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A Report on Academic Freedom in Turkey in the Period of the State of Emergency

İnan Özdemir Taştan
&
Aydın Ördek

Translation
Fahri Öz

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A Report on Academic Freedoms in Turkey in the Period of the State of Emergency

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This report has been written to outline the findings of the fieldwork launched within the framework of the project Bringing Human Rights Academy to Society funded by European Instrument for Democracy & Human Rights (EIDHR) and conducted by the Capacity Development Association in order to reveal the effects of State of Emergency in Turkey on academic freedoms.

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Foreword and Acknowledgements

This study has been carried out within the framework of the project Bringing Human Rights Academy to Society conducted by European Instrument for Democracy & Human Rights (EIDHR) and Capacity Development Association to reveal the effects of State of Emergency in Turkey on academic freedoms. The study aimed to determine to what extent academic freedoms have been violated, limited and blocked in the State of Emergency (SoE), which was declared after the military coup attempt in Turkey on July 15, 2016.

Political turmoil that emerged after the first five years of the one-party regime that has continued for roughly about 20 years came to a head with the coup attempt in July 2016 and the subsequent SoE with which the public was habituated in two years. One of the major areas in which the political crisis made itself felt both before and after the coup attempt was higher education. The duration of SoE exacerbated the structural problems of the higher education system in such a way as to lead to further problems. The newly arose conditions in this period of academic freedom and autonomy, which are *sine qua non* of the university, harbor significant clues not only for the reconstruction process that will enable the society, the public and the university to overcome the present crisis but also reshaping the concept of the university as a free and emancipating institution. For this reason, it is vital to identify the extent to which academic freedoms in higher education have been violated, limited and blocked. Thus, the main motivation for this study is to define the present conditions of the academic autonomy and freedoms within the framework of the coup attempt, which can be seen as a critical point, so as to lead the way for a free and emancipating and hence rights-based higher education system. Likewise, it is considered that the criteria, the scope of the questions and the scope of the study designed to identify the extent to which academic freedom has been violated will allow detailed insights into the problem and thus lead to further studies on the problem.

This study, carried out in 13 provinces in Turkey in the second half of 2018, has been completed thanks to devoted efforts of countless people. We extend our hearty thanks to Banu Durdağ, Burçin Kalkın, Canan Dural Tasouji, Can Irmak Özınanır, Demet Sayınta, Eren Kırmızıaltın, Hakan Yüksel, Hande Dönmez, Hatice Yeşildal, Neşe Şen, Merve Diltemiz Mol, Metin Öztürk and Selma Koçak for their efforts in the field work and interviews, which constitute the core of this study. They shouldered the extreme and real burden of this study by doing fieldwork under the SoE. Ülkü Doğanay, Ozan Değer and Ahmet Murat Aytaç assisted in the designing of interview questions while Ahmet Murat

Aytaç also contributed greatly in the creation of the SPSS database. The entry of the interviews into the SPSS program was made possible thanks to the efforts of Güneş Daşlı and Metin Öztürk. Güneş Daşlı at the same time made numerical analyses of the interview data and prepared drafts of the tables used in the present study. The text was proofread by coordinators of the School of Human Rights (SHR), Elçin Aktoprak and Dinçer Demirkent. We are grateful to them all. In addition, we also express our gratitude to countless people, mostly academics, who contributed in various ways, as well as participants of the study survey and interview, whose names we are not able to list here. The report has been translated into English by Fahri Öz, we cordially thank him for his incredible, rigorous effort. Our final thanks go to the members of the School of Human Rights, who contributed to the different stages of our study.

INTRODUCTION

The failure to establish constitutional guarantee and a professional community with its own customary practices and traditions—two prerequisites of securing academic activities free, albeit formally, from any kind of pressure—has from the very beginning rendered higher education in Turkey fragile in terms of academic freedoms. Academic activity has been penalized, oppressed and finally dismissed at every instance when it is deemed to be contrary to the *de facto* principles determined by political, financial, ideological and cultural norms.

This fragility has begun and continued unceasingly with the one-party regime that came to power with the early general election held on November 3, 2002. The higher education system has been reformed continually by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government with a view actually to mold academic activities in terms of staff, education and scientific research in line with performance criteria. The reform efforts, which were launched with the aim of having more institutions in university rankings, based mainly on the parameters of performance criteria, were seen to have fallen short of the desired outcomes.¹ In addition, rather than making universities literally public institutions, which is the only means to achieve desired outcomes, the government instead privatized universities under the name of foundation universities and through the ruse of evening education and distance education that became widespread. Academics came to a point in which they could not perform their profession due to the conditions arising from both appointment and promotion criteria and arbitrary attitudes of university administrations as well as the working conditions to which they “voluntarily” are subjected in private universities whose number nearly equal that of state universities. These conditions in new private universities that were founded with the precept of having a university in each province led to a degeneration that could prevent the establishment of an academic tradition, which is a requisite of academic freedoms and autonomy. Limitations are imposed automatically on academic freedoms and autonomy owing to the undemocratic and non-autonomous operations of the HEC (YÖK-Higher Education Council), rectors and deans. Today higher education for students in Turkey has become somehow a compulsory stage in which they can obtain a diploma so as to get a job. The production of master and doctoral thesis dissertations that are far from being original arises from the

¹ For example according to the ranking of higher education institutions for 2020 by the data provider Times Higher Education based on 13 different performance indicators such as scientific research, international outlook, increase in revenues and ranking in the previous year, only two Turkish universities were

conditions of undergraduate education.² In short, the university has become an institution, managed like a company at the service of private benefits while education and research are shaped according to these priorities. This structure naturally leads to the undermining of academic freedoms and autonomy that are the prerequisites of the university as an institution. Indeed, a plethora of “individual” cases of violations indicates that the problem is a structural one.

The findings of an empirical study *per se* may easily turn into a meaningless heap of data, despite becoming theoretically significant at the early stage of shaping the research question and determining the hypothesis. In addition, the fact that the empirical findings in social sciences do not have a frequency conducive enough to make generalizations mostly leads to identify certain tendencies of a given human community at a given period of time and in a given environment. Bearing in mind that this study was based on 422 interviews and 30 semi-in-depth interviews conducted with academics and postgraduate students in 54 state and private universities in 13 provinces in the second half of 2018, the empirical findings of the study *per se* –with the acceptance that the sample represents the population for the statistical confidence interval– demonstrate the extent to which academic freedoms and autonomy in higher education in Turkey have been violated. However, delving into the evolution of the higher education in Turkey within the context of this study based on the developments of the academic autonomy and freedom will make the findings more meaningful. Assuming that the development of higher education from the beginning of the Westernization to the present day by drawing attention to the turning points affecting academic autonomy and freedoms will provide the context needed to make sense of the findings of the study, this context has been discussed briefly in the following sections of the report. On the other hand, the theoretical framework that will guide the research questions and hypothesis, in other words, how the problem is comprehended determines the implications of the conclusions from the very start. Therefore, revealing the concepts of academic autonomy and freedom that constitute the basis for the preparation of the questionnaire and semi-structured in-depth interview questions is essential.

² A study by Zafer Toprak, which analyzes 600 master and doctoral thesis dissertations in terms of the criteria of originality and plagiarism, concludes that the Turkish academia ought to scrutinize its relationship with academic writing since plagiarism was detected in approximately 36% of the master theses and approximately 26% of the doctoral theses in question while 28% of the theses shared similarities; Zafer Toprak (2017) “Türkiye’de Akademik Yazı: İntihal ve Özgünlük”, *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Eğitim Dergisi*, 34(2): 1-11.

The History of Turkish Universities Incapacitated by Crises and Political Interventions

If we consider higher education as the institutions where human power indispensable for social reproduction is raised, we might easily say that temples and religious schools where the clergy were trained for society and palace schools that raised bureaucrats, architects, accountants, scientists, engineers and craftsmen for the state were the pre-modern forms of higher education. The word modern here refers actually to the period that emerged in Western Europe and spread rapidly throughout the world, the bourgeois civilization dominated by the capitalist mode of production. The dominant means of knowledge in this period is science. The rivalry between the religious officials who were the legitimizers of the old society and the material reality of the capitalists, the worldly masters of the new order, resulted in favor of the scientists with the victory of capitalism which came to a head with the Industrial Revolution and the American and French revolutions. As science became the esteemed mode of knowledge in the new regime of social production that would conquer the world rapidly, universities, which were founded as student guilds at the end of the Middle Ages and launched with the democratizing move of the Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages, and which were accepted as the ancestors of the modern university, have become the institutions where scientists performed their professions. On the other hand, the rise of the urban populations and the increasing importance of artisanship led to the reshaping of the city-country relationship. Finally, formed by monarchs allied with bourgeoisie by subjecting feudal powers to the center, the monarchies created an inter-state balance of power in Europe. One of the important elements of the nationalization process that is moving from absolute monarchies to legitimate monarchies and gradually parliamentary regimes is the establishment of national academies that trained the manpower needed by the centralized state apparatus. Lastly, foundation universities that originated neither from the Church nor the State, and which have been established or supported by different religious communities and the bourgeoisie over time, especially in America, are higher education institutions created by the needs of the bourgeois society.³ While the university in which the church and the states were involved in the administration gave birth to the continental European university tradition, the university that was managed by the trustees of the bourgeois power networks gave birth to the Anglo-Saxon university tradition.⁴ Since the

³ For a detailed account of the gradual birth of the modern university in different parts and countries of the world see Rıfat Okçabol (2007) "Tarihsel Süreçte Yükseköğretim", *Yükseköğretim Sistemimiz*, Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, pp. 25-79.

⁴ For a comparison of these two prevalent types of university traditions in today's world see Ali Rıza Erdem (2006) "Dünyadaki Yükseköğretimin Değişimi", *Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, Sayı

institutions of these two traditions were made up of science elites from the beginning, there has been no drawback to the academic autonomy granted to them in determining their management and curricula, albeit being financially dependent on states and foundations. Essentially, academic autonomy and academic freedom as the freedom of opinion of the academics were needed to protect scientists from the conservative threats and oppression of society and political circles, especially the church. Because ensuring the scientist's freedom in research and education is accepted as a condition for the university to fulfill its function especially when the university is considered as one of the basic tools of national development. It may be said that academic autonomy is a mere speculation to establish the prestige of the university, as the functional changes determined by the structural changes occurring in social reproduction regimes transform the meaning of the university for society (in fact, for political-economic rulers). As a matter of fact, in times of crisis it is suspended without question. The situation for academic freedom is more serious because institutional obedience is easier to achieve than individual obedience. Academic freedom has been mentioned in rare cases where self-censorship mechanisms hidden behind labels such as corporate identity and academic tradition have been violated. As a result, it is clear that the academic autonomy and freedom, demanded for higher education institutions that are inseparably tied to the interests of the dominant power networks of society in terms of establishment and financing, will be perfunctory demands for the average individuals belonging to these institutions whose activities have been predetermined and previously delineated. As for the dissenting academics who began to find a place for themselves in the higher education institutions that became democratized especially after the second half of the 20th century, the demands for academic autonomy and freedom formed the basis for their desire to make room for their own perspectives as well as create an alternative university and society. As a matter of fact, those who demand that the university be free and autonomous hardly ever state that this could be possible in a free society with a free university. The situation in Turkey's higher education, which has been coerced into evolving from the continental European university model into Anglo-Saxon university model, has been essentially the same: academic autonomy and freedom has hardly ever been an indispensable need for academics. In addition, during the intermittent periods of political-social reorganization, dismissals have been practiced without exception and interventions have been put into effect in the higher education system without fail.

It is acknowledged that the first actively functioning Western higher education institutions in Turkey were medical, military and vocational schools launched within the framework of the modernization of the Ottoman army.⁵ The aim was to train the technical personnel that a modern army needed. Although there was the intention of establishing the *Darülfünun* (House of Sciences, the higher education institution), which would conduct scientific researches in the western sense, and civilian vocational schools such as *Mülkiye* (School of Administration) and *Tıbbiye* (Medical School) in the Tanzimat (Reform) period, the intention could only be realized in the last three decades of the 19th century. The education activity of *Darülfünun*, which was opened in order not to be isolated from the civilized nations, ended approximately one year after the school was opened, since it attracted the reaction of the *ulema* (religious councilors).⁶ Therefore, in terms of academic freedom in institutions, a tension similar to the one experienced in the West was experienced at the stage of establishment of the *Darülfünun*, which is considered as the first university in Turkey. Even though the institution was closed, higher education was continued within the institutions that would constitute its core in its next establishment. The most important of these initiatives is the reopening of the institution directly as a branch of *Galatasaray Sultanî* (High School), and this effort could only be maintained until 1881 thanks to individual efforts. *Darülfünun-ı Şahane* (Imperial University), which was officially reopened in August 1900, continued its activities until the university reform in 1933. In the meantime, the activities of the institution would be regulated with the bylaw published in 1912. Autonomy was granted to the institution in 1924, and was turned into an institution managed with the annexed budget.⁷

The second noteworthy restriction faced by the *Darülfünun* in terms of academic autonomy and freedom was the one during its closure with accusations of inability to respond to the needs of the Turkish revolution and inefficiency. The *Darülfünun*, which was closed with the 1933 university reform, was re-established under the name of

⁵ For detailed information on *hendesehanes* (schools of mathematics), *mühendishanes* (schools of engineering), military schools and medical schools that were launched from the 18th century onwards for the modernization of the Ottoman army, see İlhan Tekeli (2010) “Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Yüksek Eğitimin Örgütlenmesindeki Değişimler”, *Tarihsel Bağlamı İçinde Türkiye’de Yükseköğretimin ve YÖK’ün Tarihi*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, pp. 55-90.

⁶ According to İlhan Tekeli, upon the widespread rumors that Cemaleddin Efgani said, “Prophethood is an art” in one of the lectures open to the public, public lectures were terminated in the late 1870, and by the mid 1871 the *Darülfünun* was completely closed; Tekeli, a.g.e., p. 105-106.

⁷ See Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (1993) “Dârülfünun”, *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, <https://islamansiklopedisi.org.tr/darulfunun>, (Date of Access, October 2019) for a detailed history of the *Darülfünun*. For a detailed analysis of the 1933 university reform see Ali Arslan (1995) *Darülfünun’dan Üniversite’ye*, İstanbul: Kitabevi.

Istanbul University. The most important consequences of the reform were the abolition of university autonomy, the discharge of two-thirds of the 151 teaching staffs, and the reorganization of the curriculum in detail and under strict control. Due to the inability to establish a free university environment, the university reform failed despite the contribution of numerous German scholars who took refuge in Turkey from Nazi Germany. As a matter of fact, the said failure led to changing the stringent terms of the reform, and this process resulted in the new reform in 1946.⁸ However, as in every reform period, this reform also saw discharges from the university.⁹ The professors of the faculties became the only decision-making and supervisory body, deans and rectors were appointed through election and universities were turned into autonomous public institutions with annexed budgets with the regulations that took their most mature form in the Law of Universities No. 4936, dated 1946. In this period, faculties and schools under the supervision of the Ministry of National Education were transformed into Istanbul Technical University and Ankara University. This development led to the creation of an interuniversity board. As the chairman of the board, the minister of education had only supervisory duties and powers. Thus, the period of autonomous university continued until

⁸ P. Schwartz, who gave lectures between the years 1933-1952 in Turkey, stated that the 1933 reform failed owing to the feelings of inadequacy among many a Turkish intellectual, which led them to not scientific studies but prioritizing the issues of position, promotion and private business; Toktamış Ateş (2007) “Türkiye’de Yükseköğretimin Tarihsel Olarak Gelişimi ve Cumhuriyet Döneminde Bu Konuda Yapılan Çalışmalar”, *Üniversitemiz ve Demokrasi*, İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, pp. 10-20, pp. 14-17 and 17.

⁹ Starting with the arrest in 1944 of Muzaffer Şerif Başoğlu, an academic at DTCF (Ankara University Faculty of Letters), the fact that academics Behice Boran, Niyazi and Bediha Berkes and Pertev Naili Boratav wrote articles in left-wing journals (Yurt ve Dünya, Adımlar, Görüşler) led to a series of denunciations, protests and raids. So much that racist students forced Şevket Aziz Kansu, the first rector of Ankara University, to resign. The Minister of National Education suspended the positions of these faculty members at the end of 1945; in March 1947 the Ankara University Senate launched an investigation against the faculty members who returned to their positions with the lawsuits filed. Meanwhile, Mediha Berkes resigned from her job at the university. Remaining in a two-month detention in 1944 and being released with the pressure of the American government, Muzaffer Sharif left Turkey permanently for the USA after he was dismissed. Though the Ankara University Senate in 1947 decided that Behice Boran, Niyazi Berkes and Pertev Naili Boratav be discharged from their positions, the Interuniversity Board ruled out the decision. However, in the end, the cadres of these three faculty members were abolished with the article added to the Ankara University Staff Law in 1948. Hatipoğlu points out that the 1948 DTCF Discharge is a collective one, because about 25 German scientists were also dismissed with the same law; M. Tahir Hatipoğlu (1998) *Türkiye Üniversite Tarihi 1845-1997*, Ankara: Selvi Yayınevi, p. 176-179.

For two succinct articles focusing on dismissals in higher education in Turkey see Korkut Boratav (2017) “Üniversite Tasfiyeleri: Geçmişten bugüne”, *BirGün*, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/universitetasfiyeleri-gecmisten-bugune-147393>, (Date of Access, October 2019) ve Miyase İlknur (2017) “Askeri darbeden beter tablo”, *Cumhuriyet*, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/siyaset/673503/Askeri_darbeden_beter_tablo.html, (Date of Access, October 2019).

the establishment of the Higher Education Council in 1981.¹⁰ The university autonomy introduced by the 1946 reform was largely worn away in 1954 by granting the Ministry of National Education the authority to suspend faculty members from their positions when deemed necessary. After the 1960 Military Coup, the situation was terminated with the Law No. 115 dated 1960 adopted by the National Unity Committee. With the Law No. 114, issued on the same day, 147 academic members were dismissed. The dismissal (the 147 incident) was cancelled in 1962 upon the intense reactions from the public and the academia (the rectors of Istanbul Technical University, Aegean University, Ankara University, Middle East Technical University resigned upon the incident).¹¹ In the meantime, with the Article 120 of the 1961 Constitution, legal regulations regarding universities were included in the Constitution for the first time and the concept of autonomy was incorporated with its most comprehensive definition.¹² Unusual events took place all over the world until 1970. The Cuban Revolution, which succeeded in 1959, the Vietnam War, in which the USA was involved and defeated in the second half of the 60s, the national liberation struggles that had succeeded in Asia and the Middle East and Africa after 1960, welfare regimes ending with decreasing profit rates and Germany and Japan's overgrowth/budget surplus that would shake the international payments regime based on the US dollar moved the world order after the World War to the neoliberal phase, in which the hegemony of the USA continues. The developments mentioned in this period, in which the Soviet Block continued to be a natural enemy for the First World and a source of internal tension for the Third World, manifested itself as debt crises, political conflicts, youth movements and revolutionary movements in the Third World countries. Turkey had its own unique development experience as a Third World country in this period. At the first stage, with the Military Memorandum of March 12, 1971, which was performed with the escalating student events towards the 1970s used as an excuse, the 1961 Constitution, which was thought to be too good for the society, was revised. The consequence of this for the university was the abolition of autonomy. In the second stage, public opposition, which was resisting the establishment of neoliberalism in Turkey, was suppressed violently in the military coup on September 12,

¹⁰ Ateş, *ibid.*, p. 18 and according to Tekeli "the university's autonomy was accomplished through sacrifices." The university autonomy was accompanied by the dissolution of left-wing faculty members (Muzaffer Şerif, Behice Boran, Niyazi Berkes and Pertev Naili Boratav) from the university. Tekeli states that the autonomy given to the university is closed to the left and the university proved that it does not deserve autonomy by consenting to this compromise; Tekeli, *ibid.*, p. 169-170.

¹¹ As indicated by both Boratav and Okçabol, the 147 incidents is difficult at first sight to understand, because the dismissal occurred at the universities, which the Democratic Party had targeted. However, the fact that the list for the subsequent dismissals was prepared by a 9-person commission consisting of faculty members led to the conviction that the incident was due to conflicts within the university; Okçabol, *ibid.*, p. 113-114 and Boratav, *ibid.*

¹² Hatipoğlu, *ibid.*, p. 186.

1980, this time on the pretext of political tensions that went beyond the universities and spread the whole society. The civilian activities banned by the coup could only be restored by the mid-1990s. The Turkish-Islamism, which was used as an inhibiting force against left-wing ideology and organizations blamed by the coup regime for the political conflicts, was backed up by the right-wing Kemalism. This choice would have two serious consequences for Turkey: military intervention on February 28, 1997 and the coup attempt on July 15, 2016. On the other hand, the increasing armed actions and ongoing conflicts of the PKK, which emerged with the claim that the Kurds, who have the highest populations of all ethnic and religious elements other than Turkish and Sunni citizens, and who have been culturally and politically ignored since the foundation of the Republic, should have their own nation state, became the most urgent issue after the coup.

With the March 12 Memorandum, the Nihat Erim government, which had succeeded the Süleyman Demirel government by forcing it to resign, had some academics arrested with the Sledgehammer Operation in April and May.¹³ Apparently, the coup government punished the faculty members who they deemed responsible for the tensions at the university. With the law No. 1488 enacted in September 1971, the administrative autonomy of the university was abolished, an addendum to the Constitution was made authorizing the Cabinet of Ministers to seize control of the management of universities and affiliated institutions, if deemed necessary.¹⁴ The (HEC) Higher Education Council (YÖK) was established in order to supervise and coordinate higher education with the Law No. 1750 enacted in 1973. The board was made responsible for the administrations of universities. However, as a result of the annulment lawsuit filed by Ankara University and the Republican People's Party (CHP) against the Law No. 1750, all of the Board's powers were revoked by the Constitutional Court. With the decision of the Constitutional Court, autonomy was restored, assistant dismissals executed based on the Law No. 1750 were compensated.¹⁵ According to İhsan Doğramacı, the then rector of Hacettepe University, after the revocations in question, a draft was prepared in 1975 by him and

¹³ İlknur identified some of the left-wing faculty members who were arrested and tried within the scope of the Sledgehammer Operation: Mümtaz Soysal, Muammer Aksoy, Kurthan Fişek, Uğur Alacakaptan, Mukbil Özyörük, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Bahri Savcı, Cahit Talas, Oya Köymen, Doğu Perinçek, Bülent Tanör and Çetin Özek. Faculty members were able to return to their university duties only after being tried and acquitted, ; İlknur, *ibid.*.

¹⁴ Okçabol, *ibid.*, p. 116. According to Hatipoğlu, the fact that in the Law No. 1750 the main function of the university was designated as education rather than research and the primary aim was raising up students who have the consciousness of national history and who are faithful to customs and traditions made it lag behind in terms of universal criteria compared to the laws of 1946 and 1960; Hatipoğlu, *ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁵ Hatipoğlu, *ibid.*

Kemal Karhan, which was almost the same as the Higher Education Law No. 2547 dated 1981. According to Tekeli, this draft shaped Law No. 2547 along with another draft prepared by the Ministry of National Education and revised and redrafted by a military commission.¹⁶ After the National Security Council finalized the law from late October to November 4 and approved it on this date, the law was published in the Official Gazette on 6 November 1981 and HEC (Higher Education Council) was established. The university purges of the 1980 Military Coup were carried out based on the Law No. 1402 on Martial Law. The public dismissals, which started in November 1980, spread to all universities after the first dismissal at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences on February 3, 1983 and continued under the rule of Turgut Özal, who came to power on November 6, 1983. The dismissed academics could return to their posts only by a decision of the Council of State in 1990.¹⁷ In the new higher education system, all of the gains of Law No. 1750, which provided university autonomy and participation in the administration when the Constitutional Court rescinded the antidemocratic clauses of the law, were pruned away. Administrative autonomy was removed when the election of administrators was delegated to the HEC. With the new law, teaching replaced scientific research and the type of student to be trained with education was prescribed. The HEC was to decide many elements from the curriculum to the books to be taught in the new higher education system. The HEC was also given the authority to terminate the jobs of faculty members or to employ them in other institutions on the grounds that they act against the law.¹⁸ In short, the HEC system reorganized universities from top to bottom in a hierarchical fashion, creating new positions subjected to administrators, eroding job security. In consequence, a commercialized university and faculty members reminiscent of a company employee have been created over time.

After the HEC scheme became established the following major problems appeared in Turkish universities: Turkish-Islamism, which the Military Coup backed up with right-wing Kemalism, paved the way for the sociological ground over the years and led to the rise of the political Islam; some previously privileged universities attempted to resist this; due to the fact that HEC was loyal to İhsan Dogramacı's efforts to incorporate higher education, universities experienced a total devaluation; and establishment of new universities allocated to religious communities under the AKP rule since it was not possible to penetrate old universities. The purge of academics experienced in the February 28 Military Intervention (this time on suspicion that they were Islamists)

¹⁶ Tekeli, *ibid.*, p. 204-209.

¹⁷ Okçabol, *ibid.*, p. 128-129. According to İlknur, the number of academics dismissed with the Law No. 1402 was 71, but over 100 academics also resigned from their posts to protest their dismissals; İlknur, *ibid.*

¹⁸ Hatipoğlu, *ibid.*, p. 303-312.

resulted in the establishment of increasing number of private universities, which were purportedly foundation universities, and staffing in universities that were under the control of religious communities and especially in newly-founded universities.¹⁹ The corporatization of universities pressurized the academics between the appointment-promotion and performance criteria, dragging the link with the scientific research, teaching and academic profession in general to an extremely weakened position. Legal interventions (determination of appointment-promotion criteria, academic exams, teaching staff programs, etc.) shaped by religious communities (especially Fethullah Gülen Community) encouraged by the AKP governments at universities took the form of widespread political oppression and intimidation. On the other hand, authoritarianism, which started with the operations such as Ergenekon, Balyoz, KCK, and Devrimci Karargah carried out by the AKP governments using the judicial mechanism in tandem with the Fethullah Gülen Community and escalated with the Gezi Park protests/June Revolt in 2013, led to the criminalization through intensive judicial and administrative investigations of the members of the well-established universities who opposed these developments. Democratic demands coming from a small number of universities were finally silenced by the Decree laws issued during the SoE period announced after the July 15 Coup Attempt and legal regulations that completely destroyed university autonomy. Meanwhile, the AKP government manipulated the SoE to purge the Fethullah Gülen Community, with who the AKP had cooperated as partners of the political-financial coalition but which had turned into the perpetrator of the coup attempt due to certain frictions, from public institutions and financial field. Within this framework, a large number of dissident academics, as well as many members of the community or academics associated with the Gülen community, were discharged from their positions. This time, also academics affiliated with the Gülen Community suffered purges like those who were considered to be against the government and the Community in the past through mechanisms such as political pressure and intimidation at an unprecedented level in the newly established universities or higher education institutions they managed to staff. As a matter of fact, university purges today that became rather apparent with the July 15 coup attempt can be said to have matured with previously exerted pressure on universities. It is possible to follow such practices that academics and universities faced before and after the SoE through a series of reports. The study titled “The Rights Violations in the Academia”, published in 2012 by the International Study Group on Research and Academic Freedom in Turkey, records academic work issues, trade union and political

¹⁹ Mahmut Âdem draws attention to individual Islamist activities in universities; Mahmut Âdem (2008) “YÖK Döneminde Üniversiteler Nasıl Medreseleştirildi?”, *Çağdaş Üniversite mi Medrese mi*, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, p. 95-123.

activities, the investigations concerning academic activities, experiences of many academics who have been punished or dismissed.²⁰ The report's findings show that the political and judicial pressure of the AKP governments on the academy, which has become authoritarian, goes well before the coup attempt. In the first of the annual academic freedoms reports published since 2015 by the Science Academy (Bilim Akademisi), which was established in 2011, the cases of criminal punishment faced by academics, the defamatory campaigns they were subjected to in the press and the oppressive practices they faced at universities were revealed.²¹ The second report classifies academics purged with the SoE decrees into those who were discharged for being employed against the merit and those who were discharged for using freedom of expression (Academics for Peace), and identifies the results and violations of these practices. The report also identifies permanent interventions to university autonomy: the cancellation of rector elections, making the disciplinary regulations more severe for academics than those for the other civil servants, and granting of authority to the HEC pertaining to the specialization of universities.²² The third report by the Science Academy deals with interventions on academic autonomy and freedom, closure, division, restructuring of universities, appointment of administrative staff at the university, dismissals and reinstatement of university administrators and faculty members, restructuring of TÜBA (Turkish Academy of Sciences) and TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey).²³ The last report published covers the trials of Academics for Peace, the culture of violence in the society and the university, changes in the disciplinary provisions that university lecturers will be subject to, changes in the rules that TÜBA is subject to, the discussion of women's universities, the removal of the Gender Attitude Document on the website of HEC on the grounds that it is incompatible with social values and a sexual assault that took place at a university.²⁴

²⁰ *GIT Türkiye* (2012) "Akademide Hak İhlalleri Dosyası",

http://gitturkiye.org/images/GITTurkiye_DosyaNo_2012_06_final.pdf, (Date of Access July 2016).

²¹ *Bilim Akademisi* (2015) "Bilim Akademisi AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu-2015",

<https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Bilim-Akademisi-2015-Akademik-%C3%96zg%C3%BCr%C3%BCkler-Raporu-.pdf>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

²² *Bilim Akademisi* (2017) "Bilimler Akademisi AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2016-2017",

<https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/bilim-akademisi-akademik-ozgurlukler-raporu-2016-2017-agustos-9.pdf>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

²³ *Bilim Akademisi* (2018) "Bilim AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2017-2018",

<https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/8-ekim-akademik-ozgurluk-raporu-2017-18.pdf>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

²⁴ *Bilim Akademisi* (2018) "Bilim AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2018-2019",

<https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/2018-19-bilim-akademisi-akademik-ozgurluk-raporu-23-eylul-2019.pdf>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

The signatory academics were subjected to all forms of administrative, political, legal and social pressure in the Peace Declaration case, which is an exceptional example of the violation of academic freedom through investigations and trials that spread before and after the SoE. The process, which started with President R. T. Erdoğan's speech targeting signatories in January 2016, entered a new phase in July 2019 after the Constitutional Court decided that the rights of signatory academics have been violated through the penalties imposed on them as a result of the trials. This case remains to be a current problem for the signatory academics who have been dismissed from their jobs with the state of emergency decrees (banned from public service and traveling abroad), whose contracts are not extended, who have been subjected to administrative and judicial investigations, threatened, whose homes have been raided, who have been arrested, imprisoned, and forced to emigrate.²⁵

To sum up, in Turkey's higher education tradition dating back to the Ottoman Empire in the last century, autonomy and academic freedom has mostly remained as a wish. The official boundary of academic autonomy and freedom has been demarcated by the official ideology, which is subservient to the convenience of the dynasty, the state, national security and national interests. Naturally, even the formal environment of freedom required by science has not been established, and it has remained a forbidden subject in each period. Political and social deadlocks that repeat periodically have almost always caused interventions in the higher education system. The political Islamism and staffing pressures that burgeoned in the environment spawned by the 1980 military coup, the corporatization of the university by the HEC scheme, and precarious academics captivated in the grip of performance criteria are the main factors that create the tension in Turkey's universities in the post-2000 era. On the other hand, one of the important objections to the turbulent authoritarianization process of the single party government, which has been going on nearly 20 years, has come from the dissident faculty members at universities. This process leads to the proliferation of political, legal and administrative pressure on universities long before the coup attempt. While academic freedom in the Turkish universities is far from being a priority since self-censorship is already highly

²⁵ For a concise history of Peace Declaration see three bulletins published by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey in 2018: *TİHV Akademi* (2018) "Barış İçin Akademisyenlere Yönelik Baskılar ve Hak İhlalleri", <http://www.tihvakademi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/04/Bu%CC%88ltenTu%CC%88rkc%CC%A7eSON.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 2019), *TİHV Akademi* (2018) "Olağanüstü Hal Koşullarında Üniversite", <http://www.tihvakademi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/07/Tihv-Akademi-B%C3%BClten-2.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 1 2019) and *TİHV Akademi* (2018) "Barış İçin Akademisyenlere Yönelik Yargı Süreçleri: Tarafsız-Bağımsız Mahkemelerde Yargılanma ve Adil Yargılanma Hakkının İhlali", <http://www.tihvakademi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/12/B%C3%9CLTEN03.2108TR.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 1 2019).

prevalent due to personnel regime and hierarchical structure, the SoE in the non-autonomous university system will not leave any vestiges of autonomy and disciplinary regulations have become means of legal regulations that will deprive academics of any changes of making a move. The university purges of this period have been unprecedentedly massive and incomparable in terms of their outcomes to previous purges. The research findings will, in a sense, lay bare the details of the dismissal process in such a way as to reveal the weaknesses of the higher education system. Now it is convenient to explain the understanding of academic autonomy and freedom that guides questions employed in questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

Academic Freedom and Autonomy

Academic freedom and autonomy are generally defined as interrelated yet separate concepts. While academic freedom is basically accepted as an individual right, academic autonomy is recognized as a right and authority of higher education institutions. Academic freedom is described by UNESCO's Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Commission as the freedom to obtain, develop and transfer information through research, teaching, examination, discussion; it is considered to include individuals' freedom to express their thoughts about the institution they work in or the system they are subject to, without being discriminated against, without being subjected to the pressure of the state or any other actor, and to enjoy internationally recognized human rights.²⁶ The European Universities Association determines that higher education institutions may be autonomous in terms of organizational, academic, financial and personnel management.²⁷ The issue of academic freedom has become an area in which many academics are thinking and researching. Below we attempt to summarize briefly the literature on this subject, which is the point of reference for the research in the issue of academic freedom.

In their report dealing with the repressive restrictions on higher education institutions exerted by governments, Kirsten Roberts Lyer and Aron Suba point out that the academic autonomy is restricted by means of pressures on the institution, academic activities and students, which hamper the legitimacy of the university. Accordingly, institutional interventions on higher education institutions are carried out through legislative, administrative assignments and appointments, changes in financial conditions and the personnel regime. Interventions on academic activities are carried out through the

²⁶ Qtd. in Kirsten Roberts Lyer and Aron Suba (2019) *Closing Academic Space*, www.icnl.org/.../Higher%20Ed%20Restrictions%20Report%20vf.pdf, (Date of Access, March 2019), s. 4.

²⁷ Lyer and Suba, *ibid.*, s. 6-13.

prevention of the academics' freedom of expression, prohibitions on certain research topics, restrictions on academic curriculum and teaching, travel restrictions and practices that cause self-censorship. In addition, autonomy of higher education institutions is also violated by means of interference in the student admission processes and the political pressures that students are exposed to. Finally, repressive actions by the state can include the criminalization of academics, the use of 'foreign agent' or anti-terrorism laws, securing the campuses through policing measures, negative public discourse by governments; all these likewise contribute to undermining academic autonomy.²⁸

Gökçen Alpkaya finds that UNESCO's 1997 recommendation, which he considers as a manifesto on academic freedom, sets the limits of academic freedom as follows: freedom of teaching and discussion without being restricted by the dominant ideology, freedom to conduct research and disseminate and publish its results, freedom from institutional censorship, freedom to express opinions about the institution or system studied, and freedom to participate in professional or representative academic bodies. Alpkaya points out that the right to academic freedom is a right specific to the academic community.²⁹ Similarly, Ralph F. Fuchs, too, describes academic freedom as the academic community's ability to conduct education, teaching, arts and research, and work free from any pressure pertaining to job security, the government or any other circles.³⁰ Francine Rochford highlights the threats to academic freedom and clarifies the picture a little more. First of all, participation in governance, which is one of the prerequisites of academic freedom, is endangered because the academic activities are conducted with corporate approach. The second threat for academic freedom is posed by the passage in time from a basis of tenure track to that of contracted employment. The third is the quality procedures and standardization that universities are subject to which harbor threats to academic freedom.³¹

In a recommendation prepared by the League of European Research Universities (LERU), academic freedom is acknowledged to have three components: the rights of individuals in the academic community; the collective and institutional rights of individuals; and the obligations of public authorities. Accordingly, the academic

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6-13

²⁹ Gökçen Alpkaya (2001) "UNESCO'nun 1997 Tarihli Kararı Işığında Akademik Özgürlük", *Cevat Geray'a Armağan*, Ankara: Mülkiye Birliği Yayınları, p. 229-244, p. 232-234.

³⁰ Ralph F. Fuchs (1963) "Academic Freedom-Its Basic Philosophy, Function, And History", *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 28(3): 431-446, p. 431-432.

³¹ Francine Rochford (2003) "Academic freedom as insubordination: the legalisation of the academy", *Education and the Law*, 15(4): 249-262, p. 252-256.

community, consisting of faculty members, researchers and students, has the freedom to practice research, education, expression and publication, and to perform professional activity outside the field of academic employment. Secondly, higher education institutions have the freedom to carry out internal and external affairs at all levels. Finally, public authorities have the legal obligation to secure academic freedom.³²

Lastly we will draw attention to the Lima Declaration to wrap up our observations regarding academic freedom. The Lima Declaration announced to the public at the sixty eighth General Assembly of the World Universities Service gathered in Lima in 1988 defines academic freedom, which it considers an indispensable condition of higher education institutions in terms of functions of education, research, governance and service, as “freedoms acquired, developed and communicated by means of creating, teaching, expressing and writing knowledge.” The autonomy realized through the democratic self-governance, which includes the active participation of all members of the academic environment, is described as “the independence of institutions of higher education from the State and all other forces of society, to make decisions regarding its internal government, finance, administration, and to establish its policies of education, research, extension work and other related activities.”³³ Academic autonomy, sometimes regarded as a component of academic freedom, is three-legged: scientific, financial and administrative, as pointed out in the Lima Declaration. Administrative autonomy means the management of the university by administrators and organs determined by the university’s own components; financial autonomy refers to the ability of the university to manage itself through its financial resources; scientific autonomy requires that activities such as research, publication, lectures, seminars, etc. that activities be shaped by university components. According to Mahmut Âdem, administrative autonomy is not possible without financial autonomy, and, likewise, scientific autonomy is not possible without administrative autonomy.³⁴ This point of view is seriously flawed, as it does not take into account the pressures of university administrations towards its members. Academic autonomy aiming at academic freedom, would prevent the failure of it. It is

³² Jogchum Vrieling, Paul Lemmens, Stephan Parmentier ve League of European Research Universities (LERU) *Working Group on Human Rights* (2010) “Academic Freedom as a Fundamental Right”, *LERU Advice Paper*, No. 6, <https://www.leru.org/files/Academic-Freedom-as-a-Fundamental-Right-Full-paper.pdf>, (Date of Access, October 2019), p. 24.

³³ Dünya Üniversiteler Servisi (2003 (1988)) “Lima Bildirgesi –Akademik Özerklik ve Yükseköğretim Kurumlarının Özerkliği”, *Eğitim, Bilim, Toplum*, 1(4): 88-92.

³⁴ Âdem, Mahmut (2008) “YÖK Döneminde Üniversiteler Nasıl Medreseleştirildi?”, *Çağdaş Üniversite mi Medrese mi*, Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 95-123 p. 195.

clear that demands for academic autonomy and freedom will remain unrealistic and unfulfilled if they are not based on the ideal of a free society and a free and emancipating university goal.

Standards reflected in international documents are available for going beyond an understanding of supposed academic autonomy and freedom. Accordingly, academic freedom is the ability of the academic community to carry out all kinds of research, education and art activities without any pressure. For this, the academic must have job security and legal protection, be able to participate in administration and perform his profession outside of the academic institution in which he is employed. Academic autonomy is having administrative, financial and scientific autonomy under public safeguard. In this framework, this study aims at identifying right violations that academics experienced in terms of academic activities such as research, publication, lecture, congress, symposium, panel, academic events, union activities, job security, autonomy of the institutions they work for, as well as the violations faced by graduate students in terms of education, research activities and admission procedures for programs.

STUDY DESIGN

Method and Sampling

This report includes the results of 422 face-to-face surveys and 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with academics and graduate students in Turkey between June-December 2018 in 13 provinces determined by taking into account the regional distribution. The survey aims to demonstrate the effects of the State of Emergency (SoE), which continued for two years between July 21, 2016 and July 17, 2018, on academic freedoms in Turkey by means of the conditions of academics and students in the field of education, social sciences and humanities. Undoubtedly, the environment of repression under the SoE has affected not only the disciplines of social sciences and humanities but also all academic disciplines. However, due to the limitation of the research budget and the sampling that could be reached made it obligatory to limit the scope of the research to the field of social and humanities and educational sciences, which are relatively more affected by the pressure on academic freedoms.

Higher education statistics published by the HEC were used in creating the sample that constitutes the basis of this research.³⁵ As of May 2018, the data on higher education employees and student presented on the website titled Higher Education Information Management System is considered to constitute a population of academics and graduate students studying in the social sciences. Based on the statistics published by the HEC for the academic year 2017-2018, the numbers of academics and students of social studies in the universities in 13 provinces (including vocational schools of higher education, conservatories, faculties and institutes of fine arts, and faculties of science and letters) have been aggregated. According to the HEC statistics, the number of graduate and doctorate students continuing their education in the 2017-2018 academic year in social sciences faculties and institutes of the state and the foundation universities in the 13 provinces, where the research was carried has been, was 225,080 (131,709 female and 93,371 male). Similarly, the number of faculty members working in the same institutions in the same period was 30,362 (14,775 female and 15,587 male). In order to distribute

³⁵ Yükseköğretim Kurulu (2018) “Enstitülere Göre Lisansüstü Öğrenci Sayıları”, “Öğretim Elemanlarının Akademik Görevlerine Göre Sayıları”, *Yükseköğretim Bilgi Yönetim Sistemi*, <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

485 questionnaires (365 academics and 120 graduate students)³⁶, and 15 semi-structured interviews, carried out within the bounds of the research budget, into the provinces, the total number of instructors and students in each province was multiplied by the coefficients obtained by dividing the faculty and student population. After determining how many of the 485 surveys will be distributed in which provinces, the quota for the provinces was distributed to the universities in that province. This process was carried out by taking into consideration the number of students and academics at universities, faculties and institutes. Finally, 485 questionnaires were distributed to 13 provinces, the number of questionnaires to be conducted in which universities in these provinces were decided and the questionnaires to be conducted were eventually distributed to the units of universities according to the faculty and student populations of each institution by totals. In addition, the sampling was detailed according to these criteria, using the coefficients obtained for the staff members' degrees and the gender of the two groups. During the implementation of the questionnaires, we tried to comply with the distribution formed according to the staff and gender criteria as much as the conditions allow.

Within the scope of the research, where the predicted number of 485 questionnaires could not be reached due to the conditions of the SoE period, the number of the in-depth interviews was increased and 30 in-depth interviews were conducted instead of 15. These interviews were conducted mostly with academics working at state and foundation universities in cities where surveys were conducted; however, in some cases, academics who had a significant violation of rights specific to the SoE period were interviewed even though they did not work in the provinces in which the interviews were to be conducted. 23 of the interviewees work in public universities and 7 work in foundation universities. 10 of the interviewees are female and 20 of them are male. 19 academics interviewed have worked or are working in universities located in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, and 11 have worked in universities located in small provinces compared to these metropolitan cities. The academic titles of the interviewees varied: An interviewee works as a civil servant. The rest of the interviewees were as follows: three professors, five associate professors, seven assistant professors, seven research assistants (3 of them being doctor research assistants) and four lecturers. The list containing the information about the distribution of academics we held in-depth interviews with in terms of universities and provinces can be found in APPENDIX 1.

³⁶ Accordingly, the 365-person sample for academics (5 % error margin and 95 % confidence level) and the 120-person sample for students (9 % error margin and 95 % confidence level) provide valid data for the population.

This report, grounded on the results of both parts of the research (survey and in-depth interviews), is based on survey data, and examples from in-depth interviews are used to support survey results and numerical data with actual examples/statements. In addition, the topics that were not included in the questionnaire but appeared in in-depth interviews were also discussed in the report.

Questions

A parallelism was attempted between the questionnaire questions and the in-depth interview questions. Both sets of questions have been prepared by highlighting the elements and components of academic freedom by considering the perspective of academic freedom accepted in the research. As stated in the introduction, academic freedoms are described as the freedom to obtain, develop and transfer information through research, teaching, examination, discussion; it is considered to include individuals' freedom to express their thoughts about the institution they work in or the system they are subject to, without being discriminated against, without being subjected to the pressure of the state or any other actor, and to enjoy internationally recognized human rights. In the most general sense, the concept of autonomy means that higher education institutions are run by their own bodies in terms of organizational, academic, financial and personnel management. In this context, the following limitations and obstacles towards academic autonomy and freedom are identified: institutional limitations and restrictions implemented through legislative, administrative appointments, determination of administrators, changing financial conditions, changes in the personnel regime; academic limitations and inhibitions implemented through prohibition on academic freedom of expression, restrictions on certain academic research and curricula, travel restrictions, practices that lead to self-censorship; limitations and obstacles to academic autonomy enacted through criminalization of academics, involvement in student admissions; limitations and obstacles to teaching through academic and political pressures involvement of students, accusations of treason, being foreign agents, through anti-terrorism laws, securing higher education institutions through policing measures and degrading the university's legitimacy by denigrating universities in the public opinion.³⁷ Within the light of these observations, it is acknowledged that academic autonomy, job security and trade union rights are mutually interdependent and they are vital for the realization of academic freedoms. Therefore, both in-depth questions asked in the

³⁷ Lyer and Suba, *ibid.*, p. 6-13.

interviews and in the survey were gathered under the headings of academic freedom, autonomy and job security. See APPENDIX 2 and APPENDIX 3 for semi-structured in-depth interview questions and questionnaire forms.

Reliability Analysis

Reliability analysis was applied to the data obtained from the questionnaire section of the research and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient, which measures the reliability, was obtained to be 0.71. Cronbach's alpha coefficient measures whether correct sampling (participant) has been reached through the right question in a survey study. It also gives information on whether the questions asked in the questionnaire form measure the subject and the initial hypothesis. As a prerequisite for generalizing within a certain confidence interval in the interpretation of survey findings, the coefficient obtained as a result of the reliability analysis is expected to be statistically in the desired range.

The alpha coefficient of 0.71 obtained for this study shows that the research data is within a reliable range. Alpha coefficient is a coefficient ranging from 0 to 1. It is accepted that the reliability of the research increases as the figure approaches 1. In researches in the field of social sciences, this coefficient is expected to be between 0.6 and 1. Accordingly, the reliability coefficient in this research on academic freedom was above 0.6 (0.71) and the research findings in 95% confidence interval (i.e. with a 5% margin of error) were reliable, the questions in the questionnaire likewise provide reliability, and most importantly, demonstrate that randomness in the sample has been achieved.

II. PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS: PRACTICES OF SELF-CONCEALMENT IN TIMES OF REPRESSION AND DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

During the State of Emergency (SoE), which was declared after the July 15 Coup Attempt in which 251 citizens were killed and over 2000 citizens were injured, civil servants were “dismissed” from the public office with the decree laws.³⁸ The decree law lists announcing dismissals that were prepared by a delegation of directors in relevant institutions were published periodically. In the same period, the rector elections were abolished with the SoE Law No. 676, so that academic autonomy was thoroughly eroded.³⁹ Under these conditions, academics found themselves in a climate of fear in which they lacked job security and were suspicious of everyone and everything. Therefore, it has been observed that the research that includes the concepts of “academic freedom” and SoE in its title has made academics highly anxious. Throughout the research, our survey or interview proposal was rarely accepted without local connections between the participant and the researcher. Some of those who initially accepted the survey or interview declined the interview at the last moment without justification, and although some academics accepted it, they evaded actual meeting by constantly delaying the survey or interview schedule. Some of those who accepted the interview wanted to carry out the questionnaire or interviews out of the office, opting for an e-mail or video call interview, for fear that they may undergo an investigation. As a matter of fact, a significant part of the surveys and interviews have been performed outside the university campuses.

Throughout the research, it has been observed that relatively younger and lower level academics were more willing to participate in surveys and interviews. This situation may account for the fact that the younger academics have relatively less internalized the

³⁸ A news article published in the daily *Habertürk* three years after the coup attempt stated that in the state of emergency, which was declared on July 20, 2016 and lasted for two years, 125 thousand public personnel were expelled from public office with 32 decree laws and 500 thousand people were judged, with 29 thousand of them being in prison as of the third year of the coup attempt; *Habertürk* (2019) “15 Temmuz hain darbe girişiminin üzerinden 3 yıl geçti”, <https://www.haberturk.com/son-dakika-haberi-15-temmuz-hain-darbe-girisiminin-uzerinden-3-yilgecti-neler-yasandi-haberler-2504248>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

³⁹ In the election procedure introduced by the Decree Law No. 676, the president will appoint rectors by choosing among the three candidates presented to him by the HEC, which decides on the candidates by evaluating the applications made by professors; *Hürriyet* (2016) “Yeni KHK ile rektörlük seçimleri kaldırıldı”, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/yeni-khk-ile-rektorluk-secimleri-kaldirildi-40262924>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

conservative institutional culture, and in connection with this, have been more sensitive about academic freedom, while on the other hand, relatively older and academically senior people who have established their lives on academia may be overwhelmed by excess of what they will have to waive.

All these difficulties have prevented reaching the anticipated number of 485 survey questionnaires at the beginning of the study and thus we were able to hold 422 face-to-face surveys with academics and graduate students in 54 universities in 13 provinces of Turkey's seven regions.⁴⁰ Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir are the provinces where most surveys were carried out owing to their density in higher education in general. The distribution of the sample to the provinces is as follows:

Table 1: The distribution of participants to the provinces

Province	Number of Surveys	Percentage
İstanbul	144	34
Ankara	121	29
İzmir	35	8
Eskişehir	23	6
Erzurum	22	5
Adana	14	3
Samsun	14	3
Mersin	13	3
A Province in Blacksea Region	11	3
Van	9	2
Diyarbakır	8	2
Çanakkale	6	1
Tekirdağ	2	1
Total	422	100

University members interviewed in a province stated that they wanted neither their names nor the name of their university to be mentioned in the research because of the pressure and fear they felt on them, they even stated that the name of the province where they

⁴⁰ 30 questionnaire interviews were conducted electronically (13 questionnaires) or via e-mail (17 questionnaires) since academics did not want or were not available for face-to-face meeting. The surveys carried out by e-mail were checked by the interviewer, in case of missing information, the participant was asked to complete it or indicate the reason why it was left without being filled in, and the completion of these surveys was carried out in this way.

participated in the survey should not be included in the research report. Therefore, the name of this province in the Black Sea region will not be mentioned in this report. Similarly, academics in a province that accepted to participate in the survey and where a single university was located later on gave up participating in the survey. Therefore, since we could not complete the sample in this province we tried to reach academics in other provinces in the same region.

Especially academics working in small provinces with one or two universities responded with hesitation to the questions in the questionnaire form aiming to collect demographic information. During the interviews held in these provinces, the participants have been reluctant to indicate the department or fields of study in which they work / study. In these interviews, we had to remind the interviewees that not all questions regarding demographic data would be used in the report and some of them (such as the birth year of the participants) were asked to ensure the reliability of the interviewers and the surveys. Despite this, information concerning seven participants' gender, 23 interviewees' birth date (including 18 academics), six academics, one of whom did not want the name of the province where they participated in the survey to be mentioned, were left unanswered as well as 13 participants who preferred not to answer the questions that might reveal the field in which they work/study. After asking the name of the university and faculty in the questionnaire, questions pertaining to the department where they work particularly led to uneasiness among academics for fear that their identity might be traced. For this reason, 8 % of academics (26 academics) preferred not to reveal their department. In addition, four students did not want to indicate the institute where they receive education.

An academic responded to the survey question "Put down your additional thoughts on academic freedom in Turkey in the SoE period" as follows: "Especially the question about university / department / field of study makes it possible to access directly personal identity information. In this regard, I think that the participants are at risk and I would like to draw attention to the fact that we need to be careful" (Survey, Associate Professor, State Uni., Mersin). In answering the same question, another academic expressed the pressure on academics as follows: "I am hesitant even about filling out the questionnaire, for fear that this may fall into the hands of somebody else and I may have an investigation. I guess this is enough to express to what extent we're under pressure" (Survey, Professor, State Uni., Izmir). Apparently it has become a menacing experience for academics even to participate in a research anonymously in the SoE conditions in Turkey!

Table 2 presents distribution of the participants in terms of type of university and academic status (academic or student). 331 of the participants are academics and 91 of them are graduate students. 311 of all participants are employed at state universities and 111 are employed at foundation universities.

Table 2: Distribution of Participants by University Type and Academic Status

University Type	Academic	Student	Total
State University	245	66	311
Foundation University	86	25	111
Total	331	91	422

The youngest participant who volunteered in the survey is 23 years old and the oldest is 74 years old. The majority of the participants are women. Gender distribution of the participants is given in Table 3. As can be seen from the table, 55 % (231 people) of the participants are female and 43 % (182 people) are male. Two participants answered “other” to the gender question. Seven participants (one student and six academics) did not want to indicate their gender. We assume that the reason why especially academics do not want to indicate their gender is that they want to hide their identity. Of these participants, two of them also did not want to reveal their ages, two of them their department, two of them their academic titles, and three of them did not want to specify their main study topics. As noted above, the uneasiness of academics about participating in the research has also shown itself in obtaining biographical data.

Table 3: Gender of Participants

Gender	Academic	Student	Total
Female	173	58	231
Male	150	32	182
Other	2	0	2
Not Specified	6	1	7
Total	331	91	422

Determining the fields in which the participants worked/trained was also difficult. Some of the participants preferred not to answer one or more of the questions about this subject. For this reason, Table 4 has been formed by gathering the answers given to the open-

ended questions (“your faculty / institute”, “your department”, “your main academic fields of study”) which facilitated both following the sample quota and determining the main academic study areas of the participants. Nevertheless, we failed to determine the academic study areas of 13 participants. The table reveals that those who agreed to participate in the study are mostly working / studying in the fields of communication sciences, educational sciences, law, sociology, economics, finance, philosophy and political science.

Table 4: Academic Disciplines of the Participants

Disciplines	Number
Communication Sciences	77
Educational Sciences	60
Law	47
Sociology	44
Economics, Business, Finance	37
Philosophy	22
Political Science and Public Administration	21
Literature (Turkish Language and Literature, Western Languages and Literature, Literary Studies)	21
International Relations	20
Psychology	18
Fine Arts	7
Architecture	6
Gender and Women’s Studies	6
Labor Economics and Industrial Relations	6
Theology	5
Music	3
History	3
Archeology	2
Social Services	2
Statistics	1
Anthropology	1
Not specified	13
Total	422

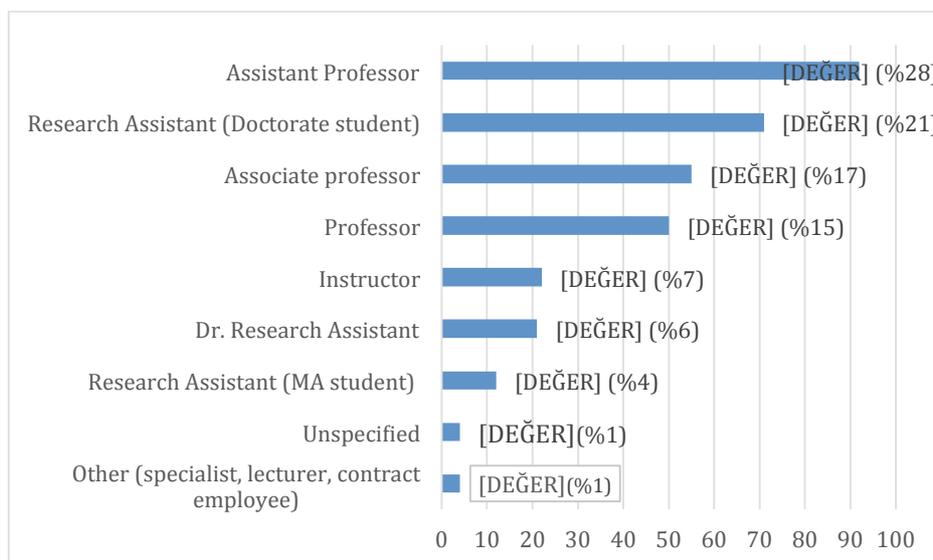
Education levels of the participants are shown in Table 5. While 52 of the students are enrolled in master's program, 39 are in doctorate program. The majority of academics (69 %, 228 people) completed their doctorate. 31 % (103 people) of them still continue their postgraduate education (See Table 5).

Table 5: Education levels of the participants

The Last Education Program Completed	Academic	Student	Total
Undergraduate	15	52	67
MA	88	39	127
PhD	228	0	228
Total	331	91	422

The distribution of the academics participating in the research according to their cadres is shown in Figure 1. Accordingly, 31 % of academics are continuing their postgraduate education (MA-PhD) or have completed their PhD, 28 % are assistant professors, 17 % are associate professors, 15 % professors and 1% are specialists, lecturers and contract employees (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Distribution of Academics by Staff



The reason for the distribution of participants result in in this way may be said to arise from the fact that the number of research assistants is higher than that of academics with other titles in universities and that young academics are more willing to participate in the research. Because while the research assistant quotas in the sample followed during the research were completed relatively easily, it was difficult to access associate professors and professors. This situation may account for the workload and reluctance of associate professors and professors to participate in the research, as well as their hesitation to participate in such a research. Although it was assumed before entering the field that associate professors and professors who are in a relatively more secure position would accept to participate in the research more readily it turned out to be otherwise. For example, a professor, who agreed to participate in the survey in Istanbul, gave up participating in the research at the last minute stating she feared that participating in such a study would take away her personal rights (“My retirement is approaching, do not ruin it now”).

The vast majority of the academics who agreed to participate in the research (96 %, 318 people) are still actively working in universities. The remaining 4 % (13 academics) has left the university for various reasons: 5 of these academics were dismissed from public service with decree laws announced in the SoE period, 4 of them resigned, 3 of them were discharged owing to the fact that their contracts have not been renewed and 1 of them retired.

11 % of the academics that volunteered to participate in the survey stated that they had been working in the institution they last worked for less than 2 years, which indicates that these academics started to work in the last workplace in the SoE period. 27 % of academics are still working at universities where they are working for 2-6 years, 26 % between 6-10 years, 17 % between 11-15 years, 9 % between 16-20 years and again 9 % also declared that they have been working for more than 20 years. This shows that the vast majority (89 %) of the participants are able to make a comparison of their institution between the pre-SoE and the post-SoE periods.

III. ACADEMIC FREEDOMS BESIEGED BY PRESSURE AND CENSORSHIP IN UNIVERSITIES IN THE SoE PERIOD

Universities Do Not Recognize Academic Freedom

Academic freedom has been one of the main agenda items of universities in the 20th century. So much so that today universities in America and Europe are expected to recognize this freedom institutionally. For example, the 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure, prepared by the American Association of University Professors and of the Association of American Colleges in 1940, has been accepted by many universities in the USA. Similarly, Magna Charta Universitatum, a charter on academic freedom, was created on the 900th anniversary of the founding of the University of Bologna, which is supposed to be the first university in Europe, and has been accepted by many universities in Europe. Currently 889 universities in 88 countries from various regions of the world are party to this document. In Turkey 35 universities have signed Magna Charta Universitatum.⁴¹

In addition to giving academic freedoms to universities, such texts related to academic freedoms also impose the responsibility of creating an academic environment in which these freedoms can be realized. Accordingly, raising awareness of freedoms among university components should be one of the primary responsibilities of universities in this field. However, 23 % of the academics participating in the research stated that the university they work in is not a party to any freedom charter and 74 % stated that they do not have any knowledge about this issue. Only 3 % of academics declared that they knew their universities signed a charter on academic freedom. Similarly, only one participant stated that she received training on academic freedom at the university where she worked.

Within the scope of the research, the survey was conducted in 18 of the 35 Turkish universities that signed the Magna Charta Universitatum document. Only 5 % (9 people) of the 179 academics participating in the survey from these universities stated they knew that the institution where s/he worked signed a charter on academic freedom, while 23 % claimed that their university did not signed such a document, and 72 % said that they did not know anything about it. Similar responses were given to the question “Is there a unit

⁴¹ For a list of these universities, see: Observatory Magna Carta Universitatum (2019) “Signatory Universities “, <http://www.magna-charta.org/magna-charta-universitatum/signatory-universities> (Access Date, March 10, 2019).

at your university that you could apply when you experience any violation of rights?" Of the academics responded to the question, 19 % (58 people) answered "Yes", 39 % (116 people) answered "No" and 42 % (125 people) answered "I don't know." Those who replied the question affirmatively were asked what these units were and the following answers were received: Ethics Committee (18 people), Mobbing Unit (18 people), Sexual Abuse and Attack Support Unit (12 people) and Individual and Academic Development Center (1). Interestingly, 14 academics stated that they would apply to the university administration in such a situation and 9 academics said they would apply to "administrative units", while they named no specific unit they could consult in case of a loss of academic liberty. Likewise, 13 academics stated that they would apply to the union where they are members, and two academics to the Faculty Members Association; so they stated that they could get support from the rights organizations outside the institutional structure of the university when the violation of academic freedoms is concerned.

This suggests that universities in Turkey are indifferent to the issue of academic freedom and shows that even those universities that have signed an international academic freedom charter do not have any interest in conducting activities and awareness-raising initiatives for their constituents in this regard or in implementing various mechanisms at the university as required by international charter in their institution. Signing an academic freedom charter could be said to exist in universities in Turkey solely as a means to increase the university's prestige in the international academic community, a "public relations" move whose requirements will never be put into practice.

Academics Do Not Feel Free While Lecturing

Among the main academic duties of academics is teaching, which enables them to transfer academic knowledge to their students. One of the pillars of academic freedom is the requirement that academics should be free from any political, social, or even economic pressures when designing and teaching courses. This freedom entails that academics create and teach freely in the classrooms, studios and laboratories and when necessary deal with sensitive or objectionable issues at will. It is essential for both teachers and students to share their opinions on every subject in classrooms so that the academic thinking environment can develop freely. This is also necessary for the

development of the relationship of trust and mutual respect between the lecturer and the student.⁴²

Based on these observations, the academics who are actively lecturing within the scope of the research were asked whether they feel free when preparing their courses and lecturing in the classroom. One of every three academics participating in the survey and actively lecturing (34 % of academics) stated that they felt threatened or under pressure while preparing their course contents or lecturing in class in the SoE period. The rate of academics that feel uncertain about this issue is 18 % (See Table 6).

Table 6: Academic Freedom in Classroom (Lectern Freedom) under the SoE

Challenges of Lecturing in State of Emergency	Agree	I feel neutral	Disagree
While creating the course content or lecturing I feel under threat/pressure.	89 (% 34)	49 (% 18)	127 (% 48)
While creating the course content or lecturing I try not to talk about issues considered sensitive/objectionable.	91 (% 34)	67 (% 25)	106 (% 40)
I can do my courses as I wish.	128 (% 48)	66 (% 25)	71 (% 27)
I have encountered suggestions or interventions from my academic superiors and/or administrative staff about students' final grades.	30 (% 11)	15 (% 6)	221 (% 83)

⁴² Countless academics in Turkish universities have undergone investigations due to their statements and the content of their lectures. Two examples of this are worthwhile: The case of Barış Ünlü, lecturer at Ankara University Faculty of Political Sciences, who was subjected to investigation and criminal proceedings for assigning his students in his “Political Life and Institutions in Turkey” course to compare two texts by Abdullah Öcalan, is an example of violation; *Amnesty International* (2016) “Barış Ünlü Davası”, <https://www.amnesty.org.tr/icerik/baris-unlu-davasi>, (Date of Access, September 2019). The other case is that of Professor Zeynep Sayın Balıkçoğlu, whose contract was terminated upon complaints about the course content to the university administration on grounds that she recommended reading the Bible and insulted the president; *Bianet* (2016) “Bilgi Üniversitesi ‘Cumhurbaşkanına Hakaret’ Gereğiyle Akademisyeni İşten Çıkardı”, <http://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/175901-bilgi-universitesicumhurbaskanina-hakaret-gereksiyle-akademisyeni-isten-cikardi>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

One of the participant academics responded to the question about work environment in which they lectured (“Your additional thoughts on academic freedom in Turkey in the SoE period”) located at the end of the questionnaire survey as follows:

The HEC inspectors attending our classes. Our students targeting us on social media. Feeling constantly uneasy while doing academic activities (since the subject is unfavorable), being kept under constant pressure by means of unnecessary and pointless workload (requirement to prepare various activity reports, Bologna contents, online course material, etc.) (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

The main outcome of trying to give lectures in this environment is academics facing self-censorship of some kind. While 34 % of lecturing academics stated that they try not to cover sensitive or objectionable issues while designing the course content, 25 % were neutral on this matter. The rate of academics stating that they can do their courses freely without feeling any pressure is 31%.

Self-censorship has various dimensions. In addition to evading sensitive issues in their courses, the academics stated that they also removed “sensitive” subjects from the course content or from the reading lists, gave up inviting guest lecturers to their courses on specific issues, abstained from talking about issues related to Turkey while discussing international issues, evaded the current issues in Turkey, chose to cancel some courses or not to open them at a certain semester or changed exam questions.

For example, while answering the open-ended question, an academic who teaches a course said a play she used in the course was removed from the reading list in the following semester immediately after the declaration of the SoE upon the suggestions of her senior instructors in the department, simply because the play dealt with an “ethnic” issue that takes place “in another country” (Questionnaire, Lecturer, State Uni., Ankara). Another academic said a previously available course dealing with “ethnic issues” in different countries was cancelled by the decision of his staff in the semester overlapping with the declaration of the SoE (Survey, Dr. Lecturer, State Uni., Ankara). An academic who participated in the in-depth interview (IDI) shared his observation that, after the SoE, courses dealing with more technical issues were opened rather than those dealing with political and current issues:

I had a look at the elective courses opened this year; there is the “Smart City!” And far more technical stuff. Well, we have to train our students so that they become good city planners. Everyone supports this, saying, “Yes, we have to do this.” We held a meeting with lecturers of the elective courses at the beginning of the semester; I felt such a difference between now and 5 years ago. This is what I call self-censorship; I mean the idea that risky issues should be avoided. Technical, technocratic things are introduced, which have more buyers because they are risk-free.

This is something very obvious; I feel we are heading towards more technocratic issues (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

In addition to removing the “objectionable” course resources, cancelling some courses completely and preferring the courses dealing with technical content, academics stated that they practiced self-censorship while teaching. For example, an academic stated that while talking about another country in her course, she tried not to refer to Turkey even if the subject matter was related: “Lately we tend to abstain from giving any examples of Turkey or the government in our courses management. I used to refer to corresponding situations in Turkey quite comfortably while talking about the structure of the British society and culture, now I definitely prefer not to give any examples” (Survey, Dr. Lecturer, State Uni., Ankara). In the following quotes, the lecturers conveyed the pressure and self-censorship they felt while teaching during the SoE period:

I flinch, of course. In other words, I flinched especially after July 15, but I could never bring myself to shy away from these issues. So I tried to explain them in a much more indirect way... We talk about authoritarian populism these days. People talk about authoritarian populism all over the world. For example, I say a lot of things to the students, but I never mention Turkey. Well, I give an example from Hungary, another from Russia and examples from India, but of course the students understand this. “Well, professor, how about Turkey?” they say. I make a joke, saying “Are you trying to get me into trouble?” And so on (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

You need to be more cautious about to what you say in the classroom these days. There are hordes of maniacs who are intent on reporting academics to the BIMER and CIMER.⁴³ They make a voice recording of you and file a complaint to the authorities, saying the lecturer said this and that... There are also people who got into serious trouble, some of them are known in public, but there are also those who remain unknown. Inevitably, people limit what they have to say, naturally restrict it (IDI, Instructor., State Uni.).

As mentioned above, some cases of self-censorship necessitated changes in the way the course is delivered. For example, an academic said when he was invited as guest to the course Queer Theory, the lecturer of the course was targeted in both social media and the daily *Yeni Akit* and he was also targeted openly in the media and, being worried about his life safety on the campus, he gave up calling guests for courses outside the department despite insisting on the his courses within the department:

The Queer Theory course ... I started teaching it in 2012. Since then, we have invited people from Kaos GL, who are activists in this field, to our course. I also invited them to both the Introduction to Sociology course and the Gender course. Because I think the knowledge of those people is deeper and more important. These are the people who experience it and are at the same time

⁴³ Abbreviations for Prime Ministry Communications Center and Presidential Communications Center, respectively.

alienated while experiencing it. Anyways, we have had such a tradition for years. ... (Last year) the course here with the lecturer was shared on social media. Later, the daily *Yeni Akit* immediately started following Kaos GL on the social media. They made news on KAOS GL, showing them as targets... Well, I teach Introduction to Sociology at the Faculty of Law. I was planning to invite them to the course while the issues of sexuality and gender were being covered. But I gave up the idea of inviting them. I can invite them to my own department, but I don't plan to invite them to my courses in other departments (Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

Academics stated that they applied some kind of self-censorship on the exam questions in the SoE as well as the course content, while they were able to ask questions about current political issues, they avoided this during the SoE:

There are some lecturers who in the classroom say, "Oh look, this is not something say, this is something Marx says, this is somebody else's idea." I know that there are many lecturers who say, "I am just quoting here, I don't necessarily think that way." Because you cannot do social science in this environment. Well, you will either touch lightly on certain issues a bit or you will take chances and talk without intimidation. When I first started teaching, there was a much better climate. At that time, for example, I asked the students to comment on [PM Erdoğan's] words "It is not clear whether she is a girl or woman" in the final exam. Well, dare you ask the same question now? In the past, I asked to students to comment on the statement "It is the destiny of these people, this is the fate of mining" after talking about the Soma mining disaster, that workplace murder. But today, I don't think I could do that, so I'm not asking such questions (Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

The numerical results of the situation revealed by the above quotations were as follows: 27 % of the academics who participated in the survey and taught courses stated that they could not carry out their courses as they wish. While 25 % of the academics teaching courses stated that they were neutral in this regard, 48 % of the academics stated that they could teach their courses as they wish (See Table 6).⁴⁴ One out of every ten academics (11 %) stated that they were exposed to suggestions or pressures about their students' final grades (See Table 6). 2 % of academics stated that their courses were closed due to their political views or the sensitive / objectionable course content during the SoE period (See Table 7).

⁴⁴ The percentages given in the tables throughout the study were calculated by taking into consideration each answer individually for each question. In other words, valid percentages are transferred in the tables. The reason for this preference is the fact that not all academics answered all the questions. In order to achieve reliable results, the questions regarding how the courses were taught were only asked to the lecturers, the questions about the management of postgraduate theses were given only to the thesis supervisors or members of the thesis juries and questions regarding committees were directed to academics in the relevant bodies. Similarly, academics who did not work in any institution before the SoE period answered only those questions related to the SoE period or only the parts of questions related to the SoE period.

Academics were targeted by the local/national press both in the pre-SoE and the SoE period on account of course contents, exam questions, academic studies, etc. 13 % of all the academics who participated in the survey stated that they were “targeted personally in the local/national press or social media” before the SoE and 9 % (31 people) in the SoE. According to the survey, approximately one in every ten academics in Turkey has been targeted! (See Table 7)⁴⁵

Table 7: Interventions on Academics’ Courses and Pressure on Academics

Pressures on Academics	Before the SoE	During the SoE
There was a complaint(s) about me (to the administration, to BIMER, to the police, etc.).	24 (%7)	33 (%10)
I was targeted personally at local, national press, social media, etc.	43 (%13)	31 (%9)
My lectures were inspected by supervisors or my superiors.	5 (%2)	9 (%3)
My lessons have been closed/removed.	2 (%1)	7(%2)

Targeting may sometimes involve individuals directly, but in some cases, a department in a faculty itself may be targeted for various reasons (course contents, exam questions, academic events, etc.) by the press. In an answer to an open-ended question, an academic

⁴⁵ For example, faculty members of Political Sciences and Faculty of Communication at Ankara University, which experienced a massive purge after the July 15 Coup Attempt, were targeted by the daily *Yeni Akit* and *Haber Vaktim* due to their course content; *BirGün* (2017) “Onursal Adıgüzel: ‘Akit hedef gösterdi, hükümet ihraç etti’”, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/onursal-adiguzel-akit-hedef-gosterdi-hukumet-ihrac-etti-146401>, (Date of Access, September 2019) and *Görünüm* (2016) “Haber Vaktim İLEF’i hedef gösterdi”, <http://gorunumgazetesi.net/guncel/haber-vaktim-ilefi-hedef-gosterdi-sapkinlara-ankara-universitesi-kucagi>, (Date of Access, September 2019). The photos, identities, workplaces of the academics targeted by President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan for signing the declaration called “We Will Not Be a Part of This Crime!” which is known in public as the peace declaration, were exposed in the pro-government media and social media and academics were threatened and a widespread administrative and criminal investigation were launched against them. *Akşam* (2016) “Sözde akademisyenlerin bildirisine soruşturma”, <http://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/sozde-akademisyenlerin-bildirisine-sorusturma/haber-480609>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

who participated in our survey expressed her uneasiness in such a situation: “As a member of the department, I have felt under threat for a long time, as the philosophy department was often targeted and received threats on social media before and after the SoE” (Survey, Research Assist., State Uni., İzmir).

The obstacles to the freedom of lecturers while lecturing are not limited to the oppressive political environment, distrust of students, fear of being informed or being targeted in the media / social media. Especially in the SoE period, the inspection of the courses by “inspectors” or “administrators” also appears as a pressure factor on academics. 3 % of the academics (9 people) who participated in the survey and taught courses (7 from the state, 2 from the foundation universities) stated that they experienced this. An academic stated that they were strictly supervised by the HEC inspectors, from keeping attendance sheets to the thesis and language in assignments:

Rather strange practices started (in the SoE). For example, the inspectors from the HEC now want us to track attendance, even though we did not include attendance as a requirement while calculating the credit system required by the Bologna process. Therefore, students sign certain pages to show that they are attending the course. They (the inspectors) started to poke their noses into the language of classwork we assign. For example, the program I founded was set up as a bilingual program: English and Turkish. That means the students were free to write their thesis and assignments in English or Turkish, as they wished. This has been banned, saying everyone will write in English. This of course led to serious problems. We have some students whose English is not good enough, but intellectually they are fantastic. Now we are having very serious problems with them. They write their theses in Turkish and then get them translated into English. Well, now the HEC makes very serious inspections and interferes with many things, from attendance sheets to the language of the assignments (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation University, Istanbul).

In brief, threats to and violations of academic (lectern) freedom, whose legal framework is rather vague, in the classroom in Turkey have aggravated increasingly dramatically since the political climate that led to the July 15, 2016 and the SoE declared thereafter. Both the one-party regime that has become gradually authoritative and the political and ethical behaviors of the public and academic community (such as the widespread and formalized informing practices) that were shaped within this framework show that academic freedom in the classroom, which could be enjoyed at certain institutions albeit at a limited level before the SoE has been suspended by means of various mechanisms.

Students as Informers: Obstacle to Academic Freedom

Informant students are one of the leading reasons for lecturers to practice self-censorship especially in classes and exams. The academics participating in the study stated that the notifications made to the Presidential Communication Center (CIMER) and the Prime Ministry Communication Center (BIMER), which started in the pre-SoE period but turned into an even more repressive control mechanism with the SoE have created an increasing pressure especially in the courses and exams. Complaints of the students against the faculty members to the university administrations or BIMER and CIMER become a key factor preventing the transfer of academic information freely, disrupting the relationship of trust between the lecturer and the student. One out of every ten academics who participated in the survey reported that they had been reported to various authorities (BIMER, CIMER, university administration, police) during the SoE period (See Table 7). One of the students who participated in the survey stated that he filed a complaint against his lecturer to BIMER / CIMER due to the content of academic activities (course content, lecture, exam questions, publications, etc.) during the SoE period, while some students said they knew students who complained about their lecturers to BIMER / CIMER before the SoE period (19 %) and during the SoE period (28 %) for the same reasons (See Table 8).

Table 8: Students' BIMER / CIMER Complaints

Students' Complaint of Lecturers	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I filed a complaint my lecturer(s) because of the content of their academic activities (course content, lecture, exam questions, publications etc.) to BIME /CIMER.	0	1
I know the student (s) who have complained to BIMER/CIMER about their lecturer(s) because of the content of their academic activities (course content, lecture, exam questions, publications etc.)	20 (%19)	44 (%28)

This issue (distrust for students, complaints about the faculty members to various authorities due to the courses) appears as a fundamental issue for academic freedoms in the questionnaires as well as in-depth interviews (IDI). Faculty members are anxious while teaching; they do not trust students, especially technological developments that facilitate sound recording lead faculty members to practice self-censorship. The following statements were excerpted from the answers given to the open-ended questions in the questionnaires and in-depth interviews:

Of course, we are in a very unsafe environment. So, I always tell the students when I go into the classroom: “Look, this is our place. This is where I should feel the most free.” ... But it is unbelievable, the students are doing sound recording. They rarely take notes or read books. Instead they do sound recordings. How can I know that that sound recording will not be used against me? ...The other day, in the first hour of a lecture, I was talking about anarchism and a student referred to Marxism and so on. One of the female students came to me after class and said to me. “Professor,” she said, “I’m a 4th grade student. Please, pay attention to your words.” ... “Last year... they did a sound recording of a lecturer in class and filed complained to BIMER and CIMER,” she said. In other words, the student comes and warns you: “Look, they will encourage you like that, then they will make you talk, they record your lecture and then they file a complaint about you.” Because now these are very easy things to access. On the one hand, being transparent is a good thing, but on the other hand, it is something that threatens you and threatens the lecturer. So how can I? ... How can I teach in this environment now? I tell my students “I don’t want you to record audio in my classes” (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

After the SoE I strictly forbade students to record sound in the course. It is also forbidden to keep mobile phones on the table during the lesson. I took these prohibitions to create a comfortable discussion environment in the classroom rather than the objectionable content of the subjects I talk about. Still, I find it sad having to forbid something to provide this comfortable environment (Survey, Lecturer, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

For example, what I fear most these days is to confront the student rather than the faculty management –because we know them now, we know what to expect – it would have been much more difficult to deal with the student. ... There is now this new type of students, who inform their lecturers. We now have new sorts of students who remain silent rather than voicing their opinions, they do not say a word, but instead they do things in different ways, by applying to CIMER. This is what I dread (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Istanbul).

Anything mentioned by the lecturers during the course (subject, thinker, course source, example given, etc.) can serve as grounds for a complaint by the students. For example, an academic teaching the course “drawing from nude model”, which is a common practice in art education all over the world, was reported to BIMER by students who elected that course; the complaint was “intentionally shared as if it were a serious problem in the social media”, upon which they had to justify one of the basic techniques used in art education. (Survey, Associate Professor, State Uni., Ankara). Another academic said a student filed a complaint against her simply because of the life and sexual choice of a thinker, which she referred to in class. Again, in another example given below, an academic stated that he was reported for using the abbreviation “TC” in a report he discussed in class:

I suffered a lot especially from the students. I really suffered a lot. I have really bad experiences. One is about Foucault. One of the students must have googled Foucault. It was not a formal investigation, but I was subjected to questioning: “Encouraging homosexuality!” Our student discovered from Google that Foucault died of AIDS. Well, I said this in my defense: “So,” I said, “our students cannot have sex with Foucault, it is technically not possible if they have such a desire. He’s dead. It is technically not possible if we are going to make an assessment of their

preferences. He is dead,” I said. “But since we’re doing a study of his works, I was talking about such concepts as biopower, biopolitics and so on.” Honestly students trouble me more than faculty and university management. I am not saying this is the children’s fault. These things happen, they take many things as an insult to their values because of the social environment they grow up in (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Diyarbakır).

So, another colleague over there experienced something. He used the term “TC” (TR: Turkish Republic) in the class, which appears verbatim in an official report they were discussing, that is, he used the abbreviation “TC in reference to that report. But he was reported to the authorities simply because of this. Apparently those who made the complaint had the following line of thinking: “When you say TC it is nothing but organization propaganda; why did you say TC instead of Republic of Turkey?” I personally witnessed this (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Van).

Academics’ courses and their expressions in the courses are controlled by both the students and the administrators. There are also academics who report having experienced mobbing owing to students’ complaints to the administration. For example, an associate professor from Ankara in the field of political science who participated in the survey reported the situation as follows: “I experienced gender-based discrimination and mobbing. Mobbing came about with 3 e-mails written by head of the department. In the emails I was asked to end the 15-minute discussions before classes we had with our students based on their daily experiences” (Survey, Associate Professor, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

Students can complain about the lecturers not for the things they said but also for the things they did not say! These are cases based on the allegation that lecturers allowed the discussion of “sensitive” issues as “terrorist propaganda” or “criticism of the government.” Therefore, academics are held responsible not only for what they say in the lectures but also for what the students say in class. Undoubtedly, the climate of fear created by this situation makes it impossible to hold debates, which is a precondition for academic freedom in universities. For example, an academic stated that he was reported to the administration for what a student said in class and relates the reaction of the administration as follows:

For example, look, You even don’t know what they would report. I was talking about gender. I was talking about early marriages. While doing that, someone said, “How are you going to comment on Muhammad marrying a child at the age of 9?” I gave the most reasonable answer to be given in that situation. I said we’re not theologians, nine years of age is a controversial age, and then I said a lot of stuff. Actually, I said very moderate, middle-of-the-road sort of things, but I ended the discussion saying ““But I’m not an expert on the subject. I only relate what the theologians say. I mean this is not my area of expertise.” The student said, “This is what theologians say whenever they are stuck anyway,” he said, “they speak like that, professor. The guy simply married a child!” he continued. I did not say anything. Now they complained directly to the dean. Also, religion is a particularly touchy subject. They claimed, “In the lecture they insulted the prophet. And the lecturer didn’t say anything against it.” Well, that was not what I

was thinking then. I didn't think of reacting, I didn't think so. Know what I mean? I am giving people freedom to discuss things. Look how democratic it is. Everyone says their opinion, so, no problem. Well I never thought that things could turn out like this. I received phone calls, people were saying, "When someone blaspheme against my religion I take it personally." ... The head of the department said, "What does that mean, sir? When someone blaspheme against my religion I take it personally." "What is going on?" I said. I realized that it was something about me, but I could not figure out exactly what it was. I really could not understand anything about this issue. Anyways, we talked over it a bit and figured it out (DG, Faculty Member, State Uni. Eastern Anatolia Region).

Students seem to inhibit academics' freedoms not only by informing, but also threatening their life security. For example, academics targeted by the media are afraid of attacks from students even within the campus:

A few days later, there was again a newspaper article. ... This must have been something done deliberately. Because a few days ago there was a news article on Hacettepe. Then came those about TED University and Ankara University. ... When I first heard about it, I felt really bad. Are we being targeted too? Because we have a variety of different student profiles. It's not much like it used to be. So, there are police informers amongst us. And you really feel it. ... A friend of mine had left the department after resigning; they had posted threat messages on his door. That is why. I do not think we will have much trouble here but I am going to a class at the Faculty of Law, which is a place like the youth branch of the AKP. It is so. And that is the thing. I had worries thinking... if I received threats here, I would definitely be worried about my life safety (IDI., Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

The transformation of students into a pressure and control mechanism for academics, whose personal rights were significantly eroded during the SoE period and who are under great pressure in terms of academic freedoms and are in a fragile position, has damaged the academic relationship which they establish with students; thus they are stuck between conflicting with students and academic principles. Especially young academics began to lose their belief in their profession in the face of this situation:

For example, if you are generous in grading papers, you can tell whatever you like, tell it even from a far left-wing viewpoint... They have their own red line, you should not cross that red line, you should not talk about the Kurdish issue ... Unless you enter there, even if you have a far left viewpoint, if you are generous in grading, if you tolerate cheating, you are the best. You are their favorite lecturer. ... Now all this of course has a degenerating effect on the lecturer, especially young ones. They are afraid, they begin to retreat, they end up changing their job. After a while, they cannot resist, they break. "I will do this and go outside, let me do something, give private lessons, I don't want to fight with anyone." They say... In short, we are faced with a complete suppression, dissolution and degeneration process, from bottom to top and top to bottom. This of course does not allow any traces of what is called academic freedom (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

Audio and video recording technology becoming accessible, complaint mechanisms such as BIMER and CIMER mainly functioning as a notification device with political functions, subordination of social, political and ethical codes to detective methods, the

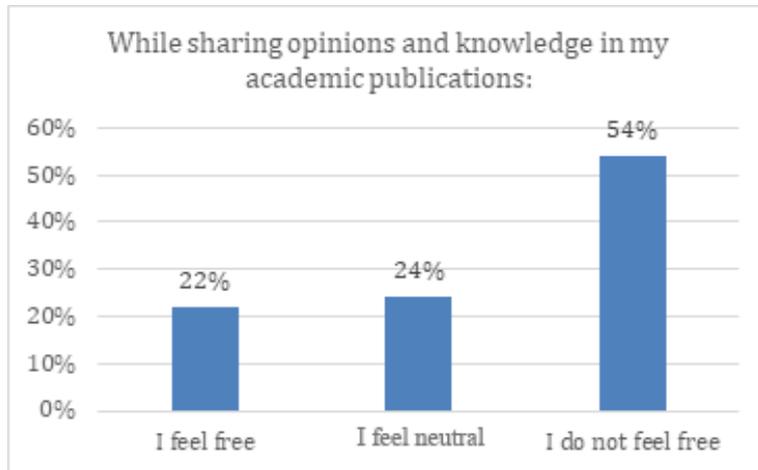
deepening social polarization by the political trials that perpetuate one-party rule and transformation of citizens into subjects have turned the university student as well as all members of society into informers. As seen in the examples, the reporting mechanism is operated in a way that forces the common sense and morality. The inconsistency in question made the academy inoperable, and the academic has lost his faith in the university as an institution.

Academic Publications in the Grip of Pressure, Censorship and Self-censorship

Another requirement of academic freedom is that academics should be able to publish freely their research results or academic views in a particular field. Academic publications are one of the ways in which academics can circulate their research or views to the broad academic public and to the attention and control of the society. Publications are among the basic tools for recording, disseminating and reproducing academic knowledge in the world. For this reason, they are of great importance in the academic world. Publishing is considered essential for the development and prestige of an academic. A pressure on academic publications will therefore have negative consequences both on the professional intellectual development of the academic and the production and sharing of the universal knowledge of humanity. Pressure on academic publications will be reflected on academic research, leading to a decrease in projects and publications to be carried out in certain areas, and furthermore certain areas of study such as a certain period or issues considered sensitive or objectionable will be ignored academically. Within the scope of this research, we asked academics questions about how free they feel while publishing their work.

More than half of all academics participating in the survey do not feel free while sharing their opinions and knowledge in their publications. Academics were asked to evaluate the expression “I feel free when sharing opinions and knowledge in my academic publications”; 55 % of the stated that they did not agree with this statement while 24 % were neutral about this, only 22 % agreed with this statement, feeling free when sharing their opinions and knowledge in their publications (See Figure 2). There is a significant difference between academics working at the foundation and those at the public universities. Those working at the foundation universities feel less free (by 6 %) in terms of sharing opinions and knowledge in their publications: 16 % of the academics working in these universities expressed that they felt free while publishing their opinions.

Figure 2: Academic Freedom in Terms of Academic Publications



Academics who do not feel free while expressing their opinions in their publications practice a kind of self-censorship. We asked academics how they felt when they dwelt on “sensitive” issues in their academic publications. One out of every three academics who answered this question (100 academics) stated that they applied some kind of self-censorship in their academic publications, “trying not to deal with issues that are considered sensitive / objectionable, and not to express certain things.” While 23 % of the academics stated that they were neutral about this issue and 46 % disagreed with this statement (See Table 9).

Table 9: Academic Freedom in Terms of Academic Publication in the SoE

Difficulties of Publishing under the SoE	I agree	I feel neutral	I do not agree
In my academic publications I try not to deal with issues considered to be sensitive / objectionable and not to express my views on certain things.	100 (%31)	75 (%23)	151 (%46)
I feel free while sharing the opinions and knowledge in my academic publications.	70 (%22)	77 (%24)	176 (%55)

Those who participated in in-depth interviews (IDI) referred frequently to the pressure that academics working in the social sciences feel while broadcasting during the SoE period. Since the publications bear the person's name and are open to the public, academics feel more vulnerable in this area and in some cases prefer not to publish:

I said there is self-censorship that starts from the technical part of the research. When it comes to sharing this research activity, in a scholarly journal or even a more popular magazine, that is, as long as you are a public official, as long as you work at a public university, there is a hesitation about everything you will write with your own name on it. You begin to wonder, should I word it in this way? Should I use this concept? Should I write like this? ... So being a social scientist is a more risky and difficult thing in this publishing environment because I work on political theory. My most basic concepts are power, state, etc. Therefore, you can become objectionable when you speak in this field. I mean, who can now claim "I can say anything I want on my own in Turkey and nothing bad will happen to me"? ... Personally I don't feel that free (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

I can do research on the topics I want, but there is the problem of publishing the research I did. This is something that happens within certain limits. As an academic, I do not feel free right now. I do not censor myself, I mean, I do research on whatever the subject is, doing my reading, but when you turn it into a written text and share it, of course, the limits are clear. We live in an environment where people can undergo some kind of prosecution and investigation any moment because of the things they write (IDI, Instructor, Dr., Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

One participant commented on the pressure on academic publications and one of the strategies that academics adopt to cope with this pressure as follows: There is an increase in the number of studies carried out with quantitative method in foreign languages that deal with subjects which do not offend the government. This is one of the strategies that academics take recourse to protect themselves" (Survey, Associate Professor, Foundation Uni., Ankara). Another academic remarked that he has been trying to publish papers in foreign languages and has difficulties in getting his work published in domestic journals:

That article was printed in an international journal, one of those indexed journals; but not one single trivial journal published by a faculty of communication would dare publish that article. ... Actually, we are producing material to the international academy; we are like academics without borders, because we are free there. But when we look back here, we are not free here. That contradiction stems from here. If we are not international, if we are producing only for domestic journals, that means we produce nothing (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

A strategy developed by academics in the face of pressure on publications is to write completely "technical" texts. For example, an academic remarked that in order to overcome censorship and pressure on publications, she tried to make a distinction between the publications that are "in her academic interests" and those that are suitable

for, and could be used, in “promotion criteria for associate professorship”, “technical” publications that do not require self-censorship:

Well, I work on the concept of identity. The field I am working in, well, it inevitably requires that I be involved in these issues, and suddenly you realize that any field can be a threat. What can you do then? Retreat! What do I do? I thought about it, you know? Can I work entirely on technical issues, focusing on work that would be useful in my associate professorship application? Go with the flow? But I cannot. Because my intellectual background would not... For example, a group of dismissed Turkish academics are now publishing a book in Germany. For example, they asked me to write a chapter for a book. I thought, probably I do not use it in my associate professorship application. So I have made a distinction in my life like this: a categorical distinction between my academic work that I can use it in my official career and my work that I want to contribute intellectually simply because I want to do. So far I have not done much work that could contribute to my academic advancement. I made such a distinction on my own. Going with the flow? Well, I am not a scholar like that; I cannot work on something I am not interested in. That field remained vacant, I mean, I haven't done much work for “preparation for associate professorship” section. You know ... if you are going to survive in academic life, you need to differentiate between the official field and the intellectual field for yourself (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni. Eastern Anatolia Region).

Academics participating in the survey stated that they were asked by the editorial boards, juries, publishing houses, etc. to remove parts of their academic publications (articles, books, etc.) before the SoE period (2 %) and during the SoE period (5 %, 16 people) on grounds that their contents were sensitive or objectionable (See Table 10).

Table 10: Impediment of Academic Publications

Pressure on Publications	Before the SoE	After the SoE
I was asked to remove/replace some parts of my academic publication (articles, books, etc.).	7 (%2)	16 (%5)
My article was not reviewed/was rejected by the journal I applied to.	4 (%1)	9 (%3)
My book was not published by the publishing house.	3 (%1)	2 (%1)

The elements to be removed may be a word, concept or term used in the publications, as well as a section, title or even a reference. Especially removal of the references to the

texts written by dismissed academics, of their names in the reprinting of books, etc. can be requested. Statements below exemplifies what academics experience in this regard:

I observed that the book chapters written by people who were expelled with the decree laws in the post-SoE period were not included in the new edition of those books (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

... The articles written by “objectionable” academics have been removed, their names as editors have been canceled. Their past academic studies have been likewise ignored and canceled (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

I think people should publish their writings. When citing, they should not have to investigate whether the cited person has been dismissed (Questionnaire, Instructor., State Uni., Erzurum).

In one of my articles, a friend, the editor of the book, asked me not to deal with a subject. I thought, on the contrary, that I ought to work even more on that subject, rather than dropping it. I talked about it in class, but that section was removed from my article (IDI, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni, Istanbul).

It's unbelievable, I was just talking to a friend a couple hours ago, one journal –I think it is an ULAKBİM journal for associate professorship –he says, “You won't mention someone dismissed with the decree laws even in footnotes.” Can you believe that! (IDI, Faculty Member, State University. Eastern Anatolia Region).

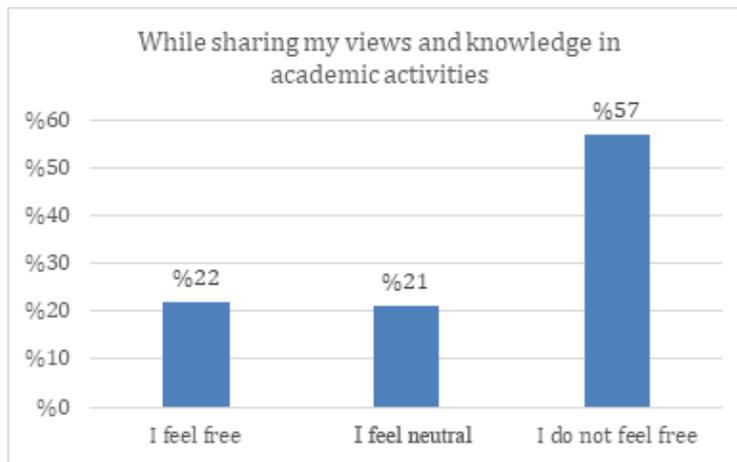
Something like this happened to a lecturer. In an article –she was reading, I mean, refereeing– there was a reference to a book or article by someone who was expelled. The article was sent back to this lecturer to make further corrections in the article. Although the article was accepted and all necessary procedures were completed, he was asked to remove the reference to this dismissed academic. They said, “Please, ask the relevant author for this thing, ask for a correction!” (IDI, Lecturer, State Uni., Ankara).

In addition to the issues mentioned above, 3 % (9 people) of the academics who participated in the survey remarked that their article was not evaluated or rejected by the journal where they sent their articles, since its content was found to be sensitive or objectionable (See Table 10). These findings show that academic publications went through a severe chain of censorship and self-censorship during the SoE. Some of the publications that can pass through the academics' own self-censorship filter are placed this time under the control and censorship of the publishers. It is observed that the SoE has also created a type of academic that may be labeled objectionable academic. No matter how “innocent” it may be, even a reference to the writings of this type of academic who has simply been discharged from public service has been turned into a kind of criminal act. This appears to have created a new means of censorship and violation.

Academic Activities as a Risk Area

Academics do not feel free not only in their publications but also in academic events such as conferences, panels and seminars. Academic activities, in which academics communicate face to face with the academic public, are a bigger source of risk than publications. Because while 54 % of the academics stated that they do not feel free when conveying their opinions and knowledge in their academic publications, this situation increases by 3 % to 57 % in academic activities (See Figure 3).

Figure 3: Academic Freedom in Terms of Academic Activities



The relationship of trust between academics has been damaged. The culture of informing/reporting and obstacles to freedom of expression seem to have damaged the trust relationship with broad academic public and even with their colleagues whom they know and work in the same institution. The following statements in the answers given by academics to open-ended questions in the questionnaire indicate how profoundly the trust of academics towards their colleagues have been damaged in the SoE period:

Teaching became so difficult. I changed my field of study, I am more cautious in human relations; I do not have many friends at the academy (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Eskişehir).

We cannot speak freely in academic settings. We talk in the rooms, behind closed doors. You cannot share anything, any thoughts with anyone (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni, Erzurum).

I cannot participate in any publication and organization with a critical edge, I feel intimidated (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Erzurum).

Self-censorship, which we encounter in publications, is also visible in events and activities. More than a third of academics (34%) try not to discuss issues that are considered objectionable and not to say certain things in activities such as conferences, symposiums, panels, etc. This is so much the case that 13% of academics said that they try not to participate in academic activities in general, and 13 % of them were neutral about this subject (See Table 11).

Table 11: Academic Freedom in Terms of Academic Activities

To What Extent Are Academics Free at Academic Activities?	I agree	I feel neutral	I do not agree
I try not to deal with topics accepted to be sensitive/objectionable or not to mention certain things at academic activities (conference, symposium, panel, etc.).	104 (%32)	73 (%22.5)	148 (%45.5)
I am trying not to attend academic activities (conference, symposium, panel, etc.) so that I can avoid critical, sensitive or objectionable issues.	41 (%13)	43 (%13)	237 (%74)

An academic expressed the uneasiness s/he felt while presenting something in front of the academic public as follows:

I think people – I mean people in general, not just myself – are utterly cautious about the subject of the activities they will attend, the type, – a panel, a conference, a congress, a meeting – the content, the subject, the things they will talk there, the things they will talk about; everybody pays maximum attention to these (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni. Eskişehir).

Despite this heavy control and pressure environment in academic events, academics who want to participate in academic events and express their opinions can sometimes be caught in the censorship of the event organization. One of the academics participating in the survey reported that his conference statement was rejected by the conference organization on the ground that it touched upon issues that were considered sensitive or objectionable during the SoE period.

In addition to these pressures, their institutions prevent academics from participating in academic activities. As can be seen in Table 12 below, there is a difference of about one

hundred percent in such violations before and after the SoE. During the SoE, 1 % of the academics were not allowed to participate in domestic academic events and 7 % abroad, because their political views or the content of their academic studies were critical: “I received an invitation from a conference abroad, I did not get permission for 3 days. They did not allow me. A case of no bread, no water. There is no staff ... we got used to such things” (IDI, Associate Professor, State Uni., Eskişehir).

Table 12: Blocking Access to Academic Activities

Blocking Access to Academic Activities	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I was not allowed to attend domestic academic activities by the institution I work for.	4 (%1)	4 (%1)
I was not allowed to attend academic activities abroad by the institution I work for.	9 (%3)	23 (%7)
I was not supported financially for attending academic activities abroad/in Turkey by the institution I work for.	24 (%8)	49 (%15)
There were suggestions/pressures so that I should not apply for academic activities.	7 (%2)	14 (%4)
My participation in events abroad was prevented by general directorate of security/ministry of the interior.	3 (%1)	18 (%6)

Although academics studying issues that are considered “objectionable” or “sensitive issues” may in some cases get permission for an event, they did not receive the necessary support to participate in the activities. As can be seen in Table 12, 8% of academics before the SoE and 15% of them during the SoE reported that they could not receive any support from their institutions for attending academic events because their political views or the content of their academic studies were not thought to be appropriate. A strategy developed by academics in overcoming these barriers was not to request support from their institution for academic events abroad, so that their papers would not be checked in detail by the administrators in charge. For example, a research assistant remarked concerning this situation as follows:

I went to Malta to submit a paper. Before going... My paper was based on my dissertation, and we were still in the SoE period and public officials were required to get permission from their superiors before going abroad. But everyone said something to me: "You are going to Malta, there are restrictions now, you can go abroad once a year, you know. Submit a summary of your paper summary so that you get some money. At least you can buy your plane ticket." This was a paper based on my doctoral thesis, but I said, "I don't want to change this text." I do not want to submit a different paper summary to get financial support for my academic activity ... There is also this: The abstract is in English anyway. Our supervisor does not have such a good command of English anyway. He would have no idea about my paper by reading an English summary of it. I didn't even want to have such a discussion. And my study is far from the official ideology of my institution. They could also say something like "So why should we as an institution support your travel expenses to Malta?" Well, simply because we are in the SoE, is it logical to discuss whether such and such person should or should not go abroad? To be honest, I did not present anything to the administration, so that my thesis or my paper based on my thesis should be turned into a discussion topic with a negative feedback; so I paid for all the expenses for my Malta visit myself (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

Some of the academics were blocked as early as in the process of applying for the events. As can be seen in Table 12 above, 2 % of the academics responding to the questions encountered suggestions implying that they should not participate in academic activities before the SoE and 4 % during the SoE period. And 6 % of the academics who overcame all these difficulties were not able to participate in academic events abroad during the SoE period, due to the obstacles of the security forces or the ministry of the interior. For example, an academic stated that although he received a wet signed approval document from the university rector, he was not allowed to board the plane owing to an investigation opened before which was concluded in his favor in the SoE period:

As you may remember, after the SoE, you were not allowed to go abroad without a wet signed exit confirmation or something from the rector. I made all my preparations. Admissions were completed. ... When I came to the Esenboğa Airport from Sinop, the police said, "Hey you, come this way!" He had a drooping mustache. "Come here!" He said or something. "What are you saying?" I said. "Go through here." He was rather rude. "How can you tell me to do things like that? How can you speak to me like that?" I said. We had a dispute. Anyway, he brought me into an office. He sat in front of a computer, and began typing something. I could not see what he was writing. "What are you doing?" I asked. "When you go to Sinop, you will find out," he said. "I'll call my lawyer!" I said. "Do," he said. I went outside. I called a friend of mine who is a lawyer, who said, "Just come back here, they can even arrest you, they can do everything in the SoE. Come back here. Forget about it all." I left there and went back to Sinop. ... It turns out that in that thing [the investigation opened due to a demonstration he took part in and resulted in his favor], they ought to have added a note about the restriction on travelling abroad. I went to the Sinop Police Department; they said they were sorry. The policemen there said, "We were supposed to add it." ... Of course you know, I spent a lot of money, about 1.5- 2 thousand liras, for nothing. I also had an economic loss because of all this. I mean hotel expenses, what not; money flew out of my pocket. I requested these from the university, with a petition, they simply did not do anything (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Sinop).

These barriers to certain academics negatively affected also others and prevented some academics from applying to any activity. The statements presented below illustrate this:

When I saw the practices and the obstacles in the universities, I did not apply for scientific activities for a long time, for fear of being blocked (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

There are times when I practice self-censorship because of too much surveillance. I think I will be rejected, especially when I request a permission to attend international conferences, and therefore in many cases I cannot take a step (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

In addition to the pressure on academics not to participate in certain academic events, various pressure and control mechanisms are operated in the organization of conferences/panels/seminars, etc. such as limiting the subject, controlling beforehand the speakers who will attend for various reasons (being a dissident, addressing sensitive issues, etc.) by the administration, checking the audience who are to come to listen to the conference. For example, an academic who participated in the questionnaire said the following about this situation in reference to her department: “In the academic year (2016-2017), following the declaration of the SoE, we were encouraged not to hold a conference as the Department of Constitutional Law. However, in the next academic year (2017-2018), the view was changed and the conference was held” (Research Assistant, Foundation Uni, İstanbul). Another academic talked about the obstacles to organizing academic events in the campus he worked in during the SoE period: “Restricting the academic and political meetings organized in the university (not being able to put a “signatory academic” in the conference program), canceling the budgets at the last minute, limiting labor union meetings by saying that ‘police might raid the school’, ... we cannot announce the conferences to the public because at the entrance the guests’ TR identity numbers are demanded ... “(Survey, Research Assistant, State Uni., İstanbul). Another academic talked about the effect of the general pressure on the academy on the academic activities to be held at universities and on the academic debate in general:

For one thing, we have become unable to hold an academic discussion. Everybody is fighting for their own lives. I do not remember holding an academic discussion at the university for the last 3 years. Academic debate has become impossible. Conferences or panels are out of question. When it is possible to organize them, the university does not allow or academics to attend are not allowed, etc. Therefore no one has the desire to do anything. Nor do they have energy. Let’s do a panel; let’s have a conference, etc. ... This climate of oppression and terror has damaged everything. ... Moreover, we cannot think of panels and stuff, let alone organizing them. All we worry about now is how to help our friends and colleagues. We have been in trouble for the last 3 years. In short, academic production has been severely disrupted (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

In sum, organizing academic events as well as participating them during the SoE in Turkey, which involve severe controls, has become risky in the eyes of academics; and this has reduced their motivation for these events. One academic summarized the outcome of this situation as follows: “There came to exist a general timidity. The number of many open events such as conferences and press releases at our university has decreased. Participation has spontaneously dwindled. They have lost their effect” (IDI, Prof., State Uni., Adana).

Barriers to Research and the Shrinking Academic Field

Academics also faced various pressures and obstacles while conducting their research in the SoE period. Academics stated that their research projects were stopped, canceled or rejected before the SoE (4 %) and during the SoE (6 %) because of their political views or on grounds that the research projects they were conducting were critical, sensitive or objectionable. One out of every ten academics (11 %) cannot even apply to research projects because school administrators or academic superiors have suggested that they should not apply to the projects due to their political views. Academics (3 %) also stated that the administrators/officials raised difficulties for them in accessing the required archives, libraries or information due to their political views or research topics (See Table 13).

Table 13: Forms of Inhibition of Research

Pressure on Freedom to Do Research	Before the SoE	During the SoE
My research project has been stopped/canceled/rejected.	12 (%4)	19 (%6)
Suggestions were made that I should not apply for research projects.	18 (%6)	35 (%11)
I had difficulty in having access to various archives, libraries or information.	4 (%1)	9 (%3)

It is seen that administrators prevented certain academics from benefiting from project resources due to the schisms within the university as well as due to their political views being considered sensitive or objectionable. These obstacles have been put into practice by means of informal ways such as dissuading them from applying for projects, or by suspending official procedures such as not responding to project applications from academics who are considered to be “objectionable” or by not granting the necessary

permissions for their projects. For example, Academics for Peace, who signed the declaration titled “We will not be a party in this crime,” reported that they are no longer able to obtain resources for research projects from their own universities or TUBITAK or they cannot carry out such projects:

They don't say anything. For example, my project I was talking about was not rejected; there was simply no answer! They do not respond in any way. Now I applied for the second time, they are not answering again! No refusal, that is, nothing on paper, it is being swept under the rug. They send back the lists with our names, asking to replace them. And they're changing them (IDI, Faculty Member, Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

For example, I received an acceptance for a project from abroad, from Australia; but it did not work because the university did not approve it. The projects are carried out as follows: the institution that provides the fund requires that the university endorse it as a “partner.” That is all. They did not do it and so the project fell through (DG, Faculty Member, State University, Eskişehir).

While 29 % of academics stated that they could not carry out academic studies on the subject they wanted during the SoE period, 25 % are neutral in this regard. The proportion of those who can carry out their academic studies on the subject they want is less than half (46 %) (See Figure 4).

Figure 4: The Level of Academic Researchers' Ability to Carry Out Projects on the Subject They Want



The pressure on academics' field of study has reached such a dimension that even books that academics read, computers they used, official e-mail accounts, Internet usage or articles downloaded from databases of universities can be inspected. For this reason, some academics have stated that they are afraid to search the Internet or read texts related

to their research in their institution, and try to continue their research studies at home or elsewhere instead of the institution:

Especially after July 15, we could not reach our computers and e-mails for a few days. The Internet connection was not available on our floor and our mailing lists, that is; we do not know if they checked our e-mails –our Outlook address, for example, let me say that I access it through Gmail and have a look at my mails. But our official e-mail addresses, our emails, I am almost sure they were examined. ... For example, I do not choose to go online on this computer here. Instead I work at home, read at home, and download things at home. Because I think there is such a thing. In their data processing unit, they can easily see which Internet pages lecturers visited, read, things they downloaded, etc. and use it against them. So this is it. I mean you cannot say I was doing research and I needed to access this information. There is nothing that you can say to justify yourself. Unfortunately, this is not seen as part of your freedom (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

By the way, the rectors are the people you encounter most in small universities. ... They do not visit you; they simply raid the rooms. One day he suddenly showed up in my room. Let's say I was reading the book "Seeing and Sexuality". He shouts "Don't you have anything worthwhile to do? Read proper books!" When I said that I have been working on sexuality, he looked at as if I was a freak. Another day, he came up and said, "What are you doing?" I said, "I'm reading a book." So I happened to turn the book upside down like this, with the cover visible -- It was stupid of me! I should have hidden it, at least! When he clearly saw the title "The History of Orgasm" he asked, "What is this? Why don't you read books about your field?" ... Then, the next week I was asked to evacuate my room. They said, "Come out, we're going to make a tea room here" (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni. Southeastern Anatolia Region).

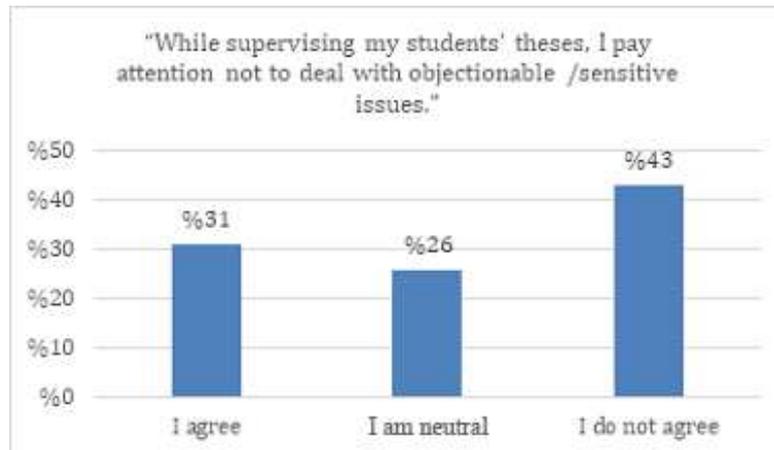
Academics remarked they have serious concerns that they were inspected during the SoE. These concerns have reached such a level that even if computers, office phones or office books are not directly controlled, the rumors caused academics to practice self-censorship and experience anxiety about conducting their own research in the institutions they work for:

Many people were talking about this seriously. They were saying the rooms were bugged by the administration. Everybody whispered to each other, "We are tapped, we are tapped." I mean this is the kind of thing we lived. When such a thing is spoken, you are affected by it and "What if it is true?" you say. This kind of rumor happens very often. People saying here the rooms are tapped, the phones are tapped, the phones of the institution are tapped... After hearing such rumors, I started to do the same myself too. After hearing from so many people and getting warnings, I began to think, "Is there anything harmful or dangerous in my computer at the university?" And I began to use the Internet in my office less and less. I did not visit newspapers and media portals that are thought to be objectionable... Not writing certain words in Google Search. People really pay attention to such things (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni. Eskişehir).

Academics stated that they feel pressure not only in their own research but also in their students' thesis studies. As can be seen in Figure 5, approximately one third of academics (31 %) apply self-censorship while supervising students' thesis research, paying attention

not to deal with sensitive/objectionable issues. Thus, the pressure on the lecturers also restricts students' opportunities to conduct research on the topics they want.

Figure 5: Self-Censorship in the Supervision of Postgraduate Theses



An academic expressed the pressure she felt while supervising postgraduate theses: “State pressure and control on the ‘suitability’ of master’s and doctoral theses reduces the quality of research. The fear of job security is common even among those who have not experienced academic pressure. Fear and oppression have always negatively affected the quality of research” (Survey, Associate Professor, Foundation Uni., Ankara). Another academic stated that they faced some kind of censorship regarding the titles of the theses written: “We are not comfortable with the titles of the thesis studies. Objectionable words can be censored with a warning, ‘the institute may interfere’” (Survey, Professor, State Uni., Istanbul).

Academics are afraid to supervise theses on subjects that may be considered sensitive or objectionable, and when these theses are written, they are exposed to pressures from various places, including lecturers from the same department or colleagues:

... I remember being criticized in an academic committee meeting for a thesis dissertation I supervised that had views different from those of the official historiography, someone openly attacked me verbally saying, “How can you incriminate the state that pays your salary in this way?” Even though no other people had read the thesis in question, they tore into me, based on hearsay information over someone’s discourse. That was two years ago ... I was told that this dissertation would also defame the department exactly when dismissals were going on full speed and that the thesis study written here would not only concern me and my student, but also the whole department. “How can you bite hand, the state, that feeds you?” I was accused of things like this. ...Thesis jury was changed, the supervisor was changed. ... The thesis passed with some.... changes. Yes. “Change your language a bit like this, a little bit of the following expressions, we

suggested these corrections.” ... On the one hand, a lecturer said rightly, “My retirement has come and I will be deprived of all my rights if I am expelled. I don’t want to be expelled for something like that.” “Change your language, change what you write, why should I shoulder your mistake?” ... We are living in such a period now (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

As can be seen in the quote, academics are afraid of being expelled or blacklisted with decree laws in the SoE period, of taking part in the dissertation jury of theses that deals with issues considered to be sensitive or objectionable or approving these theses because. This situation is not only limited to the thesis topic, even being in the thesis jury of the people who are considered “objectionable”, for example people who have been dismissed, can be seen as a risky situation for academics:

You know what happened? One day one of my colleagues, “Hey, D.⁴⁶ I do not know where to begin. It turns out that the student who had a master’s degree was a prosecutor in Şırnak. He was expelled, arrested, and imprisoned. “ After that, he said, “Well now,” he said, “I can’t gather the jury. Nobody wants to come to the jury.” When I heard such things, I really felt. ...What if I fail to gather the jury? It would not be a problem, but this is also a possibility. The problem was not being able to find jury members. That’s why he can’t defend his thesis, for example. The thesis is completed. Right, he was expelled from public service, but he seems to be expelled from everything, unfortunately. Now this is what he is going through.” My colleague said, “I don’t want to accuse anyone wrongly or anything. So I’m telling everyone that this student has been expelled. But when they hear about it they do not want to do anything, nobody wants to come. That’s why he can not get his degree” (IDI, Instructor., State Uni., Marmara Region).

Another pressure on academics is related to the responsibility of the student whose thesis they supervise. Conducting a thesis study criticizing the government or dealing with “sensitive issues” in general, apart from those that criticize the official ideology or the current political views of the government, in the SoE period the advisors feel obliged to warn the student about this, as they may negatively affect the student’s next academic future. The following quotations express the “psychological” pressure and vexation faced by academics as thesis consultants:

Also, a new mentality is born in this respect. Okay, the student may want to work a certain subject this, but you have to think about the future of the student as an advisor. The student cannot find a place in the academy or cannot even have a doctorate degree in the future with such a subject. Even if he finishes his doctorate, he cannot find a place in another university. So, this is what they suggest, at least what I feel they suggest, what is told to me; even if the student wants to study this subject, you should try to direct it towards something else. That is to say, you should tell the students the disadvantages of studying such a subject for their future, because you are a supervisor here. This is not only academic advice for what he wrote, but also a life counseling. “Look, in the future, you will encounter such and such problems. So you’d better forget about this topic,” this is the kind of supervising we ought to provide. There were no such direct words, but at least that’s what I draw from my experiences (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

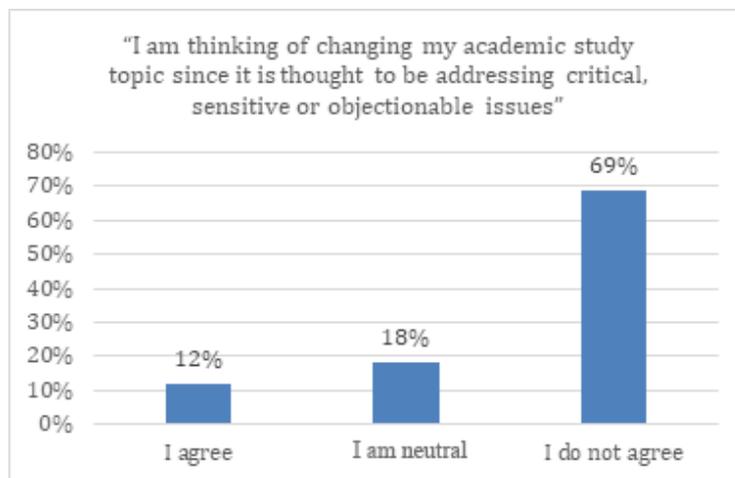
⁴⁶ In order to hide the identity of the academic interviewed, we removed his name from the quote.

In terms of academic freedom, for example, these days we tell that students not to write a thesis on certain issues. Because after these theses are written, a copy of each is uploaded onto a certain database. ... More importantly, my program is called "..."⁴⁷ This is an especially chosen name because we work by linking philosophy with politics and social sciences, so our thesis topics can be very broad. That is to say, our thesis dissertations deal with a variety of topics for example, from football fandom to its philosophical implications in terms of identity, ethnic groups, history, everything; but unfortunately we cannot let students write some of these theses. Students do not prefer them anyway. In that sense, it poses a serious problem for us (IDI, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

It is very painful to talk directly or indirectly to the student about the possible consequences (especially if we consider the problematics in my field: ethics, self-philosophy, etc.) of writing a thesis on highly sensitive subjects during and after the SoE period (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Academics are considering changing their academic field of study due to the pressures listed above, from the application process to research projects, to the conduct of the research, to conducting a thesis research, to the sharing and publishing of the research results with the general academic public in various events. While 12 % of the academics participating in the research are considering changing academic study topics, which are considered to be dealing with critical, sensitive or objectionable issues, 18 % of them are neutral in this regard (See Figure 6).

Figure 6: Changing Academic Study Topic Due to Pressures



⁴⁷ In order to hide the identity of the academic interviewed, we removed the name of the program from the quote.

Various responses that academics gave to the questions “What do you think is the most important practices affecting academic freedom in Turkey during the SoE?” and “What additional thoughts do you have about academic freedom in the SoE period in Turkey?” indicate the pressure and restriction in their academic fields of study:

In this period, the study areas have been restricted. For example, studies in the field of political communication have been limited; the restriction of freedom in general sense has suppressed academic freedoms and thought (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

Fear of being dismissed and targeted led many of my friends either to change their field of study or chose not to publish (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

Academics, who continued their work without being expelled with the decree, changed their academic fields for fear of losing their jobs or being listed in a decree law; academic freedoms have actually been violated through power pressure and self-censorship (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

It has become impossible to conduct studies and give lectures on issues in the category of sensitive topics. For example, due to my social media posts about the history of the 90s I was subjected to an investigation (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

There are difficulties in the studies that criticize the political power and those that deal with the recent period (Questionnaire, Faculty Member, State Uni., Adana).

I had restrictions concerning the content of my academic studies. For example, I received warnings from my lecturers about removing multiculturalism from my studies since it was found not suitable and Ministry of Education prevented me from collecting data. I was discriminated against because of my ethnic identity (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Mersin).

This bleak picture shows that Turkey faces a serious risk of restrictions in the area of academic study. Especially critical thinking has been hit hard. Specific views, topics or areas, especially research on ethnic problems, gender studies, current political developments or religious issues, including research on multiculturalism are under serious pressure. This finding of the study is compatible with studies traces the state of academic freedom in Turkey through the papers dealing with disadvantaged groups from 2001 to 2017 presented at biennial congresses organized by Turkish Social Science Association (TSSA), one of the most fundamental organizations. According to this study by Hatice Çoban Keneş, 78 reports on disadvantaged groups (Kurds, Armenians, Alevis, women, children, gender and discriminatory discourses) took place in the TSSA congress held just before the SoE in 2015; however, in the congress held during the SoE period in 2017, it is seen that this number dropped to 53, by a one-third wear. Even more striking is

that while 38 presentations were made on Kurds and Armenians in 2015, no presentations on these groups were made during the SoE.⁴⁸

Taboos of the Academy or “Sensitivities”: Armenian “Issue”, Kurdish “Problem”, LGBTI+, and Religion

Within the scope of the research, academics we held in-depth interviews with were asked the question about issues considered “sensitive” or “taboo” in the universities they work at, issues they found it difficult to mention or discuss in classes and issues that were prohibited or somehow repressed. Interestingly, the academics interviewed generally did not want to answer this question, unless the question was persistently repeated they refrained from giving a direct answer. This, on the one hand, accounts for the fact that academics have not thought about the issues considered “sensitive” especially if they are out of their field of study, and on the other, the fact that they may not wish to talk about such issues. In this context, the following information was compiled from answers of the interviewees answering the question and the open-ended questions in the survey form.

Academics stated that since universities in Turkey have never been autonomous or minimally free, albeit in formal sense, the sensitive issues or taboos in the academia, especially in social sciences have significantly been affected by general political tendencies of governments or “the state” and the political atmosphere of the country:

Sensitive issues that vary depending on the government’s [stance]... (IDI, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

But as an institution the Turkish academy as a rule has been dependent on the state. Whoever has come to power at a given moment, if the right conservatives are in power for example, there is a tendency toward the right conservatism. This is more the case with social sciences while it is not so much the case with medical and engineering sciences. I mean social sciences are at stake. Because the field of humanities is the area in which the university’s connections with daily life are most apparent (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

Academics remarked that the most difficult issue to discuss in Turkey is the Armenian issue, especially the “genocide.” Besides the Armenian issue, the Kurdish issue and ethnicity studies in general have become the hardest academic issues on which one could talk about and study during the SoE. In addition, LGBTI+ rights and religion have also been difficult areas of study that can be suppressed in the SoE. Criticizing militarism and

⁴⁸ Hatice Çoban Keneş (2018) “Türkiye’de Akademik Özgürlük, TSBD Kongreleri ve Dezavantajlı Gruplar Üzerine Söz Söylemek”, *Kültür ve İletişim*, Cilt 21, Sayı 42, s. 135-137.

the government can also prove to be a dangerous area. The following quotes illustrate academics' responses to these problems:

So, these sensitive issues are the Kurdish issue, the Armenian issue and the issue of militarism. I am aware that there is of course self-censorship, on the one hand, concerning public events and names to be invited, but on the other hand, a number of restrictions are imposed from above, from the school administration (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

So, the Kurdish issue has been like that. Now, of course, the most important thing is the Kurdish issue as a conjuncture. And of course, one of the issues in which we feel most uncomfortable is being critical of the government. So I guess it's one of the most difficult things. There is also the (Gulen) Community, of course. ... The Community issue, Kurdish issue, and criticism of the government ... these are the areas which you cannot discuss freely (IDI, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

I think a little bit at a micro level, when I think in terms of my own department or at least the students I teach, or in terms of research area, for example, there is the issue of ethnic identity, especially the Kurdish identity. This is because (discussing) Kurdishness is seen in relation to "terrorist organization." Also, sexual orientations across the university are highly important, if not very much so for our department. There is a research in this field, we have women's studies, but as I said, then queer theory is a difficult issue. Because the word queer is seen as... perversion. LGBTI individuals are seen as perverts! However, queer theory is against all categories, against all discrimination. It proposes a companionship in that respect (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

But there was something like this, too. The professor (the chairman) said "You cannot teach classes like feminism here," referring to gender studies. He meant, "I won't let you teach such a course." ... For example, he said: "I know that lecturer X teaches LGBTI and so on. How can they teach this kind of stuff at the academy?" In his opinion one should study the great history of the state and things in favor of the state (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

Our scientific field is based on questioning. An area that does not accept dogma. For example, religious values are very dominant in this field. While doing a study about Islam, if you do not use the epithet "Hz" (Hazreti: His Holiness) you may have some trouble for doing so. It can be perceived as a sign of being disrespectful. When you say Prophet Muhammad, they may react saying "You are an atheist, I presume?" (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Diyarbakır).

Holding academic activities in the "taboo" areas mentioned in the above quotations can be impeded in several ways:

The Armenian issue. Just a week ago, our colleagues in Political History organized an event on the 100th anniversary of the end of the First World War. Academics would come here from America and other countries. But one of the speakers had recently published a book called "Antep 1915", since he was the author of the book the Antep lobby in the Rector's Office started its lobbying activities immediately and the event was banned and called off. It did not take place. Of course, we have the Armenian issue and the Kurdish issue, but the Armenian issue is a big taboo. The genocide issue remains the biggest taboo. But these have been always there. The tone is increasing, of course. The tone changes but the name of the issues does not change. If you ask me

what are the critical issues, well, these are two issues. For example, when you send a thesis to the institute about the Kurdish issue it is highly likely that it will be turned down; they will refuse it. The institute has such an attitude (IDI, Teaching Staff, State Uni., İstanbul).

Last year, a student conference of some sort was held here. Hosted by the club here. ... There would be a presentation on LGBTI at that conference. It was placed in the program. At the last moment, the administration including the lecturer X, talked to the student, who was unfortunately also the head of the club. They said, "How would you dare such a thing, how would you dare such a thing? It would create chaos; it would lead to an upheaval!" And so on. All that nonsense! They forced the student to remove the presentation about LGBTI! Something like this has happened (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni. Samsun).

Not only carrying out activities on subjects considered as "taboos", but also researching / publishing in these areas can be hindered. For example, in some cases, institutes can directly censor or reject theses in these areas. Academics may sometimes do research at their universities, especially about the Armenian or Kurdish issue; however, these fields are generally considered as taboos in the academy; therefore, thinking that this will negatively affect their academic careers, academics avoid working on these issues, as emphasized in the previous sections of the report:

The main issue is the Kurdish issue. Doing an independent study on this subject was probably relatively possible; at least there were applications/proposals, and those who left their study unfinished. In this regard, I can write a thesis on this if I want to, because I do not have career concerns; but in the end, people with such career ambitions would not choose these topics. If you are thinking about your future at the academy you would not choose to work on this issue (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

My thesis is on the Catalan problem, something that could be related to the Kurdish issue; and my supervisor suggested "for my good" that after all this issue is obviously reminiscent of the Kurdish issue and there is no need to establish an overt connection between the two. He said these words not as a criterion or as a red line but simply as a recommendation so that "you would not have problems in the future" (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

Academics are reluctant to engage in these issues not only in research or academic activities but also in their classes. When sensitive issues are dealt with in lessons, students can react negatively against or complain about them. For example, when an academic who was interviewed remarked that he was not able to use the word "evolution" even when he was teaching the subject of "evolutionary learning" in a field related to mathematics and when he did, he received a reaction from the students (Survey, Research Assistant, State Uni., Eskişehir). The following quotations also cover the difficulties faced by academics in addressing sensitive issues in classes:

The issue of the Armenian Genocide. It is an issue that I encounter while teaching the First World War. I still do not go into this issue much. And the reason I don't deal with it is ... not fear; so much discussion takes place when you talk about it, questions and more questions come up, and we are not able to move on. I do not talk much about it unless questions come up. I simply refer to the population in those times, that's all, but if questions come up, I say what I think in a way, but without using the concept, the concept of genocide (IDI, Instructor., State Uni., İstanbul).

(In the classes) Sure, I don't. No I do not go into that. I mean, let's say I'm talking about the Middle East. I barely refer to the Kurds and most of the students are Kurds. But that is weird, you know? Once you go into that issue, you cannot get out of it anyway, and that is a fact. For my part, I might have talked about it in detail, but I talked so little. Well, you talk about the Middle East but you say very little about the Kurds (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia).

The subjects considered taboo during the SoE created a pressure not only on lecturers but also on students. For example, an academic said that the students began to keep quiet about the Kurdish problem, which became a taboo together with the SoE.

(During the SoE) I think of the question "What effect does it have on students?" I think we need to talk about this. I have thought about it so much... For example, at that time (during the peace talks), the students used to comment on the issue, saying, "The Kurds are like that, the Kurds are like that." "We are like this, we are like that." ... But with the SoE, the student became speechless on this issue. They became silent all of a sudden ... (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia).

Apart from the issues listed above, academics reported that research on social movements, class work, Syrian refugees or various government institutions such as prisons was less frequently restricted and academics working in these fields faced fewer difficulties. Another academic working in İzmir stated that the taboo on the criticism of Atatürk was far beyond that of the Armenian issue or Kurdish problem in the institution where she is working. Research findings show that certain issues such as the Armenian issue and the Kurdish problem in general are taboos in Turkey, but in the SoE period, different issues began to be accepted as "sensitive" in different academic fields of study.⁴⁹ Research on the Kurdish problem is being suppressed more vehemently in the SoE period than the Solution Process.

⁴⁹ Two cases demonstrating very lucidly that fields of research were not democratic in effect before the SoE period in Turkey were İsmail Beşikçi and Fikret Başkaya, who were expelled from the university and sentenced to prison because of their studies. Another less well-known case is that of Timuçin Köprülü, who was actually expelled from the university since his thesis titled "Genocide Crime in International and National Criminal Law", which he defended at Ankara University Faculty of Law, did not specifically conform with the official view on the Armenian issue. See: Barış Ünlü (2011) "İsmail Beşikçi Fenomeni", Ozan Değer and Barış Ünlü (Eds.) *İsmail Beşikçi*, İkinci Baskı, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, s. 11-44 ve Hakan Mertcan and Aydın Ördek (2013) "Fikret Başkaya ile Yaşamı ve Yapıtı Üzerine", Hakan Mertcan ve Aydın Ördek (Der.) *Fikret Başkaya'ya Saygı I*, Ankara: NotaBene Yayınları, pp. 15-80. See also: Baskın Oran (2014) "Küçük Despot ile Büyük Despot", *Radikal*, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/kucuk-despot-ile-buyuk-despot-1192452/>, (Date of Access, September

In addition, LGBTI + studies and gender studies appear increasingly frequently to be study areas that are accepted as taboo. The dominant nationalist, conservative and “sectarian” (Islamist) networks of interest that penetrated into social and political spheres before and after the coup attempt led to the treatment of all taboo issues in the Turkish society within the binary oppositions of friend or foe. Academic activity has had its share from this repression in all aspects.

Freedom of Expression Under Control and Pressure

The findings of the research presented up to now show that academics are not able to express themselves freely while conducting their academic activities, namely, while teaching, carrying out and sharing their research. Another finding revealed by the research is that in addition to their academic activities, academics are faced with serious pressure and limitation in freedom of expression in general. Academics are also affected significantly by the overall restrictions on freedom of expression in Turkey. As is known, 95 % of the mainstream media in Turkey is under the control of the government. Many opponents and journalists are in prison. For the ordinary citizens, the likelihood of reaching to the remaining 5 % of mainstream media outlets to convey their own views is very limited due to structural constraints such as the fact that these outlets are mass media, based on one-way and professional communication flow. Thus, social media is one of the few channels where they can express their opinion in Turkey. Unfortunately, this field too suffers from serious pressures on freedom of expression: It is known that during the SoE period social media is afflicted with such practices as removal of content, blocking websites, filing investigations and criminal cases against a large number of users for posting their views, and arrest and imprisonment of many people on such allegations.⁵⁰ Even the Ministry of the Interior itself has launched lawsuits against a large number of people under the name of “social media operations.” The pressure on the social media posts is not only limited to the judicial dimension, since social media posts of people are controlled by workplaces, especially if they work in government institutions; social media accounts of candidates are checked for new job applications and opponents are fired or not hired.⁵¹ For this reason, within the scope of the research,

2019).

⁵⁰ Yaman Akdeniz ve Kerem Altıparmak (2018) *Türkiye’de Can Çekişen İfade Özgürlüğü: OHAL’de Yazarlar, Yayıncılar ve Akademisyenlerle İlgili Hak İhlalleri*, https://www.englishpen.org/wpcontent/uploads/2018/03/Turkey_Freedom_of_Expression_in_Jeopardy_TUR.pdf, English PEN, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁵¹ Here are two examples in this regard: the university administration launched an investigation for

academics were asked to evaluate the statements concerning their use of the social media in Table 14 separately for the SoE period (Yes-No format) in order to see whether the academics' freedom of expression has been curtailed.

Table 14: Social Media Use Among Academics in the SoE

Social Media Usage in the SoE	Number / Percentage
I use social media regularly to share my views and communicate information.	106 (% 36)
I gave up using social media.	96 (% 33)
I avoid sharing opinion/information etc. on social media.	187 (% 63)
I reduced the number of my social media posts.	218 (% 73)
I'm worried that I may get into trouble when I share something on social media.	251 (% 84)

As can be seen in Table 14, one third of the academics indicated that they gave up using social media during the SoE period. The rate of academics actively using social media to share their opinions and information during the SoE is 36 %. While 63 % of the academics stated that they avoided sharing opinions or information on social media during the SoE, 73 % reduced their use of social media. The vast majority (84 %) of academics expressed their concern that they could get into trouble because of their social media posts. The following statements by academics in their in-depth interviews or answers to the open-ended questions of the survey booklet support the statistical results of the survey research:

The situation is definitely so. Especially the defamation cases filed by the President, the use of the anti-terrorism law and the criminal law in this way led to serious concern for self-censorship. Still, I continued using the social media to share my political views; but I did this more carefully (DG, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

demanding dismissal for insulting Islam, Muslims and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan through social media, while the prosecutor's office filed a lawsuit on charges of inciting the hatred and hostility and insulting the president against Emre Başçı, faculty member at Şırnak University. See: Faruk Arslan (2017) "O akademisyen bozuntusuna çifte soruşturma", *Yeni Akit*, <https://www.yeniakit.com.tr/haber/o-akademisyen-bozuntusuna-cifte-sorusturma-399403.html>, (Access Date, September 2019). Burcu Özçelik Sözer, journalist at the daily *Hürriyet*, in her article addressing the effects of social media shares on work life, refers to a warning sent by Turkish Airlines to its employees regarding social media posts. See Burcu Özçelik Sözer (2017) "Sosyal Medya İşlerinden Etti", *Hürriyet*, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ik-yeni-ekonomi/sosyal-medya-islerinden-etti-40495044>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

(Pressure) I feel it in the social media. One begins to share fewer and fewer things. Self-control steps in, and then self-censorship ... I feel such things, at least on the social media (DG., Instructor, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

The climate of fear created during the SoE caused problems for academics to express their thoughts freely. Many academics, who expressed their thoughts through social media, retreated to their own shell as they draw reactions. The academics could not express their opinions and ideas comfortably in their academic studies, class activities with their students for fear of losing their job (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

One of the academics who participated in the survey responded to the question concerning the most important practice affecting academic freedom during the SoE period as follows: “Restriction of the working areas of academics, restriction of freedom of expression (for instance the surveillance of social media accounts)” (Survey, Research Assist., State Uni., Adana). Another academic stated that aside from expressing one’s opinions in the workplace, how saying something about clothing style or demanding basic needs in the workplace (e.g. office computer) was considered as being “dissident” and how academics were controlled both in the workplace and on the social media as follows:

As an academic, I do not have a political agenda. But my requests regarding the issues I work on, my style of clothing or physical conditions (like demanding a computer for my office) can be perceived as a political stance. Certain projects are given to certain groups of people. We never get financial and moral support. There is immense injustice and tendency to stop people from working. Social media is controlled, our room phones are tapped (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Izmir).

Academics noted that dismissals from public service and destruction of job security with the decree laws have significantly affected freedom of expression and social media postings as well as academic freedoms. The following answers given to the open-ended question in the survey form exemplify this:

The threats of launching an investigation in all academic fields, especially dismissals with the decree laws, cases of defamations against the President, and lawsuits filed on grounds of social media posts affected academics’ thinking and acting practices negatively (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni. Eskişehir).

Depriving people of their academic careers with decree laws is the most crucial practice affecting academic freedoms. This situation prevented academics from expressing their thoughts freely both in social media and panels (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Eskişehir).

Another academic emphasized the fact that besides the elimination of job security with the decree laws, targeting of academics by the media because of their public statements or views restricts the freedom of expression:

Decree laws now restrict our field of freedom. We are no longer in the media, nor do we give interviews. We do not participate in such studies; neither do we wish our names to be used. We live like this now. I mean, this is a way of protecting myself. Because one may become a target very easily. I know that when the daily *Akit* targets you nobody can protect you. Because you may easily lose your job with a phone call. There is no point in talking about freedom or academic freedom. They just say, “You have been dismissed from your job” on the phone and that’s it. Well, let me tell you, the school administration is not to blame, either. The administration is told what to do: “You won’t keep these people there. Or else you will find yourselves in a difficult situation.” What can the administration do? It is not something you can get angry with, because there is nothing you can do to resist it (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Especially the experiences of Academics for Peace — pressure and investigations and criminal lawsuits filed after they expressed their views, the criticism, insults, and finally their dismissals after the decree laws issued— are said to have had a silencing effect on academics, whose “duty is to produce ideas and discuss”:

First of all, we academics who are not faced with the dismissals or other restrictions become timid in expressing opinions. The activities of the dismissed lecturers are eliminated. After all, those who continue to work cannot express their opinions freely as they used to, or even do not want to express them, and they lose their enthusiasm to work and produce (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Adana).

Of course, it creates uneasiness among those who remained in the academia. Because something like this has happened now: “What happens if I write or say this”, as I said, what we have just talked about, this can come from both above and below. People think, “I wonder if I get into trouble because of this or my work about it? Do I get into trouble, do I lose my job, lose my position?” Because this has established an example, “So, when someone writes like this or thinks like this or expresses such thoughts, this can happen, they can have trouble with their work, they can have problems with their positions, they can lose it.” So, of course, there is something, some fear in the academy, yes... Everyone feels rather uneasy, of course. “What kinds of things I say...?” But what are the limits for this? ... “For example, what kind of things would get me into trouble, what kind of things are acceptable...?” It is a bit difficult to distinguish this. Inevitably, this situation created some sort of uneasiness in terms of academic freedom (IDI, Faculty Member., State Uni., Erzurum).

For one thing, as a Turkish academic, I feel myself as an actual criminal, not a potential one. The declaration of the SoE caused great uneasiness, because with the SoE, an environment has been established in which everyone is presumed guilty until they are proven to be innocent and of course academics and intellectuals constitute one of the primary risk groups in such an environment. Secondly, when the SoE was declared, there was already the case of Academics for Peace. When it coincided with it, of course, things went totally insane. The SoE created uneasiness for, because the law is suspended in a so-called state of emergency; the government can take

radical decisions and actions simply by means of decrees, and it is impossible to fight against it, so you are left vulnerable in a very sensitive and fragile environment. So, as an academic, I was very anxious and am still anxious as someone whose job is to generate ideas or discuss existing ideas (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Academics remarked that their public declarations or social media posts are controlled by students, colleagues, administrators of their institution or by the institutions where they applied for jobs and that investigations have been launched against academics for these reasons:

One of my fields of study was the Kurdish issue, I was warned by my department chairperson that I should not talk about this in my lectures and the same person complained to the dean because of my social media posts (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

My posts on social media were not found appropriate by the administrative lecturers in the department and they advised me to delete them... (Survey, Instructor, State Uni. İstanbul).

When I applied for a research assistant position, I saw that they were checking my political views and social media posts rather than my eligibility in terms of academic criteria. I consider this a violation of rights (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

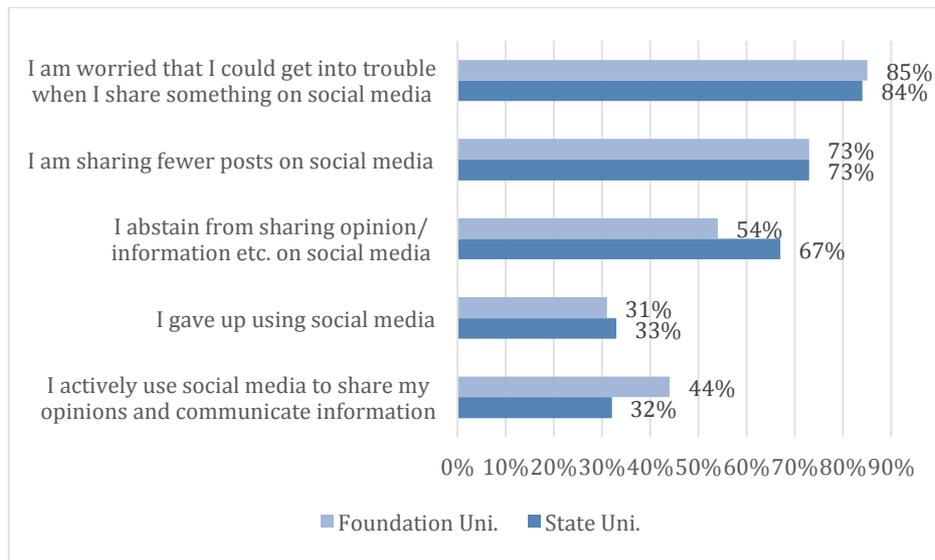
An acquaintance of mine was dismissed because of her social media posts (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

My social media posts were criticized for their content. I was pressured and threatened. I was prevented from attending to my union activities. I was subjected to investigations (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

I know academics who are being investigated (social media investigation) (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Mersin).

Due to the restrictions on academics' freedom of expression, it is seen that there is not a big difference between state or foundation universities in terms of the ways of using social media in the SoE (see Figure 7).

Figure 7: The Use of Social Media Among Academics Working in Public and Foundation Universities



As seen in the figure above, academics working at foundation universities use social media more actively and share more opinions and information than academics working at public universities by 12 %. Regardless of whether they work at public or foundation universities, academics have dramatically reduced the number of social media posts or abandoned using social media, expressing their reservations that they may get into trouble because of social media posts.

IV. JOB SECURITY AND WORKING CONDITIONS OF ACADEMICS IN THE SoE

Dismissals, Lay-Offs, Security Investigations: Decreasing Job Security, Increasing Fears

One of the greatest effects of the SoE on academics is that it destroyed job security substantially. After the SoE, the Council of Ministers was given the authority to dismiss civil servants, who are accepted to be “in connection with or affiliated with terrorist organizations” without any judicial decision.⁵² Thus, during the SoE, which lasted for two years starting in 2016, a total of 135 thousand 144 people in Turkey have been discharged from the public service. Almost half (47 %) of these dismissals were from the fields of education, training and science. The number of those expelled from higher education institutions is 7312 (5904 academics, 1408 administrative staff).⁵³ Therefore, those working in the education sector, including higher education, constitute one of the main sectors that suffered highest number of dismissals with the decree law. In addition to the dismissals, 2808 academics working in 15 foundation universities that were closed down became redundant and were stigmatized because their universities are deemed to be affiliated with terrorism. Likewise, with the Decree Law No. 672 issued on September 1, 2016, 13,170 research assistants working within the framework of the Teaching Staff Training Program (OYP) at universities lost their job security, which they acquired within the scope of the OYP program. The academic future of the OYP research assistants is thus left to the discretion of university rectors and other university administrators. During the dismissals in the SoE period, academics found themselves in a vulnerable position in relation to those people responsible for conducting inquiries about civil servants and notifying them to the necessary authorities to be expelled from public office by the Council of Ministers, as well as institution managers and police personnel (rectors, deans, department heads, police and/or officers from the National Intelligence Service). In addition to being dismissed from the public service, security investigations carried out for the first assignments or in reassignments to academic staff, which,

⁵² For a detailed analysis of decree laws after the declaration of SoE, see Metin Günday (2017) “OHAL, İhraç KHK’leri ve Hukuki Durum”, *Ankara Barosu Dergisi*, No: 2017-1, pp. 29-38.

⁵³ Egitim Sen (2018). *Eğitimde ve Yükseköğretimde OHAL Raporu*. <http://egitimsen.org.tr/wpcontent/uploads/2018/07/E%C4%9Fitimde-ve-Y%C3%BCksek%C3%B6%C4%9Fretimde-OHAL-Raporu-19-Temmuz.pdf>, (Date of Access, April 2019), s. 3.

however, were not transparent and not subject to legal supervision, also eliminated academics' job security.

The majority (60 %) of the academics participating in the survey think that job security has decreased as a result of this process (See Table 15). Public universities seem to have been more affected by pressure from the SoE than foundation universities: 62 % of those working in public universities and 58 % of those working in foundation universities are of the opinion that job security has reduced. Likewise, 12 % (40 people) of the academics who participated in the research stated that they had problems in renewing their employment contract during the SoE period. The vast majority of these academics (34 people) work in public universities. Statistically, academics working in public universities experienced problems twice as high as those working in foundation universities during the SoE period (14 % to 7 %).

Table 15: Job Security in the Academy under the SoE

Job security	I agree	I feel neutral	I do not agree
My job security has decreased.	195 (% 60)	51 (% 16)	76 (% 24)
I had problems renewing my employment contract.	40 (% 12)	38 (% 12)	244 (% 76)
I had fears of losing my job.	176 (% 55)	52 (% 16)	93 (% 29)
I had fears of being dismissed with a decree law.	156 (% 49)	36 (% 12)	25 (% 39)

As can be seen in Table 15, more than half (55 %) of the academics who participated in the survey experienced fear of losing their job during the SoE period. Academics employed at foundation universities, who normally sign a contract for more temporary terms, seem to have experienced less fear of losing their job than those employed at state universities during the SoE period. 45 % (37 people) of foundation university employees and 58 % (139 people) of public universities employees reported experienced fear of losing their job. This situation accounts for the fact that there is the higher risk of dismissal from the public service at public universities with decree laws. This finding is in line with the following data: Approximately half (49 %) of the academics — 36 % of those working at the foundation university and 54 % of those working at the public university— reported that they feared being dismissed from public service with the

decree laws in the SoE (see Table 15). While 5% of the academics participating in the research were either dismissed or laid off by decree laws, 8 % of academics were also threatened personally with dismissal (see Table 16).

Table 16: Problems That Academics Encountered in Terms of Job Security

Problems Encountered in Job Security	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I was threatened with being fired.	21 (%7)	26 (%8)
My work contract was not renewed/I was dismissed.	6 (%2)	15 (%5)

For academics, decline in job security is seen as the biggest obstacle to academic freedoms. Academics indicated that the most important practice that negatively affected academic freedoms during the SoE was dismissals with the decree laws. The answers given to one of the two open-ended questions at the end of the survey, “What do you think is the most important practice that affected academic freedom in the SoE in Turkey?” reveal that the most damaging practices for academic freedoms were dismissals, lay-offs and discharges from public service with the decree laws. The dismissals executed with the decree laws, as the academics pointed out, not only jeopardized job security, but also brought about the climate of fear and self-censorship, which we dealt with in the previous sections:

Becoming unemployed overnight frightened the academics, who thought they had job security. After the decree laws, many academics around me chose to remain quieter than before, thinking, “What if the students are voice-recording in the lessons?” (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Izmir).

While the dismissals with the decree law deprived many academics of work, they also prevented those who continued their job at the university from working freely with the fear of suffering a similar outcome (Questionnaire, Faculty Member, State Uni., Adana).

First of all, the most fundamental restriction was in the field of freedom of expression, especially the dismissals created a mechanism of internal censorship, although there was no explicit pressure from the outside, preventing people from expressing academic thoughts. Before the SoE, I used to feel freer as academic work or ideas could not be a reason for a discharge (Survey Teaching Staff, State Uni., Eskişehir).

Our friends losing their jobs is a matter in itself, but in terms of those who kept their jobs, it has led to wincing and inertia. We were the people who always got what we wanted in one way or another even though we couldn't get it, somehow managed to voice our concerns, but now it is not the case. These (feeling of confidence) have been replaced by silence and even acceptance (DG, Faculty Member., State Uni., Istanbul).

Academics' loss of job security and fear of losing their job in the SoE period is an important issue. For academics who live under the risk of being dismissed from public

service on administrators' own initiative and without any legal decision, dismissal carries the risk of not only losing their job but losing their job "indefinitely." Because the dismissed academics are forbidden to work not only in state universities or public institutions, but also in foundation universities or other private educational institutions. Since the passports of the dismissed public officials are confiscated for an indefinite period, the academics' opportunities to work abroad are also taken away. Therefore, the academics' fear of losing their job in the SoE is exacerbated for the academics who signed the statement "We will not be a part to this crime" with being turned into "civilian dead", unable to work anywhere as mentioned in the threat of a journalist against the signatories. Considering this great fear, the self-censorship of the academics mentioned in the previous section becomes more evident. It can be said that academics exhibited a fight for "survival in the academic world" during the SoE. The primary goal for academics in precarious, obscure and oppressive university environment, in which it becomes impossible to differentiate between the innocent and the wrongdoer ["Horse traces cannot be differentiated from dog traces"],⁵⁴ is now to protect their job security rather than academic production: "Academics are forced to work like informants. Penalties brought in the SoE are used by academics to consolidate their individual and administrative duties. In such an environment, academics try to maintain their current position, while knowledge production ceases to be a priority" (Survey, Res. Assist., State Uni., Eskişehir). Fear of dismissal with decree laws not only hindered academics from working and disseminating their work freely but also damaged their commitment to their work. The academics participating in the research stated that the fear of being discharged from the public service that they experienced during the SoE period undermined their

⁵⁴ While many public personnel were expelled from the public service and many institutions (associations, foundations, companies, press organizations) were closed down with decrees in the SoE, no necessary judicial and administrative investigations have been made for the persons and institutions to establish that they were affiliated to terrorism, and instead mainly denunciations and intelligence reports have been taken as grounds for closures and dismissals. This situation has caused immense grievances. For example, more than 11 thousand people have been victimized due to the Purple Brain (Mor Beyin) application, which is connected to the server of the Bylock application, which is accepted as a proof of connection with 'FETO, without the permission of the owner; *Sözcü* (2017) "Mor Beyin Nedir? Binlerde kişi yanlışlıkla indirdi!", <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2017/gundem/mor-beyin-nedir-binlerce-kisi-yanlislikla-indirdi-2149644/>, (Access Date, September 2019). The words uttered by President Recep Erdogan to draw attention to the mistakes made during the dismissals and closings when he was called by his friend Hasan Karapehlivan, the owner of the Gonca Bookstore, which was closed on the grounds of being allegedly linked to terrorism, were a firsthand admission of the mistakes made: "Horse traces cannot be differentiated from dog traces, (The innocent cannot be differentiated from the wrongdoer) one should abstain from such mistakes." *Yeni Şafak* (2016) "Cumhurbaşkanı: At izi iti izine karıştı", <https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/cumhurbaskani-at-izi-itizine-karisti-2526756>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

attachment to their jobs and decreased their motivation. The following statement is an example of this:

We began to worry all the time thinking, “When will they dismiss us, when will they dismiss us?” Of course, this puts our work, everything in the second plan. People from various universities were expelled in Turkey. We always make a plan B. What are we going to do? Maybe another job, you begin to think about everything. Gradually, we began to lose touch with what we do... The biggest effect of the SoE was the loss of our friends’ jobs. This meant that we could both lose our jobs any moment too, and struggling with them, ways of solidarity, keeping track of things, etc., in fact, it seems to me that we lost touch with our profession. We can’t produce any work, we don’t do it, and there is no point in doing it anyway (DG, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

The pressure of the decree laws, with which many people dismissed were announced at intervals throughout the SoE, was called “psychological terrorism” by an academic. Academics, who were exposed to this “psychological terror” throughout the SoE, lost their enthusiasm and productivity:

We witnessed really horrible things in the SoE. ... It’s not just about dismissal of so many academics, but we were terrorized for 2-3 years. We kept thinking, “Which of us will be expelled? And when?” We waited for the decrees every day. I am sure that there was a serious decrease in the performance of academics, more precisely, dissident academics, during these 2 years. I also observe this among my friends and in myself. We don’t want to go to classes. “What is the point in teaching?” We felt such a lack of motivation for something like that. We were joking with friends saying, “We will be kicked off in a day or two, let’s teach accordingly” and so on. ”Do not work so hard, we will be dismissed in 2 months, anyway.” ... For exactly 2 years, almost 2 years non-stop, we lived in terror. ... We probably experienced one of the worst traumas experienced by the post-September 12 generations in the West of Turkey. We are talking about it for the West; the east of the Euphrates was already another reality. ... It was something that was extended over such a long time; I can call it nothing other than terror. Psychological terror! So 2-3 months passed when it seemed everything was forgotten, but then a new decree came out again, we were reminded of it and called friends in the evening. We were trying to comfort them. On the one hand, it’s like a bittersweet thing inside us, some consolation. “We had a narrow escape again” or something like that. After that, everything started to normalize completely. But a new decree law was issued 3 months later. We called our friends in the evening, trying to console them. We were trying to create solidarity funds for them, etc. and we were waiting for our turn to be dismissed. It was a really terrible period. ... In other words, our 3 years have passed under a psychological and emotional terror that got worse and worse in this way (DG, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

Security investigations, which ensure that the academics are inspected periodically, have also been a tool of pressure against academics in every contract-renewal time. Because these investigations, not only enabling appointment of academics to certain positions, have become a general mechanism of approval for working at any university in Turkey. Academic who fails to pass the security investigation once cannot work at another university. Because, regardless of whether it is a foundation or public university, academic cadres are approved by the HEC. While an academic within the Teaching Staff

Training Program (OYP) is appointed to the staff of 33/a (A type of appointment to research assistantship) by the university where he worked, he explained that he could not be appointed because the security investigation was negative and summarized his experiences as follows:

For example, I was somehow expelled from public service too. They introduced the security investigation thing when entering the civil service. They introduced Civil Servants Law Article No. 48. They asked for a security investigation in our university too and they said nothing until the date of appointment. ... I filled in the form and submitted it. Then, when I demanded for a position, they said to me, "Your security investigation is negative." I was turned down in this way. Actually, I was left out of the university. In other words, I have no chance of finding work in Turkey. Private universities also demand security investigations. For example, a student doing master's degree at our university passed the exam for TOBB University. She was not admitted because she could not pass the security investigation. ... It is not possible. This kind of thing also happened (DG, Instructor, State Uni., Marmara Region).

An academic who participated in the research said he was fired although he was accepted to work at a foundation university because he could not pass the security investigation, which was completed after a while:

I applied to the position of as assistant professor; when I took the position something happened: the same title was given a new name: "PhD lecturer". I worked as an assistant professor for about 3 months. After 3 months, I got laid off because of the security investigation. ... So, it is such a move that it renders you unable to work in another university because of a security investigation. This was something like that. By the way, this is how I was discharged: The dean called me. He said to me: "You will be kicked out because of the security investigation, but if you wish, we could do something else, let me give you an option. You resign. In this way you won't have been kicked out due to the security investigation." ... So I thought about it in some detail. I thought about my wife's official position. Because I have my own future, my child with a scholarship. I talked to the branch chair of my union. Apparently they inserted a code to your file at the Social Security Institution (SGK), noting down the reason for your dismissal. After all, this was something that you would face wherever you go. So I couldn't find the power to go over it, because you have to file lawsuits to remove this, and so on. At that time, the dean said to me, "You must decide within an hour." So I went an hour later. I said, "Okay, I resign." As a result, I left with that resignation code. ... Security investigation is a very uncertain issue. After the first month, I researched and found out about it. The security investigation is always valid for a while, and when you apply to another institution, the same report goes to them, which is a negative report and most universities do not accept people with such reports, they don't hire such people, if they are employed they are simply laid off. After I learnt this, I accepted the bitter fact: I couldn't work anywhere else, at least for a while. But I don't know for how long. It is something very vague (DG, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

The uncertainty of security investigations also applies to their content. Academics are not able to learn the content of security investigations about them, and they are not disclosed on what grounds the security investigation has resulted positively or negatively. The

academic, whose words were quoted above, expressed his efforts in this regard as follows:

I was talking to a lecturer in our department. I said, “Did you know my security investigation came out negative.” The man said to me: “Why is this government so crabby? ... First, there is the ‘FETO business (Gülen Terrorist Organization), then there is the PKK. Do you have relationship with them?” “No!” I say, “I can’t tell you anything about this either, because I don’t know what is going on.” I didn’t really know either. I went and asked them insistently saying, “Tell me what is it so that I can try to do something about it too.” The scale is extremely wide. I don’t know what they’re looking at; I don’t know what’s going on. ... When the security investigation came out negative, we visited and talked to a deputy from here. He is also someone I am familiar with thanks to my practice of law. He said to me, “Unfortunately, even a detention could suffice for an investigation to end up negatively and then, unfortunately, you lose your chance to work within the borders of Turkey” (DG, Instructor, State Univ., Marmara Region).

The commercialization and precarization of university system in Turkey, which was centralized after 1980 by the Higher Education Council reached its zenith with the adoption of the tuition fee, expansion of private universities after the second half of the 1990s and finally with the corporatization of higher education institutions behind the facade of governance after the 2000s. Under these conditions, academics, who had already been inspected through academic appointment and promotion criteria and had lost their job security and consequently their academic freedoms, were also exposed to open political pressures among the political turmoil that led to the July 15 coup attempt. The hierarchy of university established with the HEC and academic appointment and promotion criteria that curtailed academic freedom and freedom of expression in general before and after the coup attempt was further consolidated with arbitrary practices such as investigations, penalties and verbal warnings of university administrators and bureaucrats who were equipped with extraordinary powers.

Arbitrary Practices of Administrators, Investigations, Penalties, Pressures...

The SoE not only destroyed academics’ job security, but also negatively affected their working conditions and working relations. Academics were first and foremost left in a weak position, as stated before, against the administrators. 43% of the academics, whose dismissals simply depended on the discretion of university administrators for a long time, felt vulnerable to their superiors (See Table 17). In her answer to the open-ended question, an academic stated the basic practices that affected academic freedoms as follows: “The commissions established within the university can file investigations about

the employees and make decisions that could involve their dismissal without judicial proceedings” (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Van). Other academics underlined also the growing power of administrators:

I think that the environment of fear that is established is the most important determinant. Dismissals intensified this atmosphere of fear. Administrators have become more indifferent and thoughtless than they have ever been. We are living a period in which they assume they could do anything (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., İzmir).

Social lynching psychology and the lack of legal guarantees of administrators. This situation led the administrators who wanted to save themselves to be quite oppressive and heartless (Questionnaire, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

In fact, the regime of SoE has created a great space and ground for people seeking power. There was the department chairperson, the dean, the vice-dean, and so on, but they could not use their power against you in the environment of academic freedom. ... But with the SoE, their power has become very strong. Indeed, there is the mechanism of pressure on you, thinking you may get into trouble, or may not get into trouble. “Well, I could help you, Hocam, but the atmosphere is bad.” This statement has now become a slogan. Even in a very simple thing. “Well you say so, Professor, but the environment is bad, one should be careful these days.” Why is the environment bad? Because of you, naturally. ... Many administrators could minimize the SoE, but they turned it into an opportunity for themselves (IDI., Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia Region).

The legal processes suspended in many areas during the SoE, the wearing out of the principles of accountability and transparency in administration have created an ambiguous area where administrators can enjoy their powers arbitrarily. In most cases, this has allowed administrators to perform their actions in an aura of “secrecy” or “mystery”, without the obligation to base them on specific legal rules or norms. For example, practices such as suspending appointment of staff, refusing to give academics permission to attend domestic / international conferences, depriving academics of project supports and withholding courses for lecturers who are considered to be “objectionable” have been carried out by means of suspending the official procedure during the SoE period, leaving petitions unanswered, making verbal implications or verbal suggestions through third parties to academics; thus, administrators had the opportunity to continue their actions contrary to academic freedoms or legal norms without leaving a legal / written trace. In addition, the statements of the academics show that the administrators in the SoE justified their “unjust, illegal” actions by means of making reference to “superior wills” or “the SoE conditions”, which are shrouded in a “veil of mystery”, have no known origin and go beyond their discretion. In the face of all this, academics who are deprived of their job security, shied away or simply could not seek their rights through legal processes. Stating that there were also administrators who had repressive practices that violated academic freedoms before the SoE, academics remarked that the greatest

effect of the SoE in terms of this issue was that it extended these powers at an unmatched level and carried them out of judicial processes:

The Rector wanted to expel us then as well, he had many people he didn't like in his mind. But he had no power to do that. So he couldn't do it. Now when you talk about an institution, that corporate thing is actually nothing other than its administrative staff. Well, the SoE made a difference, giving that power to the executive staff and, as I said at the very beginning, it created an environment in which the Rector could do things while giving the impression that he did not do it. So he dismissed me as well as a lot of my friends. We know that this is something that came to pass completely at the initiative of the university, but he says, "I am a mere civil servant. They told me to expel them, and I did so. I had nothing to do with it." But the SoE was a field where he could use his initiative to the full and gave the impression that he had no power whatsoever (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia Region).

(The academic who was not allowed to teach his course) I said, "Professor, is there something wrong?" "Unfortunately, yes," he said, "it is about you, because of two investigations about you." He went on speaking, using the words "those below" to refer to the Rector's Office, since this is a hilly place. "Those below, they are not doing anything," he said. I said to him, "I do not understand, the first one was an inspection and I was absolved. The second investigation is going on, but what could have anything to do with this? Third, you had a department meeting, did you officially report something? If there is something official, then notify me officially so that you are free from legal obligations." "No, no," he said, "things don't work like that." After all, it is verbal implication, I even said, "Is it?" "No, it's not an implication, but it's verbal, and I couldn't answer if you asked who said it," he said. "Professor, this is a very serious thing. Are you aware that this puts you under certain obligations too?" "Yes," he said. Well, there was nothing to do (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Samsun).

Well, they are using the SoE as an excuse for everything. When you are about to do something they say we don't do it like that because we are in the SoE. We must act accordingly (IDI, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

I think they (*administrators*) were using the SoE as an excuse for their own actions within the university, to justify their own decisions by referring to external causes. Let me put it more openly, they used it as sticks and swords. They were constantly making you feel unsafe: "This is the SoE period, you cannot foresee what will happen, we normally may not do such a thing, but we can do it in the SoE period." ... For example, in the matter of investigations. Legally they did not have the right to file investigations because it was overdue, two years overdue, but they said, "Well, this is the SoE". ... More like this, well, they introduced control processes in the workplace. For example, they could check whether you were in your office: "Are you in the office, or not?" Here it is, as if academic activity could be marked off by means of working hours! "Leave your office at 5 pm.," for example. "I want to stay here." "You must leave." "Why?" "Because of the SoE Regulations"... (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Van).

(An academic whose contract is not renewed and who is reluctant to take legal action) I was scared. Because it really is not clear what these maniacs will do. Because there are so many people. That is, people dismissed from public office even though they were not civil servants. Nonsense! Lots of people, lots of such decisions ... You may be included in the black list by the rector or a supervisor simply because you took legal action or because your action is seen as a sign of personal animosity. Because there really is no limit to what people can do. What is the limit under normal conditions? Law. So, the limit of what people can do is law. I don't know if there is

such an administration... Well, here is the Constitution. When such things do not exist, everything is suspended; I think it's really scary. That was scary (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Marmara Region).

In the SoE period, investigations seem to have become the most important means of pressure and control used by administrators. Investigations not only entailed the risk of being dismissed through the decree laws, but also turned into a practice that victimized academics in many areas. For example, even an investigation filed against academics during the SoE was sufficient reason for blocking them to apply for associate professorship; if their application has been accepted, the process could be hindered; or if they have successfully passed the associate professor exam their titles could be withheld.⁵⁵

The possibility that investigations may be filed against anyone at any time, on uncertain grounds and in uncertain periods, constitutes an important pressure on academics. For example, an academic who participated in the survey stated that an investigation was filed against a friend of his due to a lawsuit on grounds that he was caught eating fruits from a tree in an institution's garden 30 years ago despite the fact that he was tried and acquitted! (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Van). Another academic remarked that he was investigated due to his ethnic identity by the university with the claim that "he supported terrorist organizations both legally and illegally" even though he had nothing to do with it" (Survey, Research Assist, State Uni., Diyarbakir). This created an unsafe environment in the universities, and as a result, 43 % of the academics who participated in the survey experienced worries that an investigation would be filed against them during the SoE period, and 15 % of them reported that they were neutral about this (see Table 17).

⁵⁵ According to Article 4 of the SoE Decree Law No. 683, the associate professorship procedures of the candidates for associate professorship who have legal or administrative investigations have been suspended until investigation is completed. Academic Burak Cop, who covered the victimization he experienced in his newspaper column, wrote that upon finding out his application for associate professorship had been deactivated he also came to know that an investigation had been filed against him. Stating that although he tried to learn from every authority he could reach, he could not find out what the investigation was about, Cop realized that there were at least five other academics who were in the same situation, while he was trying to understand his problem; Burak Cop (2107) "Hayalet Soruşturma", soL, <https://haber.sol.org.tr/yazarlar/burak-cop/hayaletsorusturma-191087>, (Date of Access, September 2019). The Constitutional Court, which addressed the plea concerning to the SoE decree No 683 submitted by CHP deputies, canceled the article in May 2018; Anayasa Mahkemesi (2018) "Anayasa Mahkemesi Kararı", Esas No: 2018/51, kararlaryeni.anayasa.gov.tr/Karar/Content/59be639d-ec56-402e-834eae029d3b42b3?excludeGerekce=False&wordsOnly=False, (Date of Access, September 2019).

The anxiety of academics about investigation is not groundless. One out of every ten academics interviewed (11 %) reported that they have had administrative investigation while 3 % received an administrative penalty in the SoE since their political views or the content of their academic studies were considered objectionable (See Table 18). 16 % of academics (approximately one in every 6 academics) were warned verbally or written by their administrators for the same reason in the SoE.

Table 17: Status of the Academics Against Administrators with Expanding Power

Feelings in the Face of the Expansion of Administrators' Powers	I agree	I feel neutral	I do not agree
I felt vulnerable to my superiors	139 (%43)	55 (%17)	129 (%40)
I was concerned that an administrative investigation would be filed against me	138 (%43)	48 (%15)	136 (%42)

Table 18: The Treatment Faced Due to Political/Academic Views

Practices of Pressure Faced by Academics whose Political / Academic Opinions are Found to be Inconvenient by Administrators	Before the SoE	During the SoE
Verbal / written warning by administrators	43 (%14)	51 (%16)
Having an administrative investigation	31(%10)	35 (%11)
Administrative penalty	12 (%4)	10 (%3)
Decreasing academic duties	10 (%3)	18 (%6)
Change of office / office mate	9 (%3)	12 (%4)
Being forced to withdraw from a board/jury of which they are a member	-	7 (%3)
Changing the place of duty	3 (%1)	6 (%2)

The pressures of administrators on academics, whose political views or academic studies are considered to be “objectionable”, are not limited to investigations or warnings. As it can be seen in Table 18, academic duties of 18, 6 % of the academics were reduced, office or office mates of 4 % the academics were changed, 3 % were forced to withdraw

from the board / jury of which they were a member, again the position of 2 % was changed during the SoE period, because they were considered “critical or objectionable” by their administrators.

The fact that the administrators gained a broad span of authority on the one hand, and that they can be free from legal supervision, on the other, poses the danger of universities turning into institutions where “culture of submissiveness” prevails. An academic depicts the working environment in which they were forced to “obey” administrators, even in such matters as obtaining their personal rights, work, carry out projects or attend academic events as follows:

All kinds of censorship and repression originate directly from the administrative supervisors at the institution. Since my academic work is not read by the superiors, I have fears of not having my contract renewed due to such issues as my union activities and political views. I was demoted to an administrative post because I objected to academic censorship (such as handing in the full text of your conference presentation to the dean’s office before going to the conference) and mobbing, but I was able to return to the faculty with the decision of the rector’s office. Academics who produce popular and widely-read articles are targeted more, the biggest pressure on the rest of the academics comes directly from the administration. The only thing they pay attention to is whether we have dissenting political views because they are not familiar with what we write or work on. They express this explicitly, saying, “Anyone who doesn’t obey will go” (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

The evidence provided by the research shows that academics’ work environments are surrounded by an ongoing pressure of investigation and penalty, an atmosphere of censorship/self-censorship and fear. Practiced by administrators and colleagues, mobbing, which is a relatively intricate, refined form of all these methods of pressure, is another type of pressure that academics experience both before and after the SoE.

A Permanent Means of Pressure: Mobbing

Research findings show that mobbing is still a means used to victimize academics both before and during the SoE. According to “Information Guide on Mobbing in Workplaces” issued by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, Directorate General of Labor, mobbing is defined as follows:⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı (ÇSGB) (2014) *İşyerlerinde Psikolojik Taciz (Mobbing) Bilgilendirme Rehberi*, Ankara: ÇSGB Çalışma Genel Müdürlüğü, <https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/media/1327/i%C5%9Fyerlerinde-psikolojik-taciz-mobbing-bilgilendirmehberi-2014.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 2019), p. 9.

Mobbing refers to all malicious, deliberate, negative attitudes and behaviors aimed at one person or more by one or more persons in the workplaces, continuing systematically for a certain period of time, aiming to intimidate, passivate or dismiss them from work, harming the individual's values, professional status, social relationships or health of victims.

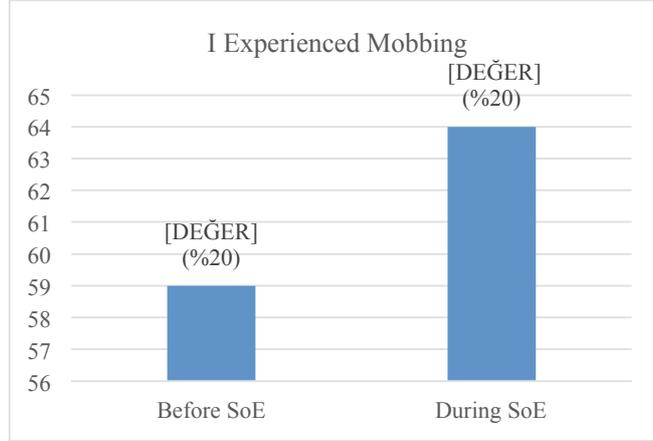
According to the Guide, not all kinds of negative behaviors in workplaces are considered mobbing. Mobbing requires some elements. Thus, mobbing:⁵⁷

- It must take place in the workplace.
- It may be practiced on the subordinates by the superiors, it may be practiced on the superiors by their subordinates, it may also be practiced between equals.
- It must be done systematically.
- It must be repeated with a continuing frequency.
- It must be done deliberately.
- It must be practiced with the aim of intimidating, rendering ineffective and dismissing a person.
- Damage must occur in the personality, occupational status or health of the victim.
- Negative attitudes and behaviors towards the person may be hidden or open.

In the relevant question of the questionnaire, after giving the definition of mobbing to the academics, we asked them separately whether they have experienced mobbing before and during the SoE period. 301 academics responded to the part of the question regarding mobbing before the SoE and 319 academics answered the part of the question regarding mobbing during the SoE period. 59 academics (20 %) reported that they have been mobbed before the SoE because of their views and/or contents of their studies were considered to be critical, sensitive or objectionable. This figure increased to 64 during the state of emergency. Thus, 20 % of academics said they experienced mobbing during the SoE (See Figure 8).

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

Figure 8: Distribution of Academics Who Reported That They Experienced Mobbing Before and During the SoE Period



In short, according to the survey data, one out of every five scholars in both periods in Turkey has undergone mobbing due to their political views of the content of their studies in universities! Considering that the pre-SoE period covers a much wider period while the SoE period was roughly a two-year period, the proportional and numerical proximity of both periods shows that the SoE period constitutes an oppressive environment for the academics.

Talking about the rights violations before the SoE, an academic from Eskişehir participating in the survey stated that he witnessed “Fethullah Gülen community, which had already infiltrated through staffing into the state before the SoE, practiced professional pressure and mobbing against academics who did not comply with them by means of judicial and administrative methods (Survey, Research Assist., State Uni., Eskişehir). An academic interviewed stated that he was not appointed, he was not allowed to teach courses lectures, he was mobbed due to the staffing of Gülen community at the university where he worked before the SoE, and though the administration changed in the SoE the same practices continued because he was unionized and left-wing (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Samsun). Another academic expressed a similar situation as follows:

The point we have reached by the July 15 coup was unbelievable; we were in such a situation that no student, including my assistant, was able to greet me. These kids were too afraid to say hello, so people in the hallway passed by me without saying hi because they were frightened. Then they came and apologized to me, but it was too late, of course. I felt so marginalized, excluded,

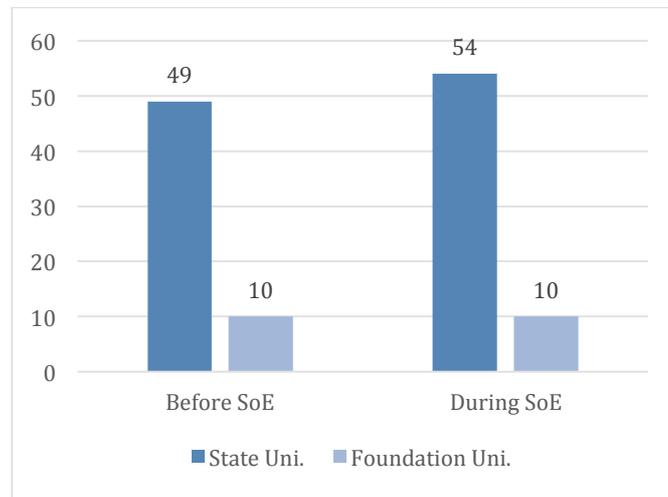
demonized; that was the situation I was in. Of course this meant very serious mobbing, very serious mobbing. ... For example, your courses were snatched away from you; they constantly gossip about you and you get exhausted with continuous investigations; such things do not actually allow you to enjoy your academic freedoms. They don't. Until when? It is ironic, until July 15... Now, I said, July 15; ironically, this also brought some advantages for me. But what happened next? Okay, good, we received our tenures. But then suddenly the weather started to change with the SoE. But with the SoE, nobody came and interfered with what I was going to teach in my lectures; but they created such an atmosphere that everyone in the faculty felt frightened, everyone started to retreat (IDI , Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

Another academic who participated in the survey part of the study stated that while she was subjected to sexual harassment and mobbing before the SoE, her academic freedom was restricted due to “ego and ambitions” of the administrators during the SoE (Survey, Research Assist., State Uni., Samsun). A research assistant working at a foundation university in Ankara stated that the SoE made academics more vulnerable against mobbing:

The pressure especially on academics who have been dismissed by means of decrees as well as those who continue to work have increased the environment of mobbing in universities, and academic freedom has almost disappeared. In this environment, problems such as failure to ensuring safety of life, providing the most basic materials as well as getting underpaid are a blow to academic environments (Questionnaire, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

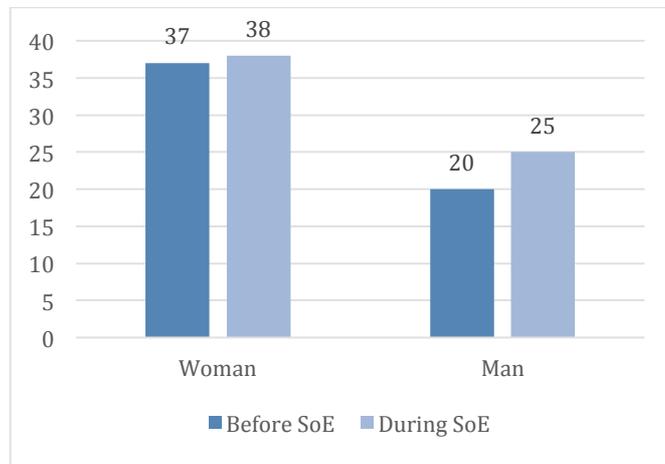
Mobbing is more common in public universities. 20 % (49 people) of academics working in public universities who participated in the study were mobbed before the SoE and 23 % (54 people) during the SoE period. As for the academics working at foundation universities, 12 % (10 people) reported that they were mobbed both before and during the SoE period (See Figure 9). The frequency of mobbing is observed to be approximately 8-10 % higher in state universities than in foundation universities.

Figure 9: The Distribution of Academics Who Have Been Subjected to Mobbing Before and During the SoE in the State and Foundation Universities.



According to the research findings, female academics were exposed to mobbing more than male academics in both periods. Female academics were exposed to mobbing more than male academics —by 7 % before the SoE, and by 3 % during the SoE. According to the results of the survey, approximately one in four female academics (24 % of women) were subjected to mobbing before the SoE and the percentage was similar with 23 % in the SoE. It can be said that the SoE affected male academics more in terms of mobbing because while under “normal” circumstances (before the SoE), 13 % of men were mobbed, this percentage increased to 17% in the SoE period (See Figure 10).

Figure 10: Distribution by Gender of Academics Reported to Have Been Mobbed in the Pre-SoE and in the SoE Period



People in the lower rungs of academic ladder are exposed to mobbing more than those in the upper rungs. 17 of the academics who reported that they have been mobbed were research assistants continuing their postgraduate education in this period and 9 were research assistants who have completed their PhD. In summary, the largest segment that stated having been exposed to mobbing in universities is research assistants with 41% (See Table 19). As seen in Table 19, one-fifth of the research assistants doing their master’s or doctorate degree and almost half of the research assistants who completed their doctorate were subjected to mobbing in the SoE period.

Table 19: The Titles of the Academics Who Reported that They Were Mobbed During the SoE Period

Academic Title	Number of People Mobbed	Total Number of Academics in Title	Percentage
Assistant Professor	17	90	% 19
Research Assistant (Master’s-Doctorate Student)	17	80	% 21
Dr. Research Assistant	9	21	% 43
Professor	8	47	% 17
Associate professor	8	51	% 16
Instructor	4	22	% 18
Unspecified	1	1	-

A research assistant who was interviewed talked about the pressure of the institution administrator on research assistants that verged on mobbing during the SoE period:

He was a caricature of people aspiring to be authoritarian in Turkey. ... Because he held meetings aiming to make us uneasy and unhappy. He sat in front of us and said, "I am paying your money. There are a lot of people waiting at the door. If you don't like it here, you may as well go search for a position for research assistant at another university." One day he called us, several fellow assistants. "You can't sit if I do not say so. Look, I have a sword behind me, a stick. If necessary, we will use them as well." For example, he said to a friend, "The assistant is nothing other than a table." ... He was trying to interfere in our fields of study. He meddled in my thesis monitoring committee, the academics in that committee. One day he saw me in the garden. He calls me like this: "You" said, "Have you decided on your committee?" Meanwhile, he says, "Of course, I will interfere in your thesis topics, and I will interfere in your doctorate studies." Anyway he saw me in the garden. "Did you do it?" said. I said yes. "Well, how so?" he said, "Didn't you include anyone from here?" he said, "Did you do it on your own?" said he and continued, "Who is in in the jury then?" I said there was Prof. X, Professor Y. "Well, I will be seeing you," he said, raising his hand like that. "You'll see, you're doing it wrong," he said. "You're doing it wrong, you're doing so wrong!" he yelled at me in the garden like this. He shook his finger. I was petrified (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

According to the results of the survey, the second segment that experienced mobbing with highest percentage after the research assistants are assistant professors (the now-called doctor faculty members). 17 assistant professors (constituting 19 % of the academics who stated that they had been subjected to mobbing) also stated that they were exposed to mobbing during the SoE period. Likewise, 18 % of lecturers, 17 % of professors and 16 % of associate professors were subjected to mobbing during the SoE period. Consequently, as can be expected from the authoritarian, hierarchical university system in Turkey, academics continue to face mobbing constantly and frequently. Mobbing is a method of oppression that originates from the administrators' aspirations for authoritarianism as well as the desire for domination among the power networks within the academy; and coupled especially with self-censorship, it poses a major obstacle to academic freedoms. Marketization, the path into which higher education in Turkey has been goaded, and governance approach adopted in this context since the beginning of the 21st century, reconciled the components of university, which are considered by the system to be stakeholders, into a game in which they would inevitably be defeated and would limit their academic freedoms themselves. This most refined and general form of mobbing has come to be known as the criteria for appointment and promotion.

Constantly Renewed Criteria for Assignment-Promotion, the Pressure for Performance and Projects

In addition to the repressive practices of administrators on certain academics, various practices of university administrations (rectors, deans, university senate) in the SoE exerted pressure on academics in general. Nearly half (45 %) of the academics participating in the survey stated that appointment and promotion principles, which were changed by the university administrations during the SoE period, affected their work negatively, more than half (55 %) remarked they were under pressure due to staff or appointment requirements, and 56 % said they felt pressure owing to performance requirements (See Table 20). Similarly, approximately every other academic (46 %) stated that their workload increased during the SoE period (See Table 20).

Table 20: Appointment and Promotion Criteria and Working Conditions

Working conditions	I agree	I feel neutral	I do not agree
The changes in appointment and promotion criteria negatively affected my work.	112 (% 45)	47 (% 19)	88 (% 36)
I felt pressure to publish due to appointment or promotion criteria	174 (% 55)	31 (% 10)	110 (% 35)
I felt pressure owing to performance requirements.	177 (% 56)	44 (% 14)	97 (% 30)
I think my workload has increased.	146 (% 46)	55 (% 17)	119 (% 37)

The government's political suppression of universities as well as the linking of staff renewals to "performance criteria" undermined the academics' job security. Although this problem is visible more frequently in foundation universities, performance-based personnel management has turned into a general pressure tool on academics. Due to heavy working conditions and the job contracts, which are specified by administrators depending on the "performance criteria", academics appear to fail to perform their professions in a manner they have wished and envisioned:

I had difficulty with appointment and promotion criteria after I moved to a foundation university. There, we came across these criteria as a direct performance requirement, that is, something that is rather reduced to quantity. They even offered money, saying we provide such and such amount of incentive. They calculated everything. There was an environment where people made money and

produced a specific number of articles. In other words, when it is reduced to such quantity, the quality decreases. There was such a pressure here (IDI, Faculty Member, State and Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Violations of academic freedom, which are encountered in private universities and in a position that can be considered more 'neutral', occur for other reasons. Situations such as excessively heavy course load, unrealistic academic performance expectations, and arbitrary arrangements in the staff for optimization and efficiency affect us more (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Izmir).

In fact, it was a talk like that of a CEO (*the speech of the dean*). As if he were a company executive. He said, "Look, this is something very interactive. I talked to the assistants in person. I'm talking to you and I am saying, let's do something for this university. Bring me projects, bring ideas, I'm very open to them." So there is also something other than that. Here is the production pressure, based on performance criteria, where quality is ignored but quantity is put at the forefront. So if you are going to do this, you should write this much; that is it. Things such as your article should appear in such and such quality journals with the following qualifications, etc.; that is, you are expected to write not what you want, when you want, but produce the things they want. This is not very productive at all (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

In particular, academics working at the foundation universities remarked that the heavy workload itself, as well as performance criteria, has turned into a practice that violates the freedom of research:

The restrictions on academic liberties and their reflections during the SoE period in my university manifest themselves quite differently from those in public universities. In the university where I work, lawlessness has turned into arbitrariness and because of this my colleagues and I encounter heavier workloads and insecurity. Therefore, this restricts the freedom of research itself, let alone what and how to research. However, this restriction is actualized through indirect and less obvious mechanisms (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation University, Izmir).

There is the pressure of renewing your contract. And this has some criteria. The appointment and promotion criteria are much heavier here than they are at public universities. For example, you have to publish in indexed journals and there are certain publication requirements. The number of publications must be met until the contract period. Our university takes this very seriously. ... It creates serious tension. Because you have two years ahead and you have to publish a certain number of publications in those two years. Well, in our field, it already takes a lot of time to do research, to complete the text and submit that text to the journal where it will finally be published. Of course there is tension. There is also this. For example, compared with the state university where they have a staff of 100 people, we only have 20; we have three undergraduate and three graduate courses to teach. And we have a huge workload, really huge. Almost everyone has administrative duties since the staff is so limited. ... So everyone has a maddening administrative burden, and the teaching already takes much of the time. Yesterday I came to office at 8:50 morning I left at 20:50. I spent 12 hours here. This will also probably be the case today. In this tempo, it is already an impossibility to deal with something like lectures, research, publications, conferences, etc., where I can enjoy academic freedom. That's the problem here (IDI, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Izmir).

Apart from cumbersome appointment and promotion criteria and performance pressure, another pressure factor on academics is the projects they are expected to carry out. Academics are expected to prepare research-development, social responsibility projects that will “generate income” to the institution they work for and to obtain funding from national and international institutions. In some universities, the execution of projects to which the institution will also be partners or to become partners in such projects has turned into a more obvious type of pressure than publishing academic articles:

For example, I have many publications, many articles on political economy, I am working in this field, and so on. I use them mostly in my lessons, but in the eyes of our university or faculty administration, this has no value at all. Things of value are different. They keep asking, “Are you bringing in any projects?” The project means income because the institution is also making money, the university administration is making money, you also receive some money, but the university is also making money, which goes into revenue assets. They are very invaluable. Even if you have written something very important, and got it published, it is of importance as long as it does not have a pecuniary or commercial value. But as I said, if you can bring in a project of ten thousand dollars, this is of great importance, it increases your score, and it starts to be effective in terms of your appointments. This actually shows that the universities are now run like corporations and university administrators too have adopted this mentality, and even worse, it is an indication that university lecturers have also adopted it (IDI., Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

This is a subject that we suffer from most in the SoE at the university. The appointment-promotion criteria have just been established here and one of the requirements is having carried out an international project. ... This is not exactly the pressure of having to produce continuously, because writing articles or books is not taken very serious at the university. We were openly told that if we do not come up with projects, we cannot have high esteem at university and our faculty is about to become one of the places where this policy prevails, thanks to our dean, someone who tends to think that way. Therefore, even if you write 10 articles a year, you are not taken seriously much. That means, the project is top priority, of course, you gain points through the article you write, but you are not considered so invaluable because of the articles you write (IDI., Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

At first sight, appointment and promotion criteria and performance-based personnel management seem to have no connection with academic freedom. However, a closer look at the picture will reveal that one of the most reliable ways of ensuring that the members of a university — an institution which is political by its nature— produce information in the desired political/ideological line without violating the rhetoric of academic freedom is to put into the practice the appointment and promotion criteria, performance-based remuneration and the pressure of making projects. These criteria, which determine what kind of publications you need to produce, which media are valuable when they are published, and which funders’ projects are acceptable and desirable, drag academic production like an invisible hand towards the demands of the neoliberal system. Academics are expected to fulfill publication, performance and project criteria presented to them. This mechanism aimed explicitly at liberal ideological orientation, the increased

corporatization at the beginning of the 21st century and performance-based personnel management accordingly popularized are the major barriers to academic freedom. The result has been the total devaluation of academics and the academy. For example, such facts as the proliferation of articles published in unqualified, “plunderer” journals that are called pseudo journals since they demand a fee for publication, which became an issue at the HEC and necessitated an intervention by the HEC⁵⁸, the emergence of various companies that write articles or theses in return for a fee⁵⁹, the formation of “congress tourism”, which are far from being qualified yet meet the required appointment and promotion criteria⁶⁰ and the rise of “publication and citation networks”⁶¹ attest to this

⁵⁸ In its decision dated March 9, 2019, the HEC addressed this issue of “plundering” journals and stated that the articles published in such journals cannot be used in academic promotion. For the related decision announced publicly by the HEC, please see: “‘Yağmacı’ Dergi Yayınları Akademik Yükseltmelerde Kullanılmayacak”, <https://www.yok.gov.tr/Sayfalar/Haberler/yagmaci-dergi-yayinlarina-onlem.aspx> (Date of Access: 17 November 2019).

⁵⁹ For news items covering this issue see: “Ver parayı yazdır tezi” *Milliyet*, 10.05.2017, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gundem/ver-parayi-yazdir-tezi-2447629> (Date of Access: 17 November 2019). “Tez yazım sektörü patladı... En fazla parayı tıp tezlerinden alıyorlar”, *Mediamagazin*, 23. 03.2017, <https://www.medimagazin.com.tr/guncel/genel/tr-tez-yazim-sektoru-patladien-fazla-parayi-tip-tezlerindenaliyorlar-11-681-73271.html>

⁶⁰ Aided by “collaborators” or scientists who are forced to cooperate, congress companies with no scientific concerns whatsoever organize congresses in which the sessions are attended usually by no one. For example, the requirement to present papers at international conferences forced Turkish scientists to attend conferences organized abroad which no foreign academics are available. It is claimed that almost all of the participants in the social science congress held in Thailand under the leadership of Ağrı İbrahim Çeçen University Rector’s Office in 2018 were Turkish academics; *Bianet* (2019) “AYM’nin Barış Akademisyenleri Kararına Karşı 1071 Akademisyenden Bildiri”, <http://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/211015-aym-nin-baris-akademisyenleri-kararina-karsi-1071-akademisyenden-bildiri>, (Date of Access, September 2019). Another exemplary practice is that the companies in question organize all-in-one symposia that includes all social science fields; *Mülkiye Haber* (2019) “AÜ’de “sempozyum turizmi” başladı!”, <http://mulkiyehaber.net/aude-sempozyum-turizmi-basladi/>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁶¹ The main reason for the rise of the “citation networks” is that academics are expected to publish in journals with high impact factor. In any given year, the impact factor of a journal is the number of citations, received in that year, of articles published in that journal during the two preceding years, divided by the total number of “citable items” published in that journal during the two preceding years. Accordingly, publications published in the journal with a high impact factor are considered valuable. What these new quantization attempts, which are geared rather towards comprehending the qualitative, do not taken into account is essentially self-deception in terms of relative success detected in an overall degeneration. The heart of the matter is that science cannot be subjected to performance criteria. Here, it would be worthwhile to refer to Ertekin, who concludes his article on measurement of scientific performance with some advice to young scientists. Ertekin states that science should be performed with curiosity, not with concerns of promotion, that science should not be practiced for money, fame and status. This advice is preceded by the observation that Turkish scientists are rated unsuccessful in terms of performance criteria; Cumhuriyet (2014) “Bilimsel Araştırma ve Bilimsel Performans Ölçümü”, *Türk Nöroloji Dergisi*, 20: 32- 6, p. 35. Certain Turkish journals, which managed to be included among indexes of high impact journals by means of setting up “citation networks”, have been removed from these indexes after their fraud was noticed. For a few articles on this topic, see: Pervin Kaplan “Akademisyenlerin ‘atıf’ çetesi”, *HaberTürk*, 28.07.2014, <https://www.haberturk.com/yazarlar/pervin-kaplan/974474-akademisyenlerin-atif-cetesi> (Date of Access:

outcome. The academia and academics have suffered a great loss of prestige since science is no more an occupation aiming to reveal disclose facts. This situation both deprived the academics of the protection they once had and led them to accept, either voluntarily or not, a major corruption. One of the heavy prices paid is the fact that the academia has become one of the venues in which moral decay manifests itself.⁶²

Threats to Life Safety

Violence in Turkish universities should be seen as the product of the corrupt environment engendered. Procedures that exacerbate damage such as staff pressure, performance-based promotion regime, precariousness, schism and mobbing are becoming more generalized and are further reinforced by the SoE period. Instead of being a community of scientists with a reflex of self-protection, the academy has become an unclassified and atomized horde of scientists, where the HEC, the government and the market hierarchy has tremendous power over its fate. This situation has not only made the academic a sort of person that prioritizes money over science,⁶³ but has also led to the spread of sexual abuse and violence within the university. The primary structural cause of incidents of violence, which appear to be individual events, should be seen as the erosion in the academy, induced by the lack of norms. One of the most tragic consequences of this situation is a faculty member killing four academics at Faculty of Education, Osmangazi University in 2018.⁶⁴ Another is Ceren Damar, a research assistant at the Faculty of Law, Çankaya University, who was killed by one of her students.⁶⁵ In the first case, the

17 November 2019); “YÖK Doçentlik Çalışmasıyla Akademide Kadrolaşma ve Güvencesiz İstihdamı Yaygınlaştırmayı Amaçlamaktadır!”, 3 Kasım 2017, <http://egitimsen.org.tr/yok-docentlik-calismasiylaakademide-kadrolasma-ve-guvenesiz-istihdami-yayginlastirmayi-amaclamaktadir/> (Date of Access: 17 November 2019); Emre Tansu Keten, “AKP tipi üniversite ve akademik memurlar”, *T24*, 17 Mart 2019, <https://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/emre-tansu-keten-sosyal-medya/akp-tipi-universite-ve-akademik-memurlar,21956> (Date of Access: 17 November 2019).

⁶² For a detailed account of the process of corporatization that led to corruption and insecurity, see: Funda Karapehlivan Şenel (2016) “Üniversitenin Toplumsal Konumlanışı ve Bilimsel Bilgi Üretimi: Türkiye’de “Kamu Üniversitesi”nin Dönüşümü”, *Eğitim Bilim Toplum*, 14 (55): 61-76.

⁶³ A recent example of corruption at universities is the case of an academic from Faculty of Engineering at Ege University who was arrested upon being caught while receiving bribe from the owner of the company that won a tender; *Sabah* (2019) “300 bin lira rüşvet isteyen öğretim görevlisi suçüstü yakalandı”, <https://www.sabah.com.tr/yasam/2019/06/28/300-bin-lira-rusvetisteyen-ogretim-gorevlisi-sucustu-yakalandi>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁶⁴ *Sözcü* (2018) “Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi katliamından detaylar...”, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2018/gundem/eskisehir-osmangazi-universitesi-katliamindan-detaylar-2333413/>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁶⁵ *Sözcü* (2019) “Türkiye’yi sarsan öğretim görevlisi Ceren Damar cinayetinde yeni detaylar ortaya çıktı”, <https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/gundem/turkiyeyi-sarsan-ogretim-gorevlisi-cinayetinde-yeni-detaylar-ortayacikti-2991574/>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

academic who murdered his colleagues justified the act by saying, “They have ruined my life; I do not regret doing it.” In the second case, the fourth grade student of the law school, who was caught while cheating and expelled from the classroom, killed his lecturer Ceren Damar on the same day. Accusing perpetrators of murder or heresy leads to ignoring the fact that the university system has the potential to create violence.

The very higher education system, which popularized violence on campuses, has also made the university and academics so disreputable that academics’ thoughts and expressions within the scope of freedom of expression can easily be met with threats. The gravest example of this situation is that Sedat Peker, known as the leader of the criminal organization in the public, threatened that he would “bathe in the blood” of academics who signed the declaration entitled “We will not be a part to this crime!”⁶⁶ To summarize, the fact that students are treated as customers and academics are demoted to the position of civil servants deprived of job security and the suspension of legal procedures to a significant extent especially in the SoE period are among the main structural causes of these events. Under these circumstances, it is highly possible to encounter new manifestations of threats and violence at the university. Indeed, according to the findings of the research, academics do not feel safe in this regard.

Academics in Turkey are targeted because of their political or academic views. Academics reported that they were personally targeted (13 % before the SoE, 9 % during the SoE) in the press or social media (See Table 21). Likewise, 8% of academics stated that they were personally threatened during the SoE due to their political or academic views. Another conclusion supported by this crucial data is that academics are concerned about their life safety during the SoE. One out of every ten academics (11% of academics) who participated in the study stated that they had life safety concerns during the SoE period, since their political views or the content of their academic studies are considered sensitive or objectionable. This rate was also around 10% before the SoE. Thus, the universities in Turkey are far from being secure workspaces for academics both before and during the SoE.

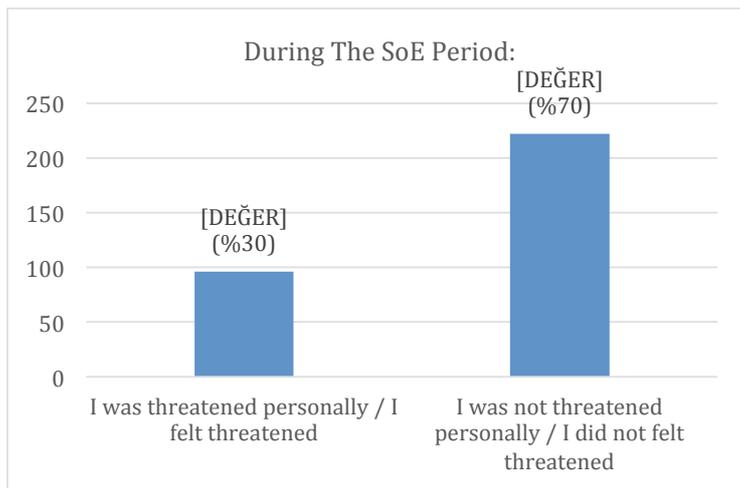
⁶⁶ Sedat Peker, who openly threatened the signatory academics saying, “We will shed your blood in streams and bathe in it,” was acquitted in the lawsuit in which he was judged for up to 11 years imprisonment on the grounds that threats and incitement to commit crimes did not occur. *Diken* (2018) “Akademisyenleri ‘Kanlarında duř alacađız’ diye tehdit eden Sedat Peker’e beraat”, <http://www.diken.com.tr/akademisyenleri-kanlarinda-dus-alacagiz-diye-tehditeden-sedat-pekere-beraat/>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

Table 21: Academics' Life Safety

Threats to life safety	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I was worried about my life safety.	31(%10)	35 (%11)
I have been personally targeted in local, national press, on social media, etc.	43 (%13)	31 (%9)
I have been personally threatened.	20 (%7)	25 (%8)

One of the primary effects of the SoE on universities and academics is that academics feel they are in a more insecure and ambiguous climate encountering threats owing to the significant erosion of the law and suspension of various legal guarantees. In this climate, the fear has spread in waves, threatening far more academics than those who have been dismissed with the being dismissed or making more academics feel under threat than those who have been threatened directly (for example, the rate of those who reported being threatened directly in this research is 8 %). About one in three academics who participated in the study (30 % of academics/96 people) stated that they were either threatened directly or felt threatened personally during the SoE (see Figure 11). Considering that the rate of academics personally threatened is 8%, it becomes apparent that approximately 22 % of the academics feel themselves threatened, though not threatened personally.

Figure 11: Threats / Feeling Threatened in the SoE



The academics were asked about the sources of this threat in a question that could be multi-coded. The distribution of their answers to this question is available in Table 22. As can be seen in the table, the sources of threats to academics are diverse, but politicians are at the forefront. Before the SoE, the President’s derogatory and menacing remarks about the signatories of the petition “We will not be a part to this crime!” publicized by Academics for Peace (“villainous,” “cruel”, “dark”, “ignorant”, “disgusting”, “traitor”, “riffraff”, “The mouthpiece of the terrorist organization”, “immoral”, “leftovers of the mandate”, “evil-spirited”, “those who eat the bread of this state and betray this state must be punished,” etc.)⁶⁷ appear to have affected negatively not only these academics in question but also many others who think their political views or academic studies are critical of the government. While 11% of academics are of the opinion that the threat directed at them comes from politicians, 11% stated that they were threatened or felt threatened by people they did not know (See Table 22).

Table 22: Sources of Threats Towards Academics

Source of the Threat	Number	Percentage among the Number of All Academics
Politicians	38	% 11
People I don’t know	37	% 11
Students	31	% 9
Institution Administrators	30	% 9
Rector	28	% 8
Security forces	27	% 8
Press Members	26	% 8
Other Academics	23	% 7
Criminal Organization Leaders	23	% 7
People I know	15	% 5
Civilian Authority	13	% 4

⁶⁷ *Gazete Duvar* (2019). “Cumhurbaşkanının ‘barış akademisyenleri’ sözleri AİHM’e taşıyor”. <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gundem/2019/04/06/cumhurbaskaninin-baris-akademisyenlerine-sozleriahme-tasiniyor/>, (Date of Access, April 2019) ve *Bianet* (2016) “Barış Bildirisi İmzacısı Akademisyene Soruşturma”, <https://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/171044-baris-bildirisi-imzacisi-akademisyenesorusturma>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

An academic who was targeted and threatened because she was a Peace Declaration signatory said the following about what her experiences in this period:

Of course, I felt (threatened) in the period when we signed this peace petition and there were those investigations. I felt intense fear. I received threat mails then. They came from outside the university, but even when I was walking down the street, yes, I felt uneasy. ... So I was nervous even while walking on the road. Because our pictures, you know... I was looking at..., for example, when people search you on the internet you can get information about the number of people that searched you, for instance on academia.edu. In other words, every day hundreds of people were googling us. So, I closed all my academic accounts on such pages. I removed my picture and so on at that time. I mean academic social media such as academia.edu. and researchgate. Because people can access the pictures from there, but they can also see our picture from the university web page. At that time, I was quite... because we were often targeted at that time. Of course, I was quite anxious at that time. I was afraid of everything, every one. It was a time when I was really scared... No, I don't feel like that right now. It's not that kind of a threat. So I don't feel threatened now, but still there is an atmosphere of pressure and fear... I can definitely feel it at the university. I see this myself and I also see it among other academics around me (IDI., Faculty Member, State Uni., Eskişehir).

During the SoE, academics stated that they felt threatened due to the political environment, even though they were not directly threatened personally. Threats particularly targeting certain academics created fear and anxiety among other opposing academics too:

Well, there is this thing. Generally, some people such as Gezi protestors and so on are targeted. When you're targeted, of course you feel kind of... you know. You begin to see that you may also be targeted as an opponent and as someone with different opinions. Because there is no rule to it. It is also random. What is going to happen to who ... Like the Nazis' thing. They kill 10 people. None of them have any logic to kill. How does it affect you? It creates fear. (*Under normal circumstances*) You think some people are punished because they committed crimes and so on. You find something that will help you escape, which relaxes you psychologically. Their greatest success in creating fear is that randomness. We have the same thing here. Randomness (DG, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

As mentioned before, in addressing the pressure that academics feel/experience while they teach, students appear to have become one of the obstacles to academic freedoms in universities. It is possible to say that the relationship of trust between the instructor and the student in Turkish universities have been damaged seriously. According to the research findings, 9 % of academics were personally threatened by students or felt threatened by students (See Table 22).

Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier, threats from students are not limited to taking voice recordings and informing the instructor to various authorities. Not only academics with

opposing political views but also academics in general may become the object of direct physical threat at the stage of submission of final grades. For example, at some universities (such as Gazi, Kırıkkale, Konya Selçuk), the doors of the academics who signed the Academics for Peace declaration were “marked” or posted messages of threat by the students.⁶⁸ Academics can be threatened by students not only due to their course contents or political views, but also due to exam questions or final grades that determine whether students pass or fail a course. As stated before, unfortunately the last example of students threatening the life safety of lecturers is the law school student who killed the Research Assistant Ceren Damar, who made an official report of him cheating at Çankaya University in Ankara. A female academic, interviewed in-depth, talked about the problems she experienced with the students and the threats she received during the exam supervision especially after the killing of Ceren Damar:

Ceren was killed the day I was invigilating exams here, and when I received the news, the next day, the student profile here is very different from the one in Izmir, there are more male students here. And they are the sorts of people that you would be afraid to share a room with ... I must have been rather strict with them, and for the last two days I started to think, “They must have heard about the Ceren’s incident. What am I going to do now?” Well, I am strict but not tough, so I said things jokingly, “Hey, folks! You’re not cheating, are you?” and so on, but no one does this sort of things to them. F. (*a male research assistant*) was with me, and the way he treated the students! He was so pitiless and harsh! ... I heard that he has been an assistant for two years, and he was a cop before. I said things like, “This is not a police station, you can’t treat them like that, don’t do such things, you get a lot of reaction.” But interestingly, the students started to take out on me, instead of protesting him. For example, they said something to the vice dean: “Professor D. is making loud jokes, trying to make jokes but she is scaring us.” “How do you mean?!” I said, “Are you kidding?” Of course, this is a little town; the dean calls you right away to his office, tells you to do this, not to do that, blah blah blah, the student is very close to the dean, very close to the rector. ...After that, one of the boys said something to me a few days later, a few days after Ceren was killed: “I think, you won’t make such a fuss. Now that the assistant is dead too!” he said. The assistant is dead!! Naturally I got mad, I said, “First, she was not an assistant, she was a research assistant. Secondly, she was not dead, she was killed, murdered!” I said. “Brutally murdered by a male student,” I said, “She was stabbed to death!” On that day, I was invigilating an exam with a female friend ... “Don’t talk like that,” she said. “They may corner you.” ... Then we went to the dean’s office with F., two or three students came, muscular gigantic types... they started a fight with F. It was unbelievable! But the boy repelled the attack very well... they scuffled a bit, but the children then apologized to F. This happened, I saw it myself. I said to F, “If I had the same experience, how would it end?” “Professor, they would have killed you!” he said. Well, there is something everyone agrees, they would kill me, they wouldn’t leave me alive (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Southeastern Anatolia Region).

The fact that not only students, but also institution administrators (9 %), rectors (8 %) and other academics (7 %) are seen as a threat reveals how unsafe the university is for

⁶⁸ *Diken* (2016) “Akademisyenlere gözdağında son nokta: Kapılarına çarpı işareti ve tehdit notu.”, <http://www.diken.com.tr/akademisyenlerin-kapilarina-carpi-ve-tehdit-selcuku-sana-dar-edecegiz/>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

academics who are considered to have critical political views or academic studies. The academics participating in the research expressed the negative effect of the SoE on working relations in universities both in their answers to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire and in the in-depth interviews. One of the main emphases of academics is that people tend to have less trust in each other; favoritism and inequality are on the rise with the increasing power of administrators, and as a result, pre-existing conflicts are sharpened: “(In the SoE period) People started to stigmatize and slander everyone who they got angry with; people were forced to live a climate of fear (Survey, Faculty Member., State Uni., Erzurum). These disputes led even to threats or physical attacks. For example, an academic who answered the open-ended question about the source of the threat posed to them during the SoE said he was directly threatened by “friends in the department”; another academic stated he was threatened by the head of the department where he was employed within the framework of “OYP” and another academic stated that she was threatened by those conducting the investigation launched against her at the university. Unfortunately, one of these major injuries in working relations has resulted in a massacre. As mentioned before, on 5 April 2018, an academic against who a “FETO investigation” was launched at Eskişehir Osmangazi University Faculty of Education shot dead four colleagues of his, one of whom was the dean of the faculty.⁶⁹

In the SoE, the culture of denouncing and the fact that people who felt closer to the power used this as means of threat, and the government turning a blind eye to them lead to many innocent friends of mine exposed to threats and slander. This situation has reached a point where even life safety has come to an end. We encounter examples of this. The Kurdish issue cannot be discussed. There is nepotism. Certain people are favored (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Eskişehir).

Academics reported that in the SoE they felt under the threat of the security forces (8 %), press members (8 %), criminal organization leaders (7 %) and civil servants (4 %). 5 % of academics were threatened by people they know personally or felt threatened owing to these people (See Table 22). The academics were asked what they did in the face of the threat in a multi-coded and closed-ended question, and when they marked the “other” part in this question, they were asked to explain its nature. Answers to the closed and open-ended options of this question are presented in Table 23.

⁶⁹ *Hürriyet* (2018) “Eskişehir’de üniversitede silahlı saldırı... 4 öğretim üyesi öldürüldü.”, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/universitede-silahlı-saldırı-yaralılar-var-40795630>, (Date of Access, September 2018).

Table 23: Actions Against Threats

Actions Against Threat	Number
I did not do anything.	58
I gave up continuing my work.	15
I filed a criminal complaint.	8
I changed the city I lived in.	3
I quit my job.	2
I withdrew into myself, I tried not to be in sight, I avoided sharing my views.	4
I was in solidarity with my friends who were in the same situation.	3
I started to act more cautiously.	2
I thought of going abroad, I searched / found a scholarship.	2
I have isolated myself from all forms of interaction and institutional existence.	2
I closed / stopped using social media.	2
More attention to what I have said in my lessons than before, I censored myself.	2
I submitted a petition to the rectors' office stating that I withdrew my signature from the Academics for Peace declaration.	1
I revealed it to the press and wherever I talked.	1
Even if I did not face a direct threat, I felt compelled to remain silent by seeing my friends who were subjected to injustice.	1
I tried not to compromise my principles.	1
I had an investigation based on BIMER, CIMER complaints about me. I did not give in; I did not receive punishment.	1
I persevered, never giving up.	1
I endeavored that the threat would not spread and be heard.	1
I can say threats made me stronger; while I was thinking about retiring	1
I gave up the idea after the threats.	1

As can be seen in Table 23, the vast majority (58 people) of academics who are threatened or felt threatened have stated that they “did nothing” against this threat. Some of the academics who did something tried to actively combat this process: Eight people filed a criminal complaint; three academics tried to be in solidarity with other academics who share the same situation, an academic stated that he was trying to expose these threats in various channels, one academic has tried mechanisms within the university, three academics stated that they did not give up fighting or tried to stand upright in the face of the process (See Table 23).

A significant number of academics who were threatened or feel threatened have stated that they have experienced some form of withdrawal due to threats: 15 academics who stated that they were threatened gave up continuing their academic studies, 3 academics had to change the city where they lived, and 2 academics left their jobs. Four academics stated that they withdrew in themselves and tried to keep a low profile. Academics tried to be “more cautious” (2 people), minimized their relationship with the institution and colleagues they work with (2 people), stopped using social media (2 people), practiced self-censorship (2 people) or tried to do their jobs abroad (2 persons) (See Table 23).

The results of the survey show that during the SoE, universities have transformed into thoroughly insecure and unpredictable institutions. The appointment-promotion criteria have been frequently changed by universities, while academics have always been afraid to undergo an investigation and be dismissed with a decree law. The cases of being subjected to a complaint through BIMER/CIMER, being targeted on the social media and being threatened by local-national media have substantial percentages. Peace of mind at workplaces decreased, the relationship of trust between colleagues and between lecturers and student has been damaged. Concern for life safety is at significant levels.

Pressures on Unionization

It might be said that union rights are also received a substantial blow during the SoE, which was declared throughout Turkey on July 21, 2016 following the coup attempt on July 15, 2016 and continued for two years. Various unions and federations that were assumed to be associated with the FETO held responsible for the coup attempt in this process were closed down. 18,015 members of the union Aktif Egitim Sen, one of the unions which were deemed legal until they were closed with the decree law, operating in the field of education and science, were expelled from the public service with the decree law No. 672 issued on September 1, 2016. This situation was also disturbing for the members of other unions that were critical of the government. For example, members of Egitim Sen, a left-wing social democratic and anti-government union, constituted 4% (1600 people) of all dismissals in the field of education. As a result, it is seen that the unionization rate in the field of education and science, which was 69.7 5% in July 2016,⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, “4688 Sayılı Kamu Görevlileri Sendikaları ve Toplu Sözleşme Kanunu Gereğince Kamu Görevlileri Sendikaları ile Konfederasyonlarının Üye Sayılarına İlişkin 2016 Temmuz İstatistikleri Hakkında Tebliğ”, https://www.ailevecalisma.gov.tr/media/1278/2016_uyesayilari.pdf, (Date of Access, April 2019).

decreased by approximately 4 % to 65.35% in July 2018 after the SoE period.⁷¹ This decrease in unionization rate is also visible in the number of members of dissident unions. For example, Egitim Sen lost 31% of its members. The number of members of the union, which was 119,876 before the SoE, dropped to 83,131 at the end of the SoE.⁷² On the other hand, Egitim Bir Sen, which is politically close to the government, was the only union that could increase the number of its members among the three biggest unions in its relevant field. In this period, the number of members of Egitim Bir Sen increased by 24,474.⁷³ This points to a pressure on unionization in the field of education in Turkey to the detriment of the dissident unions. It can be claimed when workers in the field of education did not have job security and they could be fired at any time with a decree law, they were forced to be members of the union, which is considered the “most reliable” or “most acceptable” by the government. In other words, it can be said that the SoE affected unionization activities directly and indirectly and pressurized them.

Based on the basic assumption mentioned above, the academics were also asked questions about union organization within the framework of the research. Whether each question differed in terms of the pre-SoE and the SoE period was measured by the paired sample McNemar test. According to the test results, statistically significant differences were found in the expressions “I am a member of a union”, “There were suggestions / pressures about ending my union membership” and “I left the union because of suggestions and pressures” before and after the SoE (See Table 24).

According to the research findings, the rate of unionization among academics decreased by 3 % in the SoE period. Academics reported that they were encouraged or pressurized to become members of a particular union before the SoE (6 %) and during the SoE (7 %). However, the most fundamental pressure on academics’ unionization during the SoE was that they should leave their union (see Table 24).

⁷¹ Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, “4688 Sayılı Kamu Görevlileri Sendikaları ve Toplu Sözleşme Kanunu Gereğince Kamu Görevlileri Sendikaları ile Konfederasyonlarının Üye Sayılarına İlişkin 2018 Temmuz İstatistikleri Hakkında Tebliğ”, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2018/07/20180707-15.pdf>, (Date of Access, April 2019).

⁷² Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı “4688 Sayılı Kamu Görevlileri Sendikaları...(2016 ve 2018)”.

⁷³ Çalışma ve Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı, ibid.

Table 24: Union Rights

Pressures on Union Rights	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I am a member of a union.	168 (% 51)	158 (% 48)
I encountered suggestions/pressures to become a member of a particular union.	21 (% 6)	23 (% 7)
There have been suggestions/pressures to end my union membership.	8 (% 2)	32 (% 10)
I left the union I was a member of due to suggestions/pressures and I did not become a member of another union.	0	8 (% 2)
I changed the union due to suggestions/pressures.	0	2 (% 1)

One out of every ten academics who participated in the survey reported that they faced suggestions or pressure to resign from their union during the SoE period. As shown in Table 24, as a result of these suggestions or pressures, 2 % of the participants left their union and 1 % changed their union. Two quotations from the in-depth interviews below support the survey data:

I am also the union's workplace representative. Since 2015-2016, people have been under serious fear and pressure with the SoE. Especially with the closing of Aktif Egitim Sen, people are now generally afraid of becoming a union member; they are afraid of becoming a member not only of oppositional unions like ours but also Egitim-Bir-Sen. For example, we are the authorized union at our university. But Egitim-Bir-Sen is making very serious efforts. In particular, it aims to snatch our authority by means of the administrative staff. But they also lost 10-15 members and they could not go beyond protecting their numbers after a certain point. We see that even they are struggling (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

I was not unionized when I went there (*the university where she was assigned after the OYP program was canceled*). Because there was no one unionized. I resigned from the union when I left. Because there... I did not want to go there like that. We left here in a very depressed mood. I was forced to go back there. Also, I left behind a lot of friends. We left it under very bad circumstances, in a very uncertain situation. I mean it was the time when the dismissals started. I went there feeling terrible. I said to myself, "No, I cannot do it." You know, I could not carry the thing with the union there. Because being unionized would also cause trouble for me. ... There is not a single person from Egitim-Sen. There is no one at the university (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Marmara Region).

Academics not only faced with suggestions or pressures to change their unions during the SoE period simply because they were members of a certain union, they were also indirectly punished in various forms within the university. These included not meeting the staff demands, taking a long time to complete security investigation, not allowing

them to have access to project resources and rejecting their course suggestions. A member of the Egitim-Sen Branch Executive Board, who we interviewed, stated this pressure in terms of Egitim-Sen members as follows:

Well, the first thing that the September 12 Junta did was to close unions such as DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey) and TÖS (Turkish Teachers Union), TOB-DER (All Teachers Unity and Solidarity Association), and dissident unions. This period was a little different, you know..., taking lessons from the past, they did it in a so to speak “modern” way. So they did not close, but they squeezed them by the throat. In other words, they meant to say, “Alright folks, we are not closing you down, but we will not show you or your members any mercy.” Because this is what you get if you are a member of Egitim-Sen, regardless of whether you are academic administrative staff; we also see it with teachers. For example, let’s start with the teachers: You cannot become the school principal, or assistant principal, you cannot take part in any project, you cannot benefit from any opportunities organized by the Ministry of National Education. This is the price of you have to pay for being with Egitim-Sen. Let’s come to the university. If you are a member of Egitim-Sen in a University... Let’s start with academic staff first: For example, normally when you are an associate professor, you have to serve 5 years in order to be a professor, that is, there is a waiting period of 5 years. If you are a member of Egitim-Sen, you may not be promoted to full professorship even after having waited for 8 or 9. If you are a doctor lecturer, if you are an associate professor, you cannot take your staff from HEC. What does it mean? You have 2500 liras of financial loss every month. Well, you are going abroad to present a paper or for an academic study. You cannot get permission from the university. You cannot receive projects from TUBITAK. This is the price the academic staff has to pay. If you are an administrative staff, you do not get promoted to be a faculty secretary, a branch manager, you cannot become a head of a department. When you are applying for a training abroad – that is, there are agreements at the governor’s offices to increase your knowledge and experience abroad just like Erasmus– you apply here, they look at your documents, they see that you are a member of Egitim-Sen, you cannot go (IDI, Union Branch Executive Board Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

The answers given below by academics to the open-ended questions of the questionnaire also show the pressure of the SoE period on trade union rights and activities:

I know three people who have not been able to get their staff for a very long time because they do not support top administration and government policies in general. I know people (at another university) who were advised not to apply for SRP (scientific research project) by SRP executives simply because they are unionized (Survey, Dr. Faculty Member, State Uni., Eskişehir).

My course proposals were rejected due to my political views and my being a member of the union (I was a board member). I did not have postgraduate students (or I was given those students who are known to be not attending the courses) (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eskişehir).

They are trying to make me inefficient because of my union and my political views (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

I was warned by the department chairperson because of my union membership. In each contract renewal period, I received threats that my contract would not be renewed. I had to apply self-censorship in academic subjects and publications I wrote. I was cautioned by my department chairperson not to attend various conferences related to my academic field of study (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

The pressure on certain unions during the SoE was not limited only to violations of the personal rights of members. During this period, conducting union activities at universities was blocked or made difficult by various means. For example, an academic stated that at his university “there was restriction on union activities with the threat “that the police may raid in” (Survey, Research Assist., State Uni., İstanbul). An Egitim-Sen manager stated how their activities in universities were prevented in Istanbul as follows:

(Before the SoE) You demanded this meeting hall either in written or verbal form. If the administration said to you, “Submit your demand in writing”, you would give it in writing. And they would allocate it to you. You would have a meeting with those who came to the hall at that time that day. Anyone could attend, those who are members of the union, and those who are not, etc. But now they don’t allocate these halls. Let’s say, you will hold a panel, invite a speaker, someone to talk about anything, let’s say, violence targeting women, child abuse, mobbing or job security... When you organize something like a panel or forum about these issues, they do not let you use these halls. So they forbid you all the facilities of the university. In a way, they mean to say, “Well, you could organize this outside the campus.” ... It’s not justified. In other words, they say that the venue we demanded is not available on that day. That is it. They don’t say, “You are not allowed to do it.” Instead they say, “All of our meeting and congress centers are full that day.” What can you say when they say all the venues are full! We know that there are available venues. In fact, we know that they even put on a perfunctory event. If we want a venue, they move an activity in another venue to that very venue we demand. So we came across things like that in the SoE period. Well, you are organized at workplace. You need to organize at workplace. You need to express yourself to your members or employees on-site in your workplace and hold discussions with them. You are not allowed to do this. Well, these are the problems that Egitim Sen faces in the SoE and that is exactly what I meant when I say, “squeezing you by the throat.” In other words, it leaves you no leeway for working, self-expression and the propaganda of our union. ... Therefore, we held many activities at our branch office that we had planned to do at universities. One of them was violence against women. So we couldn’t, for example. At university you are not allowed to do meeting about violence targeting women... let alone about anything else! (IDI, Union Branch Executive Committee Member, State Uni., İstanbul).

Another obstacle to union organization during the SoE was that administrators did not accept union representatives as a counterpart about their employees’ problems and did not see them as a party in the solution of various problems in the workplace (nursery needs, service problems, cafeteria problems, etc.). Administrators do not want to consider the organized demands or opinions of employees: “Now you cannot even get an appointment from them. ... ‘We do not like to discuss this issue with you,’ they say. For example, when you bring up the problem of nursery, which applies to everybody whether they are a member or not, or when you say ‘Personnel shuttle service is a problem of all employees’, it is likewise impossible to have an appointment. All doors are closed for you (IDI, Union Branch Executive Committee Member, State Uni., İstanbul).

In short, during the SoE, union organization suffered immensely due to the closed unions and dismissals with the decree laws. Union membership, particularly membership to anti-government unions, has become an explicit or implicit reason for deprivation: Union members could not get the staff they deserve on time, attend certain meetings, events, open courses, benefit from projects, etc. In addition, union activities (meetings, panels etc.) carried out within higher education institutions have been prevented with various excuses. This makes university components unorganized, more isolated in the face of heavy pressures and silencing the sound of their demands for rights.

V. NON-EXISTENT UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY

Academic autonomy is an integral part of academic freedom. In fact, academic autonomy, which is not prioritized by academic freedom, and which does not seek freedom, reproduces hierarchies and power structures. In this respect, even though three elements of university autonomy, that is, academic (related to educational programs, research activities), administrative (related to all decision-making processes), financial autonomy (related to resource management) are materialized, the basic functions of the university (scientific production and education) may not be performed properly. Therefore, autonomy, which can be described as the capacity of any system (institution, body, etc.) to be itself, is not essentially possible unless it seeks freedom. Turkish higher education system constitutes a typical example of this situation. The university, which was attached to the Ministry of Education after the university reform in 1933, was made autonomous after the Second World War, following the discharges executed at DTCF (the Faculty of Language, History and Geography) of Ankara University.⁷⁴ Yet, there were two more important waves of dismissal in the university until the 1980 Military Coup, which put an end to autonomy. However, members of the academia were also actively involved in these dismissals. The first wave of these dismissals took place after the 1960 Military Coup and the second one after the 1980 Military Coup. After the March 12 Memorandum, university lecturers were also arrested and imprisoned for their political views. The İsmail Beşikçi Case, with all its uniqueness in terms of freedom of expression, and more particularly academic freedom, came to pass in those days.

⁷⁴ For an evaluation of the 1933 university purges in a way that shed lights on the 1947 DTCF purges, see Nurşen Mazıcı (1995) “Öncesi ve Sonrasıyla 1933 Üniversite Reformu”, *Birikim Dergisi*, Sayı 76, <https://www.birikimdergisi.com/birikim-yazi/2767/oncesi-ve-sonrasiyla-1933-universite-reformu>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

Universities have been subordinated to the Higher Education Council since 1980.⁷⁵ In this period, universities lost their institutional autonomy completely and “reactionism and separatism” became the key agenda of universities in the context of autonomy and freedom. Following the two military interventions after the ‘80 coup, university purges took place: The Military Intervention of February 28 and the July 15 Coup Attempt.⁷⁶ During these events, the analysis of the causes and consequences of which multidimensional and detailed studies were needed, universities underwent serious academic, administrative and financial interventions. In contrast, Turkish universities (more specifically university senates) did not object to these violations of academic autonomy. The most visible objections to the violations of university autonomy were limited to the resignation of some faculty members from the institutions as a reaction to the academic purges after the 1960 and 1980 coups.

In addition to all these pressure and control mechanisms, other interventions in the autonomy of universities took place during the SoE period, which was announced in the wake of the July 15 coup attempt. Election of administrators, which became perfunctory after the establishment of the HEC order in the university, was completely left to disposition of the HEC and the President. Immediately after the Coup Attempt, all “elected” deans were asked to resign, some of whom were re-appointed by proxy.⁷⁷ Rectors, whose reassignment is subordinate to the President, pursued arbitrary, illegal practices.⁷⁸ The culmination of these direct interventions in the administrative structure of

⁷⁵ For a study that summarizes the history of purges in Turkish universities with main turning points, see Fuat Ercan (1998) “Üniversitelerin Tarihi Müdahalelerin Tarihidir”, *Eğitim ve Kapitalizm*, İstanbul: ÖES ve Bilim Yayıncılık, pp. 185-195.

⁷⁶ For a summary of the effects of the two military coups on education, see: Eğitim-Bir-Sen (2014) *Rakamlarla 28 Şubat Raporu*, https://www.ebs.org.tr/ebs_files/files/yayinlarimiz/28_subat_rapor_web.pdf, (Date of Access, September 2019) ve Eğitim Sen (2018) “Eğitimde ve Yükseköğretimde OHAL Raporu”, <http://egitimsen.org.tr/wpcontent/uploads/2018/07/E%C4%9FitimdeveY%C3%BCksek%C3%B6%C4%9Fretimde-OHAL-Raporu-19-Temmuz.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 2019). According to these reports, the military coup on February 28 resulted in the dismissal of 139 academics while the coup attempt on July 15 culminated in the dismissal of 5904 academics.

⁷⁷ In addition to the appointment of the deans by proxy after the Coup Attempt, acting rectors and deanships which they managed by proxy dragged universities to the borders of anti-democracy. This has paved the way to countless arbitrary and illegal actions; *Hürriyet* (2016) “16 dekan gücünde vekil vektör”, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/egitim/16-dekan-gucunde-vekil-rektor-40248192>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁷⁸ In fact, the arbitrariness in question stood out when it became apparent after the July 15 Coup Attempt that 452 faculties in 61 universities were run without having deans; upon this the HEC had to warn the universities in question, not because of academic autonomy, but because they “had a negative effect on the appearance of the education system”; *Yeni Şafak* (2018) “Dekansız fakülte kalmasın”, <https://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/dekansiz-fakulte-kalmasin-3389199>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

the university is the division of some universities by the government on the grounds that they are very large. Apart from some individual objections, there was no reaction to this extraordinary situation indicating that the university is an autonomous institution.⁷⁹ Associate professorship examinations and cancellation of some staff and the establishment of new ones, the imposition of education and disciplinary regulations by the HEC are other main examples of academic autonomy violations encountered during the SoE period.⁸⁰ As a result, autonomy in Turkish universities is something that is demanded marginally and is reduced to the status of freedom of contention in the smallest academic units. This claim is confirmed by the findings of the research.

The Lima Declaration, which was announced to the public at the Sixty-Eighth General Assembly of the World Universities Service held in Lima in 1988, is an important standard establishing document on academic autonomy and freedom. Article 19 of the Declaration defines academic autonomy as follows:⁸¹

The autonomy of higher education institutions shall be exercised by democratic means of self-government, which includes the active participation of all members of the respective academic communities. All members of the academic community shall have the right and opportunity, without discrimination, to take part in the conduct of academic and administrative affairs. All governing bodies of institutions of higher education shall be freely elected and shall comprise members of different sectors of academic community. The autonomy should encompass decisions regarding administration and determination of policies of education, research, extension work, allocation of resources and other related activities.

⁷⁹ *BirGün* (2019) “10 üniversite bölünüyor; 15 yeni üniversite geliyor”, <https://www.birgun.net/haber/10-universite-bolunuyor-15-yeni-universite-geliyor-212888>, (Date of Access, September 2018). The most striking consequence of all these interventions in the administrative structure of the universities is that the university gradually turns into a vocational high school and the academic into a civil servant. The most immediate consequence of the elimination of administrative autonomy in a way to create a rector's tyranny is the loss of reputation faced by the academic. The rector of the Ege University, who mobilized 382 staff and had the academics carry the banner “Welcome” to meet the President, is a tragic example showing the atmosphere of keeping one's position no matter what; *Cumhuriyet* (2018) “Rektörden karşılama şovu: Yüzlerce akademisyeni Erdoğan için yola dizdi”, http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/foto/foto_galeri/966842/1/Rektorden_karsilama_sovu__Yuzlerce_akademisyeni_Erdogan_icin_yola_dizdi.html, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁸⁰ The removal of the interview part of the associate professorship exam and the lowering of the minimum foreign language score, which is one of the prerequisites of the associate professorship, and the abolishment of the position of assistant professorship following the statements of the President R.T. Erdoğan after the July 15 Coup Attempt reveals the nature of university autonomy in the new period. Even the head of the education bureau of the government supporter the Vatan Party, which though positioned themselves on the left, drew attention to the mistake of what has been done; Tülin Oygür (2018) “Doçentlik, doktoradan aşağı seviyeye indirilmiş”, *Aydınlık*, <https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/docentlik-doktoradan-asagi-seviyeye-indirilmis-ozgurluk-meydani-subat-2018>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁸¹ Dünya Üniversiteler Servisi, “Lima Bildirgesi –Akademik Özerklik ve Yükseköğretim Kurumlarının Özerkliği”.

Therefore, the basic elements of academic autonomy require an egalitarian and participatory democracy in “decisions regarding administration and determination of policies of education, research, extension work, allocation of resources and other related activities.” One of the first prerequisites for this is that they can elect the directors of the academic community on their own initiative and monitor them. For this reason, academics were asked questions regarding both the way they were brought to administrative positions and the decision-making processes in their institutions.

63 academics who participated in the survey stated that they had an administrative duty during the SoE period. A quarter of them (15 academics) stated that they had withdrawn from these positions of their own accord while 5 said they were compelled to do so during the SoE period. The academics who had to withdraw from their administrative duties presented the following reasons for their decisions:

(Being a signatory Academic for Peace) I was dismissed from my position as the head of the department because I had received promotion suspension penalty (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

Although my term of office was not over, I was replaced by a new administrator. I submitted a petition dated before the new appointment to avoid tension and trouble (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Erzurum).

When I was the head of the department before the SoE, I had to leave when the administration changed (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Erzurum).

I was removed from the thesis monitoring committee membership. Department chairperson election/appointment procedures were not done properly. Although I was put up to as the dean of a university, my name was withdrawn and a dean with a veterinarian background was appointed to this faculty. After the rector was appointed, I was not appointed to administrative positions since I opposed the rector (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Erzurum).

I resigned because I was not appointed personally (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

My appointment was disrupted because my thesis dissertation was on the Gezi protests and peace journalism (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Academics were also asked whether they agree with the statements presented in Table 25, which compare the pre-SoE period and the SoE period in terms of their level of participation in decision-making processes at the university. Paired sample McNemar test, one of non-parametric tests, was applied so as to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference for each expression before and after the SoE period.

Statements that are found to have a significant difference as a result of the test are highlighted in bold fonts in the table.

Table 25: Participation in Decision Making Processes⁸²

Participation in Decision Making Processes	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I was able to participate in decision-making processes at the university where I work.	105 (%35)	90 (%28)
I was able to participate in decision-making processes at the faculty where I work.	148 (%49)	141 (%44)
I was able to participate in decision-making processes in the department where I worked.	199 (%66)	197 (%63)
I was able to participate in decision-making processes in the division where I worked.	202 (%69)	202 (%65)
My views were taken into account in the creation of course programs related to my field.	191 (%64)	195 (%62)

According to the McNemar test, there was no statistically significant difference between the pre-SoE and post-SoE in terms of preparation of course programs related to the academics' fields and their participation in decision-making processes in the department in which they work; however, there is a significant difference in their involvement in decision making processes in universities, faculties and departments. Academics were less involved in decision-making processes in universities, faculties and departments in the SoE (See Table 25).

As Table 25 shows, 35% of those who answered the questions stated that they could participate in the decision-making processes at the university where they worked before the SoE; however, this percentage dropped to 28% in the SoE period. The majority of academics in both periods (65% and 72%) think that they are not sufficiently involved in decision-making processes in universities (See Table 25). One of the main reasons for the 7% difference specific to the SoE can be said to be the fact that the rector elections were canceled and rectors were appointed by the Presidency without the involvement of university components. Because when asked about autonomy, academics frequently

⁸² Since varying numbers of academics answered the parts of the table concerning before and after SoE, the ratio of responses to those who answered that question (valid percent) is taken and these rates are included in the table. Since the number of academics working in the pre-SoE period and answering the question is less than the total number of academics still working in the SoE period, the percentages differ even if the numbers in the two categories are the same.

emphasized the harms of this practice. The following statements were chosen from academics' responses to the open-ended questionnaire or in-depth interview questions:

(The SoE) put an end to academic autonomy. It was already very limited; the SoE literally finished it. Again, we are experiencing one of the rare moments in the Republican history. What does it mean all rectors being elected by the President? This is a return to pre-1946 period. Universities have not been like this since '46. This is an amazing thing. Full and absolute power is assailing university autonomy. I think even high school principals have more autonomy. At least high school principals are directly appointed. There are some stages that they go through. In this sense, I can say that even high schools are more autonomous (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

President appointing rectors directly... Bureaucratization of academic members... The SoE means a break from democracy. All institutions related to higher education, including the HEC, were affected by the SoE. Universities became structures that cannot manage themselves, acting instead through directives. It was already so, but this was riveted in the SoE (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

The fact that even the rectors are appointed directly made the university away from being an even partially subject. The university is no longer a subject. Budget constraints, staff constraints... all of them bring an end to all the institutional vestiges (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Adana).

Academic freedom and scientific autonomy were already limited, now it is completely suppressed. Free staffing has become difficult. Organizing meetings and student events are suppressed. The appointment of the rector by the HEC and the President eliminated even partial mobility (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Adana).

The termination of academics through decree laws was the most damaging practice on academic freedom during the SoE. In addition to this, another important issue was the appointment of rectors, irrespective of the elections held in universities (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Ankara).

Existing partial autonomy has been suppressed with the appointment of rectors by a single person. Again, intense pressures and decree laws led academics to experience high level of anxiety about job security. This also makes self-censorship more dominant in academic studies (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

The appointment of the rector ... and consequently political identity and partisanship rather than merit and scientific qualifications becoming the determining criteria in universities' administrative structure (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., İstanbul).

The practice of "appointed rector," which makes the authoritarian structure work at the university, will make it impossible to save the academic freedoms in this long term (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

Academics have even been afraid to ask questions to the rectors who are directly attached to the President, and whose administrative authority has been augmented in the university where constituents have been deprived of their say in rector elections, let alone

participate in decision-making processes. An academic expressed this situation as follows:

(Constituents) are absolutely not able to participate (*in decision-making processes*), there are certain such rigid things about it. You cannot join. For example, we had a meeting with the rector who would later dismiss me... there were about 500 people in the meeting, and not a single person in the hall could ask a question to the rector. I asked a question, after that the whole atmosphere got tense ... I was talking despite all those things that could happen to me, and there was my friend who was poking me, saying “Stop talking now” or “What do you hope to gain by doing that?” (DG, Faculty Member, State Uni., Sinop).

Academics think that they participated less in decision-making processes not only in university but also in their faculties in the SoE. “I was able to participate in decision-making processes at the faculty where I work.” While the statement was approved by 49 % of the academics for the pre-SoE period, there was a 5 % decrease in the SoE period (See Table 25). Academics seem to participate less in the decision-making processes in the department where they work, with a rate of 4% in the SoE period. The area in which academics had the highest level of participation in decision-making process both before and after the SoE period is the process of making lesson programs. However, here too, a decrease of 2 % is observed in the SoE period (See Table 25). Academics’ right to speak, which was reduced even in the departments where they worked, was also expressed in the following quotations:

For example, I am an associate professor; two weeks ago the research assistant was recruited in my department. I did not participate in this at all, I did not have the slightest share in the process; things are done especially like this nowadays. The Dean’s Office gradually takes everything under its control. It did not use to be like this here, I remember very well, when a research assistant was to be recruited, we (all the members of the department) would take part in the exam, even though the procedure was not so. All of this is gone; things are secretly executed now (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

I feel threatened. I mean... We always see that the university is now being designed in another way. In other words, the rectors are given power to appoint people, after that, the election mechanisms, which functioned albeit crookedly, has disappeared; the HEC became an increasingly central decision mechanism, etc. ... But the part of it is a threat already. In other words, it is becoming a single decision mechanism. Eliminating elections that would allow some kind of democratic functioning, albeit relatively. The operation of the departments by their own boards... These are getting weaker now. It is disappearing steadily. For example, people are receiving formal letters about certain issue. And they are asked to take an attitude according to the letter (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

An important aspect of academic autonomy is academics’ ability to be autonomous and independent in the establishment and functioning of academic boards and juries. Based on this, three questions were asked to the academics about the committees/juries they

were included in, and the distribution of the answers given to these questions is shown in Table 26. According to this, a significant number of academics, approximately one in six academics (16 % and 17 % of academics respectively), faced with the suggestions or pressures from their superiors in the juries that selected students for postgraduate programs both before and after the SoE. Similarly, academics face such interventions in the establishment of academic juries (See Table 26).

Table 26: Interventions to the Juries

Interventions to the Juries	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I encountered suggestions and/or interventions from my academic superiors in selecting students for master's/doctoral programs.	15 (%16)	30 (%17)
I encountered interventions from my academic superiors in the creation of academic juries.	23 (%13)	29 (%16)
There were suggestions/pressures on passing/failing students in master/doctorate thesis juries.	10 (% 6)	15 (% 8)

As can be seen from the responses presented in Table 26, interventions to the establishment of academic juries increased by 3% in the SoE period. Suggestions or pressures are not only seen during the establishment of such juries, but also in the juries' decisions on the passing/failing of the student. 6% of academics stated that they experienced such pressure before SoE and 8% during SoE period. For example, one participant stated that academics who are considered to be "objectionable" by the administrators are not included in the juries owing to pressure from the center:

It has gradually become a very centralized process. Talking on the basis of our faculty, I have not seen a period of so little participation ... We all feel very clearly that we are not as significant as we used to be. We have been outdone not in terms of quantity but quality. There is nothing left that we can participate, for example, "Peace signatories" are not admitted into master thesis juries, they are not allowed. We are not included in doctoral student examinations. All lists with signatories are turned down by the Institute (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

At this point, it should be noted that Turkish universities before the SoE were struggling with serious problems about autonomy. As stated in the introductory part of this chapter, universities were not autonomous before the SoE in Turkey either. One participant on this subject expressed his views as follows:

Did we have academic autonomy? It's not something purely about the SoE. We did not have before either. There is an illusion that everything has been destroyed with the SoE. We have never been autonomous anyway. Nothing has changed here, for example. Why? It wasn't autonomous anyway. It depends on people. It is people who create their space, their fields of freedom. Without

them it does not exist, anyway. It never existed. There has been no change in places without freedom. Look at the things that were done while the discussion was going on, we have to discuss some concepts again and again. When did we have academic freedom in Turkey? Did it exist? These are the questions we must answer (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

As stated in the quote, one cannot claim that universities were autonomous in Turkey with its higher education system with an institution like the HEC before the SoE. However, as the interviewer also stated, “autonomy”, which is largely dependent on “people”, academic horizons, political stances or administration notion of administrators, as emphasized in the previous sections, has led to exclusion of democratic participation by the administrators whose authority was extended and who were endowed with legal immunity in the SoE and centralization of all decision-making processes in the hands of a single person appointed by the President. The biggest difference in the SoE concerning autonomy is the fact that in the administrative system of Turkey in which the presidential system requires many powers be handed over to individuals and collected in one center, the university as an institution too has been centralized in the decision-making processes and its administrators have been given broader and more independent scope of authority.

In summary, the autonomy of the university, which was already fragile during the SoE, received a serious blow, especially after the rectors have been appointed directly by the President. It seems that the appointment of people with certain political views and political relations by the President without any involvement of university constituents imposes political agendas on universities other than their own research and education.⁸³ In addition, the broad authority granted to administrators, the damaging of transparency and accountability of the administration, and the legal/actual obstacles to judicial processes, as stated before, have left academics in a fragile position in front of executives and prevented academics from insisting on their requests for participation in administration. The fact that universities are ruled through rectors and HEC, by a central government has narrowed the areas of local units to participate in university administrations or autonomous decision-making processes. Faculties and departments tend to turn into arbitrary areas of micro power controlled by the central administrators.

⁸³ One of the most tragic examples of this situation is the statement presented by 1071 academics to the public without the consent of the academic staff by some rectors against the judgment of the Constitutional Court as regards the freedom of expression of the lawsuits filed against the signatories of the Peace Statement; “AYM’nin Barış Akademisyenleri Kararına Karşı 1071 Akademisyenden Bildiri”, *Bianet* <http://bianet.org/bianet/ifadeozgurlugu/211015-aym-nin-baris-akademisyenleri-kararina-karsi-1071-akademisyenden-bildiri>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

VI. THE “OTHERS” IN THE TURKISH ACADEMY: OPPONENTS, THOSE STUDYING SENSITIVE ISSUES, THOSE WITH DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MINORITIES AND WOMEN

As shown by the findings of the research so far, academics faced significant violations of rights in the field of academic freedoms during the SoE period. Among these violations are dismissals of academics with the decree laws, being subjected to administrative and judicial investigations, administrative and judicial sanctions, mobbing, examination of the courses and publications of academics, obstacles to freedom of research and threats to life safety. Within the scope of the research, academics were asked in the last closed-ended question of the questionnaire whether they have been subjected to a violation of rights in the field of academic freedoms, and if so, what they associated it with and they were also asked to indicate whether they agreed with the statements in Table 27. Whether each expression differentiated before and after the SoE was tested with the paired sample McNemar test, one of nonparametric tests. Expressions with a significant difference in the test result are written in bold fonts in the table. Finding a statistically significant difference indicates that the SoE has a strong, transformative effect for the situations in question.

As shown in Table 27, academics in Turkey think that they suffered rights violations in each period because of their political opinions. Some academics who participated in the survey thought their academic freedom was restricted because of their political views before the SoE (37 %) and during the SoE (42 %). Violation of rights in the field of academic freedom because of political views is a crucial issue to be taken seriously in Turkey. The history of the Turkish academia abounds in tragic examples of this suffering, because the opposition-minded academics in Turkey have confronted various pressures from dismissal to imprisonment at different times. The examples are abundant: The killing of Bahriye Üçok, Muammer Aksoy, Bedrettin Cömert and Ahmet Taner Kışlalı, Server Tanilli's getting paralytic as a result of an attack, the imprisonment of many academics because of the texts they have written, the expulsion of left-wing scholars from Ankara University Faculty of Language and History Geography in 1948, 147 academics who were expelled from universities after the 1960 military coup, university professors, who were discharged from the university, with an article added to the martial law No. 1402 after the 1980 coup, academics who were dismissed from their jobs as a result of the February 28 Military Intervention and finally those who were dismissed from the public service after the July 15 Coup Attempt. These types of pressures have been on the increase in any period of martial law or the SoE period. The result of the

present research confirms this. Faced with various pressures before the SoE due to their political views, the academics stated that they experienced 5 % more violations of rights during the SoE. Almost every one of the two academics (42 %) think that during the SoE their academic freedom has been violated because of their political views! (See Table 27)

Table 27: The “Others” in the Academy and Rights Violations

The Others in the Academy and “Causes” of Violations	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my political views.	113 (% 37)	134 (% 42)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my field of study.	62 (% 20)	86 (% 27)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated since I have expressed my opinions by means of press, social media, etc.	53 (% 18)	67 (% 21)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my gender.	48 (% 16)	56 (% 17)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my religious identity.	29 (%10)	34 (%11)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my ethnic identity.	24 (%8)	26 (%8)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my sexual orientation.	1 (% -)	2 (% -)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my physical disability.	1 (% -)	1 (% -)
I personally know someone whose academic freedoms have been violated.	219 (% 73)	272 (% 85)

Academics also face violations of rights due to their ethnic identity. 8% of academics interviewed both before and after the state of emergency think that their rights have been violated due to their ethnic identity. Academics cannot express their views especially on

sensitive issues and cannot sometimes reveal their identities. The following excerpts have been compiled from answers to open-ended questions in the questionnaire:

I am having serious difficulties when I disclose my political / ethnic / religious views (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

I feel under pressure while preparing courses and writing articles on religious and cultural issues (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Ankara).

I cannot clearly express my religious identity and political views (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Samsun).

I cannot express my thoughts due to my ethnic identity and ideological stance in the academic environment we are in now, and I cannot bring myself to work on the subjects I want to study (Survey, Resigned, State Uni., Adana).

I think ideological pressure has become more evident after the SoE. For this reason, I do not express my religious and political differences, I conceal them (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

The following statements also illustrate the violations of rights that academics encounter due to their different or critical political views:

Due to my left-wing identity, I was appointed to the professorship staff with a one-year delay. My friends who signed peace declaration at the university where I work were expelled. I have a colleague who cannot get a cadre despite having completed his doctorate because he is left-wing and is a dissident. Despite his academic proficiency, he is not appointed to the position of assistant professor (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eskisehir).

I was threatened because of my ethnic identity, my political opinion and my critical attitude towards the government. I was prevented from teaching classes. I live with the terror that my contract may not be extended. If I do not change my academic fields of study, I cannot publish anything, I cannot participate in national and international scientific meetings, projects or research. I was suggested not to work on academic issues with political, historical aspects other than positive law (legislative review) (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

We were generally considered to be inconvenient because of my political views and the general political attitude of my department. This worked against us in terms of rights and freedoms; our requests of staff, etc. were ignored (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İzmir).

Another issue closely related to academics suffering rights violations because of their different political views and another indicator that freedom of expression in Turkey is “in throes of death”⁸⁴ in the SoE is that expressing one’s opinion whether in the press or the social media makes them vulnerable to violations of rights. Starting before the SoE, the

⁸⁴ Akdeniz ve Altıparmak, *ibid.*

pressure on academics who signed the Academics for Peace declaration and different forms of pressure after the SoE show the price one has to pay for expressing dissident views: threats, being targeted, dismissal from profession, imprisonment...⁸⁵ Academics who participated in the survey stated that their academic freedoms were violated before the SoE (18 %) and during the SoE (21 %) because they expressed their views (see Table 27). As mentioned earlier, this caused one third of academics to stop using social media. 73% of academics reduced sharing posts on their social media accounts in the SoE. 84 % were worried that they would get into trouble because of these posts (See Table 14). These concerns of scholars are not groundless, because academic freedom of every five academics is violated when they share their opinions on the social media! (See Table 27)

Not only were academics subjected to administrative investigations and pressures or threats in general because of the critical, sensitive or objectionable content of their political views or academic studies (publications, lecture content, class discussions, exam questions, conference-seminar, research projects, etc.) during the SoE period, they were also prosecuted and sentenced to judicial punishments. The responses of the academics on this issue are presented in Table 28, where it can be seen that 7 % of the academics had a judiciary investigation before the SoE, and 15 % of them during the SoE due to their academic activities. 2 % of academics stated that they received judicial punishment in the period when the survey was made.

In Turkey, the pressure on content and scope of academic research is not only put into practice through intra-academic mechanisms it also turns into judicial investigations and criminal suits. The two most well-known cases about this issue also directly concerning the public are those launched against Prof. Onur Hamzaoglu and Dr. Bülent Şık for publicly disclosing the results of the research. Dr. Onur Hamzaoglu was the head of

⁸⁵ Barış İçin Akademisyenler (2019) “Barış için Akademisyenlere Yönelik Hak İhlalleri”, <https://barisicinakademisyenler.net/node/314>, (Date of Access, September 2019). For reports that identify the impact of SoE on academic freedoms and autonomy through individual cases, see: *Bilim Akademisi* (2017), “Bilim Akademisi AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2016-2017”, <https://bilimakademisi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2017/07/bilim-akademisi-akademik-ozgurlukler-raporu-2016-2017-agustos-9.pdf>, (Date of Access October 2019); *Bilim Akademisi* (2018), “Bilim Akademisi AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2017-2018”, <https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/8-ekim-akademik-ozgurluk-raporu-2017-18.pdf>, (Date of Access October 2019), *Bilimler Akademisi* (2019), “Bilim Akademisi AKADEMİK ÖZGÜRLÜKLER Raporu: 2018-2019”, <https://bilimakademisi.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/2018-19-bilim-akademisi-akademik-ozgurluk-raporu-23-eylul-2019.pdf>, (Date of Access October 2019). For a study documenting the case of Academics for Peace, see: TİHV Akademi (2019) *Barış İçin Akademisyenler Vakasının Kısa Tarihi*, <https://www.tihvakademi.org/wpcontent/uploads/2019/03/Barisicinakademisyenlervakasi.pdf>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

Public Health Department at Faculty of Medicine, Kocaeli University. Permission to initiate a judicial investigation and prosecute him was sought from Kocaeli University on grounds that he revealed to the public the results of air pollution and biological particles in Dilovası and Kandıra districts of Kocaeli before the SoE. As a result of the investigation, it has been decided that Onur Hamzaoğlu, who is the target of the university administration and the mayor, cannot be tried because he published the results of his research.⁸⁶ On the other hand, the trial of Dr. Bülent Şık was launched in the SoE for sharing the results of a research project carried out by the Ministry of Health, where he was in the research team.⁸⁷ These two familiar cases are obvious examples of how academic freedom has been violated arbitrarily by making use of law itself.

Table 28: Academics Facing Procedural Acts Due to Their Academic Activities

Procedural Acts.	Before the SoE	During the SoE
Judicial investigation	20 (% 7)	49 (% 15)
Judicial Punishment	1 (% -)	7 (% 2)

Survey results also reveal a very serious threat concerning the future of academic studies in Turkey cited earlier in this report. Doing studies on certain areas may lead academics to experience rights violations in addition to being a dissident in Turkey. One out of every five academics participating in the research thinks that their academic freedom has been violated due to their field of study before the SoE. This rate increased by 7 % in the SoE period, reaching 27 % (See Table 27). Especially after the SoE, security investigations are made before civil servants are appointed or when the academics are re-appointed to their cadres; in these investigations, all the actions of the candidate from previous studies to social media posts are checked and those who oppose the government are prevented from becoming civil servants; these security inquiries also discourage academics from addressing sensitive or objectionable issues. For this reason, thinking of their academic future, young academics at the beginning of their academic careers, avoid some work areas / subjects from the very start, some academics postpone working in the

⁸⁶ Mustafa Sütlaş (2011) “Yalnız “Onur”u yargılamak yetmez!..”, *Bianet*, <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/130085-yalniz-onur-u-yargilamak-yetmez>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

⁸⁷ T24 (2019) “Kanser raporunu açıkladığı için yargılanan Bülent Şık'ın davasında ilk duruşma: “Bir bilim insanı şirketlere veya kurumlara değil öncelikle topluma karşı sorumludur”, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/kanser-raporunu-acikladigi-icin-12-yil-hapsi-istenen-bulent-sik-in-durusmasi-bugun,807299>, (Date of Access, September 2019).

field they want for a certain period of time, while others (12 % of academics) consider changing their study topics because of the pressures they feel as stated in the report:

At the moment, I think that in all universities, state and foundation alike, in all universities, especially social scientists are under great pressure and must be extremely careful when choosing their subjects. ... We are going through a period in which academics who experience this process most explicitly by being dismissed, as well as those who continue their job cannot work freely and I was reluctant for new topics. I chose my profession lovingly and willingly, and I was lucky enough to be in this profession, but I must say that my respect for my work has decreased considerably during this period (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Since I was planning to do a doctorate in anthropology, I had to decide on a subject I would like to research while making my applications. I paid a lot of attention in determining the subject and made sure to set a field that wouldn't get me in trouble (so that I would not be pressured, restrained by the government). Thinking about such things before embarking on the most important stage of my academic life indicates that my freedom has been violated (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

The obligation of academic staff to go through a security investigation during the recruitment process is a practice that restricts academic freedom. I know people who cannot start their academic careers simply because they try are afraid of going through this investigation (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

Thus, security investigations performed in appointment and re-appointment process have become a very serious threat for the production of academic knowledge in Turkey. Therefore, it can be said that freedom of scientific research and publishing, which is formulated in Article 130 of the Constitution as "Universities, faculty and their assistants can freely participate in all kinds of scientific research and publications", has actually been violated with the legal regulation issued after the SoE.

Gender discrimination remains one of the fundamental problems of academia in Turkey and the world. Even the number of harassments, rapes and murders⁸⁸ targeting women

⁸⁸ The most tragic example of attacks in academia that women are subjected to as a result of the systematic discrimination is without a doubt the killing of the academic Ceren Damar by one of her students who she reported while cheating in the exam; Fundanur Öztürk (2019) "Ceren Damar cinayeti: Zanlının kopya çekmekten aldığı ilk ceza değil", *BBC Türkçe*, <https://www.bbc.com/turkce/haberler-turkiye-46758890>, (Date of Access, October 2019). After veterinary surgeon Ç.B. reported to the police that Hasan Bilgili, faculty member at Veterinary Faculty, Ankara University, raped her, it turned out that Bilgili's students had complained to the faculty administration that they had been sexually harassed. Professor Bilgili, who was released pending trial after being arrested upon the allegation of rape, retired; *Odatv* (2019) "O gün gereken yapılıyordu bugün tecavüz olmayacaktı", <https://odatv.com/o-gun-gereken-yapilyaydi-bugun-tecavuz-olmayacakti-18061923.html>, (Date of Access, October 2019). Mehmet Akif Ersoy University faculty member M. Ö. T. was dismissed from his post at the university when it turned out that he had abused students; *Sözcü* (2019) "Taciz iddialarıyla gündeme gelen öğretim görevlisi kamu görevinden çıkarıldı",

experienced in the first months of 2019 in Turkish universities shows the gravity of the situation for Turkey. One out of every five academics (20%) participating in the study think that their academic freedoms have been violated due to their gender before and after the SoE (See Table 27). The case being so, the removal of the “Higher Education Institutions Gender Equality Attitude Document” accepted by the universities and which gives them the task to combat gender discrimination from the HEC website and cancellation of the project in question will place new barriers to gender equality in Turkey, which has not been so far achieved.⁸⁹

Female academics who participated in the study stated that they were exposed to mobbing more than men, their private lives were questioned, their studies were trivialized, and they had to cope with their workloads more than their male colleagues:

As a feminist single woman at a rural university, I experience a wide range of difficulties and intimidation. Generally, it is in the form of belittling my work with smear campaigns or obstacles. I am being followed in my daily life, also according to moral norms. But this is not specific to the SoE (Survey, Faculty Member, Van).

I think there is male-dominated pressure before and after the SoE. It’s like belittling women’s academic work (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

In areas that do not correspond to the official ideology of the state, the discrimination I experienced due to being a woman and a Kurd existed also before the SoE. This increased even more during the SoE (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

Since I am a single young woman, during the job interviews I was asked who I will live with! (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Ankara)

I think that I have encountered violations of rights during the SoE simply for being a “woman”. It is possible to say that it is more intense during the SoE (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Black Sea Region).

They did not want to renew my tenure. They extended it only for 6 months due to union differences. The head of the department at that time said to me “You’re already a lonely woman, be careful”! (Survey, Faculty Member., State Uni., Istanbul).

I think the pressure on women has increased. Unlike the male research assistant, I was asked to undertake extra workload. I was reminded about the arrival and departure times when I was late

<https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/egitim/taciz-iddialariyla-gundeme-gelen-ogretim-gorevlisi-kamu-gorevindencikarildi-5395046/>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

⁸⁹ *bianet* (2019) “YÖK’ün Kaldırdığı Toplumsal Cinsiyet Eşitliği Tutum Belgesi”, <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/205680-yok-un-kaldirdigi-toplumsal-cinsiyet-esitligi-tutumbelgesi>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

once or twice, my job security was not guaranteed; nothing was done to ease our workload (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

Simply because I am a woman. Actually, I suffered from discrimination because of my ideological view, but the balance in the system prevented it from becoming mobbing. I experience severe pressure and mobbing after the SoE (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., İstanbul).

I think being a female academic and being called an “opponent” makes it more likely to feel the pressure of the SoE period; I see people around me losing their academic freedoms; this has reached challenging dimensions; but this is not specific only to the SoE period (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., İstanbul).

I think female academics are in a permanent SoE. In the academy, we are struggling under male domination and most importantly in the working environments and performance evaluations suited to men’s experiences and lifestyles. The consequences of this are violence, which has recently become visible. Therefore, it will not be possible to talk about academic freedom in any way unless gender equality is achieved (Survey, Instructor, Foundation Uni., İstanbul).

The majority of the administrators in universities are men. Women also face various difficulties in coming to administrative positions levels or participating in decision-making processes. An academic explained the discrimination she experienced as a woman in this regard as follows:

- *To what extent do you participate in in-house decision-making processes such as designing the curriculum and demanding staff? Are you able to take part in them?*

- They never allow me. First, because I am a woman. Second, because I come from the west. Not only the SoE. It has always been so. There is both a sexist and cultural exclusion. ... I can’t attend almost anything, first because of my gender and then because I am western, and thirdly, it can never match up with me ideologically.

- *Do men do all of those things?*

- Men always do those things. They tell you what your share is. Either you accept that share, or you will be labeled with names like “aggressive”, “witch” and so on. But this was not something specific to the SoE; it has been the general nature of all things. This was also the case when I went there during the peace process. Know what I mean? There is no sharp distinction between before and after the SoE. It always has been so, but as their powers increased now, of course, as their initiatives and those areas of power increased, they act with more impunity (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia Region).

A female academic stated that women were stigmatized when they tried to fight against the male dominant order in the academy and they faced some kind of exclusion or mobbing, and after a while they gave up the struggle:

I have already given it up completely. "Have it your own way!" That is all I can say now because I struggled a lot at first. I could not succeed, I was tired and as far as I can see all my friends were like me. All of them retired into their own shells because you face a tremendous pressure and mobbing. As I said, the simplest stigmatizations like "aggressive", "hysterical", you know, with the spread of all such sexist things, labeling, and there is a kind of wall. It does not reach anything. Recently a friend clearly had a problem with the head of the department. There was the problem of sexual harassment or something, and the man tried to place his second wife, the woman he married through an imam, to the master's degree. My friend resisted this. That's why hostility was born or something like that. After all, the faculty needs to protect this woman. ... The last thing was the man's insulting remark, saying "What is she sniggering like a horse for? It's about laughter. ... I mean, I am constantly insulted by such a thing. So this man should definitely not be the head of department where this woman is working. Unfortunately, he became the head of the department, and this woman has to work with her. ... They did it. They did not have to but they did. So even if you really struggle, you can't really get any results. In other words, we have met many times for a vice dean to be a woman. There are no women administrators at all. Always men. They are everywhere. You have no power. No authority. So you can't do anything. I realized that. Lecturers like me have been struggling for 2 years and 3 years and they are labeled "hysterical, nervous". They are insulted, they are called "testy, troubled, trouble-maker, witch" and then they got tired and withdrew. So it's all the same. I am like that now. Have it your own way! Unfortunately... If you don't mess with me, I won't mess with you. Because we are very lonely (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni., Eastern Anatolia Region).

In addition to gender inequality, the religious identity or belief of academics can lead to violations of rights. Regardless of the SoE, one out of every ten academics thinks that their academic freedom is restricted due to their religious identity or beliefs. Academics have been subjected to violation of rights because they belonged to a religion other than Islam, were unbelievers, Alevis, or did not fulfill the religious practices. This violation may sometimes lead to social exclusion or being not hired due to one's religious beliefs:

Because I am a woman, although I have the same religious identity, I am isolated from those around me and establishing social communication because I am not wearing a headscarf (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Diyarbakır).

I couldn't find a job at public universities. The officials of the public university where I applied for a job thought that I was not religious enough (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

In order to get an idea of the prevalence of rights violations in the field of academic freedoms, the academics were also asked whether they personally recognized someone whose academic freedoms were violated. The vast majority of academics (73%) stated that they knew personally such a person before the SoE. However, this rate increased by 12% in the SoE period and 85% of the academics stated that they personally know someone whose academic freedom was violated during the SoE period. Although these figures show a significant increase in academic rights violations during the SoE, unfortunately the figures were already very high before the SoE.

VII. ACADEMICS' EVALUATION OF THE SoE: EFFECT OF SoE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOMS AND THE FUTURE OF UNIVERSITIES

The academics were asked the question “What do you think is the most important practice affecting academic freedom in Turkey during the SoE?” so as to make them evaluate the SoE period in terms of academic freedoms.

88% of the academics (290 out of 331 academics) answered this question. Their answers were analyzed in two ways. Firstly, these answers were categorized and a quantitative distribution was obtained by multiple coding of the responses. The table presented below shows this distribution.

Table 29: The Basic Practices or Results of the SoE Period Affecting Academic Freedoms According to the Academics

Practices Affecting Academic Freedoms During the SoE	Number
Decree Laws and Purges	211
Dismissals	47
Trials / Lawsuits / Lack of Judicial Independence /	46
Pressure and Inhibitions on Freedom of Thought and Expression	39
Investigation(s)	34
Pressure / Oppressive Atmosphere	33
Fear / Atmosphere of Fear	30
Complaints to BIMER-CIMER	29
Issues Regarding Appointment Processes	27
Constraints	21
Censorship-Self-censorship	21
Removals from work	18
Increasing Administrators' Powers	15
Mobbing	12
Rector / Administrator Appointment Processes	12
The HEC	10
Threat(s)	6
Arbitrary Practices of Administrator	6

The answers given by academics to the open-ended questions were also examined through the Nvivo program and the prevalence of at least 3-letter words was examined in

freedoms in universities during the SoE are the lawsuits filed as well as dismissals with the decree laws, loss of faith in law and judicial procedures, restrictions on freedom of thought and expression, suspension from work, problems in the appointment of staff, BIMER-CIMER complaints, the increasing powers of administrators, their arbitrary practices and the environment of pressure and fear resulting from all these. Academics defined the situation they lived in as “climate of fear”, “fear culture”, “fear regime”, “atmosphere of fear”, “fear empire”, “surge of fear.” An academic summarized the greatest effect of the SoE on academic freedoms in the following sentence: “A regime of fear and anxiety as a whole rather than a special practice” (Survey, Professor, State Uni., Ankara). The following quotations are the statements of academics addressing this issue in their answers to the open-ended questions of the questionnaire:

A political, social and institutional climate based on fear has dwindled all my creative, productive energies. Before the SoE, political and social climate based on fear already existed. However, it became unbearable with the SoE... Academic and social injustices did exist then too, but they became more brutal (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni., Eskişehir).

The climate of anti-democratic functioning and fear that pervaded the university (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

The state of fear pervading society and university ... (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni., Istanbul).

The SoE... has influenced a long period of time to come with the polarization and empire of fear it has created, diminishing hopes for the future (Questionnaire, Instructor, State Uni, İzmir).

Security investigations, arbitrary staffing under top-down administrative decisions, climate of fear, silence (Survey, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni, Istanbul).

Because (*decree laws*) extend over a long period, anxiety and fear became permanent and a climate of fear was created. Then politics, law, health and education totally renounced rational thinking and conscience in Turkey (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni., Istanbul).

Academic freedoms have been suspended radically, especially in social sciences. Fears of dismissal and investigation are effective in this process. Academics could not work because they did not feel safe. Even those who are close to the current government have been following anxiously the changing attitudes of the power so that they do not do anything wrong (Survey, Faculty Member, State Uni, İzmir).

The dismissal of academics from universities with the decrees and the fear of those who have not been dismissed preventing them from working freely, the course contents being censored (lecturers who are afraid of complaining taking recourse to self-censorship) (Survey, Instructor, State Uni., Ankara).

Academics in Turkey lived with the fear of dismissal with the decree laws during the SoE decree, going through security investigations, administrative investigations, being sued,

being discharged, being filed a complaint against by students, being warned by their colleagues, questioning, exclusion and being worried about of life security; therefore, they had to practice self-censorship in their classes, publications, academic activities, research and theses they conducted, and thus they were “aligned”:

Being aligned. Everyone moved a few steps to the right. Everyone concentrates on their career psychologically and sociologically. Especially when it comes to these regulations, for instance the appointment of rectors from the outside, waiting for a month for a position, norm staffing, will the new departments be accepted? So, since everything is connected to the central administration, this is inevitable, as in physics, when you connect something there, all the particles are aligned (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

The academy has become silent and most importantly has become unresponsive to the problems of the country in which they live:

It became very common to act as if nothing happened. Actually people tend not to talk to me or others they would normally talk to. Not speaking, mincing one’s words, rather than voicing your concerns. Pretending as if things do not exist, pretending things did not happen or dropping the subject altogether. “Yeah, well, but”... such words serve to drop a subject. These are the words that help you act as if something is not the case. This is one of the sentences that explains this: to pretend as if it were nonexistent, to ignore things. Saying, “It wasn’t like that,” ignoring it. This is not the case for only some academics who have been pushed out of the university system, I’m talking about any subject in the agenda of Turkey. Last week, there was the case of Damar, Ceren Damar two weeks ago. Not being able to talk about Ceren Damar case even in terms of being a woman. I’m talking about this. Can I make myself understood? I am talking about not being able to speak, not being able to do this. ... Eliminating the reflex of being able to react to something very legitimate (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Tekirdag).

Academics agree on the fact that universities received a major blow in terms of academic freedom in the SoE and are generally quite pessimistic about the future of the academy in Turkey. They likewise agree on the fact that the damage that occurred in the SoE cannot be fixed for many years. The following statements are examples from academics’ responses they gave to the question “What do you think about the future of universities in Turkey? How do you see the future of the university?”:

I think it is terrible. What I will say does not fall within the jargon of academic or scientific analysis but what we see is wishy-washiness, lack of ideals, loss of integrity in terms of academics in Turkey. If the issue of cowering I just mentioned is a matter of integrity and character, I think we have that too. Yes, we are still trying to stand upright, not bow down, and not bend, maybe this is also an important thing in this period, but this is the home of the people bending, bowing. Therefore, I do not think that they are venues of scientific or intellectual production (IDI, Faculty Member, State Uni, İstanbul).

I have very pessimistic projections, I think, there is a purpose, a project to increase the number of universities and employ people who follow a certain ideological line there without having any

academic qualifications. On the one hand, to deprive well established universities of their tradition, those that have their own intellectual tradition in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir, and thus break the lineage of those traditions. This is what we saw at Ankara University, we saw it in the Mülkiye (Faculty of Political Sciences). We have seen at Ege University, etc. If those names sustaining that tradition will no longer be at universities and if universities will be filled with people without any academic criteria, then I can say that the future of the academy in Turkey is too dark (IDI, Faculty Member, Foundation Uni, Istanbul).

In the interviews, there were also academics who stated that universities ceased to be institutions that produce academic interest, curiosity and knowledge, therefore, they thought that free academic activity can only be done outside universities:

Institutions are now like zombies. They are completely empty but in their ruined state they still reflect those ideals. But we should not get fixated on that institution, we should not cry over it. We should mourn briefly over its demise and forget it. I still believe in that curiosity, that collective activity, I still believe in activities in which you can leap to other times and places by stopping the time. I believe in curiosity, science, knowledge, but I think that knowledge can only be given finesse with practice, given a final touch with its addressees as well as by seeing itself as an addressee. ... I began to pay more attention to these Solidarity Academies, cooperatives, new pedagogies, new ways of publicizing knowledge. So we will find a new form. Old forms are now over. ... Let's mourn over them. OK, but we shouldn't cry. We need to get out of the house. They already provide us with a reason by discharging us. We'll find. ... We will establish something else for ourselves (IDI, Instructor State Uni., İstanbul).

First, critical thinking has been eliminated from the academy in general. Serious traditions have been eliminated, that is, there are serious barriers to the introducing these traditions to the next generation of students. So let's say we have returned, but something serious has taken place in the meantime. Both those who were dismissed moved away from their accumulation somehow, even though they were at the academy. They did not continue it as they did in the past; they failed to do so. This is something serious... In the long term, maybe in the long term, we will see them, those heavy results; we will see clearly, the heavy price. ... If we look at it from the other side, the academy has come to life outside the institutionalism of university. Solidarity Academies have emerged, new channels, cooperatives have been established, there have been efforts to build associations; there are efforts to reactivate existing associations. Another kind of discussion... Street academies were established. ... The academy really came to life in the sense of the academy, even if it wasn't institutionalized, again in the sense of academy; we have seen the revival of the idea of academy. This is a positive thing ... We can see the positive results in the long term, medium and long term (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., Van).

The university under the HEC was transferred into a new structural route in the early 2000s and entered a process of incorporation, where performance was prioritized in research and education. The objections directed to the structural transformation in question from within and outside the university were restrained step by step, and finally, all the obstacles to the ideal university order of the HEC mentality were removed in the SoE, which was announced after the July 15 Coup Attempt. Thus, the teaching staff, who were to a large extent turned into company employees, and students, who pursued certificates of consent, were estranged to the minimum requirements of science. Few

teaching staff and students, who want to engage in scientific activities, are exposed to administrative and social pressures both in terms of academic pursuits and participation in administration. The resulting structure makes scientific activity gradually get bleaker even for those (governments, municipalities, business circles, non-governmental organizations and semi-official organizations, which gain advantage from corporatization, the bureaucracy of HEC and universities and their collaborators that constitute the majority at universities) that put science at the disposal of interest groups at the expense of its economic and political interests, thus making it virtually impossible. The economic and political concerns of interest groups are prioritized over public needs and the needs of new generations. The university system is being reformed as required by the interests of these networks, and the atmosphere of fear deepened at every opportunity paves the ground for it.⁹¹ The primary addressees of this process are undoubtedly students, especially graduate students who are at the center of academic activity. Within this framework, it was necessary for the research to identify the violations of rights in postgraduate education, which is one of the pillars of academic activity. In the last section, findings regarding violations of academic freedom in postgraduate education will be revealed.

⁹¹ Unfortunately, Turkish universities witness nearly all forms of violation of academic freedom and autonomy. The last violation of academic autonomy was the cancellation by the HEC of the special talent examinations, which was used by 14 departments, most of which provide design education, for admitting students, despite objections from respected academics, artists and the relevant segments of the society. The HEC inexplicably responded to these objections by claiming that talent examinations are still in practice referring to music and painting departments that continue to receive students with talent examination; Bülent Vardar (2019) “Sanat ve tasarım Eğitiminde sonun başlangıcı mı?”, *T24*, <https://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/bulent-varidar/sanat-ve-tasarim-egitimindesonun-baslangici-mi,24193>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

VIII. BEING A GRADUATE STUDENT IN THE SoE

Students are one of the most essential components of universities and academia. To understand the condition of academic freedom during the SoE period in Turkey, it is necessary to interview not only academics but also students and discuss their experiences and how they see the SoE. Therefore, in this research, students as well as academics were interviewed. However, due to the limited research budget, only the students with postgraduate education were included in the research, not all students. Within the scope of the research, questionnaires were conducted with these students (students in master's or doctorate programs). As mentioned earlier, 91 of the participants in the research consist of postgraduate students, but the research assistants (90 people) who continue their postgraduate education were asked to answer the questions related to students. Therefore, although it is assumed that the questions about students will be answered by a sample of 181 (See Table 30), 26 research assistants who continue their postgraduate education did not answer or did not want to answer the questions. Therefore, the highest number of answers given for the post-SoE questions was 156 and 108 for the pre-SoE questions. Since most of the questions are conditional questions (in the questions before and after the SoE, the students who were not students before the SoE were asked to answer only the questions about the SoE period, only the students in the thesis stage were asked to answer the questions related to the thesis stage, etc.) the percentages in the tables other than those on rights violations in this study are valid percent based on the number of answers given to the relevant question.

Table 30: Sample of Students in the Survey

Education status	Number
Post-Graduate Student	52
PhD Student	39
Post-Graduate (Research Assistant)	15
PhD Student (Research Assistant)	75
Total	181

The students were asked to compare the pre-SoE period and the SoE period in some survey questions in order to understand the effect of SoE on academic freedoms. Whether there was any difference in the answers to these questions between before and after SoE

was tested with the paired sample McNemar test, which is a nonparametric test. The answers in which the SoE showed a statistically significant difference as a result of the test are highlighted in the tables in bold fonts.

Graduate Students Do Not Trust Graduate Exams

The graduate students who participated in the questionnaire were first asked about their opinions about the entrance exams in the graduate education programs and whether they wanted to pursue an academic career. As seen in Table 31, these questions were also asked to make a comparison regarding the pre-SoE and SoE periods. The answers where the SoE makes a statistically significant difference are presented in bold fonts (See Table 31).

Table 31: Students’ Opinions About Entrance Exams for Graduate Programs

	Before the SoE	During the SoE
Admittance to Graduate Programs		
While taking the graduate program exams, I came across question/s examining my ethnicity / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / disability, etc. during the interview.	12 (% 11)	12 (% 8)
I know someone who is not admitted to the graduate program because of their political views / ethnic origins / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / gender / disability status, etc.	38 (% 36)	57 (% 37)
I think “string-pulling” is an important factor in entering graduate programs.	64 (% 60)	107 (% 69)
I know someone who has been admitted to graduate programs thanks to “string-pulling”.	57 (% 53)	79 (% 51)
I want to pursue an academic career.	96 (% 91)	118 (% 77)

Some students stated that they encountered discriminatory questions (questions examining their political views, ethnicity, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, or disability) in interviews during the postgraduate programs admission exams before the SoE (11 %) and in the SoE period (8 %). More than a third of students for both periods (36 % and 37 %, before and during the SoE respectively) stated that they knew someone who was not admitted to the postgraduate program due to discrimination based on political views, ethnicity, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, etc. Students think that

string-pulling played an important role in entering postgraduate education programs before the SoE (64 %) and during the SoE period 69 %. More than half of the students – 53% for the pre-SoE period and 51 % for the SoE period– stated that they knew someone who was taken to these programs thanks to someone influential (See Table 31).

While these results do not provide definitive evidence as to whether string-pulling is effective or whether students are included in programs by discrimination when entering graduate programs, it shows that students do not trust on the impartiality of entrance exams for graduate programs. It is seen that this trust statistically decreased significantly in the SoE period; students think that the string-pulling was more effective with a 9% increase in admission to postgraduate education during the SoE period (See Table 31).

Another negative effect of the SoE on students is that it discouraged them from pursuing an academic career by a 14% decrease. While 91% of graduate students want to become academic before the SoE, this rate dropped to 77%.

Freedom of Expression Under Pressure in Classes and Campuses

As mentioned earlier, an important prerequisite of academic freedoms is that academics as well as students ought to be free from all kinds of pressure in processes of education, research and dissemination of knowledge. Students engaged in academic activities (taking courses, researching and discussing on campuses) should be able to express their views freely without pressure. The following questions in Table 32 were asked with a view to understand to what extent graduate students feel free expressing themselves in the courses and on the campuses in Turkey before and during the SoE. A statistical difference was found between the pre-SoE and SoE periods for the expressions presented in the table and indicated in bold fonts. In other words, the SoE emerges as a determining factor for the situations that we tried to determine with these questions.

Research findings reveal that students are not able to express their views freely on campuses. The campuses, which were under pressure in terms of freedom of expression in Turkey, received even more pressure during the SoE. 44 % of students before the SoE and 29 % of students (with a decrease of 15 %) during the SoE stated that they could express their views freely on the campuses. In other words, 71 % of the students in the SoE thought they could not express their views freely on the university campuses, which were already poor in terms of freedom of expression before the SoE (See Table 32).

Table 32: Freedom of Expression Restricted on Campuses

Freedom of Expression Restricted on Campuses	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I can express my views freely on the campus.	48 (% 44)	45 (% 29)
I can criticize lecturers academically freely /without feeling any pressure.	44 (% 41)	58 (% 37)
There were courses closed in my department due to the political, academic views of the lecturer or because the content of the course was found to be “objectionable”.	11 (% 10)	29 (% 19)
There have been suggestions / pressures on me to not choose courses that address issues that are considered objectionable or sensitive.	1 (% 1)	5 (% 4)
I tried not to choose the courses that address issues considered objectionable or sensitive.	3 (% 3)	12 (% 9)
I can express myself freely without feeling any pressure or drawbacks in the courses.	66 (% 62)	78 (% 54)
I pay attention not to dwell on issues considered sensitive or objectionable politically and morally, etc. when speaking in the class.	37 (% 34)	67 (% 47)
I pay attention not to dwell on issues considered sensitive or objectionable politically and morally, etc. while talking with my classmates during the breaks.	23 (% 21)	57 (% 39)
I can choose whatever course I want.	87 (% 81)	113 (% 79)

During the SoE, student clubs were closed at universities, student activities were banned or the establishment of clubs related to subjects such as LGBTI + was prevented.⁹² Many disciplinary investigations have been filed against students. So much so that a student compared university campuses to “open prisons” during the SoE:

⁹² For example, Ankara University, one of the leading universities in academic dismissals after the Coup Attempt, has also closed down a large number of student clubs; *T24* (2018) “Ankara Üniversitesi yönetiminden öğrenci topluluklarını kapatma kararı”, <https://t24.com.tr/haber/ankarauniversitesiyonetiminden-ogrenci-topluluklarini-kapatma-karari,560228>, (Date of Access, October 2019).

I was prevented from working on the subject I wanted to work in the thesis with a professor, who was an expert on that subject. The words of the vice-rector, which included discriminatory remarks about the closure of the department, made me feel hesitant and unsafe about whether or not I should finish school. ... Lecturers and students in the department were subjected to verbal abuse. This prevented us from speaking, gathering at school and protesting as we wish. Transforming schools into open prisons and preventing the existence of opposition groups and people on campus (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., İzmir).

Academics too talked about the pressures on students' freedom of expression on the campuses. For example, an academic stated that the posters to be hung on campus at a public university in Istanbul were inspected and censored; for example, posters with a picture of a pig or a church were not allowed (IDI, Inst., State Uni. Istanbul). Another academic said that LGBTI events were not allowed at the university where he worked (IDI, Instructor, State Uni. Samsun). Another academic stated that students were intimidated by investigations:

The restriction of student activities came about very clearly. In other words, not our activities, but student activities have become an impossibility. They constantly have to get permission for everything. You cannot do anything at the university now: protest, demonstration, etc. So they constantly punished the kids, filing investigations, giving suspensions, and so on. ... Students were given much heavier penalties. I think that was the last action. There was already a very clear message from the Rector's Office: "You will not hold demonstrations from now on." As I said they took the children, they were detained and suspended, sometimes for a period of time, sometimes for 3 weeks, and for 2 weeks. Now there are no political posters at the university. It is not possible to make political statements; they can only put their posters through these clubs. There are no more any demonstrations or protests, etc. Nothing. So it's over. This regime managed to finish the student movement. Probably, this is the kind of silence that we had for 1-2 years after September 12 coup at universities (IDI, Instructor, State Uni., İstanbul).

Students are also unable to express themselves freely when talking to their friends in the courses, classrooms, or during breaks. The SoE restricted students' means of self-expression in these matters (See Table 32). The rate of students who could say "I can express myself freely without feeling any pressure or fear in classes" before the SoE was 62 %, which decreased to 54% during the SoE. The rate of students who stated that they could "criticize their lecturers freely/without feeling any pressure" decreased from 41 % to 37 % in the SoE period. The students are more cautious when they talk in the classes and breaks and they practice more self-censorship than they did before the SoE. The rate of students who did not feel comfortable when talking in classes during the SoE became 47 %, increasing by 13 %. In other words, approximately one in every two students during the SoE pay utmost attention not to talk in the classroom about issues that are considered sensitive or objectionable politically and/or morally. While the rate of students who had to show the same sensitivity during class breaks with their classmates

was 21 % before the SoE, it increased to 39 % during the SoE (see Table 32). These data show that the pressure of the SoE on freedom of thought and expression is also heavily felt among the students.

79 % of the students stated that they could choose any course they wanted. On the other hand, they said there were courses closed before the SoE (3 %) and during the SoE (5 %) because of the political, academic opinions of the instructor or the content of the course being considered “objectionable”; while some (4 %) stated that they encountered suggestions or pressures not to choose the courses that deal with the subjects whose content is considered objectionable or sensitive. Some students stated that they tried not to choose courses that were considered sensitive or objectionable before the SoE (3 %) and during the SoE (9 %) without encountering such suggestions or pressures (see Table 32).

Pressures on Assignments and Thesis Research

More than half (55 %) of postgraduate students do not feel free in their assignments and thesis research during the SoE period and try not to treat sensitive / objectionable topics in their assignments or thesis. In other words, the SoE plays a big role on students practicing self-censorship (21 %). In addition, students think that they scored low because of addressing the subjects that were considered sensitive / objectionable in one or more of their assignments before the SoE (7 %), and during the SoE (17 %) (see Table 33).

One of the basic pressures of the SoE conditions on students’ research freedoms seems to be the choice of research topics. 36 % of the students stated to have encountered pressures or suggestions not to choose subjects considered sensitive / objectionable for their thesis dissertation topic in the SoE period. Such pressures, which were felt by 22 % of the students before the SoE, increased by 13 % in the SoE. As a result, 36 % of the students determined not to choose subjects deemed to be sensitive or objectionable while determining their dissertation topic. 16 % of the students who had previously determined the subject of their dissertation and who had begun writing their thesis stated that they had to change their thesis topic partially or completely because they treated issues considered “sensitive or objectionable” during the SoE!

Table 33: Pressure on Students' Assignments and Thesis Research

Pressure on Assignments and Thesis Research	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I try not to deal with the issues considered sensitive / objectionable in my assignment / research / thesis	36(% 34)	85(% 55)
I think I got a low score because I touched on topics that were considered sensitive / objectionable in one or more of my assignments.	8(% 7)	17(% 11)
While I was determining the thesis topic, I came across suggestions/ pressures not to go into the subjects that are considered sensitive / objectionable.	17(% 22)	39(% 36)
When determining the thesis topic, I made sure not to choose the subjects that were considered sensitive / objectionable.	17(% 22)	42(% 39)
I changed my thesis partially or completely, as it addresses issues that are considered sensitive / objectionable.	6(% 8)	17(% 16)
I think I can do my thesis research on the subject I want without feeling any pressure.	43(% 40)	37(% 24)
I came across suggestions / pressures implying that I should change my thesis advisor because her/his political views / ethnicity / religious belief / sexual orientation / gender is considered inconvenient.	2(% 3)	10(% 9)
I changed my thesis advisor since her/his political views / ethnicity / religious belief / sexual orientation / gender was considered to be inconvenient.	3(% 4)	8(% 8)

Another finding of the research was also expressed by academics: security investigations, which are practiced when research assistants or other civil servants are recruited, lead students to work on issues that will not cause “problems” in security investigations, in which their academic careers are taken into account; thus, students are encouraged to act accordingly. One student expressed this situation as follows:

I think my academic freedom is restricted; because I get suggestions about not working on identities that are not considered “acceptable” due to the SoE. We are asked to practice self-censorship in order not to be censored. As I am writing a thesis in the department of women’s studies, I am concerned that I will not be able to have an academic career if I turn to issues in which I will need to make inferences about sexual orientations or ethnic identities, that I will be blacklisted or denied scholarships / project applications (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., İstanbul).

A student briefly described which issues were considered “sensitive or objectionable” during the SoE: All the topics that are not anticipated by the social paradigm and the state which controls that paradigm such as ethnic, religious, sexual orientation and all related issues within this context encounter limitations (Survey, PhD Student, State Uni., İzmir). The statements presented below are also included in the answers given by the students to

the open-ended questions in the questionnaire and express the pressures on assignments and thesis research:

In a way, I think I cannot work freely, with a critical mind about Turkey's political situation while doing some academic work. At the same time, while expressing my political views, I cannot foresee what it will cost me. As a woman, I think my right to speak has been restricted from time to time (Survey, PhD Student, State Uni., Eskişehir).

I think that I may experience a violation of rights due to my field of study, even though I have not experienced it so far (because my thesis has not been published yet). I avoid sharing things on the social media for fear that I may have a security investigation. This shows that my right to freedom of expression has been violated (Survey, MA Student, Foundation Uni, Ankara).

There was a delay in the completion of my dissertation because the thesis, which proved that the government policies were wrong, was found to be inconvenient by the supervisor (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., Istanbul).

The academia was not a paradise before the SoE, but with the SoE (decree laws and uncertainty) there was no institution left that deserved the name academia. Almost every subject has an "objectionable" aspect now; in other words, there exists no academic atmosphere in which one could do any scholarly work (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., Ankara).

The survey data shows that the rate of students who think that they can conduct their thesis research on any topic they want without feeling any pressure has decreased from 40 % in the pre-SoE period to 24 % in the SoE period. In other words, in the SoE period every three out of four graduate students in Turkey do not think they could write a thesis about the topic they wanted without feeling pressured (see Table 33).

Students are under pressure not only when deciding on thesis topics, but also when choosing thesis supervisors. Approximately one in ten students – 9 % of students– stated that they faced suggestions / pressures to change their thesis supervisors because of the political views / ethnic origin / religious belief / sexual orientation / gender of the thesis supervisor during the SoE period. As a result, 8 % of students changed their thesis supervisor (see Table 33).

The Effect of the Decree Laws

The scope of the survey, the students as well as the academics were also asked the question "What do you think is the most important practice affecting academic freedoms in the SoE period in Turkey?" The answers given by the students to this open-ended question were brought together and distribution of at least three-letter words in the

created text was examined. The word cloud presented below shows the 50 most frequently repeated words in students' responses.

Figure 13: Word Cloud - The Most Important Practices Affecting Academic Freedoms During the SoE According to Students⁹³



As can be seen from the word cloud shown in Figure 13, students gave answers similar to those given by academics. According to the students, the most significant practice that affects academic freedoms in the SoE is the dismissal of academics from public service with the decrees. Arbitrariness, oppression, censorship, climate of fear in the academy were other practices that violated academic freedoms according to students.

68 students out of 156 (31 % of the participants who completed parts of the questionnaire related to the students) stated that there were academic(s) who were dismissed from the faculty /department where they work. 46 of these students reported that the courses of dismissed academics were closed (See Table 34).

⁹³ The most repeated words which are seen with bigger type size are: Academic/ Academics/ Dismissal/ Decree laws/ SoE period/ Pressure/ Fera/ Peace /Free / Freedoms ...

Table 34: Effects of Dismissals with the Decree Laws

Effect of Dismissals with the Decree Laws	Number
We had lecturer(s) dismissed from public service with the decree laws.	68
The courses of our lecturers who were dismissed from public service with the decree laws were closed.	46
I think that the dismissal of lecturers from public service with the decree laws negatively affected education in the department.	68
I had to change my advisor since his/her contract of employment has not been renewed / she/he has been dismissed with a decree laws.	13
One or more of the members of the thesis monitoring committee has changed since their employment contracts have not been renewed / they have been dismissed with a decree law.	4
One or more of the members of the thesis jury changed because their employment contracts have not been renewed / they have been dismissed with a decree law.	4

Four of 33 students, who participated in the research and were at the stage of writing their thesis during the SoE period, had to change their supervisor who were dismissed or whose work contracts were not renewed; likewise, 4 of 22 students, who have not yet defended their thesis, had to change one or more of the jury members. 68 students stated that the dismissal of the lecturers negatively affected the education in the department. A student expressed his/her difficulties when his/her thesis supervisor was dismissed with a decree law as follows:

Since some of the lecturers at our departments were expelled, I encountered such difficulties as choosing a new thesis supervisor and revising the thesis subject. Even having to make new decisions about the research method I will follow in my thesis has limited me. Instructors were dismissed. The quality of university education has declined. Critical and dissenting perspectives on research topics have been pruned away (Survey, PhD Student, State Uni., Ankara).

The dismissal of lecturers with the decree laws affected students not only in terms of “technical” issues concerning courses or theses but also in academic research and freedom of expression. The students argued that both they and the lecturers who “remained” in the faculties practiced self-censorship in classes and research due to the pressure of being dismissed from public service with the decree law. One student commented on the situation as follows:

As our lecturers and assistants were dismissed during the SoE, we were deprived of both the lectures and environment of discussion, enthusiasm and excitement. The remaining lecturers acted as if they were teaching, and we students acted as if we were students; but almost nothing was left academically behind. (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., Ankara).

Another student defined the most important effect of the SoE and dismissals with the decree laws as creating “uniformization” in academia:

The most important practice was the dismissals and uniformization in the academic field, which is an extension of these dismissals. I think the academy has now become an unqualified field. Since the number of lecturers in the department decreased significantly after dismissals with the decrees, my department was negatively affected in many ways: The course diversity and the quality of education decreased, the lessons become inefficient due to the same lecturer attending too many classes and a state of anxiety arising from uncertainty (Survey, PhD Student, State Uni., Izmir).

One student explained the damage caused by the dismissal of academics as a decrease in academic motivation, accumulation of research in certain areas of study that are not considered objectionable and the spread of lynch culture in the universities:

The closure of the courses taught by the esteemed lecturers of our department first of all reduced our morale and motivation as students. We could not work on the subjects we wanted because the lecturers who were worth working with were dismissed. And the remaining lecturers were reluctant. In addition, lynching culture began to pervade the universities. Appointing of people who are close to the government led to the creation of “favorable, custom-made” issues. For example, everyone was encouraged to study certain issues in international relations. Of course, our worries about the future has increased much more especially in universities that suffered such losses (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., Istanbul).

In addition to their anxiety for the future, students also expressed that they “lost interest” in academic studies. The SoE also reduced students’ enthusiasm for research and their desire to become academics, as mentioned above:

Due to the ongoing decrees and investigations filed against academics in the SoE, everyone refrains from expressing their opinions on various issues. By developing a kind of self-control mechanism, they try to protect themselves from being marked as an “opponent” by the state. These have caused me to fear and lose interest in the academy as an MA student. For these reasons, I do not have the intention of pursuing an academic career (Survey, MA Student, State Uni., Eskişehir).

Rights Violations

Students were also asked whether their academic freedoms had been violated before and during the SoE. While 36 % of the respondents (108 people) who were students before the SoE (39 people) believe that their academic freedoms were violated, nearly half (75 people) of those (156 people) who were students after the SoE period think that their academic freedoms were violated during the SoE period (See Table 35).

18 % of the students who participated in the survey stated that they experienced rights violations due to their political views in the SoE. As seen in the statements presented above, the subject of the research itself may cause violation of students' academic freedom. One out of every ten students in the survey thinks that this violation occurred because of their field of study/topics. Again, one out of every ten students stated that their academic freedom was violated owing to their social media posts during the SoE (See Table 35).

Gender discrimination emerges as another reason for violation of rights articulated by students. While 7 % of the students stated that they were exposed to discrimination due to their gender in the SoE, 4 % stated they were abused during their postgraduate education, and about one-fifth of them said they knew someone who was partially or completely deprived of their academic freedom due to sexual harassment (See Table 35).

Table 35: Reasons for Violation of Academic Freedoms

Rights Violations	Before the SoE	During the SoE
I think my academic freedoms have been violated in the SoE.	39 (% 36)	75 (%48)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated in the SoE because of my political views.	13 (% 12)	28 (%18)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my field of study.	7 (% 6)	16 (%10)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because I expressed my opinion in the press, social media, etc.	6 (% 6)	15 (%10)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my gender.	3 (% 3)	11 (%7)
During my MA / PhD education, I was partly or completely deprived of my academic freedom due to sexual harassment that I was exposed to.	4 (% 4)	6 (% 4)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated because of my religious identity.	4 (% 4)	10 (% 6)
I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my ethnic identity.	5 (% 5)	7 (% 4)
I know someone who has been partly or completely deprived of their academic freedoms due to sexual harassment during MA / PhD education.	20 (% 19)	30 (%19)
I personally know a person whose academic freedoms have been violated.	24 (% 22)	49 (%31)

Their ethnic or religious identity also gives rise to violation of students' rights. Students stated that in the SoE their academic freedom was violated due to their ethnic identity (4 %) and religious identity (6 %) (See Table 35). A student commented on this issue as follows: "Due to the religious identity and political thoughts I have, I am exposed to marginalization and mobbing within the department. I try to keep away from academic activities. I also have been exposed to mobbing and psychological violence during my PhD thesis monitoring committee as well as while choosing a thesis subject" (Survey, PhD Student, State Uni., Izmir).

Threats Targeting Students

In the questionnaire, students were asked whether they were personally threatened or felt threatened during the SoE period. Since the research assistants who continue their postgraduate programs have already answered this question in the section on academics,

the data presented in this heading of the report presents the results of the 91 students who participated in the questionnaire and who only received postgraduate education.

According to the survey data, every three students (that is, 29 students, which corresponds to 32% of students) stated that they were either directly threatened in person or felt personally threatened during the SoE. Table 36 shows the sources of the threat targeting students:

Table 36: Sources of Threat Targeting Students

Source of the Threat	Number
Institution managers	13
Security forces	11
Academics	8
People I don't know	8
People I know	6
Rector	4
Students	4
Press members	4
Civilian authority	2
Other	9

As seen in the table above, students stated that they were personally threatened or felt threatened especially by the institution managers, security forces, academics, students, people they do not know, civil servants or members of the press. The answers given by the students to the open-ended question (Other) regarding the source of the threat that they think is targeting them show to what extent the SoE became a source of threat and anxiety for being a graduate student in this period. A student stated that she lost her “belief in laws, system and functioning” in the SoE and generally felt “defenseless to all kinds of dangers.” Another student stated that he felt threatened during the SoE period due to some statements in his thesis that he completed and finished before the SoE. Another student stated that although she was not affiliated with any “group”, she felt threatened simply because she was educated at an institution where teachers were expelled with a decree, due to the prevalence of tagging / labeling with terrorism: “I was not affiliated with any groups, but apparently things were not evaluated correctly, I mean, news, daily events, etc. I felt under pressure just because I was a student at that university, because the teachers at that school were dismissed for various reasons.” Consequently, a considerable number of graduate students feel threatened owing to the direct or indirect results and outcomes of the academic activity.

CONCLUSION

The main motivation of this study conducted was to determine the extent to which academic freedoms and autonomy has been violated in the SoE period, declared following the coup attempt, which could be seen as a moment of crisis that could help elucidate openly the nature of structural problems of Turkish higher education. It is believed that the criteria determined to reveal to what extent academic autonomy and freedom are violated, the questions formatted in this framework and the scope of the study enable detailed determinations about the problem and thus lead to other studies related to the problem. For these purposes, 422 face-to-face questionnaires with academics and graduate students and 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews with academics were conducted in 13 provinces that constituted the basis of the research sample in terms of representation level of geographical region, state-foundation university, academic unit and faculty staff. One of the main objectives of the study is to reveal to what extent SoE violates academic freedoms. Since 90 % of the participants worked in the same institutions before and after SoE, the research findings are conducive to determine the effect of the SoE on academic freedoms.

It is possible to summarize the conclusions reached and the findings obtained as follows:

- One of the main findings of the survey is that higher education institutions in Turkey do not have institutional mechanisms or units geared for academic freedom and autonomy. Universities do not care about academic freedoms and do not endeavor to inform their staff on this issue. Therefore, a significant number of academics have limited knowledge about academic freedoms and have not been trained or informed about academic autonomy and freedom during their education or employment. This institutional and informational shortcoming creates lack of information among academics as to what to do and what sort of action to take when they encounter a violation of rights.
- According to the research findings, the most obvious effect of the SoE on academic freedoms is that it has increased self-censorship. Self-censorship is spread across all domains of the academic field (lectures, research, publications, and academic events such as conferences). Academics are forced to practice self-censorship in all kinds of academic activities; therefore, academia is not free in this sense.
- During the SoE, the study of subjects contrary to the mainstream political and ideological sensitivities in Turkey could only be carried out with reservations and

encountered various pressures. It has been determined that these studies faced censorship at various levels or that publication of these subjects has been difficult. One of the results of this is the narrowing of academic fields of study and the increase of publications that deal with “insignificant” or “technical” issues in the field of social sciences.

- It has been established that academics’ research activities and projects are blocked by the administrators for political and ideological reasons, as well as the self-censorship academics themselves practice. The academics stated that they could not conduct research on the subjects they wanted in the SoE, they practice self-censorship while supervising thesis dissertation, and changed their study subjects due to the pressure they felt.

- During the SoE, some academic activities were restricted or cancelled altogether, especially those “assumedly dealing with sensitive or objectionable” issues. One of the most striking examples of this is the prevention of activities aimed at discussing the SoE in universities.

- The increasingly harsh political climate, including the pre-SoE, restricted freedom of the lectern, that is academics’ freedom of in the classroom. Student denunciations, which became widespread before and after the SoE, proved to be one of the primary obstacles to the freedom of the lectern. The denunciations reached such a point that the academics were held responsible also for the statements of other students in the classes.

- Another important finding of the research is the insecure environment and isolation created by widespread practice of denunciation, investigations filed by administrators, and dismissals of academics from the public service with decrees. Academics stated that they could not trust their colleagues.

- The Armenian Question, the Kurdish Question, ethnic identities, sexual identities, religion, criticism of the government, or the SoE itself are the taboo topics in the academia. It has been found that academics who do not study these issues in line with the official ideology have concerns that they will be subjected to administrative and judicial investigations, social, local and political pressure, be reported by their students, and their academic promotion will be prevented.

- It has been seen that the pro-government monopolization of media that took place in the Turkish media before and after the SoE turned the social media into an alternative

medium. Nevertheless, it has been observed that academics felt uneasy and under pressure to share posts on the social media. A considerable number of academics stated that they reduced their social media sharing or stopped using social media during the SoE period.

- With the SoE, the most extensive academic purge experienced in Turkey's university history has completely eliminated academics' job security with dismissals and security investigations that every academic is subjected to. According to the findings of the research, academics' problems and concerns over job security gradually increased during the SoE. This problem is more severe in the public universities. For the academics who live under the pressure of losing their job security, the production of knowledge, research and teaching activities have fallen behind their efforts to maintain their present position. In this framework, academics stated that they lost faith in their professions. According to academics, the biggest threat posed by the SoE towards academic freedoms is the destruction of job security. So much so that, according to academics, the most adverse effect of universities in the SoE was the dismissal of academics from public office with the decree laws.

- The repressive practices of administrators who are equipped with extraordinary powers in the SoE to erode academic freedoms are exempt from legal control. According to the findings of the research, intense pressure of investigation on academics consolidated the culture of submissiveness.

- Mobbing originating from administrators at all levels and interest groups at universities is a treatment that academics often face both before and during the SoE.

- Criteria of appointment-promotion and performance pose a serious threat to job security and academic freedom due to workload especially at the foundation universities.

- It has been observed with the research that academics feel threatened because of their political ideas and academic studies. In this context, investigations, threats and dismissals faced by academics who signed the Peace Declaration before and after the SoE have been a source of fear and pressure for the academy.

- The SoE has damaged the unionization of academics and education workers in general. Unions that are anti-government have lost a significant number of their members. According to the findings of the research, academics who were members of anti-

government unions during the SoE were encouraged to leave their unions, and they have been subjected to various violations of rights, such as withholding their staff, not allowing them have their appointments and promotions, not providing them with projects, or stopping them from attending events abroad.

- Academics were less involved in decision-making processes in universities, faculties and departments during the SoE period. Academics stated that the most important violation of autonomy is the abolition of the rector elections.

- According to the findings of the research, academics are exposed to rights violations due to their political views, sexual, ethnic and religious identities.

- Academics defined their situation as “culture of fear”, “climate of fear”, “fear regime”, “atmosphere of fear”, “empire of fear”, “wave of fear” during the SoE. During the SoE period, academics practiced self-censorship in their courses, research, publications and academic activities since they lived in constant fear of being dismissed with decrees, subjected to security investigations, layoffs and administrative investigations, lawsuits, being denounced by students, being warned, questioned and excluded by their colleagues, as well as being threatened.

- The research also established that with the SoE, the academy became silent, unresponsive to the problems of the country and the world.

- The participants were observed to agree on the fact that the damage caused by SoE could not be compensated for many years and they were pessimistic about the future of the university.

- According to the findings of the research, graduate students think that political, religious views and beliefs, sexual orientation are important in admission to graduate programs and favoritism is at a high level.

- With the SoE, it was found that the desire of graduate students to become academics decreased significantly.

- Graduate students cannot express their thoughts freely in their program. One of the most important effects of the SoE on graduate students is that they had to practice self-

censorship in their assignments and thesis dissertations. Three-quarters of the students stated that they could not write a thesis dissertation on the subject they wanted.

- Finally, it was established that some of the graduate students thought their academic freedom was violated due to their ethnic, religious and sexual orientation and they felt threatened because of their academic activities.

In summary, the SoE, declared after July 15, 2016 military coup attempt, has transformed the Turkish higher education system which already suffered from structural problems in terms of academic autonomy and freedom and carried it to a certain point where it had been trying to reach for a while. Academic autonomy in higher education system in Turkey had lost its already dubious meaning even in formal sense after the establishment of the Higher Education Council (HEC) in the wake of the 1980 military coup. Academic freedom, which is limited to the freedom of research and publication, is stipulated in Article No. 130 of the 1982 Constitution on condition that it does not involve activities against the existence and independence of the state and the integrity and indivisibility of the nation and the country.⁹⁴ After February 28 Military Intervention, the Turkish higher education systems physically removed from its agenda academic autonomy and freedom, which had already lost its formal sense with the HEC and the 1982 Constitution, by subjecting both state and private universities to the incorporation process and thus activating the self-censorship and academic performance criteria at universities. During the SoE the execution of the biggest purges in the history of Turkish higher education by means of the decree laws, which were turned into a tool for dismissing people from public service, helped the university reach the destination which it had set as a goal for itself since 1980. Universities, which by nature should not be subject to any authority, are fully subordinated to political and economic sovereigns that exploit the discourse of national interest.

⁹⁴ The extent to which this article is open to political abuse has recently become clear in administrative and judicial investigations and trials against academics signing the declaration “We will not be a part to this crime!”

APPENDIX 1: Distribution of Academics Who Participated in In-depth Interviews in Terms of Provinces and Universities⁹⁵

Number	City	University	Gender	Title
1	Adana	Çukurova Üni. (State Uni.)	-	Prof.
2	Adana	Çukurova Üni. (State Uni.)	-	Assoc. Prof.
3	Ankara	Ankara Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Assoc. Prof.
4	Ankara	Gazi Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Prof.
5	Ankara	Hacı Bayram Veli Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Res. Assist.
6	Ankara	Hacettepe Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Assist. Prof.
7	Ankara	Çankaya Üni. (Foundation Uni.)	Female	Res. Assist.
8	One who does not want to Express the province	(State Uni.)**	Female	Assist. Prof.
9	Diyarbakır	Dicle Üni. (State Uni.)	-	Inst.
10	East Anotolian Region*	(State Uni.)	Female	Inst.
11	Erzurum	Erzurum Atatürk Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Assit. Prof.
12	Eskişehir	Eskişehir Anadolu Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Assoc. Prof.
13	Souteastern Anotlian Region*	(State Uni.)	Female	Inst.
14	İstanbul	Bahçeşehir Üni. (Foundaition)	Male	Res. Assit.
15	İstanbul	İstanbul Bilgi Üni. (Foundation Uni.)	Male	Assoc. Prof.
16	İstanbul	Doğuş Üni. (Foundation Uni.)	Male	Prof.
17	İstanbul	Egitim Sen (Union) University Brunch	Male	Civil Servant
18	İstanbul	Galatasaray Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Res. Assist.
19	İstanbul	İstanbul Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Assist. Prof.
20	İstanbul	Marmara Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Assist. Prof.

⁹⁵ * In order to hide the identity of the participants, the region has been indicated rather than the city where the university is located.

** The name of the university has not been indicated in order to hide the identity of the participant.

21	İstanbul	Mimar Sinan Güzel San. Üni. (State Uni.)	Female	Inst.
22	İstanbul	İstanbul Teknik Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Inst.
23	İstanbul	Özyeğin Üni. (Foundation Uni.)	Male	Assist. Prof.
24	İstanbul	Foundation Uni.	Male	Assist. Prof.
25	İzmir	Ege Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Assoc. Prof.
26	İzmir	İzmir Ekonomi Üni. (Foundation Uni.)	Male	Inst.
27	Samsun	Ondokuz Mayıs Üni. (State Uni.)	-	Inst.
28	Sinop	Sinop Üni. (State Uni.)	Male	Assist. Prof.
29	Tekirdağ	Tekirdağ Namık Kemal Üni. (State Uni.)	-	Inst.
30	Van	(State Uni.)	Male	Assist. Prof.

APPENDIX 2: Semi-Structured In-Depth Interview Questions

1. Can you introduce yourself? Could you explain why you chose your profession (an academic, intellectual activity), the important breaking points in your life in this regard, your education, the environment you grew up in by focusing on institutional or personal relationships?
2. More specifically, why and how did you become an academic? What are your academic interests in this context? How was your research agenda formed and what are the factors that determine the formation of your research agenda?
3. In which institutions and for how long did you work? What were your positions there? Could you explain the working environment in these institutions, what you were doing there, what tasks did you do, and the mood you were in while working there?
4. What is your understanding of academic freedom? How would you define academic freedom? What are your thoughts on academic freedoms?
5. Have you received any training on academic freedom in your institution or elsewhere? Have you ever attended a seminar, informative meeting, symposium or other type of training meeting on this subject?
6. Do you know whether the institution you are working for is a party to an academic freedom document or has signed such a document?
7. Are you aware of the basic texts on academic freedom?
8. Do you care about academic freedom, why?
9. How did the SoE affect you as an academic? What have you experienced, what have you witnessed?
 - Investigations, arrest, mobbing, courses closed, research projects cancelled, pressures concerning job security, ban on travel abroad, union rights, etc.?
 - Are you afraid of dealing with the issues that are considered objectionable when lecturing, doing research, etc.?
 - Did you need to change your research agenda, study topics?
 - Do you feel free as an academic? Are you able to do research on any subject that you wish?
 - Did administrators, colleagues, close friends, relatives warn you about your academic work?
 - Have you been complained about?
 - Have you ever had an experience such as being threatened, feeling threatened, not feeling safe; rejection of the publication your paper, article, book; not being given permission for an activity, restricting students' activities; pressure on course/research content; a change in workload?
 - Do you feel under pressure while sharing your opinions?
 - Do you feel under pressure due to appointment and promotion criteria and performance criteria that have been around for a while?

- Which topics do you think are considered sensitive at the academia in Turkey? Which topics are sensitive at your university? Which topics do you try to avoid? Has there been a change (reduction, proliferation, etc.) in these sensitive issues in recent years?

10. Do you participate in in-house decision-making processes at all levels such as designing the curriculum and demanding staff during the SoE period?

11. Have you experienced pressure or violation of rights because of your choices regarding your field of work/ethnic background/political view/religious/sexual orientation before and during the SoE?

12. Have you been pressured / threatened owing to your public statements? Are you afraid to express your thoughts?

13. Have you been exposed to pressure concerning your students' courses/thesis topics/assignments, etc.? Do you think the SoE has affected your students' education? How?

14. Can you give information about your current situation? (For example, what did you do if you were expelled, unemployed, etc.? What difficulties are you struggling with?)

15. What were the effects of the dismissal of academics on research, discussion, production of knowledge, all kinds of academic activities and academic work environments in the SoE? How do you think the dismissals affect the remaining academics who continue to work at the university?

16. What do you think is the effect of the SoE on the academic autonomy of universities?

17. What do you think is the overall effect of the SoE on academic freedoms in Turkey? What do you think about the future of the universities?

18. If the SoE is lifted: Can you evaluate the new situation? If the SoE is not lifted: What do you think will happen to academic freedoms from now on?

19. What do you think about the future of the university and the academy?

APPENDIX 3: Survey Form

SURVEY No:

STATUS OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN TURKEY SURVEY RESEARCH

This study has been carried out within the framework of the project Bringing Human Rights Academy to Society conducted by European Instrument for Democracy & Human Rights (EIDHR) and Capacity Development Association.

The purpose of this study is to reveal the effects of the SoE on academic freedoms in Turkey.

It is very important that you answer the questions in the questionnaire **in full** and follow the instructions completely for our study to achieve its goal.

The interviewers will answer your questions regarding our research and survey questions when you ask.

If you think the survey questions do not apply to your situation sufficiently, clarify your own situation or reservations about the questions and/or criticism as the answer to the open-ended question at the end of the survey.

During and after the survey, your personal information will not be recorded in any way and will not be used for any other purpose.

It is thought that it will take you **15-25** minutes to complete the survey.

Thank you for your support in our work.

If you want to be informed about the results of the research, please write your e-mail address:

Interviewer

Place

Date

1. Your University (If you are discharged, retired or dismissed, write the name of the university where you last worked):

2. Your Faculty / Institute:

3. Your Department:

4. Gender: a) Female b) Male c) Other:

5. Year of birth:

6. Last higher education program you completed:

- 1) Undergraduate
- 2) Master's
- 3) Doctorate

7. Your profession:

- 1) Academic
 - 2) Student (If you are a student, pass on to Question 10.)
 - 3) Other (please write):
- (If you filled this option pass on to Question 10.)

8. Are you currently working actively in a university? (If you are retired and not teaching or if you are suspended, tick No)

- 1) Yes (continue from question 10) 2) No

9. If you are not actively working in a university, what is the reason?

- 1) Retirement
- 2) Resignation
- 3) Dismissal / contract not renewed
- 4) Suspension
- 5) Dismissed from public service with a Decree
- 6) The institution where I work was closed down with a Decree

10. What is your academic position? (If you have been fired, retired or dismissed mark your latest position)

- 1) Professor
- 2) Associate Professor
- 3) Assistant Professor
- 4) Instructor
- 5) Expert
- 6) Instructor
- 7) Dr. Research Assistant
- 8) Research Assistant (MA student)
- 9) Research Assistant (PhD student)
- 10) Contracted (part time)
- 11) Retired Faculty Member
- 12) MA Student (Continue by passing on to Question 34)
- 13) PhD Student (Continue by passing on to Question 34)

11. How long were you employed in your last institution?

- (.....) Less than 2 years (.....) 2-5 years (.....) 6-10 years
(.....) 11-15 years (.....) 16-20 years (.....) 21-25 years (.....) 26 years and over

12. What are your main academic fields of study? (Multiple answers are possible):

13. Did you have any administrative duties (Administrator, department /subdivision chairperson) before the declaration of the SoE?

1) Yes 2) No (Continue the questionnaire from Question 18)

14. Which of the following administrative duties did you perform in the SoE? (Multiple options can be selected. Tick (√) next to it.)

(....) Dean (....) Vice Dean

(....) Director of Center / Institute (....) Director of Center / Institute. Asst.

(....) Department Chairperson (....) Department Vice- Chairperson

(....) Subdivision Chairperson (....) Other

15. Did you leave one or more of these administrative duties voluntarily during the SoE?

1) Yes 2) No

16. Have you been forced to leave one or more of these administrative duties during the SoE?

1) Yes 2) No

17. Did you have any problem(s) with your appointment to these administrative position(s) during the state of emergency?

1) Yes (Please outline the problem):.....

2) No

18. Is your university (if you are not working at the university for such reasons as dismissal, resignation, retirement, etc., answer in reference to your previous university) a party of any academic freedom certificate (Have they signed it?)

1) Yes 2) No 3) I don't know

19. Have you received training (seminar, briefing, course, etc.) about academic freedoms at your university (if you are not working at the university for such reasons as dismissal, resignation, retirement, etc., answer in reference to your previous university)?

1) Yes 2) No

20. Is there a unit in your university (if you are not working at the university for such reasons as dismissal, resignation, retirement, etc., answer in reference to your previous university) that you could apply when you experience any violation of rights?

1) Yes (Please specify):

2) No

3) I don't know

21. Mark each line in the table below, taking into account your status before and after the declaration of the SoE.

** If you have not worked at any university before the SoE, just tick the Yes-No boxes for the period of the SoE; if you have never worked during the period of the SoE, check the boxes concerning before the SoE. Those who worked in both periods should also tick the Yes-No boxes for both periods.

Due to the critical, sensitive or objectionable content of my political views and/or my academic studies (publications, course content, class discussions/speech, exam questions, conference-seminar, research project, etc.):

Before the SoE / During the SoE

I have / had a criminal investigation.

I have / had an administrative investigation.

I received a criminal sentence.

I received an administrative penalty.

I was warned verbally / in writing by my administrators.

My lessons have been closed / removed. (If you have not taught, do not answer, leave blank)

My classes have been controlled by inspectors or superiors. (If you have not taught, do not answer, leave blank.)

There have been complaint(s) about me (to workplace management, BIMER, police, etc.).

I am / was threatened with being fired.

I am/ was personally threatened.

I am/was personally targeted in local, national press, social media, etc.

I am worried / worry about my life safety.

My research project has been canceled/suspended/rejected.

There were suggestions that I should not apply for research projects.

My conference presentation was rejected by the conference organization.

My article was not evaluated/rejected by the journal I applied for.

My book was not published by the publishing house.

I was asked to remove/change parts of my academic publication (articles, books, etc.).

I am/was not allowed to participate in domestic academic events by my institution.

I am/was not allowed to participate in academic activities abroad by my institution.

I was not given the support for domestic or foreign academic participation by the institution I work for.

My participation in international events was prevented by the ministry of interior /the police (e.g. by refusal to issue passport, etc.)

There were suggestions that I should not apply for domestic and/or international events.

I had to withdraw from a board/jury of which I was a member. (If you have not subscribed, do not answer, leave blank).

My work contract was not renewed / I was dismissed.

My access to various archives/libraries/sources of information is/was denied/ I met difficulty in access.

I was mobbed.

(Mobbing refers to all malicious, deliberate, negative attitudes and behaviors aimed at one person or more by one or more persons in the workplaces, continuing systematically for a certain period of time, aiming to intimidate, passivate or dismiss them from work, harming the individual's values, professional status, social relationships or health of victims or victims.)

I was harassed.

My assigned position has been changed (I have been assigned to another department, faculty, etc.)

My academic duties have been reduced.

My office / office mate has been changed.

Other (please write):

22. Mark each line in the table below, taking into account your condition before and during the SoE.

** If you have not worked at any university before the SoE, just tick the Yes-No boxes for the period of SoE; if you have never worked during the period of SoE, check the boxes concerning before the SoE. Those who worked in both periods should also tick the boxes for both periods.

Before SoE

During SoE

I am a member of a union.

I (have) come across suggestions/pressures to become a member of a particular union.

There have been suggestions/pressures to end my union membership.

I left the union I was a member of due to suggestions/pressures and I did not become a member of another union.

I changed my union due to suggestions/pressures.

**23. (Only those who have used social media in any period will answer this question.)
Please mark each of the lines in the table below, taking into account your own situation.**

During the SoE

I actively use social media to share my views and share information

I stopped using social media.

I avoid sharing opinions or information on the social media.

I reduced the amount of my social media posts.

I am concerned that something can happen to me when I share something on social media.

24. Mark each line in the table below, taking into account the option that suits you.

I disagree/Neutral/ I agree

I am thinking of changing my academic study subjects as they address critical, sensitive or objectionable issues.

In my academic publications, I try not to discuss subjects that are considered sensitive / objectionable, and not to mention some things.

In academic events (conference, symposium, panel, etc.), I try not to discuss subjects that are considered sensitive / objectionable, and not to mention some things.

I try not to participate in academic events (conference, symposium, panel etc.) in order not to touch on critical, sensitive or objectionable issues.

I can carry out academic studies on the subject I want.

I feel free when sharing opinions and information in my academic publications.

I feel free in my academic activities, while sharing opinions and information.

**25. Mark each line in the table below, taking into account the option that suits you.
Only those who taught during the SoE period must answer this question. If you have not taught in the SoE, leave it blank.**

During the SoE:

I disagree / Neutral/ I agree

I feel/ felt under threat / pressure when creating course content or teaching in the classroom.

While trying to create the content of the course or while teaching, I try not to discuss the subjects that are considered sensitive / objectionable.

I am/ was able to do my courses as I wished.

I encountered / I am encountering suggestions or interventions of my administrative and / or academic superiors while supervising thesis dissertations of grading exams.

(Leave blank if you did not supervise any master thesis/PhD dissertation)

While managing my students' theses, I pay / paid attention to that the theses should not deal with sensitive / objectionable subjects.

**26. Please mark each line in the table below, considering the option that suits you.
If you have not actively worked for a certain period of time during the SoE period, leave it blank.**

During the SoE:

I disagree / Neutral/ I agree

I felt / feel vulnerable to my superiors.

My job security has decreased.

I had / have problems in renewing my employment contract.

I was /am afraid of losing my job.

I was / am concerned that I may be subjected to an administrative investigation.

I was / am afraid of being dismissed from public service with a decree law.

Changes to the assignment and promotion principles affected / affect my work negatively. (Leave blank if there is no change in the state of emergency.)

I feel / felt under pressure of publishing as part of appointment requirements.

I feel / felt under pressure owing to performance criteria.

I thought/think that my workload has increased.

27. Please mark each of the lines in the table below, considering the option that suits you.

** If you have not worked at any university before the SoE, just tick the Yes-No boxes for the period of SoE; if you have never worked during the period of the SoE, check the boxes concerning before the SoE. Those who worked in both periods should also tick the boxes for both periods.

Before the SoE
During the SoE

My views are/were taken into consideration during the curriculum design in my field.

I am/was included in the decision-making procedures at the university where I work.

I am/was included in the decision-making procedures at the faculty where I work.

I am/was included in the decision-making procedures in my department.

I am/was included in the decision-making procedures in the division where I work.

28. (This question should only be answered by academics who are currently working or worked in academic juries.) Mark each line in the table below, taking into account the option that suits you.

** If you have not worked at any university before the SoE, just tick the Yes-No boxes for the period of SoE; if you have never worked during the period of SoE, check the boxes concerning before the SoE. Those who worked in both periods should also tick the boxes for both periods.

Before the SoE /During the SoE

I encountered / encounter the suggestions and interventions from my academic superiors in selecting students for master's / doctoral programs

I encountered / encounter interventions from my academic superiors while deciding on academic juries.

I encountered / encounter suggestions/interventions concerning the passing or failing of students in master / doctorate thesis juries.

29. Please mark each of the lines in the table below, taking into account your status before and after the SoE.

** If you have not worked at any university before the SoE, just tick the Yes-No boxes for the period of the SoE; if you have never worked during the period of the SoE, check the boxes concerning before the SoE. Those who worked in both periods should tick the boxes for both periods.

Before the SoE
During the SoE

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my field of study.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my ethnic identity.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my gender.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my sexual orientation.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my religious identity.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my political views.

I think my academic freedoms have been violated due to my physical disability. (If you do not have a physical disability, do not answer, leave blank.)

I think my academic freedoms have been violated because I have expressed my opinion in the press, on social media, etc.

I personally know someone whose academic freedoms have been violated.

30. If you have marked “yes” in one or more lines in the table above, please outline the reasons for how your academic freedoms are restricted.

During the SoE:

Before the SoE:

31. Have you been or have you felt threatened personally due to your views or academic studies during the SoE?

1) Yes 1) No (go to Question 42)

32. If you have been threatened or felt threatened during the SoE, from whom this threat came? (You can choose more than one)

1. Rector
2. Administrators of the institution (Chairperson of the department, dean, etc.)
3. Academics
4. Students
5. Press members
6. Civilian authority (governor, district governor, etc.)
7. Politicians
8. Security forces
9. Members / leaders of criminal organization
10. People I know (neighbor, etc.)
11. People I don't know
12. Other (please write):

33. If you were threatened or feel threatened during the SoE, what did you do as a response to this threat? (You can choose more than one):

1. I stopped / paused my work
2. I moved to another city
3. I left the city I lived for a while
4. I filed a criminal complaint
5. I left my job / changed my job
6. I did nothing
7. Other (please write)

***** IF YOU ARE NOT A MA / PhD STUDENT, GO TO QUESTION 43**

The next section is only for MA / PhD STUDENTS and RESEARCH ASSISTANTS WHO ARE DOING THEIR MA / PhD.

34. Please mark each of the lines in the table below, taking into account your status before and after the SoE.

** If you have started your postgraduate education in the SoE period, mark only the options for the SoE period. Those who have been graduate students both before and during the SoE should mark their choices for both periods.

Before the SoE
During the SoE

I came across question(s) about my political position/ ethnicity / religious belief / sexual orientation / disability status, etc. in the interview while being taken to graduate programs.

I know someone who has not admitted to the graduate programs because of their political origins / ethnic origins / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / gender / disability status, etc.

I think “string pulling” is an important factor in being admitted into graduate programs.

I know someone who has been admitted into postgraduate programs because they have “pulled the strings”.

There was a course/courses that were closed in my department owing to the political, academic positions of the teacher or the content of the course being considered “objectionable”.

I try not to discuss issues that are considered sensitive / objectionable in my assignment / research / thesis.

I think I got a low score because I touched on topics that were considered sensitive / objectionable in one or more of my assignment.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated because of my political views / ethnicity / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / gender, etc.

I know someone whose academic freedoms have been violated because of their political origins / ethnic origins / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / gender.

During my MA / PhD education, I was partially or completely deprived of my academic freedom due to sexual harassment.

I know someone who is partially or completely deprived of their academic freedom due to sexual harassment during their MA / PhD education.

I filed a complaint to BIMER about my lecturer/lecturers due to the content of their academic activities (course content, lecture, exam questions, publications, etc.).

I know a student/ students who complained to BIMER about lecturer for the content of their academic activities (course content, lecture, exam questions, publications, etc.).

I can criticize lecturers academically / without feeling any pressure.

I think that I can do a thesis research on the subject I want without feeling any pressure.

I can express my views freely on the campus.

I want to become an academic.

35. Please mark each of the lines in the table below, taking into account your status before and after the SoE announcement.

** If you started MA or PhD classes after the SoE, do not mark Yes-No options concerning before the SoE. Those who have taken postgraduate courses in both before and during SoE should also mark the Yes-No options for both periods.

Before the SoE/ During the SoE

There have been incentives / pressures that I should not choose courses that address issues considered to be objectionable or sensitive.

I tried not to choose courses that address issues that are considered objectionable or sensitive.

I can express myself freely without feeling any pressure or reservations in the class.

I take care not to dwell on issues that are considered sensitive or objectionable in political, moral sense, etc. in lessons.

Talking with classmates during class breaks, I pay attention not to dwell on issues that are considered sensitive or objectionable in political or moral sense.

I can choose any course I want.

36. Fill out each of the lines in the table below by selecting the appropriate option for you.

* The question below should be answered only by MA / PhD students who are at the stage of writing their THESIS. Leave blank if you are not at the thesis stage.

** If you have passed onto the thesis stage before the SoE, mark the Yes-No options in both periods; if you have passed onto it in the SoE period, mark only in the SoE period.

Before the SoE / During the SoE

While determining the thesis topic, there were suggestions / pressures that I should not deal with the subjects considered sensitive / objectionable.

When determining the thesis topic, I made sure not to choose the subjects that were considered sensitive / objectionable.

I changed my thesis partially or completely, as it addressed issues that are considered sensitive / objectionable.

I came across suggestions / pressures that I should change my thesis advisor because of his political views / ethnicity / religious beliefs / sexual orientation / gender objection.

I changed my thesis advisor because his political views / ethnicity / religious belief / sexual orientation / gender was considered objectionable.

37. Fill in each line in the table below by marking the appropriate option for you.

** The question below should be answered only by MA / PhD students in the departments / faculties where lecturers have been dismissed from public service with the decree laws. If there are no lecturers in your department / faculty dismissed from public service with the decree laws, do not answer these questions.

We had a lecturer /lecturers who have been dismissed from public service with decree laws.

The courses of our lecturers who were dismissed from public service with decree laws were closed.
I think that the dismissal of lecturers from public service with the decree laws had an adverse effect on education.

I had to change my thesis advisor because her/him contract of employment was not renewed / she was removed from public service with the decree law.

(If you are not a PhD student at the thesis stage, do not answer).

One or more of the members of the thesis monitoring committee has changed since their employment contract has not been renewed / they have been dismissed from the public service with a decree law.

(If you are not in the jury stage, do not answer.)

One or more of the members of the thesis jury changed because their employment contract was not renewed / they were dismissed from the public service with a decree law.

38. Please mark each of the lines in the table below, taking into account your status before and after the SoE announcement.

** If you started your education after the announcement of the SoE (July 20, 2016), please mark the Yes-No options for during the SoE section.

Before the SoE / During the SoE

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my field of study.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my ethnic identity.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my gender.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my sexual orientation.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my religious identity.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my political views.

I think that my academic freedoms have been violated due to my physical disability. (If you do not have a physical disability, do not answer.)

I think my academic freedoms have been violated because I expressed my views in the press, on social media, etc.

I personally know someone whose academic freedoms have been violated.

39. If you have marked “Yes” in one or more lines in question 38 above, write the reasons for which your academic freedoms have been restricted.

During the SoE:.....

.....

.....

Before the SoE:

.....

40. Were you personally threatened or felt threatened because of your views or academic work during the SoE?

2) Yes 1) No (go to Question 42)

41. If you were threatened or felt threatened during the SoE, what was the source of this threat? (you can mark more than one choice)

1. Rector
2. Managers of the institution (head of department, dean, etc.)
3. Academics
4. Students
5. Press members
6. Civilian authority (governor, district governor, etc.)
7. Security forces
8. People I know (neighbors, etc.)
9. People I don't know
10. Other (Please write):

42. If you have been threatened or felt threatened during the SoE, as a result of this threat (you can mark more than choice):

1. I stopped continuing/ paused my work.
2. I moved to another city.
3. I moved to another city for a while.
4. I filed a criminal complaint.
5. I left school.
6. I changed my school.
7. I did nothing.
8. Other (Please write):

43. What do you think is the most important practice affecting academic freedoms in Turkey during the SoE?

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.....
.....

44. Please write down below anything you would like to add about academic freedoms during the SoE in Turkey.

.....
.....
.....

THIS IS THE END OF OUR SURVEY. THANK YOU.

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