies of the identification cards of the surveyors were taken and they were allowed to visit judges and public prosecutors in the accompaniment of an official.

In some offices of the Ministry of Justices in cities and towns, the officials called the Ministry by phone to ask questions about the Ministry's permission on the survey though the written permission of the Ministry was presented to them and this caused additional difficulties. The official or officials of the Ministry of Justice warned that person, who phoned to them, not to answer the questionnaire. It should be noted that the persons, who conducted the survey, were astonished to see how the change of government caused such a result. Besides, the projection of the concept of the judiciary's independence in practice was interpreted as a terrifying phenomenon. The questionnaire was presented to judges and public prosecutors within envelopes and those judicial personnel were asked to return the questionnaire by enclosing the envelope after answering it. In the questionnaire, the personnel information of judges and public prosecutors were not demanded, but only questions, which are aimed to find out their opinions, were asked. In spite of this fact, it was observed that a considerable number of the personnel belonging to the judiciary demonstrated hesitancy. Some judges and public prosecutors showed reluctance in answering the questions, which asks the duration of their service, whether they are judges or public prosecutors, whether they are married or single and whether they have been to a foreign country. They explained their reluctance on the ground that their identity could be detected from the answers which they would give.

There were some among the judicial personnel, who did not answer the questionnaire because of the intensity of their job. In addition, some did not respond without putting forward any reason. Of course, their decisions were met with respect. However, those persons, who had taken the questionnaire with their free will, chose later not to return it with non-understandable "unknown reasons" or they resorted to calling the Ministry by phone "to ask whether it was right thing to get their opinions on their profession". This is a point, which should be considered seriously as a separate matter to find out in which atmosphere judicial personnel provide judicial service.

Some judges and public prosecutors demonstrated astonishment on how the questions (referring the questions of the questionnaire), which could be directed only to the ordinary people, could be asked to them. In fact, we, too, were surprised in facing the way they asked this question. In our era, opinion polls, interviews, image and market surveys are conducted commonly on all professions. In fact, the AKP government will conduct *the Survey of Satisfaction of Citizens* in accordance with *the Urgent Action Plan* in a near future. As a matter of fact, we wonder how and through which methods the satisfaction of citizens on courts will be find out.

Nevertheless, it should be noted that the community of the Ministry of Justice is more transparent and has a stronger feeling of self-confidence relatively. The General Directorate of Police even did not allow the application of the questionnaire its personnel, which was submitted to it. This demand of permission was presented during the period of the Ecevit government and intensive efforts were made to obtain this permission during the period of the AKP government, but all the requests were turned back.

The persons, who planned and conducted the survey, have not anything clear in their minds yet on how answering the questionnaire might be harmful for the personnel belonging to the police department.

Thus, the public opinion aspect and the judiciary aspect (if it is not a desired level) of a field study, which was supported by the European Commission, have been completed. However, it has not become possible to find out the opinions and evaluations of the police department. Unfortunately, in accordance with the requirements of the survey, we have the responsibility of informing the European Commission that this deficiency has stemmed from the refusal of our demand on the field study because of the doubts of the Turkish government and that in Turkey,

there are still formal and informal red lines (in colloquial use), which we will not be able to know before we step on them.

The survey involving the public was conducted with 3060 individuals in 15 cities, who were chosen as a sample. In the survey, a questionnaire, which included open and close-ended questions, was used. The cities, which the survey included, were the followings: İstanbul, Bursa, Kocaeli, İzmir, Manisa, Adana, Mersin, Ankara, Konya, Samsun, Trabzon, Erzurum, Van, Diyarbakır and Gaziantep. The public study of the survey was conducted between 15 and 30 October 2003.

The survey involving the judicial personnel was conducted in seven different geographical regions throughout the country, but the weight was given to İstanbul and Ankara because of various problems. The other cities, in which the survey was conducted with judicial personnel, were İzmir, Erzurum, Samsun, Adana and Şanlıurfa.

The analyses on the public opinion were made on the data, which was given weight on the ground of the choice of political party. The survey of public opinion was conducted by Assoc. Prof. Dr. İhsan D. Dağı, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Metin Toprak, and İbrahim Dalmış. The field study involving the judicial personnel was conducted by Associate Prof. Dr. İhsan D. Dağı, Associate Prof. Dr. Metin Toprak, and İbrahim Dalmış.

In this book, firstly, the perceptions and attitudes of the public, secondly, the opinions of the judicial personnel and thirdly, the comparison of the opinions and assessments of the public and the judicial personnel on human rights and the freedom of expression in Turkey have been dealt with.

The Sample of the Survey

The field study on the public opinion was conducted through face to face interviews with individuals totaling 3060 in 15 cities of the seven regions of Turkey. The individuals, who were interviewed, reflect the average situation of Turkey on gender, age, marital status, education, profession, political choice and ethnic identity.

**Table K1:
Survey Regions**

REGION / CITY	NUMBER	%
MARMARA	935	30,6
İstanbul	656	21,4
Bursa	157	5,1
Kocaeli	122	4,0
THE AEGEAN	410	13,4
İzmir	300	9,8
Manisa	110	3,6
THE MEDITERRANEAN	343	11,2
Adana	198	6,5
Mersin	145	4,7
THE INNER ANATOLIA	547	17,9
Ankara	444	14,5
Konya	103	3,4
THE BLACK SEA	256	8,4
Samsun	102	3,3
Trabzon	154	5,0
THE EASTERN ANATOLIA	268	8,8
Erzurum	164	5,4

Van	104	3,4
THE SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA	301	9,8
Diyarbakır	151	4,9
Gaziantep	150	4,9
TOTAL	3060	100,0

**Table K2:
The Demographic Features of the Sample**

	Number	%
GENDER		
Female	1349	44,1
Male	1711	55,9
AGE GROUPS		
18 to 25	1016	33,2
26 to 35	911	29,8
36 to 45	562	18,4
46 to 60	430	14,1
61 and beyond	141	4,6
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	1758	57,5
Single	1194	39,0
Widow / Divorce	108	3,5
SCHOOLS GRADUATED		
Not graduate	102	3,3
Primary school	751	24,5
Secondary school	389	12,7
High school	1045	34,2
University	746	24,4
Master	27	0,9
PROFESSION		
Owner or partner of business company	113	3,7
Tradesmen-Craftsmen	798	26,1
Housewife- house-girl	328	20,5
Qualified worker, chief of workers	220	7,2
Self-employed person	151	4,9
General director / High level manager	14	0,5
Director / Middle level manager	47	1,5
Civil servant / Personnel who are not managers	108	3,5
Unqualified worker / Employee	169	5,5
Student	438	14,3
Farmer / Fishermen	31	1,0
Retired	201	6,6
Unemployed	129	4,2
The Police / The member of the Military	4	0,1
Others	9	0,3
TOTAL	3060	100,0

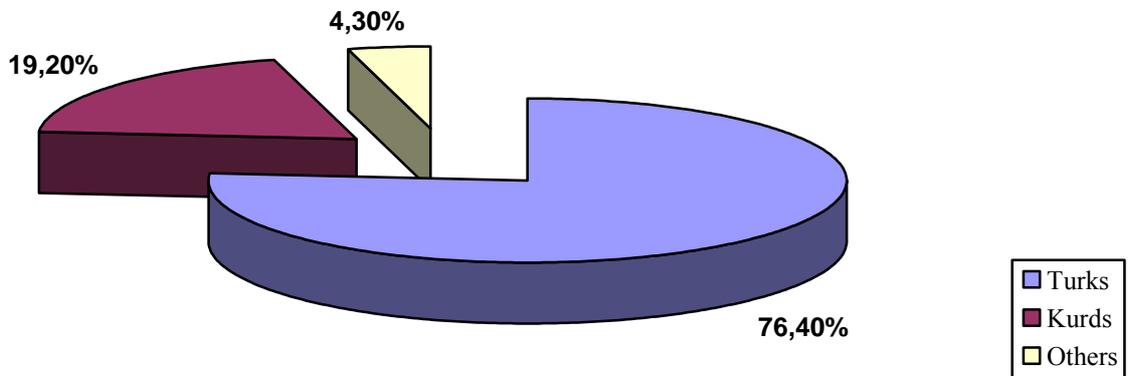
Table K3:
The rate of languages/dialects known in family other than Turkish

	Number	The rate of knowing in family %
English	1057	34,6
Kurdish	556	18,2
German	321	10,5
Arabic	242	7,9
French	134	4,4
The language of Zaza	128	4,2
Balkan languages (Bosnian, Macedonian, etc)	70	2,3
The language of Laz	70	2,3
Georgian	37	1,2
Circassian	35	1,1
Greek	30	1,0
Persian	22	0,7
Armenian	7	0,2

Given the reluctance of the people in demonstrating their ethnic origins, it was decided to find out this fact indirectly by asking the languages spoken in the family. It might be asserted that the languages spoken in the family do not reflect the ethnic origin one hundred percent because of the kinship caused by marriages. However, it was assumed that the kinship among people brought about by marriages might reflect the difference of sensitivity caused by ethnic origin.

If the possibility that whether the attitudes and perceptions of the people belonging to one ethnic origin on especially the freedom of expression are different or not will be tested, then, the Kurdish identity is a good example in this matter. Therefore, it was considered that speaking Kurdish in the family might mean being Kurds in ethnic origin and speaking Kurdish was used as an independent variable. The fact that Kurdish is the most spoken language in Turkey after English coincides with the fact that the largest ethnic group is the Kurds. As for the choice of the people, who speak Kurdish on political parties, DEHAP comes first. This question points to the fact that it is an important indicator in this issue though it does not reflect the ethnic origin totally.

Table K4:
The rate of ethnic origins



Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression: the Present Situation

The freedom of expression is one of the most basic human rights. The freedom of expression is both precondition and guarantee in obtaining, protecting and continuing other freedoms. Without the freedom of expression, the use of other freedoms will be difficult and the demands of rights cannot be ended. Generally, a country, which does not have a good record of human rights, cannot demonstrate a good performance on the freedom of expression. Therefore, it is necessary to look at the level of the protection of basic human rights in one country in order to find out the level of the freedom of expression at that country.

The Way of Perception of Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression

In order to find out what is understood from basic rights and freedoms, the following open-ended question was asked: what comes to your mind when human rights are mentioned? It attracts the attention that the *freedom* in generally is considered as the basic human rights in a considerably high rate in the answers given to this question. In the second place comes the right of living and then the freedom of thought and expression comes third. According to the results of the survey, it is clear that people have a “problem of freedom”.

The fact that freedom in general and the freedom of expression in particular are the rights, which come to mind first, when human rights are mentioned demonstrate to what extent they are considered as basic rights. In addition, it can be interpreted as a signal pointing to problems in this issue. If there were no problem on the freedom of expression in the country, (if it is read from the opposite side) the rate of considering the *freedom* as a basic human rights coming to mind first would not be so high.

Table K5:
What comes to your mind when human rights are mentioned?

(They were collected from the answers given to the open-ended question.)

	Number	%
Freedom	1126	36,8
The right of living	640	20,9
The freedom of thought and expression	461	15,1
Equality and justice	208	6,8
The privacy of private life	126	4,1
The freedom of belief	74	2,4
The right of selecting and being selected	48	1,6
The right of working	40	1,3
Women rights	37	1,2
The right of education	34	1,1
The right of health	32	1,0
Economic freedoms	20	0,7
The right of association	14	0,5
Children rights	9	0,3
The right of speaking and getting education in mother tongue	8	0,3
Cultural rights	6	0,2
Those who do not express opinions	177	5,8
TOTAL	3060	100,0

Table K6:**In your opinion, who raises the issues such as human rights and freedom of expression in the most frequent way in Turkey?**

(They were collected from the answers given to the open-ended question.)

	Number	%
Politicians, political parties	591	19,3
Non-governmental organizations	503	16,4
Intellectuals, scholars	280	9,1
Those who are ill-treated, who are subjected to injustice	230	7,5
Leftists	225	7,4
Media	177	5,8
Society	99	3,3
Students	73	2,4
Democrats	41	1,4
Those who have high level income	40	1,3
Those who have interests	31	1,0
Women	31	1,0
Kurds	29	1,0
Political groups	24	0,8
Youth	22	0,7
Islamists	18	0,6
Those who have profession in law	18	0,6
Others	111	3,5
Those who do not express opinions	517	16,9
TOTAL	3060	100,0

The freedom of thought and expression has a considerable political aspect in Turkey. Distinctions can be observed in approaches of different social and political sections to basic rights and freedoms. In order to find out whether the general public considers the basic rights and freedoms as monopolized by certain political circles and as the tool defended by only certain sections, it was asked who raises issues involving human rights in the most frequent way. In this point, it is understood that politicians are the main actors in speaking of the issues of human rights. However, the fact that non-governmental organizations come second should be considered as important. It is most probable that the non-governmental organizations mentioned here are the organizations working on human rights. This situation can be also understood easily from the fact that the level of the popularity of human rights organizations is considerably high.

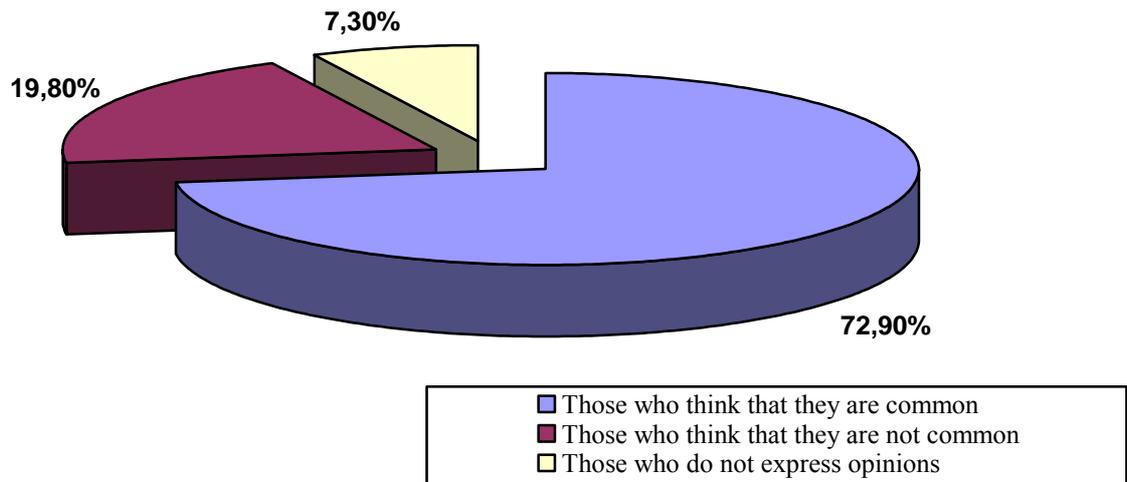
The society puts political parties and non-governmental organizations at the top of the category of those who speak of human rights and the freedom of expression. The fact that individuals having profession in law, who must play a special role in the protection as well as expression of human rights, have the rate of 0.6 percent is thought provoking. It is also interesting that the Kurds and the Islamists, who have been accused of exploiting the issues of human rights and freedom of expression by some people, have very low rates, 1 percent and 0.6 percent. It seems that the society has not been influenced to a great extent by the Kurdizm and Islamizm movements, which affected Turkey deeply in the recent era.

The Intensity of Violations of Human Rights and Freedom Expression

Turkey is a country, which have been followed closely for a long period by international human rights organizations on violations of human rights and freedom of expression. The human rights record of Turkey has always become problematic from the point of view of international human rights organizations such as The Amnesty International, The Committee on Observing Human Rights and Freedom House. The intensity of violation of human rights is a view commonly held by the international community. One of the most striking results of the survey is that this view is also shared by the Turkish public.

At the top of the list containing the issues, which have discussed in the most frequently way and which constitute a problem in Turkey in the context of the EU membership, are human rights violations and obstacles to the freedom of expression. The fact that not only those who observe from outside, but also the citizens living in Turkey see the intensity of human rights violations is natural as well as it is important. About 73 percent of the total think that human rights violations in Turkey are intensive. This demonstrates that the issue of human rights is not perceived as a matter, which is established artificially, which is provoked by the enemies and which is put forward as a pretext in the EU process of Turkey.

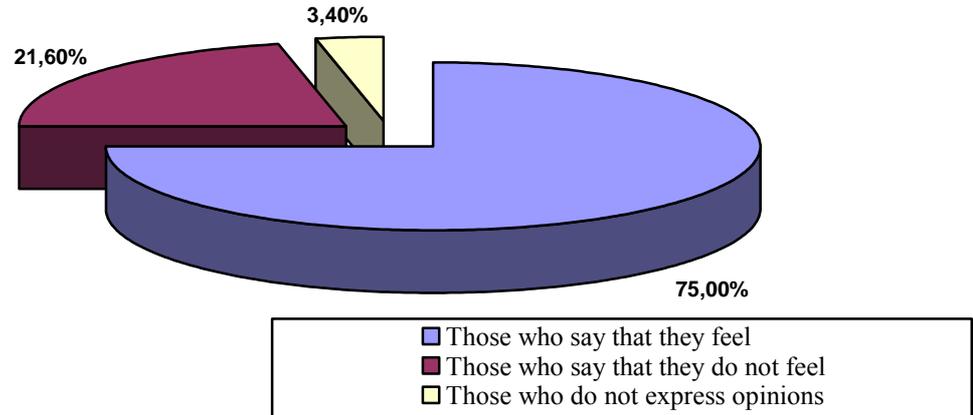
Table K7:
In your opinion, are human rights violations are common in Turkey?



The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers given to this question is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not.

According to the results of the analyses made, 79.4 percent of the AKP followers, 74 percent of CHP followers, 85 percent of DEHAP followers, 65 of MHP followers and 84.2 of those who were subjected to ill-treatment by the police forces think that human rights violations in Turkey are common to the extent that they are significantly above the average. The individuals belonging to young ages have different attitudes toward human rights violations from the individuals belonging to old ages. According to this result, the rate of the people who think that human rights violations are common is 76 percent in the ages 18 to 45 whereas the same rate is 70 percent in the ages 46 to 60 and 60 percent in the age 60 and the older ages. As far as the individuals belonging to old ages are concerned, the feeling that human rights violations are common is in a lower level.

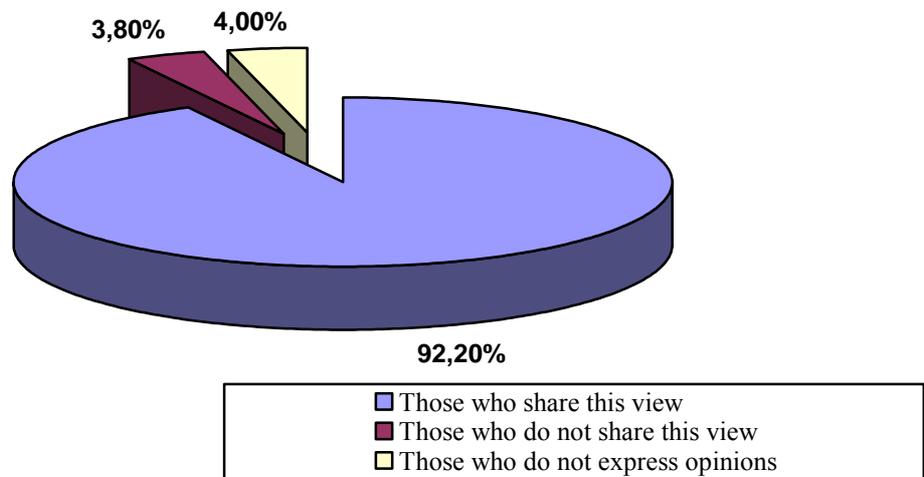
Table K8:
Do you feel that your basic rights and freedoms are restricted?



In fact, three fourth of the society answered “yes” to the question whether they feel that their basic rights and freedoms are restricted. This is considerably high rate. The great majority of the society thinks that their basic rights and freedoms are restricted.

The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers given to this question is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not. According to the results of the analyses made, it was find out that 81.5 percent of AKP followers and 87.8 of those who were subjected to ill-treatment by the police forces feel that their basic rights and freedoms are restricted in the rates higher than general average of the society. No meaningful distinction was observed from the general average according to other demographic features, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and the choices of political parties.

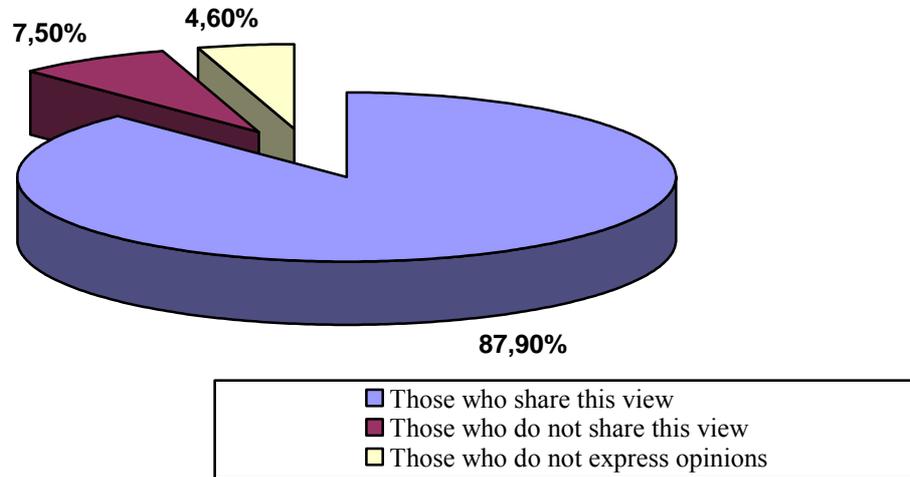
Table K9:
Do you share that the view that “the existence of freedom expression is necessary for the society to live in peace”?



This result demonstrates that there is a great consensus on that the freedom of expression is necessary for social peace. In contrast to some claims, it is clear that the public does not see the

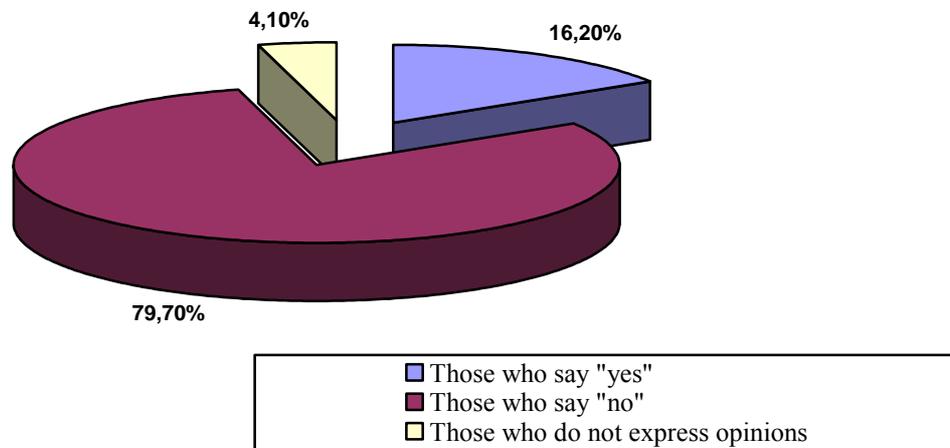
freedom of expression as a threat, but on the contrary, it considers it as a necessity for achieving peace. According to this result, the freedom of expression represents a value, which establishes peace, rather than being a phenomenon threatening peace.

Table K10:
Do you share the view that “the individual’s expressing his/her thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way”?



When the phenomenon is considered in the light of the specific factor of the freedom of expression, which is one basic rights, almost 90 percent of the society share the view that the freedom of expression is necessary for social peace and that the individual's expressing his/her thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way. In the opinion of 90 percent of those who support the EU membership, 87 percent of those who object to the EU membership, 76 percent of MHP followers, 90 percent of those belonging to the age group 18 to 36 and 85 percent of those belonging the age group beyond 45, the expression of thought should not constitute a crime in any way. According to 92 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of the police forces and 87 percent of those who have not been subjected to ill-treatment, the expression of thought should not be subjected to any restrictions.

Table K11:
According to you, can people in Turkey express their thoughts freely?

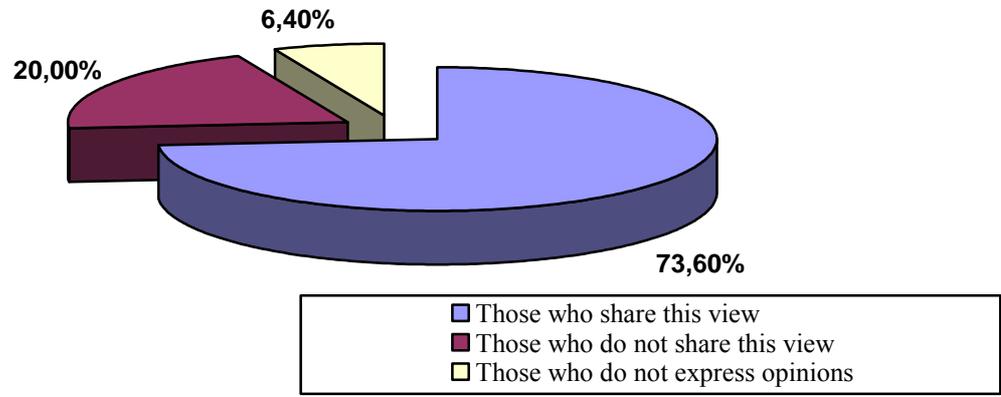


80 percent of the society think that people in Turkey cannot express their thoughts freely under the present conditions. These rates demonstrate clearly that there is a great gap, which can

be called as dramatic, between the present situation of the freedom of expression in Turkey and the situation, which is longed for.

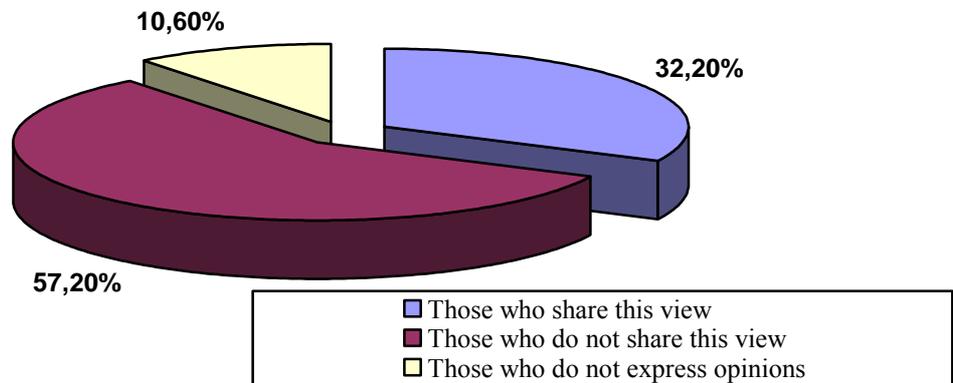
Although all the sections of the society have the similar attitude on the necessity of the freedom of expression for the society, a variation is observed on whether thoughts are expressed freely under the present conditions. For example, 83 percent of AKP followers and 89 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of the police forces think above the average rate that people in Turkey are not able to express their thoughts freely. Besides, the rate of young people having the view that thoughts cannot be expressed freely is higher than the rate of old people having the same view. No meaningful variation was observed from the general average according to other demographic features, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and the choices of political parties.

Table K12:
Do you share the view that journalists, politicians and authors should not be punished because of their thoughts regardless of their content”?



In the context of the concept such as “regardless of their content”, the fact that the rate of those who support the freedom of expression for the people such as journalists and politicians, whose social images might be problematic has reached 74 percent, is a meaningful phenomenon.

Table K13:
Do you share the view that “there is no such question as the freedom of expression in Turkey and that ideological groups exploit this factor”?



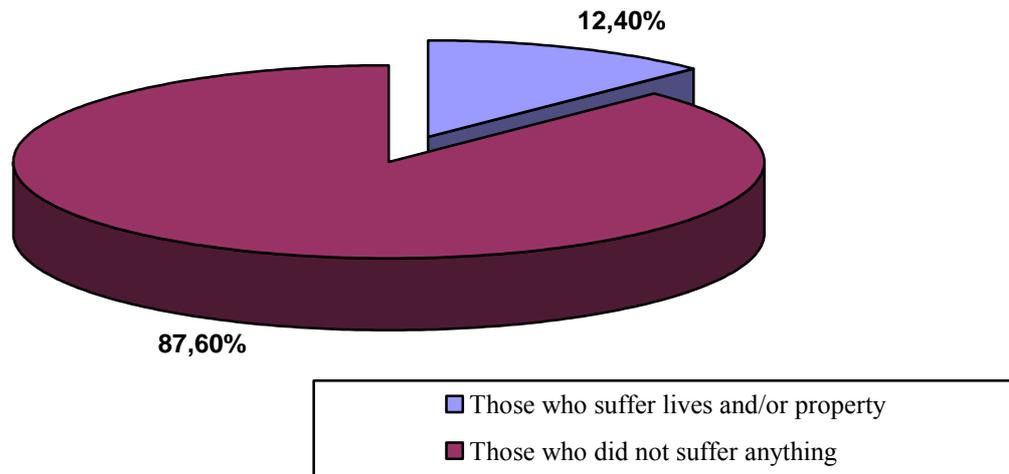
The view that “there is no such question as the freedom of expression in Turkey and that ideological groups exploit this factor” is important because it will demonstrate the opinions on whether the issue of freedom of expression is subjected to political exploitation. It is not

accepted by 57.2 percent of the society. It is understood that the public does not see human rights as an issue exploited by some people.

According to the results of the analyses made, it is understood that men in comparison with women and old people in comparison with young people have more tendency of accepting the view that ideological groups exploit the freedom of expression. The rate of sharing this view is 37.1 in men and 27.2 in women. 61.2 percent AKP followers, which is a higher rate than average, do not share this view while 28 of them ratify the view.

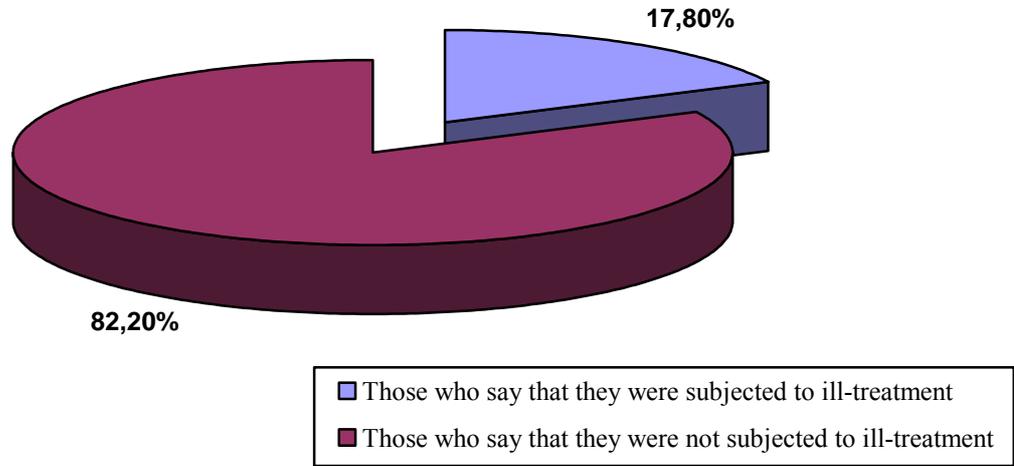
53.8 percent of MHP followers, which is lower than average, accepts this view and 37.5 of them object to it. The rate of DYP followers, who share the view, is 52.7, which is lower than average and the rate of those DYP followers not sharing the view is 41.2. No meaningful variation was observed from the general average according to other demographic features, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and the choices of political parties. 31 percent of those who are in favor of the EU membership and 37 percent of those who are against the EU membership ratify the claim on exploitation.

Table K14:
Are there any individuals from your family or from your relatives, who suffered lives and property?



The number of those who suffered lives and property because of the terrorist acts and military conflicts, which occurred after 1980 in the south-eastern region of Turkey, amounts a great total (12.4 percent). The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers of the people who suffered lives and/or property losses because of terrorism is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not. As a result of analyses made, the only variable which differ significantly from the general average is the choice of political party and the only party, which differs in that point, is DEHAP. The rate of DEHAP followers, who say that they suffered lives/property losses, is higher than average rate, that is 29.4.

Table K15:
Have you ever been subjected to the ill-treatment of security forces?



Being subjected to ill-treatment of security forces is important because it gives clues on human rights violations. 28.2 percent of the Turkish nation say that they themselves or some of their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces. Among those who say that they themselves or some of their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, the rate of DEHAP followers is significantly higher than the general average of the society. 52.5 percent of DEHAP followers say that they in person were subjected to ill-treatment and 59.7 percent of them say that individuals within their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment. The only political and socio-political factor which differ on being subjected to ill-treatment emerges on the situation of DEHAP followers.

Table K16:
Are there anybody from your family and relatives who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces?

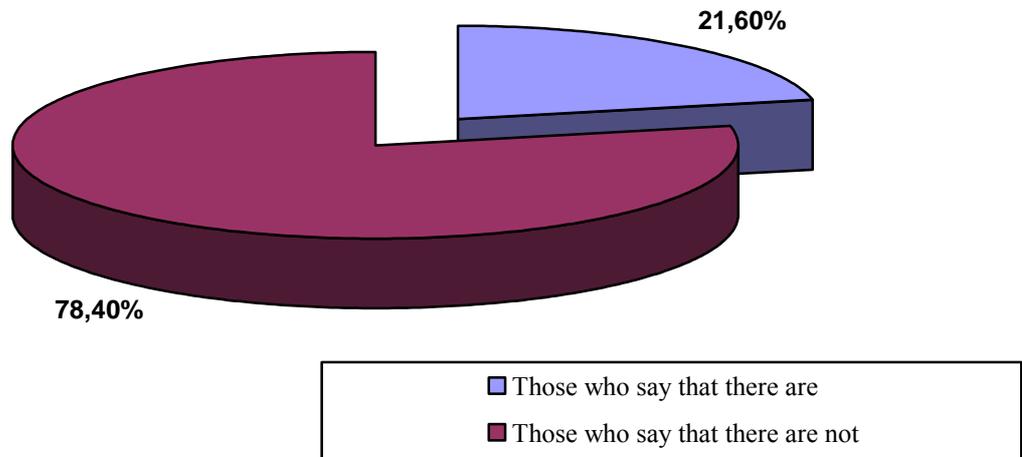
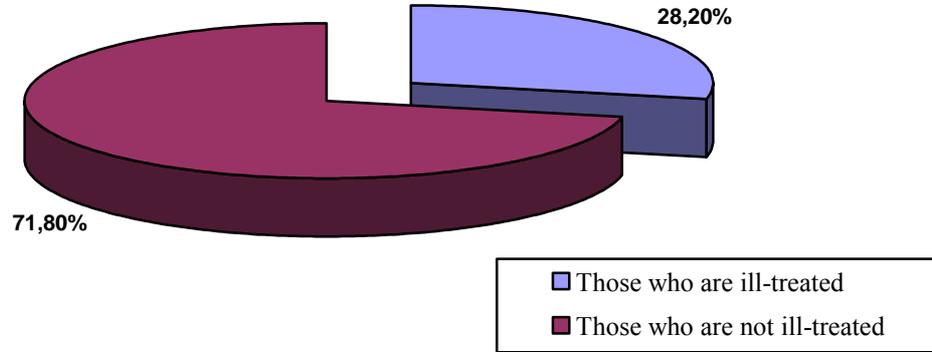


Table K17:
Those who say that they themselves or some of their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces



People were asked whether they were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, which do not reach the level of torture, but are prohibited by international conventions, 28 percent of them replied that they themselves or some of their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment. The fact that one third of the society experienced such a thing can be characterized as a problem on the basis of the society's health and the relationship between security forces and the society.

Table K18:
Are there anybody from your family or your relatives who suffered lives and property losses?

	Those who are subjected to ill-treatment of security forces	Those who are not subjected to ill-treatment of security forces	TOTAL
Those who did not suffer lives an/or property losses	15,0	85,0	100,0
Those who suffered lives and/or property losses	37,9	62,1	100,0

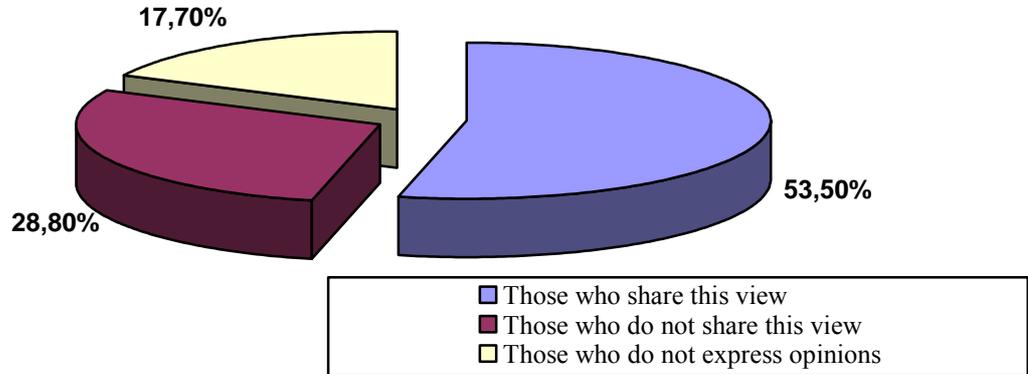
Table K19:
Are there anybody from your family or your relatives who suffered lives and property losses from terrorism?

	Those whose family and relatives are subjected to ill-treatment of security forces	Those whose family and relatives are not subjected to ill-treatment of security forces	TOTAL
Those who did not suffer lives an/or property losses	18,7	81,3	100,0
Those who suffered lives an/or property losses	41,9	58,1	100,0

38 percent of those who said that their family and/or relatives suffered lives and/or property losses stated that they themselves were subjected to ill-treatment of security and forces and 42 percent of them stated their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security and forces. Those

who suffered lives/property losses because of terrorism are subjected in a higher level to ill-treatment of security forces than those who did not suffer.

Table K20:
Do you share the view that “torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons”?



Generally, 53.5 percent of the society shares the view that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons. As a result of the analyses made on the answers to this question, it was found that 72.2 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment by security forces are of the opinion that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons. There is no difference in other variables from the general average.

There is no significant difference of opinion between those who suffered lives/property losses from terrorism and those who did not suffer on that more torture is applied in police stations and prisons. However, it attracts the attention that the majority of the society have the view that torture is applied in police stations and prisons.

This result is worrying for a country, which signed in 1989 the conventions with Europe and the United Nations on preventing torture. In spite of all statements of state authorities and all legal arrangements, a great portion of the public still has the view that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons. The popularity of this view demonstrates how important the aspect of reform initiatives concerning their implementation is. Moreover, the high rate of those who do not have any opinions (%18) is striking.

Table K21:
Are there anybody from your family or your relatives who suffered lives and property losses from terrorism?

	Those who believe that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons	Those who do not believe that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons	Those who do not express opinions	TOTAL
Those who did not suffer lives an/or property losses	53,4	28,5	18,1	100,0
Those who suffered lives an/or property losses	54,8	31,2	14,0	100,0

Table K22:
Have you ever been subjected to ill-treatment of security forces?

	Those who believe that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons	Those who do not believe that torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons	Those who do not express opinions	TOTAL
Those who are subjected to ill-treatment	75,7	17,5	6,8	100,0
Those who are not subjected to ill-treatment	48,7	31,2	20,1	100,0

There is a significant difference between those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and those who were not subjected to ill-treatment on attitudes toward torture in police stations/prisons. 76 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment and 49 percent of those who were not subjected to ill-treatment think that torture is applied.

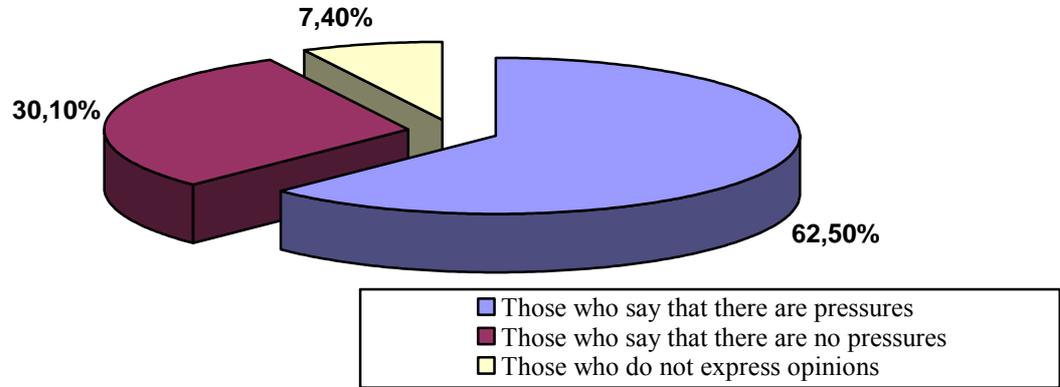
Those Who Suffered on Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression

In addition to finding out that human rights and freedom of expression are common problems, this survey also searched which sections/groups of the society are subjected to rights violations the most intensively. In order to find out those who suffer, many questions in different forms were asked. According to the study, women who wear headscarf, women, religious people, homosexuals/travesties, and the Kurds come forefront as the groups, which are considered to be subjected to pressures in the most frequent way.

Table K23:
In your opinion, are there any pressures on the below groups or not in Turkey?

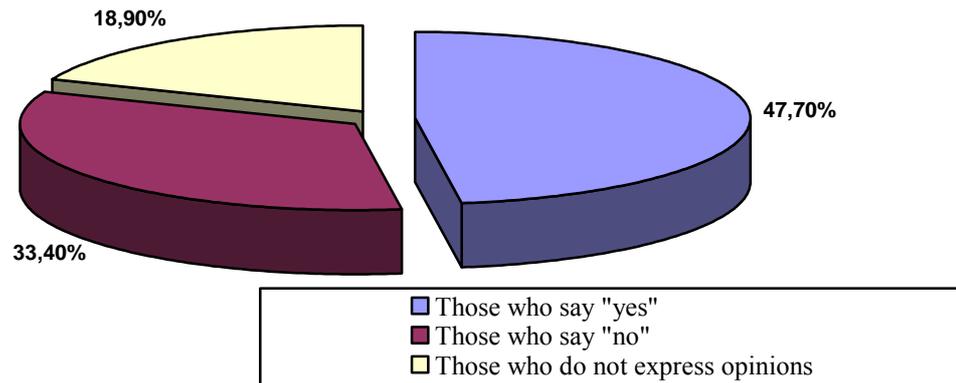
	Those who say that there are pressures %	Those who say that there are no pressures %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL
Those who wear headscarf	78,2	17,8	4,0	100,0
Women	77,3	20,2	2,5	100,0
Religious people	63,3	29,4	7,3	100,0
Homosexuals / Travesties	53,3	28,7	17,9	100,0
Kurds	50,7	36,7	12,6	100,0
Leftists	40,7	42,1	17,2	100,0
Alewites	38,5	41,2	20,3	100,0
Romans	24,4	54,1	21,5	100,0
Non-Muslims / Minorities	21,3	60,1	18,6	100,0

Table K24:
Are there any pressures on religious people in Turkey?



The rate of those who say “yes” to the following question is about 63: “are there any pressures on religious people in Turkey?” It is understood that young people share this view in a higher rate than old people do. The rate of adopting this view is 68.2 percent for the people belonging to the age group 18 to 25 whereas the same rate for the people who are 46 or older is 54. 83.1 percent of AKP followers, 40 percent of CHP followers, 62 percent of GP followers and 55 percent of MHP followers think that there are pressures on religious people in Turkey. 59 percent of those people who are in favor of the EU membership and 71 percent of those who are against the EU membership think that there are pressures on religious people in Turkey. This result gives an important clue on the attitude of the religious and conservative people toward the EU membership.

Table K25:
In your opinion, can the Alewite people in Turkey express themselves freely?



Whether the Alewites, as a religious or sectarian group in Turkey, can express themselves freely is important from the point of the freedom of expression. Almost half of the society think that the Alewites can express themselves freely.

As a result of analyses made, it is understood that, in comparison with old people, young people have more tendency of believing that Alewites cannot express themselves sufficiently. The rate of those, who think that the Alewites cannot express themselves freely, is 41.3 percent

for the age group 18 to 25 whereas the same rate about 25 percent for the people who are 46 or older. The rate of “yes” answer is 54 percent in women and 41 percent in men.

Sources of Human Rights and Freedom of Expression Violations

Whether freedom of expression violations stem from the existent rules or from those who implement the rules is discussed constantly. To say that obstacles to the freedom of expression are the laws is a common attitude. This attitude assumes that the problem will be solved with changes in the laws. However, our survey demonstrates that the rate of those who believe that freedom of expression violations stem from the people implementing the rules is higher more than twice than the rate of those who think that violations stem from only the laws. This result reflects that improvements should be made in issues involving implementation apart from legal arrangements in the field of human rights and freedom of expression. It can be said that there is a social attitude, which support the doubts of those people who want to see whether reforms will be implemented truly.

Half of the society think that these kinds of obstacles stem from both the laws and the people implementing the laws. It is understood that a great portion of the society are conscious of the fact that the problem of freedom of expression is not only a problem of legal arrangements.

Table K26:

In your opinion, where do obstacles to freedom of thought and expression and their violations stem from?

	Number	%
Those who say that there is no obstacle to freedom of thought and expression in Turkey	81	2,6
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from the laws	345	11,3
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from the people implementing the laws	604	19,8
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from both the laws and the people implementing the laws	1698	55,4
Those who do not express opinions	332	10,9
TOTAL	3060	100,0

The question of who violate human rights is an issue open to speculation. However, it is not surprising that those who uses authority on behalf of the state come forefront on human rights violations. It is striking that almost half of the society (%47.8) thinks that the courts violate human rights.

A list regarding human rights violations was presented to the individuals, who were interviewed, and they were asked whether the institutions/the individuals in the list violate human rights. 63 percent of the society is of the opinion that the police violate human rights and 48 percent think that the courts violate rights.

Table K27:
In your opinion, do those who are mentioned below violate human rights in Turkey or not?

	Those who say that they violate %	Those who say that they do not violate %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL
Police	62,6	27,0	10,3	100,0
Courts	47,8	32,0	20,2	100,0
Civil Servants	47,4	36,3	16,3	100,0
Prison personnel	47,3	17,7	35,1	100,0
Rural guards	40,1	25,9	34,0	100,0
The National Security Council	32,6	42,0	25,4	100,0
The Gendarmerie	30,3	51,7	18,0	100,0
The Military	28,7	54,0	17,3	100,0
The Government	8,7	18,8	12,5	100,0

Institutions and individuals, which are considered to violate human rights, differ considerably according to socio-political and demographic factors and choice of political party. Let us have a look at closely whether each institution or individual violates human rights or not.

The Police

About 63 percent of the society in Turkey think that the police violate human rights. As a result of analyses made, it is understood that people who have higher education have more tendency of believing that the police violate human rights in compared with people who have lower education. The rate of people who think that the police violate human rights is 42 percent for people having lower education whereas the same rate for people having higher education is 87 percent. Those who state that they themselves or some of their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces believe in a significantly higher rate than the general average that the police violate human rights. The rate of those who were ill-treated and two think that the police violate human rights is 83 percent.

Courts

48 percent of the society in Turkey think that courts violate human rights. 63.2 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 53.5 percent of AKP followers think in higher rates than the general average that courts violate human rights. 46 percent of people having Turkish ethnic origin and 54.7 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin think that courts violate human rights. In compared with people in older age groups, people in younger age groups have more tendency of believing that courts violate human rights. According to this result, 68 percent of those in age group 18 to 35, 46 percent of people in age group 36 to 60 and 37 percent of people who are 60 or older think that courts violate human rights. 51 percent of those saying that they will take the trial to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), which was concluded against them, and 45 percent of those saying that they will not take such trials to the ECHR accuse courts of violating human rights.

Civil Servants

47.4 percent of the society in Turkey think that civil servants violate human rights. 60.4 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 51.3 percent of AKP followers believe in higher rates than the general average that civil servants violate human rights. It is seen that there are no significant differences from the general average according to socio-political identities, ethnic origin and choice of political party.

Personnel of prisons

About 47.3 percent of the society in Turkey think that think that personnel of prisons violate human rights. It was found out that, as compared with people having lower education, people having higher education have more tendency of believing that personnel of prisons violate human rights. The rate of people who think that personnel of prisons violate human rights is 27.9 percent for people having lower education whereas the same rate 65.2 percent in people having higher education. Those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces believe in the rate of 68.2, which is higher than the general averages that personnel of prisons violate human rights.

Rural Guards

40 percent of the society in Turkey think that rural guards violate human rights. 57.5 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 57.7 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 81.9 percent of DEHAP followers believe in higher rates than the general average that rural guards violate human rights.

The National Security Council (MGK)

About 33 percent of the society in Turkey think that MGK violates human rights. When it is analyzed according to demographic and socio-cultural variables, 50.1 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment, 45.4 percent of AKP followers and 64.6 percent of DEHAP followers believe that MGK violates human rights.

The Gendarmerie

About 30 percent of the society in Turkey think that the gendarmerie violates human rights. It was found out that, as compared with people having lower education, people having higher education have more tendency of believing that the gendarmerie violate human rights. The rate of people who think that the gendarmerie violate human rights is 19.2 percent in people having lower education whereas the same rate is 52.2 percent in people having higher education. People who say that they themselves or some of their relative were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces believe in significantly higher rates than the general average that the gendarmerie violate human rights. The rate of those who were subjected to ill-treatment and who believe that the gendarmerie violate human rights is 48 percent. Among political parties, DEHAP followers have the significantly higher tendency (%66.1) than the general average in believing that the gendarmerie violate human rights. According to 33 percent of people who are in favor of the EU membership, 28 percent of those who are against the EU membership, 28 percent of people having Turkish ethnic origin, 40 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin, 34 percent of

those saying that they will take their trial to the ECHR and 25 percent of those saying that they will not take their trials to the ECHR, the gendarmerie violate human rights.

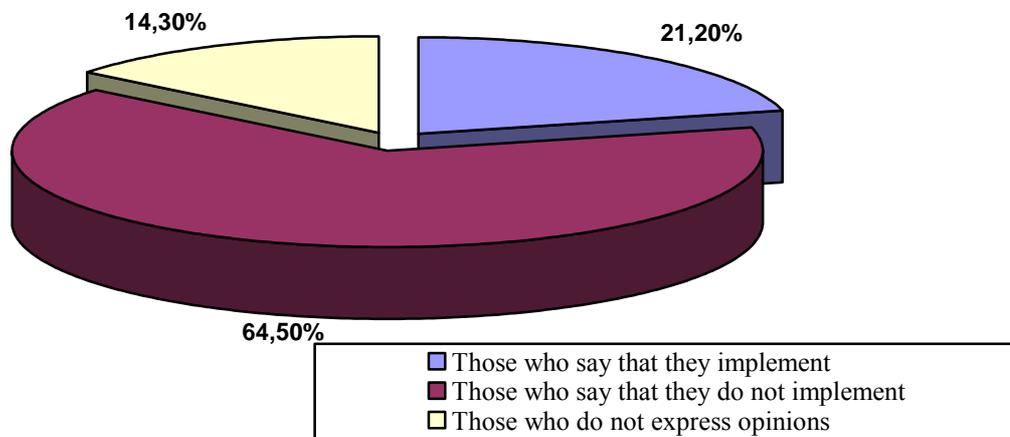
The Military

About 29 percent of the society in Turkey think that the military violates human rights. 47.2 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 38.1 percent of AKP followers and 63.5 percent of DEHAP followers believe in higher rates than the general average the military violates human rights. It is observed that, in people having higher education, the rate of people who think that the military violates human rights increases. According to this result, 22.4 percent of people having lower education and 47.8 percent of people having higher education think that the military violates human rights. 25 percent of having Turkish ethnic origin, 42 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin, 30-35 percent of people in younger ages, 20 percent of people who are older than 46, 25 percent of people graduated from primary and secondary schools, 30 percent of people graduated from higher schools and 37 percent of people graduated from universities think that the military violates human rights. According to 33 percent of those saying that their trials, which were concluded against them in Turkey, would take to the ECHR and 23 percent of those saying that they would not take their trials to the ECHR, the military violates human rights.

The Effectiveness of the Judiciary against Violations

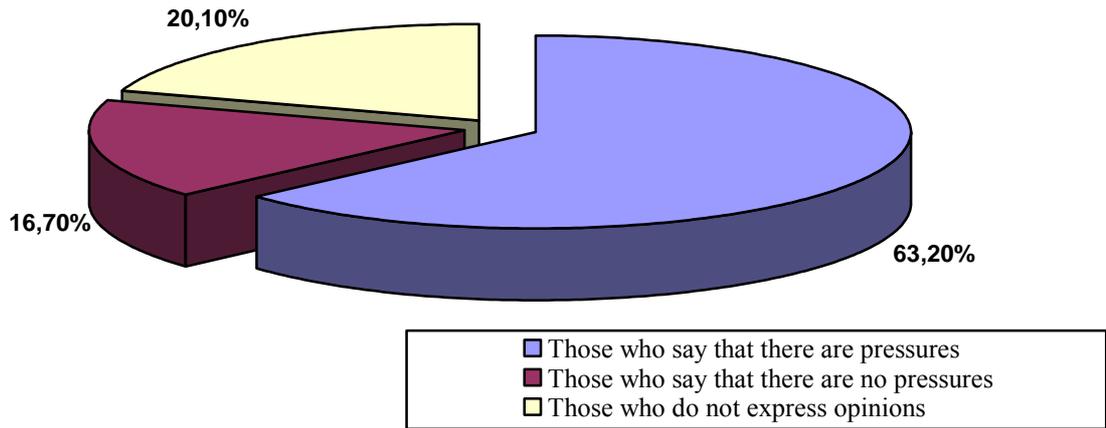
One of the important requirements of the protection of human rights and freedom of expression is independent and fair trial. As it was mentioned earlier, about half of the society think that courts violate human rights. One of the reasons for this conclusion is that about 65 percent of the society believe that courts in Turkey do not implement the rulers fairly and impartially. The rate of people who think that courts in Turkey implement the rulers fairly and impartially is 21 percent. This result demonstrates that the society's feeling of justice has been scattered and courts have lost their credibility. It is striking that a society, which has a tradition of culture attributing importance to justice, has lost its belief that courts are just and impartial.

Table K28:
Do courts in Turkey implement the laws fairly and impartially?



13.3 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 8 percent of DEHAP followers and 16.2 percent of AKP followers believe in lower rates than the general average that courts in Turkey implement the laws fairly and impartially. 12.4 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 23.8 percent of people having Turkish ethnic origin consider courts as just and impartial.

Table K29:
Are there pressures of the state on courts in Turkey in trials involving freedom of expression?

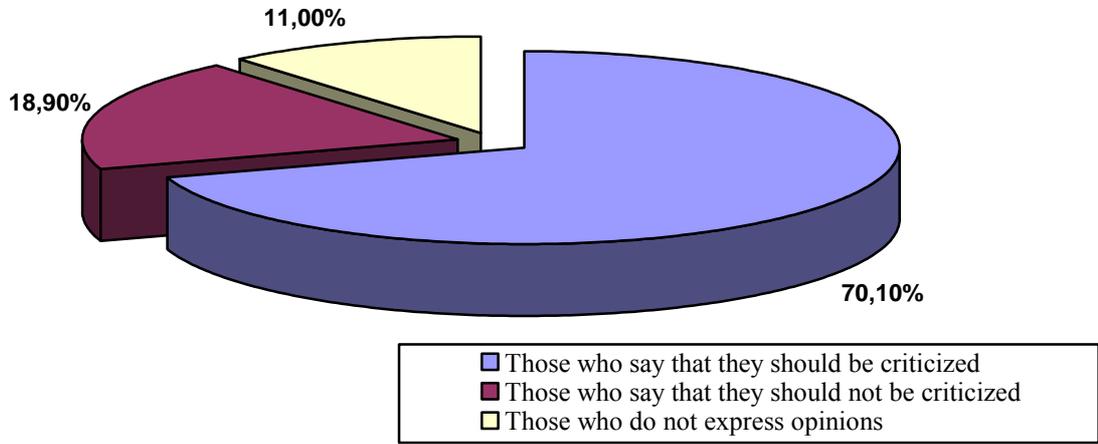


The view that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression might be effective in creating the belief that courts do not implement the laws justly and impartially. 63 percent of the society think that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression.

According to analyses made, 79.9 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 72 percent of AKP followers believe in higher rates than the general average that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression. In people having higher education, the tendency of believing that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression increases. 37.4 percent of people having the lowest education and 82.6 percent of people having the highest education say that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression.

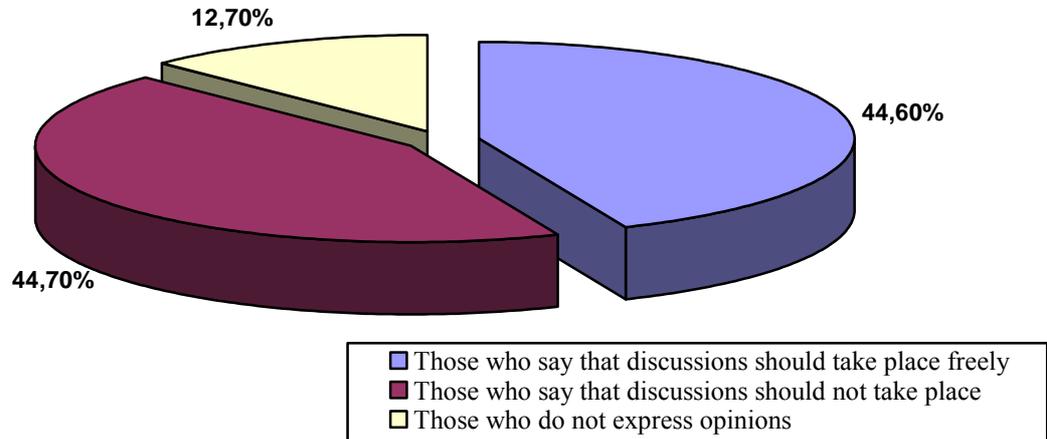
According to 63 of people who are in favor of the EU membership and 69 percent of people who are against the EU membership, the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression. 66 percent of those saying that they will take a trial to the ECHR if it is concluded against them and 62 percent of those saying that they will not take such trials to the ECHR believe that the state applies pressures on courts in trials involving freedom of expression.

Table K30:
Should judgements of courts be criticized by media organs freely?



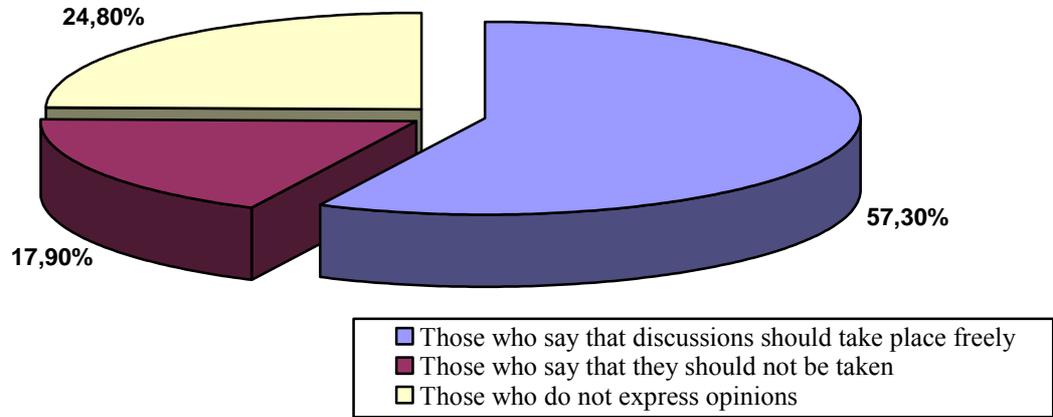
The need to subject courts to public inspection creates an attitude in favor of criticizing judgements of courts in media organs freely. 70 percent of the society is in favor of such media supervision.

Table K31:
Should discussions take place freely in media organs on trials, which continue in courts?



There is no dominant view, which has emerged, on whether discussions should take place in media organs on trials, which continue. 43 percent of the society is in favor of free discussion in media organs on trials, which continue, and 45 percent of the society is not in favor of it.

**Table K32:
Should Judgements of the High Military Council
be Subjected to Judicial Trial?**



The expulsion of personnel serving in the military from their jobs with judgements of the High Military Council (YAŞ) is a common practice. In contrast to the practice that every action of the state administration is open to judicial supervision, judgements of YAŞ, which have the characteristic of administrative action, are not open to judicial supervision. In our survey, people were asked to state their opinion on this issue. About 60 percent of the society think that the alternative of taking judgements to the judiciary should be provided against judgements of the High Military Council. The rate of people who support the existent practice is only 18 percent. The high rate of those who did not state their opinions attracts the attention.

The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers given to this question (should people be able to take judgements of the High Military Council to the Judiciary?) is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not. According to results of the analyses made, 70.9 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 67.4 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 63.3 percent of AKP followers believe in higher rates than the general average that people should be able to take judgements of the High Military Council to the judiciary.

In higher education levels, the support for applying to the judiciary against judgements of YAŞ increases. 33.5 percent of people having the lowest education and 69.6 percent of people having the highest education support applying to the judiciary against judgements of YAŞ.

Judicial Judgements Involving Freedom of Expression and the Attitude of the Society

As it was mentioned earlier, about half of the society in Turkey think that courts violate basic rights and freedoms. This is an interesting situation. It seems that there are doubts on the legality of judgements of courts. It is believed that courts are not able to establish justice completely. The rate of people who think that courts implement the law justly and impartially is only 21 percent.

Does the society see as crimes the expressions, which are considered as crimes by judges? In order to find out the answer of this question, a group of question was established. Questions were selected from expressions, which caused imprisonment of people, who were found guilty in the context of freedom of expression in the judicial process in Turkey. Some short explanations were added to the top of the expressions.

In order not to direct people, information was not given on who used expressions and it was not mentioned whether they were imprisoned because of these expressions. Only plain statements were presented to people and they were asked whether they saw the expressions as crimes. The owners of those expressions were found guilty on the ground that they led people to hatred and enmity by making discriminations on religion, language and sect or they tried to divide the country.

When the distribution of the answers were analyzed, it is seen that there is a consensus on that none of the expression should be considered within the scope of crime. It might be helpful to attract attention to one point. Whether an expression constitutes crime cannot be determined with its meaning in dictionary. Its context, the reason for it, the place in which it is said and its effects should be taken into consideration. Therefore, it can be said that the answers given to the expressions included in the questionnaire can differ according to the context in which they were used. This has a certain amount of correctness. However, the fact that the rate of people having the opinion that these expressions should constitute crimes is so high can be considered as a sign of demonstrating that judgements of courts on freedom of expression does not reflect the choice of the public.

Table K33:
There are expressions below used by different individuals. In your opinion, should these expressions constitute crime?

	Those who say that they should be crimes	Those who say that they should not be crimes	Those who do not express opinions	TOTAL
To say that <i>“earthquake is a warning for the society coming from God”</i>	20,2	72,2	7,6	100,0
To say that <i>“earthquake is a warning coming from God for the people oppressing the society”</i> .	21,1	68,9	9,9	100,0
By implying judges, to say that <i>“they are closed to knowledge, they have not character of being open-minded, they try to do their job by groping and they do not bother about it, the Constitutional Court itself is the one which does not feel any uneasiness about being destroyer of freedoms”</i> .	19,0	56,9	24,1	100,0
While putting forward criticisms, to say that <i>“This country should not be left to the hands of several despots and judicial persons, who established their power within the judiciary and who take their decisions according to their own view.”</i>	16,9	67,2	15,9	100,0
While criticizing unlawful actions and illegal bands, to say that <i>“the state of illegal bands exculpates its assassins, the event of Susurluk is concealed.”</i>	14,6	74,0	11,4	100,0
For the eight-year uninterrupted education, to say that <i>“eight-year education is certainly a godless education.”</i>	37,7	49,7	12,7	100,0
To say that <i>“the Kurds in the south-eastern Anatolia are subjected to pressures, nobody becomes a rebel without any reason.”</i>	23,9	59,6	16,5	100,0

The Level of Recognition of Human Rights Organizations and Their Image

The issues that to what extent private and state organizations working on human rights are known and which perceptions have been created on them are important. In this survey, it is interesting that the level of knowing *the European Court of Human Rights* is very high. Among the reasons for the high level of the rate, the followings can be counted: the popularity of human rights problems, the EU membership process, a general lack of confidence in judgments of courts and the fact that this court is frequently mentioned in the media and it is in the agenda of the country. Judgements of the ECHR are discussed frequently in the context of trials involving dissolution of parties and human rights issues. The opinion of 60 percent of those who heard about the court is positive.

Table K34:
Have you heard about the human rights institutions?

	Those who have heard about them %	Those who have not heard about them %	TOTAL
The European Court of Human Rights	89,8	10,2	100,0
İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association of Human Rights)	82,2	17,8	100,0
TBMM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu (the Human Rights Commission of the Turkish Parliament)	58,7	41,3	100,0
Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı (the Turkish Foundation of Human Rights)	48,0	52,0	100,0
Mazlum-Der (a Turkish association)	36,9	63,1	100,0
Human rights departments in local administrations	25,3	74,7	100,0
The Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister	23,5	76,5	100,0

Even if it is not in the level of the ECHR, human rights organizations conducting activities in Turkey are known by an important portion of the society. 8 persons in every 10 individuals say that they have heard the name of İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association of Human Rights). More than 60 percent of the people who know this association have a positive opinion toward it. The first finding, which attracts attention on the recognition and images of human rights institutions, is that the institutions created by the state in this field such as the human rights commission of the Turkish Parliament and human rights departments of the local administrations in towns/cities have a less positive image in the eyes of people. Given the fact that human rights violations stem from the misuse of the state authority, this result is understandable.

Table K35:
How do you assess the below human rights institutions?

(This was asked to only those saying that they have heard about the related institutions.)

	Those who they have positive opinion %	Those who they have negative opinion %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL
İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association of Human Rights)	62,3	21,3	16,5	100,0
The European Court of Human Rights	61,9	23,1	15,0	100,0
Mazlum-Der	56,6	18,7	24,7	100,0
Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı (the Turkish Foundation of Human Rights)	53,6	22,1	24,4	100,0
Human rights departments in local administrations	45,3	33,7	20,9	100,0
TBMM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu (the Human Rights Commission of the Turkish Parliament)	38,0	39,2	22,8	100,0
The Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister	33,1	45,3	21,6	100,0

Table K36:
Have you ever applied to anywhere on violation of your basic rights?

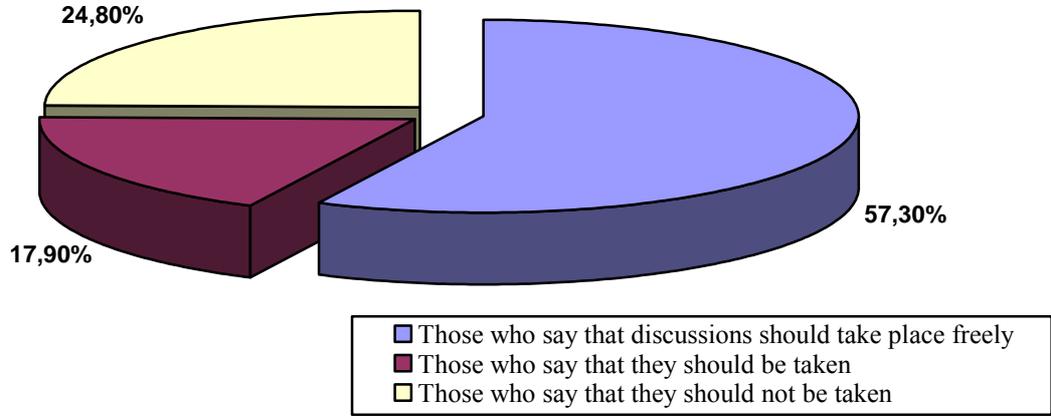


Table K36:

Although the rate of thinking that basic rights have been restricted (%75) is considerably high, the rate of applying to anywhere on violation of basic rights (%6) is very low. This demonstrates that, apart from the actual violation of rights, pressures of violating human rights, too, are obvious. In other words, people think that basic rights are restricted, but they do not give any serious reactions on the issue. As the dominant things in this result, the problematic past and structure of the state-society relationship as an element of political cultural can be put forward. Main institutions, to which people apply in case of violation of basic rights, are courts.

**Table K37:
Where have you applied?**

(This question was asked to only those saying that they applied to somewhere because of violation of their basic rights))

(They were collected from the answers given to the open-ended question.)

	%
Courts	64,2
The European Court of Human Rights	7,0
The Police	6,4
Human Rights Organizations	3,7
Municipalities	2,7
The Office of the Prime Minister	2,7
The Court of Cassation	2,1
The Ministry of Internal Affairs	2,1
The Ministry of Education	2,1
The Office of the President	1,6
The Turkish Grand National Assembly	1,1
The Association for Protecting Consumers	1,1
Other	3,1
TOTAL	100,0

The fact that the institution coming second in the list of applications of those people, who tried to correct violations of their rights, is the ECHR is an extraordinarily important phenomenon. This demonstrates that efforts of protecting rights have transcended national borders.

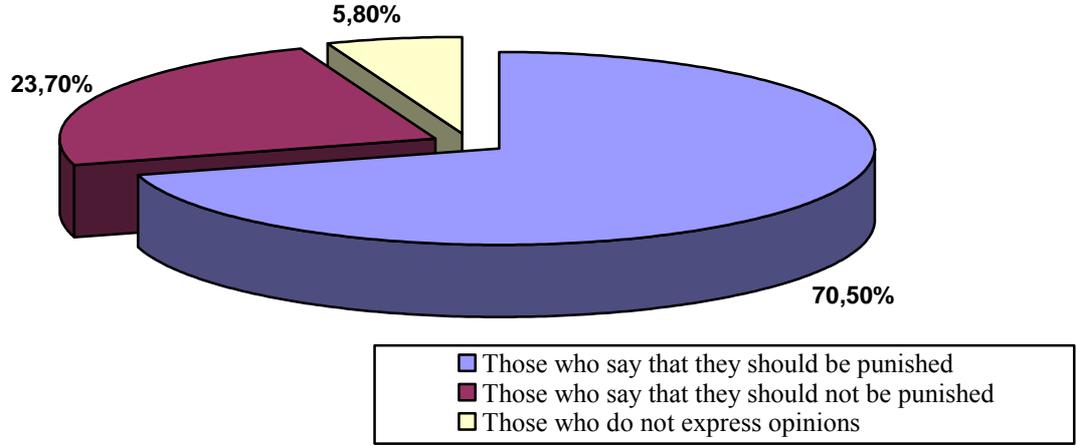
Attitudes on the Content and Limits of Freedom of Expression

Different questions categorized in different groups were asked to people in order to find out general attitudes on how the limits of freedom of expression are drawn. These questions in different groups are aimed at measuring the same attitude with different expressions.

The Freedom of Publishing and Distributing

The state control over media organs is one of common pressure tactics. The freedom of the press and media is both a type and a tool of freedom of expression. The most common reasons put forward by the state for its control over media is obscenity and political “sensitivities”. Although what is obscene varies depending on time and situation, the concept of obscenity itself has a negative image. Therefore, 70 percent of the society favors in the prohibition of obscene broadcasting in radio and television through RTÜK (the Turkish High Council of Radio and Television). This coincides with the attitude having the rate of 64 percent that pornography should not be considered in the context of freedom of expression. However, there is no same level support for the punishment of radio and television channels because of their political broadcasting. 53 percent of the society is of the opinion that radio and television channels should not be punished because of their political broadcasting.

Table K38:
Should television channels be punished by RTÜK (the High Council of Radio and Television) when they broadcast obscene programs?



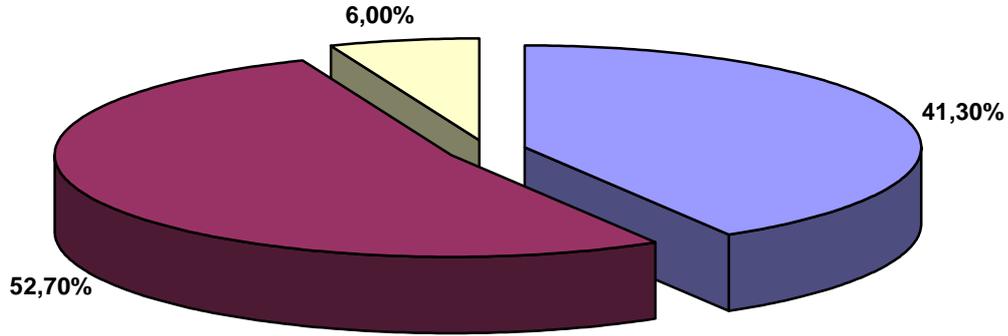
74 percent of people who ratify RTÜK's punishing radio and television channels because of their obscene broadcasting and 79 percent of those who oppose this view feel that basic rights and freedoms have been restricted. According to 18 percent of those who ratify RTÜK's punishing radio and television channels because of their political broadcasting and 15 percent of those who do not ratify this kind of punishment, people in Turkey express their thoughts freely. According to 91 percent of those who ratify RTÜK's punishing radio and television channels because of their political broadcasting and 91 percent of those who do not ratify this kind of punishment, the freedom of expression is necessary for the society to live in peace.

According to 31 percent of those who want RTÜK's punishing radio and television channels broadcasting political programs and 35 percent of those who are opposed to punishment, there is no problem on freedom of expression in Turkey, but ideological groups exploit this issue.

87 percent of those who support the RTÜK's punishments on the basis of political broadcasting and 91 percent of those who do not ratify punishments think that the expression of thoughts should not constitute crime in any way.

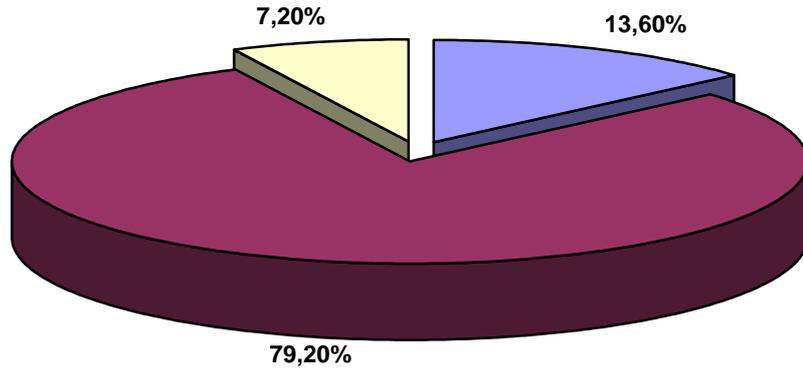
There is parallel relationship between the attitude toward the dissolution of political parties and the attitude toward RTÜK's punishment given on the basis of political broadcasting. According to this result, 35 percent of people who ratify RTÜK's punishments and 25 percent of people who do not ratify punishments approve dissolution of political parties.

Table K39:
Should radio and television channels be punished when they broadcast political programs?



■ Those who say that they should be punished
■ Those who say that they should not be punished
■ Those who do not express opinions

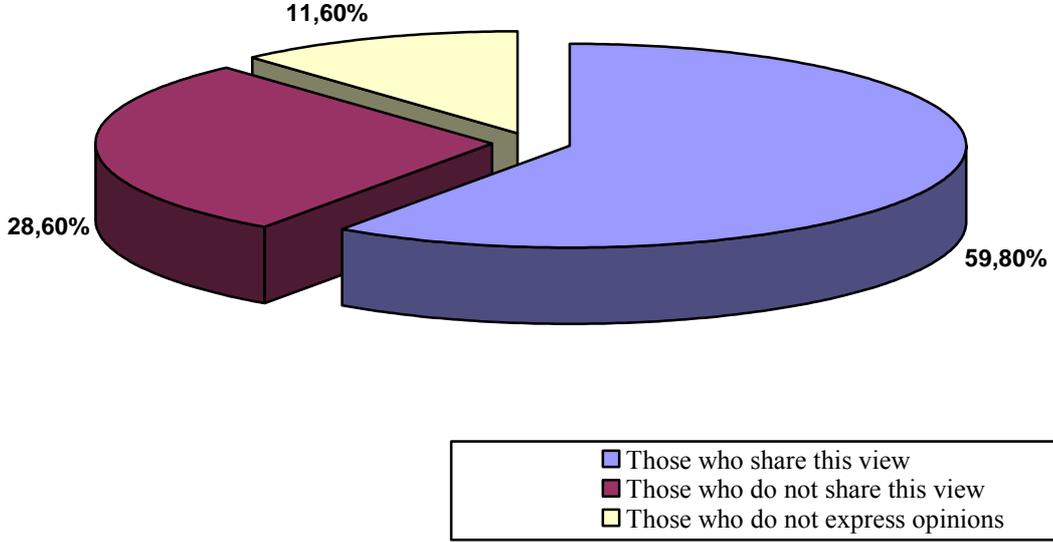
Table K40:
Should the broadcasting of television channels and articles of newspapers, which praise racism, be free?



■ Those who say that they should be free
■ Those who say that they should not be free
■ Those who do not express opinions

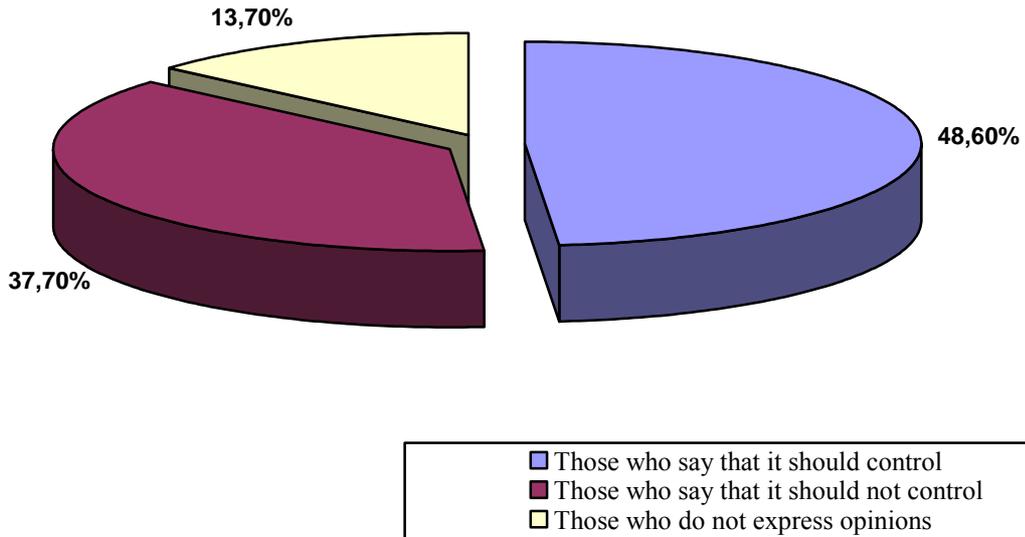
In examining the freedom of expression, whether racist statements are given place in media organs is important to measure attitudes. Only 14 percent of the society approve the appearance of statements praising racism in media organs.

Table K41:
Do you share the view that “a journalist, who obtained secret documents in someway and published them, should not be forced to explain his/her news source”?



60 percent of the Turkish society think that media personnel, who obtained secret documents in someway and published them, should not be forced to explain their news source.

Table K42:
Should the state control all kinds of communication conducted thorough internet?



Internet has been the most important communication means in the recent period and it will be in the near future. Internet has created a revolutionary affect not only in the field of communication, but also in the fields of finance, accounting and economy. However, apart from the benefits it provides, the internet also brings some new problems. Therefore, the control of

the internet comes to the agenda of governments and people. About half of the society assert that the state should control the communication conducted through the internet. In this survey, it is seen that those not using the internet are more supportive for prohibitions. 52 percent of people who use the internet oppose the state control whereas only 32 percent of people who do not use the internet oppose the state control.

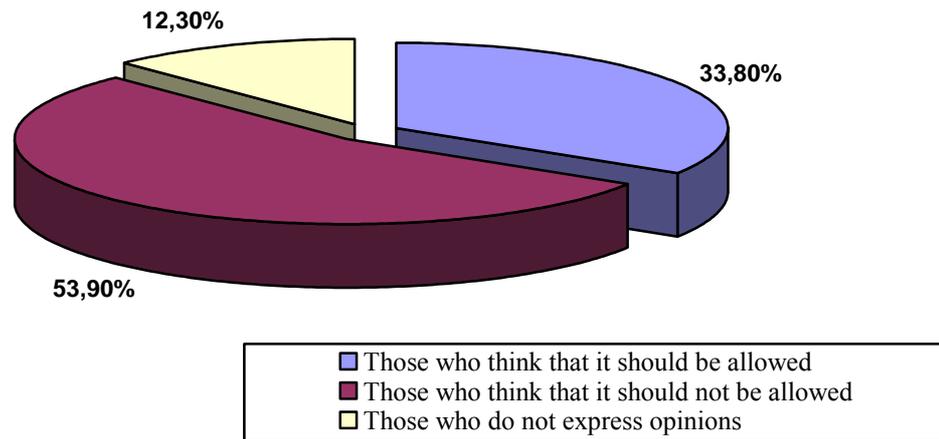
Table K43:
Do you use the internet?

	Number	%
Those who have never used	2055	67,1
Those who use rarely	423	13,8
Those who use several times a week	362	11,8
Those who use everyday regularly	189	6,2
Those who use, but do not know its frequency	32	1,0
TOTAL	3060	100,0

Education, Publication and Broadcasting in Mother Tongue

When foreign language education is mentioned in Turkey, the thing, which comes to mind, is education in English, French and German. When education in mother tongue is discussed, education in Kurdish comes forefront. The other ethnic groups do not put forward a clear demand on education in mother tongue. This situation stems from the fact that the Kurdish ethnic origin is more common than the others are. In our survey, without any reference to education level and the region, in which education is given, the opinions of people were asked on whether instruction-education in Kurdish should be allowed.

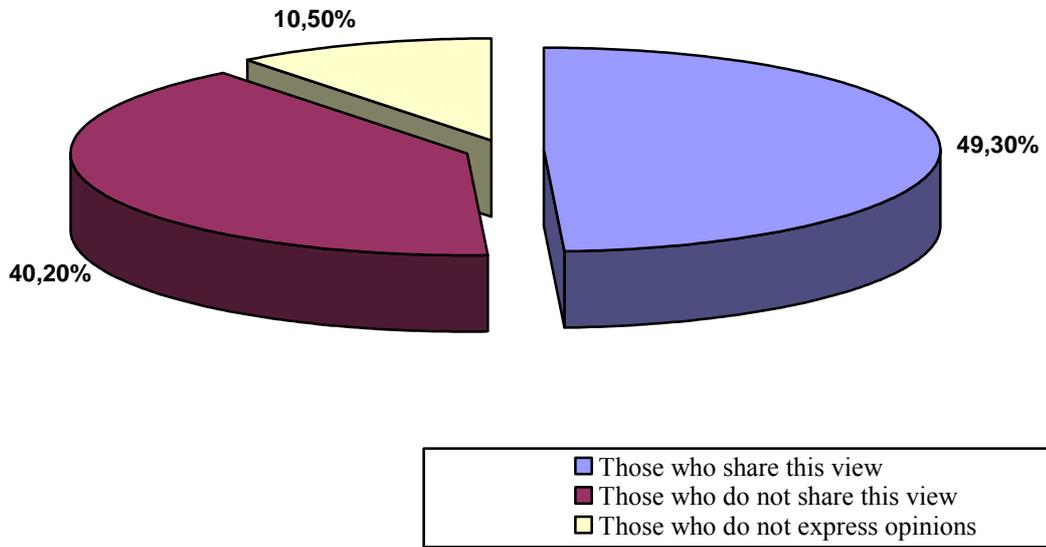
Table K44:
Should instruction-education in Kurdish be allowed in schools?



About 34 percent of the society supports the idea that instruction/education in Kurdish should be allowed whereas 54 percent of the society oppose the idea. When the scope of the problem is taken into consideration, it can be said that the rate of 34 in favor of supporting Kurdish education is a considerably high rate. Moreover, this result is meaningful given the fact that the rate of people, who will give votes to DEHAP, which bases its political activities on the Kurdish identity is about 6 percent.

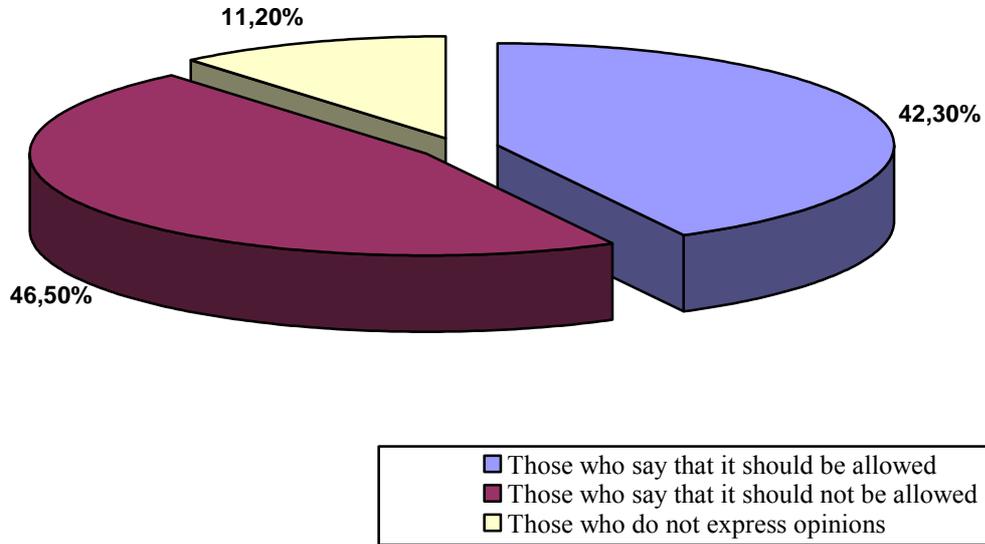
52.1 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 65.7 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 90.6 percent of DEHAP followers stated in a higher rates than the general average that they supported allowing Kurdish instruction and education. 79.8 percent of MHP followers gave negative answer to this question. The rate of MHP followers, who approve Kurdish instruction-education, is about 17 percent.

Table K45:
Do you share the view that “allowing education in local languages including Kurdish divides Turkey”?



The most important reason for being against Kurdish education is that this action hurts the integrity of the country. In order to find out to what extent this view is shared, the following question was asked to people, who were interviewed: To what extent do you share the view that “allowing education in local languages including Kurdish divides Turkey”? When the answers to this question are analyzed, it is seen that almost half of the society has such a doubt. 38.9 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 24.1 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin think in lower rates than the general average that allowing education in local languages including Kurdish constitutes a threat for Turkey’s national integrity.

Table K46:
Should Kurdish radio and television broadcasting be allowed?



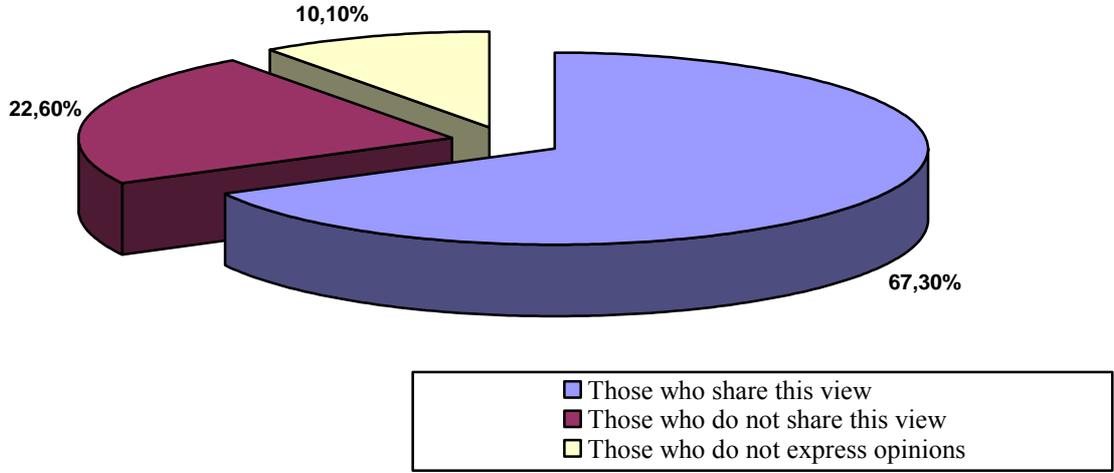
An important issue of Turkey on the freedom of press and media is whether Kurdish broadcasting should be allowed or not. To the following question, which was asked for this purpose, 42.3 percent of the society answered “yes”: “Should Kurdish radio and television broadcast be allowed?” The rate of people who answered “no” to this question is 46.5 whereas the rate of those who do not express opinions is 11.2. 61.1 percent of those who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 75.2 percent of the people having the Kurdish ethnic origin approve allowing the Kurdish radio and television broadcast in higher rates than the general average.

There is a positive parallel relationship between the education level and the approval of allowing the Kurdish radio and television broadcast. 34 percent of people graduated from primary schools and 70 percent of people having higher education approve allowing the Kurdish radio and television broadcast. The approach to Kurdish broadcasting differs also according to political parties. 39 percent of AKP followers, 49 percent of CHP followers, 36 percent of GP followers, 90 percent of DEHAP followers and 24 percent of MHP followers are in favor of Kurdish broadcasting in radios and televisions. 30 of people who approve dissolution of political parties are 50 percent of people who do not approve it are in favor of Kurdish broadcasting in radios and televisions. According to 46 percent of people who are in favor of EU membership and 36 percent of people who are against the EU membership, Kurdish broadcasting in radios and televisions should be allowed.

Religious Freedoms

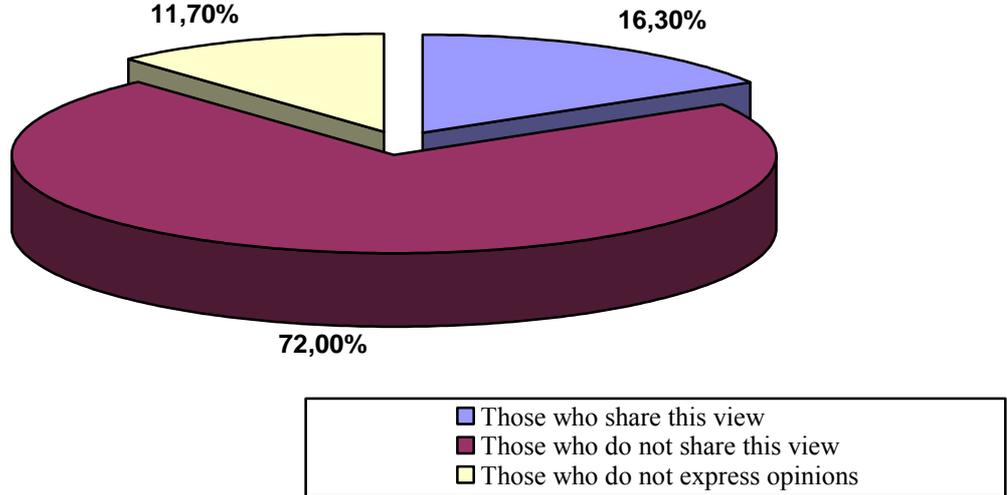
Which place religion should have in the public sector has a central role in social and political discussions in Turkey. In these discussions, the position and role of the state’s Organization of Religious Affairs is important. 67 percent of the society approve the idea that the Organization of Religious Affairs should be reorganized to provide services to all the religions and sects.

Table K47:
Do you share the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be reorganized to provide services to all the religions and sects”?



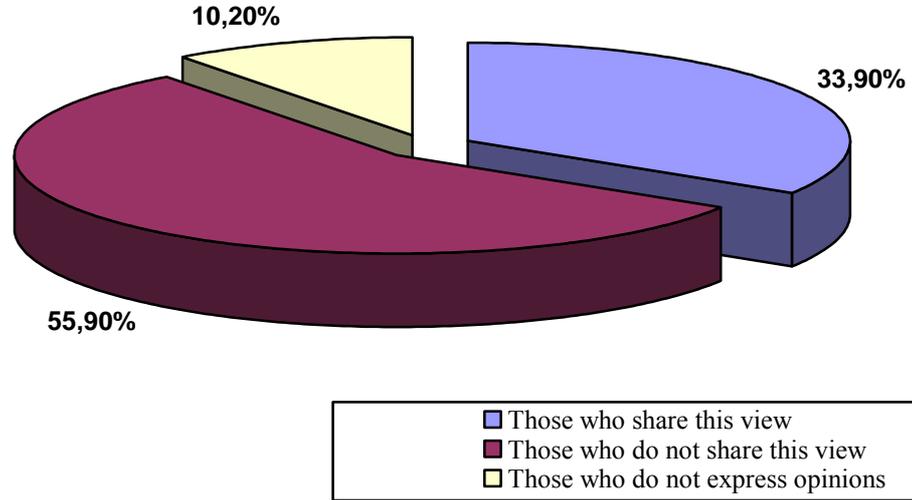
As a result of analyses made, it has been found out that the attitude of followers of DYP and MHP differ from the general average. 53.7 percent of DYP followers and 56.7 percent of MHP followers approve reorganizing the Organization of Religious Affairs to provide services to all the religions and sects in lower rates than the general average. Followers of CHP (%75.5) and DEHAP (%86.3) share the view in higher rates than the general average.

Table K48:
Do you share the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be dissolved and religious services should be left to religious communities?”



However, the only 16 percent of the society approve dissolution of the Organization of Religious Affairs and leaving religious affairs to religious communities. 72 percent of the society opposes the idea. Followers of DEHAP oppose dissolution of the Organization of Religious Affairs in a lower rate than the general average (52.5) whereas followers of MHP opposes the idea in a higher rate than the general average (77.1).

Table K49:
Do you share the view that “the Islamic sects and communities should conduct their activities freely”?

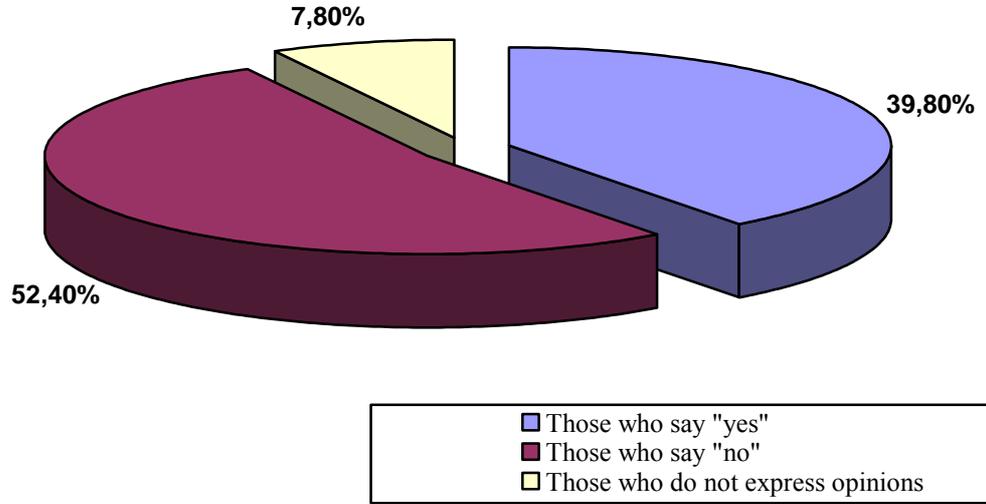


In a way which supports the view that the state should not leave religious affairs to religious communities, only 34 percent of the society approve Islamic sects and communities’ conducting their affairs freely and 56 percent of the society opposes the idea.

The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers given to this question is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not. According to analyses, 39.4 percent of men approve Islamic sects and communities’ conducting their affairs freely whereas 28.1 of women approve the idea. Followers of AKP support Islamic sects and communities’ conducting their affairs freely in a higher rate (56.2) than the general average.

In addition to the society’s abstract and general pro-freedom choices, the general tendency of not allowing religious sects and communities to look after their own affairs might be explained with discussions on secularism. It might also be attributed to the power and acceptability of the republic’s Islamic understanding, which does not accept religious communities/sects. Moreover, the fact that the rate of women who are in favor of free action is 10 percent lower than the rate of men is a result, which should be taken into consideration.

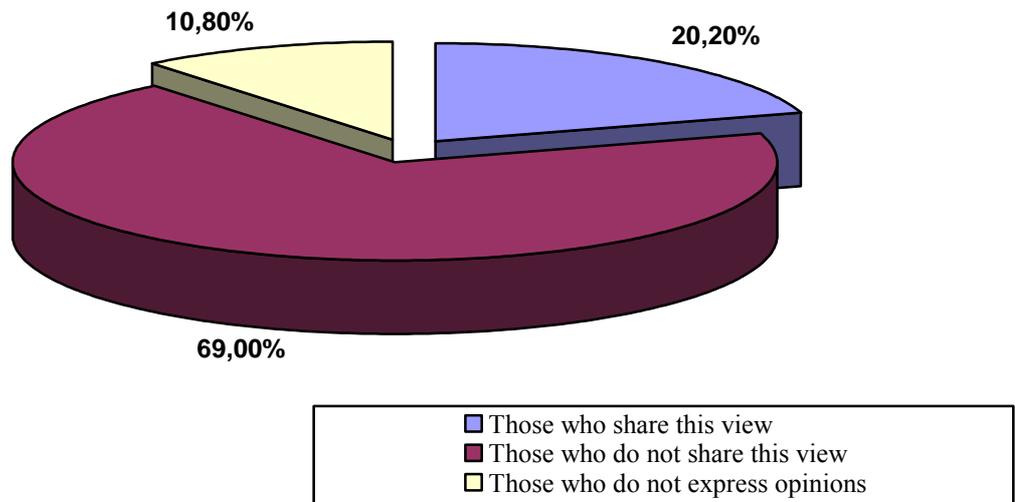
Table K50:
Should criticizing values, which are considered as sacred by the religion, be allowed?



From the point of freedom of expression, the religious values' degree of becoming open to criticism is as important as respecting religious values. Respect for religious values is important for religious people's freedom of expression whereas being able to criticize religious values is important for non-religious people freedom of expression. 40 percent of the society think that criticism of values, which are accepted as sacred by religion, should be allowed and 52 percent of the society think that it should not be allowed.

As a result of analyses made, it is seen that there is no differing from the general average according to demographic features, ethnic origin and choice of political party.

Table K51:
In your opinion, should the propaganda of Christianity be allowed in Turkey?

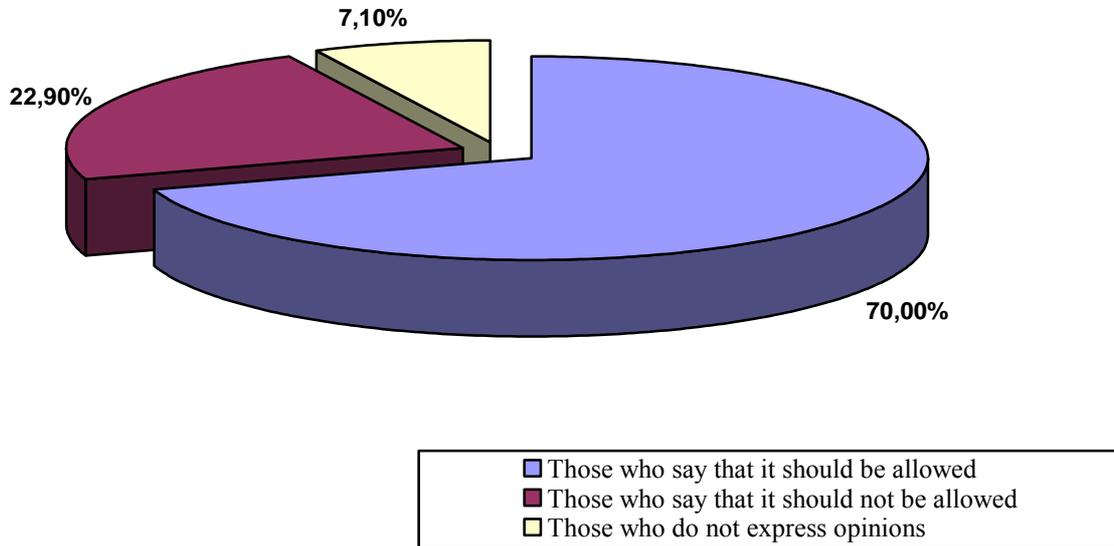


One of the signs of freedom of expression is how the propaganda of the minorities' religions, which stay outside accepted religious understandings, is approached. The main religions of minorities in Turkey are Christianity and Judaism. Only 20 percent of the society are in favor of allowing the free propaganda of Christianity and Judaism in Turkey.

In higher education levels, the negative attitude toward the propaganda of other religions decreases. 76.1 percent of people graduated from primary schools and 46 percent of people having the highest level education hold negative attitude toward allowing the propaganda of those religions. In other words, 14 percent of people graduated from primary schools and 31 percent of people graduated from universities are in favor of allowing the propaganda of the mentioned religions. According to 19 percent of those people who approve dissolution of political parties and 22 percent of people who do not approve it, the propaganda of the Christianity and the Judaism should be allowed. 23 percent of people who are in favor of the EU membership and 16 percent of people who are against the membership approve allowing the propaganda of other religions.

Attitudes toward the propaganda of the religions other than Islam also differ according to ethnic identities. The rate of people having Kurdish ethnic origin who favor allowing that propaganda is 28 whereas the same rate is 18 in people having Turkish ethnic origin. 13 percent of AKP followers, 29 percent of CHP followers, 16 percent of GP followers and 44 percent of DEHAP followers approve the free propaganda of the Judaism and the Christianity in Turkey.

Table K52:
Should headscarf be allowed in universities?

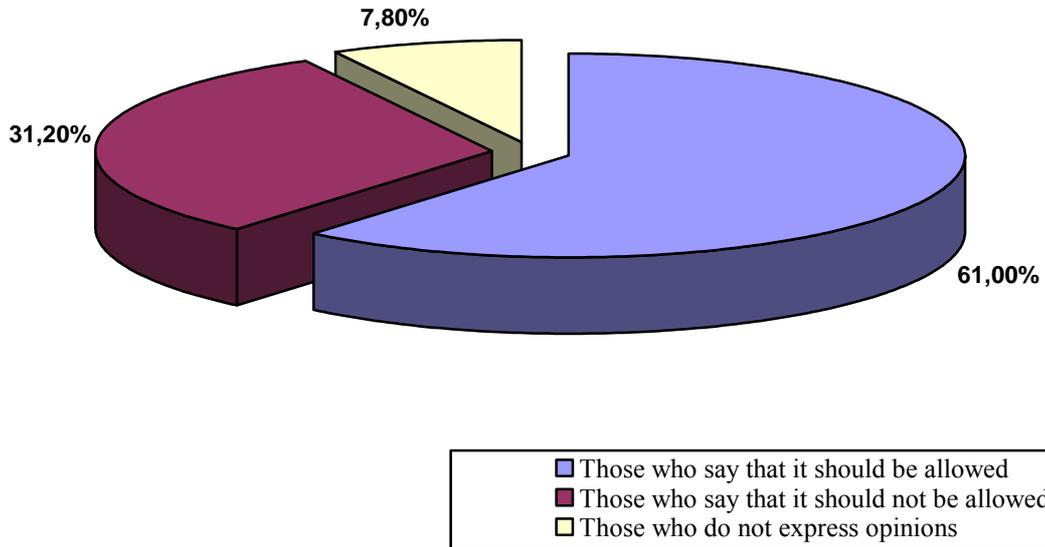


The issue of wearing headscarf is one of the important issues of discussions in the fields of both politics and freedoms. Whether wearing headscarf should be allowed in schools is a problem of freedom as well as being an issue of political debate. One side of the debate considers wearing headscarf as a demand of change in the political system and perceives it as a threat against the regime. The other side of the debate asserts that wearing headscarf is a result of religious choice and that it should be considered in the context of basic rights and freedoms. According to findings of the survey, 70 percent of the society are in favor of allowing headscarf in universities.

As for whether attitudes toward wearing headscarf differ according to demographic and socio-political variables, 42.2 percent of CHP followers, which is lower than the general average, and 75.4 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 90.1 percent of AKP followers, which are higher than the general average, hold the attitude that wearing headscarf should be allowed in universities. 74.1 percent of men and 65.8 percent of women supports allowing headscarf in universities.

Young people are more supportive for allowing headscarf and the support for it decreases in older age groups. The rate of support given by the youngest people is 72 percent whereas the same rate is 54 percent in people who are the oldest. There is a negative relationship between giving support for headscarf and the level of education. 75 percent of people having the lowest education and 54 percent of people having the highest education hold a positive attitude toward allowing headscarf in universities.

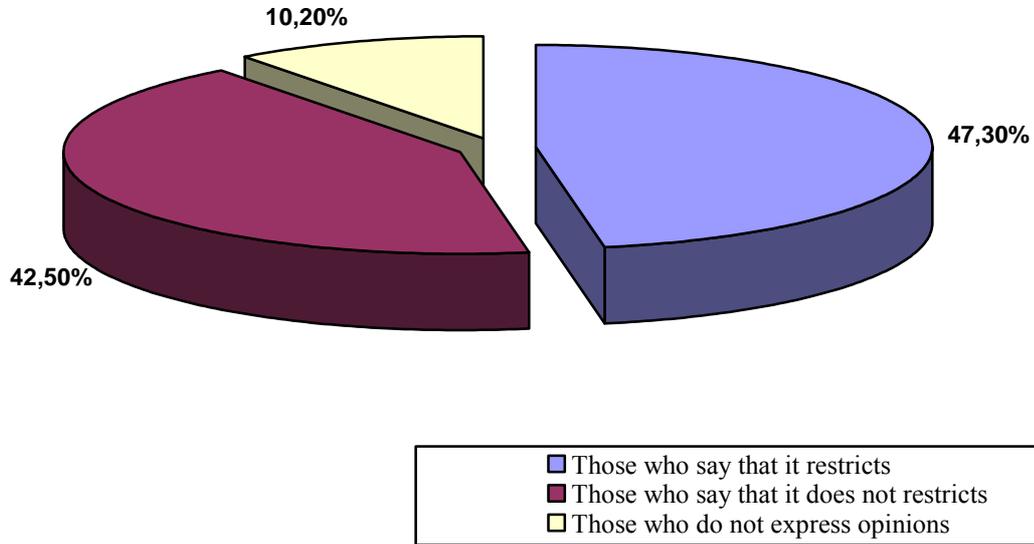
Table K53:
Should wearing headscarf be allowed for civil servants?



The view that wearing headscarf should be allowed is also valid for civil servants if it decreases in their situation. 61 percent of the society hold a positive attitude and 31 percent of the society hold a negative attitude toward the following question: “Should to wear headscarf be allowed for civil servants?”

According to analyses made, 32.2 percent of CHP followers, 66 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces and 86.2 percent of AKP followers are in favor of allowing civil servants to wear headscarf.

Table K54:
Does the religious people's coming to power restrict the freedom of women in Turkey?



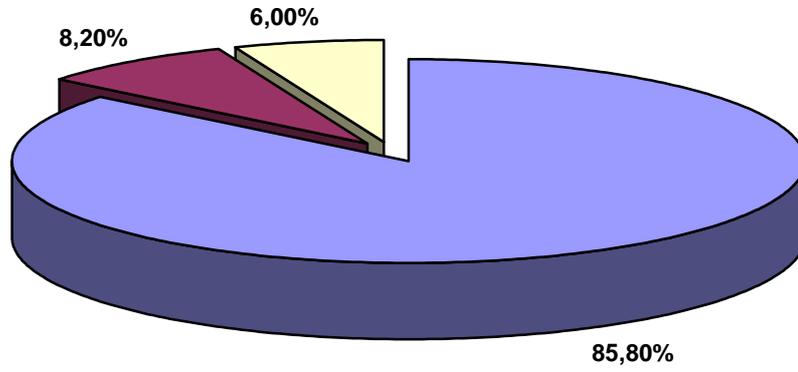
To the question “does the religious people’s coming to power restrict the freedom of women in Turkey?” 47 percent of the society answer “yes” and 43 percent of the society answer “no”.

73.2 percent of CHP followers, which is a higher rate than the general average, and 17.8 percent of CHP followers, which is a lower rate than the general average, think that the religious people’s coming to power restrict the freedom of women in Turkey. In higher education levels, the rate of people who think that freedoms of women will be restricted under the power of religious people increases. 28.2 percent of people having the lowest education and 65.2 percent of people having the highest education think that women will be less free under the government of religious people. 50 percent of women and 37 percent of men believe that the government of religious people will restrict freedoms of women.

The State, Democracy and Freedoms

The level of freedoms in a country is closely related to the level of the possibility of criticizing state institutions. As the possibility to criticize the state authority increases, the area of freedom expands. 86 percent of the society think that citizens should be able to criticize the state mechanism. With this feature, it can be said that the society wants to define its relationship with the state on the basis of “an understanding of freedom allowing criticism”. In this context, the fact that Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code restricts criticism on the basis of protecting the state institutions and representatives constitutes contradiction with the pro-freedom tendency of the public.

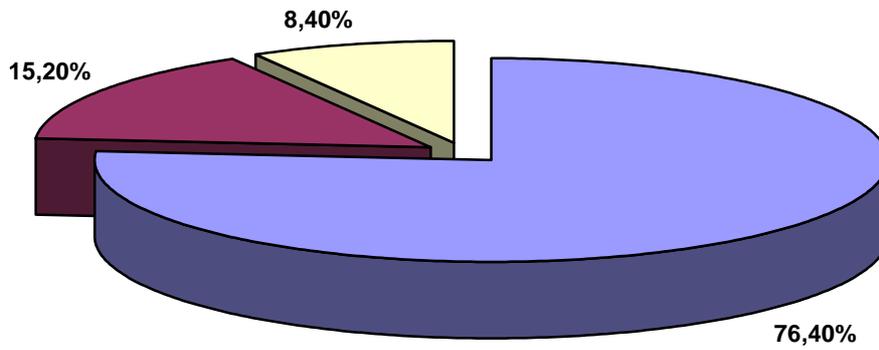
Table K55:
Should the citizens be able to criticize the existent regime of the state freely?



■	Those who say that they should be able to criticize
■	Those who say that they should not be able to criticize
■	Those who do not express opinions

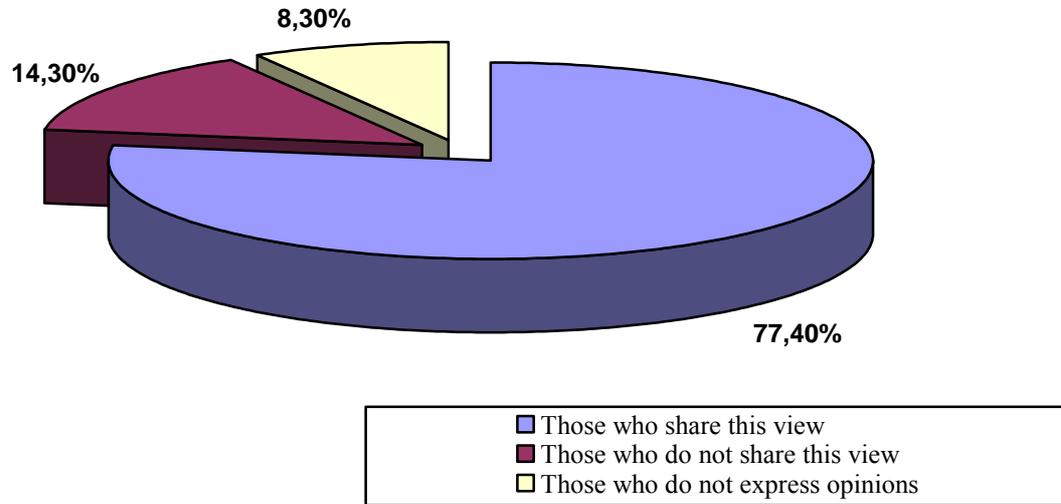
The demand of “being able to criticize the existent regime of the state” must be one of the bases of the view that criticizing state institutions should be allowed.

Table K56:
Should people be allowed to criticize the state institution where they work?



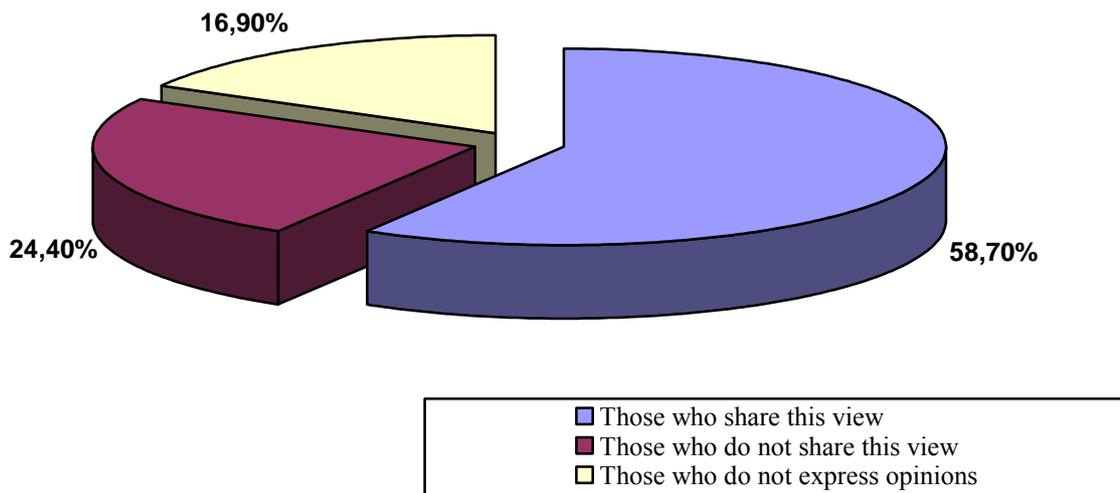
■	Those who say that they should be able to criticize
■	Those who say that they should not be able to criticize
■	Those who do not express opinions

Table K56:
Do you share the view that “democracy has been functioned in Turkey with all its institutions and rules”?



Turkey’s “deficiency in democracy” is constantly discussed in the context of both domestic politics and foreign relations, especially in Turkey’s relations with Europe. Our survey demonstrated that the Turkish public opinion hold attitudes in this direction. 77 percent of the society are of the opinion that democracy has not been functioned in Turkey with all its institutions and rules.

Table K57:
Do you share the view that “in Turkey, the state uses security concerns as pretext to restrict freedoms”?



The balance of social forces and the strength of democratic culture are determining factors in whether democracy functions in a healthy way. If civil society has not developed sufficiently, this brings about the concentration of power in one center. As a result, individuals or

institutions, which use the authority of the state prevents the functioning of democratic processes.

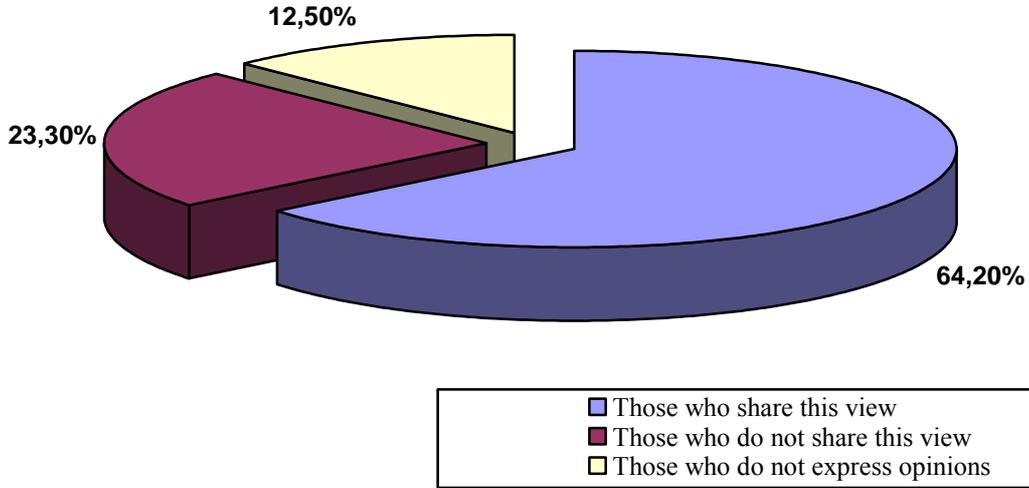
The negative relationship established between freedoms and security is one of the most important obstacles to human rights and freedom of expression. The political attitude having a dominant “security” aspect, which is created in accordance with ideas of some section to the effect that freedoms have the characteristic of threatening security, is not accepted by the general public.

About 60 percent of the society think that the state restricts freedoms by using security concerns as a pretext. The possibility that the attitude having a dominant “security” aspect, which came forefront in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, might be used as a means for social control has not escaped from the attention of the public. The public, which does not consider excessive emphasis on security concerns as realistic, is aware of the fact that the area of freedom might be limited on that ground. It can be said easily that the public holds an attitude favoring “freedoms”, not “security”.

This view differs according to demographic and socio-cultural features. 74.5 percent of people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, 62.7 percent of AKP followers and 80 percent of DEHAP followers think in higher rates than the general average that the state uses security concerns as a pretext to restricts freedom. 56 percent of people who approve dissolution of political parties and 62 percent of people who do not approve it think that that the state uses security concerns as a pretext to restrict freedom. In higher education levels, the rate of people who put emphasis on “pretext” concept increases. 56 percent of people graduated from primary schools and 67 percent of people graduated from universities believe that that the state uses security concerns as a pretext. 56 percent of people having Turkish ethnic origin and 68 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin think that the state resort to security concerns a pretext.

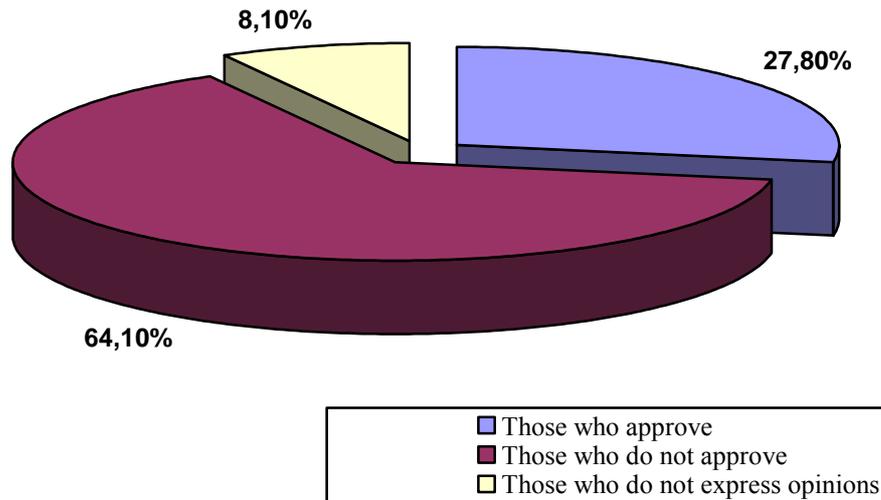
In addition to the view that the state restricts freedoms by using security concerns as a pretext, the opinion that this act of restricting freedoms does not affect all people in the same way and that the state discriminated against some sections by giving up its impartiality is also common among people. 64 percent of the society think that the state treats some political parties in a skeptical and discriminative way without having any valid reason. As a matter of fact, 64 percent of the society state that they are opposed to dissolution of political parties. On the other hand, 14 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 31 percent of people having Turkish ethnic origin approve the dissolution of political parties.

Table K58:
Do you share the view that “the state treats some political parties in a skeptical and discriminative way without having any valid reason”?



The view that the state treats some political parties in a skeptical and discriminative way without having any valid reason is accepted in the rate of 78 among the people who were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces, in the rate of 85 among DEHAP followers and in the rate of 75 among AKP followers, which are higher than the general average. The same rate is 61 percent among MHP followers, which is lower than the general average. Naturally, the view that the state resort to discrimination is more accepted among the people whose political parties were dissolved.

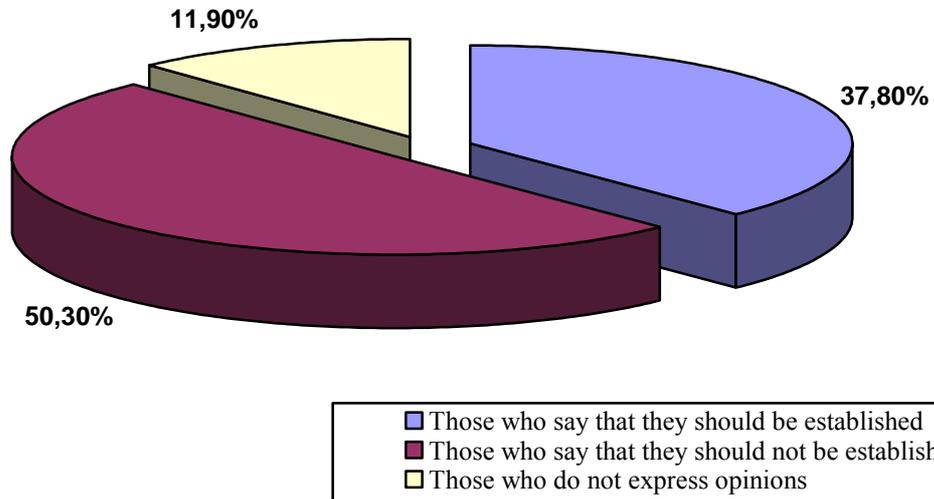
Table K59:
Do you approve dissolution of political parties in Turkey?



64 percent of the society do not approve dissolution of political parties. The rate of people who approve it is 28 percent. The rate of people who approve dissolution of political parties

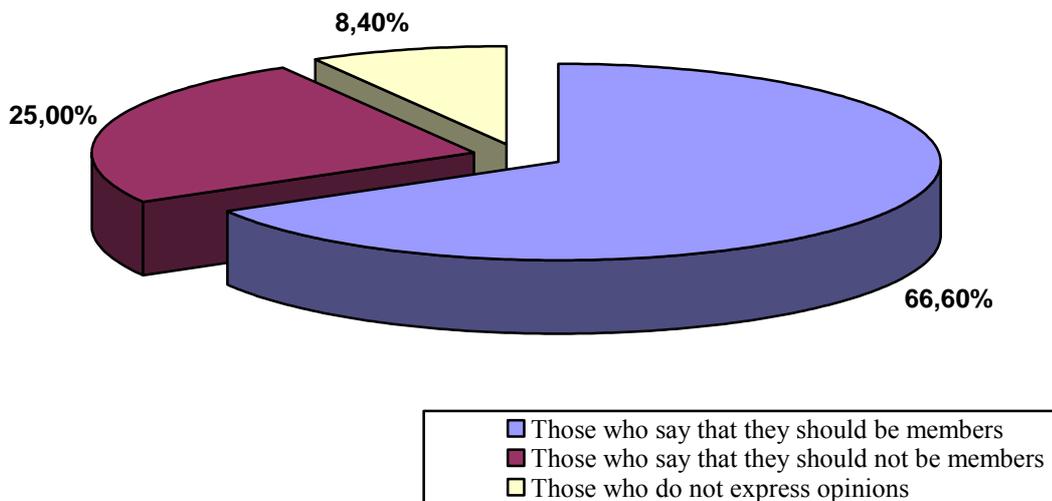
seems to be in contradiction to some extent with the general pro-freedom attitude of the public. The polarization in the society in the recent period might be influential in this.

Table K60:
Should the establishment of political parties based on ethnic and religious origin be allowed?



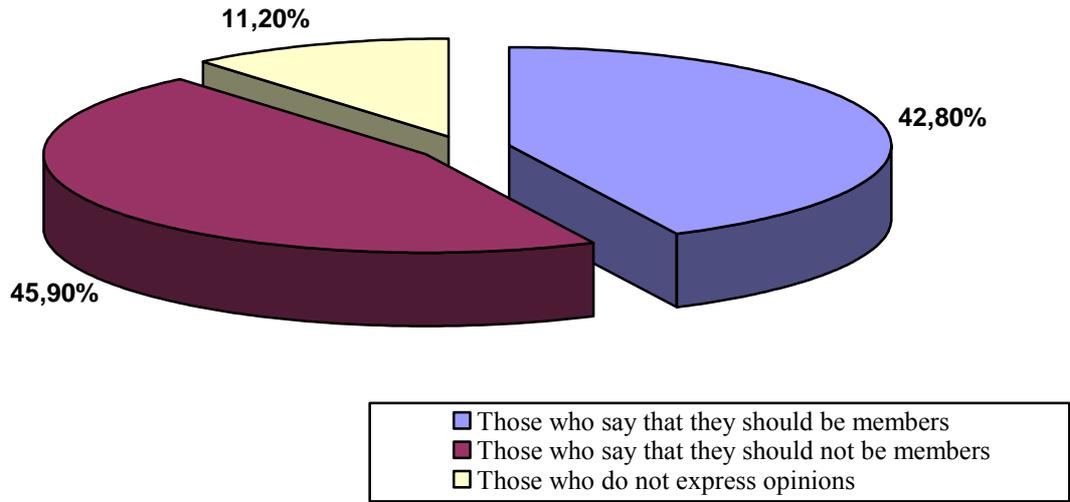
The view that the state does not keep its impartiality toward certain political groups and that it resorts to discrimination is accepted by the great majority of the society. However, half of the society holds a negative attitude toward the establishment of political parties based on ethnic and religious origin. This result demonstrates that “identity politics” has been adopted by the public generally. Nevertheless, the fact that the rate of people who give positive answer in this issue reaches the rate of 38 percent point to the existence of a common identity problem.

Table K61:
Should civil servants be able to be members of political parties?



The non-membership of civil servants in political parties is considered as a measure taken to protect the impartiality of the state. However, this situation also restricts political freedoms of civil servants. 67 percent of the society think that civil servants should be able to be members of political parties, which they choose. But, as for the membership of personnel belonging to the police, the judiciary and the military, the rate of people who approve it is reduced to 43 percent. Here, it is understood that there are doubts felt on the politicization of people who serve in the police, the judiciary and the military.

Table K62:
Should personnel of the Police, the Judiciary and the Military be able to be members of political parties?



Violence and Freedom of Expression

There is reverse relationship between the use of violence and the freedom of expression. When it is resorted to violence, the area of freedom of expression shrinks. The use of violence depends on the distribution of power among social sections or individuals. Powerful actors' imposing their own will on others in an illegal way is defined as violence. 80 percent of the society think that all kinds of expressions of thought, demonstrations and meetings should be allowed as long as they do not include violence. The public feels anxiety not only on the emergence of actual violence, but also on the expression of ideas which praise violence. As a matter of fact, 83 percent of the society is in favor of not allowing the expression of thought praising violence.

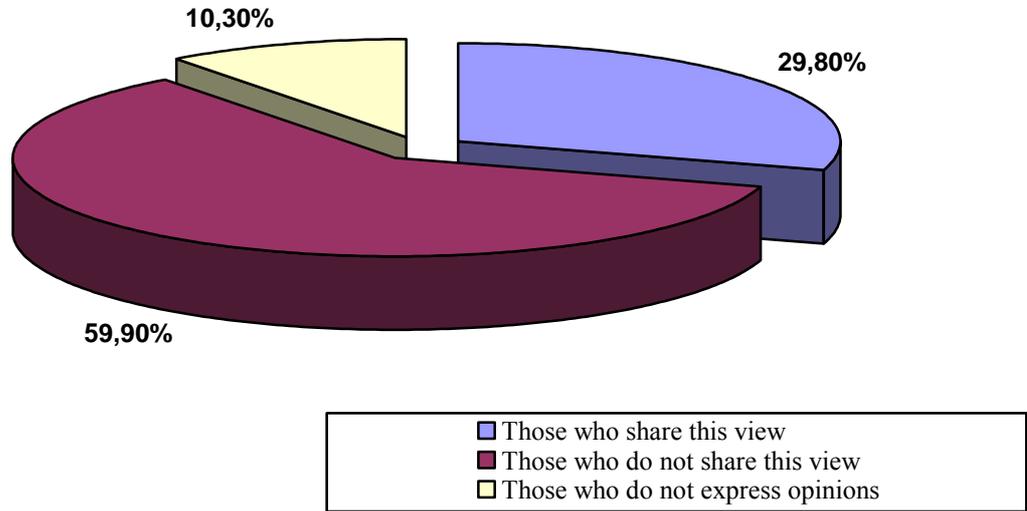
The fact that the Turkish public sees violence as one of the limits of freedom of expression coincides with international norms in this field. In the similar way, it is opposed to the use of violence as a means to interrogate the accused and to collect information. 77 percent of the society is opposed the use of violence by security forces to make the accused talk.

In fact, the rate of people who think that publishing and broadcasting statements of terrorist organizations in newspapers and televisions should constitute crime is 60 percent. 37 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 37 percent of people having Turkish origin think that publishing and broadcasting statements of terrorist organizations in newspapers and televisions should not constitute crime. Among political parties, 45 percent of DEHAP followers and 21 percent of MHP followers answer this question in the positive way.

Table K63:
Violence and Freedom of Expression

	Yes	No	No opinion	TOTAL
Should all kinds of expressions of thoughts, demonstrations and meetings, which do not include violence, be allowed?	79,7	12,6	7,7	100,0
Should the expression of thoughts, which praise violence, be allowed?	12,2	82,6	5,2	100,0
Should the personnel belonging to the Police be able to use violence if necessary to make the accused talk?	17,0	76,5	6,5	100,0

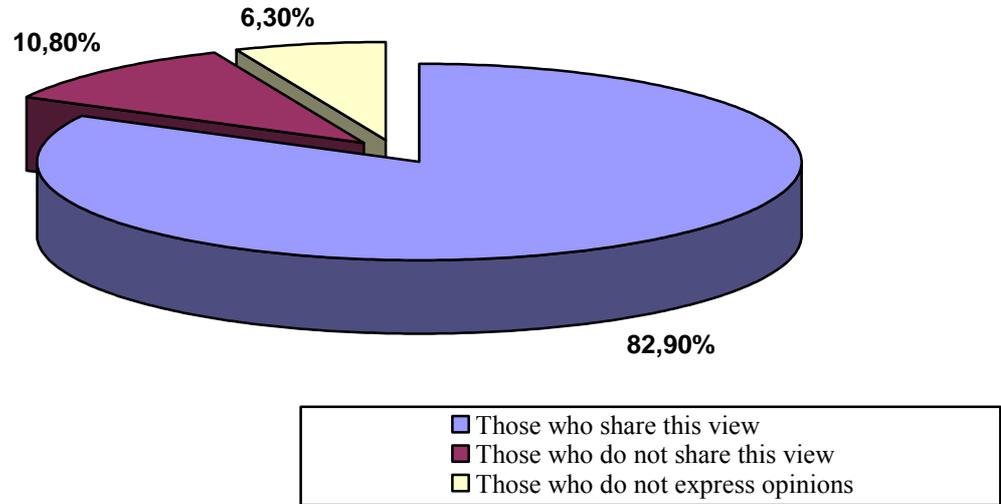
Table K64:
Do you share the view that “broadcast and publication of statements belonging to terrorist organizations in televisions and radios should not constitute crime”?



Privacy of Private Life and Sexuality

Another issue on the limits and scope of freedom of expression is intervention in private lives of individuals. Here, private life contains special relations of the individual, who have no appearance in the public sphere or he/she does not want to appear in the public sphere. The way of life, private relations, belief, way of dressing, family relations etc. of an individual are included in the private life. Generally, the public interest in private lives of politicians, artists and government officials is more intensive as compared with interest in other people. 83 percent of the society think that criticizing politicians more harshly than other people should be considered as normal. This opinion is based on the view that politicians should be inspected in order to lead them to do their jobs in a better way.

Table K65:
Do you share the view that “it should be possible to criticize politicians more harshly than other people are done”?



According to findings of the survey, the appearance of popular people including politicians in media should not be taken negatively. About 60 percent of the society think that giving more place to private lives of popular people in media organs does not amount to violating their private lives. The view that, in comparison with other people, judges and public prosecutors serving as state officials should be criticized more harshly because of their private lives is adopted by 40 percent of the society.

Table K66:
Do you share the view that “giving more place to private lives of popular people in media organs does not amount to violating their private lives”?

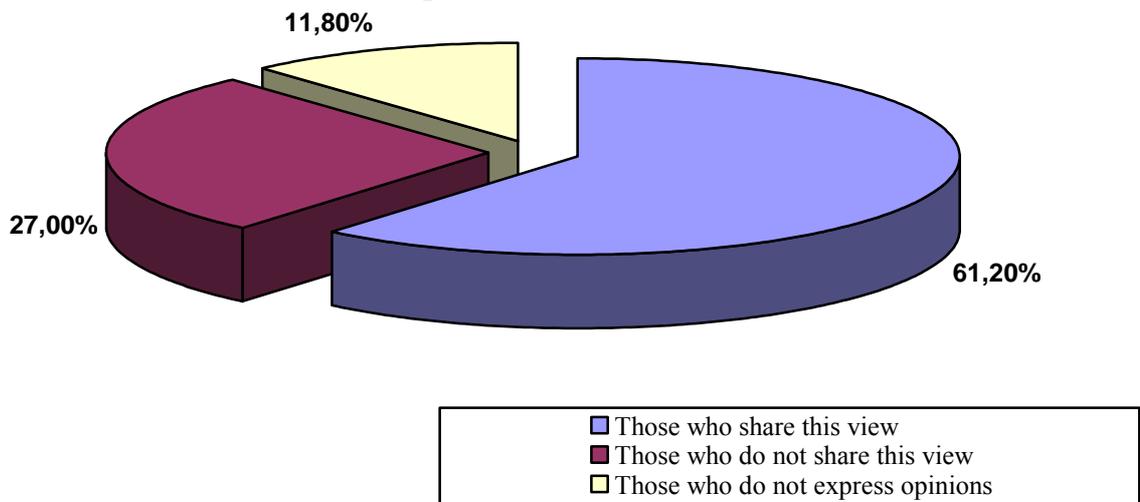
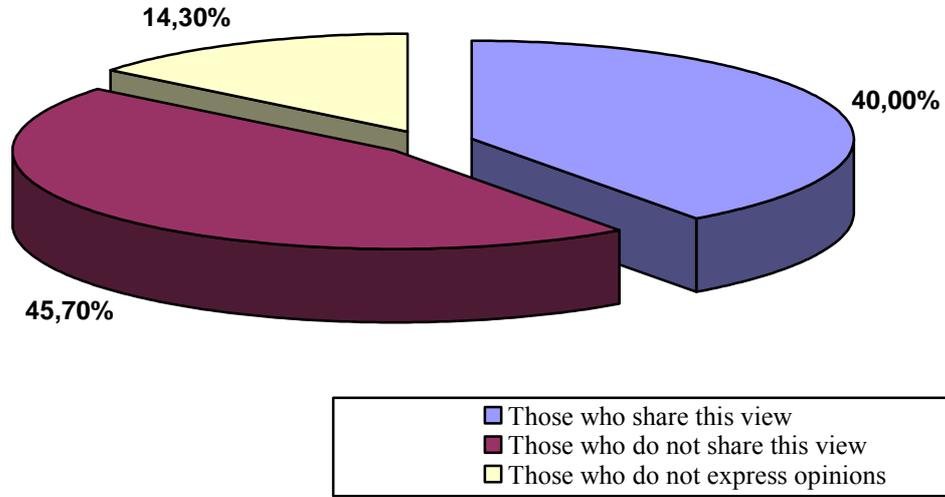


Table K67:

Do you share the view that “in comparison with other people, judges and public prosecutors can be criticized more harshly because of their private lives”?



In determining the limits of freedom of expression, sexual identity has an important place. According to the answers given to the question which is aimed at finding out the level of considering pornography within the scope of freedom of expression, 64 percent of the society think that broadcast and publication of pornography should not be seen in the context of freedom of expression. The rate of people who put pornography within the limits of freedom of expression is 18 percent. It is understood from a question regarding sexual choices that 37 percent of the society approve allowing the people saying openly that they are homosexuals to work in state institutions whereas 48 of the society do not approve it.

Table K68:

Should pornography be included in the scope of freedom of expression?

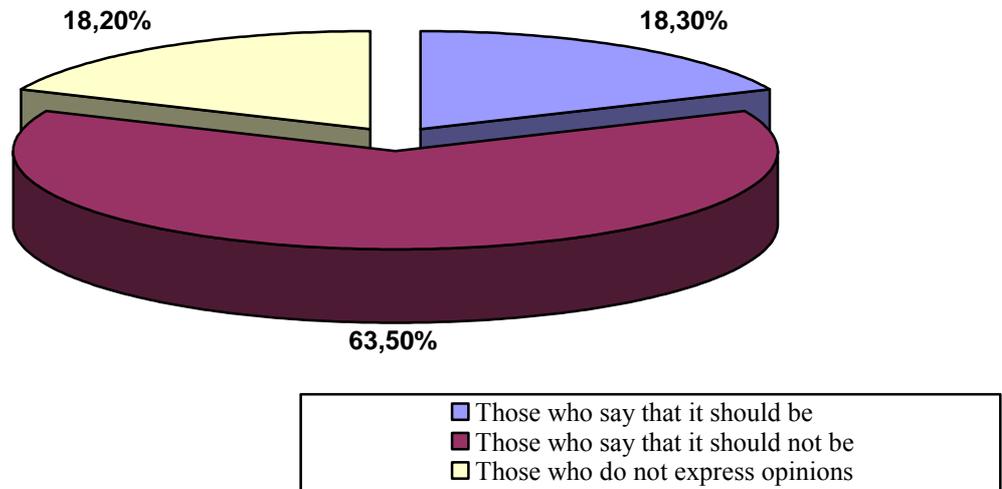
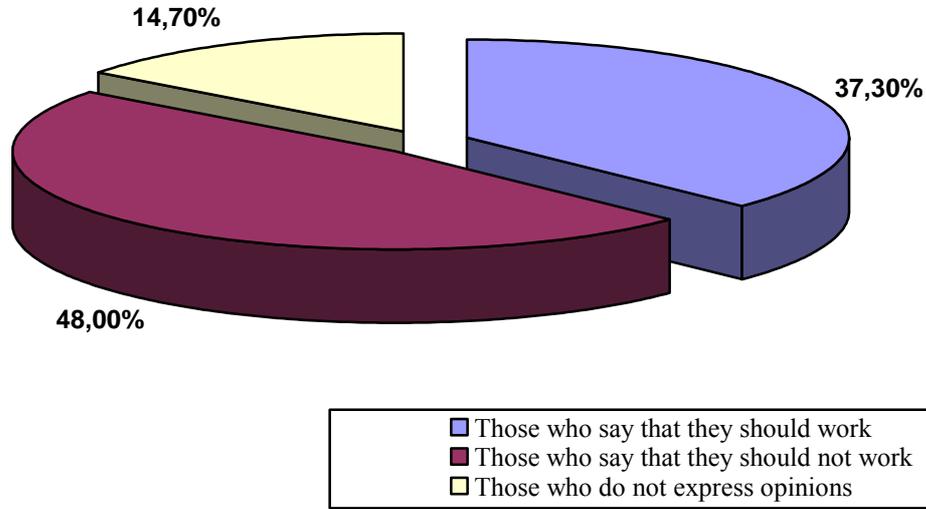


Table K69:
Should the people saying openly that they are homosexuals be allowed to work in state institutions?

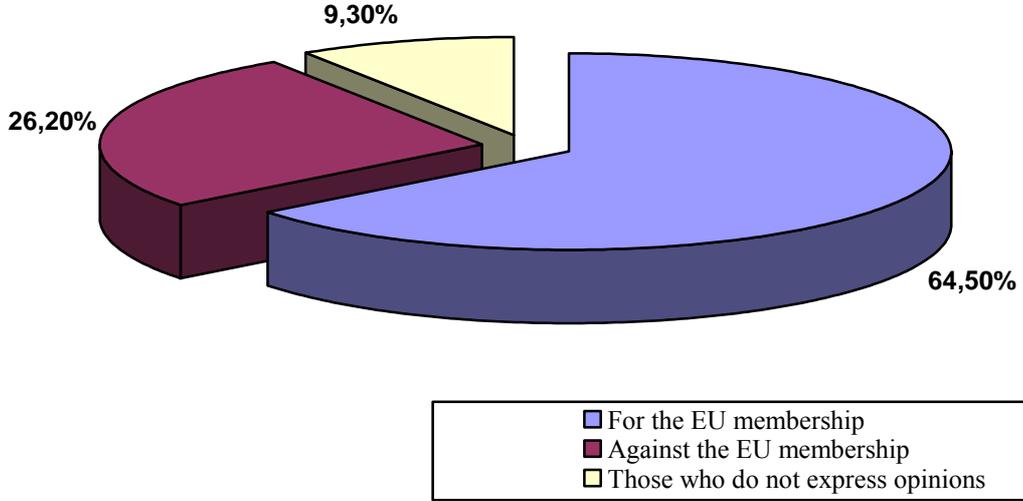


Attitudes Toward the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)

The European Union and the Process of Political Reform in Turkey

The European Union membership can be considered as both an important means and indicator of Turkey's modernization project. When Turkey was accepted as the candidate state for the EU membership in the Helsinki summit in 1999, this accelerated the membership process and the pace of political reforms, which have to be done in this process. As it is understood from the results of the survey, an important portion of the society gives support for this project. 65 percent of the society say that they will vote for the EU membership if a referendum is organized in this issue. In this way, the question not only underlines a general tendency on the EU, but it also demonstrates in which direction the public will use their votes if a referendum is conducted.

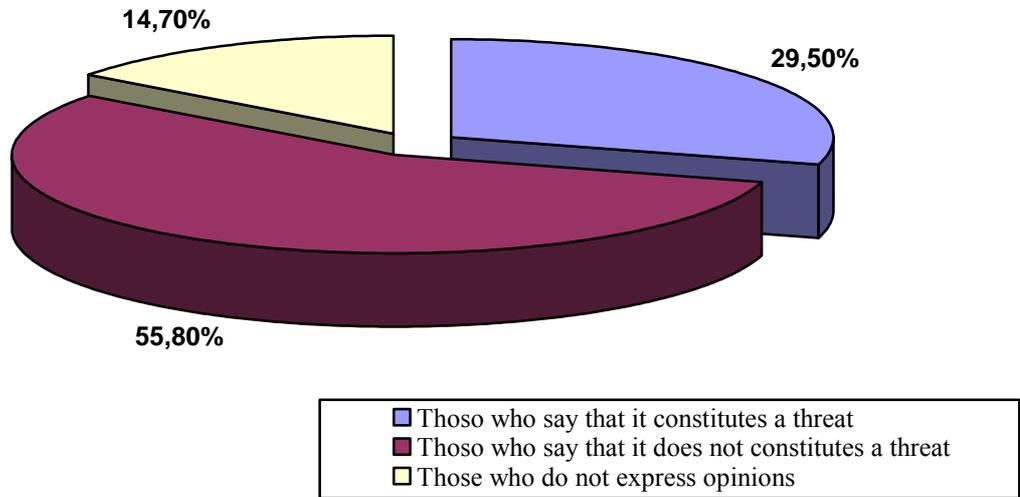
Table K70:
If a referendum is arranged on Turkey's EU membership, what do you vote for?



The statistical meaning of becoming different from the general average of the answers given to this question is dealt with according to demographic structure, socio-political identity, ethnic origin and whether they are subjected to ill –treatment or not. According to analyses made, 69.8 percent of men is in favor of the EU membership whereas this rate is 58.7 percent in women. 81.2 percent of CHP followers, which is higher than the general average, and 49 percent of MHP followers, which is lower than the general average, seem to favor the EU membership. It is seen that there is no significant divergence from the general average according to demographic features, socio-political identities, ethnic origin and choice of political party.

However, it is interesting that about one fourth of the society hold a negative attitude in this issue. It is understood that the doubt felt on the possibility of the membership's damaging the country's integrity plays a determining role in the attitude of being opposed to the European Union. In fact, 30 percent of the society think that the EU membership will damage Turkey's integrity. 65 percent of people who oppose the EU membership and 16 percent of people who are in favor of the EU membership think that the membership might constitute a threat for Turkey's integrity. It is seen that the nationalist section of the society has doubts over the country's integrity in relation to this issue. 40 percent of MHP followers think in a higher rate than the general average that the EU membership constitutes a threat for Turkey's integrity. But the fact that the rate of people saying that such a result will not emerge reaches 56 percent is very important. This result demonstrates that a great portion of the society has not a perspective on the EU membership, whose "security" aspect is dominant.

Table K71:
Does the EU membership constitute a threat for Turkey's integrity?



The fact that some important initiatives were launched in the aftermath of the Helsinki summit in 1999 in the fields of democratization and human rights thanks to dynamics created by the EU membership process is an opinion shared by many observers. In fact, the Copenhagen criteria, which is presented by the EU as the conditions of the membership, require that legal/institutional arrangements will be enacted and implemented on human rights, democracy, rule of law and rights of minorities. The impact of improvement of EU-Turkey relations in this way on democratization is a tendency, which is also observed by the public.

The opinion that basic rights and freedoms will improve in Turkey when the EU membership is realized is commonly held view. 63 percent of the society think that the EU membership process affects positively developments regarding human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey. 67 percent of the society believe that human rights and freedom of expression will improve further when Turkey becomes an EU member.

Men demonstrate a more positive approach than women do on that human rights will improve further in case of membership in the EU. In fact, when this situation is analyzed from the point of sexual differences, it is seen that, in comparison of the rate of women as 61,7, 71,6 percent of men think that human rights and freedom of expression will improve further when Turkey becomes an EU member.

Table K72:
The European Union membership, human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey

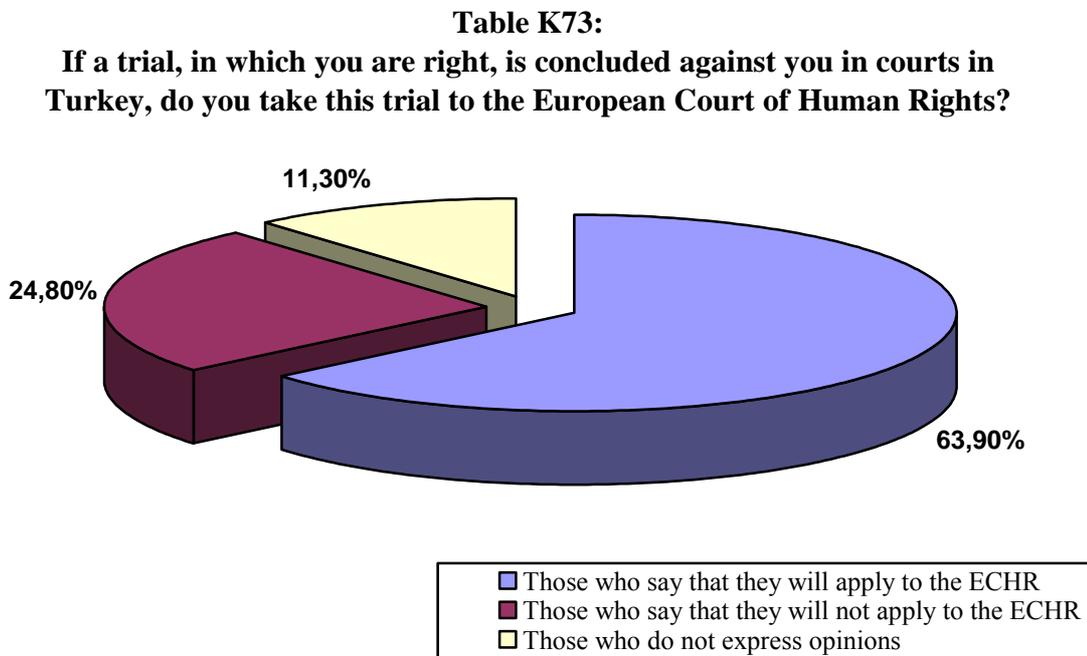
	Yes	No	No opinion	TOTAL
If the prospect of the European Union membership did not exist, legal arrangements regarding human rights and freedom of expression could not have been in Turkey.	55,2	31,5	13,3	100,0
The process of adaptation to the EU brought positive contributions to human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey.	63,0	24,2	12,8	100,0
If Turkey becomes a member of the EU, human rights and freedom of expression will improve further.	66,7	23,7	9,6	100,0

Negative developments on human rights emerge as a great obstacle to the process of Turkey's adaptation to the EU. The EU membership process plays an important role in changes and improvements made in Turkey on basic rights and freedoms. More than half of the society (55%) think that if the requirements of the European Union membership did not exist, legal arrangements aimed at removing obstacles to human rights and freedom of expression could not have been in Turkey. This result demonstrates that the public are aware of the important and indispensable contributions brought by international / EU dynamics in the fields of democracy and human rights. Moreover, it might be derived from these results that the EU dynamic should be made a permanent factor in order to prevent the reversal of initiatives of democracy and human rights.

It might be said that the public is of the opinion that the interruption of the EU membership process and the subsequent eradication of the outside dynamic, which has created reforms, will raise difficulties in creating and protecting "a democratic state respecting rule of law based on human rights". This might lead us to think that the internal dynamics of democracy and human rights are not, will not and will not be able to "effective". The thing which is worrying is that the public, who are aware of deficiencies in democracy and human rights and who hold a progressive attitude in this issue, do not see themselves as effective in improving the reform process in Turkey.

The Society's Attitude Toward the European Court of Human Rights

The European Court of Human Rights is known by 90 percent of the society. 64 percent of the society say that if a trial, in which they are right, is concluded against them in courts in Turkey, they will take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights. There is a parallel relationship between supporting the EU membership and the tendency of applying to the ECHR. 70 percent of people who are in favor of the EU membership and 55 percent of people who are opposed to it say that they will take their trials to the ECHR.



When the demographic features of those who say that they will apply to the ECHR if their trials are concluded against them are examined, it is seen that followers of MHP and DEHAP are positioned in the two opposite ends. 40.4 percent of MHP followers and 76.7 percent of DEHAP

followers say that that if a trial, in which they are right, is concluded against them in courts in Turkey, they will take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights. The other independent variables do not differ on the ECHR.

Why do not 25 percent of the society take their trials, which were concluded against them, to the ECHR? The rate of people who think that taking rights violations to courts is limited with the boundaries of the state is 4 percent (17.5 percent of the rate 24.8 percent). This result demonstrates clearly that global trends in the field of law have been adopted to a great extent.

However, there is a problem in this point: It is not clear whether favoring the ECHR in high rates stem from the belief that judgements of the ECHR are just and impartial or from the belief that courts in Turkey are relatively less just and impartial. In fact, about half of the society think that the ECHR does not act justly and impartially in its judgements involving Turkey. One fourth of the society are of the opinion that those who apply to the ECHR cooperate with enemies.

The socio-political identity is influential in the attitude involving impartiality. For example, 20.2 percent of MHP followers, which is lower than the general average, and 41 percent of people having Kurdish ethnic origin and 60.8 percent of DEHAP followers, which are higher than the general average, think that judgements of the European Court of Human Rights are just and impartial.

Table K74:
Why do not you apply to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)?

(It was asked to only those saying that they will not apply to the ECHR if trials are concluded against them [24.8%.])

	Number	%
Those who say that rights should not be pursued outside Turkey	133	17,5
Those who do not trust in the ECHR/ who considers it as partial	123	16,2
Those who say that they cannot afford to apply to the ECHR	80	10,6
Those who say that it will be difficult / who say that they do not want to be bothered with it	67	8,8
Those who think that applying to the ECHR will not bring any results	53	7,0
Those who say that they will not need to apply to the ECHR	31	4,1
Those who say that they will not want to see their country be subjected to trial	23	3,0
Those who say that they will not dare to apply to the ECHR and that they are afraid of their state	12	1,6
Those who do not express opinions	236	31,1
TOTAL	758	100,0

Table K75:
Do you think that the ECHR's judgements involving Turkey are just and impartial?

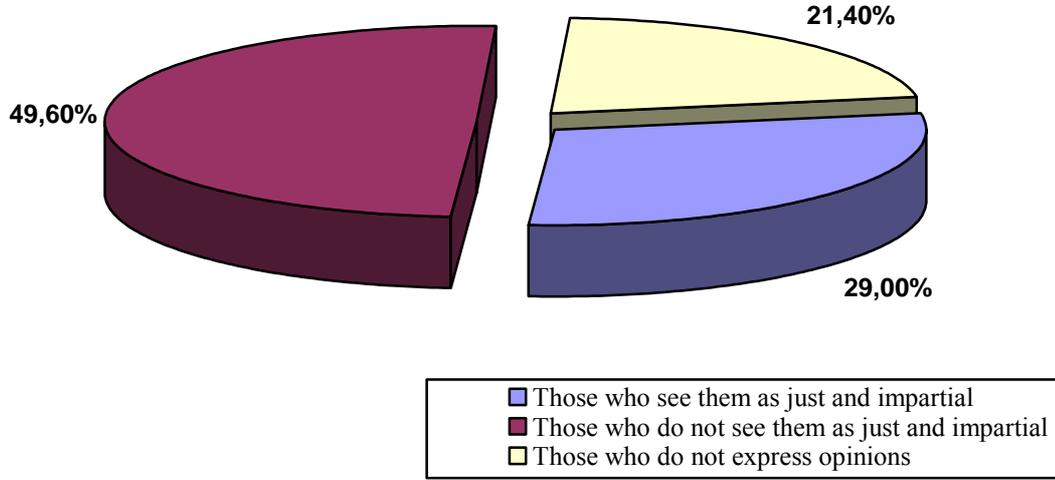
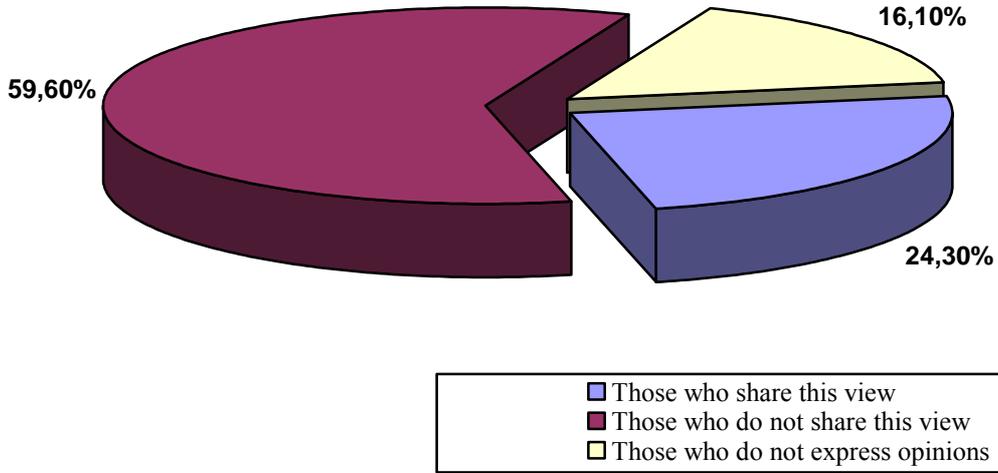


Table K76:
Do you share the view that “those who take their trials to the European Court of Human Rights cooperate with enemies”?



The Attitudes of Judicial Personnel on Human Rights and Freedom of Expression

This survey had been planned at the beginning as a research having three aspects. It had been aimed to find out perceptions involving human rights and freedom of expression among the personnel of the judiciary and the police in addition to the public opinion survey. With surveys on those two groups, it would have been possible to find out opinions and attitudes of the people who will implement reforms, which has become important in the recent period. However, only the field studies involving the public and the personnel of the judiciary could be realized. The Ministry of Internal Affairs did not allow us to carry out the survey, which we had planned, on the personnel of the police.

As a result, empirical data could not be created on those two institutions/groups, which come to mind firstly when human rights violations are mentioned, and therefore it did not become possible to make meaningful comparisons. Nevertheless, the survey, which we conducted on the personnel of the judiciary (judges and public prosecutors) with the permission of the Ministry of Justice, provides interesting, important and striking data on the implementation aspect of issues of human rights and freedom of expression.

Survey Sample

**Table Y1:
Features of the Sample**

	Number	%
GENDER		
Women	64	16,8
Men	308	80,6
Those who do not answer	10	2,6
AGE GROUPS		
26 to 35	19	5,0
36 to 45	111	29,1
46 to 60	224	58,6
61 and older	18	4,7
Those who do not answer	10	2,6
MARITAL STATUS		
Married	328	85,9
Single	18	4,7
Widow / divorce	26	6,8
Those who do not answer	10	2,6
EDUCATION (SCHOOL GRADUATED)		
University	236	61,8
Master	134	35,1
Ph.D.	6	1,6
Those who do not answer	6	1,6

**Table Y2:
The Features of the Sample**

	Number	%
PROFESSION		
Judge	179	46,9
Public Prosecutor	196	51,3
Those who do not answer	7	1,8
YEARS IN WORK		
5 years and less	11	2,9
6 to 10 years	28	7,3
11 to 15 years	88	23,0
16 to 20 years	96	25,1
21 to 25 years	98	25,7
26 to 30 years	44	11,5
31 years and more	11	2,9
Those who do not answer	6	1,6
BEING ABROAD		
Those who have not been abroad	291	76,2
Those who lived abroad less than one year	48	12,6
Those who live abroad more than one year	43	11,3
TOTAL	382	100,0

Table Y3:

Languages and dialects other than Turkish spoken in family

	Number	Percent
English	117	30,6
German	94	24,6
French	51	13,4
Arabic	20	5,2
Bosnian-Balkan languages	18	4,7
Kurdish	15	3,9
Circissian	7	1,8
The language of Laz	6	1,6
Persian	1	0,3
Greek	1	0,3
Georgian	1	0,3
Those who do not answer	51	13,4
TOTAL	382	100,0

Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression: Present Situation

The Way of Perception of Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression

The following open-ended question was asked to judges: what comes to your mind when human rights are mentioned? The answers given to the question point to those factors in the following order: the right of living, freedom of thought, freedom of expression, equality, basic rights and human rights organizations.

Table Y4:
What comes to you mind when human rights are mentioned?

(They were collected from the answers given to the open-ended question.)

	Number	%
The right of living	176	46,1
The freedom of thought	49	12,8
Freedom	40	10,5
The freedom of expression	15	3,9
Equality	13	3,4
The basic rights	13	3,4
Human rights organizations	10	2,6
Democracy	7	1,8
The right of education	7	1,8
Health	6	1,6
The right of justice	5	1,3
The freedom of belief	5	1,3
The freedom of conscience	5	1,3
Others	20	4,3
Those who do not answer	11	2,9
TOTAL	382	100,0

The answers to the question, “in your opinion, who raises the issues such as human rights and freedom of expression in the most frequent way in Turkey?”, put the following actors at the top of the list: that order: non-governmental organizations, authors-intellectuals-scholars, those who

are ill-treated, media, foreign powers-foreigners, politicians, leftists, forces trying to divide the country and human rights organizations.

Table Y5:
In your opinion, who raises the issues such as human rights and freedom of expression in the most frequent way in Turkey?

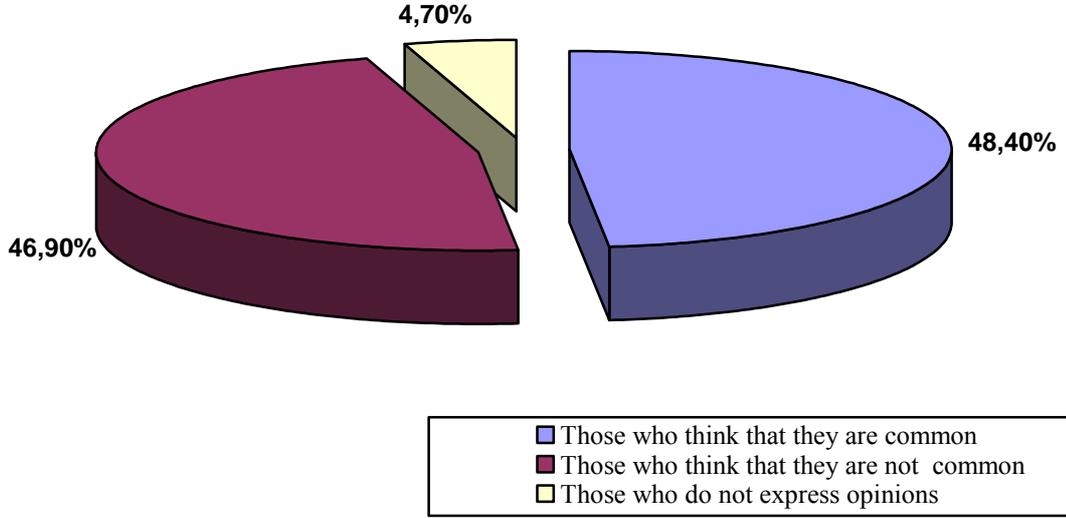
(They were collected from the answers given to the open-ended question.)

	Number	%
Non-governmental organizations -Associations	63	16,5
Authors-Intellectuals-Scholars	47	12,3
Those whose rights are violated who are ill-treated, Those who are subjected to injustice	26	6,8
Press and Media	24	6,3
Foreign Powers-Foreigners	22	5,8
Political parties and party leaders	20	5,2
Leftists	19	5,0
Forces trying to divide the country	19	5,0
Human rights organizations	18	4,7
Those who are sane	10	2,6
Those who have not responsibility in the issue	9	2,4
Those who have interests	8	2,1
Those who are fond of freedom	6	1,6
Those who have profession in law	6	1,6
Those whose cultural level is high	6	1,6
Organizations of lawyers	6	1,6
Others	55	20,4
Those who do not answer	18	4,7
TOTAL	382	100,0

The Intensity of Violations of Human Rights and Freedom Expression

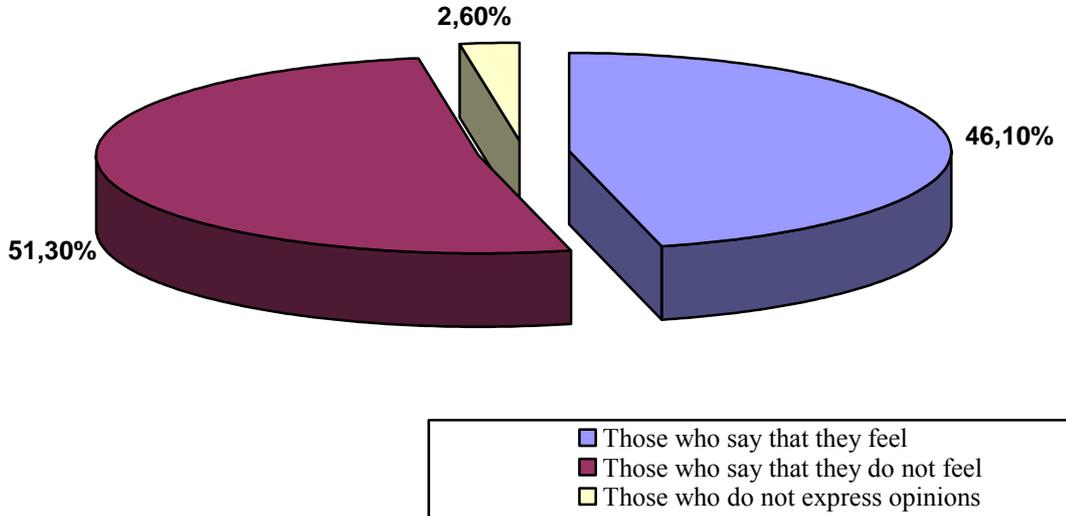
48.4 percent of judicial personnel think that human rights violations are common in Turkey and 46.9 percent of them think that they are not common. In this issue, the rate of those who do not express opinions is 4.7 percent.

Table Y6:
In your opinion, are human rights violations are common in Turkey?



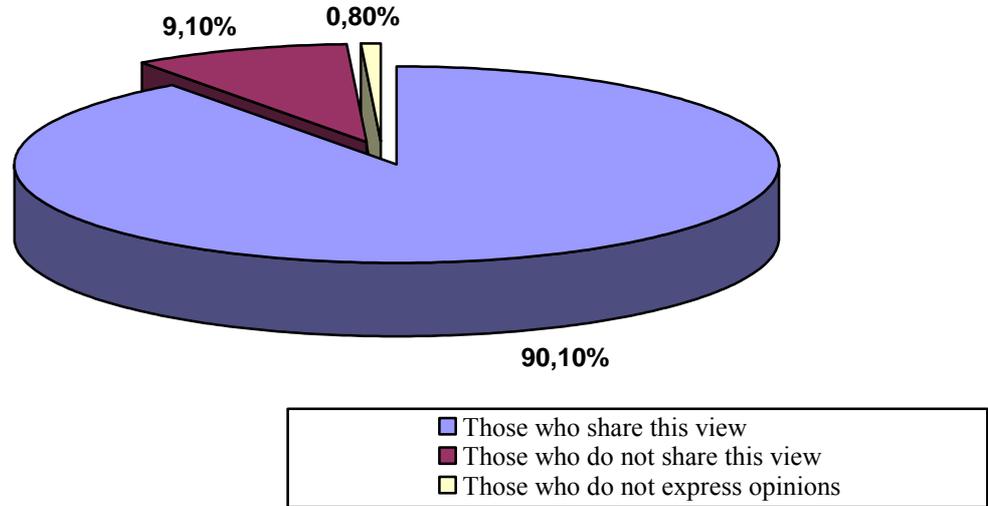
The rate of judicial personnel who say that they feel their basic rights and freedoms are restricted is 46.1 percent. The rate of those who say that they do not have such feeling is 51.3.

Table Y7:
Do you feel that your basic rights and freedoms are restricted?



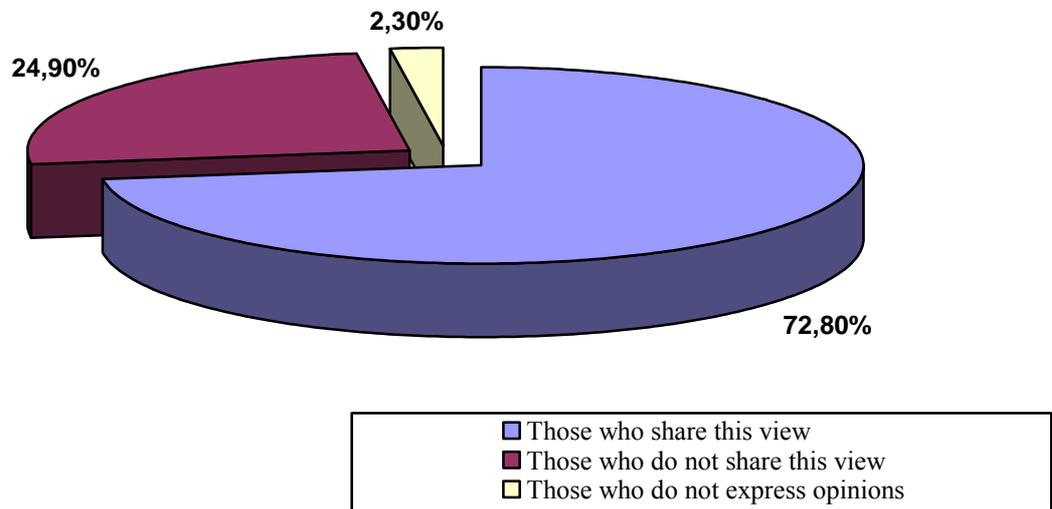
90 percent of judicial personnel share that the view that “the existence of freedom expression is necessary for the society to live in peace” The rate of those who do not share this view is 9 percent.

Table Y8:
Do you share that the view that “the existence of freedom expression is necessary for the society to live in peace”?



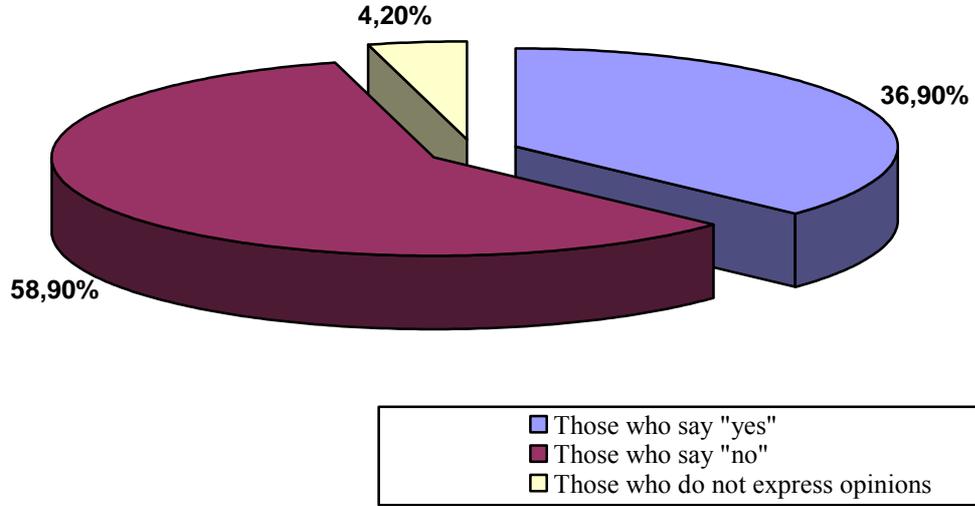
The rate of judicial personnel who share the view that “the individual’s expressing his/her thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way” is 73 percent. The rate of those who do not share it is about 25 percent.

Table Y9:
Do you share the view that “the individual’s expressing his/her thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way”?



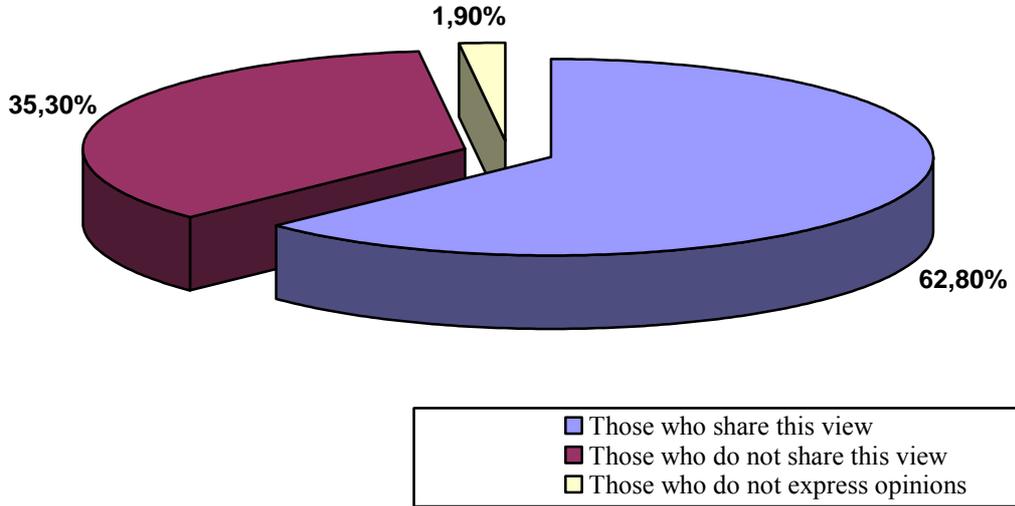
The rate of judicial personnel who give “yes” answer to the question, “can people in Turkey express their thoughts freely?” is 37 percent. The rate of judicial personnel who say that people in Turkey cannot express their thoughts freely is 60 percent.

Table Y10:
According to you, can people in Turkey express their thoughts freely?



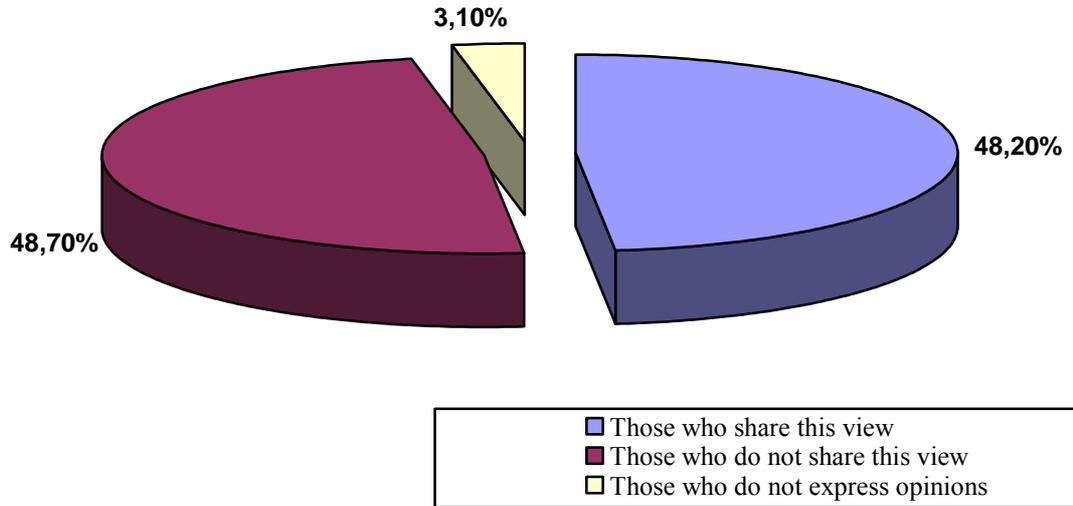
Judicial personnel share the view that “journalists, politicians and authors should not be punished because of their thoughts regardless of their content” in the rate of 63 percent. 35 percent of them oppose the view.

Table Y11:
Do you share the view that “journalists, politicians and authors should not be punished because of their thoughts regardless of their content”?



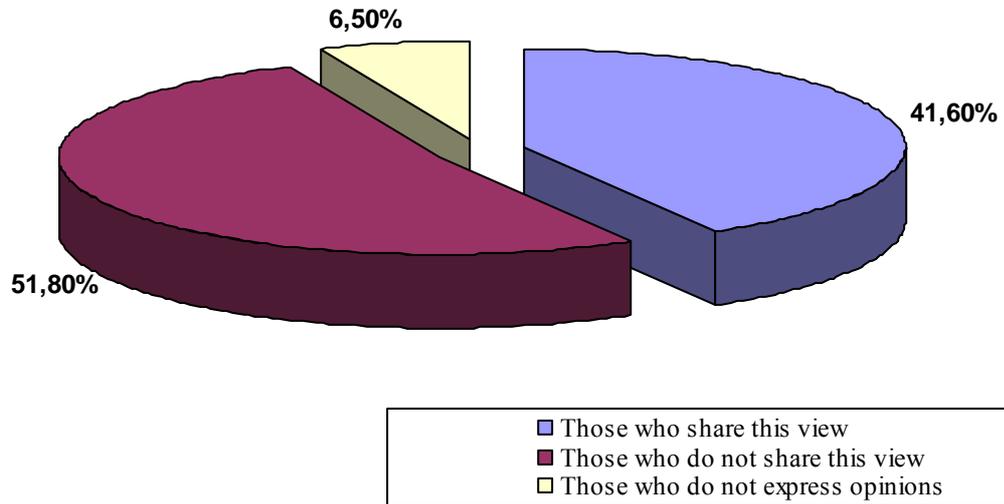
The rate of judicial personnel who share and those who oppose the view that “there is no such question as the freedom of expression in Turkey and that ideological groups exploit this factor” is close to each other. Here, it can be said that perceptions of judicial personnel regarding the question of freedom of expression and ideological groups differ considerably and that they deal with the two phenomenon in different bases.

Table Y12:
Do you share the view that “there is no such question as the freedom of expression in Turkey and that ideological groups exploit this factor”?



42 percent of judges and public prosecutors share the view that “torture is applies commonly in police stations and prisons” and 52 of them do not share it.

Table Y13:
Do you share the view that “torture is applies commonly in police stations and prisons”?



Those Who Suffered on Human Rights and the Freedom of Expression

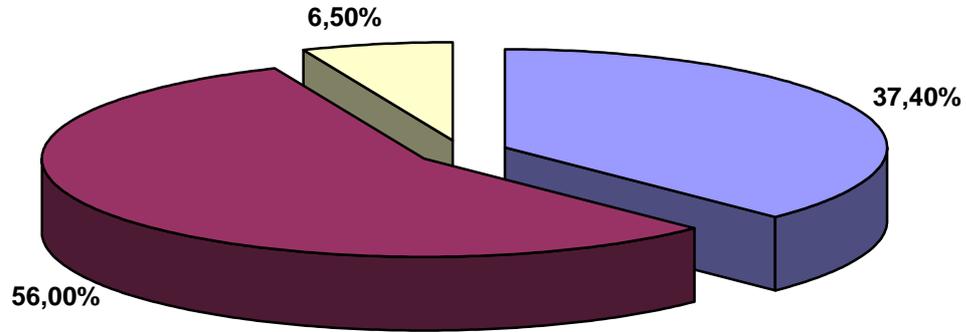
Judicial personnel were asked whether there were pressures on the sections of the society, which were presented to them as a list. According to judicial personnel, women, homosexuals/travesties and women who wear headscarf come forefront as the groups, which are considered to be subjected to pressures in the most frequent way.

Table Y14:
In your opinion, are there any pressures on the below groups or not in Turkey?

	Those who say that there are pressures %	Those who say that there are no pressures %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL %
Women	68,6	27,2	4,2	100,0
Homosexuals / Travesties	53,1	35,1	11,8	100,0
Those who wear headscarf	49,5	43,5	7,1	100,0
Kurds	39,3	56,8	3,9	100,0
Leftists	37,7	55,8	6,5	100,0
Religious people	35,6	57,3	7,1	100,0
Alewites	33,8	58,6	7,6	100,0
Romans	26,4	60,2	13,4	100,0
Non-Muslims / Minorities	17,0	70,9	12,1	100,0

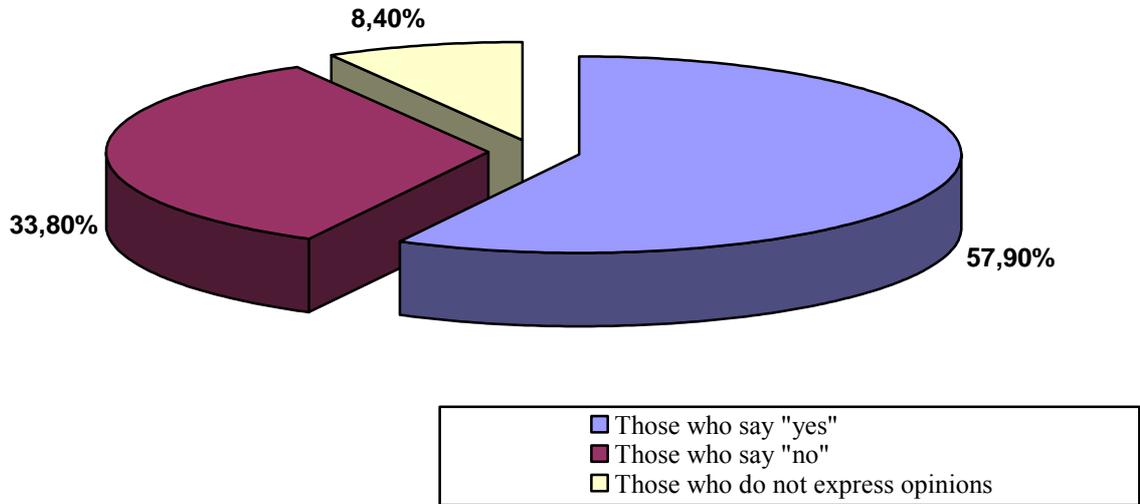
56 percent of judicial personnel say that there are no pressures on religious people in Turkey and 58 percent of them think that the Alewite people in Turkey can express themselves freely.

Table Y15:
Are there any pressures on religious people in Turkey?



■ Those who say that there are pressures
■ Those who say that there are no pressures
■ Those who do not express opinions

Table Y16:
In your opinion, can the Alewite people in Turkey express themselves freely?



Sources of Human Rights and Freedom Expression Violations

According to 49 percent of judicial personnel, obstacles to freedom of thought and expression and their violations stem from both the laws and the people implementing the laws. According to 17 percent of judicial personnel, there is no obstacle to freedom of thought and expression in Turkey. 7 percent of judges and public prosecutors say that obstacles stem from the laws and 20 percent of them consider the people implementing the laws as the main obstacles.

Table Y17:
In your opinion, where do obstacles to freedom of thought and expression and their violations stem from?

	%
Those who say that there is no obstacle to freedom of thought and expression in Turkey	16,8
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from the laws	7,1
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from the people implementing the laws	20,2
Those who say that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from both the laws and the people implementing the laws	48,7
Those who do not express opinions	7,4
TOTAL	100,0

A list regarding the sections having the potential of violating human rights was formed and it was asked to judicial personnel whether these sections violate human rights. According to judicial personnel, the sections which violate human rights in the most frequent way are ordered in the following way: media, the police, big business groups, prison personnel and rural guards.

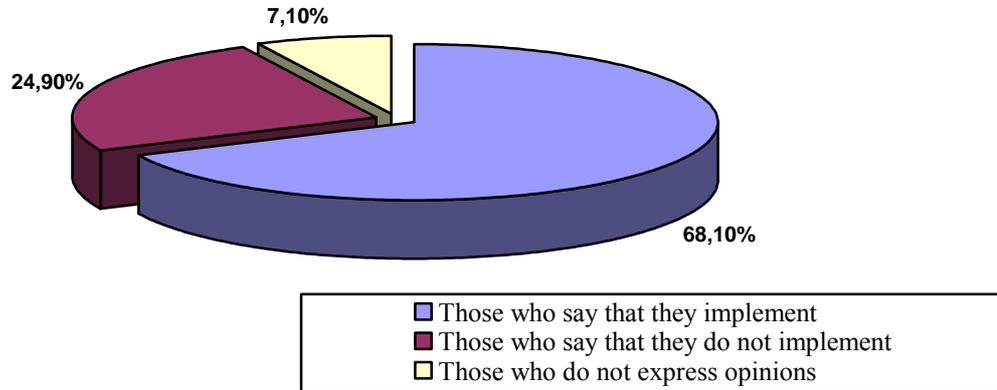
Table Y18:
In your opinion, do those who are mentioned below violate human rights in Turkey or not?

	Those who say that they violate %	Those who say that they do not violate %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL %
Media	78,5	16,5	5,0	100,0
Police	67,3	29,3	3,4	100,0
Big Business Groups	55,8	28,3	16,0	100,0
Prison personnel	54,5	27,5	18,1	100,0
Rural guards	50,8	25,9	23,3	100,0
The Gendarmerie	44,0	45,0	11,0	100,0
Political Parties	42,1	39,5	18,3	100,0
Civil Servants	40,1	46,3	13,6	100,0
The Government	37,4	46,9	15,7	100,0
The National Security Council	20,4	60,5	19,1	100,0
Courts	16,5	70,9	12,6	100,0

The Effectiveness of the Judiciary Against Violations

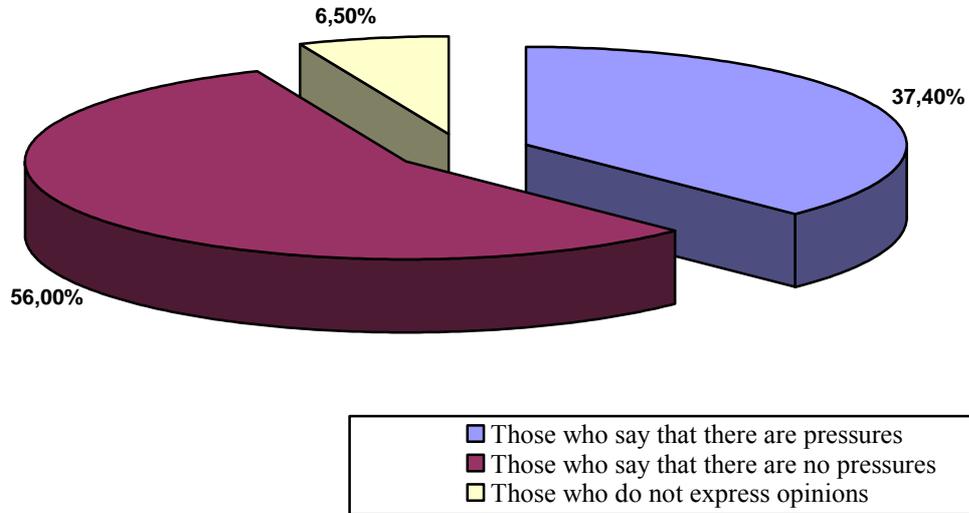
The rate of judicial personnel who gives “yes” answer to the answer, “Do courts in Turkey implement the laws fairly and impartially?” is 68 percent. The rate of those who say that the courts do not implement the laws fairly and impartially is 25 percent.

Table Y19:
Do courts in Turkey implement the laws fairly and impartially?



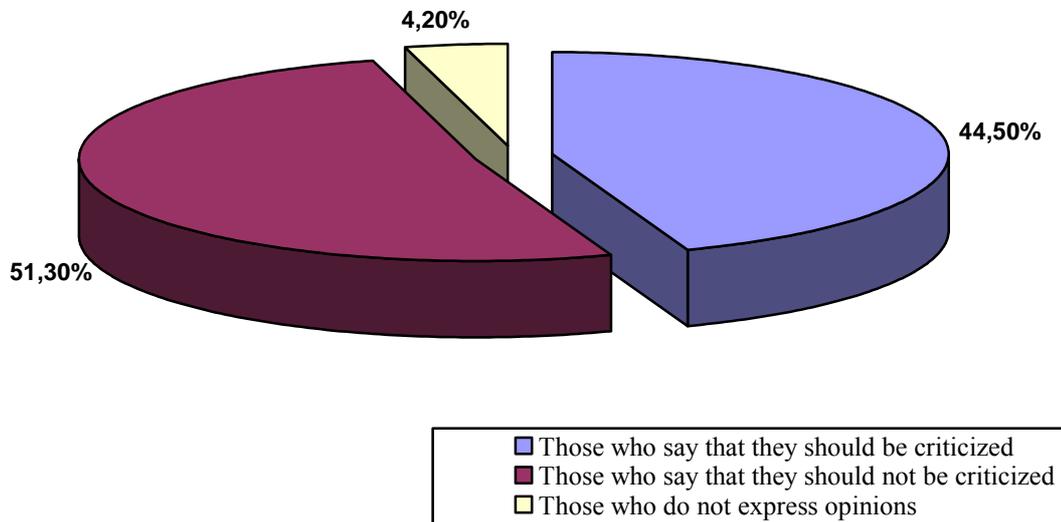
The rate of those who say that there are pressures in response to the question, “are there pressures of the state on courts in Turkey in trials involving freedom of expression?” is 33 percent and the rate those who say that there are no pressures is 56 percent.

Table Y20:
Are there pressures of the state on courts in Turkey in trials involving freedom of expression?



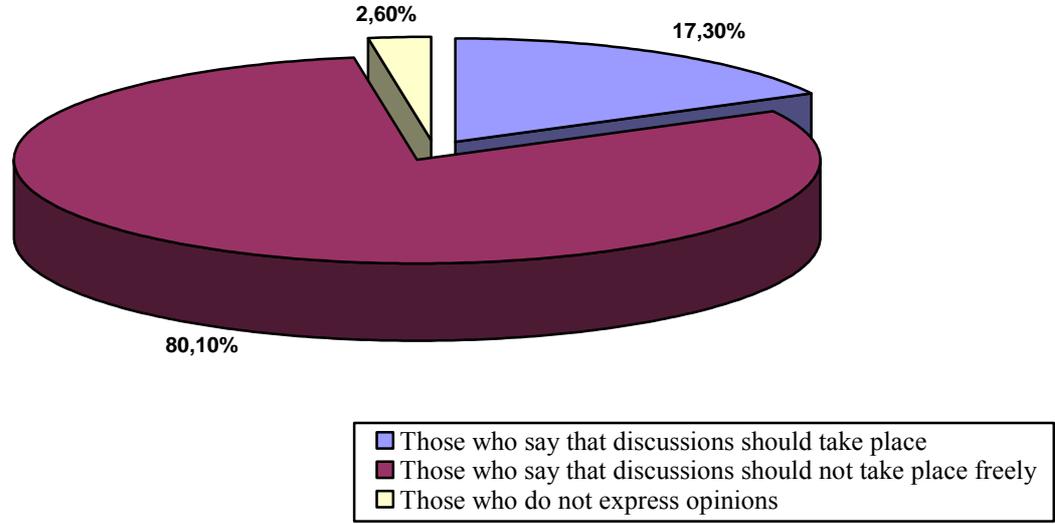
The rate of those who give the answer that they should be criticized to the question, “Should judgements of courts be criticized by media organs freely?” is 45 percent and the rate of those who say that they should not be criticized is 51 percent.

Table Y21:
Should judgements of courts be criticized by media organs freely?



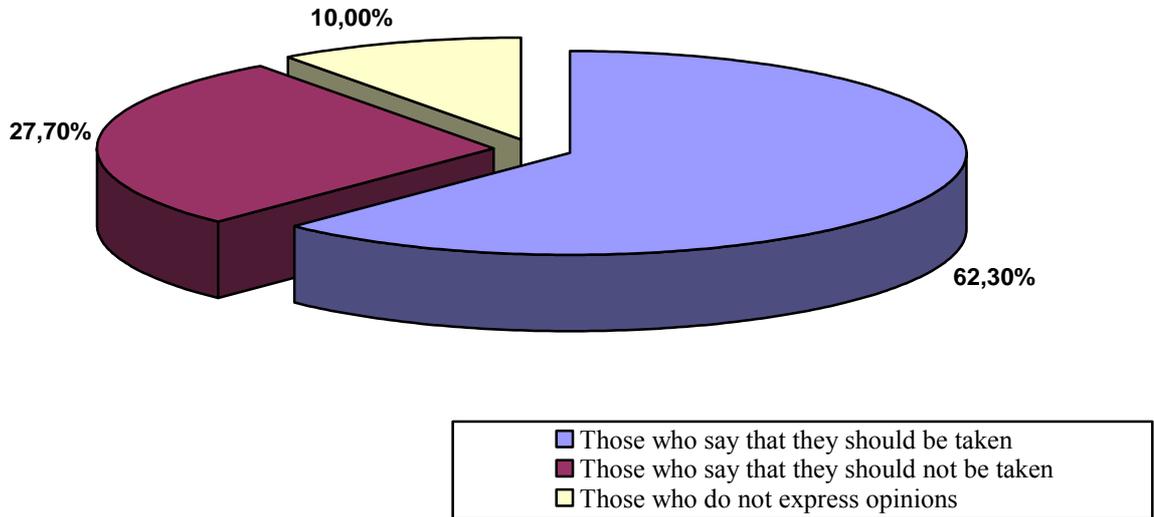
The rate of those who is of the opinion that that discussions should take place freely in responding to the question, “Should discussions take place freely in media organs on trials which continue in courts?” is 17 percent whereas the rate of those who say that discussions should not take place freely is 80 percent.

Table Y22:
Should discussions take place freely in media organs on trials, which continue in courts?



The rate of those who give “yes” answer to the question, “Should Judgements of the High Military Council be Subjected to Judicial Trial?” is 62 percent while the rate of those who give “no” answer is 28 percent.

Table Y23:
Should Judgements of the High Military Council be Subjected to Judicial Trial?



The Attitude Toward Judicial Judgements Involving Freedom of Expression of the Society

According to 70 percent of judicial personnel, to say that “*earthquake is a warning for the society coming from God*” should not be considered within the scope of crime. The rates of for

other expressions in the same direction are in the following way: 65 percent for saying “*earthquake is a warning coming from God for the people oppressing the society*”. 43 percent for saying that, by implying judges, “*they are closed to knowledge, they have not character of being open-minded, they try to do their job by groping and they do not bother about it, the Constitutional Court itself is the one which does not feel any uneasiness about being destroyer of freedoms*”. 59 percent to say that (while putting forward criticisms) “*This country should not be left to the hands of several despots and judicial persons, who established their power within the judiciary and who take their decisions according to their own view.*” 59 percent for saying that (while criticizing unlawful actions and illegal bands) “*the state of illegal bands exculpates its assassins, the event of Susurluk is concealed.*” 45 percent for saying for the eight-year uninterrupted education that “*eight-year education is certainly a godless education.*”. 53 percent for saying that “*the Kurds in the south-eastern Anatolia are subjected to pressures, nobody becomes a rebel without any reason.*”

Table Y24:
There are expressions below used by different individuals. In your opinion, should these expressions constitute crime?

	Those who say that they should be crimes	Those who say that they should not be crimes	Those who do not express opinions	TOTAL
To say, “ <i>earthquake is a warning for the society coming from God</i> ”.	25,4	69,6	5,0	100,0
To say, “ <i>earthquake is a warning coming from God for the people oppressing the society</i> ”.	29,3	65,2	5,5	100,0
By implying judges, to say, “ <i>they are closed to knowledge, they have not character of being open-minded, they try to do their job by groping and they do not bother about it, the Constitutional Court itself is the one which does not feel any uneasiness about being destroyer of freedoms</i> ”.	46,6	42,9	10,5	100,0
While putting forward criticisms, to say, “ <i>This country should not be left to the hands of several despots and judicial persons, who established their power within the judiciary and who take their decisions according to their own view.</i> ”	34,8	59,4	7,3	100,0
While criticizing unlawful actions and illegal bands, to say that “ <i>the state of illegal bands exculpates its assassins, the event of Susurluk is concealed.</i> ”	33,8	58,9	7,3	100,0
For the eight-year uninterrupted education, to say, “ <i>eight-year education is certainly a godless education.</i> ”	47,1	44,5	8,4	100,0
To say, “ <i>the Kurds in the south-eastern Anatolia are subjected to pressures, nobody becomes a rebel without any reason.</i> ”	40,3	53,4	6,3	100,0

The Level of Recognition of Human Rights Organizations and Their Image

The human rights organizations, toward which judicial personnel have the most favorable attitude, are the Human Rights Commission of the Turkish Parliament, the European Court of Human Rights, and the Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister and human rights departments in local administrations. The least trusted institutions are İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association for Human Rights) and Mazlum-Der.

Table Y25:
How do you assess the below human rights institutions?

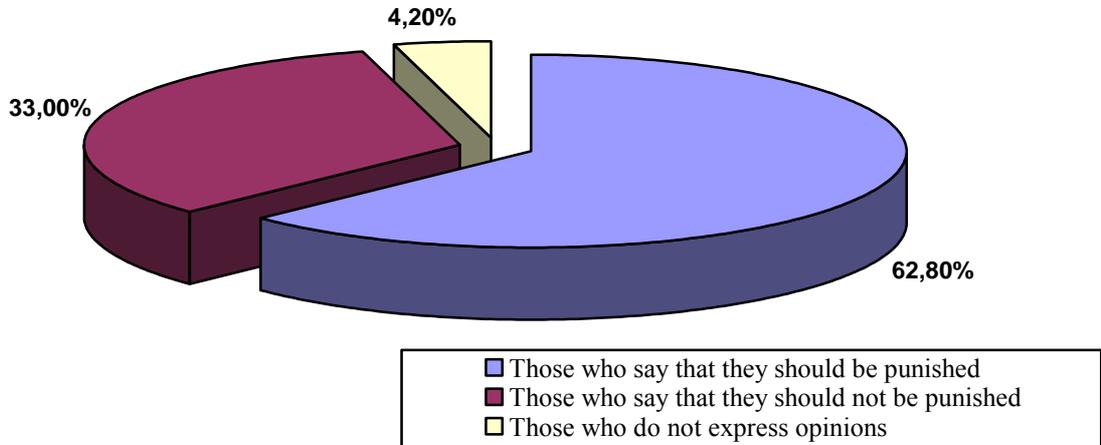
	Those who they have positive opinion %	Those who they have negative opinion %	Those who do not express opinions %	TOTAL %
TBMM İnsan Hakları Komisyonu (the Human Rights Commission of the Turkish Parliament)	70,4	19,4	10,2	100,0
The European Court of Human Rights	60,7	35,1	4,2	100,0
The Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister	60,7	19,1	20,2	100,0
Human rights departments in local administrations	54,2	21,7	24,1	100,0
Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı (the Turkish Foundation of Human Rights)	50,3	26,2	23,6	100,0
İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association for Human Rights)	45,3	45,8	8,9	100,0
Mazlum-Der (a Turkish association on human rights)	26,4	48,4	25,1	100,0

Attitudes on the Content and Limits of Freedom of Expression

The Freedom of Publishing and Distributing

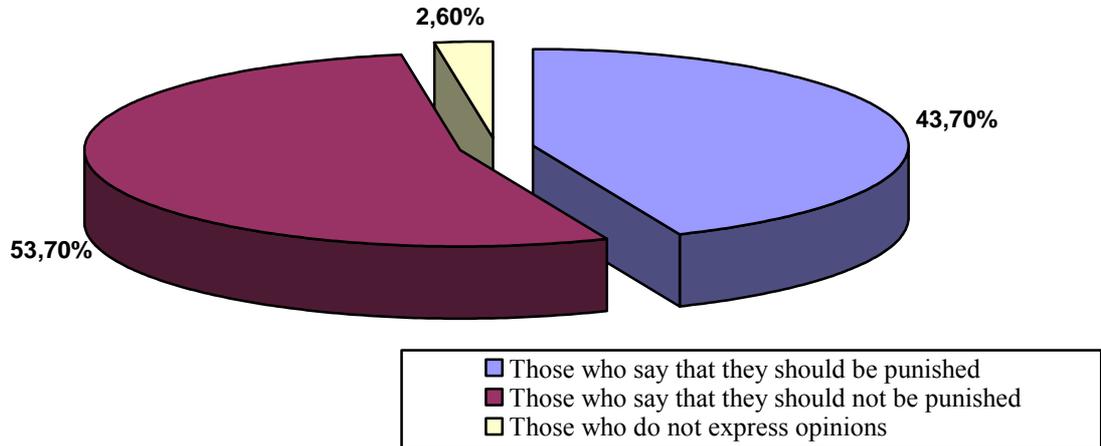
The rate of judicial personnel who say that television channels should be punished by RTÜK (the High Council of Radio and Television) when they broadcast obscene programs 63 percent.

Table Y26:
Should television channels be punished by RTÜK (the High Council of Radio and Television) when they broadcast obscene programs?



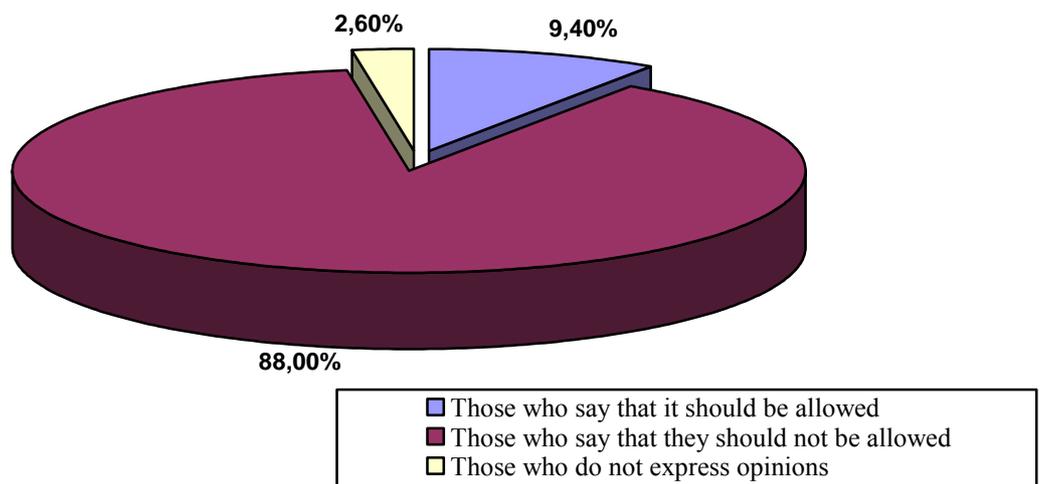
The rate of judicial personnel who say that radio and television channels should be punished when they broadcast political programs is 54 while the rate of those who do not approve the idea is 54 percent.

Table Y27:
Should radio and television channels be punished when they broadcast political programs?



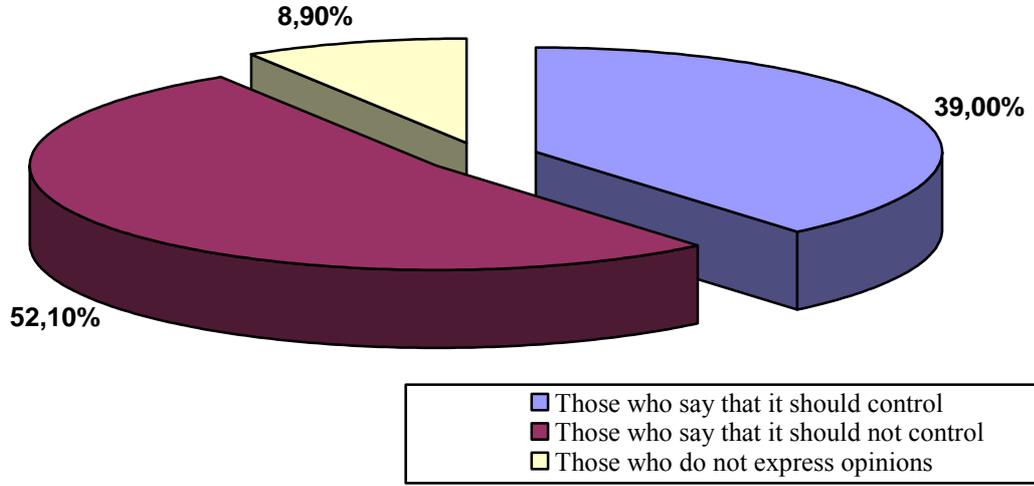
The rate of those who answer “yes” to the question, “Should the broadcasting of television channels and articles of newspapers, which praise racism, be allowed?” is 88 percent. The rate of those who give “no” answer is about 9 percent.

Table Y28:
Should the broadcasting of television channels and articles of newspapers, which praise racism, be allowed?



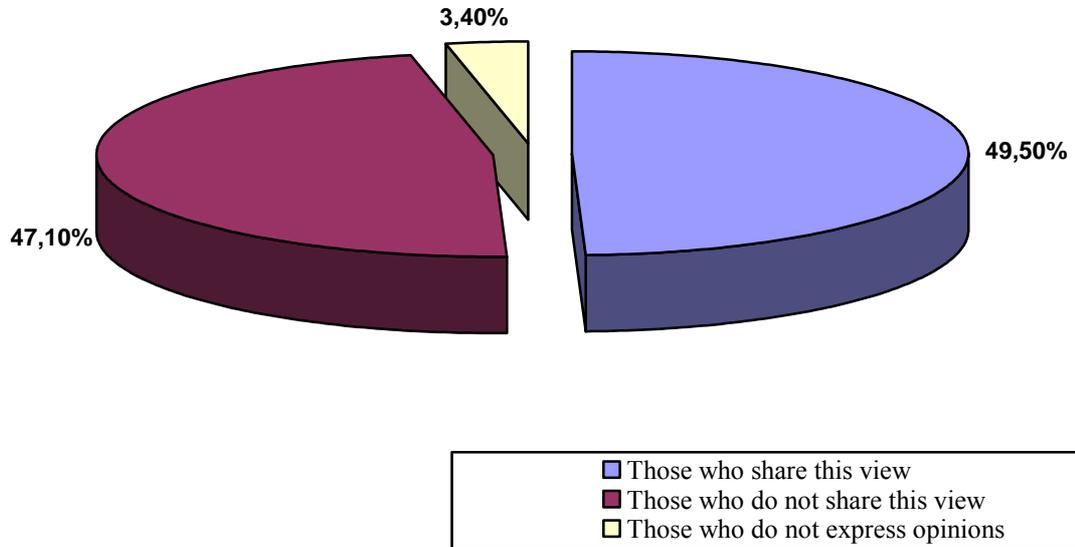
The rate of judicial personnel who think that the state should control all kinds of communication conducted through internet is 39 percent whereas the rate of those who do not approve it is 52' percent.

Table Y29:
Should the state control all kinds of communication conducted through internet?



The rate of judicial personnel who are of the opinion that a journalist, who obtained secret documents in some way and published them, should not be forced to explain his/her news source is 49.5 percent and the rate of those who do not share this view is 47.1 percent.

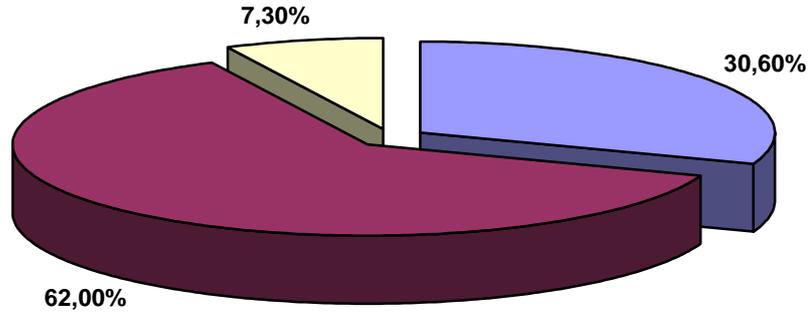
Table Y30:
Do you share the view that “a journalist, who obtained secret documents in some way and published them, should not be forced to explain his/her news source”?



Education, Publication and Broadcasting in Mother Tongue

62 percent of judges and public prosecutors do not approve instruction-education in Kurdish be in schools while 31 of them approve it.

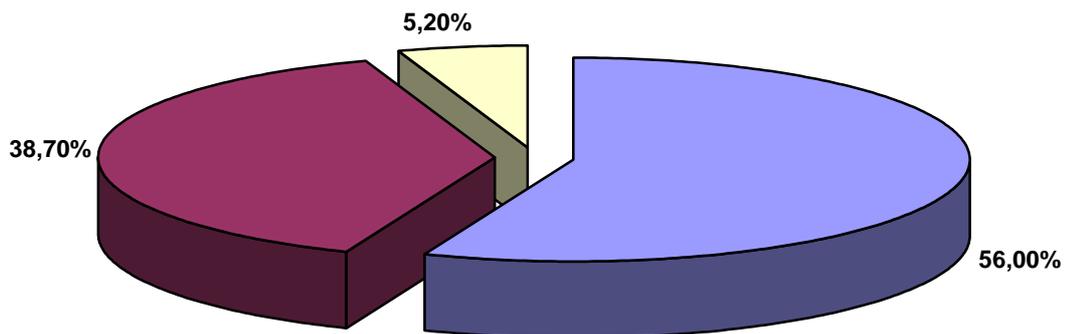
Table Y31:
Should instruction-education in Kurdish be allowed in schools?



■ Those who think that it should be allowed
 ■ Those who think that it should not be allowed
 ■ Those who do not express opinions

The rate of judicial personnel who share the view that “allowing education in local languages including Kurdish divides Turkey” is 39 percent whereas the rate of those who do not share this view is 56 percent.

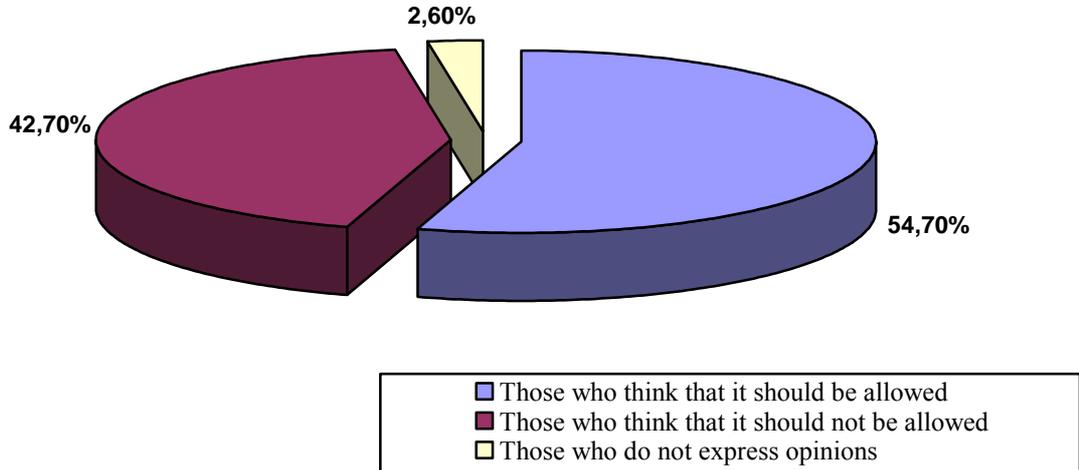
Table Y32:
Do you share the view that “allowing education in local languages including Kurdish divides Turkey”?



■ Those who share this view
 ■ Those who do not share this view
 ■ Those who do not express opinions

The rate of judicial personnel who give “yes” answer to the question, “should Kurdish radio and television broadcasting be allowed?” is 55 percent and 43 percent of them do not approve the idea.

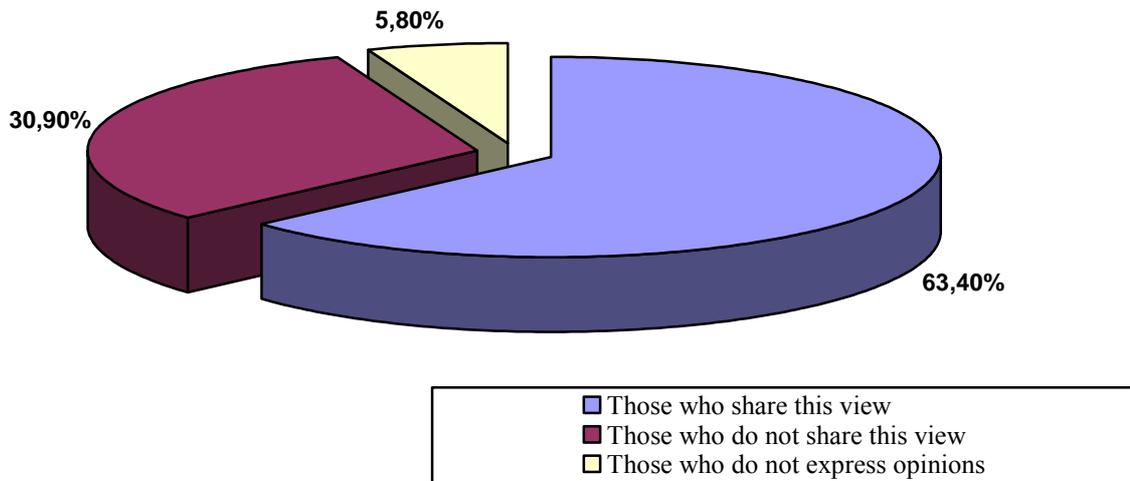
Table Y33:
Should Kurdish radio and television broadcasting be allowed?



Religious Freedoms

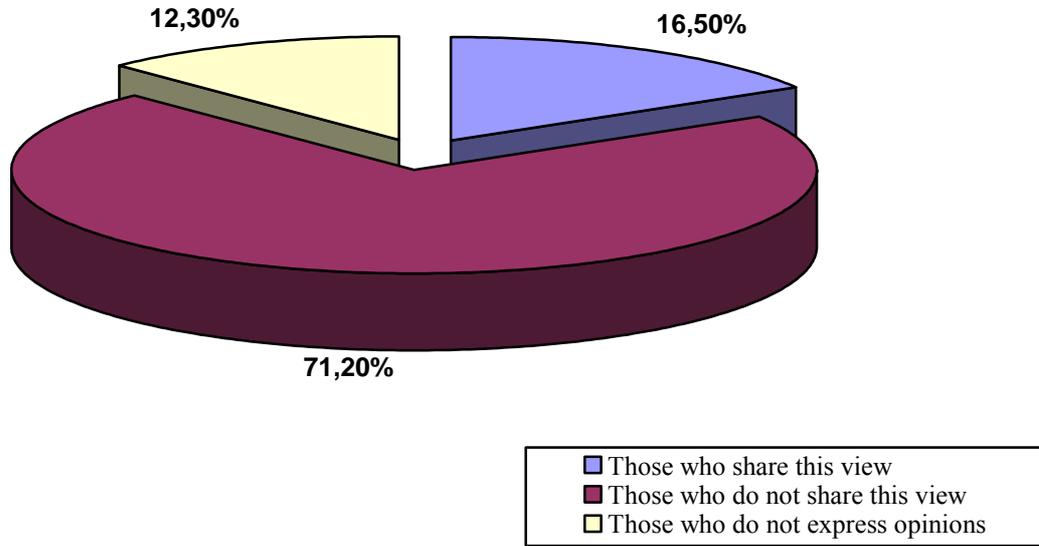
63 percent of judicial personnel share the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be reorganized to provide services to all the religions and sects” while 31 of them don't share the view.

Table Y34:
Do you share the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be reorganized to provide services to all the religions and sects”?



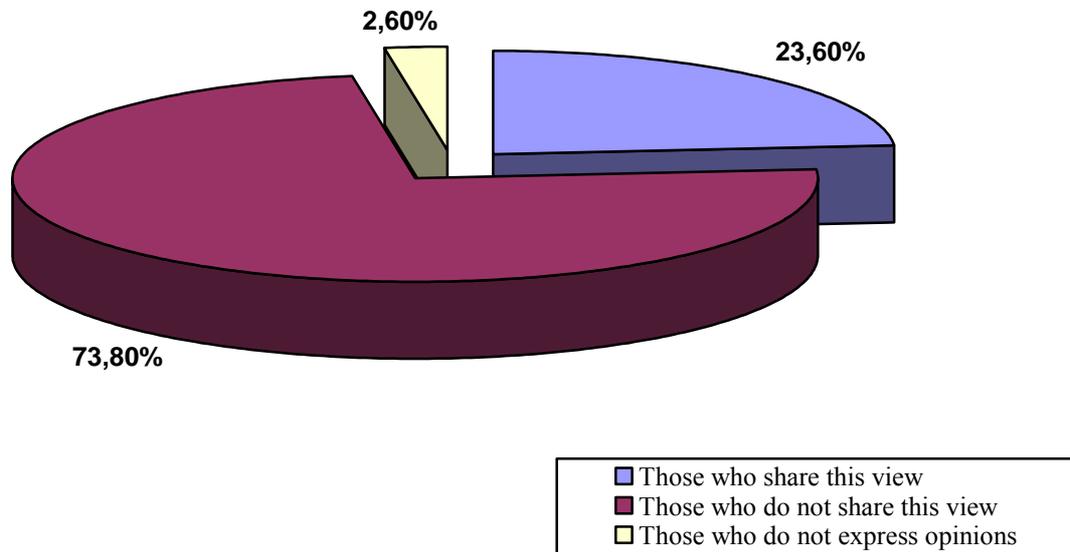
The rate of judicial personnel who approve the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be dissolved and religious services should be left to religious communities” is 17 percent whereas the rate of those who do not approve it is about 71 percent.

Table Y35:
Do you share the view that “the Organization of Religious Affairs should be dissolved and religious services should be left to religious communities?”



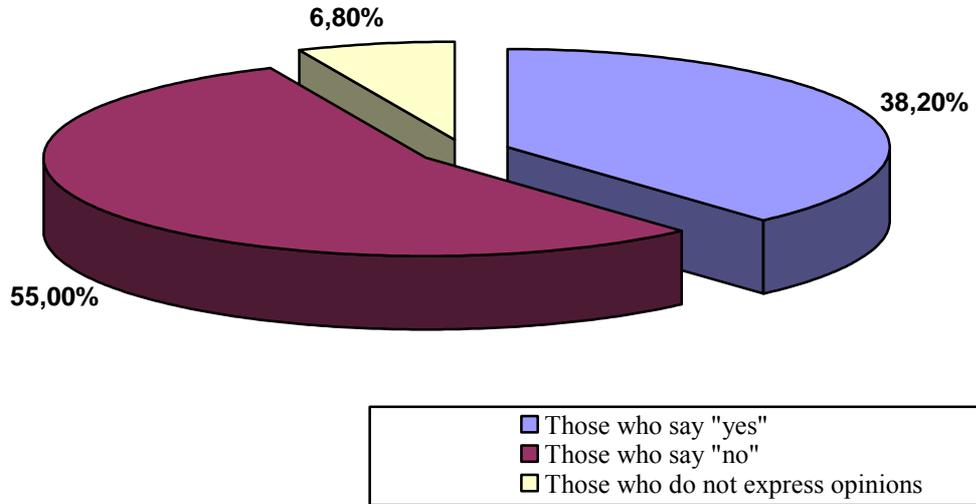
24 percent of judicial personnel approve the view that “the Islamic sects and communities should conduct their activities freely”. The rate of those who oppose the idea is about 74 percent.

Table Y36:
Do you share the view that “the Islamic sects and communities should conduct their activities freely”?



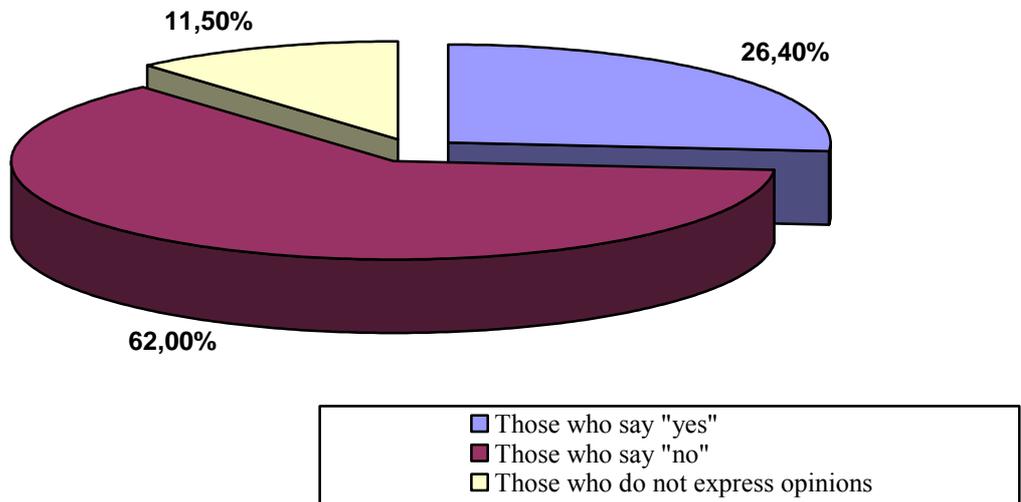
The rate of judicial personnel who give “yes” answer to the question, “should criticizing values, which are considered as sacred by the religion, be allowed?” is 38 percent whereas the rate of those who do not share this view is 55 percent.

Table Y37:
Should criticizing values, which are considered as sacred by the religion, be allowed?



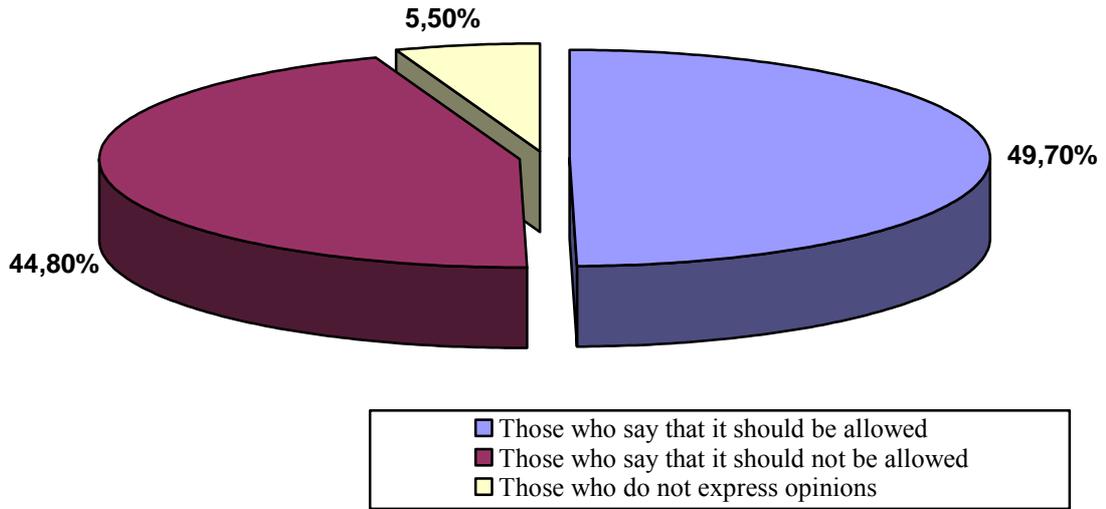
26 percent of judicial personnel give “yes” answer to the question, “should the propaganda of Christianity and Judaism be allowed in Turkey?” and the rate of those who oppose the idea is 62 percent.

Table Y38:
In your opinion, should the propaganda of Christianity and Judaism be allowed in Turkey?



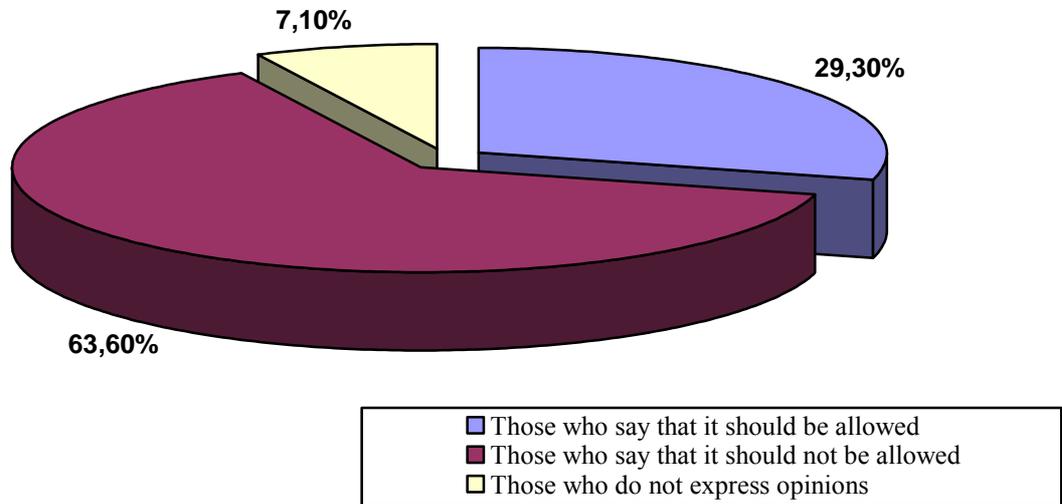
The rate of judicial personnel who give “yes” answer to the question “should headscarf be allowed in universities?” is 50 percent and the rate of those who give “no” answer is about 45 percent.

Table Y39:
Should headscarf be allowed in universities?



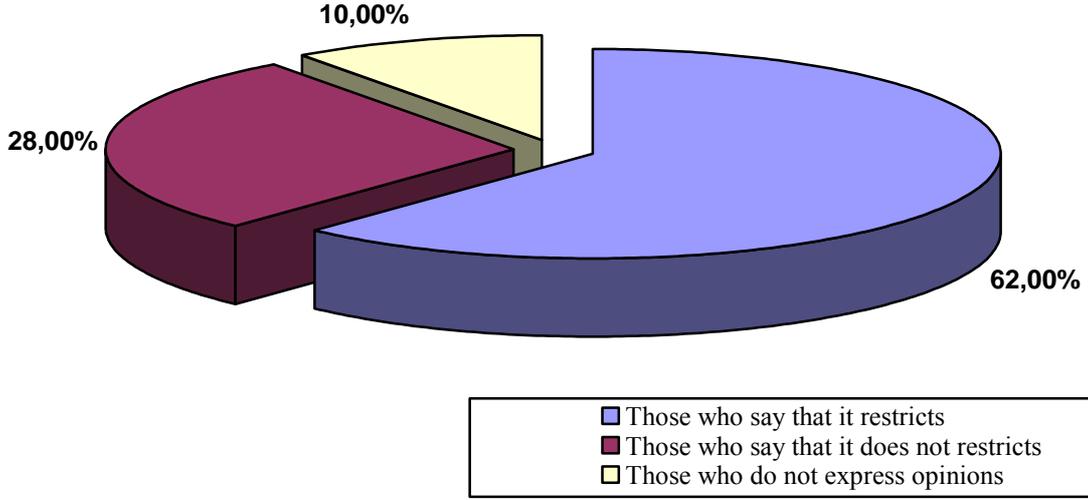
The rate of those who say that it should be allowed in responding to the question, “should wearing headscarf be allowed for civil servants?” is 29 percent while the rate those who say that it should not be allowed is 64 percent.

Table Y40:
Should wearing headscarf be allowed for civil servants?



62 percent of judicial personnel say that it restricts in responding to the question, “does the religious people’s coming to power restrict the freedom of women?”. The rate of those who think that freedoms of women are not restricted under such a government is 28 percent.

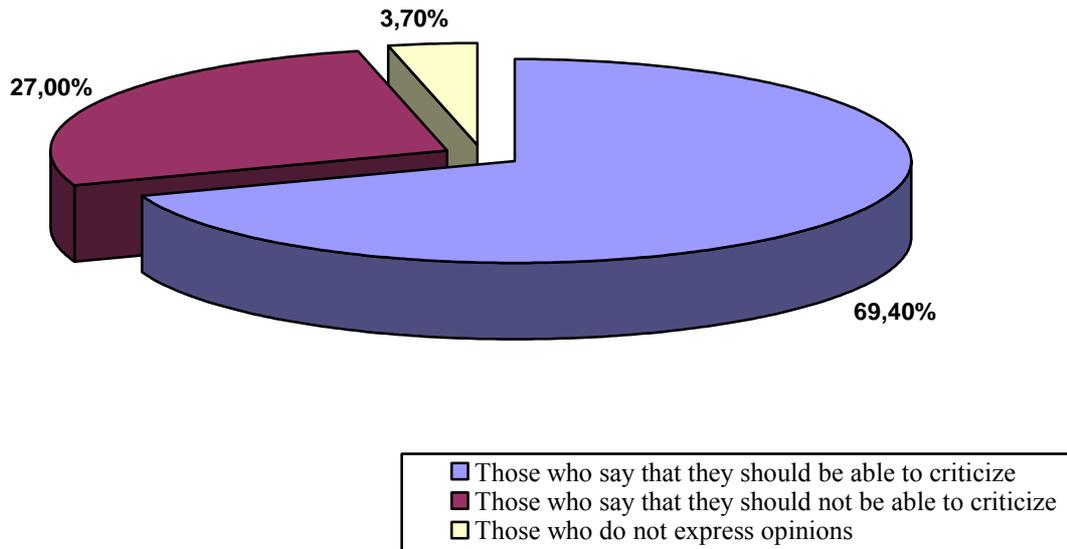
Table Y41:
Does the religious people's coming to power restrict the freedom of women?



The State, Democracy and Freedoms

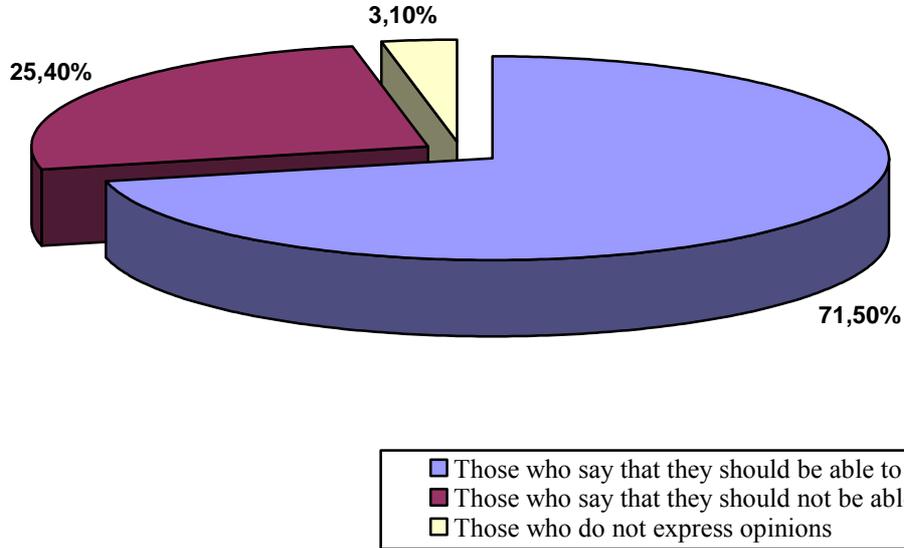
The rate of judicial personnel who give “yes” answer to the question, “should the citizens be able to criticize the existent regime of the state freely?” is 69 percent whereas the rate of those who give “no” answer is 27 percent.

Table Y42:
Should the citizens be able to criticize the existent regime of the state freely?



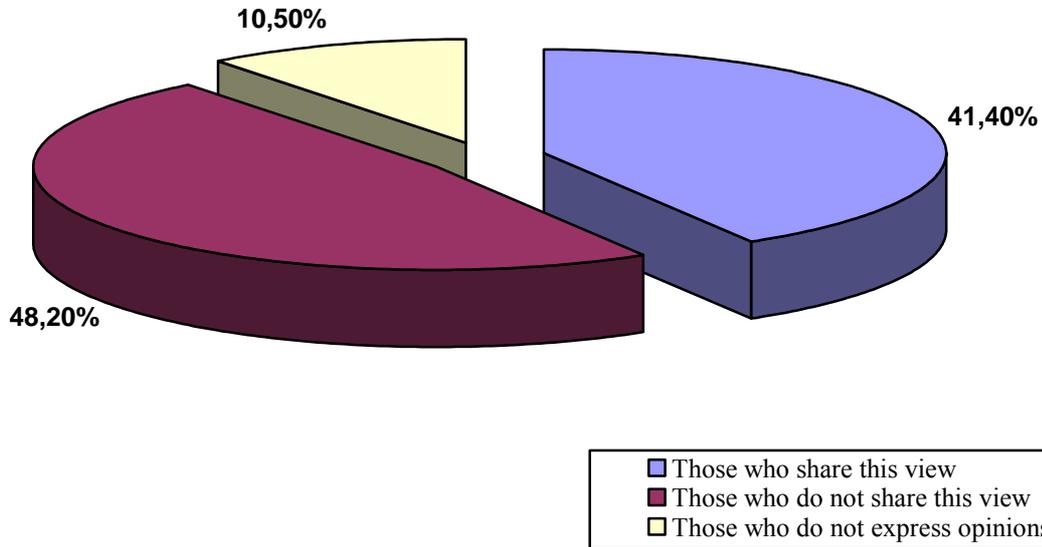
The rate of those who approve the view that people should be allowed to criticize the state institution where they work is 72 percent while the rate of those who do not approve it 25 percent.

Table Y43:
Should people be allowed to criticize the state institution where they work?



The rate of those share the view that “in Turkey, the state uses security concerns as pretext to restrict freedoms” is 41 percent and the rate of those who do not share it is 48 percent.

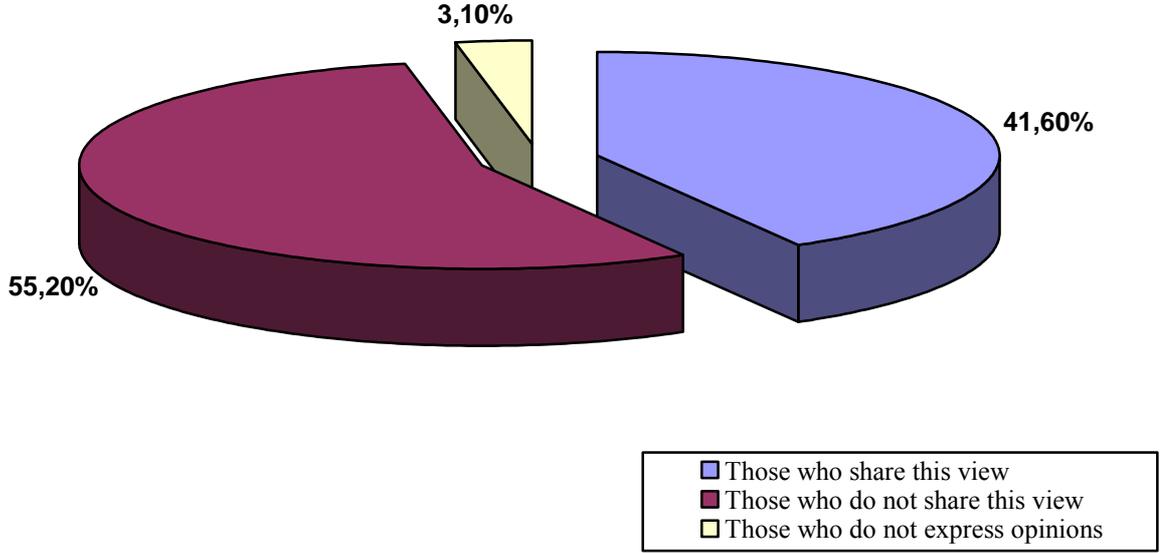
Table Y44:
Do you share the view that “in Turkey, the state uses security concerns as pretext to restrict freedoms”?



The view that “the state treats some political parties in a skeptical and discriminative way without having any valid reason” is shared by 42 percent of judicial personnel while 55 percent of them do not approve the view.

Table Y45:

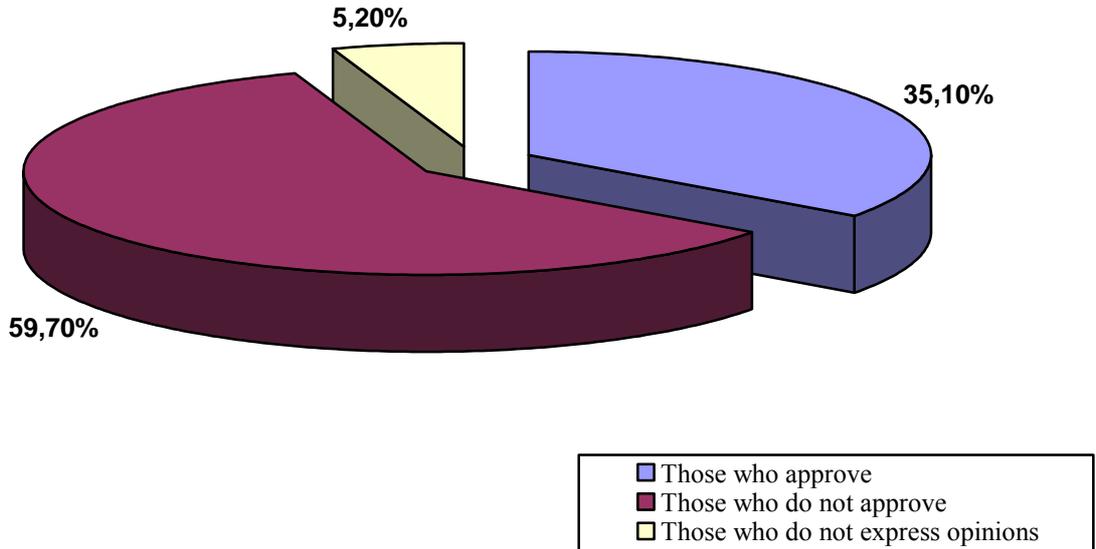
Do you share the view that “the state treats some political parties in a skeptical and discriminative way without having any valid reason”?



35 percent of judges and public prosecutors give “yes” answer to the question, “do you approve dissolution of political parties in Turkey?” whereas 60 percent of them give “no” answer to it.

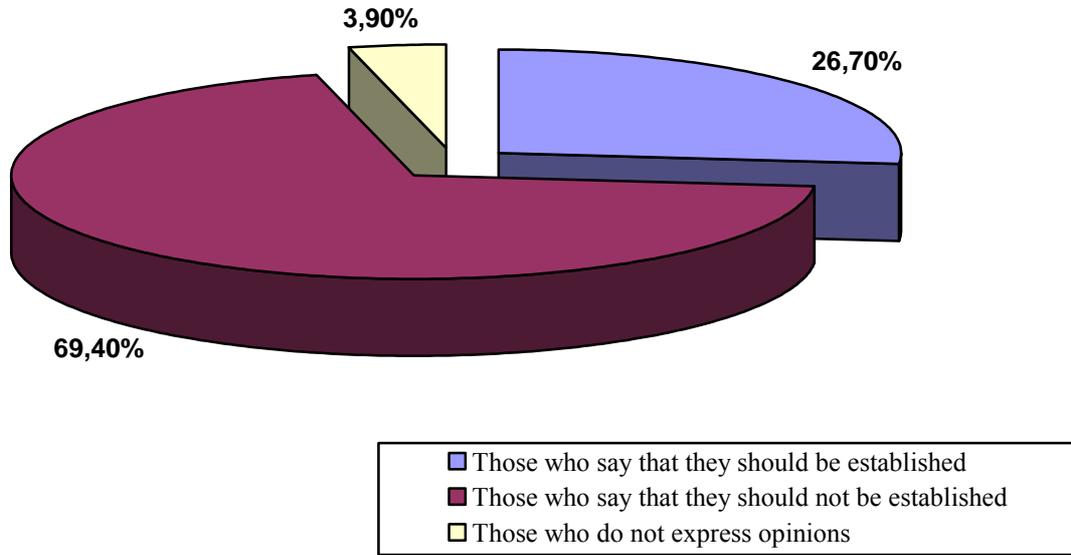
Table Y46:

Do you approve dissolution of political parties in Turkey?



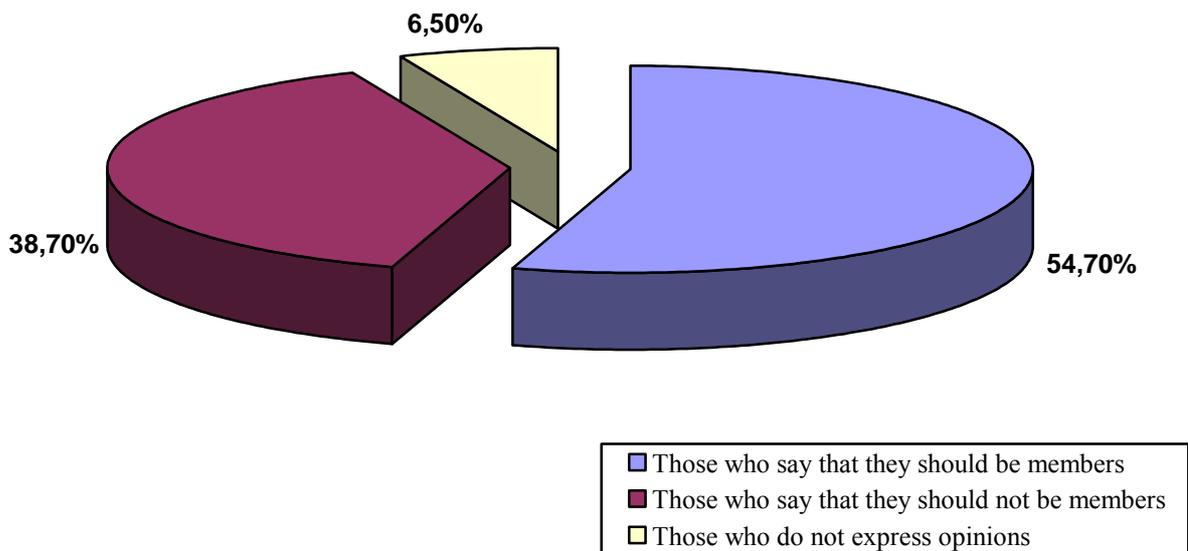
The rate of those who say that they should be established in responding to the question, “should the establishment of political parties based on ethnic and religious origin be allowed?” is 27 percent whereas the rate of those who say that they should not be established is 69 percent.

Table Y47:
Should the establishment of political parties based on ethnic and religious origin be allowed?



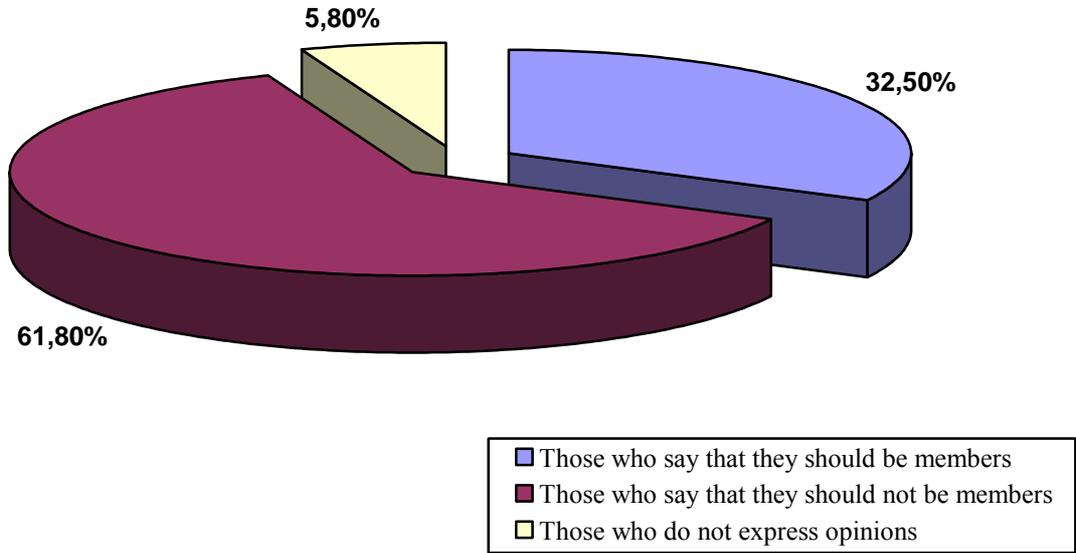
The rate of those who are of the opinion that they should be able to be members in responding to the question, “should civil servants be able to be members of political parties?” is 55 percent. The rate of those who oppose allowing civil servants to be members of political parties is 39 percent.

Table Y48:
Should civil servants be able to be members of political parties?



The rate of those who give “yes” answer to the question, “should personnel of the Police, the Judiciary and the Military be able to be members of political parties?” is 33 percent while the rate of those who give “no” answer is 62 percent.

Table Y49:
Should personnel of the Police, the Judiciary and the Military be able to be members of political parties?



Violence and Freedom of Expression

The rate of who give “yes” answer to the question, “should all kinds of expressions of thoughts, demonstrations and meetings, which do not include violence, be allowed?” is 79 percent while the rate of those who give “no” answer to it is 19 percent.

92 percent of judicial personnel give “no” answer to the question, “Should the expression of thoughts, which praise violence be allowed?” while 7 percent of them give “yes” answer to it.

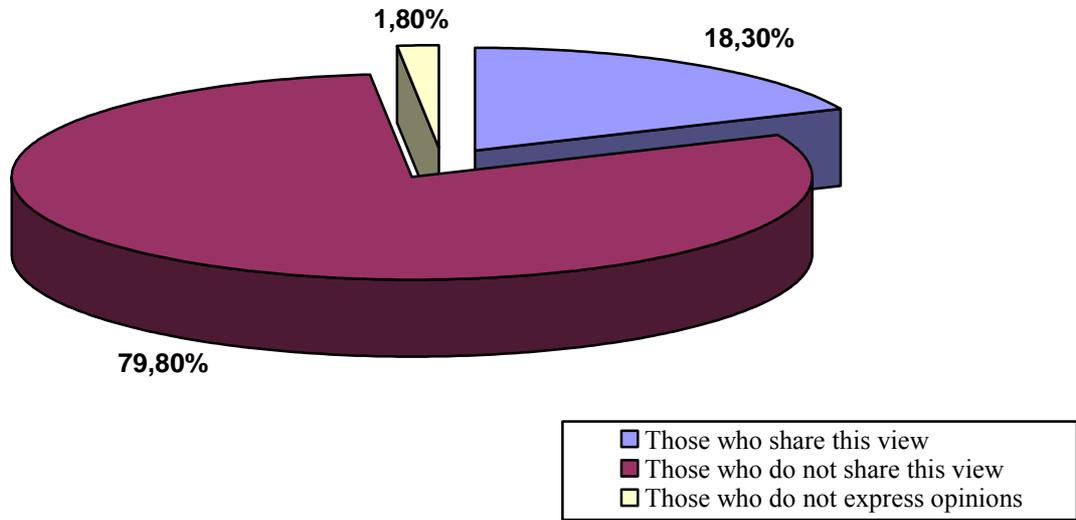
In responding to the question, “Should the personnel belonging to the Police be able to use violence if necessary to make the accused talk?”, 92 percent of judicial personnel give “no” answer and 7 percent of them give “yes” answer.

Table Y50:
Violence and Freedom of Expression

	Yes	No	No opinion	TOTAL
Should all kinds of expressions of thoughts, demonstrations and meetings, which do not include violence, be allowed?	78,5	18,6	2,9	100,0
Should the expression of thoughts, which praise violence, be allowed?	6,8	92,1	1,0	100,0
Should the personnel belonging to the Police be able to use violence if necessary to make the accused talk?	6,5	92,1	1,3	100,0

The rate of those who share the view that “broadcast and publication of statements belonging to terrorist organizations in televisions and radios should not constitute crime” is 18 percent and the rate of those who oppose it is 80 percent.

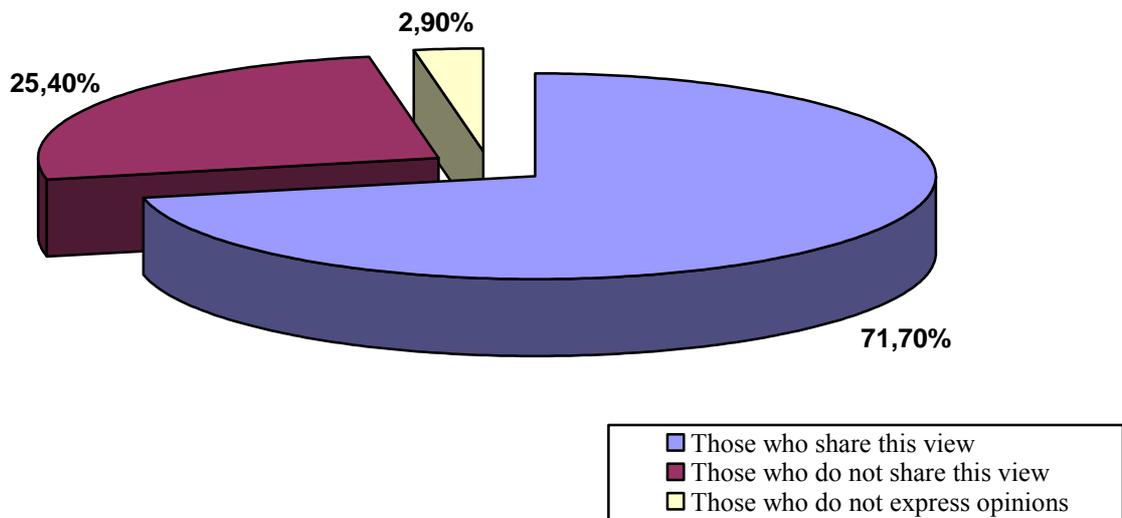
Table Y51:
Do you share the view that “broadcast and publication of statements belonging to terrorist organizations in televisions and radios should not constitute crime”?



Privacy of Private Life and Sexuality

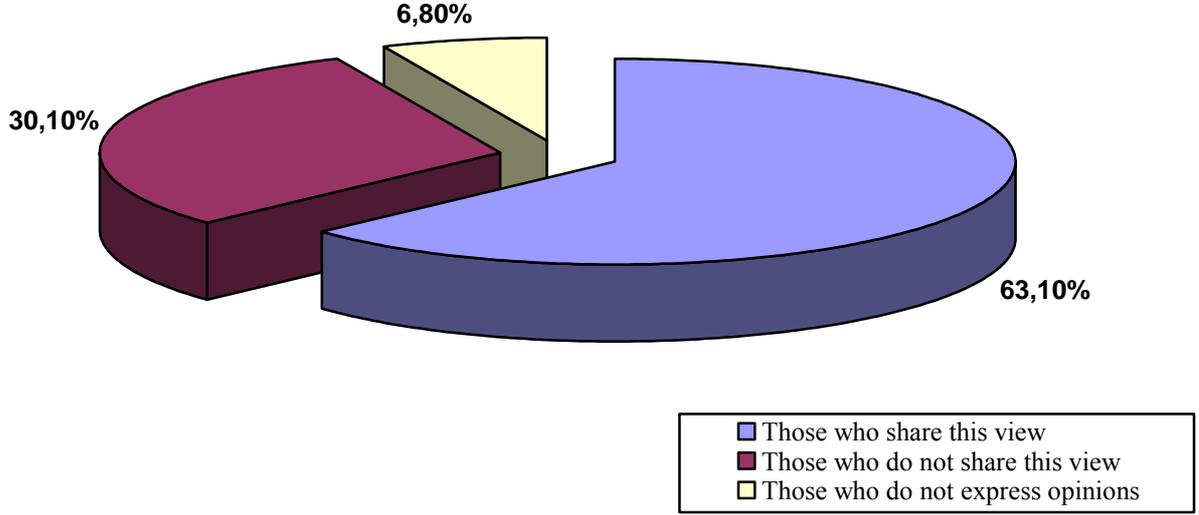
The rate of those who share the view that “it should be possible to criticize politicians more harshly than other people are done” is 72 percent. The rate of those who do not share it is about 25 percent.

Table Y52:
Do you share the view that “it should be possible to criticize politicians more harshly than other people are done”?



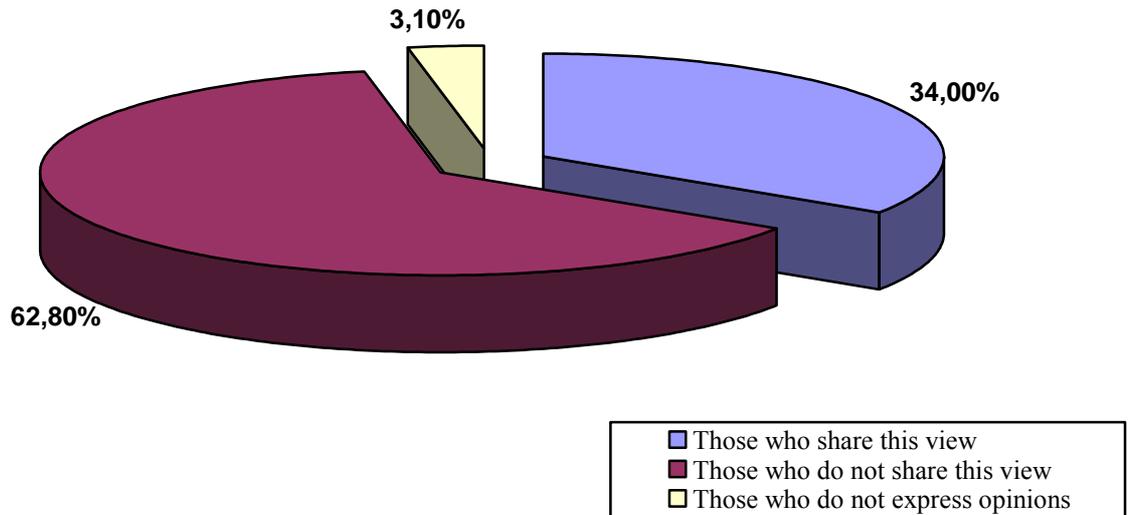
The view that “giving more place to private lives of popular people in media organs does not amount to violating their private lives” is shared by 63 percent of judicial personnel and 30 percent of them oppose it.

Table Y53:
Do you share the view that “giving more place to private lives of popular people in media organs does not amount to violating their private lives”?



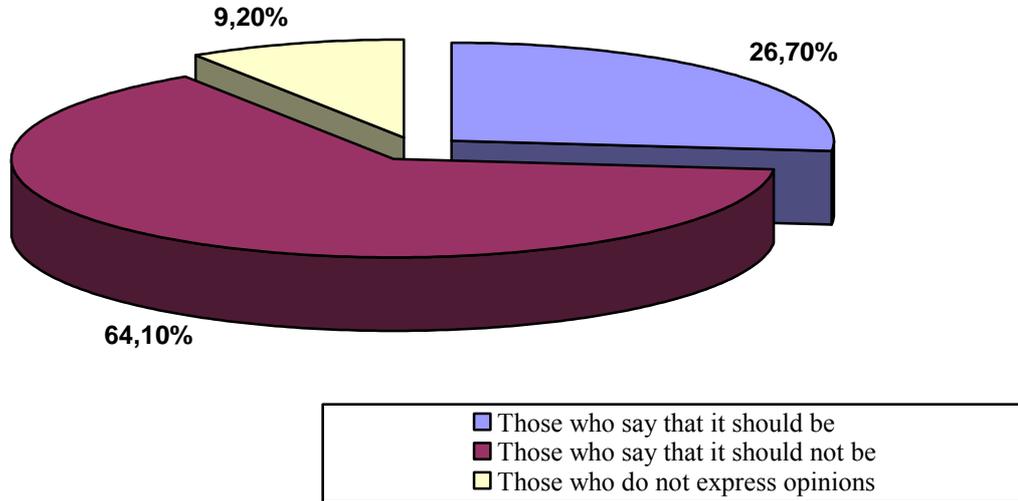
The rate of those who share the view that “in comparison with other people, judges and public prosecutors can be criticized more harshly because of their private lives” is 34 percent while the rate of those who do not share it is 62,80 percent.

Table Y54:
Do you share the view that “in comparison with other people, judges and public prosecutors can be criticized more harshly because of their private lives”?



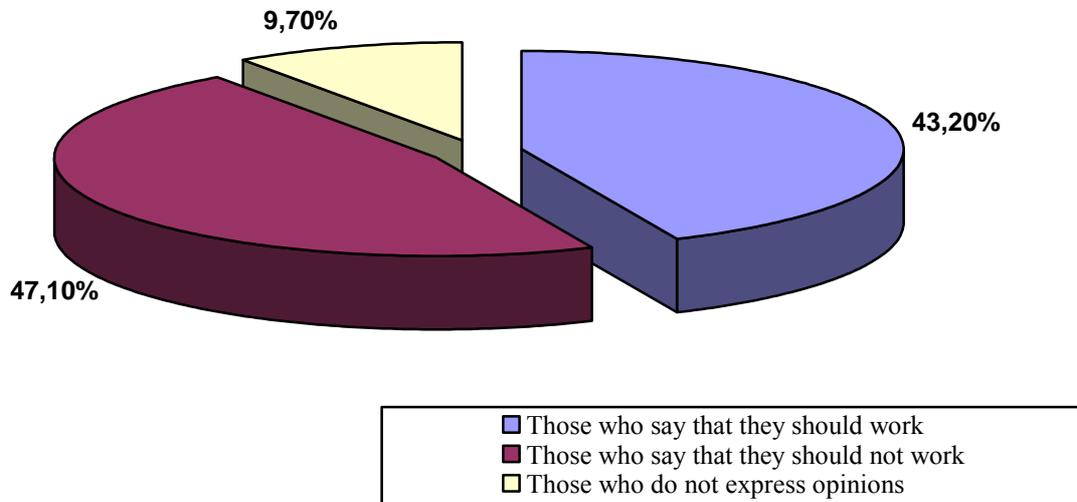
The rate of those who give “yes” to the answer, “should pornography be included in the scope of freedom of expression?” is 27 percent and the rate of those who give “no” answer to it 64 percent.

Table Y55:
Should pornography be included in the scope of freedom of expression?



The rate of those who give “yes” answer to the question, “should the people saying openly that they are homosexuals be allowed to work in state institutions?” is 43 percent while the rate of those who give “no” answer is 47 percent.

Table Y56:
Should the people saying openly that they are homosexuals be allowed to work in state institutions?

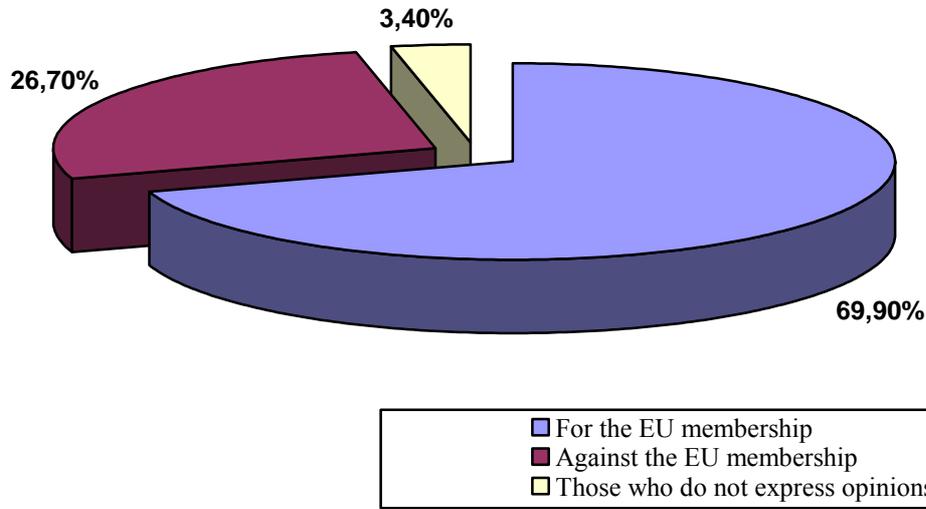


Attitudes Toward the European Union and the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR)

The European Union and the Process of Political Reform in Turkey

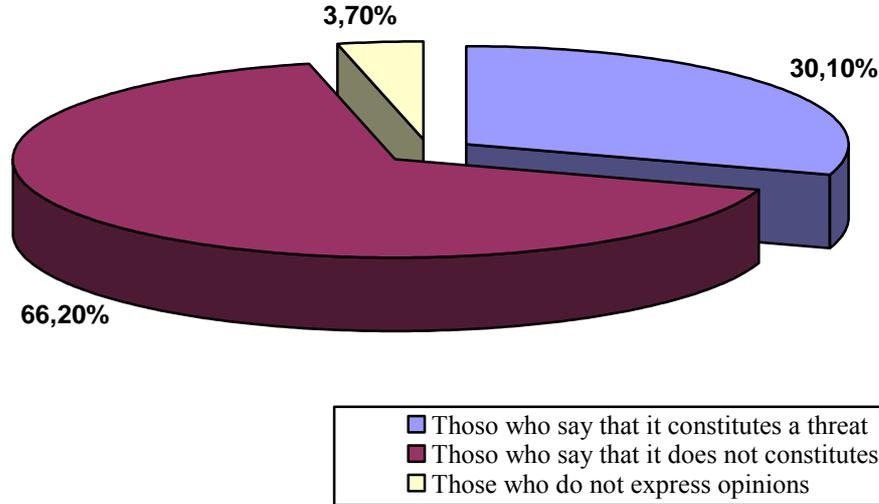
In responding to the question, “if a referendum is arranged on Turkey’s EU membership, what do you vote for?”, 70 percent of judges and public prosecutors state that they will vote for the EU membership and 27 percent of them say that they will vote against the membership.

Table Y57:
If a referendum is arranged on Turkey’s EU membership, what do you vote for?



In responding to the question, “does the EU membership constitute a threat for Turkey’s integrity?”, 30 percent of judicial personnel answer that it constitutes a threat whereas 66 percent of them answer that it does not constitute a threat.

Table Y58:
Does the EU membership constitute a threat for Turkey's integrity?



49 percent of judges and public prosecutors share the view that “if the prospect of the European Union membership did not exist, legal arrangements regarding human rights and freedom of expression could not have been in Turkey”. 66 percent of them share the view that “the process of adaptation to the EU brought positive contributions to human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey”. 68 percent of them share the view that “if Turkey becomes a member of the EU, human rights and freedom of expression will improve further”.

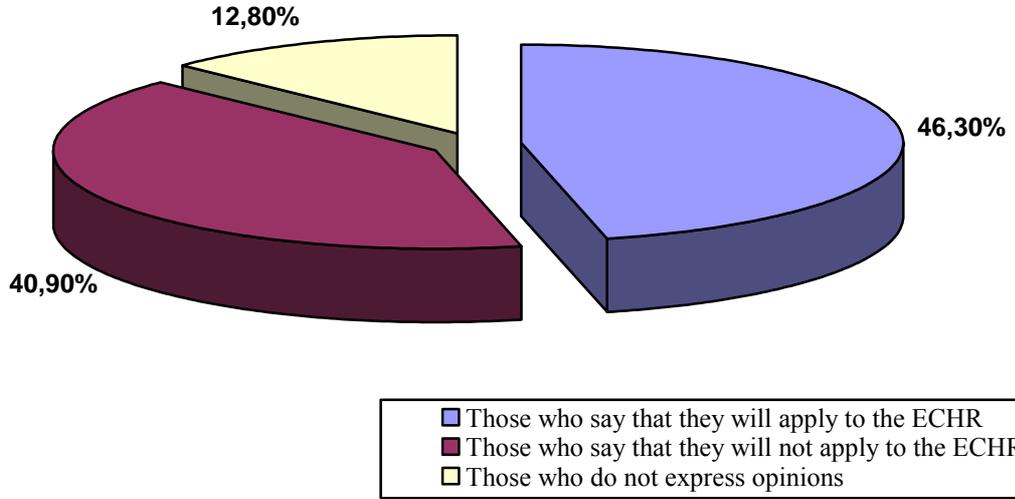
Table Y59:
The European Union membership, human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey

	Yes	No	No opinion	TOTAL
If the prospect of the European Union membership did not exist, legal arrangements regarding human rights and freedom of expression could not have been in Turkey.	48,7	46,9	4,5	100,0
The process of adaptation to the EU brought positive contributions to human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey.	66,0	29,1	5,0	100,0
If Turkey becomes a member of the EU, human rights and freedom of expression will improve further.	67,5	29,8	2,6	100,0

Attitude Toward the European Court of Human Rights

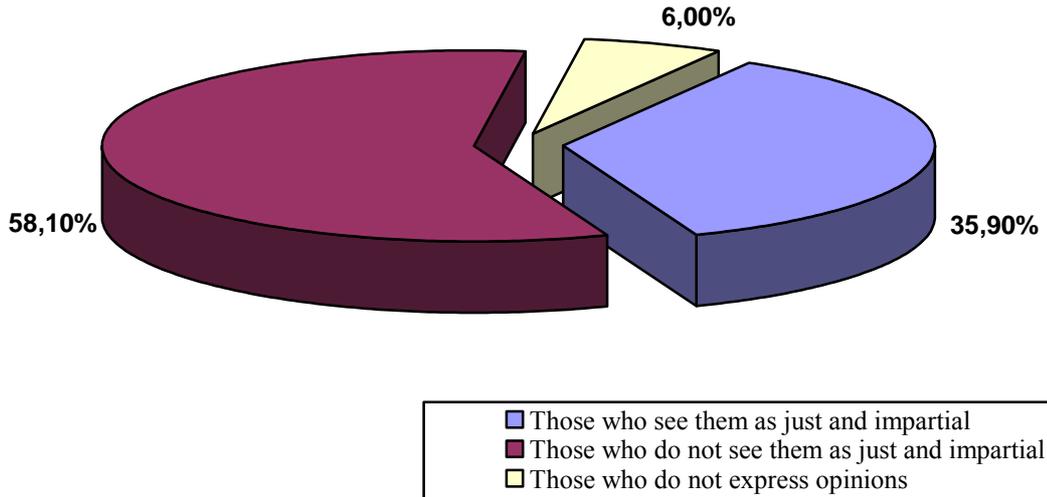
In responding to the question, “if a trial, in which you are right, is concluded against you in courts in Turkey, do you take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights?”, 46 percent of judicial personnel give “no” answer and 41 percent of them give “yes” answer.

Table Y60:
If a trial, in which you are right, is concluded against you in courts in Turkey, do you take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights?



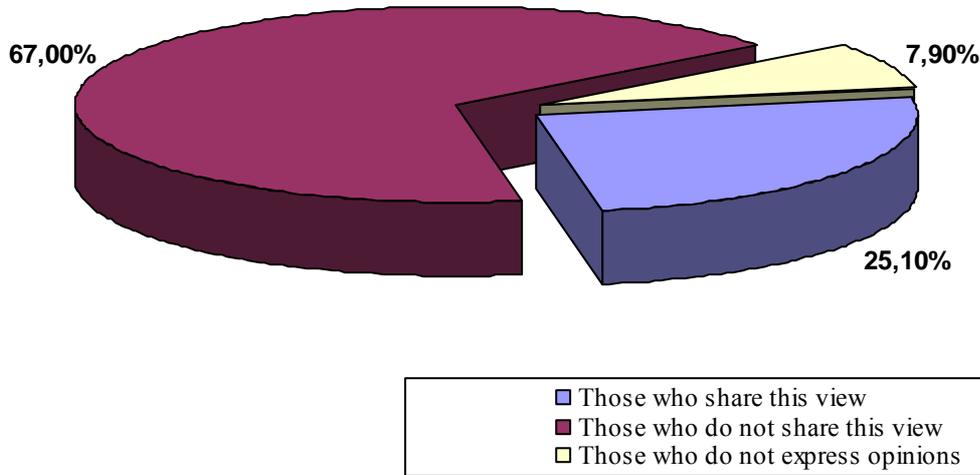
In responding to the question, “do you think that the ECHR’s judgements involving Turkey are just and impartial?”, the rate of those who see judgements as just and impartial is 36 percent whereas the rate of those who do not see them as just and impartial is 58 percent.

Table Y61:
Do you think that the ECHR’s judgements involving Turkey are just and impartial?



The rate of those who share “the view that “those who take their trials to the European Court of Human Rights cooperate with enemies” is 25 percent while the rate of those who do not share it is 67 percent.

Table Y62:
Do you share the view that “those who take their trials to the European Court of Human Rights cooperate with enemies”?



Conclusion and Comparison

In Turkey, the concept of human rights is perceived as concrete doubts concerning the quality of daily life rather than abstract discussions. It is not defined as an “outsider” concept, which has Western origins and which has no relation with national cultural codes and values. Human rights/freedom of expression are considered as “common values”, which unite the society and which establish social peace.

There is a strong perception in the society that human rights are violated in a widespread way. Three people in every four people feel that basic rights and freedoms have been restricted. There is a dominant tendency in the society in favor of freedom of expression, rule of law and human rights. This tendency emerges as a strong attitude in the context of criticizing the existent regime in Turkey and its functioning. It can be said that terrorist actions in the recent past, which emerged as regional and ethnic phenomenon, did not lead the society to fall into the dichotomy of freedom-security. It is observed that the society does not sacrifice freedom for the sake of security.

There is a social consensus that the obstacles to human rights and freedom of expression stem to a great extent from such state organs as the police, courts, the military and rural guards, which have authority in the fields of “security and justice”. In other words, it might be concluded that the state organs sacrifice the security of the society for the sake of their own security.

In spite of the dominant concepts of the state ideology such as “unity”, “integrity” and “nationalism”, there is a strong public attitude in favor of the others’ expressing themselves freely.

It might be concluded that the main obstacles to activating the internal dynamics of the state stem from the functioning of the state mechanism. It can be said that the society see “external” dynamics such as the European Union as a tool in meeting their demands because internal dynamics are put under control, pressure and guidance and because the free will of the society cannot be observed in functioning of the state organs. Therefore, it should be noted that

“Westernisation” is not an imitation at all in the sense of arranging areas and rules of life. In this sense, “Westernisation” adopts a character to the effect that functioning and priorities of the state based on democracy and human rights are determined by resorting to social demands as references.

Below, the opinions of the society on human rights and freedom of expression are given with the supportive quantitative data.

Basic Rights and Freedoms and the Freedom of Expression: The Existent Situation and Expectations

- 73 percent of the society are of the opinion that human rights violations are common in Turkey. This is rate is 48.4 percent in judicial personnel.
- 75 of the society feel that their basic rights and freedom are restricted. This is rate is 46.1 percent in judicial personnel.
- In Turkey, the rate of people who think that people can express their thoughts freely is only 16 percent. This is rate is 37 percent in judicial personnel. In Turkey, 80 percent of the society are of the opinion that people cannot express their thoughts freely. This is rate is 59 percent in judicial personnel.
- 92 percent of the society are of the opinion that freedom of expression is necessary to able to live in peace. This is rate is 92 percent in judicial personnel, too.
- 88 percent of the society have the view that the people’s expressing their thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way. This is rate is 73 percent in judicial personnel.
- 57.2 percent of the society share the view that “the people’s expressing their thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way” whereas the rate of judicial personnel who share this view is 48.7 percent.
- 74 percent of the society think that journalists, politicians and authors should not be punished because of their thoughts regardless of their content. This is rate is 63 percent in judicial personnel.
- More than half of the society is of the opinion that women wearing headscarf, women, religious people, homosexuals and Kurds are subjected to pressures. The same tendency is seen in judicial personnel as well, but the rates here are lower.
- 63 percent of the society (67 percent of judicial personnel) is of the opinion that the police violate human rights. These rates are 48 percent (the society) and 17 percent (judicial personnel) for courts and 47 percent (the society) and 40 percent (judicial personnel) for civil servants.
- 28 percent of the society state that they themselves or some people from their relatives were subjected to ill-treatment of security forces. This rate is reduced to its half value in judicial personnel.
- More than half of the society (%54’ü) torture is applied commonly in police stations and prisons. This is rate is 42 percent in judicial personnel.
- 55 percent of the society (49 of judicial personnel) are of the opinion that obstacles to freedom of expression stem generally from both the laws and the people implementing the laws. The rate of people who think that these kinds of obstacles stem generally from the laws is 11

percent (7 percent in judicial personnel). The rate of people who think that obstacles stem from the people implementing the laws is 20 percent (20.2 percent in judicial personnel). It attracts the attention that the people implementing the laws rather than the laws come forefront on sources of freedom of expression violations. The rate of people who think that there no obstacles to freedom of expression in Turkey is only 3 percent. This is rate is 17 percent in judicial personnel.

Kurdish and Headscarf

- The rate of those who are in favor of Kurdish radio and television broadcasting is 42 percent. This is rate is 55 percent in judicial personnel.
- The rate of people who think that Kurdish instruction/education should be allowed in schools is 34 percent (31 percent of judicial personnel). The rate of those who are opposed to education in Kurdish is 54 percent (62 percent of judicial personnel). The rate of those who do not express their opinions in this issue is 12 percent (7 percent of judicial personnel).
- 70 percent of the society (50 percent of judicial personnel) think that wearing headscarf should be allowed in universities.

The Judiciary and Freedom of Expression

- 65 percent of the society (25 percent of judicial personnel) think that in Turkey the laws are not implemented justly and impartially.
- 29 percent of the society (36 percent of judicial personnel) are of the opinion that judgements of the ECHR involving Turkey are just and impartial.
- 64 percent of the society (46 percent of judicial personnel) state that if a trial, in which they are right, is concluded against them in courts in Turkey, they would take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights.
- 63 percent of the society (33 percent of judicial personnel) think the state puts pressure on courts in trials involving freedom expression.
- 57 percent of the society (62 percent of judicial personnel) are of the opinion that judgements of the High Military Council should be taken to the judiciary.

Criticism and the State Order

- 70 percent of the society (69 percent of judicial personnel) are of the opinion that citizens should be able to criticize the existent state order.
- 64 percent of the society (60 percent of judicial personnel) are opposed to dissolution of political parties.
- 59 percent of the society (41 percent of judicial personnel) think that the state uses security concerns as a pretext to restrict freedoms.

The European Union Membership Process and Freedom of Expression in Turkey

- The rate of people who say that they will vote for the EU membership if a referendum is organized on Turkey's EU membership is 65 percent (70 percent in judicial personnel). The rate of those who say that they will vote against the EU membership is 26 percent (27 percent in judicial personnel).
- 55 percent of the society (49 percent of judicial personnel) think that if the prospect of the European Union membership did not exist, legal arrangements regarding human rights and freedom of expression could not have been in Turkey.
- 63 percent of the society (66 percent of judicial personnel) think that the EU membership affects positively developments concerning human rights in Turkey. 68 percent of the society (67.5 percent of judicial personnel) are of the opinion that the EU membership will improve human rights and freedoms further.

Human Rights Organizations and their Image

- About 90 percent of the society know the European Court of Human Rights. 62 percent of people who know the ECHR have a positive opinion on this institution. The rate of knowing İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association for Human Rights) is 82 percent and the rate of positive opinion is 62 percent. The rates of knowing and having positive opinions on the Human Rights Commission in the Turkish Parliament, the Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister and human rights departments in local administration in cities and towns are significantly lower as compared with the ECHR and other human rights organizations.
- The human rights organizations on which judicial personnel have the most favorable opinion are the Human Rights Commission in the Turkish Parliament, the Department of Human Rights in the Office of the Prime Minister, the European Court of Human Rights and human rights departments in local administration in cities and towns. The least reliable institutions from the point of view of judicial personnel are Mazlum-Der and İnsan Hakları Derneği (the Association for Human Rights). It is seen that judicial personnel put them in a hierarchical order.

Appendix: Tables of Comparison

TABLES

Table 1:
In your opinion, are human rights violations are common in Turkey?

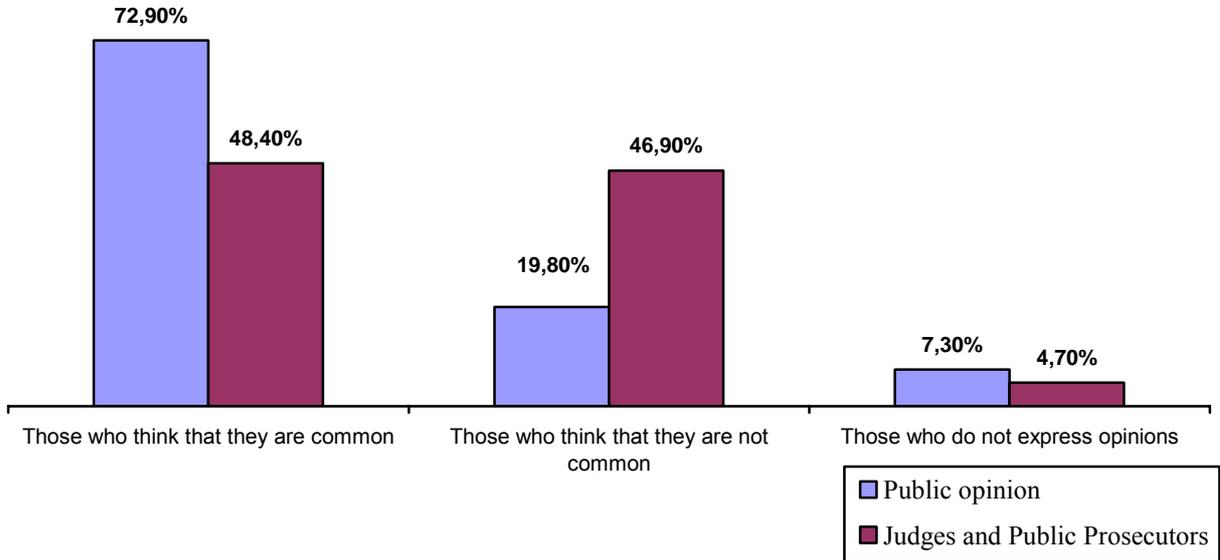


Table 2:
Do you feel that your basic rights and freedoms are restricted?

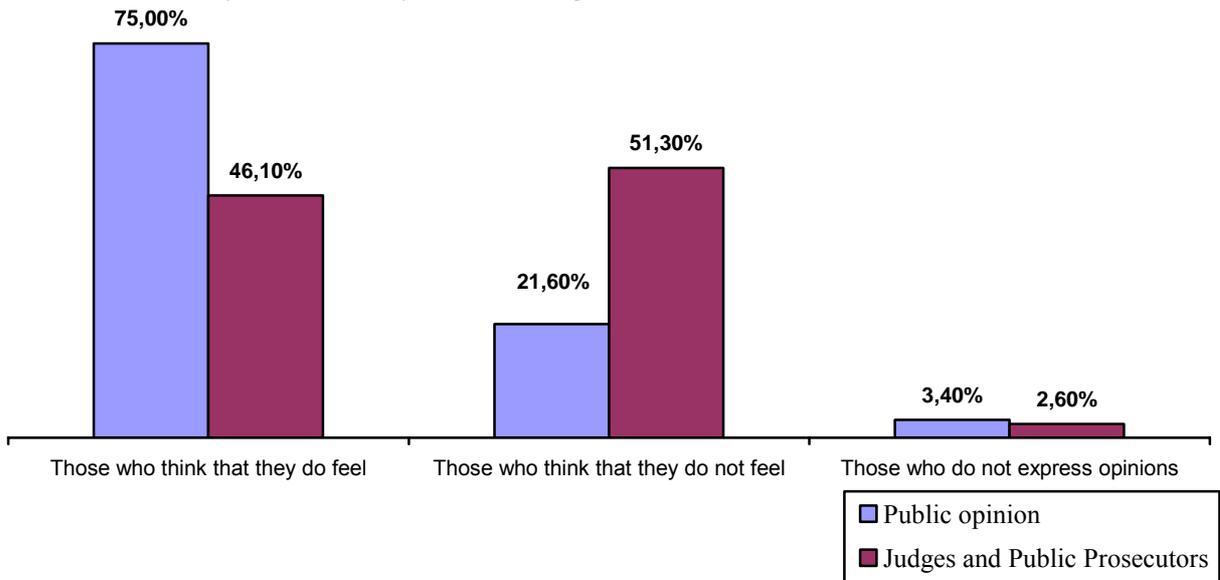


Table 3:
According to you, can people in Turkey express their thoughts freely?

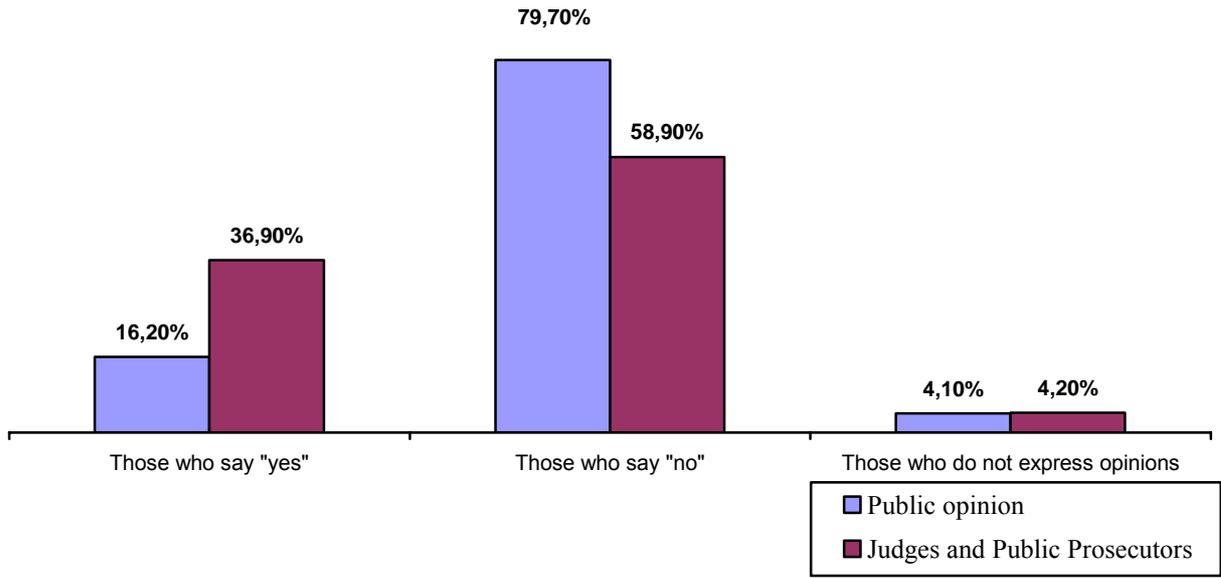


Table 4:
Do you share that the view that "the existence of freedom expression is necessary for the society to live in peace"?

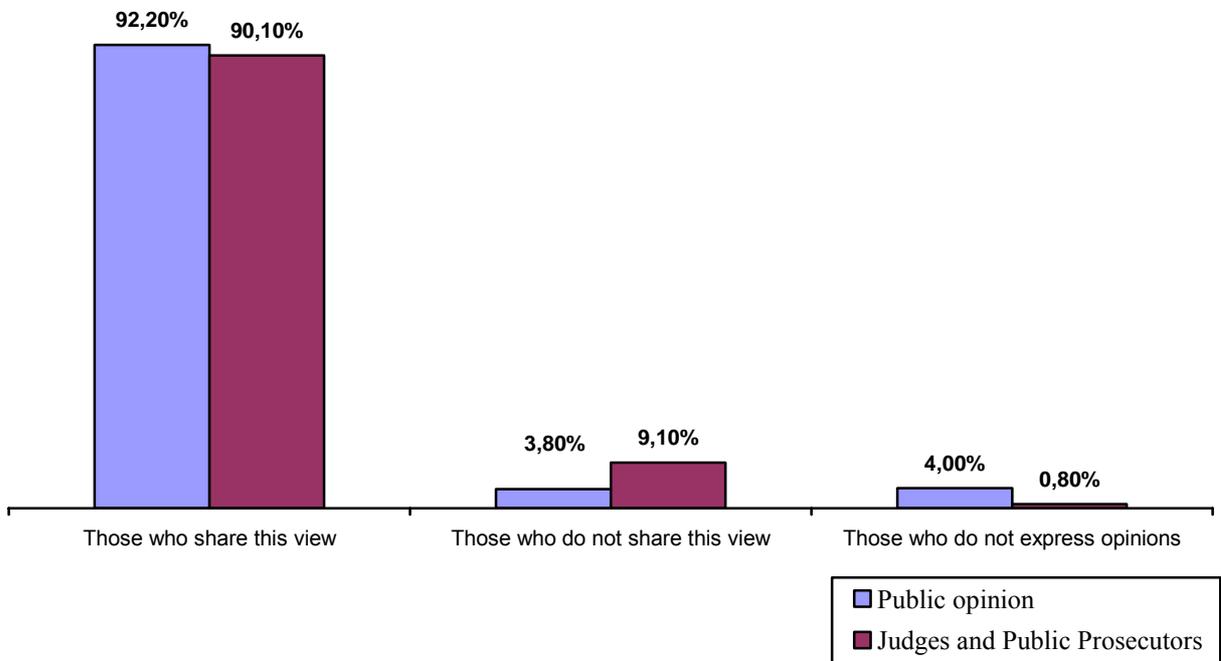


Table 5:
Do you share the view that “the individual’s expressing his/her thoughts should not constitute a crime in any way”?

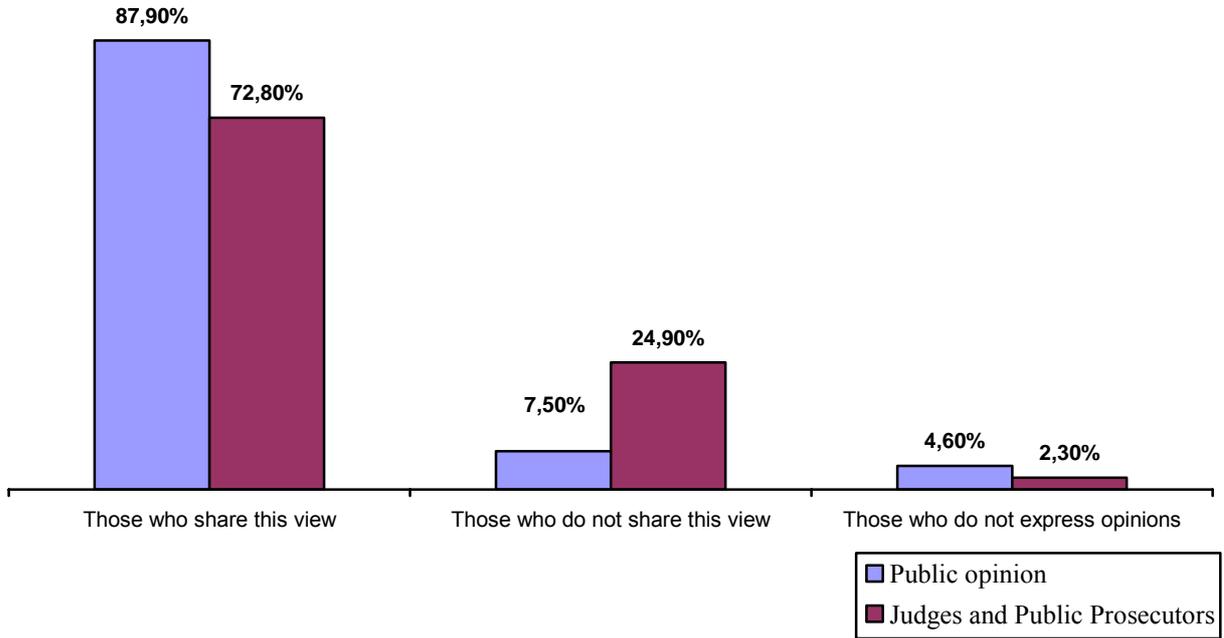


Table 6:
Do you share the view that “there is no such question as the freedom of expression in Turkey and that ideological groups exploit this factor”?

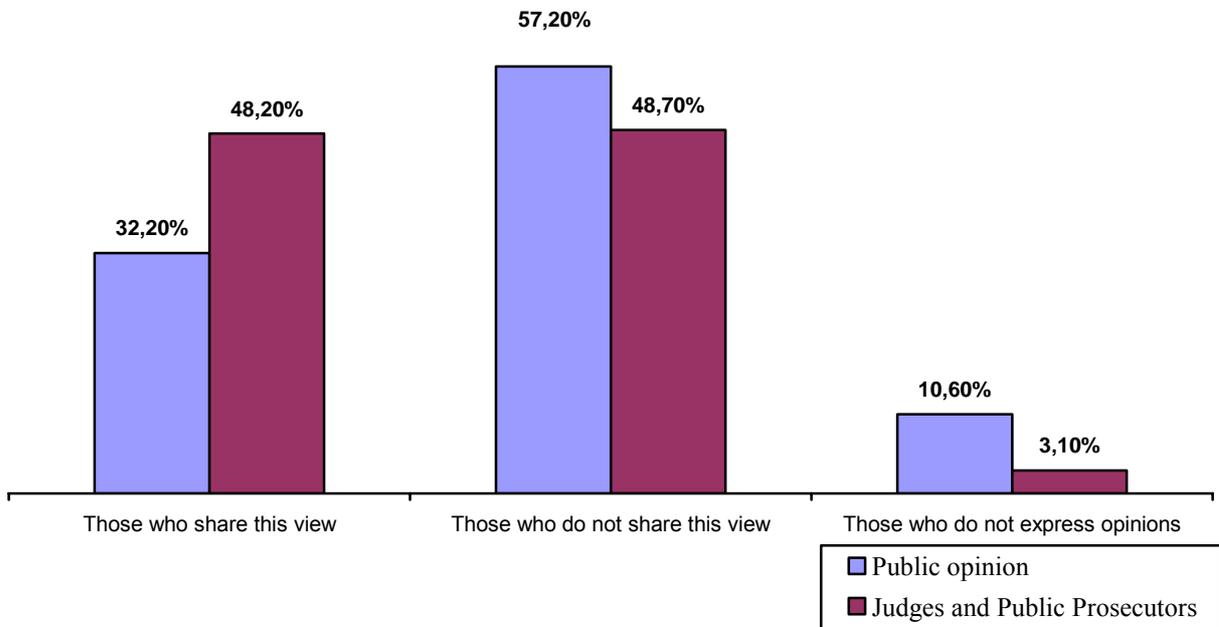
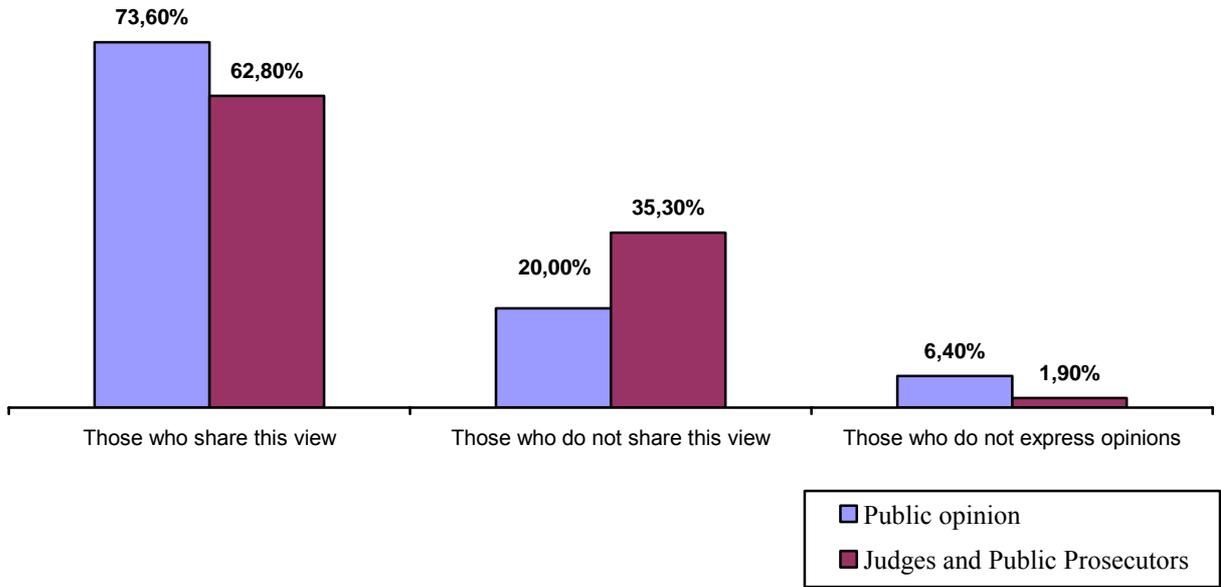


Table 7:

Do you share the view that journalists, politicians and authors should not be punished because of their thoughts regardless of their content”?

**Table 8:**

The rate of those who say that there are pressures on the below groups in Turkey?

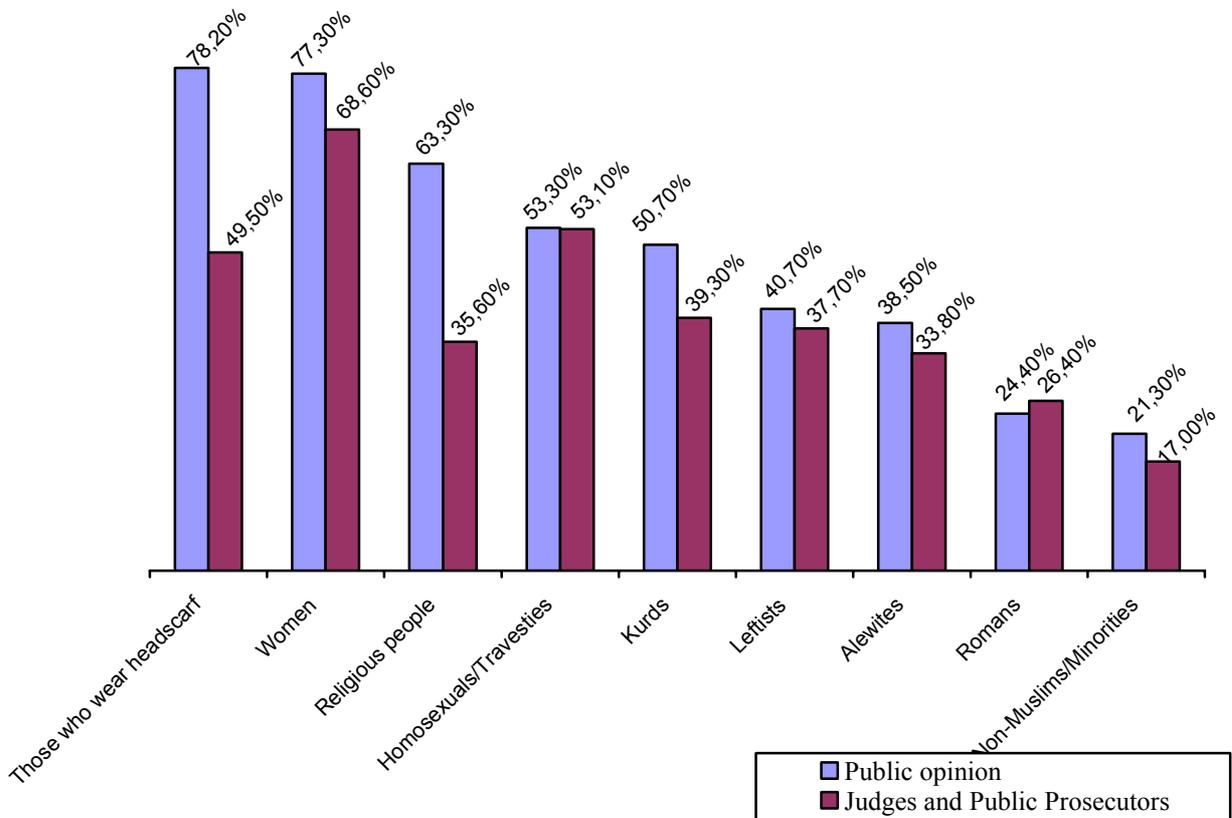


Table 9:
In your opinion, do those who are mentioned below violate human rights in Turkey or not? (%) The rate of those who say that they violate

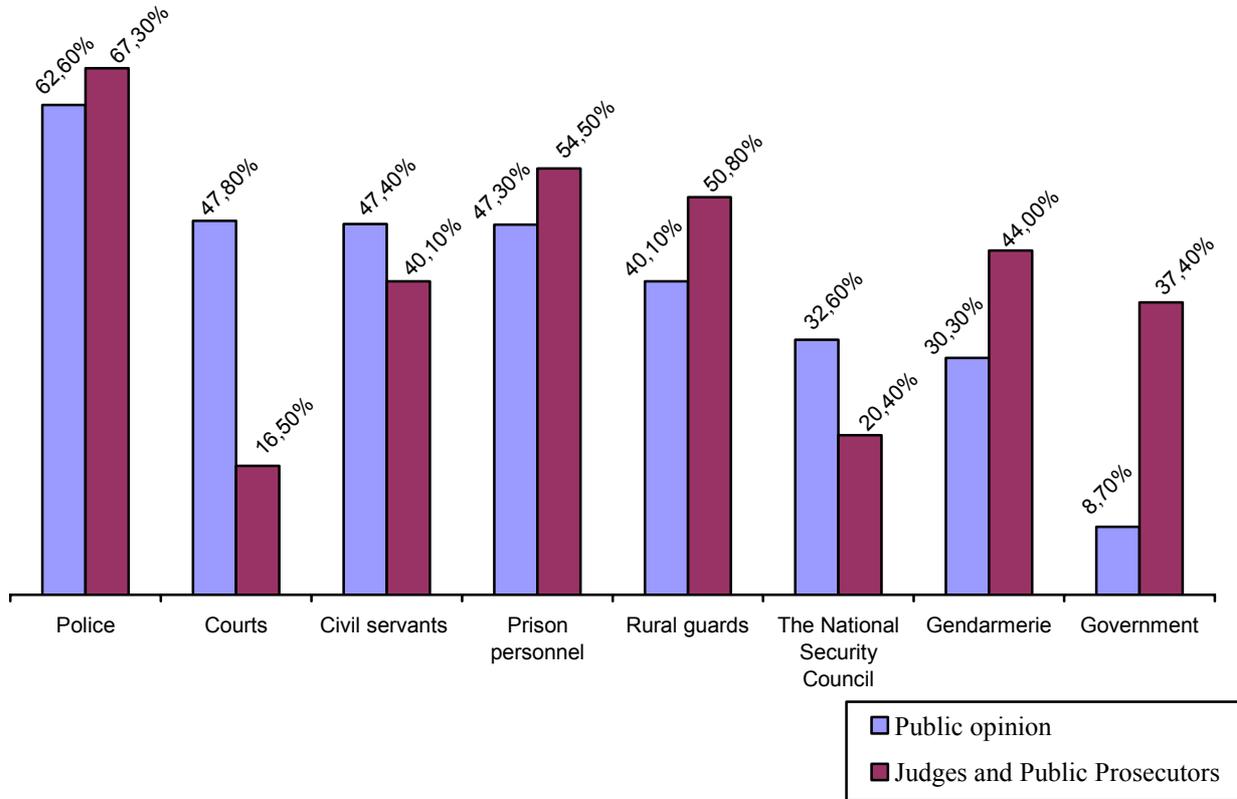


Table 10:
Do you share the view that “torture is applies commonly in police stations and prisons”?

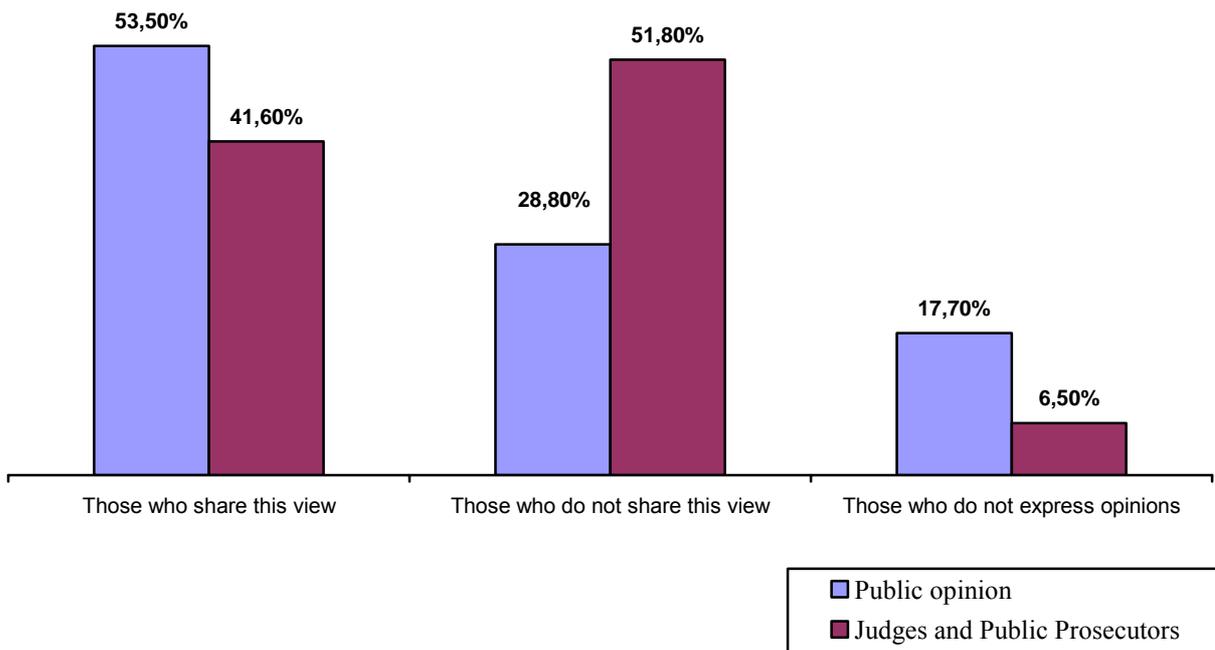


Table 11:
In your opinion, where do obstacles to freedom of thought and expression and their violations stem from? (%)

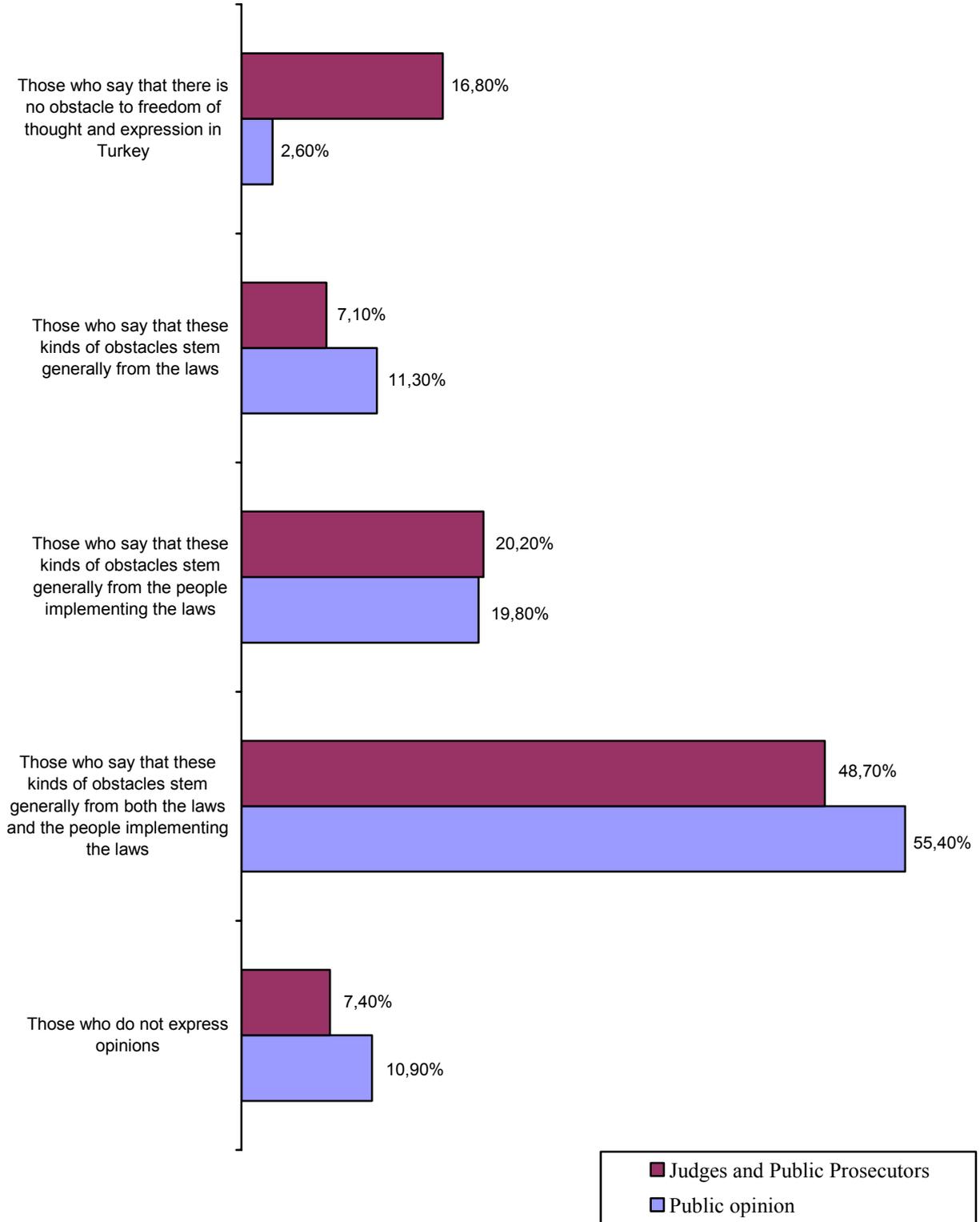


Table 12:
Should Kurdish radio and television broadcasting be allowed?

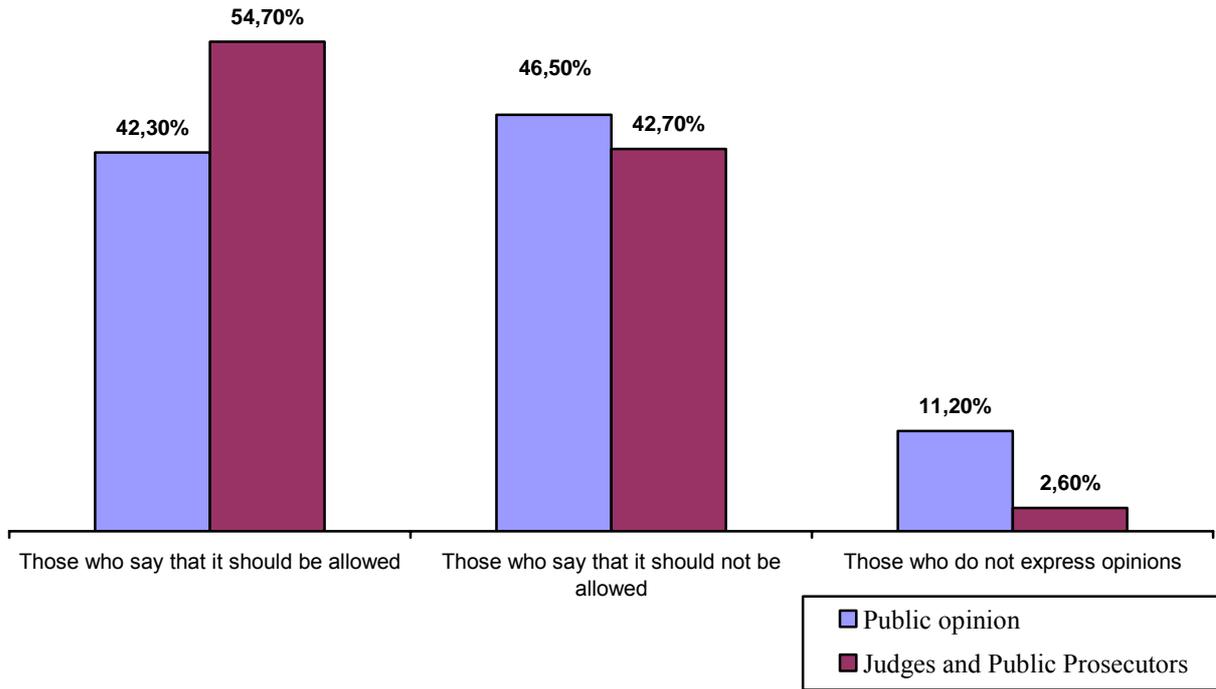


Table 13:
Should instruction-education in Kurdish be allowed in schools?

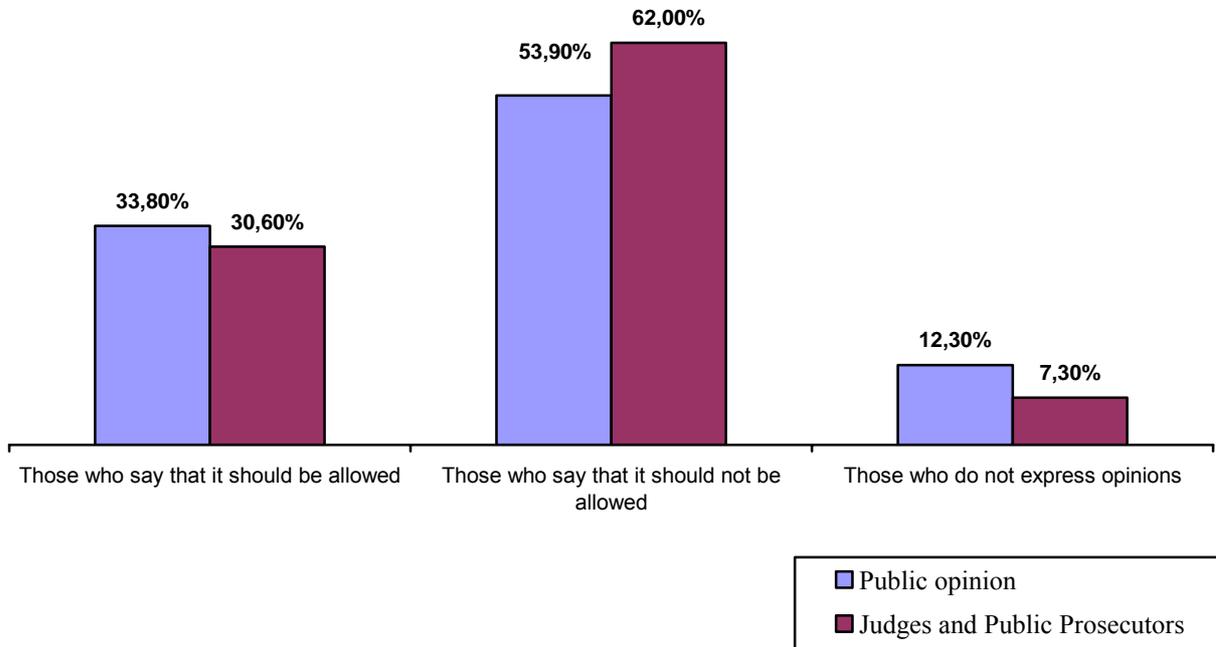


Table 14:
Should headscarf be allowed in universities?

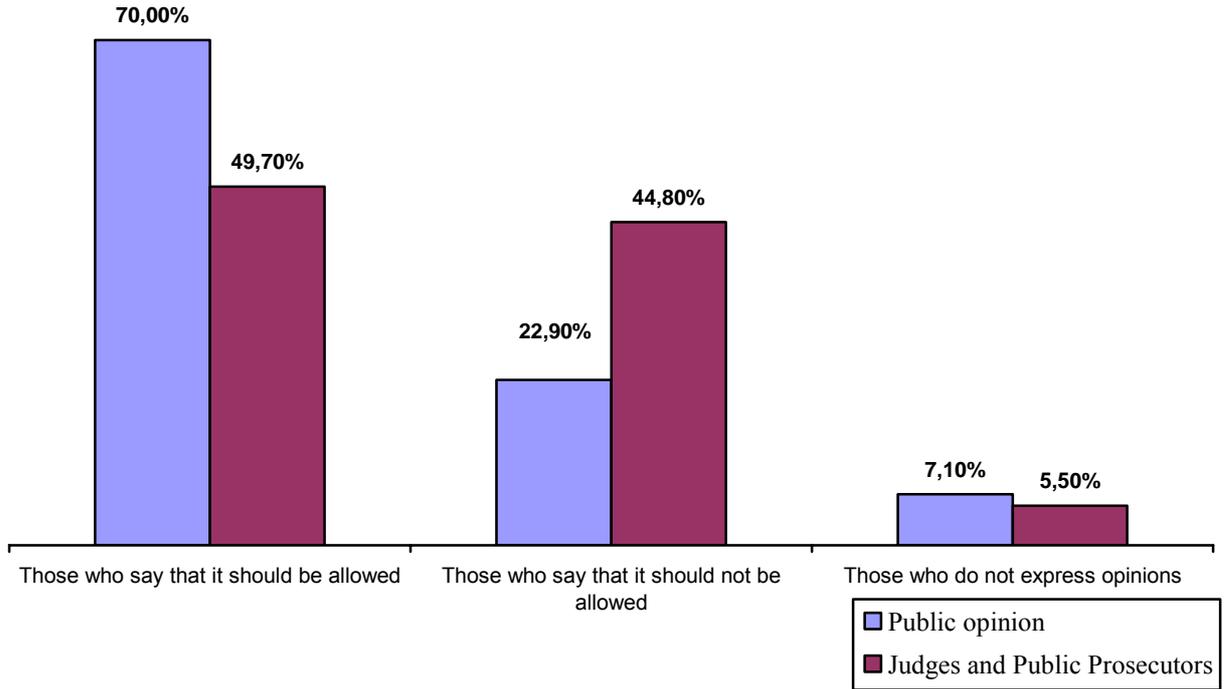


Table 15:
Do courts in Turkey implement the laws fairly and impartially?

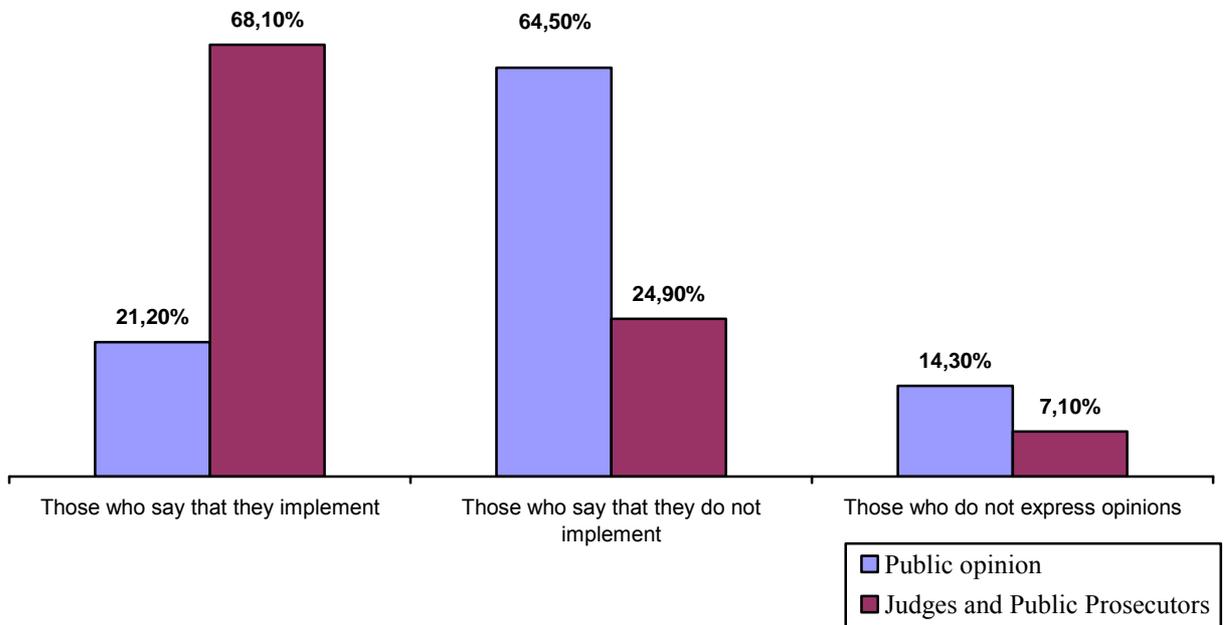


Table 16:
Do you think that the ECHR's judgements involving Turkey are just and impartial?

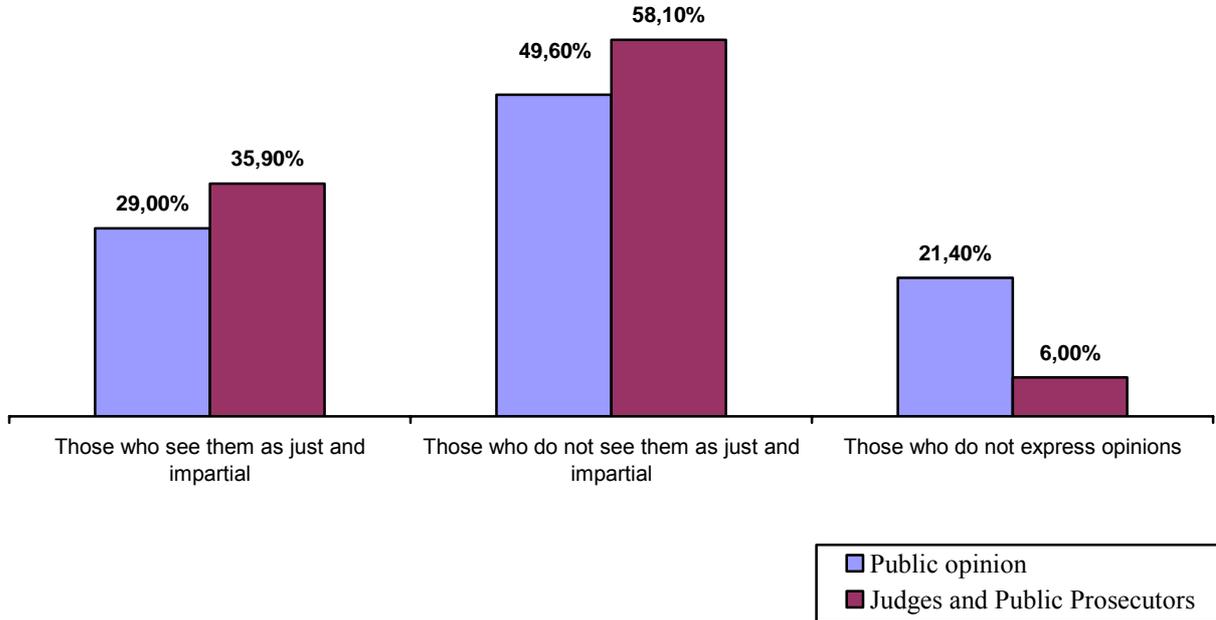


Table 17:
If a trial, in which you are right, is concluded against you in courts in Turkey, do you take this trial to the European Court of Human Rights?

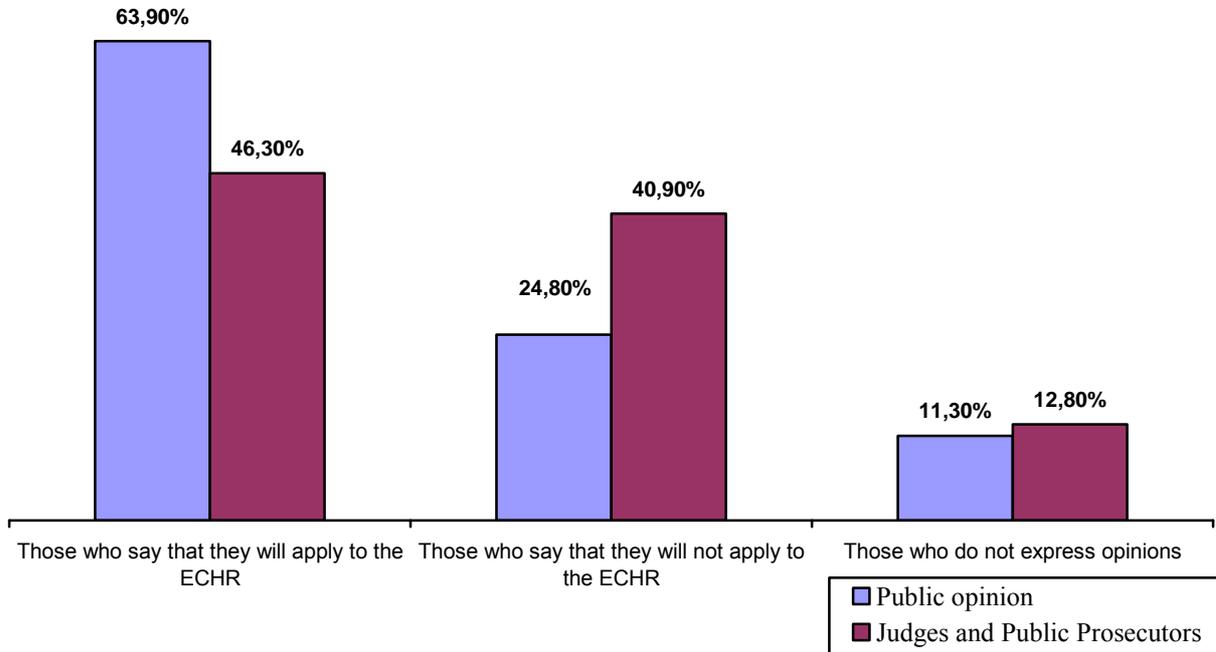


Table 18:
Are there pressures of the state on courts in Turkey in trials involving freedom of expression?

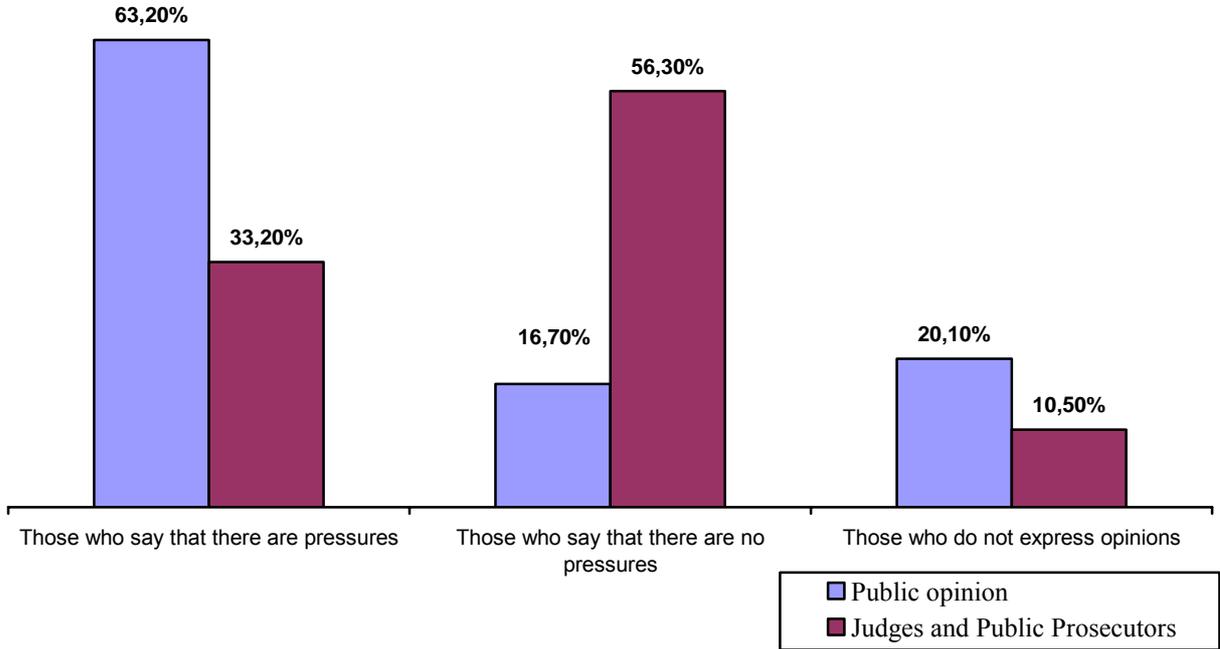


Table 19:
Should Judgements of the High Military Council be Subjected to Judicial Trial?

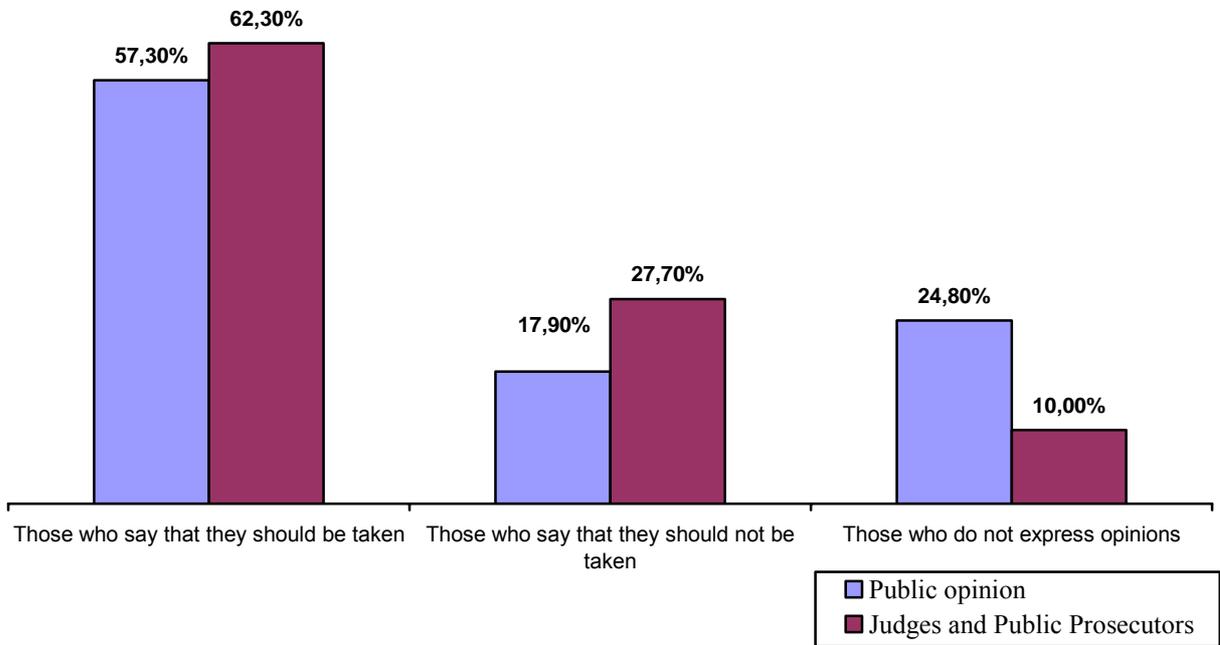


Table 20:
Should the citizens be able to criticize the existent regime of the state freely?

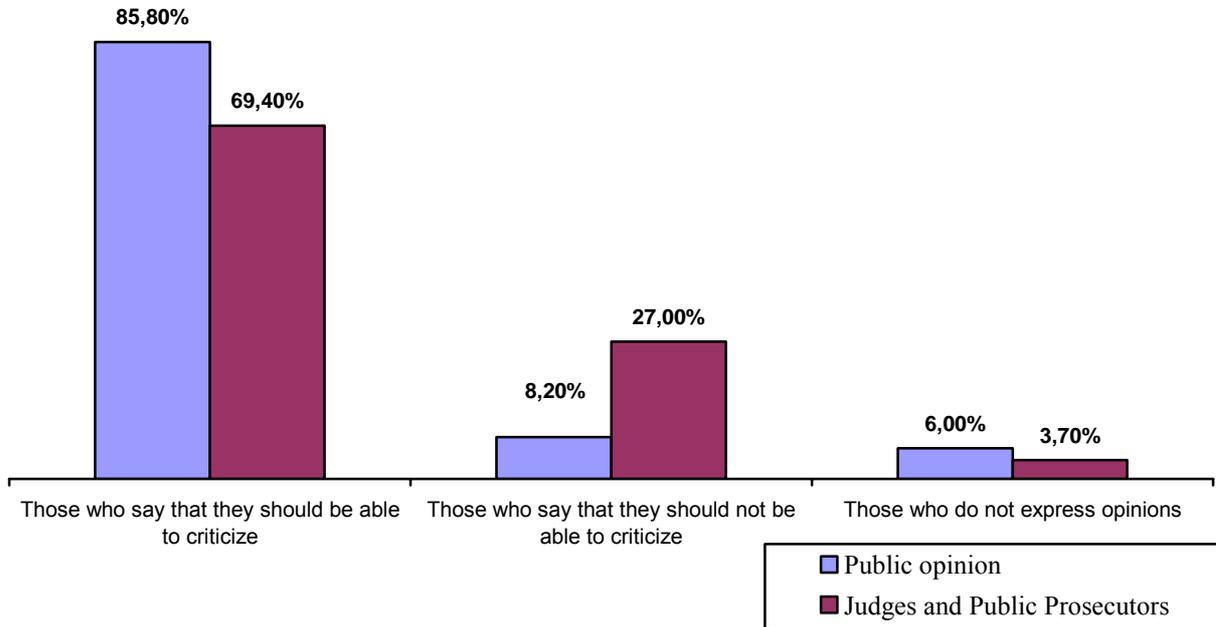


Table 21:
Do you approve dissolution of political parties in Turkey?

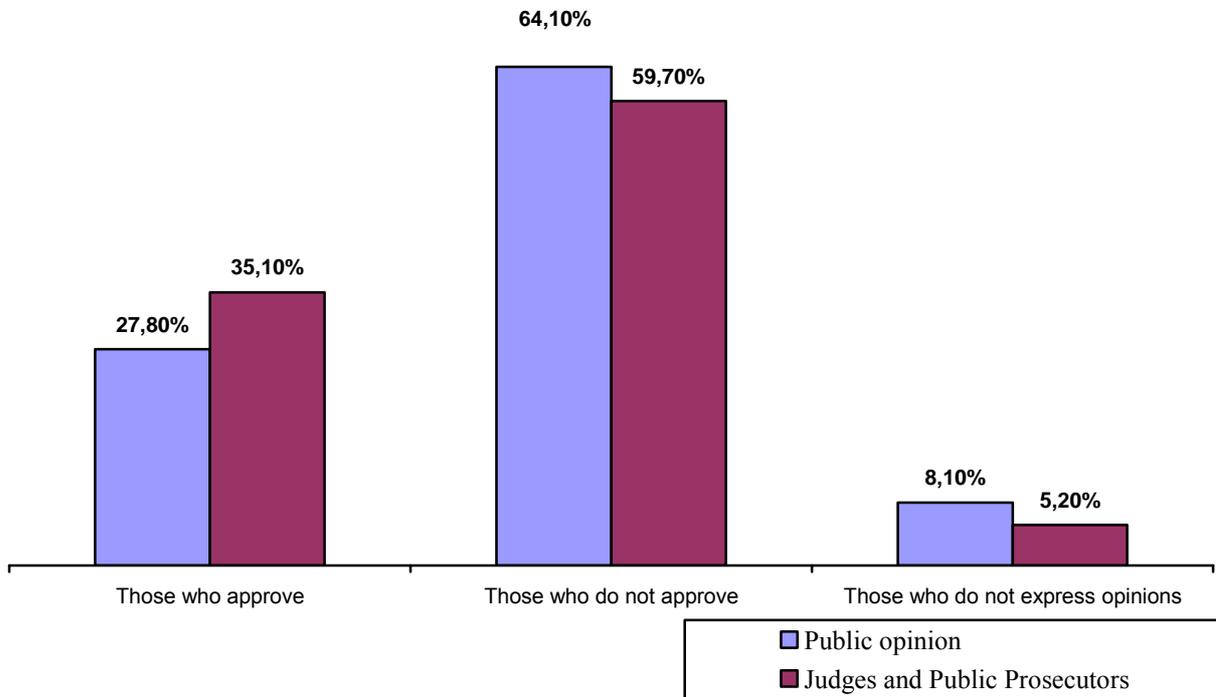


Table 22:
Do you share the view that “in Turkey, the state uses security concerns as pretext to restrict freedoms”?

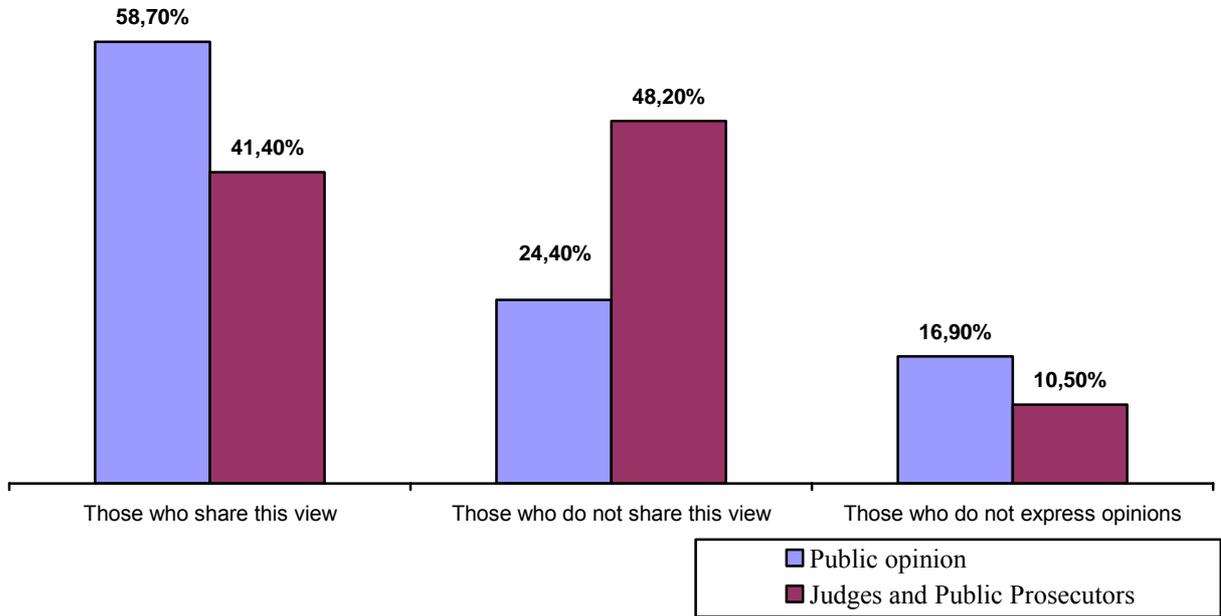


Table 23:
If a referendum is arranged on Turkey’s EU membership, what do you vote for?

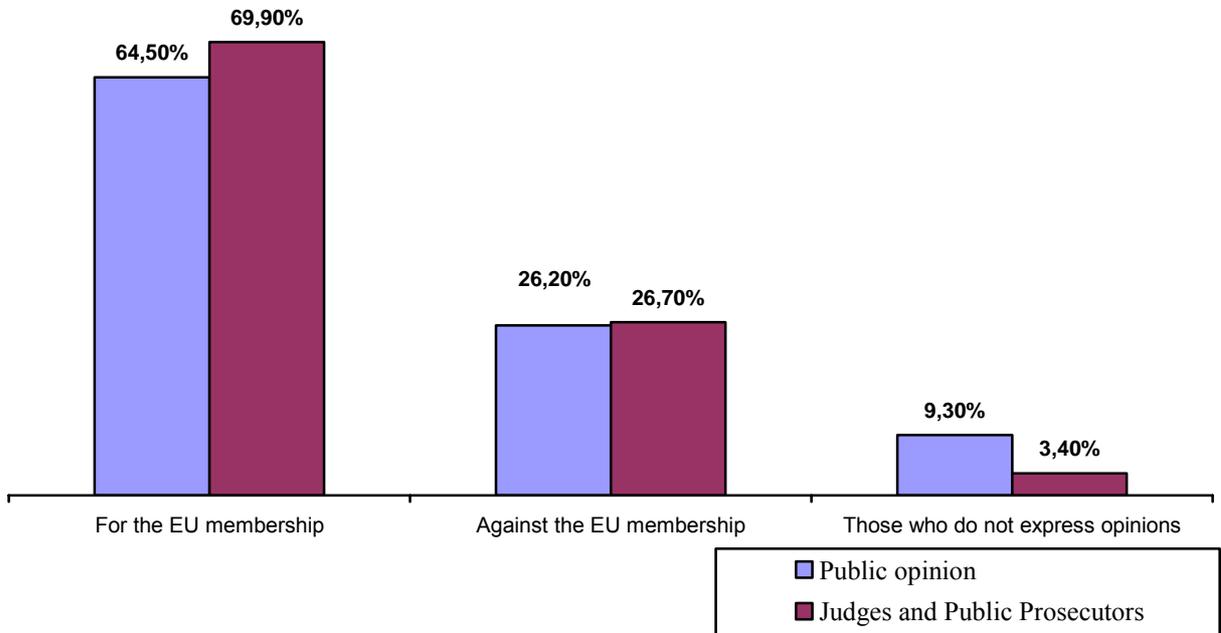


Table 24:
The European Union membership, human rights and freedom of expression in Turkey
The rate of those who say “yes”

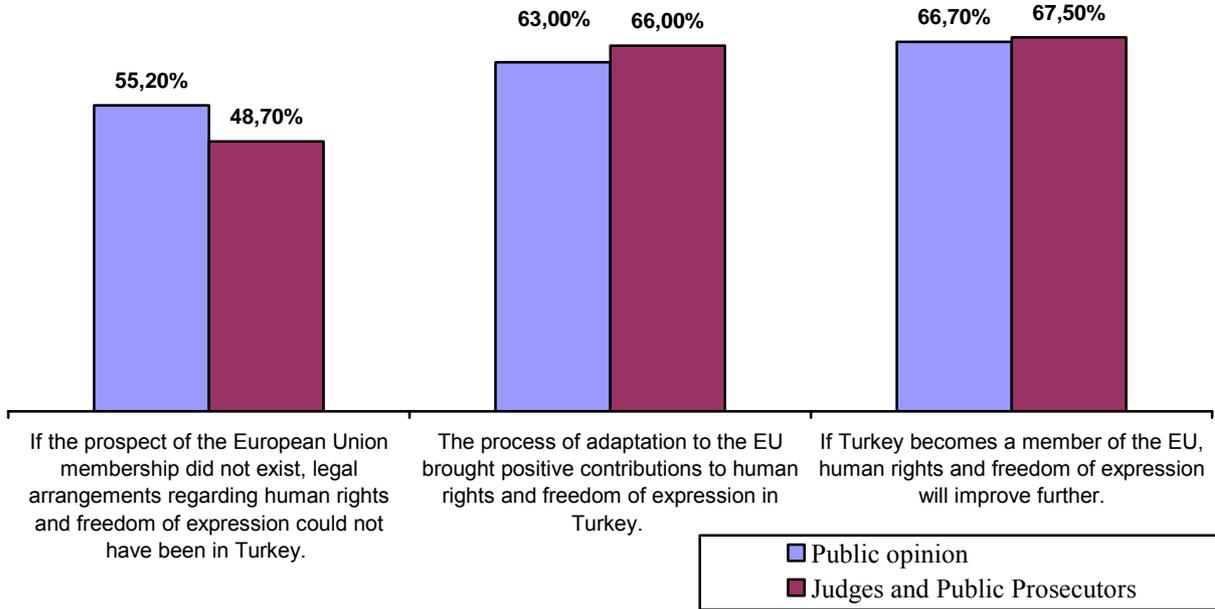
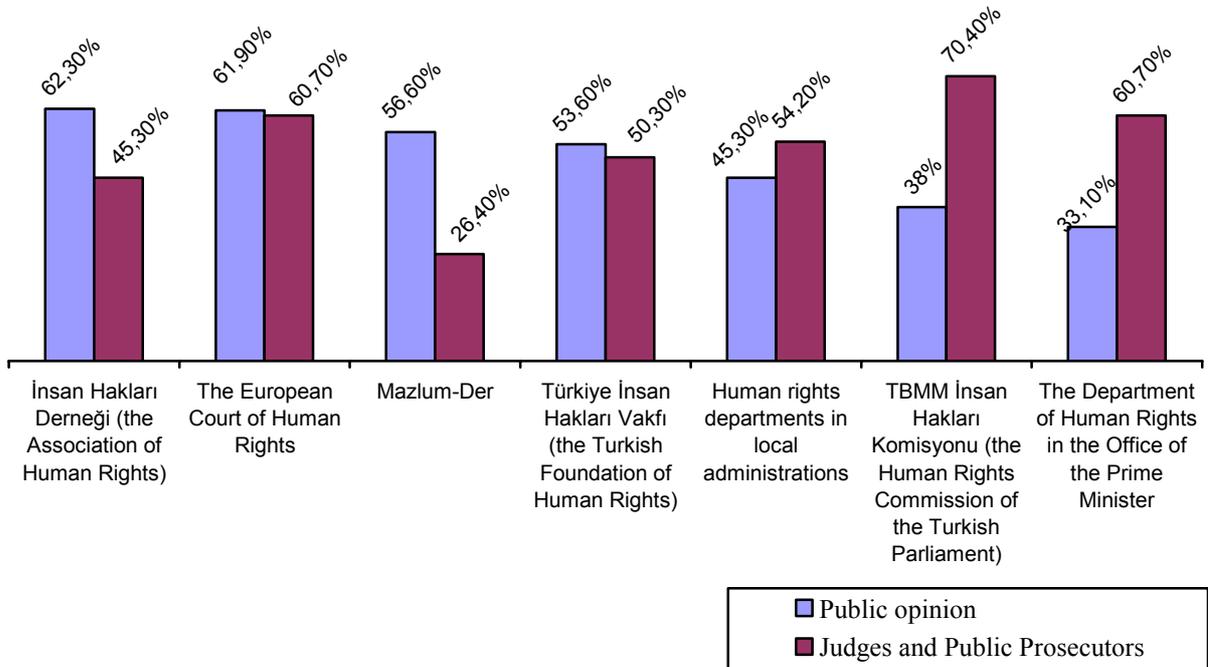


Table 25:
How do you assess the below human rights institutions?
(The rate of those who have favorable opinion)



- Calls for full realization of human rights should not be conceived by the Turkish authorities as a threat to the security and stability of the state. A state that abides by international standards of human rights will be more secure as this would eliminate some sources of friction between the state and society.
- Turkish state elite should realize that full realization of human rights is essential for social and political stability not an obstacle for it. A working human rights system is a precondition for a healthy state-society relationship which would bring about peace and stability in Turkey. In its essence human rights are about just and effective governance.
- Turkish state elite should abandon its state-centric conception of politics. The state does not precede civil society and as such exists to serve the people. The statist tradition should be eliminated to open the way for a more liberal legal and political milieu in Turkey.
- Although the issue of human rights is primarily political it needs to be depoliticised in the case of Turkey. It should not be taken as an ideological devise to fight against the opponents. This would contribute to political polarization, thus, preventing the emergence of a consensus on human rights reforms.
- One should not forget that full realization of universal human rights is also related to cultural, social and economic factors. Improvements in these fields would certainly contribute to the betterment of human rights in Turkey.
- Human rights education is central to improvements in the state of human rights in Turkey. Turkish state authorities and civil initiatives should focus their activities on awareness raising. Education of primary and high school students will in long run bring about a new generation of Turkish people more aware of their rights. Continuous education of civil servants, particularly judges, public prosecutors and security forces, will reduce the cases of maltreatment and torture, a source of embarrassment for the Turkish state in recent years.
- Provision of human rights education for students and civil servants is important but not enough to raise public awareness about human rights. The NGOs with their civic and grass root organization perform a better role in public awareness raising as well as monitoring human rights violations.



Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu

Association for Liberal Thinking

G.M.K. Bulvarı No:108/17 Maltepe 06570 Ankara, TÜRKİYE
Telefon: +90.312.230 8703 Faks: +90.312.230 8003

E-mail: info@liberal-dt.org.tr www.liberal-dt.org.tr

About the Project titled

“Freedom of Expression in Turkey within the Social and Legal Spheres”

implemented by the Association for Liberal Thinking and

sponsored by European Union Commission under its program of EUROAID

The purpose of the project is to determine the problems in the legal system and the attitude of the public with respect to freedom of expression and to research ways to improve the state of freedom of expression in Turkey.

The project focuses nine major fields of activities. These are as follows:

- 1- One International Symposium to discuss the various aspects of the concept.
- 2- One national symposium to gather the victims of freedom of expression and to provide a platform to express their experience. Another national symposium to discuss the present legal codes and the reforms regarding freedom of expression.
- 3- Sixteen Regional panels.
- 4- A major research on the state of freedom of expression in Turkish legal and administrative structures and proposing policy suggestions,
- 5- A public opinion survey on the perception of Turkish people and opinion leaders regarding the freedom of expression in Turkey,
- 6- Five Publications of translations from reference books.
- 7- Two Publications of analytical books from Turkish authors.
- 8- Four Publications of the Collections of Decisions of European Court of Human Rights; US Supreme Court, Turkish High Court of Appeals; Turkish Constitutional Court related with freedom of expression.
- 9- Award Setting for Essays on Human Rights and Freedom of Expression.

The project as a whole would serve to raise public awareness about the state of freedom of expression in Turkey. It would create public conscience that the right to have freedom of expression is needed by every person disregarding his/her political convictions.

Considering the wide range of activities, the project would also contribute to the process of Turkey’s membership to EU not only in its duration but also afterwards.



Liberal Düşünce Topluluğu
Association for Liberal Thinking

ALT aims to introduce to Turkish public the richness of the intellectual tradition that lay at heart of the liberal democratic civilization; to promote values like liberty, justice, peace, human rights, the rule of law, tolerance, limited and responsible government, market economy, private property; to encourage development of academic researches; to contribute to finding effective solutions to Turkey's problems within liberal perspective. It has no direct links with any political party or movement.

Main Regular Activities of ALT:

Friday seminars of “Introduction to Liberalism” held twice a year, parallel with the academic calendar. ALT holds national, international symposia and panels in various cities of Turkey.

ALT publishes, two quarterly: *Liberal Düşünce (Liberal Thought)*, an academic journal, which has recognition in academic circles and in the business world; *Piyasa (Market)*, a journal on economics; and books translated from foreign authors or written by Turkish authors.

ALT organizes two Annual Congresses of Liberal Economists; and Political Scientists and Jurists, which bring up young academicians from all over Turkey for an interactive network.

ALT implements projects with partners on the base of equality, mutual respect and organizational independence.

ALT has established specific centers within itself to support its educational activities with more precise academic researches and think-tank functions: Center for the Study of Economics and Law; Center for Environmental Studies; Center for Academic Consultancy; Center for Economic Freedom.

G.M.K. Bulvarı No:108/17 Maltepe 06570 Ankara,

Tel: +90.312.230 8703 Fax: +90.312.230 8003

E-mail: info@liberal-dt.org.tr

Web: www.liberal-dt.org.tr / www.liberal.org.tr